



# Study Guide

Committee on Security and Defence

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## 1. Greetings of the Board

Dear Members of the European Parliament,

Welcome to the 13th edition of EUropa.S.!

It is our utmost honour and pleasure to be serving as the Board of SEDE and we wish to make this conference an experience of a lifetime, worth storytelling to your friends and during family dinners! We are Zoi Triantou and Athanasia Mouriki, both sharing a keen interest in international affairs and especially in the fields of security challenges. Our common goal for this conference is for you to further discover the current situation on crucial defence issues, while working on your research, public speaking, and leadership skills. Don't worry about being a beginner in this committee; it is our job to be there for you, guiding and giving you directions when lost. We expect from you to arrive well-prepared on your speeches and solutions, after having researched the different dimensions of the topic and by utilising this study guide as your compass. Don't forget to bring your cutest outfits, best vibes, and biggest smiles!

Our topic under discussion for this year's conference is the role of the EU as a Security Provider in times of instability and conflict. The current events taking place around us, have once again brought to light concerns regarding security, stability, and the need to protect the civilian population. The EU, as a major presence in this continent, carries a big responsibility in taking measures to ensure the safety of its people. We have chosen to approach this topic in affinity to the past and present conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East. In addition, we will discuss the potential of an EU army, the reasons behind it never having been created in the past as well as whether it would assist in resolving conflicts that affect the EU. We hope you find it as current as we do and that you present to us all your elaborate ideas as to what the future of the EU in terms of security looks like.

For any inquiries, do not hesitate to contact us. We are always at your disposal, and we will happily answer any questions that you might have on our topic area.

Best regards,

The Board of the SEDE Committee of the European Parliament,

*Zoi Triantou - President*

*Athanasia Mouriki - Vice President*

## 2. Introduction to the Parliamentary Committee

One of the seven institutional bodies of the EU, the European Parliament has legislative, supervisory, and budgetary authority. Representing the interests of the EU's citizens, its 705 active members in the 27 Member States make up one of the biggest democratic electorates globally. In its capacity as a co-legislator, the Parliament and the Council jointly decide on the EU budget as well as approve and alter legislative proposals. It collaborates with national parliaments of EU member states to obtain input over the operations of the Commission and other EU bodies that it oversees.

The European Parliament's Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs comprises the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE)<sup>1</sup>. In addition to managing institutions, capacities, and operations related to European security and defence policy, it is also in charge of cultivating links with other nations and strategic partners. The Subcommittee on Security and Defence has the responsibility of offering a venue for comprehensive public discussion and in-depth parliamentary examination of all EU action within the context of the CSDP. SEDE actively participates in the development of the EU's defence and security policy with a view to strengthening relations with strategic partners such as NATO and the United Nations, as well as with third countries that are advocates of multilateralism and an international order that promotes peace. Under the Ninth European Parliament (2019–2024), the committee is led by Frenchwoman Nathalie Loiseau, the Vice President is Nikos Papandreou and consists of thirty members.

## 3. Key Terms and Definitions

**Common Foreign and Security Policy:** The common foreign and security policy (CFSP) is the EU's joint foreign and security policy. It seeks to preserve peace, reinforce international security, and promote international cooperation, democracy, the rule of law and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The CFSP was first established in 1993 under the Maastricht Treaty. It has been progressively reinforced by subsequent treaties, particularly the Treaty of Lisbon (Title V of the Treaty on European Union)<sup>2</sup>.

**Common Security and Defence Policy:** The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is part of the CFSP of the EU. The CSDP offers a framework for cooperation between EU Member States within which the EU can conduct operational missions with the aim of peacekeeping and strengthening international security in third countries by relying on civil and military assets provided by EU Member States<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> SEDE | Committees | European Parliament, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/en/sede/about>, Accessed: 23 November 2023

<sup>2</sup> Common foreign and security policy (CFSP) (no date) EUR. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/common-foreign-and-security-policy-cfsp.html> [Accessed: 03 December 2023].

<sup>3</sup> Common security and defence policy (CSDP) (no date) Migration and Home Affairs. Available at: [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp\\_en](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en) (Accessed: 03 December 2023).

Permanent Structured Cooperation: (Article 42 of TEU) The Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) in the area of security and defence policy was established by a Council Decision in 2017, with 26 EU Member States. It offers a legal framework to jointly plan, develop and invest in shared capability projects, and enhance the operational readiness and contribution of armed forces. The participating Member States' aim is to collaboratively develop a coherent full spectrum force package and make the capabilities available to the following Member States for national and multinational (EU CSDP, NATO, UN, etc.) missions and operations<sup>4</sup>.

European External Action Service: The EU has a diplomatic service, the European External Action Service (EEAS), which was formally launched in 2011. The EEAS acts under the authority of the EU's High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the Commission (HR/VP), a position currently held by Josep Borrell Fontelles. A strong asset of the EEAS is its ability to work closely with the foreign and defence ministries of the member states of the European Union (EU) as well as with the EU institutions such as the European Commission, the European Council, and the European Parliament. It also has a strong working relationship with the United Nations and other international and multilateral Organisations<sup>5</sup>.

European Defence Agency: The European Defence Agency (EDA) was set up in 2004. It helps its 27 Member States (all EU countries) to develop their military resources. It promotes collaboration, launches new initiatives, and introduces solutions to improve defence capabilities. It also helps Member States that are willing to do so to develop joint defence capabilities. The agency is a European defence cooperation 'hub'. Its expertise and networks enable it to cover a broad defence spectrum, including harmonising requirements to delivering operational capabilities, research, and innovation to developing technology demonstrators, training and exercises to maintenance to supporting Common Security and Defence Policy operations. The EDA also works towards strengthening the European defence industry and acts as a facilitator and interface between Member States' military stakeholders and EU policies that impact on defence<sup>6</sup>.

The European External Action Service (EEAS), including the EU Military Staff (EUMS), and the European Defence Agency (EDA) jointly act as the PESCO Secretariat, providing a single point of contact within the Union's framework for all PESCO matters.

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<sup>4</sup> *Permanent structured cooperation (PESCO)* (no date) *Default*. Available at: [https://eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/EU-defence-initiatives/permanent-structured-cooperation-\(PESCO\)](https://eda.europa.eu/what-we-do/EU-defence-initiatives/permanent-structured-cooperation-(PESCO)) (Accessed: 03 December 2023).

<sup>5</sup> *About the European External Action Service* (no date) *EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service_en) (Accessed: 03 December 2023).

<sup>6</sup> *European Defence Agency - EDA* (no date) *European Union*. Available at: [https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/search-all-eu-institutions-and-bodies/european-defence-agency-eda\\_en](https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/institutions-and-bodies/search-all-eu-institutions-and-bodies/european-defence-agency-eda_en) (Accessed: 03 December 2023).

#### **4. Introduction to the topic**

In the dynamic and constantly changing landscape of international relations, the European Union seeks to emerge as a significant actor in promoting stability and addressing conflicts. As the world faces unprecedented challenges, discussions on the EU's role as a security provider have become increasingly relevant.

With a commitment to fostering peace, stability, and respect for human rights, the EU engages in various initiatives to address crises, prevent conflicts, and contribute to the global security architecture. As peace and stability challenges wage, with violence outbreaking in various regions, evaluating the EU's position in international security alongside NATO and the UN is a relevant and crucial matter.

Moreover, as violence and unrest have escalated in the Western Balkans and around Israel, a specific focus on these regional challenges seems vital. More specifically, both regions have experienced protracted conflicts and political tensions, offering insights into the EU's diverse approach to security challenges. On the one hand, in the complex and long-standing conflict between Israel and Palestine, the EU's diplomatic efforts, humanitarian assistance, and involvement in conflict resolution stand out. On the other hand, in the Western Balkans, the EU has been actively involved in post-conflict reconstruction, promoting stability through enlargement policies, and deploying missions to address the consequences of conflict in the region. The analysis of these case studies allows an understanding of the EU's role, shedding light on the challenges and successes it has faced in different geopolitical contexts. The debate launched by this analysis is necessary as the ongoing conflicts raise questions about the EU's capabilities and effectiveness as a security provider.

Briefly, under this topic, we examine the differentiated dimensions of the EU's engagement as a security provider, focusing on diplomatic initiatives, civilian missions, military capacities, and the cooperative efforts of the EU.

## 5. Legal Framework

### 5.1 Treaty of the European Union (TEU)<sup>7</sup>

The Treaty on European Union (2007), along with the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) is one of the primary treaties of the EU. The Treaty on European Union (TEU) establishes the foundations of EU legislation, including the organisation of the Union's key institutions (the Commission, Parliament, and Council) and the guidelines for its foreign, security, and external policy. The Lisbon Treaty signed in 2007 and being set to force in 2009 went beyond the previous primary treaties' fundamental rules and principles to establish new Union-wide roles and formal legal procedures.

The Lisbon Treaty<sup>8</sup> frames the provisions on CSDP in art. 42-46 TEU. It formally separates CFSP and CSDP from other areas of EU external relations. In order to improve the coherence and effectiveness of the policy, it also brought about significant institutional improvements and serves as a new cornerstone in the development of defence policies. The sections raise the question of whether the EU is genuinely turning into a defence organisation, one that at least provides military security, as they highlight the significance of Member States' participation to implement EU security requirements.

The modern structure of the European defence was established by the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) in 1993, with the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). After the St Malo declaration, one of its main components was added: the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), which has been engaged in several civilian and military missions. The Lisbon Treaty's creation of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who oversees the newly established European External Action Service (EEAS) and represents the CFSP, was another step towards the centralization of military command.

### 5.2 Mutual defence clause (Article 42.7 TEU)

This Article states that “If a Member State is the victim of armed aggression on its territory, the other Member States shall have towards it an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.”<sup>9</sup> By adding a mutual defence clause, the Treaty of Lisbon fortifies the unity of European Union (EU) Member States in the face of external threats.

All Member States must abide by this duty of mutual defence. Nonetheless, it is in line with the pledges made by NATO members and has no bearing on the neutrality

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<sup>7</sup> *Treaty of the European Union, EUR*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A11992M%2FTXT> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>8</sup> *The treaty of Lisbon: Fact Sheets on the European Union | European Parliament*. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/5/the-treaty-of-lisbon> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>9</sup> *Mutual defence clause* (no date) *EUR*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/mutual-defence-clause.html> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).



maintained by some Member States<sup>10</sup>. It occurred sixty years after NATO was established and its collective defence provision, known as Article 5, was drafted. The clause states that "an attack against one ally is considered as an attack against all Allies". Both have only ever been activated once in response to terrorist attacks: on November 13, 2015, in the case of Article 42.7, and on 9/11 for NATO.

The practical implementation of Article 42(7) is not as straightforward as the one of NATO, which is the cornerstone of European defence cooperation and has twenty-one of the 27 EU nations as members<sup>11</sup>. Despite the attempts of some non-NATO member states to further build and improve EU-based collective defence, the will to create new overlapping mechanisms for collective defence has historically been lacking because all the major EU member states are also NATO members. In addition, this Article foresees in its last sentence that its obligations are consistent with commitments under NATO, which "is and will remain the foundation of collective defence for its members". This proves once again that securing good relations with NATO has always been a priority for the Union. Finding a balance and respecting the powers that NATO has, is the key to activating this clause.

### 5.3 Solidarity Clause (Article 222 TFEU)<sup>12</sup>

Article 222 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union provides the EU with the commonly referred to as the "solidarity clause," which mandates that "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.". According to this article, the EU must assist the member state that is coping with the disaster by mobilising all of the tools at its disposal, including the military resources that the member states have contributed. Article 222 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union gives the EU a far greater role than Article 42(7) of the Treaty on European Union.

The EU adopted a decision in 2014 that established the guidelines and protocols for the solidarity clause's operation. Established in 2002, the European Union Solidarity Fund is a financial mechanism for civil protection missions. The 2014 provisions regarding the guidelines streamlined the application process and expanded the eligibility requirements to include drought-related conditions.

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<sup>10</sup> *Like NATO, the EU has a Mutual Defence Clause but trust appears low* (no date) *euronews*. Available at: <https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2022/06/07/like-nato-the-eu-has-a-mutual-defence-clause-but-trust-appears-low> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

<sup>12</sup> *Solidarity clause* (no date) *EUR*. Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/solidarity-clause.html> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

#### **5.4 NATO-EU Declaration on ESDP**<sup>13</sup>

The NATO-EU Declaration on ESDP of December 2002 confirmed the EU's guaranteed access to NATO's planning capabilities for its own military operations and restated the political principles of the strategic partnership: effective mutual consultation, equality and respect for the decision-making autonomy of the EU and NATO, respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and coherent, transparent and mutually reinforcing development of the joint military capability requirements of the two organisations.

#### **5.5 The “Berlin Plus” arrangements**<sup>14</sup>

Since the 2016 NATO Summit in Warsaw, NATO and the EU have issued three Joint Declarations (in 2016, 2018 and 2023). These declarations have outlined a series of actions for the two organisations to take together in concrete areas, strengthening and expanding the NATO-EU strategic partnership in light of common challenges. All three declarations were signed by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission.

#### **5.6 Joint Declarations on EU-NATO Cooperation**<sup>15</sup>

Since the NATO summit in Warsaw in 2016, NATO and the EU have issued three joint declarations (in 2016, 2018 and 2023). These declarations outlined a series of actions to be undertaken jointly by the two organisations in specific areas, strengthening and broadening the NATO-EU strategic partnership in the light of common challenges. All three statements were signed by the NATO Secretary General, the President of the European Council and the President of the European Commission.

#### **5.7 European Security Strategy**

The European Security Strategy (ESS) was adopted by the European Council in December 2003 under the authority of Javier Solana, the EU's High Representative for the Common Foreign. In accordance with its fundamental values, this document defined for the first-time specific goals and principles for promoting EU security interests. The European Union Global Strategy took its place in 2016<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> NATO (2023) *Relations with the European Union, NATO*. Available at: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_49217.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>14</sup> NATO (2023) *Relations with the European Union, NATO*. Available at: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_49217.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>15</sup> *ibid*

<sup>16</sup> *European Security strategy - A secure Europe in a Better World*. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/publications/european-security-strategy-secure-europe-better-world/> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

The Venusberg Group<sup>17</sup> produced three reports concerning the development of the European Security Strategy:

1. Enhancing the European Union as an International Security Actor
2. A European Defence Strategy
3. Beyond 2010 – European Grand Strategy in a Global Age

Bertelsmann Stiftung assembled the Venusberg Group, which consisted of several European security and defence specialists with the objective of discussing the direction of EU security policy. Early in 1999, the Group was established because of a conference held at a hotel on the Venusberg, close to Bonn and the Petersberg, where European leaders had laid the foundation for EU defence in 1992.

### 5.8 European Union Global Strategy

The European Union Global Strategy (EUGS), also known as the Global Strategy for the Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union, is the updated doctrine of the EU aimed at enhancing the efficiency of the Union's and its member states' defence and security, the protection of civilians, military cooperation among member states, immigration management, crisis management, etc. It takes the place of the 2003 European Security Strategy<sup>18</sup>.

To increase the level of ambition of the European Union's security and defence policy, High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini introduced an Implementation Plan focusing on security and defence in November 2016, building on the EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy in June 2016. In this context, on November 14th, 2016, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Defence adopted Council conclusions that established a new standard of ambition for the EU's security and defence strategy and offered instructions on how to reach this goal<sup>19</sup>.

### 5.9 EU Strategic Compass<sup>20</sup>

At a time when war is once again breaking out in Europe, the Strategic Compass has been approved by the European Union. By 2030, the European Union will have a more robust

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<sup>17</sup> *Venusberg Group: Beyond 2010 – European strategy in a global age* (2008) EAIAMEII. Available at: <https://www.eliamep.gr/event/venusberg-group-beyond-2010-%E2%80%93-european-strategy-in-a-global-age/> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>18</sup> *A global strategy for the European Union's foreign and security policy*. Available at: <https://www.coe-civ.eu/kh/a-global-strategy-for-the-european-unions-foreign-and-security-policy> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>19</sup> *Implementation plan on security and defence - factsheet* (no date) EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/implementation-plan-security-and-defence-factsheet\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/implementation-plan-security-and-defence-factsheet_en) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>20</sup> *A strategic compass for security and Defence* (no date) EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/strategic-compass-security-and-defence-1\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/strategic-compass-security-and-defence-1_en) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

security and defence strategy as a consequence of the ambitious action plan provided by the Compass. The EU must take a major step ahead, improve its ability and willingness to act, fortify its resilience, and invest more and better in its defence capabilities to meet the demands of the increasingly hostile security environment. The Union's strength is found in its unity, determination, and solidarity. Enhancing the EU's capacity as a security provider is the aim of the Strategic Compass. In addition to defending its residents, the EU must be able to advance global peace and security.

NATO continues to be the cornerstone of collective defence for its members; a more powerful and capable EU in security and defence would favourably impact transatlantic and global security. Additionally, it will strengthen momentum for the United Nations-centred international system of norms. A common evaluation of the dangers and difficulties the EU faces, as well as the strategic environment in which it operates, is provided by the Strategic Compass. The document offers specific recommendations that may be put into practice immediately, along with a very clear implementation schedule, to strengthen the EU's capacity to defend its citizens' security and act decisively in times of crisis.

## **6. EU Actions on Foreign Policy and Security Affairs**

### **6.1 EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)**

The European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) aims to maintain peace, strengthen international security, promote international cooperation, and develop and consolidate democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, the treaty that gave the CFSP its current structure was the Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty created a number of new CFSP actors as well as enhanced the role of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and the new permanent President of the European Council. In addition, it created the European External Action Service (EEAS) and upgraded the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), which is part of the CFSP. <sup>21</sup> It is worth mentioning that the role of the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, currently Josep Borrell Fontelles, includes presiding over meetings of the Foreign Affairs Council and leading the EEAS.<sup>22</sup>

As part of the broad CFSP and its operational arm, the CSDP, the EU created the Permanent Structured Cooperation, in whose Secretariat operate the European External Action Service and the European Defence Agency. Each of the above operators aim for a

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<sup>21</sup> Malovec, M. (2023) *Foreign policy: AIMS, instruments and achievements: Fact sheets on the European Union* | European Parliament. Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/158/foreign-policy-aims-instruments-and-achievements> (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>22</sup> Consilium (2022) *Foreign Affairs Council configuration (FAC), European Council* | Council of the EU. Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/fac/> (Accessed: 22 December 2023).

well-organised, common, and coordinated foreign and security policy of its member states.

## 6.2 Permanent Structure Cooperation- (PESCO)

As mentioned above, 26 out of 27 EU member states participate in PESCO, with the only stated abstaining being Malta. There are currently 46 PESCO projects. These involve initiatives of the operational dimension and capacity building, such as the establishment of the EU Training Mission Capability Centre, Cyber Rapid Response Teams, Mutual Assistance in Cybersecurity, Military Disaster Relief, Maritime Surveillance, the creation of a European Information Network for Military Space Surveillance, a joint EU Intelligence School and a co-basing project aimed at sharing national and overseas bases.<sup>23</sup>

## 6.3 European External Action Service – (EEAS)

The European External Action Service, as the diplomatic service of the European Union has under its auspices the most important initiatives of EU member states in matters of the CFSP and the CSDP. Its services are divided in 4 categories:

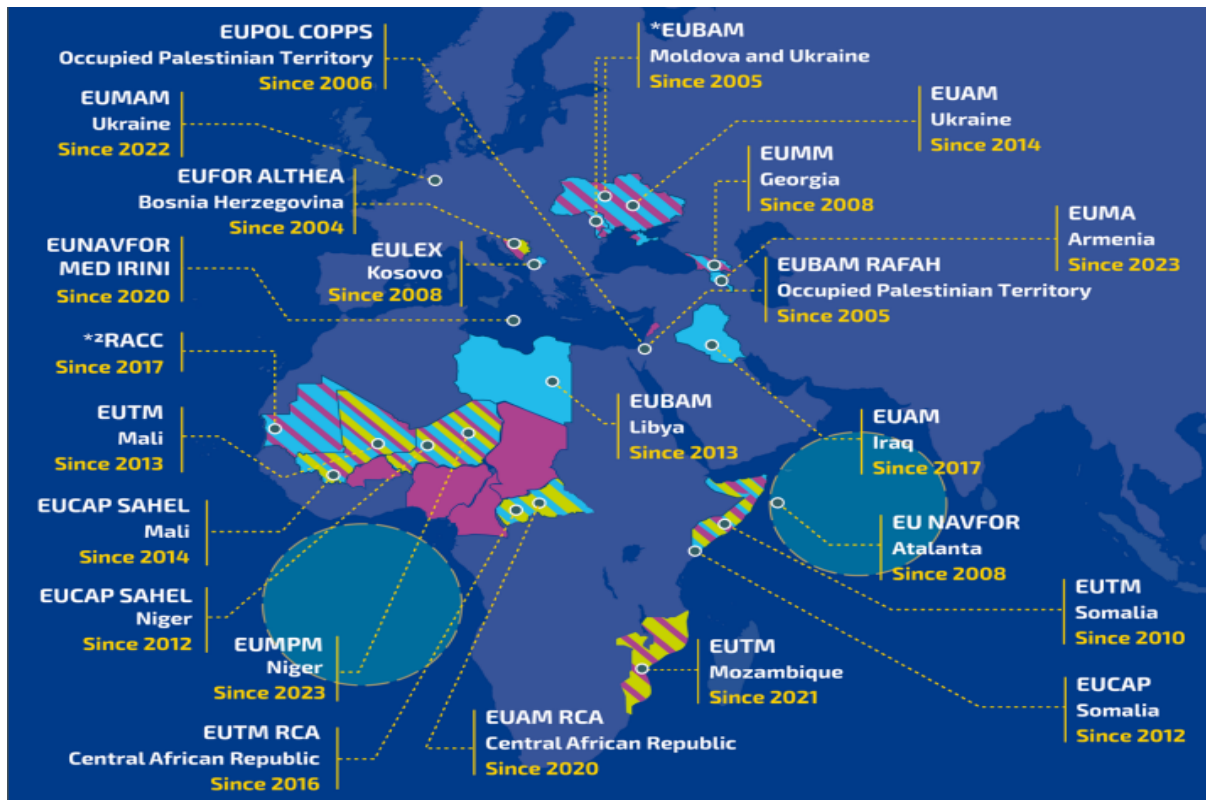
- EU Diplomatic Representations, which play a key role in representing the EU and its citizens around the world, and in developing networks and partnerships. The main tasks include representing the EU in the country where they are based and promoting EU interests and principles. The EU has diplomatic representations in almost all non-EU Member States around the world, as well as in regional or international organisations. In particular, the EU has diplomatic representation in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the United Nations, the African Union, ASEAN, and even in Kosovo and the occupied Palestinian territory.<sup>24</sup>



<sup>23</sup> EEAS (2021) *Permanent structured cooperation (PESCO)*, EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/permanent-structured-cooperation-pesco_en) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>24</sup> EEAS (no date) *About the European External Action Service, EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service\\_en#8419](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/about-european-external-action-service_en#8419) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

- Election observation missions (EOMs) that offer a complete, objective, and independent evaluation of an election process that complies with international standards for democratic elections. The EU is a reliable, globally recognized organisation for observing elections worldwide. The EU has deployed more than 160 EOMs in over 60 countries since 2000 such as EOM Kosovo 2021, EOM Iraq 2021.<sup>25</sup>
- Diplomatic mediation: Since 2006 under the direction of the EU High Representative, the E3/EU+3 (China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and Iran have been engaged in diplomatic negotiations. This effort resulted in the signing of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Program (JCPOA) in 2015.<sup>26</sup>
- Military & Civilian Missions & Operations: The first CSDP missions and operations were launched in 2003 and since then the EU has undertaken over 37 civilian or military missions and operations in various countries in Europe, Africa and Asia. **Today there are 21 ongoing CSDP missions and operations, 12 of which are civilian, and 9 military.** Below we will examine the ongoing crises, their historical background, as well as the CSDP missions and operations deployed in each case.<sup>27</sup>



<sup>25</sup>EAAS (no date) *EU election observation missions, EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-election-observation-missions-1\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-election-observation-missions-1_en) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>26</sup> EEAS (2022) *Iran and the EU, EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/iran-and-eu-0\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/iran-and-eu-0_en) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>27</sup> EEAS (2023) *Missions and operations, EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/missions-and-operations\\_en#9620](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/missions-and-operations_en#9620) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

## 7. Case Studies

### 7.1 Western Balkans

Following a protracted period of conflict in the region, the Ottoman Empire lost nearly all its remaining territory in Europe as a result of the two major Balkan Wars, which altered the political and geographical landscape of the Balkan region (1912–13)<sup>28</sup>.

The chaos in Macedonia caused unrest that spread to Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, which led to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars<sup>29</sup>. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 brought into power in Constantinople (now Istanbul) a ministry determined on reform but insisting on the principle of centralised control. Consequently, no concessions were made to the Christian ethnic groups residing in Macedonia, which included the Macedonians as well as Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Vlachs. The Albanian League had sparked a growing sense of nationalism among the Albanians, who were also unhappy with the Young Turks' centrist policies.

The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan League's members, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and Montenegro, engaged in combat during the First Balkan War. In the spring of 1912, the Balkan League was established under Russian sponsorship in an attempt to wrest Macedonia from Turkey—which was at that point embroiled in a war with Italy. On October 8, 1912, Montenegro declared war on Turkey, and ten days later, the other league members did the same. The allies in the Balkans quickly triumphed<sup>30</sup>.

When Serbia, Greece, and Romania fought Bulgaria over the distribution of their combined victories in Macedonia, the Second Balkan War broke out. Serbia and Greece united against Bulgaria and the war started, when Bulgarian King Ferdinand gave the command for his soldiers to attack Macedonian forces that were led by Serbia and Greece. Although initially the Bulgarians were successful, the result of the war was marked with their defeat. In August of 1913 the combatants signed a peace treaty. Bulgaria only had a minor portion of the territory as Greece and Serbia split up the majority of Macedonia according to the conditions of the treaty<sup>31</sup>.

#### 7.1.1 The Yugoslavian Wars

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was one of the biggest, most advanced, and most diversified nations in the Balkans at the start of the 1990s<sup>32</sup>. The six republics that

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<sup>28</sup> *Roots of the Balkan troubles: a history of ethnic skirmishes* (no date) CNN. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/Bosnia/history/index.html> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>29</sup> *Balkan wars* (2023) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Balkan-Wars> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

<sup>31</sup> *Balkan wars* (2023) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Balkan-Wars> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>32</sup> *The Conflicts | International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia*. Available at: <https://www.icty.org/en/about/what-former-yugoslavia/conflicts> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

made up the non-aligned federation were Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. Apart from the six republics, the autonomous provinces within the Republic of Serbia included the two distinct areas of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam were the three primary religions practised in Yugoslavia, which was home to a diverse population of ethnic groupings<sup>33</sup>.

Yugoslavia went through a period of severe political and economic crises in the late 1980s and early 1990s, coinciding with the fall of communism and the rise of nationalism in Eastern Europe. As Yugoslavia was about to break up in 1991, Slovenia and Croatia were accusing Serbia of unfairly controlling the country's economy, military, and administration. In response, Serbia charged the two republics with separatism<sup>34</sup>.

### 7.1.2 Bosnia and Herzegovina

The worst struggle in the collapsing Yugoslav Federation was to be fought in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>35</sup>. Due to its advantageous location, the republic was vulnerable to attempts by both Serbia and Croatia to seize control of sizable portions of its territory. In reality, Bosnia and Herzegovina were already divided up, with a small Muslim enclave, during a covert conference between the presidents of Croatia and Serbia in 1991.



In a March 1992 referendum that Bosnian Serbs abstained from, almost 60% of Bosnian voters chose independence. With the backing of Serbia and the Yugoslav People's Army, Bosnian Serbs quickly rebelled in April 1992, claiming the lands they controlled as a Serb republic in Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>36</sup>. With a campaign of systematic persecution of non-Serbs and overwhelming military dominance, they swiftly established control over more than 60% of the country. Soon after, Bosnian Croats rebelled against the Bosnian government and established their own country with Croatia's support<sup>37</sup>. Territories were fiercely contested by three sides during the conflict, and atrocities against civilians of all nationalities were committed against them.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid*

<sup>34</sup> *The Breakup of Yugoslavia, 1990–1992*, U.S. Department of State. Available at: <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/breakup-yugoslavia> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>35</sup> *Bosnian War* (2023) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Bosnian-War> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>36</sup> *Bosnia-Herzegovina profile - timeline* (2022) *BBC News*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17212376> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>37</sup> *Bosnian War* (2023) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Bosnian-War> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).



The war continued from April 1992 to November 1995, when a peace settlement was initiated in Dayton, and is estimated to have claimed over 100,000 lives. The Implementation Force (IFOR) was sent by NATO in December 1995 to carry out the military provisions of the Dayton Peace Agreement. NATO's involvement along with the Dayton Accords signalled the end of the war. And so, it was more the US and not the Europeans that was the driving force behind ending this War. The EU has called for a rapid cease-fire between the parties in a series of formal declarations about Bosnia. For instance, in October 1992, the European Council met in Birmingham and adopted a declaration on the former Yugoslavia. In it, the Council denounced the ongoing widespread violence and human tragedy in the former Yugoslavia and voiced its grave worries about the humanitarian conditions in the region. Declaratory diplomacy however proved to be ineffective. One of the main reasons the EC/EU was so indecisive throughout these conflicts and prevented European nations from taking the lead in international attempts to stop them, was the lack of political will and unity among the European nations. A year later, the NATO-led Stabilisation Force took over the role of IFOR. Nine years later, in 2004, NATO decided to abandon its peacekeeping mission that had maintained security in the region. This decision led the European Union (EU) to launch the military operation ALTHEA in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>38</sup>

➤ EUFOR ALTHEA: EUFOR Bosnia-Herzegovina Military Operation Althea

The European Union has continually supported the implementation of the General Framework Agreement for Peace. For this reason, the Union launched the military Operation, EUFOR Althea, in December 2004, a decision that was welcomed by the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1551, adopted unanimously in July 2004<sup>39</sup>. Althea is the third and largest military operation launched by the EU to date. The main objectives of Operation Althea include capacity building and training of the Bosnian Herzegovinian armed forces, their evolution towards NATO standards, and the provision of deterrence. Althea's objective is to ensure continued compliance with its responsibility as the legitimate successor to SFOR. The goals of EUFOR Althea can be summarised as supporting Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts to maintain a secure environment in Bosnia. ALTHEA is being implemented using NATO assets and capabilities, on the basis agreed with NATO ("Berlin Plus").<sup>40</sup>



A total of 22 countries, including EU Member States and non-EU Troop Contributing Countries are present within EUFOR (Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Chile, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland,

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<sup>38</sup> EEAS (2020) *EUFOR Bosnia-Herzegovina military Operation Althea*, EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eufor-althea/eufor-bosnia-herzegovina-military-operation-althea\\_und\\_en?s=324](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eufor-althea/eufor-bosnia-herzegovina-military-operation-althea_und_en?s=324) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>39</sup> EUROPEAN UNION FORCE (2023) *About EUFOR, European Union Force: Operation Althea*. Available at: <https://www.euforbih.org/index.php/about-eufor/background> (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>40</sup> *ibid*

Portugal, Republic of North Macedonia, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Türkiye).

### 7.1.3 Evaluating the EUFOR Althea operation

In 2018, the capacity building and training programme was completed as the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina achieved the goal of self-sustaining military training. This can of course be seen as the first success of Operation Althea. In terms of deterrence and maintaining a secure environment, EUFOR Althea can be considered a success. However, it is important to remember that the situation was quite stable and secure when EUFOR Althea was deployed and there was no revival of ethnically motivated violence that needed to be addressed. Therefore, we cannot analyse to what extent the CSDP operation has been the reason for preventing violence.<sup>41</sup>

However, although Operation Althea's presence has succeeded in preventing a generalised conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the security situation appears to be stable, there are still important issues that have not been addressed. Socio-economic issues such as unemployment, health care and terrorism continue to challenge security and instability in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, the failure to achieve Bosnia and Herzegovina EU membership 20 years after the end of the conflict, creates the idea that there is still a long way to go with various political and social challenges awaiting Bosnia.

<sup>42</sup>

These challenges can be seen as arguments both in favour and against the Althea operation. Its supporters argue that these issues make EUFOR Althea's presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina necessary, while opponents argue that the operation is the factor causing these difficulties. However, the general question is whether these challenges can be addressed through a military presence in BiH.

### 7.1.4 The Kosovo Dispute

The ethnic Albanian community in Kosovo desired independence from Serbia, which led to the next region of strife<sup>43</sup>. When the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) publicly rebelled

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<sup>41</sup> Pulko, I.B., Muherina, M. and Pejić, N. (2017) *Analysing the effectiveness of EUFOR Althea operation in Bosnia* - *css.ba*, Centre for European Perspective. Available at: [https://css.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/CEP\\_Slovenia\\_052017\\_ENG.pdf](https://css.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/CEP_Slovenia_052017_ENG.pdf) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>42</sup> Pulko, I.B., Muherina, M. and Pejić, N. (2017) *Analysing the effectiveness of EUFOR Althea operation in Bosnia* - *css.ba*, Centre for European Perspective. Available at: [https://css.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/CEP\\_Slovenia\\_052017\\_ENG.pdf](https://css.ba/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/CEP_Slovenia_052017_ENG.pdf) (Accessed: 13 December 2023).

<sup>43</sup> *Kosovo conflict* (2023) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Kosovo-conflict> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).



against the Serbian government in 1998, there was a spike in violence. To put an end to the insurgents, police and army reinforcements were dispatched.

The Kosovo Albanian population was forced to evacuate because of the Serb forces' heavy shelling of villages during their assault<sup>44</sup>. Following the failure of the Rambouillet peace talks in early 1999, which attempted to end the situation through international mediation, NATO launched a 78-day campaign of

airstrikes against targets in Serbia and Kosovo<sup>45</sup>. Serb forces responded by stepping up their persecution of Kosovo Albanian civilians. Slobodan Milošević, the president of Serbia, eventually consented to remove his police and military forces from the region. Approximately half of the province's Serb population, or 100,000 people, left due to fear of retaliation, while over 750,000 Albanian refugees returned home. Serbia consented to foreign administration of Kosovo in June 1999, however the province's ultimate status remained unclear.

The EU's continued inability to stop or contain violent conflict within its own borders was made clear by the worsening situation in Kosovo. Although the European Council had emphasised that the EU had a "moral obligation" to address the humanitarian crisis in the "middle of Europe," the Serb onslaught in Kosovo was ultimately put to a halt by a NATO operation led by the United States. Since 1999, the European Union has taken the lead in the global endeavour to construct a new future for Kosovo<sup>46</sup>. From a European standpoint, Kosovo is an integral part of the larger Western Balkans region. Implementing the EU agenda in Kosovo, particularly the promotion of European norms, is greatly aided by the European Union Office in Kosovo. Permanent political and technical communication between Kosovo and EU institutions is ensured by this Office. In addition, the EUSR manages the EU's presence in the country, promotes fundamental freedoms and human rights, and provides guidance and support to the government of Kosovo. Another notable initiative is the European Union's strategic framework for relations with the Western Balkan countries, which is known as the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP). The SAP encourages regional collaboration, stabilisation, the shift to a market economy, and EU membership readiness. Regular meetings between the EU and Kosovar authorities have taken place as part of the dialogue on the Stabilization and Association Process (SAPD).

<sup>44</sup> Kovacevic, T. (2023) *Kosovo: Why is violence flaring between ethnic Serbs and Albanians?*, BBC News. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/62382069> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>45</sup> *The Conflicts | International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia*. Available at: <https://www.icty.org/en/about/what-former-yugoslavia/conflicts> (Accessed: 23 November 2023).

<sup>46</sup> *The European Union and Kosovo* (no date) *EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/kosovo/eu-and-kosovo\\_en?s=321](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/kosovo/eu-and-kosovo_en?s=321) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

More than a hundred nations, including the US and numerous EU members, have acknowledged Kosovo's independence so far<sup>47</sup>. Meanwhile Serbia continues to oppose Kosovo's international recognition since it views the region as part of its own and is supported by nations like China and Russia. Since its permanent members cannot agree on whether to support or oppose Kosovo's independence, the UN Security Council has not yet taken a firm stance. Concurrently, the Hague-based International Court of Justice has declared that Kosovo's proclamation of independence does not violate any international law.

➤ EULEX KOSOVO: European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

Following the declaration of Kosovo's independence in 2008, the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) was launched as part of the EU's broader engagement with Kosovo. After the deployment, EULEX obtained responsibility for the UN Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo's (UNMIK) previous responsibilities related to policing, justice, and customs.<sup>48</sup>



As a civilian mission, EULEX assists the Kosovo authorities in establishing independent and sustainable institutions for the rule of law without political intervention and in full compliance with European best practices and international human rights standards. The mission facilitates information sharing between the Kosovo authorities and Interpol and Europol while also providing the police, prosecution, and judicial authorities with concrete findings and recommendations targeted at enhancing the justice system. Additionally, professionals from EULEX are contributing to locating missing people, detecting potential illegal graves, and identifying victims of the conflict in Kosovo. Finally, in the context of the Formed Police Unit (FPU) that operates within a three-tier security mechanism, the Kosovo Police is the first security actor, EULEX is the second and the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) is the third security actor.<sup>49</sup>

In general, EULEX acts through monitoring and consulting activities, with limited executive functions, and supports the implementation of existing dialogue agreements to normalise relations between Serbia and Kosovo. Supported by the EU Member States, the United Kingdom, and five contributing states (Canada, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States), EULEX is the largest civilian mission under the EU's CSDP.<sup>50</sup> EULEX's current mandate has been launched to cover the period until 14 June 2025. The Mission works within the framework of UN Security Council resolution 1244.

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<sup>47</sup> *ibid*

<sup>48</sup> EULEX Kosovo (2020) *Eulex Kosovo: European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo - civilian mission, EEAS*. Available at: <https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eulex-kosovo/eulex-kosovo-european-union-rule-law-mission-kosovo-civilian-mission-und-en> (Accessed: 14 December 2023).

<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

#### 7.1.4.1 Evaluating the EULEX Kosovo

The Brussels Agreement was signed in 2013 under the auspices of the European Union with the aim of normalising relations between Kosovo and Serbia. As the agreement led to a period of improved relations between Kosovo and Serbia, the EU's role as a mediator in this diplomatic encounter could be considered a success of Europe's presence in Kosovo.<sup>51</sup>

However, EULEX has been considerably criticised, mainly because the EU mission inherited not only a pile of work, but also local's dissatisfaction with UNMIK, taking on a huge task. The Kosovo citizens desired a fully functioning justice system, but EULEX did not live up to their expectations. The EU's external policy mechanism did not prove to be as effective as it could have been, as maintaining political stability took precedence over maintaining the rule of law.<sup>52</sup>

Although the fact that a large-scale outbreak of violence was avoided should not be ignored, EULEX has been accused of excessive political interference, inefficiency and ineffectiveness. All in all, with its mandate running until 2025, discussions on the future of EULEX should begin.

#### 7.2 Middle East - Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict began toward the end of the 1800s<sup>53</sup>. Resolution 181, also referred to as the Partition Plan, was enacted by the UN in 1947 with the goal of dividing the British Mandate of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. With the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, the first Arab Israeli War began. After Israel won the war in 1949, 750,000 Palestinians were forced to flee their homes, and the region was split into three sections: the Gaza Strip, the West Bank (across the Jordan River), and the State of Israel<sup>54</sup>. Over the following years, tensions rose in the region, particularly between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. Israel began the Six-Day War in 1967 by attacking Syrian and Egyptian air forces without warning. Following the battle, Israel was granted sovereignty over the Golan Heights from Syria, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt<sup>55</sup>. The October War broke

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<sup>51</sup> Llaudes, S. and Andrada, F.S. (2015) *EULEX: A mission in need of reform and with no end in sight*, *Elcano Royal Institute*. Available at: <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/en/analyses/eulex-a-mission-in-need-of-reform-and-with-no-end-in-sight/> (Accessed: 14 December 2023).

<sup>52</sup> Cama, A. (2018) *EU's Kosovo mission a good idea executed poorly – DW – 06/14/2018*, *dw.com*. Available at: <https://www.dw.com/en/eu-ends-kosovo-rule-of-law-mission-amid-criticism-over-results/a-44229405> (Accessed: 14 December 2023).

<sup>53</sup> *Israeli-palestinian conflict | global conflict tracker* (no date) *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>54</sup> Staff, A.J. (2023) *What's the israel-palestine conflict about? A simple guide*, *Al Jazeera*. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/9/whats-the-israel-palestine-conflict-about-a-simple-guide> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>55</sup> *Israel gaza war: History of the conflict explained* (2023) *BBC News*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-44124396> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

out six years later. The thirty-year struggle between Egypt and Israel came to an end in 1979 when representatives from both countries signed the Camp David Accords, a peace treaty, after a series of cease-fires and peace talks.

Although the Camp David Accords led to better ties between Israel and its neighbours, there was still no agreement on the issue of Palestinian self-determination and self-governance<sup>56</sup>. The first intifada began in 1987 when hundreds of thousands of Palestinians residing in the West Bank and Gaza Strip rebelled against the Israeli authorities. The 1993 Oslo I Accords facilitated mutual recognition between Israel's government



and the newly founded Palestinian Authority, as well as provided a framework for Palestinian self-governance in the West Bank and Gaza. The Oslo II Accords of 1995 built upon the terms of the original accord, requiring Israel to completely evacuate six cities and four hundred towns in the West Bank. The second intifada was started by Palestinians in September 2000 and continued until 2005. In retaliation, the International Criminal Court and the International Court of Justice opposed the Israeli government's approval of the building of a barrier wall across the West Bank in 2002.

After Hamas overthrew the long-standing dominant party Fatah in the Palestinian Authority's 2006 parliamentary elections, factionalism among Palestinians erupted<sup>57</sup>. This handed control of the Gaza Strip to Hamas, a political and militant movement influenced by the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood. Gaza is a small piece of land in the Mediterranean Sea that has a southern border with Egypt and has been governed by the Palestinian Authority, a semi-autonomous body, since 1993. The election triumph of Hamas was not recognized by the US and the EU, among other countries, since the group has been viewed as a terrorist organisation by western governments since the late 1990s.

Following Hamas's takeover of the Gaza Strip in 2007, Israel authorised a slew of restrictions including power outages, severely restricted imports, and border closures and designated the Gaza Strip under Hamas as a hostile entity<sup>58</sup>. Both Israeli and Hamas strikes on Israel and the Gaza Strip persisted. Following months of discussions, Israel and Hamas decided to put into effect a six-month ceasefire in June 2008. However, the ceasefire came to an official end on December 19 due to allegations of breaches by both parties.

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<sup>56</sup> *Israeli-palestinian conflict | global conflict tracker* (no date) Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>57</sup> *ibid*

<sup>58</sup> *Conflict with Israel* (no date) Encyclopædia Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hamas/Conflict-with-Israel> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

After confrontations in the Palestinian territories in the summer of 2014, the Israeli military and Hamas engaged in a military confrontation during which the latter launched around 3,000 rockets at Israel, prompting Israel to launch a massive attack in Gaza. A cease-fire mediated by Egypt brought the skirmish to an end in late August 2014, but not before 2,251 Palestinians and 73 Israelis had lost their lives<sup>59</sup>. Following a wave of violence in 2015 between Israelis and Palestinians, Fatah President Mahmoud Abbas declared that the Oslo Accords' territorial divisions would no longer apply to the Palestinian people.

Early in October 2023, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict saw its most dramatic escalation in several decades as war broke out between Israel and Hamas, the militant Islamist party that has occupied Gaza since 2006<sup>60</sup>. More than 1,300 Israelis were killed, 3,300 were injured, and hundreds of hostages were taken hostage as Hamas fighters crossed the Gaza Strip to invade southern Israeli cities and villages and launch rockets into Israel. Israel was unprepared for the attack, but it promptly launched a lethal counteroffensive. The Israeli cabinet officially declared war on Hamas one day after the attack on October 7. The defence minister then ordered the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) to impose a "complete siege" on Gaza.

The European Council has issued a statement outlining the unified view of the EU on the events taking place in the Middle East<sup>61</sup>. The European Union expressed its profound sorrow for the lives lost and strongly denounced Hamas for its heinous and indiscriminate terrorist assaults throughout Israel. In the face of such violent and indiscriminate attacks, it firmly reaffirmed Israel's right to defend itself in accordance with humanitarian and international law. It stressed once more how crucial it is to always guarantee the safety of people in accordance with international humanitarian law. However, prior to this, confusion rose from the public statements coming from the various EU bodies. Starting with the words of the European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen<sup>62</sup>, who pointed out that any Israeli defence against the terrorist organisation Hamas must be "in accordance with international law," but she only mentioned the necessity of humanitarian aid, stating, "There is no contradiction in standing in solidarity with Israel and providing humanitarian aid in Gaza." She did not address Palestinian statehood. These statements were followed by the interview of

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<sup>59</sup> Staff, A.J. (2023) *What's the israel-palestine conflict about? A simple guide*, Al Jazeera. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/9/whats-the-israel-palestine-conflict-about-a-simple-guide> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>60</sup> *Israeli-palestinian conflict | global conflict tracker* (no date) Council on Foreign Relations. Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/israeli-palestinian-conflict> (Accessed: 24 November 2023).

<sup>61</sup> *Statement of the members of the European Council on the situation in ...* Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/10/15/statement-agreed-by-the-27-members-of-the-european-council-on-the-situation-in-the-middle-east/> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>62</sup> *Press corner European Commission - European Commission*. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/AC\\_23\\_6013](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/AC_23_6013) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

European Council President Charles Michel<sup>63</sup> who acknowledge that indeed her speech was controversial in certain aspects and added that along with the head of the EU's Foreign Policy department, he and the European Council have been strongly outlining the EU's position and reaffirming its commitment to a two-state solution. Later on, Josep Borrell<sup>64</sup>, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, warned Israel not to let anger overtake it in its reaction to Hamas' strikes, saying that "one horror does not justify another" while Israeli forces continue their war in Gaza. As we can understand, the EU voiced various concerns before adopting a common stance on the Middle East Conflict.

### EUPOL COPPS / Palestinian Territories: EU Police and Rule of Law Mission for The Occupied Palestinian Territory

The European Union has long been at the forefront of efforts for peace in the Middle East, supporting a two-state solution with an autonomous, democratic and viable Palestinian state living side by side with Israel and its other neighbours in peace and stability. In the light of this framework and with this objective, the mission was deployed in 2006 as a police mission consisting of a police advisory section and a rule of law section was added in 2008.<sup>65</sup>



EUPOL COPPS has developed important initiatives in the occupied Palestinian territory, focusing on supporting the reform and development of the Palestinian police, strengthening the Palestinian criminal justice system, enhancing prosecution-police cooperation, and coordinating donor external assistance to the Palestinian police.<sup>66</sup>

With a focus on security and justice sector reforms, the mission is essential to help the Palestinian Authority build stable institutions. To achieve this objective, the EU is launching projects in the occupied Palestinian territories to improve infrastructure, education, human development, and entrepreneurship.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Report by president Charles Michel to the European parliament plenary ... Available at: <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2023/11/08/report-by-president-charles-michel-to-the-european-parliament-plenary-session/> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>64</sup> Two takeaways from an intense mission to the Middle East EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/two-takeaways-intense-mission-middle-east\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/two-takeaways-intense-mission-middle-east_en) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>65</sup> EEAS (no date b) *The EU Mission for the Support of Palestinian Police and Rule of Law: Background, The EU Mission for the Support of Palestinian Police and Rule of Law*. Available at: <https://eupolcoppes.eu/page/background/en> (Accessed: 15 December 2023).

<sup>66</sup> EEAS (2020b) *Eupol Coppins: EU Police and rule of law mission for the occupied palestinian territory - civilian mission, EEAS*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eupol-coppes/palestinian-territories/eupol-coppes-eu-police-and-rule-law-mission-occupied-palestinian-territory-civilian-mission\\_und\\_en?s=338](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eupol-coppes/palestinian-territories/eupol-coppes-eu-police-and-rule-law-mission-occupied-palestinian-territory-civilian-mission_und_en?s=338) (Accessed: 15 December 2023)

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*



Nonetheless, the ultimate objective of the mission is to improve the security and protection of the Palestinian people.<sup>68</sup>

### 7.2.1 Evaluating the EUPOL COPPS

EUPOL COPPS is widely recognized as a significant factor in enhancing security in the occupied Palestinian territory, as it has played a crucial role in supporting initiatives to uphold and reinforce stability in the region. Nevertheless, it is essential to acknowledge that the outbreak of the ongoing conflict marks the presence of European missions, such as EUPOL COPPS, if not unsuccessful, certainly insufficient. It is understandable that any criticism of EUPOL COPPS is considered unnecessary, given that the territories are now facing a violent outbreak of violence with an ongoing war.<sup>69</sup>

Certainly, the difficulties in maintaining peace and stability in the region of Palestine and the wider region of Israel are triggering discussions about the effectiveness of the measures taken by the European Union (EU). The issues raised are whether the Union's actions have been 'sufficient' or whether there are inherent limitations in its ability to manage such a sensitive and complex region.

### 7.3 Cooperation with the UN and NATO

As regards the UN, there is strong and long-standing cooperation with the EU, on crisis management and peacekeeping operations. Cooperation with the UN and support for effective multilateralism is vital for the EU, as it contributes to its role as an established player in global peace and security. Both the EU and the UN have acknowledged that close cooperation based on mutual benefit, reciprocity and shared responsibility increases the coherence and effectiveness of EU and UN missions and operations, often deployed in the same country.<sup>70</sup>The two organisations adopted in 2003 a Joint Declaration on EU-UN Cooperation in Crisis Management, declaring cooperation between the UN and the EU in the field of civilian and military crisis management, particularly in the regions of the Balkans and Africa. The declaration was renewed in December 2023.<sup>71</sup>

As regards the EU's CSDP missions, 13 out of a total of 21 EU missions and operations are deployed in parallel with UN missions. In fact, the Israel/Palestine and Kosovo missions

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<sup>68</sup> EEAS (2020b) *Eupol Copps: EU Police and rule of law mission for the occupied palestinian territory - civilian mission*, EEAS. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eupol-coppspalestinian-territories/eupol-copps-eu-police-and-rule-law-mission-occupied-palestinian-territory-civilian-mission\\_und\\_en?s=338](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eupol-coppspalestinian-territories/eupol-copps-eu-police-and-rule-law-mission-occupied-palestinian-territory-civilian-mission_und_en?s=338) (Accessed: 15 December 2023)

<sup>69</sup> Langan II, R.H. (2014) *UNDP IEO Evaluation Resource Center*. Available at: <https://erc.undp.org/> (Accessed: 15 December 2023).

<sup>70</sup> UNLOPS (2022) *EU-UN Strategic Partnership on Peace Operations and Crisis Management - UNLOPS, UNLOPS Missions*. Available at: [https://unlops.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eu-un\\_strategic\\_partnership\\_on\\_crisis\\_management.pdf](https://unlops.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eu-un_strategic_partnership_on_crisis_management.pdf) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>71</sup> Press Corner (2003) *Joint Declaration on UN-EU Cooperation in Crisis Management, European Commission - European Commission*. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/PRES\\_03\\_266](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/PRES_03_266) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

analysed above are EU missions that directly support or contribute to the implementation of UN mandates in these regions. In addition, on 29 September 2020, the EU and the UN signed the Framework Agreement on mutual support in the framework of their respective missions and operations, which aims to facilitate cooperation between EU and UN missions and operations in the field of logistical, medical and security support.<sup>72</sup>

Financially speaking, approximately one quarter of all voluntary contributions to UN finances and programmes come from the EU and its Member States collectively, making them the largest financial contributors to the UN system. Together, EU members provide about one quarter of the UN's budget for peacekeeping operations, and over half of all contributions to the UN Peacebuilding Fund.<sup>73</sup>

Building on previous EU-UN achievements, the Council adopted conclusions in 2022, endorsing the eight jointly defined priorities of the EU-UN Strategic Partnership for Peace Operations and Crisis Management for the period 2022-2024.<sup>74</sup>

The priority areas, which complement other EU-UN partnerships for crisis prevention and response, including for conflict prevention or counterterrorism, are:

- Women, Peace, and Security
- Strengthen cooperation in the field.
- Transitions
- Facilitate EU Member States' contributions and support to UN peace operations and the UN Secretary-General's Action for Peacekeeping
- Conflict prevention in peace operations and support to political processes and solutions
- Cooperation on Policing, Security Sector Reform (SSR), rule of law as well as relevant aspects of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration of former combatants (DDR) as well as weapons and ammunition management (WAM)
- Cooperation with and support to African peace operations
- Training and capacity building

Finally, as the EU and the UN are officially recognised as partners, the Strategic Compass adopted in March 2022 calls for a further strengthening of the EU-UN strategic partnership based on the new set of priorities.<sup>75</sup>

As far as **NATO** is concerned, first of all, the Alliance and the EU have 22 common member countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland,

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<sup>72</sup> UNLOPS (2022) *EU-UN Strategic Partnership on Peace Operations and Crisis Management - UNLOPS, UNLOPS Missions*. Available at: [https://unlops.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eu-un\\_strategic\\_partnership\\_on\\_crisis\\_management.pdf](https://unlops.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/eu-un_strategic_partnership_on_crisis_management.pdf) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>73</sup> *ibid*

<sup>74</sup> EEAS (2023b) *The EU and the United Nations, EEAS Strategic Communications*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-and-united-nations\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-and-united-nations_en) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>75</sup> EEAS (2023b) *The EU and the United Nations, EEAS Strategic Communications*. Available at: [https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-and-united-nations\\_en](https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/eu-and-united-nations_en) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden's accession is pending). Furthermore, a number of countries that are members of NATO but not of the EU participate in all NATO-EU meetings. This includes Albania, Canada, Iceland, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Norway, Türkiye, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Finally, Austria, Ireland, Malta, and Sweden, which are members of the EU and of NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme, also participate in all NATO-EU meetings, while Cyprus participates in informal NATO-EU meetings. These facts alone, together with the responsibilities that NATO membership implies for its members, are enough to conclude that the EU and NATO act within the same framework and share common actions, decisions, and policies.<sup>76</sup>

Given that 22 of the 27 EU Member States are members of NATO, we can conclude that both organisations and their members face the same challenges on the international field. More specifically, the EU and NATO share the following areas of cooperation: Combating human trafficking in the Aegean and Central Mediterranean, Defence Capability Building, Military Mobility, Countering Hybrid Threats, Cyber Security and Defence, Exercises, Terrorism and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Resilience, Civil Preparedness and Critical Infrastructure Protection and Engagement in the Western Balkans or in other regions such as Afghanistan or Iraq.<sup>77</sup>

Focusing on the areas of our concern, in July 2003, the EU and NATO published a "Concerted Approach to the Western Balkans", outlining the key areas of cooperation and highlighting the common vision and determination shared by the two organisations to bring stability to the region. As regards Bosnia and Herzegovina, following the completion of the NATO-led Stabilisation Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the EU deployed a new mission called Operation Althea, as explained above. The EU Force (EUFOR) operates under the Berlin Plus arrangements, drawing on NATO capabilities, planning expertise, and other assets. Regarding Kosovo, NATO has been leading a peacekeeping force in Kosovo (KFOR) since 1999. The EU has been making political contributions to the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) for years and has agreed to take over the police component of the UN Mission, as well as to deploy the European Union Rule of Law Mission (EULEX) in Kosovo. EULEX is working closely with KFOR in the field.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> NATO (2023) *Relations with the European Union*, NATO. Available at: [https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics\\_49217.htm](https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49217.htm) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>77</sup> *ibid*

<sup>78</sup> *ibid*

## 8. EU as a Security Provider

### 8.1 Capabilities - Obstacles to Be Addressed

#### 8.1.1 Dependence from USA and NATO

After the end of the Cold War and the Marshall Plan that followed, the EU became an organisation whose members were "protected" and whose security was "guaranteed" by the US and its military and defence alliance, NATO. This reality of "provided" and "given" security has caused complacency in the member states and their governments, having as a result the EU as a whole and most of its members to be completely dependent on the US and NATO. This undeniable situation has had multiple consequences, one of which is the characterisation of the EU as a 'free rider' of US defence and security actions and measures.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, the complacency brought about by the US assurances to European governments and European citizens has had the serious effect of a huge reduction in defence spending. NATO has already warned about the reduction in defence spending and the risks it would produce, calling on European allies to take on more responsibilities in security matters.<sup>80</sup>

NATO and the EU may cooperate and share common interests, but it is true that the EU could not, to date, operate and exist defensively without NATO's means, technologies and even permission.

#### 8.1.2 Insufficient defence spending

As discussed above, the complacency of the EU member states due to the guarantee by the US security has led to a significant reduction in defence spending. This complacency, combined with the economic crisis of 2008-2010, resulted in unprecedented low levels of security and defence spending by EU member states<sup>81</sup>. Statistically speaking, between 2009 and 2010, 20 EU member states reduced their defence expenses and only 7 increased them.<sup>82</sup> In the same framework, in 2010-2012 only 5 member states increased their defence spending, while all important powers in the international scene increased their spendings.<sup>83</sup> Collectively, the EU had lost around 20% of its defence competences due to the economic crisis, with insufficient investment in Research and Technology (R&T) and R&D, a reduction that has been ameliorated in the context of the war in Ukraine and Russia's aggression. However, despite this improvement, the gap with the US and other world powers is still wide.

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<sup>79</sup> Techau, J. (no date) *The five structural problems of EU foreign policy, Security Politics in Asia and Europe*. Available at: [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>80</sup> Κορρα, Μ. (2017) *Η Κοινή Πολιτική Άμυνας και Ασφάλειας: η ιστορία, οι θεσμοί, οι στρατηγικές*. Αθήνα: Πατάκης.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid*

<sup>82</sup> *ibid*

<sup>83</sup> *ibid*

Furthermore, an issue that aggravates the already intense problem is the lack of communication and coordination between member states on the variations described in defence expenditures.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, we should not forget that one of the 4 Member States with an immense defence budget, the United Kingdom, is no longer a member of the Union, which means that the EU has lost one of the Union's biggest security powers.

### 8.1.3 Unrealistic Expectations

The discussions focus, as we did right above, on the lack of cooperation and trust between the member states on issues of reducing or increasing defence spending. The main issue with this problem should focus on the lack of measures to coordinate defence budgets. Even if member states were willing to cooperate and coordinate their spending, the budgeting of the states' expenditures remains a purely national competence, where the EU and its institutions have no say or role. Therefore, Member States have no obligation to cooperate and no other way of coordinating other than bilateral discussions (since the discussion forum offered by the EU does not exist on budgetary issues). Therefore, Member States are expected to share, trust, and cooperate on an issue that originates from a strictly national concern.<sup>85</sup>

### 8.1.4 Intergovernmentalism in decision making process.

Despite the EU's efforts to facilitate the decision-making process by encouraging majority voting, in areas such as defence or security, where the sovereignty and independence of states are most affected, the decision-making process is strictly intergovernmental. Intergovernmentalism means that all decisions must be supported by the governments of the member states, while the EU institutions have in the best case a supporting role. This hesitation on the part of the member states has several sources, firstly highlighting the lack of trust between them.<sup>86</sup>

One of the main challenges that the EU is facing is the hesitancy of its Member States to trust each other in various areas, especially in security or defence. The problem focuses on the fear of trusting other member states to provide the necessary means and equipment in times of need and therefore not all member states need to produce the same assets.<sup>87</sup> Taking this fear one step further, member states appear hesitant to grant the EU further powers and competencies in foreign policy matters, especially in security or defence matters. Member States appear unwilling to let the EU take decisions on these

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<sup>84</sup> *ibid*

<sup>85</sup> *ibid*

<sup>86</sup> Techau, J. (no date) *The five structural problems of EU foreign policy, Security Politics in Asia and Europe*.

Available at: [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>87</sup> Κορρα, Μ. (2017) *Η Κοινή Πολιτική Άμυνας και Ασφάλειας: η ιστορία, οι θεσμοί, οι στρατηγικές*. Αθήνα: Πατάκης.

issues, as they concern national sovereignty and independence and are vital for the survival and prestige of the state.<sup>88</sup>

## 8.2 EU Army

The notion of a unified strategy for security within the European Union predates even its first institutional framework. By the time the Second World War ended, Europe had seen two of the deadliest conflicts in its history, which fundamentally changed the face of the Continent and highlighted the necessity of a Common European force that could protect its population in difficult circumstances. Because of this, the Treaty of Brussels, which was intended to provide collective defence against Germany, was signed by Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands (BENELUX), France, and the United Kingdom in 1948, marking the beginning of the first attempt at a European Army.

The second endeavour came not too long after. The man responsible for the Schuman Plan, Jean Monnet, was General Commissioner of the French National Planning Board and worked to organise European defence on a supranational scale like that suggested in the Schuman plan<sup>89</sup>. At the same time, the USA requested that their allies make plans for West Germany's rearmament. However, Monnet was also attempting to make sure that Germany, aware of its growing significance in these negotiations, did not lose sight of the idea of a coal and steel pool or harden its stance. He put his proposal to René Pleven, French Premier and former Defence Minister. Pleven, who was also influenced by the Korean War, evolved this plan that was later put forward by the French foreign minister Schuman at a meeting of the Council of Europe in 1951. René Pleven's plan called for the creation of a 100,000-man European army, the European Defence Community (EDC)<sup>90</sup>. Germany was one of the European nations whose battalions were to be combined under the Pleven Plan. Despite having a single budget and being led by a European Minister of Defence, the European army would report directly to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Though the weaker members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were keen, the Scandinavians were cool toward the idea, and opinion in France and Italy was divided<sup>91</sup>.

The Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (EDC) were intended to stop the military potential of Germany starting a war again, much as the Schuman Plan was intended to eliminate the likelihood that Germany would have the economic strength to start a war on its own<sup>92</sup>. Germany and the Benelux nations adopted the EDC treaty

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<sup>88</sup> Techau, J. (no date) *The five structural problems of EU foreign policy, Security Politics in Asia and Europe*. Available at: [https://www.kas.de/c/document\\_library/get\\_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038](https://www.kas.de/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=d69ffdb0-3aa3-a7b2-2e8d-67bd2f5868a0&groupId=252038) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>89</sup> Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE) ( May 2013) *The organisation of post-war defence in Europe (1948–1954)*.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid*

<sup>91</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. (April 2023) "René Pleven." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rene-Pleven>.

<sup>92</sup> Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l'Europe (CVCE), May 2013, *The organisation of post-war defence in Europe (1948–1954)*

between 1953 and 1954. Meanwhile, the Gaullists, who believed that the EDC jeopardised France's sovereignty, had joined Pierre Mendès-France's new government in Paris, replacing Robert Schuman as Minister of Foreign Affairs with Georges Bidault. Because of the split in public opinion between the pro- and anti-ratification camps, the treaty was never ratified by the National Assembly on August 30, 1954, therefore it never came into force<sup>93</sup>.

Surprisingly, the idea of a European army was revived in Western Europe with the fall of the Soviet Union, which was the original impetus for a single European defence. The establishment of the Petersberg Tasks in 1992 was a significant step<sup>94</sup>. The Western European Union (WEU) will oversee the Petersberg missions, which were established by the Petersberg Declaration of 1992. Following the 1954 modification of the 1948 Treaty of Brussels, the Western Union (WU) was replaced militarily by the Western European Union (WEU). The aforementioned missions asked for the humanitarian, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding missions to be carried out by WEU member state armed units<sup>95</sup>. A reform of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which was adopted in 1993 under the Maastricht Treaty, was required due to the emergence of the Yugoslav internal crisis and the clear need for US intervention in Kosovo to end the conflict. As a result, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom took the initiative to try to ensure that European defence advanced. The goal of the next Franco-German and British-French summits, held in Potsdam and Saint Malo, respectively, in 1998, was to create an independent European military. However, rather than calling for the creation of a European army of its own, the 1998 St. Malo Declaration emphasised the necessity of a European Rapid Reaction Force capable of completing the Petersberg Tasks<sup>96</sup>.

### 8.2.1 The advantages of an EU army and the main obstacles<sup>97</sup>

Regarding the European army, a more profound level of collaboration amongst the EU Member States is mentioned in the Lisbon Treaty. In particular, article 42 states that other Member States have an obligation to use all necessary means to assist a Member State that has been the victim of armed attack on its territory. There is already a legal foundation in place for member state collaboration. Is that sufficient to establish an EU army, and if so, are the member states prepared to have a roundtable discussion on how to make this idea a reality?

The primary objection to the creation of an EU army is that it would mean losing sovereignty. Opinions throughout the states differ on this matter. Numerous worries have

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<sup>93</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. (April 9 2023) "*René Pleven*." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rene-Pleven>

<sup>94</sup> *Petersberg tasks*, (Accessed: 23 November 2023) <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/glossary/petersberg-tasks.html>

<sup>95</sup> Egmont Institute (2010), *Types of Operations: Interpreting the Petersberg Tasks*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/resrep06700.7.pdf>

<sup>96</sup> *ibid*

<sup>97</sup> Elisa Telesca, Sergio Caliva, *European army: a problematic dream?*, <https://www.vocaleurope.eu/wp-content/uploads/COMMENTARY-ON-EU-ARMY-FINAL.pdf>, (Accessed 23 November 2023)

been expressed. The Member States' decision-making authority will be ceded to establish a common army. The Member States may be reluctant to submit their foreign and security policies to their neighbours due to differing interests, which could keep them from reaching agreement. Nobody can be sure that the EU army will operate efficiently because that would mean that every member state would have to decide on every operation, which always runs the risk of creating conflict. Smaller nations legitimately worry about the possibility that the interests of the larger nations will take precedence. Second, several nations have voiced concern about the EU army weakening NATO and further sabotaging ties between the US and the EU.

The European Army's position will also not be supported by the continent's growing euroscepticism. Protecting borders and building up national armies are two goals that nationalist regimes may have. To put it another way, shifting the emphasis from maintaining peace to territorial defence using force would have a significant impact on relations between other states because the establishment of a European Army would immediately change Europe's role and give it a more international character based on hard power rather than soft power, which is what the EU traditionally uses.

Additionally, the relations between the EU and NATO also concern member states when it comes to the establishment of an EU army. To elaborate, a Common European Army would hinder NATO's role to the extent that American military forces would completely depart from Europe, not every EU member state supports the idea. Nonetheless, the EU benefits greatly from NATO cooperation and may access military advantages. Also, the possibility of many EU countries funding a European army is diminished by the fact that they currently contribute to the NATO budget.

The primary justification for the necessity of an EU army is that, while Europe depends on NATO to defend its alliance, it also has its own security concerns, interests, and worries that don't always align with those of the US and NATO.

The idea that a European army would foster greater defence-related unity within the EU is one of the primary justifications for its proposal. When soldiers were trained as a single unit, the European army would reinforce the concept of the European identity, which is currently quite nebulous, and foster greater connections amongst people throughout Europe. The project might improve the cohesion of European foreign policy by focusing it on shared, precise, and more definite goals. Furthermore, it would give the EU a bigger voice on the world stage as one single military actor.

In conclusion, there have been discussions on a European army within the Union for a considerable amount of time. The idea of a European army appears to have been supported historically. Today such an endeavour might be proven highly beneficial considering the crises and conflicts occurring all around Europe, like the conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East. Even if there have been various equivalent projects, the concept of a real army is becoming more and more popular on a global scale. A European army might be very beneficial for the EU as well as its member nations, despite the



numerous arguments against the proposal. However, there are still a lot of unanswered questions.

### 8.3. Further Power in CFSP, CSDP

Following the outcomes of the Conference on the Future of Europe and in the context of unprecedented challenges and multiple crises, the European Parliament discusses the



revision of the TEU and the TFEU, suggesting some important changes. More specifically, the Parliament has adopted an important draft, suggesting various changes in CFSP. In particular, the MEPs suggested the inclusion of the external borders policy, as well as foreign affairs, external security and defence in the EU's shared competences (Article 4 TFEU).<sup>98</sup> The European Parliament also proposes the formation of a Defence Union, with civilian and military capabilities, such as military units, under the operational command of the Union and provision for specific funding for armaments, through a normal legislative procedure, while Member States will be able to contribute additional capabilities.<sup>99</sup> It is important that the Parliament focuses on the Defence Union, which could take an intergovernmental form, with a swift reaction force in the event of a crisis.<sup>100</sup>

Finally, concerning the "Mutual Assistance Clause", the European Parliament proposes to add to the relevant article the phrase "An armed attack against a member state shall be considered an attack against all member states".<sup>101</sup> This phrase reminds of the NATO

<sup>98</sup>Κουρούση. (2023) Φωτεινή Ασδεράκη: Η Ευρώπη απαντά στις κρίσεις και τις προκλήσεις με αναθεώρηση Philenews. Available at: <https://www.philenews.com/kosmos/e-e/article/1418981/asderaki-h-eiropi-apanta-stis-krisis-ke-tis-proklisis-me-anatheorisi/?fbclid=IwAR1mBDg9TAefp2Ba4kS2zzyWap4OIFVlhrTj9kJ5jz0EXKp-Naz0j17GU4g> (Accessed: 24 December 2023).

<sup>99</sup>ibid

<sup>100</sup>ibid

<sup>101</sup>ibid

Article 5 clause and its adoption would be an important step towards a unified and coordinated CFSP and CSDP of the EU Member States.

However, we should not forget that these changes are only proposals adopted from the European Parliament. The final say and decision on them still remains in the hands of the governments of the member states. Nevertheless, these proposals seem ambitious and to some extent unrealistic, given the hesitant stance and the frequent resistance of the member states as analysed above. In any case, the way to the final adoption of these proposals is still long and we will have to wait for the relevant progress.

## 9. Political Parties Position

### 9.1 European Peoples' Party

The European People's Party Group is in favour of increased security measures aimed to enhance European citizens' security and strengthen cooperation between member states on defence issues. For the EPP, the EU can only secure peace through its ability to act quickly, decisively, and firmly, and this can best be achieved within the framework of a future European Defence Union. This European Defence Union, will help member states to strategically align, share a common understanding of threats and develop common situational awareness capabilities.<sup>102</sup>

Characteristically, on security issues, the EPP believes that "Europe must grow up and stop relying on the US for its security". For the EPP, Europe needs to put aside the "soft power" approach and be capable of launching a credible force to ensure its own security within the NATO and EU structures. Therefore, for the EPP, Europe needs more defence cooperation, stronger defence capabilities, and a collective response to address threats at the EU's external borders.<sup>103</sup>

### 9.2 Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats

The Socialists & Democrats Group stands for the EU's role as a global "soft power", which includes enlargement, neighbourhood and development policies, as well as diplomacy, civilian forms of conflict prevention and crisis management. For S&D, the EU's security policy should have social, ecological, economic, and democratic aspects.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> EPP Group (no date) *Security and Defence, EPP Group in the European Parliament*. Available at: <https://www.eppgroup.eu/what-we-do/foreign-affairs/security-and-defence> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>103</sup> EPP Group (2018) *EU Defence, EPP Group in the European Parliament*. Available at: <https://www.eppgroup.eu/what-we-stand-for/our-priorities/eu-defence> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>104</sup> Socialists & Democrats (2017) *Security and defence - Socialists and Democrats Position Paper, socialistsanddemocrats.eu*. Available at: [https://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position\\_paper/Security%20%26%20defence\\_en\\_171108.pdf](https://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/sites/default/files/position_paper/Security%20%26%20defence_en_171108.pdf) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

Nevertheless, the S&D Group acknowledges that "soft power" alone is no longer sufficient. For the EU to remain a credible player on the international scene and an effective security provider for its citizens, its soft power must be complemented and supported by a credible force ready to be deployed and by capabilities to address security challenges. However, in any case, the S&D believes that 'hard' power should complement the already existing and necessary 'soft' power of the EU.<sup>105</sup>

### **9.3 The Verts/Greens - European Free Alliance in the European Parliament**

The Greens/European Free Alliance Group believes that promoting peace, preventing conflicts, and strengthening international security cannot be achieved by Member States alone. The EU response to instability, conflicts, human rights violations, and other threats both regionally and internationally can be achieved through closer cooperation between its Member States in the CFSP and through a modern, credible, and effective CSDP, capable of responding swiftly to challenges. The goal of the Greens/EFA is to develop a credible and holistic policy, complementary to organisations such as the UN, OSCE and NATO.<sup>106</sup>

Overall, for this political group, peacebuilding, and peace efforts in times of international tension are at the centre of attention. In any case, for the Greens/EFA, EU's CSDP should be aligned with a progressive and human rights-focused foreign, trade, development, economic and gender policy.<sup>107</sup>

### **9.4 European Conservatives & Reformists**

The Group of European Conservatives and Reformists supports the formulation of an effective foreign, defence and human rights policy which respects national interests. The ECR is in favour of strong cooperation between the EU and international organisations such as the UN, NATO and the G20 in order to jointly address foreign policy, security and humanitarian challenges. However, the ECR resists EEAS attempts to extend its mandate into areas of national competence, as it believes that foreign and defence policy should remain the responsibility of Member States and be driven by consensus among governments, not by any EU institution. The ECR is committed to ensuring that foreign and defence issues remain firmly under national control to safeguard vital national interests.<sup>108</sup>

For ECR, briefly, defence policy must always remain a matter of national sovereignty and therefore supports NATO as the cornerstone of defence. The ECR opposes moves to create

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<sup>105</sup> *ibid*

<sup>106</sup> Greens/EFA Group (2022) *European Security Union, Greens/EFA Position Paper on European Security and Defence*. Available at: <https://extranet.greens-efa.eu/public/media/file/1/7782> (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

<sup>107</sup> *ibid*

<sup>108</sup> ECR Group (2013) *Foreign Affairs, human rights and security and defence committees, European Conservatives and Reformists Group News*. Available at: [https://ecrgroup.eu/article/foreign\\_affairs\\_human\\_rights\\_and\\_security\\_and\\_defence\\_committees](https://ecrgroup.eu/article/foreign_affairs_human_rights_and_security_and_defence_committees) (Accessed: 23 December 2023).

an EU army and new EU military structures, which for them would undermine NATO and weaken the EU's ties with international defence partners.<sup>109</sup>

## 10. Conclusion

In conclusion, although the EU has made progress in the evolution of the CFSP and CSDP, considering the actions it has undertaken, the progress and evolution of EU CSDP missions and operations, its relations with NATO and the obstacles identified above, the EU still has a long way to go to become the stability and security provider it aspires to be. The European Parliament and the SEDE Subcommittee should focus on addressing the challenges, strengthening cooperation, aligning Member States' objectives and interests all within the framework of the objective of further developing the CFSP. Only by focusing on the security of EU citizens, effective border management and global stability can the EU establish its role in ensuring security and stability in its neighbourhood and beyond. This progressive approach, combined with the Union's enhanced relations with NATO, will be crucial to the EU's success in ensuring stability and security.

## 11. Questions Raised

1. Given the ongoing conflicts in regions deployed, how could EU's CSDP missions be evaluated and therefore ameliorated?
2. Should the operation ALTHEA or EULEX finally be phased out? Should their resources be allocated to something else?
3. How can the EU become a real security and stability provider when NATO commitments are holding back many initiatives and innovations? Is the EU able to be independent of NATO commitments considering that there are member states that are not covered by NATO's protection?
4. How would the EU army be structured, commanded, or administered? Given that so many nations are unable to allocate even 2% of their GDP on defence, how would it be funded?
5. Which countries will enlist in the EU army? Would it only be available to EU members, or would it also cover non-EU members of NATO, non-EU members, and/or affiliated members of the EU (such as the countries of the Western Balkans and Ukraine)? How would this affect the nation's potential to leave the EU in the future?
6. How could the EU army be of service to the EU interests in the Balkans and the Middle East?
7. How can existing obstacles be overcome in order to strengthen the role of the CFSP? How can the EU be fully independent and autonomous?
8. Should the defence and security budget of the Member States and the EU as a whole be reviewed and reevaluated?

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<sup>109</sup> *ibid*

9. Is the EU capable of being a real security and stability provider? Is the Union in a position to move away from its current role as an "observer" and take serious action in the face of global challenges?
10. Could the new recommendations of the European Parliament concerning a Defence Union be implemented? If yes, how exactly?

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### 13. Further Reading

- [European Parliament's impact and mandate on the CFSP](#)
- [Details on the European External Action Service](#)
- [European Parliament's impact and mandate on the CFSP](#)
- [Analysis: Are Kosovo and Serbia on the brink of war?](#)
- [Details on EULEX- European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo](#)
- [Joint Declaration on UN-EU Cooperation in Crisis Management](#)
- [Council conclusions on taking the UN-EU strategic partnership on peace operations and crisis management to the next level: Priorities 2022-2024](#)
- [NATO's Relations with the European Union](#)