Briefing European Council Briefing



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Activation of Article 42(7) TEU France's request for assistance and Member States' responses

SUMMARY

Following the terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015, France requested aid and assistance from the other Member States based on Article 42(7) TEU. This represented the first activation of the mutual assistance clause since the Lisbon Treaty introduced it in 2009. Member States expressed their solidarity and political support to France instantly and unanimously. Within days, several Member States, including Germany and the United Kingdom, decided on a series of contributions. More decisions followed or are still pending, subject, in some cases, to parliamentary approval. This allows France to reconsider its engagements and redeploy its military.

There is also a window of opportunity to strengthen political cooperation, as Member States have expressed their full support for a diplomatic solution to the crisis in Syria. Furthermore, it could contribute to enhancing intelligence-sharing and the stepping up of counter-terrorism cooperation, particularly in the aftermath of the 22 March 2016 terrorist attacks in Brussels.

This is the second update of a <u>briefing</u> published in December 2015 and first <u>updated</u> in April 2016.



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Context

On 16 November 2015, French President François Hollande characterised the Paris terrorist attacks of Friday 13 November 2015 as 'actes de guerre' and announced France's decision to activate Article 42(7) TEU (mutual assistance clause). The French Minister for Defence, Jean-Yves le Drian, used the Foreign Affairs Council meeting in Brussels the next day to ask his counterparts to provide aid and assistance on the basis of the above-mentioned article.

France's request for aid and assistance under Article 42(7) TEU

EU Defence Ministers expressed their 'unanimous and full support to France and their readiness to provide all the necessary aid and assistance' under Article 42(7) TEU when they met on 17 November 2015 at the Foreign Affairs Council. Their <u>conclusions</u> also underlined that 'no formal decision or conclusion by the Council' was legally required to activate the mutual assistance clause. At political level, this was perceived both as a sign of flexibility and as an opportunity to accelerate the decision-making process. At a joint press

conference with the French Minister for Defence, the High Representative/Vice-President of the European Commission, Federica Mogherini, confirmed that 'we need no further formality to move on'. The French Minister for Defence called it first and foremost 'a political act' and announced that discussions with the different Member States would take place at bilateral level.

France's requests centred around two main axes: (1) support – by pooling of capabilities – for France's operations in Iraq and Syria (the Levant); and (2) support to France in other theatres so as to enable it to reduce some of its engagements there and redeploy its troops. Defence Minister Jean-Yves Le Drian mentioned France's engagements in the Sahel, the Central African Republic and Lebanon. (See Table 1 for details of French commitments.)

Article 42(7) TEU stipulates that EU Member States have 'an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power' if a Member State has been 'the victim of armed aggression on its territory'. For a full analysis of the legal implications of the invocation of Article 42(7) TEU, as well as France's decision to revert to this article rather than invoking Article 222 TFEU (solidarity clause) or Article 5 of the Washington Treaty (NATO's mutual defence clause), see the November 2015 EPRS briefing: 'The EU's mutual assistance clause — First ever activation of Article 42(7) TEU'.

As reported by *Europe Defence and Diplomacy (EDD) No 845*, France presented its operational requests to the EU Ambassadors in the Political and Security Committee (PSC) on 24 November 2015. The requests included support for operations in the Levant (Syria and Iraq) and the Sahel, as well as an increase in contributions by EU Member States to EU and UN operations in Africa, in order to relieve French forces. According to the same source, France also called on other Member States to take part in the air strikes in Syria. The above requests are of a military nature, but cooperation in other areas, such as home affairs and intelligence-sharing, is not inconceivable. France has been asking for greater European cooperation in these matters, particularly since the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks of January 2015. Following the Brussels terrorist attacks of 22 March 2016, the French Interior Minister, Bernard Cazeneuve, reiterated the call to strengthen European cooperation on counter-terrorism.

As part of an intensive <u>series of diplomatic visits</u> in the last week of November 2015, President Hollande met with the UK Prime Minister, David Cameron, the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, and the Italian Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi, to discuss the kind of support the three countries are willing to provide under Article 42(7) TEU. On 23 November 2015, President Hollande also saw European Council President Donald Tusk, but this meeting was framed as a broader discussion on <u>European security and external borders</u>, as the European institutions have no role in the activation of the mutual assistance clause.

¹ On 30 March 2016, the French Ministry of Defence announced that it will end <u>Operation Sangaris</u> in the Central African Republic in 2016. France will contribute troops to the EU and UN missions present in the country.

Some academics, such as Professor Alexander Mattelaer speaking to Parliament's Sub-Committee on Security and Defence (SEDE) on 1 December 2015, have deplored the absence of a debate at European Council level on the activation of Article 42(7) TEU and argued that 'if Article 42(7) is really about mutual defence – about the EU going to war - then it would surely be a matter for the European Council to decide, because if declaring war is not about defining the general political direction of the Union, then what is?'.

Member States' responses to France's requests

Table 1 – French military engagements: Levant, Lebanon, Sahel, Central African Republic

Mission	No of troops					
Operation Chammal (Syria & Iraq)	1 000					
Operation Barkhane (Sahel)	3 500					
Operation Sangaris (Central African Republic)	900					
Operation FINUL/Daman (Lebanon)	900					
EUTM Mali (Mali)	15					
EUMAM RCA (Central African Republic)	20					
MINUSMA (Mali)	20					
MINUSCA (Central African Republic)	10					
MINURCAT (Central African Republic & Chad)						
Sources: <u>French Ministry of Defence</u> (20.6.2016); <u>EEAS</u> , <u>UN</u> , <u>B2Pro</u> , EPRS.						

Bilateral discussions have taken place, or are still ongoing, between the French Ambassadors and national authorities (Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Ministers for Defence, Prime Ministers and/or their offices) in the respective capitals regarding the type of assistance to be provided. On several <u>occasions</u>, including the <u>informal meeting</u> on 4-5 February 2016 of EU Ministers of Defence, French Defence Minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, underlined the political solidarity expressed to France following the activation of Article 42(7)TEU.

Several Member States have received specific requests from France (for an overview, see the table below). Thirteen Member States have already decided on their initial contribution. In six Member States – Latvia, Lithuania, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovakia and the United Kingdom – the decision was put to their parliaments. In Slovenia, debates were held in parliamentary committees, whilst in Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Luxembourg, and Romania there was a government decision. In Sweden the government defined the initial contribution, whilst several debates have already taken place in parliament. The Swedish Parliament recently approved the selling of ammunition to France. An increased contribution to EUTM Mali is still under consideration and will require parliamentary approval. The four Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) are considering their possible contribution as a group.

With regard to military assistance, Member States' intentions can be grouped as follows: 1) contributions to airstrikes as part of operations in the Levant (Syria and Iraq); 2) logistical support to the operations in the Levant (Syria and Iraq); 3) support to French operations in Africa; 4) support to EU missions and 5) support to UN missions. The United Kingdom engaged in airstrikes in Syria and announced that it would allow French aircraft to use the Royal Air Force Akrotiri base in Cyprus, for the period during which the Charles de Gaulle aircraft carrier was deployed.² Nine Member States, as outlined in the table below, have decided to increase their contributions to EU and/or UN missions in the Sahel, Mali, the Central African Republic and in the Mediterranean. Lithuania initially considered taking part in the French operation in the Sahel. It finally decided to send up to 40 soldiers to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). Two German Transall C-160 aircrafts were recently deployed in support of MINUSMA, EUTM Mail and the French operation in the Sahel. At the Franco-British Summit, held on 3 March 2016 in Amiens, the two countries evoked the possibility of British support for Operation Barkhane in the Sahel. In the light of the contributions announced so far by Member States, some experts consider the outcome of the bilateral

^{2 2} The French aircraft carrier was withdrawn from theatre in March 2016.

negotiations following the activation of the Article 42(7) TEU clause to be rather disappointing. Furthermore, <u>analysts</u> point to Member States' diverging foreign policy priorities and to the absence of 'strategic consensus', which hampers common action at the European level.

With regard to **non-military cooperation**, several Member States expressed their support for stepping up <u>intelligence-sharing</u> and foreign policy cooperation, the latter within the framework of the <u>peace negotiations on Syria</u>. Further progress is needed in the area of home affairs, where both Member States and the EU institutions have a major role to play (i.e. with regard to exchange of information; justice and criminal matters; <u>counter-terrorism</u>, particularly through the newly established <u>Europol European Counter-Terrorism Centre</u>; border cooperation; and asylum, resettlement and return policies). These issues were further discussed at the European Council meetings in <u>December 2015</u> and <u>March 2016</u>.

Further references

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'EU mutual assistance is more than defence', Biscop, S., Egmont Commentaries, 19 November 2015.

'Invoking the EU's Mutual Assistance Clause. What it says, what it means', Rehrl, J., Egmont Commentaries, 20 November 2015.

'Opérations extérieures. Où sont engagés les soldats européens ? Revue de détail pays par pays', Gros-Verheyde, N., B2Pro, 9 December 2015.

'<u>Le déploiement français en opérations extérieure et intérieure : 31.000 hommes et femmes'</u>, Gros-Verheyde, N., B2Pro, 9 December 2015.

'<u>La clause de défense mutuelle (42.7) activée. Qui se mobilise ? Comment?</u>', Gros-Verheyde, N., B2Pro, 14 December 2015 (updated February 2016).

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Activation of Article 42(7) TEU

Annex 1: Member States' responses to France's requests under Article 42(7) TEU

					Member S	States' contributions			
Member State	Request	Decision	Support to operations in the Levant		French	EU CSDP		Intelligence	Political
			Syria	Iraq	operations in Africa	Operations	UN Operations	cooperation	cooperation
Austria ³									
Belgium	Yes	Yes	Decision on airstrikes in Syria ⁴ 1 frigate escorting French aircraft carrier			Strengthening contribution from 90 to 175 military to EUTM Mali for 4 months Command of EUTM Mali as of 1 July 2016 for 12 months			
Bulgaria	<u>Yes</u>	No							
Croatia	Yes	<u>No</u>				Possibly munitions for Mali			
Cyprus⁵	Ongoing bilateral discussions		Use of airbase and port infrastructure						
Czech Republic ⁶	Yes (Visegrad framework)	Not yet ⁷				A possible increased contribution to EUTM Mali			

³ On 17 December 2015, the Austrian Parliament Main Committee ('Hauptausschuss') <u>extended</u> Austrian participation in EU and UN operations. In addition, Austria will participate in the MINUSMA and EUNAVFOR MED SOPHIA operations. On 23 February 2016 a written <u>parliamentary question</u> was addressed to the Federal Minister for Defence and Sports asking for the type of support offered by Austria to France following the activation of the Article 42(7) TEU clause. Austria <u>offered</u>, pending approval by the Federal Government, 100 flight hours of the air transport system C-130 for EU- or UNmandated missions.

⁴ The Belgian Armed Forces were already <u>engaged</u> in airstrikes against ISIS in Iraq, in rotation with the Dutch Armed Forces, prior to the activation of the Article 42(7) TEU clause. Possible engagement in airstrikes against ISIS in Syria was <u>mentioned</u> on 3 March 2016 in the Belgian House of Representatives. The Belgian Federal Government <u>decided</u> on 13 May 2016 to contribute six F-16s to airstrikes against ISIS in Syria from July 2016 onwards.

⁵ The Cypriot Minister for Defence, Christophoros Fokaides, met with the new French Ambassador to Cyprus, René Troccaz, on 11 March 2016 to discuss <u>bilateral cooperation</u> in security and defence. Cooperation on information sharing has been <u>strengthened</u> following the Paris attacks.

⁶ The four Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) were approached collectively, multilateral <u>discussions</u> are ongoing.

⁷ The Czech Armed Forces' <u>contributions</u> to operations abroad for the 2017-2018 period are currently being <u>discussed</u> in Parliament. This includes the possible strengthening of the Czech contribution to EUTM Mali and the <u>deployment</u> of Special Forces as part of MINUSMA.

		Decision			Member S	tates' contributions			
Member State	Request		Support to operation	ons in the Levant	French operations in	EU CSDP	UN Operations	Intelligence cooperation	Political
			Syria	Iraq	Africa	Operations	он органия		cooperation
Denmark				No assistance envi	saged under Article	42(7) TEU due to the D	anish <u>'opt-out'</u> in CS	SDP.8	
Estonia ⁹	Yes	<u>Yes</u> (decision on 7.12.2015)				Increased contribution to EUTM Mali from 8 to 10 military personnel			
Finland ¹⁰	Yes	<u>Yes</u> – in part (decision on 11.12.2015)		Greater support for training armed forces in Erbil			Possible strengthening of contribution to MINUSMA Possible expansion of contribution to UNIFIL Lebanon		
Germany ¹¹	Yes <u>Meeting</u> <u>Hollande</u> / <u>Merkel</u> (25.11.2015)	Yes (<u>Parliament vote</u> <u>on Syria</u> on 4.12.2015)	- 1 200 troops ¹² - 1 frigate escorting French aircraft carrier / protection at sea (about 300 personnel) 6 Tornado reconnaissance jets / reconnaissance (400 to 500 personnel) air-to-air refuelling (≈150 personnel) additional support staff (≈50 personnel).	Ongoing training of Kurdish Peshmerga fighters	2 Transall C-160 aircraft in support of French activities in the Sahel		Increased support to MINUSMA, by 650 soldiers	Military intelligence cooperation	Support to the diplomatic process in Vienna

⁸ Since April 2016, Denmark has been contributing to airstrikes in Syria following a <u>US request</u>. Denmark has been part of the US-led coalition against ISIS since October 2015.

⁹ Estonia will <u>contribute</u> to the US-led broad-based international coalition against ISIS, by possibly providing <u>up to 10 servicemen</u> to train Iraqi security forces.

¹⁰ Finland has also offered logistical support in the form of <u>flight hours</u> from its <u>Strategic Airlift Capability</u> (SAC) share.

¹¹ For an <u>overview</u> of the German contribution, see the publication by the German Bundestag research service of 21 March 2016.

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ 1 200 troops, no combat role, until 31.12.2016 at the latest.

					Member S	States' contributions			
Member State	Request	Decision	Support to operation	Support to operations in the Levant		French EU CSDP		Intelligence	Political
			Syria	Iraq	Africa	Operations	UN Operations	cooperation	cooperation
Greece	Ongoing bilateral discussions	No	No military involvement					Existing intelligence cooperation	Support to the peacemaking process in Syria
Hungary	Yes (Visegrad framework)					Up to 15 personnel to EUTM Mali	Parliament vote on extending peacekeeping missions in Somalia and CAR		
Ireland	<u>Bilateral</u> discussions	No				Possible increased participation to EUTM Mali	Possible participation in MINUSMA	Enhance intelligence- sharing. Strengthen the fight against terrorism.	
Italy	Meeting Hollande / Renzi (26.11.2015)		No military involvement envisaged at this stage.	Already engaged in Iraq. Helicopters and 130 military staff in Erbil No airstrikes envisaged at this stage.			Increase by 100- 150 of military participation in UNIFIL Lebanon.		Support to the peace-talks on Syria
Latvia	<u>Yes</u> (30.11.2015)	Yes (14.1.2016)	Possible engagement of up to 10 soldiers in the fight against ISIS	Ongoing training of Iraqi Armed Forces		Possible increased support to EUTM Mali	Participation of up to 3 military in MINUSMA (Parliament approval) ¹³		

¹³ In June 2016, the Latvian parliament <u>approved</u> the government's <u>request</u> to extend participation in MINUSMA.

			Member States' contributions							
Member State	Request	Decision	Support to operations in the Levant		French operations in	EU CSDP	UN Operations	Intelligence	Political	
			Syria	Iraq	Africa	Operations	ON Operations	cooperation	cooperation	
Lithuania	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (22.12.2016)					Participation of up to 40 soldiers in MINUSMA (Parliament approval ¹⁴)			
Luxembourg ¹⁵		<u>Yes</u> (9.12.2015)	No participation envisaged in Syria.			Increased participation from 1 to 2 officers in EUTM Mali Financial contribution to capacity-building projects.		Fostering counter- terrorism cooperation		
Malta		No		<u>Assistance</u>	will be provided bu	t with full respect for M	alta's neutrality.			

¹⁴ The Lithuanian parliament approves the maximum number of soldiers deployable on external operations. The maximum number set for 2015 was 265 soldiers, while only up to 130 soldiers are to be deployed in external operations for the 2016-2017 period.

¹⁵ The Luxemburg financial contribution in response to France's request for assistance under Article 42(7) TEU is <u>estimated</u> at €2 million.

		Decision	Member States' contributions								
Member State	Request		Support to operations in the Levant		French operations in	EU CSDP	UN Operations	Intelligence	Political		
			Syria	Iraq	Africa	Operations	ON Operations	cooperation	cooperation		
Netherlands ¹⁶	<u>Yes</u>	Yes (executive decision 29.1.2016/ parliament approval 10.2.2016)	Decision on airstrikes in Syria ¹⁷	Intensification of training of armed forces ¹⁸ Provision of nonlethal support to the Iraqi armed forces Contribution to the armament of Peshmerga in Iraq		Increase contribution to EUCAP SAHEL Mali		Intelligence sharing / border surveillance	Measures supportive to the peace process in Syria		
Poland ¹⁹	Ongoing bi- and multilateral (Visegrad framework) consultations	<u>Not yet</u>	Logistical support to be considered.					Intelligence support	Humanitarian aid for Syrian refugees		
Portugal ²⁰	Yes					Possible contribution to EUNAVFOR MED/Sophia (2nd semester 2016)	1 squad with up to 160 soldiers to MINUSCA Possible contribution of 1 C-130 Hercules in Mali.				

 $^{^{\}rm 16}$ A possible contribution to Mali and the Sahel is currently $\underline{\text{examined}}.$

¹⁷ The Dutch Armed Forces were already <u>engaged</u> in airstrikes against ISIS in Iraq, in rotation with the Belgian Armed Forces, prior to the activation of the Article 42(7) TEU clause.

 $^{^{\}rm 18}$ A Mobile Support Team of about 25 personnel has been deployed since 1 April 2016

¹⁹ On 4 January 2016, the Polish Minister for Defence <u>declared</u> that the Polish Military Special Forces' presence in different theatres could be strengthened. As of <u>20 June 2016</u> until 31 December 2016, Poland will contribute two Polish contingents, four F-16s (aerial reconnaissance) and Special Forces (advice and training to Iraqi Armed Forces) to the US-led coalition against ISIS.

²⁰ A possible contribution of 32 soldiers to train Iraqi Armed Forces within the framework of the international coalition against ISIS is planned for the second semester of 2016.

		Decision			Member S	tates' contributions			
Member State	Request		Support to operations in the Levant		French operations in	EU CSDP	UN Operations	Intelligence	Political
			Syria	Iraq	Africa	Operations	ON Operations	cooperation	cooperation
Romania	Yes ²¹	<u>Yes</u>	Possible use of airfields; no further official information.	<u>Training of Armed</u> <u>Forces</u>		Increased participation from 2 to 10 personnel in EUTM Mali Increased contribution from 2 to 5 in EUMAM RCA	Up to 15 personnel in MINUSMA		Humanitarian aid for Syria / only remaining EU Embassy in Damascus
Slovakia		Yes (executive decision 27.11.2015/ parliament approval 1.12.2015)				Participation in EUTM MALI (up to 5 military personnel / 6 months) ²²			
Slovenia	Yes	Yes (debate in the parliamentary committees 22.11.2015)				Participation in EUTM Mali with 5 military personnel			
Spain	No (pending the appointment of a new government)	No	Possible support in Syria.			Possible contribution to Mali or the Central African Rep.		Exchange of information with antiterrorist services	

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A report issued in February 2016 by the French Senate confirms that Romania has decided on its contribution.
 On 6 March 2016, two military experts were deployed for six months to EUTM Mali.

	Request	Decision	Member States' contributions						
Member State					French operations in	EU CSDP Operations	UN Operations	Intelligence cooperation	Political cooperation
Sweden ²³	Yes	Yes	Syria	Stepping up support in training Iraqi Armed Forces Possible logistics	Africa	Possible increased contribution to EUTM Mali Continue to contribute to EUMAM CAR (2 staff officers)	Envisages extending its MINUSMA contribution (250 deployed personnel) beyond 30 June 2016, pending parliamentary approval. Tactical air transport (1 TP84) in support of MINUSMA. Possibly one C- 130 Hercules in support of MINUSMA.	Closer cooperation / information exchange on countering radicalisatio n	
United Kingdom ²⁴	Yes <u>Meeting</u> <u>Hollande</u> / <u>Cameron</u> (23.11.2015)	Yes	Airstrikes started immediately after parliament vote on 2.12.2015.	 French aircraft use of the <u>RAF Akrotiri</u> <u>airbase</u> in Cyprus.²⁵ <u>HMS Defender airdefence destroyer.</u> Air-to-air refuelling. 	Possible contribution to Operation Barkhane				Diplomatic support at the UN regarding Resolution 2249

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²³ In <u>December 2015</u> the Swedish Government announced its possible contributions, most of which will be effective from late spring/early summer 2016 or even 2017. The increased contribution to EUTM Mali, still under discussion, will require parliamentary approval. As part of <u>logistical support</u>, Sweden offers flight hours from its <u>Strategic Airlift Capability</u> share as well as military equipment. On 19 May 2016, the Swedish Parliament <u>approved</u> the Government's <u>proposal</u> on <u>selling ammunition</u> to France. A review of the Swedish contribution will take place in autumn 2016, in light of existing needs and in accordance with what other Member States have pledged. Several debates were held in the Swedish parliament on <u>20 and 26 November 2015</u>, <u>22</u> and <u>26 January</u> and <u>11 February 2016</u>.

²⁴ Unofficial information on possible support to EUTM Mali and on enhanced engagement in Chad and Nigeria.

²⁵ The French aircraft carrier was withdrawn from theatre in March 2016.