

Report on the 14th International Meeting EURODEFENSE in Luxembourg from 26/09/2008 to 28/09/2008

Introduction

The present report recounts the events of the 14th International Meeting EURODEFENSE (hereafter: 14IME):

- Beginning with the working programme of the 14IME under point 1, the first day being treated under 1.1 and the second day under 2.2. Since the third day was free and dedicated to the departures of the national delegations of EURODEFENSE, following the advancing of one of the meetings of the Presidents' Council from 28/09/2008 to 27/09/2008. The reader of this report can also find the complete programme of the 14IME, as of the last update on 27/09/2008, in the enclosure 2008.09.27. Calendar 14IME 26-28.09.2008 EN.doc.
- Under point 2 are gathered the summaries of the speech and conferences of the 14IME, with the opening speech by Mr Jacques SANTER, Honorary Prime Minister and President of the above-mentioned international meeting under 2.1, the conference by General Gaston REINIG under 2.2, as well as the conferences given by our foreign friends, Mr Colin CAMERON, Secretary General of the Assembly of Western European Union / European Security and Defence Assembly, under 2.3, and Ms Muriel DOMENACH, Deputy Director of the Centre for Analysis and Forecast of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, under 2.4. It is important to underline that our foreign lecturers were selected in the context of the French Presidency of the European Council in order to represent officially France and its security and defence policy, in the case of Ms DOMENACH, and to represent an international organisation in the field of security and defence policy having its head office in France, in the case of Mr CAMERON. The reader of this report can also find the entirety of the speeches and conferences by Mr SANTER, General REINIG and Mr CAMERON in the enclosures 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. J. SANTER FR.doc, 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. G. REINIG FR.doc and 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr C. CAMERON's conference EN.doc. Ms DOMENACH's, Mr SANTER's, General REINIG's and Mr CAMERON's official curriculum vitae can be consulted in the enclosures 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de Mme M. DOMENACH FR.doc, 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr J. SANTER's CV EN.doc, 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. G. REINIG FR.pdf and 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. C. CAMERON FR.doc.

The organisation of the 14IME has been realised by the members of the Board of Directors of EuroDéfense-Luxembourg (hereafter: EDL):

- Jos BERG, social programme,
 - Michel GRETSCH, transportation and security,
 - Salvatore Mosè LINOSA, hostelry and restaurant,
 - Christian MARQUANT, data processing,
 - Marc MARTIN, Secretary General and coordinator of the 14IME,
 - Edouard MOLITOR, budget and finances,
 - Fabien RAUM,
 - Jacques SANTER, Honorary Prime Minister of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, President of the Board of Directors of EDL, President of the 14IME,
 - Bruno THERET, hostelry,
 - Jean-Pierre WAGENER, social programme and tourism,
- and by Ms Claudine BIGELBACH-KALMES, Private Secretary to the Honorary Prime Minister.

1. Working Programme of the 14IME¹

¹ To get the detailed programme of the 14IME, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. Calendar 14IME 26-28.09.2008 EN.doc.

1.1. Friday, 26/09/2008

- 09:30-10:50** Meeting of the Presidents' Council at hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg".
- 11:30-11:50** Meeting of the Presidents of the national associations of EURODEFENSE with H.R.H. the Grand Duke Henri DE LUXEMBOURG at the grand-ducal palace.
- 14:15-16:30** Work of the European Working Group (hereafter: EWG) 11 on the subject "Security and Stability within the Mediterranean Basin" at the hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg".
- 14:15-16:30** Work of the EWG 1B on the subject "European Command & Planning Capabilities" at the hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg".
- 14:15-16:30** Work of the EWG 12 on the subject "How Can NGOs Contribute to the European Security and Defence Policy?" at the hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg".
- 16:45-19:00** Working meeting of the "EURODEFENSE Web Site" group (hereafter: EWSG) at the hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg" in order to prepare the presentation of its subject during the plenary meeting on 27/09/2008.
- 16:45-19:00** Working meeting of the "Permanent Structured Cooperation" group (hereafter: PSCG) at the hotel "NOVOTEL Luxembourg Kirchberg" in order to prepare the round-table conference on its subject during the plenary meeting on 27/09/2008.

1.2. Saturday, 27/09/2008

- 09:30-10:00** Opening session of the 14IME by Jacques SANTER, Honorary Prime Minister and President of EDL, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 10:00-10:45** Conference on the subject "L'armée luxembourgeoise et sa contribution à la sécurité dans un environnement international nouveau" [The Luxembourgian Army and Its Contribution to Security in a New International Environment], given by the Chief of Defence Luxembourg, General Gaston REINIG, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 11:00-12:00** Conference on the subject "European Security and Defence Policy: where do we go from here?", given by the Secretary General of the Assembly of Western European Union / European Security and Defence Assembly (AWEU), Mr Colin CAMERON, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 14:30-15:15** Round-table conference on the subject "Permanent Structured Cooperation": presentation of the subject by the PSCG, followed by a debate with the audience, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 15:15-15:30** Presentation of the EURODEFENSE web site by the EWSG, followed by a debate with the audience, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 15:30-15:45** The EWG 11 "Security and Stability within the Mediterranean Basin" presents the state of its work at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 15:45-16:00** The EWG 1B "European Command & Planning Capabilities" presents the state of its work at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 16:00-16:15** The EWG 12 "How Can NGOs Contribute to the European Security and Defence Policy?" presents the state of its work at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 16:15-16:30** The EWG 13 "Protection of the Environment and International Security" presents its theme and the programme of its future work at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 16:45-17:45** Conference on the subject "Les priorités françaises en matière de défense européenne" [The French Priorities in European Defence], given by the Deputy Director of the Centre for Analysis and Forecast of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, Ms Muriel DOMENACH, at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 17:45-19:00** Meeting of the Presidents' Council at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.
- 19:00-19:15** Closing session of the 14IME by Jacques SANTER, Honorary Prime Minister and President of EDL at the Bâtiment Jean Monnet of the European Commission.

2. Summaries of the Speech and Conferences

2.1. Opening Speech by Jacques SANTER, Honorary Prime Minister, on 27/09/2008²

In his speech, President SANTER, first underlines that, despite the frequent crises in the European Union, the union always kept on advancing, because today it is known, among others, for having created a functioning common market and a single currency, the Euro.

He specified that until 1990, the common Europe was essentially founded on a common market, ignoring the two central attributes of a confederation or a federation, the single currency and the common foreign policy, but that since the 1990s, the European Union is moving towards a political union. This, because Maastricht was the starting point for the march towards a more political Europe, determined to achieve a real foreign policy and a common space of justice and interior affairs.

An Europe that pushed towards a real political union for the following four reasons:

- Whereas the choice for economic integration was dictated by the circumstances of the moment since the times of the founding fathers of Europe, the final objective of that Europe had always been a political one.
- The geo-strategic change at the end of the 1980s, in particular the process of the German reunification, convinced Chancellor KOHL and President MITTERAND to create an intergovernmental conference on the political union beside a similar conference on the EMU.
- The economic and commercial power of the European Union, born from the inner market and the common currency already introduced, and implying already a great solidarity among member states of this union, pushed this union to become an actor of the international relations.
- Finally the European Union is gradually perceived as a real political entity by third states.

These reasons explain the pillar of common foreign and security policy introduced into the Maastricht treaty. But the Balkans had shown the insufficiencies of the European Union, i.e. the lack of means and the lack of capabilities needed to conduct a credible foreign policy. Means and capabilities the European Union has acquired since, meanwhile the European Union has acquired a coherent policy in the Balkans, a common position on the peace process in the Middle East, a real dialogue between the European Union and the USA since the Iraqi crises and structures, such as the PSC and the Military Committee, supporting the foreign policy of the European Union. The European Union also proved its will to cooperate with the UN and NATO by operations such as the police mission in Bosnia and the operation Concordia in Macedonia.

In the final part of his speech, President SANTER underlines some challenges the European Union has to face with its foreign policy, to assume its part of responsibility in international security and in constructing a better world:

- Face the challenge of war.
- Face the challenge of increasing dependency of Europe, i.e. its increased vulnerability due to an infrastructure gradually more interconnected, this particularly in the fields of energy supply, transportation and information.
- Face the challenge of poverty and disease in developing countries, since poverty and disease cause suffering that creates security problems.
- Face the challenge to create security as a necessary condition to development, because conflicts destroy infrastructure, encourage crime, dissuade from investments and by this hinder any development.
- Face the increased competition for natural resources, notably water, and face the consequences of this increased competition.
- Create a glacis of good governed states around the European Union, as a security guarantee against terrorism, against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, against regional conflicts, against delinquency of states and against organised crime.

To conclude, President SANTER underlined that despite the progress already achieved in the foreign policy of the European Union, its approach remains too reactive, sometimes not enough coherent, always not visible enough, and always lacking the military and civil means to achieve its ambitions.

² Remark:

- To get the Honorary Prime Minister Jacques SANTER's curriculum vitae, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr J. SANTER's CV EN.doc.
- To get the entire speech by the Honorary Prime Minister Jacques SANTER, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. J. SANTER FR.doc.

2.2. Conference by General Gaston REINIG, Chief of Defence Luxembourg, on 27/09/2008³

At the beginning of his conference, General REINIG underlines the contribution of EURODEFENSE to the promotion of the idea of a defence and security policy in the construction of a united Europe. An idea also shared by Luxembourg.

Then he underlines the importance for the European Union, not only to play an important role in world economy, but also to become an actor of weight contributing to world stability and security, because it is in the interest of the European Union to contribute to the shaping of the international environment and of its future. A shaping of the future of the European Union, considered as rightful by Luxembourg, which intends to participate in the limits of its means, this in order to be also active where Europe gets to the core of matters.

Then General REINIG concentrates on the following three aspects: the actual position of Luxembourg in the field of defence and of its army, the challenges Luxembourg has to face and how Luxembourg faces these challenges.

General REINIG first recalls the history of the Luxembourgian army created as a conscript army in 1944; which became a volunteer army in 1967 with its missions defined by NATO and territorial defence; then, with the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the appearance of new security needs, especially crises management and peace-keeping, required the commitment of military means out of NATO-area. Out of area commitments incompatible with the integral double volunteer system as practiced by the Luxembourgian army up to its reform in December 2007, i.e. in the integral double volunteer system, each soldier had to be a volunteer to enter the army first and then be a volunteer again to go to mission abroad.

A reform of the army, necessary to end the uncertainties in planning caused by the integral double volunteer system and to allow Luxembourg to make a better contribution to the missions of NATO and of the European; a reform covering the following measures:

- Soldiers are designated for missions if not enough soldiers have volunteered for these missions.
- In order to have better trained soldiers, capable to withstand larger missions than in the past, as asked by NRF of NATO and by the tactical groups of the European Union, the period of voluntary enlistment is increased from 18 to 48 months.
- The formation of the "Unités de disponibilité opérationnelle" [Units at operational availability] (hereafter: UDO).
- The creation of niche capabilities (water purification and mine clearing EOD-IED) defined in cooperation with the Allied Command Transformation (hereafter: ACT) of NATO.
- The modernisation of the soldier's individual equipment, of the communication systems, of the armament, of the mine clearing equipment. Finally the introduction de Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (hereafter: UAV) and of the DINGO 2, etc.

In conclusion, General REINIG underlines notably that Luxembourg and its army, will contribute significantly to the common effort of NATO and of the European Union, to prove their solidarity with their partners in both international organisations, considered by Luxembourg as complementary, not as competing.

2.3. Conference by Mr Colin CAMERON, Secretary General of the Assembly of Western European Union / European Security and Defence Assembly, on 27/09/2008⁴

Mr CAMERON first expresses his admiration for EURODEFENSE, which notably formulates concrete proposals for the national decision makers and for the institutions of the European Union.

³ Remark:

- To get General Gaston REINIG's curriculum vitae, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. G. REINIG FR.pdf.
- To get the entire conference by General Gaston REINIG, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. G. REINIG FR.doc.

⁴ Remark:

- To get Mr Colin CAMERON's, curriculum vitae, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. C. CAMERON FR.doc.
- To get the entire conference by Mr Colin CAMERON, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr C. CAMERON's conference EN.doc.

Then he describes the state of things in European Security and Defence Policy (hereafter: ESDP) by giving an historical overview from the Franco-British summit at Saint-Malo on 04/12/1998, through the European Council of Cologne from 03/06/1999 to 04/06/1999, a council allowing the European Union to adopt the organs to carry out the missions of crises management, or Petersberg missions, missions taken up since the Amsterdam Treaty into the Nice Treaty, to arrive finally at the not inconsiderable accomplishments of the ESDP, namely:

- an European doctrine in this field, based on a military and civil crises management, improved during the successive European Councils;
- the 21 operations conducted by the European Union in Africa, the Middle East and in Asia since 2003.

But Mr CAMERON underlined that despite these accomplishments of the ESDP, no one can ignore the structural weaknesses of the ESDP, i.e. the available means could not satisfy the ambitions of the States of the European Union and the international requests, namely:

- lack of financial means for ESDP;
- national capability gaps;
- clumsiness of unanimous decision-making;
- the innovations, the Lisbon Treaty would introduce, are insufficient to develop optimally and in the long-term the ESDP;
- Headline Goals for military capacities (i.e. Headline Goal 2003 and Headline Goal 2010) were fixed, but these military capacities are not used when opportunities occur;
- an European security strategy dated 2003, that had to be amended and adapted to the geopolitical changes of the moment by making up its shortages, namely: the omission of the role of nuclear and space weapons, the ignorance of the continuum between inner and external security in the context of fight against terrorism and cyber-criminality, the lack of interest in geopolitical regions of strategic importance close to the European Union (i.e. Mediterranean Sea and Black Sea) and in emerging, or re-emerging, powers or regions of strategic importance for the European Union (i.e. Russia, China and Asia).

Then Mr CAMERON comes to the main innovations expected from the Lisbon Treaty, if this treaty ever enters into force after the massif "no" to the Constitutional Treaty in France on 29/05/2005 and in the Netherlands on 01/06/2005, and after the massif "no" to the Lisbon Treaty in Ireland, the only country still daring to submit the ratification of the mentioned treaty to a referendum, on 12/06/2008.

If the Lisbon Treaty will be completely ratified, the following opportunities would be opened for ESDP, namely:

- an elected President of the European Council, with a two and a half year mandate, once re-eligible;
- creation of the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, gathering the present functions of High Representative for the CFSP/Secretary-General of WEU and of European Commissioner for External Relations of the European Union;
- creation of a European External Action Service.

Simultaneously the Lisbon Treaty limits the opportunities to progress in ESDP for the following reasons, namely:

- the Common Security and Defence Policy (hereafter: CSDP), formerly ESDP, remains an intergovernmental policy with decision-making based on the rule of unanimity;
- the clause on mutual assistance in case of armed aggression is neither binding nor automatic, and it does not affect the specific character of security and defence policies of certain states of the European Union, and NATO remains the foundation and tool of collective defence for those states which are member of both NATO and European Union;
- the European Defence Agency, mentioned and determined in the Lisbon Treaty, suffers from a too small budget and from a lack of imagination on how to exploit its potential;
- the Permanent Structured Cooperation (hereafter: PSC), specified in the articles 42.6, 44 et 46 of the Lisbon Treaty, is limited in the field of CSDP by the texts enclosed to the treaty, specifying that all reinforced cooperation should be limited in practice to those efforts already made by all the members of the European Union in the limits of the Headline Goal 2010;
- despite the fact that the Lisbon Treaty increases the range of the Petersberg missions, by including common actions in the fields of disarmament, of humanitarian and evacuation missions, of consulting and assistance missions in the field of military affairs, missions of conflict prevention and peacekeeping, combat missions for crises management (including the missions of peace restoration and the missions of stabilisation after armed conflicts), despite the fact that these missions can contribute to the fight against terrorism and despite the fact that the clause of solidarity, binding the members of the European Union in case of a terrorist attack or a natural catastrophe, has been taken over by the Lisbon Treaty; the decision to establish a real common European defence has been delayed by article 42.2 of the Lisbon Treaty to the hypothetical date of an unanimous decision by the European Council to create such a common defence.

This last point induces Mr CAMERON to ask himself about the unlikelihood of a European defence, namely:

- the common defence is not an historic necessity for the member states of the European Union;
- the institutions of the European Union cannot make up for a lack of political will to create a common defence, when geopolitical perceptions of the member states of the European Union diverge.

To conclude, Mr CAMERON explains that above all, the aim of defence policies is to protect the nations and their territories, but since the political decision on how organize defence is foremost taken on the national level (among others by the approval of defence budgets by national parliaments) and since that decision on the national level is not questioned by the Lisbon Treaty, the European Security and Defence Assembly / Assembly of Western European Union will play a special role as an assembly allowing national parliamentarians of the members states of the European Union to keep inter-parliamentarian track of the ESDP, an ESDP that still belongs to the intergovernmental decision-making in the European Union.

He also concludes that, as long as decisions on the organisation of defence are taken on the national level, only an intergovernmental coordination is possible in this field, therefore responsibility for decision-making will remain with the states and with NATO for the member states of this alliance.

But we should realize that, without a security disposition capable to protect its citizens, Europe will never become a global actor of tomorrow's international relations. And survival of the member states of the European Union depends on that capability to protect their citizens.

2.4. Conference by Ms Muriel DOMENACH, Deputy Director of the Centre for Analysis and Forecast of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, on 27/09/2008⁵

In her conference, Ms DOMENACH explains the position of France during its presidency of the Council of Europe in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy (hereafter: CFSP). According to Ms DOMENACH, CFSP has the advantage over other policies of the European Union not to be slowed down by European institutional disputes and by great public opinion movements countering this policy. This more especially that France has changed its position towards NATO.

Europe needs its own security and defence policy, not to be as dependent on the USA, as it was in the past, to solve international crises.

This policy belonging to Europe will be promoted by France at the European Council in December 2008, when, among others, the strategy "A Secure Europe in a Better World" dated 2003 has to be reformed by stressing the following questions, namely:

- the strategic missiles threat,
- the space weapons,
- the cyber criminality and terrorism,
- the resurrection of piracy, threatening the economic prosperity of international trade.

During its presidency, France also intends to develop and to get the military ERASME-system accepted, a system allowing exchanges among countries during officers' professional training, thus promoting understanding, but above all interoperability between operating armies.

France also intends to increase the civil and military capacities placed at disposal by member states of the European Union for crises management, this in the framework of future Headline Goals.

Objectives, France cannot attain without political motivation in all member states of the European Union.

3. Media coverage of the 14IME

Despite the banking crises and the efforts of the Luxembourg government to save banking institutions the weekend from 27/09/2008 to 28/09/2008, events that made the front page of Luxembourg journals, we could get the coverage of the 14IME by the newspaper with the biggest edition in Luxembourg, the *Luxemburger Wort*, this with two articles, one of these covering an entire page.

⁵ Remark:

- To get Ms Muriel DOMENACH's, curriculum vitae, please consult enclosure 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de Mme M. DOMENACH FR.doc.
- To get the entire conference by Ms Muriel DOMENACH, please contact Ms Muriel DOMENACH on E-mail: muriel.domenach@diplomatie.gouv.fr.

We also had the privilege that Mr Joseph LORENT, Journalist and Leader-writer at the *Luxemburger Wort*, Responsible for Special Reports and Special Missions, Management Consultant, Secretary General of the Press Council of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, personally covered the entire 14IME, a privilege that gave us a big audience in the public opinion of Luxembourg.

The aforesaid articles were the following, namely:

- Lorent, Joseph. «Innere und äußere Sicherheit der Union in globalisierter Welt: Für eine gemeinsame Verteidigung der EU.» *Luxemburger Wort* 160, 227 (Saturday/Sunday 27/28 September 2008): 5.
- Lorent, Joseph. «14. Jahrestreffen von EuroDéfense am vergangenen Wochenende in Luxemburg: Sicherheit als Voraussetzung für eine friedliche Fortentwicklung.» *Luxemburger Wort* 160, 228 (Monday 29 September 2008): 4.

Appendix

- 2008.09.27. Calendar 14IME 26-28.09.2008 EN.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr SANTER's CV EN.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. J. SANTER FR.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. G. REINIG FR.pdf
- 2008.09.27. 14RIE, Conférence de M. G. REINIG FR.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de M. C. CAMERON FR.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14IME, Mr C. CAMERON's conference EN.doc
- 2008.09.27. 14RIE, CV de Mme M. DOMENACH FR.doc