

**History and Future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU
Missions and Operations**

Bachelor Thesis

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Abstract and Keywords in English Language

After World War II, the view of the most famous politicians of the 20th century started to change. The Fathers of the European Union expressed their opinion to have an even closer Union, which would include security and defence policy.

The aim of this thesis is to cover the history of the Common Security and Defence Policy in order to predict the future for the 21st century. The European Union tries to avoid conflicts in some areas outside the Union by organizing Missions and Operations. A lot of challenges appear all over the world and the European Union is not an exception area. The European Union Global Strategy tries to point out the priorities of the Union.

The author gives an answer to the question: What is the future of CSDP with special consideration onto EU Missions and Operations? The thesis covers the history of CSDP, the ongoing and completed Missions and Operations, the European Union Global Strategy which was signed in 2016 and tries to predict the future in short-terms.

Keywords: Lisbon Treaty, History of CSDP, Security and Defence Policy, ESDP, CFSP, CSDP, EU Missions and Operations, EUGS, European Union's priorities, Future of CSDP.

Abstract und Schlagworte in deutscher Sprache

Nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges begannen sich die Ansichten der bedeutungsvollsten Politiker des 20. Jahrhunderts zu verändern. Die Väter der Europäischen Union drückten ihre Meinungen in Richtung einer engeren Union aus, welche auch die Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik beinhaltete.

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, die Geschichte der Gemeinsamen Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik (GSVP) anzuführen, um die Zukunft für das 21. Jahrhundert zu erläutern. Die Europäische Union versucht, Konflikte in gewissen Regionen außerhalb der Union durch die Organisation von Missionen und Operationen zu vermeiden. Viele Herausforderungen sind in der ganzen Welt zu bewältigen, die Europäische Union stellt dabei keine Ausnahme dar. Die Globale Strategie der Europäischen Union versucht, diesbezüglich die Prioritäten herauszuarbeiten.

Die Verfasserin gibt in weitere Folge eine Antwort auf die Frage: Wie stellt sich die Zukunft der GSVP unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der EU Missionen und Operationen dar? Die Arbeit beinhaltet die Geschichte der GSVP, die laufenden und die beendeten Missionen und Operationen, die Globale Strategie der EU, welche im Jahr 2016 unterzeichnet wurde und versucht, diesbezüglich die nahe Zukunft vorherzusagen.

Schlagworte: Verträge, Lissabon Vertrag, Geschichte der GSVP, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik, ESVP, GASP, EU Missionen und Operationen, EUGS, Prioritäten der Europäischen Union, Zukunft der GSVP.

Περίληψη και λέξεις κλειδιά στην Ελληνική γλώσσα

Μετά το Β' Παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, η οπτική των πιο διάσημων πολιτικών του 20^{ου} αιώνα άρχισε να αλλάζει. Οι Πατέρες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης εξέφρασαν την άποψή τους για ακόμα πιο βαθιά Ένωση που θα περιελάμβανε την πολιτική ασφάλειας και άμυνας.

Ο σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής είναι να καλύψει την ιστορία της Κοινής Πολιτικής Άμυνας και Ασφαλείας (ΚΠΑΑ) ώστε να είναι δυνατή η πρόβλεψη για το τι μέλλει γενέσθαι στον 21^ο αιώνα. Η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση προσπαθεί να αποφύγει τις συγκρούσεις σε ορισμένες περιοχές εκτός Ένωσης οργανώνοντας Αποστολές και Επιχειρήσεις. Πολλές προκλήσεις έχουν παρουσιασθεί σε όλο τον κόσμο και η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση δεν αποτελεί εξαίρεση. Η Παγκόσμια Πολιτική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης προσπαθεί να τονίσει τις προτεραιότητες της Ένωσης.

Η συγγραφέας θα δώσει μια απάντηση στο εξής ερώτημα: Ποιο είναι το μέλλον της ΚΠΑΑ και συγκεκριμένα τις Αποστολές και Επιχειρήσεις; Η θέση καλύπτει την ιστορία της ΚΠΑΑ, τις Αποστολές και Επιχειρήσεις που είναι σε εξέλιξη, καθώς και αυτές που θα ακολουθήσουν, την Παγκόσμια Στρατηγική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης που υπογράφηκε το 2016 και προσπαθεί να κάνει μια πρόβλεψη για το μέλλον.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Συνθήκη της Λισαβώνας, Ιστορία της ΚΠΑΑ, Εξωτερική Πολιτική και Πολιτική Ασφαλείας, ΕΠΠΑ, ΚΕΠΠΑ, ΚΠΑΑ, Αποστολές και Επιχειρήσεις της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, Παγκόσμια Στρατηγική της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, προτεραιότητες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης, μέλλον της ΚΠΑΑ

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2. Preface¹

The author was always interested in international relations and European studies. During the last 70 years, a lot of changes took place and new international Organisations were created. All these changes in the political scene have consequences to each state all around the world.

Specifically, in 1945 one of the most important Organisations - the United Nations (UN) was established in order to prevent another conflict.² Later in 1951, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was formally established which later became the European Union (EU) when the Treaty of Maastricht came into force in 1993. One of the most important structures of the EU is the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). It forms an integral part of the EU's foreign policy. The aim of the policy is the establishment of a common European Defence capability, which is one of the main parts of knowledge for the students of international and European studies.

Furthermore, the author would like to use this opportunity to thank Col Dr. Harald Gell and Mag. Christian Thuller for all the help and the support during the work. Special thanks are also presented to Dean of School of Social Science, Humanities and Art, University of Macedonia / Greece – Prof. Ilias Kouskouvelis and Lecturer of the same university Kalliopi Chainoglou, for their help and special remarks.

1 Unless noted otherwise this chapter is created by the author.

2 Cf.: United Nations. (1945). Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice. United Nations. Ch. 1, Art. 1 (1).

3. Preamble

In June 2016, the European Union Global Strategy was adopted. What does it mean to the security and defence policy of the Union? Which priorities have decided the European Union to include? Will the ongoing Missions and Operations continue to exist? How the future of the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union will look like?

All these small questions will be covered in this thesis. Furthermore, details will be given about the history of Common Security and Defence Policy, about the ongoing and completed Missions and Operations and about the European Union Global Strategy.

The world is changing every day and new challenges appear everywhere. The European Union should have a Common Security and Defence Policy to deal with all new challenges. Only when the Union will express its opinion with one voice the problems could be solved. Only when the Union will act together the threats can be managed.

4. Introduction

4.1 The Concept of the Thesis

The main aim of this thesis is to cover all the necessary information to its readers in order to understand the main question. It is really important to analyse the key points, which step by step will explain what the future of Common Security and Defence Policy is.

It is always difficult to predict the future, especially nowadays when even a small political change has an influence to everything. The Brexit will influence the European Union of course. The new President of the United States can also influence the European Union's policy. The next elections in France may change much more in the European Union if Le Pen will become the next president. These are only the main aspects which can influence not only the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy but to the European Union as a union.

In spite of that, in this chapter the author covers the necessary knowledge to understand the topic. The thesis is created in a logical framework, which gives the possibility to understand the timeline of the history development and the events that took place to the readers.

Moreover, all the information is updated which means that after finalising the thesis, it will be useful for those who try to find the basic information about CSDP.

Before starting the analysis of the thesis, the author appoints which scientific community the thesis' topic addresses. It is important to know who could be the readers of this thesis. In that way the topic and the answer to the question are analysed in a specific way, using specific words and explanations. In this chapter it is also explained the importance of the topic for a specific community.

The Current State of Research describes the state of the art with respect to the chosen topic. The author explains which research results have been achieved so far, explaining in detail the treaties, which have been signed with special consideration to CSDP. It is important to conduct a good research before starting the thesis to avoid any repeated research and choose a topic that has already been covered by another author.

The following chapter – the Research Gap – is based on the research that was made in the previous step. The main point of the research was to find a topic or even a question which nobody has analysed before. Of course it is impossible to find a topic which will not be touched in any other scientific paper or thesis. Although the thesis should find a certain part of the research that is still in its infancy. This chapter also describes in detail, which parts have not been researched so far and as a conclusion it refers to the importance of the author's topic to close the gap.

The Research Question is the next chapter of the thesis. If the research question can be answered, there is no reason to continue writing the thesis as far as the research gap is closed. In this chapter, the research question is created which will be the guideline through the entire thesis. To answer the main question, it is possible to divide it into smaller ones. It should be mentioned that the research question must not be answered with “yes” or “no”.

After clarifying the question, which the author should answer, the methodology chapter is created. The chapter describes how the author intends to yield the result. It refers to the starting point, the route of research and the finish line of it. This chapter also includes the scientific methodology, which was used to answer the research question. The end of this chapter is concluded by a diagram to give the readers the possibility to understand the description of the methodology more easily.

The Research and Results of Research include the answer to the research gap in detail. The results that the author provides are in a logical order and answer the small question that has been questioned in order to cover the research gap question. In this chapter, details about Missions and Operations, financing mechanism, European Union Global Strategy and the future of CSDP will be given.

The following chapter discusses all the author's results by author. She describes how easy the results were found and explains if the research question is covered or not.

It is important to have a chapter connected to the restriction of validity. It is necessary to discuss the validity of the research. There must be a clear statement for which parts, for whom etc. the author's research is valid and for which parts, for whom etc. it is not valid.

The Benefit for Scientific Discipline chapter describes which importance the research may have to a certain scientific community. The chapter also describes who or what may have a benefit from the research results.

The following chapter is named Prospects. The results of the author's research could be a starting point for another research in the future done by other persons. Probably not all questions can be answered because of certain circumstances but it can be answered by further researches.

The last chapter is the Summary, which includes all the text modules, no new arguments are included within this chapter. Actually, it is just a chapter where all the main points of the thesis are mentioned once more in a comprising way.

Concluding the thesis, a Postface chapter brings some personal statements and acknowledgements, which the author would like to share with the reader.

4.2 Terms and Definitions

It is necessary before starting the analysis of the thesis to describe some main terms and definitions:

Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP): *“is an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy”*.³ It covers the defence, military and civilian crisis management aspects of European Union Policy.

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP): A European Union's policy, which covers all areas of foreign policy and all questions relating to the European Union's security.

High Representative and Vice President (HR/VP): The chief co-ordinator and representative of CFSP within the European Union. The position was created under the Treaty of Amsterdam and now it is hold by Federica Mogherini.

3 Treaty of Lisbon (2007). Consolidated Reader-Friendly Edition of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) as amended by the Treaty of Lisbon (2007). Denmark (2008). Foundation for EU Democracy. Title 5, Ch. 2, Art. 42 (1).

Mission: In the context of this thesis, it means a European Union deployment with civilian implication within the frame of CSDP.

Operation: In the context of this thesis, it means a European Union deployment with military or defence implications.

5. Linkage to Scientific Disciplines

According to the author, the main scientific linkage is the international relations analysis. Specifically, the topic of this thesis will interest all those who connect with the EU.

During the period of the time, many things which are related to EU had changed. From the early 1951 the ECDC was established with the Treaty of Paris. In 1958, the Treaty of Rome established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC). After 1992, with the Maastricht Treaty, the EU was created including three basic pillars. In December 2007, the Lisbon Treaty amended the founding treaties and from then the EU – as we know nowadays – has existed. One of the policies, which was connected to ECDC, was the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), later renamed into CSDP.

Of course, the chosen topic is related to history and the development of EU. We should know history to define our future. As Confucius said – ‘‘study the past if you would define the future’’

This is important for everyone who is studying international relations and European studies. The thesis refers to the basic steps of the EU integration, which everyone who is connected with European studies or has a connection to this international Organisation, which is established in Europe, should know.

Furthermore, the bachelor thesis is linked to everyone who is connected with the EU, and especially to those who work in CSDP. They will have the possibility to understand clearly the history of CSDP and be motivated to think about what can be changed in the future.

6. Current State of Research

In this chapter, the author aims to describe the current state of other studies, especially on the history of CSDP. The subject has already been approached from multiple angles. However, to avoid re-inventing the wheel, the author is trying to analyse in detail the history development and the way of integration of the EU. The historical part of the analysis includes treaties, which were signed during the period. Such a detailed clarification can make clear the main points of the chronological development of the EU. Therefore, the build-up of this theoretical model is also explained in this chapter with the intention of providing the reader with better understanding of its purpose.

6.1 The Cold War

By the end of the WWII, the political establishment of Communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe gave rise to a feeling of apprehension in Western Europe. The reactions of the most governments in Europe was immediately, which have confirmed with the huge amount of treaties signed during the period after WWII. This was also the period when the fundamental steps for the EU were established. In a declaration of 9th May 1950, the original idea was conceived by Jean Monnet. The main reason of this declaration was to limit the production of coal and steel, as far as there were the two raw materials for providing industry because these materials were the basic ones for weapons production.

6.1.1 Brussels Treaty (1948/1948)⁴

On the 17th March of 1948 the Treaty of Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration Self- Defence was signed between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The Treaty of Brussels entered into force on the 25th of August the same year.

4 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Treaty between Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, signed at Brussels, on March 17th, 1948. URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/the_brussels_treaty_17_march_1948-en-3467de5e-9802-4b65-8076-778bc7d164d3.html. [10-10-16].

The most important purpose, which concludes the Treaty of Brussels, was that it wanted to reaffirm the faith in fundamental human rights, to fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, as well as to cooperate and coordinate their efforts to create in Western Europe a firm basis for European economic recovery. The main aim of the Treaty was to promote the economic recovery and to eliminate the economic conflicts. According to the Article II, the High Contracting Parties will make every effort to promote the attainment of a higher standard of living by their peoples and to develop on corresponding the social lines.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, if any of the High Contracting Parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other High Contracting Parties will support the Party with all the military and other aid and assistance in their power. It is also important that none of the High Contracting Parties will conclude any alliance or participate in any coalition directed against any other of the High Contracting Parties. However, the Treaty of Brussels provides only the cooperation between the contracting parties, which will be effected through the Consultative Council. Actually, this Treaty leads to the creation of an Organisation known as the Western European Union. Also, take into consideration that the second name of the “Western Union” Organisation is “Brussels Treaty Organization”.

The Treaty of Brussels has been a precursor of NATO as far as it promised European mutual defence. On the other hand, their main difference was that the Western Union provided European mutual defence pact primarily against Germany, whereas NATO, which was founded in 1949 does not only include parts of Europe but also North America. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the 4th of April in 1949 was a further step towards more effective military cooperation between Europe and the United States. In addition to the five signatory states of the Treaty of Brussel, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Portugal, Norway and the United States also joined NATO. The North Atlantic Treaty entered into force on 23rd August 1949 and opened the way for the defence of Western Europe on a transatlantic basis.⁵

5 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Historical events in the European integration process (1945-2014). URL:<http://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/654f1fb4-2df6-43d5-9872-f022cb6d1ffa>. [10-10-16].

After some months, in September 1948, the parties of the Treaty of Brussels decided to create a Western Union Defence Organization. The Brussels Treaty has been scheduled to remain in force for 50 years. After the expiry of period of fifty years, each of the High Contracting Parties shall have the right to cease to be a party thereto provided that he shall have previously given one year's notice of denunciation to the Belgium Government.

6.1.2 Paris Treaty (1951/1952)⁶

On 18th of April in 1951, in Paris, the representatives from Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and West Germany signed the Treaty for establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The ECSC subsequently became part of the European Union. The Paris Treaty came into force on the 23rd July 1952 and was expired after fifty years.

The European Coal and Steel Community was based on a common market, common objectives and common institutions. Its mission was related to the economic expansion, the development of employment as well as the improvement of the living standard in the participating countries through the institution, in harmony with the general economy of the Members States and of a common market.

The author should refer that it was the first time when several institutions were responsible for the pooling of Europe's coal and steel resources for maintaining peace in Europe, such as a High Authority assisted by a Consultative Committee, a Common Assembly, a Court of Justice and a Special Council of Ministers in the area of Europe. The founding father of the ECSC, Jean Monnet, was the first President of the High Authority (1952 – 1954).

6 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_coal_and_steel_community_paris_18_april_1951-en-11a21305-941e-49d7-a171-ed5be548cd58.html. [10-10-16].

6.1.3 Rome Treaty (1957/1958)⁷

The Treaty of Rome or Treaty establishing the European Economic Community was an international agreement that led to the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC). The Treaty establishing the European Economic Community as well as the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or EURATOM) was signed by the representatives of the six Member States of the ECSC on the 25th of March in 1957 and came into force on the 1st of January the next year.⁸

Since the Treaty of Rome was signed, the treaty's name has been retrospectively amended on several occasions. The Maastricht Treaty of 1992 removed the word "economic" from the official title. Later, the Treaty of Lisbon renamed it into the "Treaty on the functioning of the European Union".

6.1.4 Merger Treaty (1965/1967)

The Treaty was signed in Brussels on the 8th April 1965 and it came into force approximately two years later in 1967. With this Treaty, the executive bodies of the European Coal and Steel Community, European Atomic Energy Community and European Economic Community were combined into a single institutional structure. It set out that the Commission of the EEC and the Council of the EEC should replace the Commission and Council of the EURATOM and the High Authority as well as the Council of the ECSC. Many analysts refer to the Merger Treaty as to the beginning of the modern European Union. In 1997, the Merger Treaty was abrogated by the Amsterdam Treaty.

7 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Treaty establishing the European Economic Community. URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_establishing_the_european_economic_community_rome_25_march_1957-en-cca6ba28-0bf3-4ce6-8a76-6b0b3252696e.html. [10-10-16].

8 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Historical events in the European integration process (1945-2014). Chronology of the European revival and the Rome Treaty. URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/ece2ffe3-374f-4d47-82e4-a88bda87a948#4fb59ef7-9500-4448-9dd7-7fb10eca5af2_en&overlay [11-10-16].

6.1.5 Schengen Treaty (1985/1995)

The Schengen Treaty was signed by five of the ten Member States of the European Economic Community on the 14th of June in 1985. The main aim of this Treaty was to create a Schengen Area in which internal border checks are to be abolished. It should have been an area where citizens of the Schengen Treaty can have the possibility to cross borders from any fixed checkpoint and harmonization of visa policies was foreseen as well. Later on, in 1990 the Schengen Convention proposed the complete abolition of the internal border controls and visa policy.

6.1.6 Single European Act (1986/1987)

The Single European Act (SEA) was signed in two different cities, in Luxembourg on the 17th February and in The Hague on the 28th February 1986 by the twelve members of the EU. The SEA was not signed by the twelve members of the EU immediately, it was signed in two different days because of the Danish referendum. Denmark, Greece and Italy signed the SEA in The Hague. On the 1st of July in 1987, the Single European Act entered into force. According to the Single European Act, the European Community should have established a single market until the 31st December 1992 and should have started the planning the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy.

Although it should be referred that the process until the signing of the SEA was not easy. This is also the reason that two days were needed for signing the Act. Before the signing of the Act, the Danish Parliament rejected the draft Act. After that, Danish Government called a national referendum on the whole Act. Without waiting for the referendum result in Denmark, the Council fixed the 17th of February as the date for signing the SEA. On the other hand, the Italian and the Greek governments informed that they were not responsible to sign the Treaty before the Danish result from the referendum was known. 56.2% of the Danish population voted in favour for the Treaty on the 27th of February in 1986.

The Single European Act envisaged the establishment of a European area without

existing internal frontiers, which can be used by 300,000,000 consumers.⁹ Also, for the first time, the SEA codified the most practices and procedures, which had been developed since the beginning of the 1970ies. Moreover, with the signing of the SEA, the European social area was established. The Members States had the opportunity to confirm their desire to promote worker's health and safety.

6.2 Post-Cold War

In 1989, the end of the Cold War was a time of major geopolitical upheaval in Eastern Europe. The USSR was divided into 15 separate republics and economic and – because of that – military structures, which had existed, were dissolved in 1991. On the other hand, the United States of America and NATO were the only power who could support the countries in Europe. Moreover, the situation in Europe had changed – many countries, which were under the influence of the Soviet Union, became independent then. During the period after WWII countries from Europe made an effort to change some things as it is referred before according to the Treaties. The most important facts – which were connected to the integration of the European Union – were included in the last four treaties. They will be will analysed in detail below.

6.2.1 Maastricht Treaty (1992/1993)¹⁰

The Maastricht Treaty signed on the 7th February 1992 entered into force the next year.¹¹ With the Maastricht Treaty or Treaty on European Union, the Member States of the European Communities established a European Union. The Maastricht Treaty has been amended by the treaties of Amsterdam, Nice and Lisbon. The original European Economic Community Treaty was renamed to Treaty on the European Community to

9 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Historical events in the European integration process (1945-2014). The provision of the Single European Act. URL: <http://www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/23bbb26c-a69c-40f1-954c-6b3cb1392b4d>. [11-10-16].

10 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Treaty on European Union (Maastricht, 7 February 1992).URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_on_european_union_maastricht_7_february_1992-en-2c2f2b85-14bb-4488-9ded-13f3cd04de05.html. [12-10-16].

11 Cf. Kanellopoulos, P. (2010). Το Δίκαιο της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης Η Συνθήκη της Λισσαβώνας. (The European Union Law The Treaty of Lisbon). Athens-Thessaloniki. Sakkoula. ISBN 978-960-445-578-2. P. 74.

signify that it set new objectives over and above the original economic ones, notably for monetary and social integration.¹² The exception applied on United Kingdom, which decided not to take part on these news goals and to Denmark, which decided with the approach of a referendum to abstain.

The Treaty was based on three European Communities, a common foreign and security policy and on cooperation in the fields of justice and home affairs. The institutional framework represented in the form of a Greek temple with three pillars. The second pillar of the Treaty on European Union repealed the provisions on European Political Cooperation (EPC) and introduced a genuine common foreign and security policy (CFSP). It was the first time when the European Community referred to CFSP.

The main bodies, which collaborate on CFSP, are the European Council, the Commission, the Council of the EU and the Political Committee. CFSP also has the support of the Presidency of the Council, assisted by the Member State, which held the Presidency during the previous six months and the one which will hold the next Presidency. The decision making process for the measures adopted under the CFSP is essentially based on unanimity.

Finally yet importantly should be mentioned that a unique institutional framework consisting of the European Parliament, the Council, the Commission, the Court of Justice and the Court of Auditors. The Union equips itself with the resources required for it to attain its objectives and successfully carries out through its policies.

6.2.2 Amsterdam Treaty (1997/1999)¹³

The Treaty of Amsterdam officially amended the Treaty of the European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and acted related to them. It was signed on the 2nd October 1997 and entered into force on the 1st May 1999.¹⁴ The most remarkable issue according to the Treaty of Amsterdam was that Members States

12 Cf.: Mousis, N. (2011). *Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση: δίκαιο, οικονομία, πολιτικές*. (Access to European Union: law, economics, policies). Rixensart. ISBN 978-2-9601045-0-9. P. 14ff.

13 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page The Amsterdam Treaty. URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_of_amsterdam_2_october_1997-en-578ebb8e-d641-4650-b1e3-3b3a795e01c9.html. [12-10-16].

14 Cf. Kanellopoulos, P. (2010). *Op. Cit.* P. 75.

devolved certain power from national governments to the European Parliament. This change gave the possibility to the European Parliament to make decisions in topics such as legislation on immigrants, enacting foreign and security policy, adopt civil and criminal laws and implementation in institutional changes for the expansion of new Member States, which would like to join the EU.

One more time, also the ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty took a long time. Only after two referendums and 13 decisions of parliaments, the Member States succeeded in the end of the procedure. According to the Maastricht Treaty, the European Union was separated into a three-pillar structure, the Treaty of Amsterdam made change in the third pillar. Thus, it introduced a new system of numbering for the provisions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Communities.

The Treaty of Amsterdam made a lot of changes in the way of voting within the institutions' area. In addition, it should be mentioned that this Treaty comparing to the Treaty of Maastricht did not make so many changes in the power of the European Coal and Steel Community or the European Atomic Energy Community. According to the Treaty of Amsterdam, in the second pillar the post of the High Representative for the CFSP was created.

6.2.3 Nice Treaty (2001/2003)¹⁵

The new expansion of the European Union represented a challenge. The purpose of signing the Treaty of Nice on the 26th of February in 2001 was to prepare the institutions of the European Community (European Union). The Nice Treaty revised the Treaty of Amsterdam for the following four institutional matters: the replacement of unanimity by qualified majority in decision-making procedures, the enhanced cooperation of some Member States, the weighting of votes in the Council and the size and the composition of the Commission.¹⁶

For these reasons, a lot of changes took place, especially in the way of voting. It extended the qualified majority voting to new subjects, by doing so the role of the

15 Homepage of Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. Page Treaty of Nice.URL: http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/treaty_of_nice_26_february_2001-en-7ceddc3f-08bb-4794-90a3-281f03540a5b.html. [12-10-16].

16 Cf.: Mousis, N. (2011). Op. Cit. P. 18.

European Parliament increased with a co-decision procedure with the Council.¹⁷ In addition, the weighting of the votes of each Member State within the Council was redefined. Moreover, it was introduced for the first time that a population element was implemented. By specifying, that decisions taken by qualified majority based on a Commission proposal should gather at least 72% of the total votes of the members and representing at least 62% of the total population of the Union. The Nice Treaty entered into force on the 1st of February in 2003. It took almost two years to ratify the Treaty because it was held back by a negative result of a referendum in Ireland.

Thus – as it was already mentioned in the Treaty of Maastricht – the Political Committee, according to the Nice Treaty became the Political and Security Committee and could be authorized by the Council and from then on, under the umbrella of the second pillar, it was possible to take decisions in order to take political control and strategic direction of EU-led operations.

6.2.4 Lisbon Treaty (2007/2009)

After the expansion of new ten countries in 2004, it was necessary to revise the institutional framework of the European Union. The Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe was signed in Rome on the 29th October 2004 but would never enter into force. The European Union was plunged into an unprecedented crisis, which lasted for two years. On the 23rd of June in 2007, the Heads of State or Government meeting within the European Council agreed to convene a new Intergovernmental Conference as soon as possible. After some meetings, the Heads of State or Government signed the Treaty of Lisbon on the 13th of December in 2007, which entered into force on the 1st of December in 2009.¹⁸

The aim of the Treaty of Lisbon was to amend the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Communities. Moreover, all references to the notion of ‘Constitution’ were removed. The three pillars of the European Union merged. The European Union granted legal personality. The meaning of Communities seized to exist.

17 Cf. Kanellopoulos, P. (2010). Op. Cit. P. 76.

18 Ibid. P. 80.

The Treaty provided the formal recognition of the European Council as an institution and the creation of the post of a President of the Council. With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the European Union's European Security and Defence Policy has been renamed into Common Security and Defence Policy. It is also important to refer that the Treaty of Lisbon is responsible for the creation of the post of a High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission. According to the Treaty, the role of national parliaments became stronger.

6.2.5 Summary of the Treaties

The end of WWII changed the political way of thinking in many countries, especially in Europe. The main idea of Jean Monnet was to limit the production of coal and steel especially in Germany. In that way, it will be possible to avoid any conflict in Europe. The founding fathers of the European Union tried to make a union where the co-operation can grow through a peaceful, united and prosperous Europe.¹⁹ It was planned as a co-operation, which will develop the area of economy, finance, politics and security.

With all the Treaties that have been analysed above we can see that each one of them tried to cover at least one area and became more clear and specific. The last Treaty, which was signed in 2007 by the Members States of European Union, modified the existing Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community.

One of the most interesting areas of co-operation in the European Union is the sphere of security. To avoid single voice of speaking between 28 members it was not so easy and many things have been done until crossing the line that we have now.

6.3 The Development of CSDP

The challenges all over the world are changing and Europe is not an exception. An uncertain security environment trusts the European Union to dispose a unique array of instrument to help promote peace and security where needed.

19 Homepage of the European Union. Page The Founding Fathers of the EU.URL: https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/founding-fathers_en. [12-10-16].

For the first time during the history of the European Union, in 1986 the Single European Act codified a European Political Co-operation, which later became the forerunner of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy. More specifically, on the one hand Yugoslavia's disintegration deepened the co-operation, on the other hand the Petersberg tasks which were published in 1997, ensued in the Treaty of Amsterdam to define the High Representative for Common Foreign Security Policy. The mission of CFSP is to deal with international issues of a political or diplomatic nature including issues with a security or military orientation.

One year later, after the NATO bombing of Serbia and the political change in the United Kingdom, the Member States of the European Union decided to establish an ESDP which changed into CSDP with the Lisbon Treaty. As part of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Common Security and Defence Policy covers the Union's military operations and civilian missions. The CSDP gives now the opportunity to provide the policy framework for a number of permanent political and military structures. According to the Article 42 of the Treaty of Lisbon, decisions relating to the CSDP adopted by the European Council are taken by unanimity on a proposal of the High Representative of the Union for the Foreign Affairs and Security Policy or an initiative of a Member State.²⁰

The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy will also be Vice-President at the Committee and exercise diplomatic functions. Moreover, he or she will represent the Union internationally and will be assisted by a European External Action Service, which will comprise officials from the Council, Commission and national diplomatic services.

Similar to the North Atlantic Treaty Article 5 – the Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, the Treaty of Lisbon includes a "solidarity clause", according to which the Union and its member countries should act together, when a country becomes a member of a terrorist attack target. In addition, according to the Article 222 of the TEU, the Union and its Member States shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a natural or man-made disaster.

20 Cf.: Treaty of Lisbon (2007). Title 5, Ch. 2, Art. 42. Op. Cit.

Another milestone in the development of CSDP was the presentation of the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy on the 28th of June in 2016 by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – Federica Mogherini to the European Council. The main point of the European Union Global Strategy was to emphasize on the security of the European Union. This Global Strategy was welcomed by the European Union Heads of State or Government.

7. Research Gap

The author believes that except from the history of the Treaties and their contribution to the European Union, others things should also be covered. Within the following pages, there will be mentioned missions and operations of the European Union under CSDP. In addition, another very important sphere of research is the future of the Common Security and Defence Policy.

The European Union Global Strategy is a new strategy, which sets out the European Union's interests and principles for engaging in the world. It has not been analysed before, in which direction the European Union should follow. Nowadays the challenges are much more threatening and the European Union should act united to keep peace and to preserve the Union's interests.

The missions and operations within the frame of the Common Security and Defence Policy is something common. The new question is relating to how de facto the European Union can react after the creation of the European Union's Global Strategy. According to a proper research of the author, this research has not yet been done.

8. Research Question(s)

As already mentioned, the author's main point includes the sphere of the missions and operations under the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union and, of course, the future of CSDP. To summarize, the main question for this thesis is:

What is the future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operations?

Before the main two parts of this thesis, the author should give answer to some basic questions. This part of questions is necessary, since it will help the reader to have some obligated information, which will provide the opportunity to understand the topic better.

- Basics questions:
 1. What is Common Security and Defence Policy?
 2. What is the history of CSDP?

- Mission and Operations under CSDP:
 3. Which Missions and Operations exist?
 4. How the financing of CSDP Actions works?
 5. What is the European Union's Global Strategy?

- Future of CSDP:
 6. How will the European Union de facto react after European Union's Global Strategy?
 7. What will change after the European Union's Global Strategy?
 8. What is the future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operations?

9. Methodology

The main point of this study is to find out the answer to the main research question, which was analysed in the previous chapter. It is not always easy to answer the main question directly, most of the time it is obligated to divide it into smaller questions. In this case, it is clearer to understand the topic, especially from readers. The author tries to analyse the most important things and explains in her opinion the prediction of future.

9.1 Methodological Approach

The thesis is divided in two parts – the first one which includes the history, the development of Common Security and Defence Policy and Missions and Operations, and the second part refers to the future of CSDP.

The methodological approach of this thesis is hermeneutics; it means the theory of interpretation. The theory of achieving an understanding of research that has been done. The used information is mainly derived from books, research studies and the internet.

9.2 Route of Research

The author has always been interested in international relations, especially after four years of studying at the university. During her last year of studies, she applied for the Erasmus programme at the oldest Military Academy in Europe – in Theresan Military Academy in Austria. After the publication of the European Union's Global Strategy, the author has a lot of concerns about what will change in CSDP. The time suits perfect to choice the topic, which is connected with the future of CSDP as a thesis topic.

After finding the proper topic of this thesis, the author divided the main question into smaller ones. In this way, it was much easier to answer the main question and to understand the most important things of the topic. For answering the questions, the author made a research, which included books, internet resources and the AAF internal database. After the selection of the important information, the author used the methodology of hermeneutics.

According to the results of the research, the first part of questions was answered. This part included questions related to the history of Common Security and Defence Policy and how after all the Treaties the present CSDP was reached. During the research part of the thesis, the analyses of the Treaties, a lot of points of the history and the development process of CSDP was clear.

The second part of questions included Missions and Operations under Common Security and Defence Policy. After analysing the meaning of Missions and Operations in the European Union and which Missions and Operations exist in general, the author made another step to answer the main question.

The third part of the thesis analysed the European Union's Global Strategy and the questions, which are related to it. The small research questions were answered after the third part. Then it was time to answer the main question – “What is the future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operation?” Generally, how will the future of CSDP change? In the following figure, the outline of the thesis is illustrated:

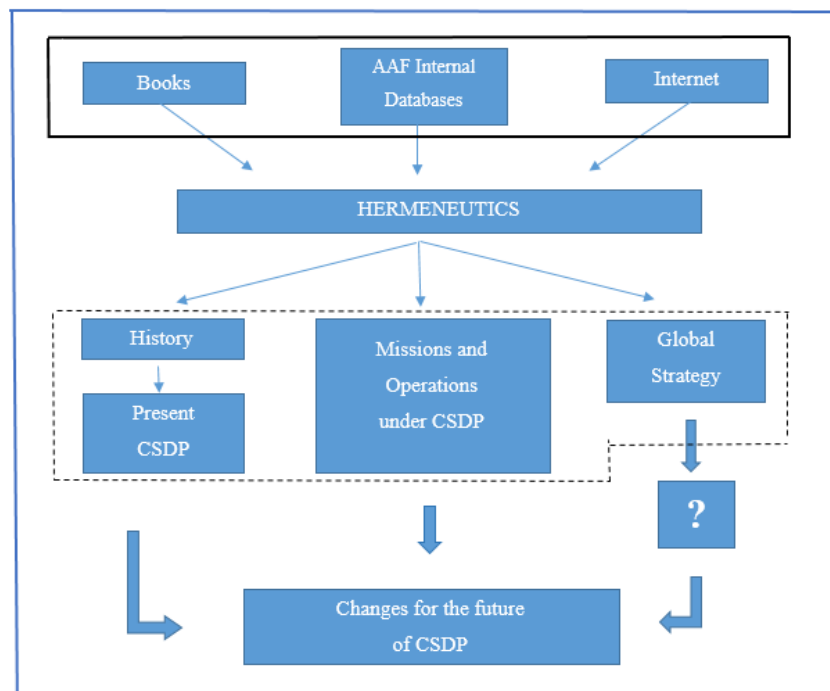


Figure 1: The methodology of the thesis.²¹

²¹ Author's remark: Figure created by the author.

10. Research and Results of Research

The point of this chapter is to answer the main question – What is the future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operations. In some chapters above the main question has been separated into smaller ones. To answer the main question, this chapter will attend the same order of the small questions, which were mentioned above.

10.1 Basics Questions

The basic question of this thesis includes the most important knowledge that a reader should have to understand the topic. First of all, the definition of Common Security and Defence Policy describes what CSDP is and gives some important details about it. After that, the thesis specialises on the history of CSDP.

10.1.1 Common Security and Defence Policy

The European Security and Defence Policy was created in the wake of the Franco-British meeting in 1998. The ESDP existed until 2009, and then the Lisbon Treaty came into force. After that, ESDP was renamed to Common Security and Defence Policy. The CSDP is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management. It enables the Union to take a leading role in peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security.²²

All the European Union external action is based on three main principles: the prevention, the holistic approach and multilateralism. The European Union should always be ready to act before a crisis occurs. The European citizens are entitled to security, economic prosperity, political freedom and social well-being in their living area. A holistic approach is the second principle of the EU's external action. The European Union should deal with all the challenges that arise following the same agenda in different policies. Only when the different policies will work for the same

22 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). URL:https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/the-common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en. [12-12-16].

challenge it can be solved. It will be more implemented by the way of the third principle –multilateralism. Only in co-operation with all global actors global challenges can be successfully addressed.²³

As it has already referred before, the Lisbon Treaty maintains the function of the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The European Union's Heads of State or Government agreed on the appointment of Catherine Ashton for the period from 2009 – 2014.²⁴ For the next period of five years, Catherine Ashton was succeeded by Federica Mogherini.²⁵ The duties of the High Representative in general relate to Foreign Affairs.

According to Article 18 and 27 of the Treaty on the European Union, the High Representative conducts the Common Foreign and Security Policy and contributes by her proposals to the development of that policy. She presides over the Foreign Affairs Council and she is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Commission. Moreover, the High Representative represents the Union in matters relating to the CFSP. In addition, the HR exercises authority over the European External Action Service and over the Union delegations in third countries and at international organisations. Last but not least, the HR has responsibilities as regards the three European Union Agencies established in the field of CFSP/CSDP.²⁶

Since 2001 services and institutions has been created to ensure the design and the implementation of Petersburg actions outside the European Union territory. Specifically, in December 1999 Helsinki European Council, where all of ESDP instruments were integrated into the European External Action Service, the European Union has gradually set up a network of services and institutions of secured institutional buildings for the implementation of the ESDP. In 1999, in Helsinki it was decided to set

23 Cf.: Rehl, J. & Weisserth, H. (2013). CSDP Handbook – the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union. Chapter 2.2 by Biscop, S. Main Themes of the ESS and key message for CSDP. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN: 987-3-902275-34-9. P. 20.

24 Cf.: Rehl, J. & Weisserth, H. (2013). CSDP Handbook – the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union. Chapter 3.2 by Weisserth, H. High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN: 987-3-902275-34-9. P. 30.

25 Homepage of the EUR-Lex. Page Glossary of Summaries. URL.: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/high_representative_cfsp.html?locale=el. [10-12-16].

26 Cf.: Rehl, J. & Weisserth, H. (2013). Chapter 3.2 by Weisserth, H. Op. Cit. P. 31.

up three new instruments for the institutionalization of the ESDP, in particular the Political and Security Committee, the European Union Military Committee and the European Union Military Staff.

The Political and Security Committee started operating on the 22nd of January in 2001. The responsibility of this Committee is to monitor the international situation in areas covered by the CFSP and contributes to the definition of policies giving advice to the Council. According to Article 25 of the Nice Treaty, the Political and Security Committee has the power to exercise, under the responsibility of the Council, political control and direction over crisis management operations at the strategic level.

The European Union Military Committee is the highest military body set up within the European Council. It was staffed by officers of Members State and started to operate on the 11th June 2001. In this configuration, the EUMC meets at least twice a year. It provides military expertise and support to ESDP including the execution of civilian crisis management missions, detection of situations and the strategic planning and the identification of European national and multinational forces.

The European Union Military Staff is working under the direction of the European Union Military Committee and the authority of the High Representative and Vice President. As an integral component of the EEAS's Comprehensive Approach, the EUMS coordinates the military instrument, with particular focus on operations/missions (both military and those requiring military support) and the creation of military capabilities.²⁷

A very important part of any organisation is the decision-making process. To achieve the goal of an organisation or of a committee it is necessary to have appointed the process of decision-making. Until the implementation of the Treaty of Nice, the decisions were taken by consensus and there was no possibility for a qualified majority voting. Member States could not be forced to contribute with troops or finance missions or actions against their will. If a consensus was not taken on the recommendation of the mission, it was not a common policy in the context of ESDP. When the decision has

27 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page CSDP structure, instruments, and agencies. https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/nuclear-safety/5392/csdp-structure-instruments-and-agencies_en. [12-12-16].

been reached the Council level, this means that it has already been a secured agreement on the characteristics and purposes of the Member States.

The only exception or rather meandering way, when a Member does not wish to participate in a business, is through alternative practice of "constructive abstention" from voting. More specifically, the non-participation of a state provided in the planned mission which did not take part in the operating expenditure did at the same time not inhibiting the execution of the mission of the other Members States.

Before the Treaty of Lisbon entered into force, the important political decisions in the context of the ESDP (CSDP later) were taken at the highest Council level, either within the Council General Affairs and External Relations or, when necessary, at the European Council.

10.1.2 The History of Common Security and Defence Policy

The history of Common Security and Defence Policy considered to the Treaties that had already be analysed in a chapter before. The development of these Treaties made the timeline and explained how we have achieved the meaning of what we name CSDP nowadays. In the following figure, it is possible to see once more the treaties, which were signed during Cold War and after Post-Cold War.

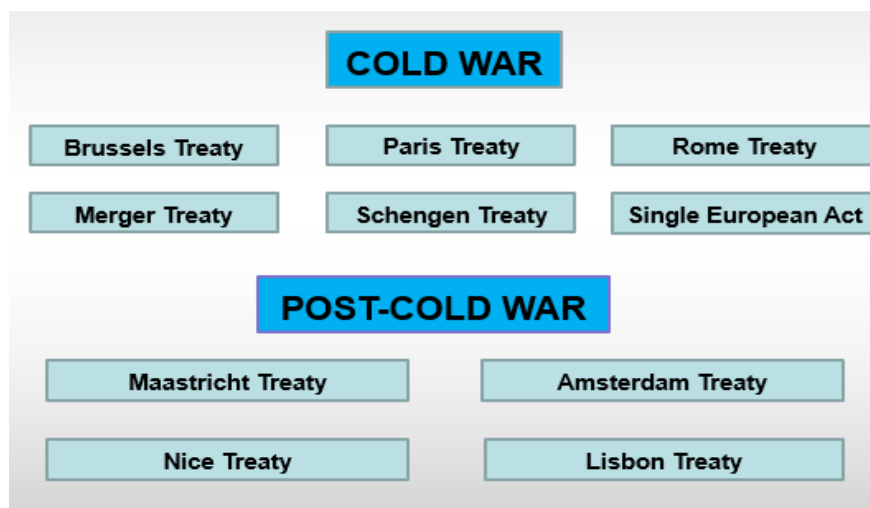


Figure 2: The signed treaties during Cold War and after Post-Cold War ²⁸

28 Author's remark: Figure created by the author.

10.2 Missions and Operations under CSDP

The European Security Strategy of 2003 pointed out the main threats – terrorism, regional conflicts and state failure. The ESS has also laid out the strategy underlying the CSDP. After 2009, the year when the Treaty of Lisbon entered into force, legal clarity on institutional aspects has been provided which strengthened the political and budgetary role of the European Parliament. In less than one decade, the Common Security and Defence Policy has acquired a major strategic orientation. The CSDP covers on the one hand the Union's military operations and on the other hand the civilian missions. It provides the policy framework for a number of permanent political and military structures and for operations abroad.²⁹

10.2.1 Missions and Operations

The European Union has undertaken many operations overseas using civilian and military instruments as part of its Common Security and Defence Policy.³⁰ Mission means a Union deployment with civilian implication. Operation means a Union deployment having military or defence implications. As main theatres for CSDP actions three regions can be identified – Europe and Eurasia, Africa and the Middle East/Asia. The Missions and Operations are analysed here in few words. Just the most important information of each one is pointed out.

ALTHEA³¹/BiH: The military operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina was launched on 2nd December 2004. The operation has been reconfigured four times so far, but it still continues to act in accordance with its peace enforcement mandate under the

29 Cf.: Homepage of the European Parliament. Page The EU's external relations. URL: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_6.1.2.html. [12-12-16].

30 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Military and civilian missions and operations. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations_en. [12-12-16].

31 Author's remark: Althea is regarded by many as the Greek goddess of healing. In myth, Althea, mother of Meleager, was told by the Gods that her son would die as soon as a piece of wood on her fire was consumed. Althea took the wood from the fire, extinguished it and placed the wood in a chest to preserve her son's life. With the fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina extinguished, Operation ALTHEA will now assist the healing of the country and all its peoples. Unlike the myth, the wood will never again be taken from the chest but will remain preserved, safely, forever. Copy from the homepage of EUFOR. URL: <http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/index.php/about-eufor>. [13-2-17].

UN Chapter 6. The main objectives of ALTHEA are to provide capacity-building and training to the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to support Bosnia and Herzegovina efforts to maintain the safe and secure environment, and support to the overall European Union comprehensive strategy for that area. The contributing states include 17 European Union Member States and five Partner Nations, which are Albania, Chile, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Switzerland and Turkey.³²

EU NAVFOR Somalia (European Union Naval Force Somalia): The operation deals with piracy and armed robbery at the sea off the Horn of Africa and in the Western Indian Ocean. As part of its Comprehensive Approach to Somalia, the European Union launched the European Union Naval Force in December 2008. The operation has been extended on the 28th November 2016 until December 2018. EU NAVFOR consists of EU Member States and is supported by non-EU countries such as Norway in 2009 and later on by Montenegro, Serbia and Ukraine.³³

EUAM Ukraine (European Union Advisory Mission in Ukraine): The European Union Advisory Mission Ukraine began the operation in Kyiv on 1st December 2014 after the Maidan revolution in 2013-2014. From May 2016 the Mission's team was also present in Kharkiv and Lviv. The main aim of this Mission is the strategic advice on civilian security sector reform, the support of the implementation of reforms and the cooperation between the Ukrainian and the international actors.³⁴

EUBAM Libya (European Union Border Assistance Mission to Libya): The civilian Mission under the Common Security and Defence Policy was launched on 22nd May 2013 and extended on 4th August 2016 until 21st August 2017. EUBAM Libya supports the Libyan authorities in improving and developing the security of its borders. EUBAM also supports the Libyans at the strategic level to set up the Border Management Working Group, which is responsible to coordinate the response among naval, police, border guards and customs.³⁵

32 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUFOR. URL: <http://www.euforbih.org/eufor/index.php>. [16-12-16].

33 Cf.: Homepage of EU NAVFOR Somalia. Page About us. URL: <http://eunavfor.eu/>. [16-12-16].

34 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUAM UKRAINE. URL: <http://www.euam-ukraine.eu/en/home>. [16-12-16].

35 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUBAM Libya. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eubam-libya_en. [16-12-16].

EUBAM Moldova and Ukraine (European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine): The European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine was launched in 2005 and has been extended four times until 30th November 2017. The main issue of this Mission is to promote border control customs and trade norms between the two partner countries. The main task of this Mission is to harmonise the border management standards and procedures between Moldova and Ukraine with those prevalent in European Union Member States, to promote cross border cooperation, to develop risk analysis capacity and to improve cooperation between the border guard and customs services.³⁶

EUBAM Rafah (European Union Border Assistance Mission to Rafah): The European Union Border Assistance Mission at the Rafah Crossing Point was launched on 24th November 2005. The Mission is responsible to monitor the operations of the border crossing point between the Gaza Strip and Egypt.³⁷

EUCAP Nestor (European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Nestor): The European Union CAP Nestor was launched on 16th July 2012. It is a civilian mission, which focuses onto the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean. The aim of this Mission is to support countries to develop self-sustaining capacity for enhancement of maritime security in order to enable them to fight piracy more effectively. EUCAP Nestor should have its primary focus onto Somalia, and a secondary focus onto Djibouti, the Seychelles and Tanzania. After following a strategic review of the Mission at the end of 2015, the activities focus completely onto Somalia.³⁸

EUCAP Sahel Mali (European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Sahel Mali): Under the Common Security and Defence Policy, the European Council established a civilian mission to support the internal security forces of Mali. The Mission was launched on 15th April 2014 to support the full restoration of the authority of the Malian state in the

36 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUBAM. URL: <http://eubam.org/>. [16-12-16].

37 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUROPEAN UNION BORDER ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RAFAH. URL: <http://www.eubam-rafah.eu/>. [27-12-16].

38 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUCAP NESTOR. URL: <https://www.eucap-nestor.eu/en/xpl3jcydxnknnu50>. [27-12-16].

entire country. The Mission provides strategic advice and training to the three national security forces of Mali, while ensuring coordination with international partners.³⁹

EUCAP Sahel Niger (European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Sahel Niger): The Council of the European Union having regard to the Treaty on European Union has adopted the decision that the EUCAP Sahel Niger Mission is responsible to support the capacity building of the Nigerian security actors to fight terrorism and organised crime. The aim of this Mission is to contribute the development of an integrated, multidisciplinary, coherent and human rights.⁴⁰

EULEX Kosovo (European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo): The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo was launched on 4th February 2008. The Mission assists the Kosovo judicial authorities and law enforcement agencies in their progress towards sustainability and accountability. It consists of all 28 European Union Member States and five contributing States – Canada, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States. The Mission has been extended until 14th June 2018.⁴¹

EUMM Georgia (European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia): The European Union established a European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia in 2008. The particular objectives of the Mission are to contribute to a long-term stability throughout Georgia and the surrounding region and in a short term to the stabilisation of the situation with a reduced risk of a resumption of hostilities. The Mission consists of all 28 European Union Member States.⁴²

EUNAVFOR MED (European Union Naval Force Mediterranean): The European Union launched a military operation known as European Union Naval Force Mediterranean or Operation SOPHIA, after Libyan migrants shipwrecked in April 2015. The main aim of this operation is to undertake systematic efforts to identify, capture and dispose the vessels. In June 2016 Operation SOPHIA was extended by the Council until

39 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUCAP Sahel Mali. URL: <http://eucap-sahel-mali.eu/en/>. [27-12-16].

40 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUCAP Sahel Niger. URL: <http://eubam.org/>. [27-12-16].

41 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EULEX European Union Rule of Law Mission Kosovo. URL: <http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,44>. [27-12-16].

42 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUMM European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia. URL: <https://www.eumm.eu/en/home>. [27-12-16].

27th July 2017. Also with the Council Decision (CFSP) 2016/993 of 20th June 2016 another two supporting tasks were added. The operation trains the Libyan coastguard and Navy; also it is responsible to contribute to the implementation of the United Nations arms embargo on the high seas off the coast of Libya.⁴³

EUPOL COPPS/ Palestinian Territories (European Union Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian): The European Union Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian Support Police was established on 1st January 2006. The aim of this mission is to support the Palestinian Civil Police Reform and Development, to strengthen and support the criminal justice system and finally to improve the prosecution. This Mission includes 19 States in total, 17 European Union Member States, Canada and Norway.⁴⁴

EUTM RCA (European Union Military Training Mission in the Central African Republic): The European Union Military Training Mission in the Central African Republic was established on 16th July 2016 to contribute the country's defence sector reform. The mission was extended until 20th September 2018.⁴⁵

EUTM Somalia (European Union Military Training Mission in Somalia): The European Union Military Training Mission in Somalia was established on 10th April 2010 in order to contribute the strengthening of the Transitional Federal Government and the institutions of Somalia. The Mission was extended until December 2016. After 2016, the Mission may be extended with the intention to expand activities outside the capital of Somalia which is Mogadishu.⁴⁶

EUTM – Mali (European Union Military Training Mission in Mali): The European Union Military Training Mission in Mali was established in February 2013. The main aim of the Mission is to train the Malian Armed Forces in the framework of the

43 Cf.: Homepage of the EUNAVFOR MED operation SOPHIA. Page Documents. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med_en. [2-1-17].

44 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUPOL COPPS. URL: <http://eupolcoppes.eu/>. [2-1-17].

45 Cf.: Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUTM RCA. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eutm-rca_en. [3-1-17].

46 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUTM Somalia. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eutm-somalia/3919/about-military-training-mission-somalia-eutm-somalia_en. [3-1-17].

European Union is CSDP. The Mission was extended until May 2018. EUTM – Mali is supported by 23 European Union Member States and four non EU Member States.⁴⁷

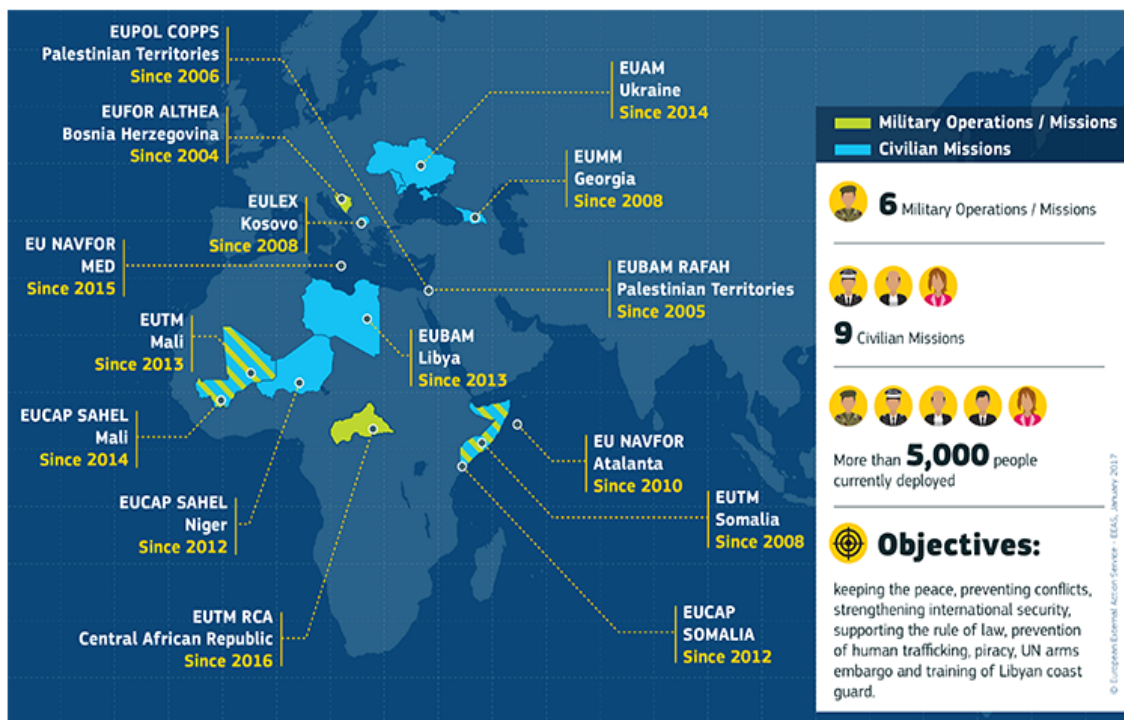


Figure 3: The European Union's Missions and Operations⁴⁸

On the other hand, many of Missions and Operations are already completed. They will be listed below, mentioning the place and date when they were completed.

EUPM/BiH (European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina): The European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina ended on 31st December 2011.⁴⁹

CONCORDIA/FYROM:⁵⁰ The European Union military operation in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia ended on 15th December 2003.⁵¹

47 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page European Union Training Mission Mali. URL: <http://www.eutmmali.eu/>. [3-1-17].

48 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Military and civilian missions and operations. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations_en. [12-2-17].

49 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Eupm-bih. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupm-bih/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

EUPOL PROXIMA/FYROM (European Union Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia): The European Union Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia ended on 14th December 2005.⁵²

EUPAT (European Union Police Advisory Team): The European Union Police Advisory Team in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia followed the termination of the mandate of the EU Police Mission PROXIMA on 14th December 2005. The Mission had a duration of six months.⁵³

EU SSR Guinea-Bissau (European Union Mission of the Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau): The European Union Mission in support of the Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau ended on 30th September 2010.⁵⁴

EUFOR Tchad/RCA (European Union Force Mission in Chad): The European Union Force Mission in Chad and in the Central African Republic ended on 15th March 2009.⁵⁵

EUJUST THEMIS/Georgia (European Union Rule of Law Mission to Georgia): The European Union Rule of Law Mission to Georgia was the first Rule of Law mission launched by the EU in the context of the European Security and Defence Policy; it ended on 14th July 2005.⁵⁶

50 Author's remark: Concordia is the Latin word for "harmony," literally "with (one) heart. Copy from the homepage of Wikipedia. URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Concordia>. [13-2-17].

51 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Concordia. URL: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/concordia/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

52 Homepage of the European Union External Action Service. Page proxima-fyrom. URL: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/proxima-fyrom/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

53 Homepage of the European Union External Action Service. Page Eupat. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupat/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

54 Homepage of the European Union External Action Service. Page Eu-ssr-guinea-bissau. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eu-ssr-guinea-bissau/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

55 Cf.: Press-EU Council Secretariat (2009). EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic (EUFOR Tchad/RCA). Brussels. P. 2.

56 Homepage of the European Union External Action Service. Page Eujust-themis-georgia. URL: https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eujust-themis-georgia/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

EUJUST LEX-Iraq (European Union Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq): The European Union Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq ended on 31st December 2013.⁵⁷

EUAVSEC South Sudan (European Union Aviation Security Mission in South Sudan): The European Union Aviation Security Mission is the EU's first engagement in South Sudan and it ended in January 2014.⁵⁸

EUMAM RCA (European Union Military Advisory Mission in the Central African Republic): The European Union military advisory mission in the Central African Republic ended on 15th March 2015.⁵⁹

ARTEMIS/DRC:⁶⁰ The Council adopted the Operation Plan and the Decision to launch a Military Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo until the 1st September 2003. The operation had the code-name ARTEMIS.⁶¹

EUPOL Afghanistan (European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan): The European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan ended on 31st December 2016.⁶²

EUPOL RD CONGO (European Union Police Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo): The European Union Police Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo ended on 30th September 2014.⁶³

57 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Eujust-lex-iraq. URL: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eujust-lex-iraq/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

58 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Euavsec-south-sudan. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/euavsec-south-sudan/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

59 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Eumam-rca. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eumam-rca/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

60 Author's remark: In the classical period of Greek mythology, Artemis was often described as the daughter of Zeus and Leto, and the twin sister of Apollo. She was the Hellenic goddess of the hunt, wild animals, wilderness, childbirth, virginity and protector of young girls, bringing and relieving disease in women; she often was depicted as a huntress carrying a bow and arrows. The deer and the cypress were sacred to her. In later Hellenistic times, she even assumed the ancient role of Eileithyia in aiding childbirth. Copy from the homepage of Wikipedia. URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artemis>. [13-2-17].

61 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page Artemis-drc. URL: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/artemis-drc/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

62 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page EUPOL Afghanistan. URL: <http://www.eupol-afg.eu/>. [2-1-17].

EUSEC RD CONGO (European Union Security Sector Reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo): The European Union Mission to provide advice and assistance for the Security Sector Reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and ended in June 2016.⁶⁴

EUPOL KINSHASA (DRC) (European Union Police Mission in Kinshasa/Democratic Republic of Congo): The European Union Police Mission in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo ended in June 2007 and was followed by EUPOL RD CONGO.⁶⁵

EUFOR RD CONGO (European Union Force Mission in Congo): The European Union launched a military operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during the election process. The operation was successfully concluded on 30th November 2006.⁶⁶

EUFOR RCA (European Union Force Mission in the Central African Republic): The European Union military operation in the Central African Republic ended on 15th March 2015.⁶⁷

AMM (Aceh Monitoring Mission): The Aceh Monitoring Mission was successfully concluded on 15th December 2006.⁶⁸

10.2.2 Financing of CSDP Missions and Operations

A lot of Missions and Operations are already completed and many of them are still in process. Before one Mission or Operation will be implemented, it should be supported financially. After the ratification of the Treaty on European Union, the basic rules for

63 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page archives – eupol-rd-congo. URL: http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupol-rd-congo/pdf/factsheet_eupol_rd_congo_en.pdf. [4-1-17].

64 Homepage of OSCE, URL: <http://www.osce.org/fsc/233726?download=true>. [9-1-17].

65 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page eupol-kinshasa. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupol-kinshasa/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

66 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page eufor-rd-congo. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eufor-rd-congo/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

67 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page eufor-rca. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eufor-rca/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

68 Homepage of the European External Action Service. Page aceh-amm. URL: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/aceh-amm/mission-description/index_en.htm. [4-1-17].

the financing of crisis management operations were defined. According to Article 41 of the Treaty of the European Union, the administrative expenditure for the institutions shall be charged to the Union budget. The same applies for operating expenditures, except for such expenditures, which are arising from operations having military or defence implications and for cases when the Council acts unanimously and decides otherwise.

In the case of civilian Missions, they are funded from the general budget of the European Union which is decided by the Council and the European Parliament.⁶⁹ In particular, the Common Foreign and Security Policy budget finances common costs of civilian missions and civilian crisis management activities. The European Union Special Representatives who have the order to represent the EU in a region or in the foreign policy field. The CFSP budget is managed by the Service for Foreign Policy Instruments, which is a part of the Commission and under the authority of the High Representative and Vice-President.⁷⁰

Military operations, operations with military implications or in the field of military defence led under the Common Foreign and Security Policy cannot be covered by the European Union budget. For such a case, the contributing Member States of the operation are responsible to fund it.⁷¹ After the temporary financing mechanism for the operations CONCORDIA and ARTEMIS, in February 2004 the Council established a permanent mechanism to administer the financing of the common costs of European Union operations, which is called ATHENA mechanism.⁷²

As mentioned above, the ATHENA mechanism is part of the CFSP/CSDP and is not funded via the European Union budget. 27 European Union Member States contribute to the financing of EU military operations. Denmark decided to opt out of CSDP on

69 Rehl, J. (2013). CSDP Handbook. The Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union. Chapter 4.5 by Schmid, E. Financing of CSDP actions. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN: 987-3-902275-34-9. P. 62.

70 Homepage of the EUR-Lex Access to European Union law. Page EU law and publications. URL: http://publications.europa.eu/resource/cellar/9b91395d-c950-11e4-bbe1-01aa75ed71a1.0006.01/DOC_1. [5-1-17].

71 Homepage of the EUR-Lex Access to European Union law. Page EU law and publications. URL: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=URISERV:133281>. [5-1-17].

72 Cf.: Rehl, J. (2013). CSDP Handbook. Chapter 4.5 by Schmid, E. Op. cit. P.63

military matters.⁷³ The European Union Military Operations which currently benefit from the ATHENA mechanism are: EUFOR ALTHEA (Bosnia Herzegovina), EUNAVFOR ATLANTA (Horn of Africa), EUTM SOMALIA, EUTM MALI, EUNAVFOR MED and EUTM RCA.

10.2.3 European Union Global Strategy

According to the opinion expressed by the European Union's Global Strategy by the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Vice-President of the European Commission – Federica Mogherini, the citizens of the European Union and the world need a strong European Union like never before.⁷⁴ A lot of challenges are taking place all over the European region; the area became more and more unsafe and unstable. *“A strong union is one that thinks strategically, shares a vision and acts together”*.⁷⁵

The European Union's Global Strategy was published in June 2016. The main expectation of the world described in this EU's Global Strategy is that Europe should grow stronger. The European Union will promote peace and guarantees the security on its territory. However, to promote the European Union's principles, five priorities have been appointed.

The First priority refers to the security of the European Union. Many threats endanger the citizens and the territory of the Union. The 21st century has new challenges – energy insecurity, terrorism and climate changes are only some of them. The aim of this strategy is to promote peace and security within and beyond its border.

The second priority of the European Union's Global Strategy is the societal resilience of Eastern and Southern parts of the Union. Investing in the resilience of state and societies to the stretching into Central Asia and to Central Africa is in the interests of

73 Homepage of the EUR-Lex Access to European Union law. Page EU law and publications. URL: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32005D0068>. [5-1-17].

74 Cf.: Press-EU June (2016). Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy. P. 3.

75 Ibid.

the citizens of the European Union. The Union should build good relations with its neighbours in order to avoid any kind of conflicts.

The third priority of the European Union is the integrated approach to conflicts. The vital interests are threatened when violent conflicts erupt. There are different kind of threats from conflicts which appears near the territory of the European Union and which should be solved. Although none of the conflicts, such as those in Syria or Libya, can be solved by the European Union only. On the other hand, it does not mean that through comprehensive agreements and international partnerships the Union cannot help in achieving peace.

The next priority, which is described in the EU's Global Strategy, is the cooperative regional order. Voluntary forms of regional governance offer states and peoples the opportunity to manage security concerns better.

The last priority of the EU's Global Strategy is the global governance for the 21st century. A lot of conflicts and threats appear near the European Union, which should be avoided. The European Union is committed to a global order based on international law including human rights, sustainable developments and lasting access to the global commons.

10.3 The future of CSDP

The European Union's Global Strategy was published in June 2016. The main aim of this Strategy is to present the priorities, which the European Union should support. Later on, in November 2016, the implementation plan was published. It could refer that the European Union takes care about the security within its territory and near borders, although a lot of new challenges appear all over the world.

A referendum, which was held in the United Kingdom in June 2016, had a result of 52% votes for leaving the European Union. A state which has a huge influence in the European Union took the decision to leave it.⁷⁶ Of course, it will not happen

76 Cf.: Homepage of the electoral commission. Page elections & referendum. URL: <http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/find-information-by-subject/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/electorate-and-count-information>. [24-1-17].

immediately, but after some period of negotiations. On the other hand, nobody can say how the European Union will continue to exist.

Another important change in the world was the election of the new president of the United States – Donald Trump. A new politician in a country with influences almost the entire world may change the EU's approach to some extent. This could also be related to the Common Security and Defence Policy.

To predict the future its always difficult. Some answers, such as the reaction of the European Union Member States to EU's Global Strategy, the changes after the EUGS and Missions and Operation under EU's Global Strategy, the author tries to describe within the next chapters.

10.3.1 The European Union's Reaction to EU's Global Strategy

The Member States of the European Union of course support the EU's Global Strategy. The European Union, from the late 1960 tries to speak and express a single voice on international problems, nowadays the European Union focuses on delivering one message.⁷⁷ Countries such as France, Germany, Spain and Italy, referred to the new EU Global Strategy to define a strong European Union. The Common Security and Defence Policy should have the main role in the Global Strategy according to their opinion.⁷⁸ Another four countries – Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czech Republic even expressed the opinion that CSDP should be the key element of the Global Strategy.⁷⁹

The Netherlands, as a holder of the presidency of the Council of the European Union in the first half of 2016, expressed their opinion via the Minister of Defence – Hennis-Plasschaert. Even in March 2016, some months before the publishing of Global Strategy, the Minister of Defence spoke about the necessity of having a unity in

77 Cf.: Rehl, J. & Glume, G. (2015). Missions and Operations Handbook – the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union. Chapter 1.1.1 by Rehl, J. Development of CFSP/CSDP. Vienna. Armed Forces Printing Centre. ISBN: 978-3-902275-42-4. P. 12.

78 Cf.: Press-EU Parliament (2016). Does the new EU Global Strategy deliver on security and defence?. Belgium. P. 6.

79 Cf.: Ibid. P. 6-7.

European Union. It is important to act together and ensure peace and stability.⁸⁰ Actually, “*We need a Global Strategy in which we clearly describe how we are going to deal with this more connected, contested and complex world.*”⁸¹

In addition, an important reaction of a country – was that one of the United Kingdom. It should be mentioned that a week before the European Council meeting, on 23rd of June, the Brexit referendum took place. This explains also the silence in the United Kingdom on the subject of the European Union Global Strategy. The United Kingdom has always supported NATO as a body for cooperation on matters of defence. CSDP was considered as an alternative option for the United Kingdom’s foreign, security and defence policy.⁸²

The European Union should think what could be better for the rest of the Union when the United Kingdom will leave. The result, which came from the British referendum, makes the status for the European Union Global Strategy more unclear. On the one hand, when the United Kingdom will leave the European Union it will be possible to cross the real strengthening of CSDP and have a deeper defence cooperation within the Union. Without the influence of the United Kingdom it could be possible to make progress or achieve a goal faster. On the other hand, the UK is one of the main influencers concerning the development of the strategy in the European Union. In case of the Brexit, the political balance will change and probably some Member States will have a different point of view concerning the next steps in the political area then.⁸³

80 Cf.: Homepage of the Government of the Netherlands. Page Documents. URL: <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/toespraken/2016/03/11/toespraak-van-minister-hennis-plasschaert-bij-het-seminar-europe-s-security-and-defence-what-next-engels>. [24-1-17].

81 Ibid.

82 Cf.: Whitman, R. (2016). The UK’s foreign and security policy: what’s at stake in the referendum?. Security Policy Brief. No.73.

83 Cf.: Homepage of the European Institute of Peace. Page News & Events. URL: <http://eip.org/en/news-events/brexit-and-eu%E2%80%99s-global-strategy-%E2%80%93-what-news-peace-makers>. [28-1-17].

10.3.2 Changes after the EU's Global Strategy

After the European Union Global Strategy was published, it is logical to refer to some changes that could apply. As it was mentioned in a previous paragraph, the challenges all over the territory of the European Union and abroad of it are increasing. The main point of the EUGS was to analyse the priorities, which the European Union should follow.

The European Union Global Strategy defines that Europe should be stronger. Of course, after realizing that the European Union has to deal with many new problems, it should achieve to be stronger. This does not mean that from now on all the challenges will be solved, although the European Union makes one step forward to understand and probably solve them, or even better try to avoid new ones. It is the EU's interest to promote its values in the world. Providing values such as democracy, fundamental freedom and rule of law, lay the foundations for a stronger EU not only inside the European Union but also outside of it.

By promoting peace and security to the European Union citizens and territory, the European Union will advance their prosperity. In a secure territory it is possible to promote growth, jobs and equality.

10.3.3 The future of CSDP with Special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operations.

One of the tools for the Common Security and Defence Policy are the European Union's Missions and Operations. As it was mentioned in previous chapters, the Missions and Operations of the European Union take place outside its territory. Through these Missions and Operations, the European Union has the possibility to be a crisis management actor, sometimes also together with the United Nations. In some areas the EU takes also over the main responsibility. For example, in Africa NATO was not that present, therefore the activities took place by Mission and Operations under CSDP mainly. One of these missions was the EU Military Operation in Eastern Chad and North Eastern Central African Republic.

The European Union has established close relations with a huge number of third states.

This is also expressed by approximately 45 non-EU States, which have participated in CSDP Missions and Operations. The European Union also runs Missions trying to strengthen the rule of law in third states.⁸⁴ Being more close to the third states gives the possibility to keep relations with these countries and have a view of what happening inside them. In this case, the European Union has a kind of control outside its territory. Of course, it does not mean that the EU covers all the territory outside the Union. Although, it is better to know what kind of threats exists in these areas.

According to the author's personal opinion, the European Union's Missions and Operations will continue to take place and their number will increase. After establishing the ATHENA Mechanism and clarify the priorities of the European Union, more and more Missions and Operations will take place. In spite of that, the Union should take care not just to support the countries outside the Union and avoid the threats but also ensure peace and security inside the European Union.

84 Cf.: Tardy, T. (2016). Civilian CSDP: what next?. EU Institute for Security Studies. Brief 32.

11. Discussion of Results (pros and cons)

The process of writing the bachelor thesis started after making the framework and planning in details how each chapter will cover the necessary information. It is really important to clarify what the author wanted to write and to describe in her thesis. Only if the author made everything clear in her mind, with the support and the help of her tutor, it was time to start for searching information about the topic.

After study and analysing the treaties, which were signed during and after the Cold War, the author has the knowledge to describe the development of the Common Security and Defence Policy. It was difficult to find proper Articles, which were connected, to the European Security and Defence Policy especially in Cold War Treaties. Although, articles found during the study of after Cold-War Treaties was easy visible.

When the author presented her result to her tutor – Col Dr. Gell Harald, she was asked to present the “History of CSDP” during the CSDP Module, which was held by the Theresan Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt from 16th until 20th January 2017. This opportunity gives the possibility to the author to know everything about the history and the development of CSDP.

After writing about the treaties, the author concentrated on Missions and Operations of the European Union. Actually, it was not difficult to find the information. Most of it was clearly described at the European External Action Service homepage. The information in this thesis is currently up to date. The European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan is included in the completed Missions.

The next step of the thesis analysis was to describe how the financing mechanism of Missions and Operations works. The most important document – the European Union Global Strategy which was signed in 2016 – was included into the following chapter. After that, the future of CSDP was described.

All these small steps were made to give the answer to the main question “*What is the future of CSDP with special Consideration onto EU Missions and Operations?*”. The question was answered step by step by explaining what is a Mission, an Operation, which of them is ongoing, and which is completed. How does the financing program

work, why such Mission and Operations exist and why the European Union Global Strategy is important?

Therefore, it can be stated that at the date of finalising this thesis – which is February 2017 – all the results are valid.

12. Restriction of validity

In this chapter it is really important to clarify the validity of the research. Within previous chapters the author covers the most important knowledge about the history of the Common Security and Defence Policy.

The first part brings out the European Union contracts and treaties, which were signed during the development of CSDP. The author concentrates only on Articles, which are connected directly to the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and to CSDP, although there are plenty of other documents, which were impossible to include in this thesis. The rules of engagement, rules of procedures and classified information are not included in the history of CSDP. However, to cover the chapter of CSDP history in a comprehensive way it could be included in further theses.

The part, which presents Missions and Operations research, is very valid. The chapter is updated to time of finalising the thesis, which is February 2017.

The last part of the thesis – which covers the future – it is logically that it cannot be valid. The circumstances, which may influence the future of CSDP, are difficult to predict, they may change very fast. Therefore, the validity for predictions will always be a double-edged sword, only when the future becomes the past, we can review it scientifically.

13. Benefit for scientific disciplines

The author believes that this thesis covers a lot of important knowledge about the Common Security and Defence Policy. All the provided information is checked by double check research.

The scientific community, which may use the results of the research, is anyone who is connected with European studies. CSDP is a policy of the European Union, which means that anyone who studies or works in the sphere of it can be interested in this thesis. The detailed information about Missions and Operations can be useful to anyone who works in or at least is connected to them.

The research results are mainly important to students of the International and European studies. On the one hand, the research results provide the theoretical knowledge that can be used by students to understand CSDP. They also can use the basic information to cover their research for any further possible thesis or paper. On the other hand, the thesis provides a lot of practical details such as how does the financing mechanism of Missions and Operations work.

Cadets and civilian students who participate in the CSDP module for the first time can also use many of the research results. Such modules are taking place mostly in military academies with a one-week duration. The next CSDP module will take place in Italy 13th – 17th March 2017 and in Greece 15th – 19th May 2017.⁸⁵ The majority of the participants have limited time for preparation prior to such a module. Providing them the results of this thesis will facilitate their understanding of the main points of CSDP.

85 Cf.: Homepage of EMILYO. Page Military Offers & Multiplier Events. URL: <http://www.emilyo.eu/node/878>. [7-2-17].

14. Prospects

This bachelor thesis is limited to describe the future in long-terms. The main purpose was to give all the necessary information to understand how the future of CSDP can be connected to Missions and Operations.

The research discusses the future only for a small period after the European Union Global Strategy was signed. It means that the Member States express their opinion according to what is happening in the world now. Nobody can guarantee how each Member State can react if something changes in the world and the world is changing every day.

Further research can probably cover how de facto Missions and Operations continue after the European Union Global Strategy or analyse if it is necessary to have these kinds of Missions and Operations abroad instead of protecting the Union from inside.

15. Summary

In the last chapter of this thesis, the author would like to summarise the most important results of the research. This bachelor thesis describes the future of the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union with special consideration onto Missions and Operations. The chosen time of changes in the timeline was the adoption of the European Union Global Strategy in June 2016.

Before starting to summarise the main part of the thesis, it is obligated to refer to the history of the development of CSDP. The treaties, which were signed during the time, were separated into two periods – Cold War and Post-Cold War.

The Cold War treaties include the Brussels Treaty 1948, the Paris Treaty 1952, the Rome Treaty 1958, the Merger Treaty 1967, the Schengen Treaty 1995 and the Single European Act 1987.

The Brussels Treaty of 1948 referred to the human rights, to the principle of democracy and to the military assistance. It was also responsible for creating a basis for European economy recovery after World War II and in general to eliminate the economic conflicts.

The Paris Treaty of 1952 established the European Coal and Steel Community. The common market, the common objectives and the common institutions started to exist after 1952. The founding father of the ECSC was Jean Monnet. The ECSC expired after 50 years.

The Rome Treaty of 1958 established the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. Later on, the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 removed the word “economic” from the official title.

The Merger Treaty was signed in Brussels in 1995. With this treaty, the executive bodies of the ECSC, the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community were combined into a single institutional structure. After the Merger Treaty, many analysers stated that it was the point of beginning of the modern European Union.

The Schengen Treaty was signed in 1985 but ratified ten years later – in 1995. The main aim of this treaty was to establish a Schengen Area, in which internal border checks have largely been abolished.

The Single European Act of 1987 established a single market until the 31st December 1992. The author would like to mention again that it was the first time when the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy was planned.

The Post-Cold War treaties include the Maastricht Treaty 1993, the Amsterdam Treaty 1999, the Nice Treaty 2003 and the Lisbon Treaty 2009.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1993 is known as the Treaty on the European Union. The main aim of the Maastricht Treaty was to create a single institutional framework of the European Union based on three pillars. The first pillar included the European Community domain, the second pillar included the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the third pillar included the Police and Judicial Cooperation in criminal matters.

The Treaty of Amsterdam of 1999 gave power to the European Parliament. Changes in the third pillar and in the way of voting took place. In the second pillar, the position of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy & Vice President for CFSP was created.

The Nice Treaty of 2003 revised the Treaty of Amsterdam. Most of the changes were connected to practical procedures. It revised the replacement of unanimity by qualified majority in decision-making procedures, the enhanced cooperation of some Member States, the weighting of votes in the Council and the size as well as the composition of the Commission.

The Treaty of Lisbon of 2009 clarified that the CSDP shall be an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. It shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets. The CSDP shall also include the progressive framing of a common Union defence policy. The Treaty of Lisbon describes also, when the European Union can use deployments for Missions and Operations.

After analysing the history of CSDP, the author covers the research gap and gives the answer to the main question. First, it is necessary to present the definition of CSDP and

High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President.

The European Security and Defence Policy was created in 1998. The ESDP existed until 2009, when the Lisbon Treaty came into force and renamed ESDP to CSDP. The CSDP is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management.

The Lisbon Treaty maintains the function of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice President. From 2014 and for the period of five years the HR/VP is Federica Mogherini.

The three new instruments for the institutionalization of ESDP were set up in Helsinki in 1991, which were the Political and Security Committee, the European Union Military Committee and the European Union Military Staff.

Changes were made also in the decision-making process. Until the Treaty of Nice, the decisions were taken by consensus; there was no possibility for a qualified majority voting. It was not a common policy in the context of ESDP if a consensus was not taken on the recommendation of the mission.

After having the basic knowledge of the history and the terms, the European Union's Missions and Operations are described. The ongoing Missions and Operations are 16 and 18 have been completed.

The most important document, which was signed in the framework of CSDP, is the European Union Global Strategy. It was signed in June 2016 and its main aim was to refer the European Union's priorities. The security of the European Union, the societal resilience of eastern and southern parts of the Union, the integrated approach to conflicts, the cooperative regional order and the global governance for the 21st century are analysed in this document in detail.

The reason that the European Union set the priorities is connected to the challenges that it has to deal with. Nobody can predict how the future it will be. In June 2016 in the United Kingdom the referendum result showed that 52% support the exit of the European Union. On the other side of the Atlantic – in the United States – nobody can predict how the election of the new president will influence the world.

Although the reaction of the Member States of the EU was positive concerning the adoption of the EUGS. It is necessary to have a Common Security and Defence Policy in a changing world to manage the challenges. The European Union should have one view and express its opinion in the sphere of foreign affairs and defence.

The European Union Global Strategy defines that Europe should be stronger. The European Union makes one step forward to understand and probably solve the challenges, or even better try to avoid new ones. The ongoing Missions and Operations, which take place outside the EU's territory, could achieve this. This approach provides better relations with the countries, which are supported by these Missions and Operations.

New challenges are “knocking the door” of the European Union. It is difficult to say what will happen in the future. The positive news are that so far the European Union tries to develop and become stronger. Although each and every European citizen should think what the candidate for the French Federal President, Le Pen, said: “*I want to release France from the tyranny of Brussels.*”⁸⁶

86 Homepage of the New Europe. Page News. URL: <https://www.neweurope.eu/article/le-pen-launches-france-first-campaign/>. [8-2-17].

16. Postface

Everything started approximately in February 2016 when the author tried to fill in the application for an Erasmus exchange at University of Macedonia. When the first letters appeared, professors from the sending university did their best to give the author the opportunity to be at Theresan Military Academy. The author passes her thanks for all the support to the Dean of School of Social Science, Humanities and Art, University of Macedonia/Greece – Prof. Ilias Kouskouvelis, to lectures of the same university Ioannis Papadopoulos, Kalliopi Chainoglou and to the Erasmus coordinator – Dimitris Vagianos.

On the other hand, the author uses the opportunity to express her acknowledgements to her tutor and Head of the International Office at TMA – Col Dr. Harald Gell. The combination of his support and encourage made the result of this thesis. Also with the excellent negotiation with the sending university, he gave the opportunity to a female civilian student make her studies in a military academy.

Furthermore, the author would like to thank Mag. Christian Thuller, ADir RegR Kurt Berger and OStv Christian Hadek of the International Office.

Finally, the author would like to thank her family and friends. Especially the author would like to thank her very good friend, Major of the Hellenic Air Force – Nikolaos Stratikis – for all his support, advices and attention.

17. Annexes

17.1 List of abbreviations

AMM	Aceh Monitoring Mission
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EAEC/EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EPS	European Political Cooperation
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
EU NAVFOR Somalia	European Union Naval Force Somalia
EU SSR Guinea-Bissau	European Union Mission of the Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau
EUAM Ukraine	European Union Advisory Mission in Ukraine
EUAVSEC South Sudan	European Union Aviation Security Mission in South Sudan
EUBAM Libya	European Union Border Assistance Mission to Libya
EUBAM Moldova and Ukraine	European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine
EUBAM Rafah	European Union Border Assistance Mission to Rafah
EUCAP Nestor	European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Nestor
EUCAP Sahel Mali	European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Sahel Mali
EUCAP Sahel Niger	European Union Capacity-Building Mission in Sahel Niger
EUFOR RCA	European Union Force Mission in the Central African Republic
EUFOR RD CONGO	European Union Force Mission in Congo
EUFOR Tchad/RCA	European Union Force Mission in Chad
EUGS	European Union Global Strategy
EUJUST LEX-Iraq	European Union Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq
EUJUST THEMIS/Georgia	European Union Rule of Law Mission to Georgia
EULEX Kosovo	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

EUMAM RCA	European Union Military Advisory Mission in the Central African Republic
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMM Georgia	European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia
EUMS	European Union Military Staff
EUNAVFOR MED	European Union Naval Force Mediterranean
EUPAT	European Union Police Advisory Team
EUPM/BiH	European Union Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
EUPOL Afghanistan	European Union Police Mission in Afghanistan
EUPOL COPPS/ Palestinian Territories	European Union Police Coordinating Office for Palestinian
EUPOL KINSHASA (DRC)	European Union Police Mission in Kinshasa/Democratic Republic of Congo
EUPOL PROXIMA/FYROM	European Union Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
EUPOL RD CONGO	European Union Police Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
EUSEC RD CONGO	European Union Security Sector Reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
EUTM – Mali	European Union Military Training Mission in Mali
EUTM RCA	European Union Military Training Mission in the Central African Republic
EUTM Somalia	European Union Military Training Mission in Somalia
HR/VP	High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/Vice President of the Commission
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SEA	Single European Act
TEU	Treaty on European Union
UN	United Nations
WWII	World War II

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17.3 List of literature

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18. Affidavit

I declare that I have written the present thesis independently and on my own. I have clearly marked any language or ideas borrowed from other sources as not my own and documented their sources. The thesis does not contain any work that I have handed in or have had graded as a previous scientific paper earlier on.

I am aware that any failure to do so constitutes plagiarism. Plagiarism is the presentation of another person's thoughts or words as if they were my own – even if I summarize, paraphrase, condense, cut, rearrange, or otherwise alter them.

I am aware of the consequences and sanctions plagiarism entails. Among others, consequences may include nullification of the thesis, exclusion from the awarding of a degree, and legal consequences for lying under oath. These consequences also apply retrospectively, i.e. if plagiarism is discovered after the thesis has been accepted and graded. I am fully aware of the scope of these consequences.

.....

(Ilona BAMPENKO)

Wiener Neustadt, Austria in February 2017