dr Marek MUSIOŁ Uniwersytet Wrocławski Wydział Nauk Społecznych marek.musiol@uwr.edu.pl

# EU AS A GLOBAL ACTOR – A HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY OVERVIEW OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S GROWING STABILIZATION ACTIVITY IN EUROPE AND SOUTH CAUCASUS

# UE JAKO AKTOR GLOBALNY – HISTORYCZNY I WSPÓŁCZESNY PRZEGLĄD ROSNĄCEJ DZIAŁALNOŚCI STABILIZACYJNEJ UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ W EUROPIE I NA KAUKAZIE POŁUDNIOWYM

**Summary:** The aim of this article is to present briefly as an overview, the EU's commitment to maintaining peace in Europe and South Caucasus. The study highlights the most important manifestations of the EU civilian missions and military operations in those regions. The forms of this EU involvement in the world are very different from own civilian missions (including Georgia or Ukraine) and support for military operations of other international organizations, for instance – the case of NATO's military operation ISAF in Afghanistan.

**Key words:** European Union, civilian missions, military operations, Europe, South Caucasus, international security, regional groupings

**Streszczenie:** Celem tego artykułu jest krótka prezentacja w postaci przeglądu zaangażowania UE w utrzymanie pokoju w Europie i na Południowym Kaukazie. Niniejsze studium wyszczególnia najważniejsze przejawy unijnych misji cywilnych i operacji militarnych w tych regionach¹. Te formy zaangażowania UE na świecie są bardzo zróżnicowane, zaczynając od misji cywilnych (Gruzja lub Ukraina), kończąc na wsparciu dla operacji wojskowych innych organizacji międzynarodowych, na przykład NATO – operacja militarna ISAF w Afganistanie.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Unia Europejska, misje cywilne, misje wojskowe, Europa, Południowy Kaukaz, bezpieczeństwo międzynarodowe, regionalne ugrupowania

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> More about assumptions and aspects on preventive diplomacy, missions and peacekeeping operations may be found in my article: M. Musioł, *Overview of the EU role in maintaining peace and security in the Middle East and Central Asia – preventive diplomacy and peace operations*, in: B. Molo (ed.), *Nowy wymiar konfliktów politycznych i społeczno-gospodarczych w XXI wieku*, Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, Kraków 2016, p. 71-86.

## Introduction

From the methodological point of view, I decided to apply a descriptive analysis of existing sources (including reports and statements). I also conducted a deep study on historical and current literature. In addition to that I adopted a comparative method that constituted a crucial contribution to the juxtaposition of past and new EU civilian missions and military operations in Europe and South Caucasus.

The EU preventive diplomacy is also very crucial part of the EU stabilization policy to be mentioned here. It constitutes an essential instrument of sanctions and restrictive measures and also a complementary intervention mechanism along with civilian and military actions. Such steps have been taken among others against Myanmar, China, Iran, Iraq, Korean People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Syria, and Uzbekistan. "The EU also imposed sanctions on terrorist organizations and groups such as Al-Qaeda or Taliban (arms embargo, freezing of funds)" (Musioł 2016, p. 84).

Civilian peacekeeping missions that are undertaken independently by the EU are very often the first such projects in the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy. These missions could be also implemented outside the European continent. This applies in particular to missions that have already been completed. EUJUST THEMIS was the first such an operation in the area of law, whose aim was the reform of Georgian criminal justice system. The EU civilian peacekeeping missions are undertaken at the invitation of interested parties. In case of the lack of opportunities to involve directly, the EU policies can only be limited to calls for dialogue. This is particularly evident in the case of India and Pakistan conflict over Kashmir.

After the entry into force of the Treaty of Nice (2003), The European Union has the exclusive right to carry out the Petersberg tasks as the role of the Western European Union (WEU) was limited to a common defense (art. 5 of the Modified Brussels Treaty) and arms control (art. 9 of the Modified Brussels Treaty). The adoption of the Petersberg tasks is decided by the Council of the European Union by unanimity. The political and strategic control over the EU military actions is carried out by the Political and Security Committee, which was also established by the Treaty of Nice<sup>2</sup>. What is more, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy is responsible for political decisions in the framework of the CFSP and CSDP and the use of resources of the WEU.

The EU since 2003 has been developing its defense policy and is committed to maintaining peace in the form of peacekeeping missions (civilian and military ones). However preventive measures started earlier, and were taken for the first time after the creation of the European Political Cooperation, which was established in 1974 (examples of such activities are efforts to resolve the conflict in the Middle East since early 1970s) (Musioł 2016, p.84).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Treaty of Nice laid the foundations for the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP).

## **EU Civilian Missions in Europe**

Currently, the EU states are conducting 16 direct missions and operations in the world. European civilian and military contingents are now only present in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ukraine, Moldova and Kosovo.



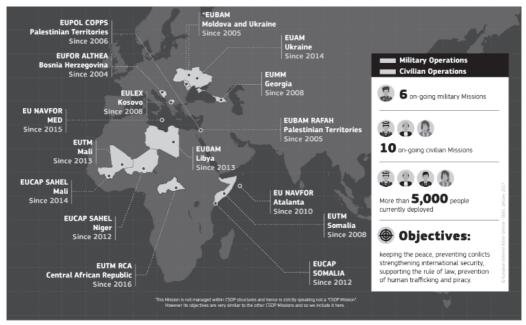
Map 1. Overview of the EU ongoing military and civilian missions and operations

Source: EU External Action, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations\_en, Brussels (08.01.2017).

The first civilian mission in Europe started in January 2003. It was called the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. EUPM was the first CSDP mission launched by the EU. The first military operation was launched in April 2003 in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM/CONCORDIA).

The geographical proximity and particular interests of all Member States of the EU are direct determinants of such EU's policy towards these regions. The EU's interest in all crises in Europe stems from the fact that any destabilization in the European region and the escalation of the conflict between European countries can threaten all other countries in Europe.

# EUROPEAN UNION OPERATIONS AND MISSIONS



Map 2. Overview of the ongoing CSDP military and civilian missions and operations

Source: EU External Action, https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations\_en, Brussels (08.01.2017).

The approval (mandate) of the United Nations is not necessary to take EU missions or operations. However, in a situation when the use of force is going to occur, it requires the consent of the UN Security Council. It is widely accepted that the EU actions are undertaken with the consent of the countries concerned. But provided that the state is mired in chaos and has no effective government, the consent of countries is not mandatory. Finally, third countries may participate in EU missions (civilian or military), however a prerequisite in this case is to make its own military and financial contribution.



Map 3. Completed CSDP missions and operations in the world

Source: EU External Action, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations\_en, Brussels (08.01.2017).

**European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM)** was established in 2000 and implemented in the Western Balkans. Its predecessor was the European Community Monitor Mission (ECMM), established in 1991 (SOLANA, 27 December 2007). The main aim of the operation was to gather information and make analyzes in order to formulate the appropriate and effective EU policy towards the Western Balkans. Monitoring of events and situations (political, humanitarian, economic and security issues) constituted the most important task of this mission.

Moreover, the objective was also the monitoring of borders, ethnic issues, the situation of refugees and the creation of an early warning system. These measures were designed to allow a rapid and effective action by the EU in the case of a crisis that might have happened in this inflamed region of Europe. This situation refers to Kosovo or Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighboring regions, which may be affected by consequences of their instability.

EUMM was one of the oldest and largest actions undertaken by the EU in the Balkans. The head of the EUMM was appointed by the Council of the European Union. The operation was financed by the EU budget and funds of the European Commission. Initially, the expert staff counted 300 observers (SOLANA, 27 December 2007). The head of mission was located in Sarajevo. Its territorial extent was an extremely important aspect of the EU observation mission in Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia). The mission closure took place on 31 December 2007.

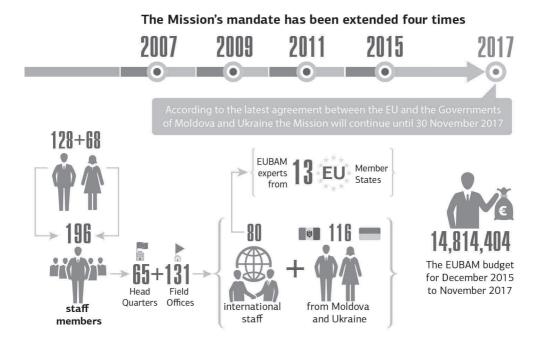
In the case of EUMM is rather difficult to indicate any specific achievements and successes. This is largely due to the fact that the mission was made up only of neutral observers. Thus, the objective of the mission was not to implement any program or reform, but merely to gather information, prepare analyzes and reports on the situation in the Western Balkans. The result of the mission, however, was in some sense, the EU's access to valuable sources of information. In addition, observers have been living among members of the local community, which further provided the possibility to obtain useful information.

The EU Planning Team (EUPT Kosovo) was established in 2006 under the joint action of the Council of the EU. This EU involvement in Kosovo was aimed, among others, at ensuring a free and smooth transition of responsibilities between the EU mission (EUPT) and the UN mission (UNMIK) in Kosovo and supporting UNMIK until the expiry of its mandate (*Preparations for a future ESDP mission in the broader rule of law area*, EUROPEAN UNION PLANNING TEAM FOR KOSOVO EUPT KOSOVO, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/brochure07.pdf). The tasks of the EU included the technical assistance to local authorities and institutions, and support in respecting the rule of law. Besides, one of the essential functions of the mission, whose budget amounted to 3 005 000 EUR, was to initiate an international dialogue on the future status of the Kosovo province.

The stabilizing action in Kosovo involved around 1 500 police officers from 12 EU Member States. The EUPT headquarters was located in Pristina. In principle, the EU operation was continuation of the UN mission UNMIK. But this happened after the final settlement of Kosovo's status. An important issue implemented by EUPT mission was to prepare the appropriate conditions for the effective operation of a possible EU crisis management operation in Kosovo. This mission was completed in 2008 and then replaced by the EULEX Kosovo.

The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo EULEX Kosovo started on the basis of the EU Joint Action of February 2008 (COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/124/ CFSP of 4 February 2008 on the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, EULEX

KOSOVO, Official Journal of the European Union, L 42/92). The mission's staff is consisted of 800 experts. The support for EULEX is ensured by all 28 European Union Member States and five contributing States (Canada, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States). 'Through its "Monitoring, Mentoring and Advising (MMA)" objective, the Mission focuses on providing support to Kosovo's rule of law institutions at the headquarters and senior management level of relevant Rule of Law institutions to strengthen the chain of criminal justice, with the emphasis on fighting political interference and monitoring of sensitive cases' (EULEX implements its mandate through two operational objectives, European External Action Service, http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,44). 'Through its "Executive" objective, EULEX ensures that rule of law services are delivered until the progress of local authorities allows complete transition of executive functions to local authorities' cases' (EULEX implements its mandate through two operational objectives, European External Action Service, http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,44). The headquarters is located in Pristina. The mandate of EULEX Kosovo was extended until 14 June 2018.



Picture 1 Statistical data on EUBAM mission to Moldova and Ukraine

Source: EUBAM in numbers, http://eubam.org/who-we-are/, (access: 13.01.2017).

The European Union Border Assistance Mission to Moldova and Ukraine (EUBAM) was established at the request of the presidents of Moldova and Ukraine on 2 June 2005. The effective start of the operation took place on 1 December 2005. It involves 196

staff members of 13 EU countries. The budget of the mission from December 2015 to November 2017 will amount to 14 814 404 euros, while its character is largely technical and advisory (EUBAM, http://eubam.org/who-we-are). Its headquarters is located in Odessa. EUBAM's closure is to take place on 30 November 2020 (z See more details: http://eubam.org/). The EUBAM's mission is not under the management of CSDP structures.

The aim of the mission is to fight against smuggling, trafficking and customs fraud taking place on the border between Ukraine and Moldova. The objective of EUBAM is also organizing training and support to customs services of Moldova and Ukraine. What is more, the important task is to create conditions for the settlement of the Transnistria conflict through cooperation, and particularly promotion of cross-border cooperation. The mission staff supports Moldova and Ukraine in the harmonization of procedures for border management along standards of the EU Member States. In addition, the EU provides the necessary assistance in improving the quality of professional skills of offices and border services of Moldova and Ukraine at the operational level. With regard to achievements, it is worth mentioning above all, the increase of transparency of the flow of export / import of the Transnistria region, the increase of effectiveness of surveillance and border control, and the improve in cooperation between border agencies of Moldova and Ukraine.

The European Union Advisory Mission EUAM Ukraine formally began on 1 December 2014 as a consequence of the Maidan revolution of 2013/14 and on the basis of an invitation issued by the Ukrainian government<sup>3</sup>. The EUAM Ukraine is aimed at assisting Ukrainian institutions to implement sustainable reform of the civilian security sector. 'The mandate includes three areas of operations:

- Strategic advice on civilian security sector reform to develop civilian security sector strategies,
- Support the implementation of reforms hands-on advice, training, projects,
- Cooperation and coordination to ensure that reform efforts are coordinated with Ukrainian and international actors'4.

The headquarters is located in Kyiv. The mission staff is consisted of 90 international experts.

The European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina was launched on 1 January 2003. This was the first EU police and civilian mission of peace implementation carried out in the framework of the CSDP. The main objective of the EUPM in Bosnia and Herzegovina was to replace the UN force (the UN's International Police Task Force), and monitor areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the implementation of programs of reconstruction of state institutions and police training. In addition, the operation aimed at supporting the local police in the fight against organized crime, protecting national borders and adjusting the action of the local police to the EU standards in terms of political independence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Council joint action was approved on 22 July 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The European Union Advisory Mission (EUAM) Ukraine, European External Action Service, http://www.euam-ukraine.eu/en/what-we-do/our-mission, [access: 14.01.2017].

The headquarters was located in Sarajevo. The EUPM had a budget of 37 million euros. The staff for 2003-2005 consisted of 500 police officers from 30 countries<sup>5</sup>. The operation of the EUPM in Bosnia and Herzegovina involved 27 EU Member States plus Iceland, Canada, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and Ukraine<sup>6</sup>. The mission was completed on 30 June 2012.

The EU Police Mission in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), EUPOL PROXIMA began on 15 December 2003. This operation was conducted in accordance with provisions of the Berlin Plus Agreement, which was concluded in 2003 between the EU and NATO. It enabled the EU to use NATO planning, strategic and intelligence resources crucial to lead peacekeeping operations.

The objectives of PROXIMA were monitoring, education, training, advisory for local police, the fight against organized crime and promoting EU police standards. The important task of the operation focused also on the protection of borders and building good relations with neighboring countries and support for the implementation of political and social reforms. In addition, they set also as a target for the rapprochement between FYROM and the EU.

The mission had a budget of 15 950 000 euros. The headquarters was located in Skopje. The mission consisted of 200 officers from 27 EU Member States and Turkey, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Russia, Ukraine, Switzerland and USA (EUPOL PROXIMA/FYROM, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/proxima-fyrom/index\_en.htm).

Undoubtedly, the operation led to FYROM's transformation from the level of stabilization to integration. This country was dealing with internal unrest since 2001. The aim was also to prepare FYROM to join the structures of an integrated Europe in the near future. The operation was completed on 14 December 2005.

The EU police advisory team (EUPAT) in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia started on 15 December 2005 as a continuation of the EUPOL PROXIMA. The staff consisted of 30 police advisers, who constituted a support for the development of a professional and effective police personnel (EUPAT, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupat/index\_en.htm). The main goal was the fight against corruption and organized crime. In addition, EUPAT's tasks were to supervise the implementation of police reform, support for the Macedonian police and justice, the introduction of professional European standards for police training and internal control. EUPAT budget amounted 1.5 million euros (EUPAT, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupat/index\_en.htm). The headquarters was located in Skopje. The closure of EUPAT was scheduled for 15 June 2006. This mission was the third EU police mission in Europe.

EUNAVFOR MED Task Force Operation Sophia has been launched 7 October 2015 (EUNAVFOR MED operation SOPHIA, https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  EUPM/BiH, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupm-bih/index\_en. htm, [access: 14.01.2017].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ibidem

operations/eunavfor-med\_en). It is the EU response to migrant crisis. 'The mission core mandate is to undertake systematic efforts to identify, capture and dispose of vessels and enabling assets used or suspected of being used by migrant smugglers or traffickers, in order to contribute to wider EU efforts to disrupt the business model of human smuggling and trafficking networks in the Southern Central Mediterranean and prevent the further loss of life at sea' (*About EUNAVFOR MED Operation SOPHIA*, European External Action Service, https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med/36/about-eunavfor-med-operation-sophia\_en).

## **EU military operations in Europe**

The military operation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM/CONCORDIA) was officially launched on 1 March 2003 and operationally started on 1 April 2003 (CONCORDIA / FYROM, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/concordia/index\_en.htm). It was the first military mission of the EU – retaken from NATO and conducted independently by the EU Member States. CONCORDIA was established at the request of the president of FYROM, Boris Trajkovski. It took over tasks of NATO's Allied Harmony.

This EU military operation was a consequence of the crisis in 2001, which led this country to the brink of civil war. The aim of the mission was to prevent the conflict with the Albanian minority and establish a peaceful and democratic country, as part of a stable region where an international support is no longer needed. The important element of the operation was the implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement (signed on 13 August 2001). The key objectives included the restoration of stability, protection of independence and territorial integrity of FYROM and the maintenance of multinational character of the state as well as the interruption of hostility and violence.

The operation cost amounted to 4.7 million euros. It was consisted of 450 soldiers from 13 Member States of the EU and soldiers from 14 other countries (CONCORDIA / FYROM, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/concordia/index\_en.htm). The chief of Concordia was Admiral Rainer Feist (Germany). The mission was completed on 15 December 2003. Concordia took over the tasks of the EU mission EUPOL PROXIMA. This is why, undoubtedly was able to achieve stability and security, enabling the seizure of power by the democratically elected leaders largely closer to the European Union.

The European Military Force EUFOR's Operation Althea is the second military operation after Concordia. It began on 2 December 2004. The EUFOR – Althea is the peace enforcement operation. It replaced the NATO's SFOR. The task of the mission is primarily to achieve progress in the stabilization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The crucial challenge is to do everything possible to make Bosnia and Herzegovina stable and simplify the future accession the EU.

Besides, this operation aimed at implementing the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFAP) and replacing NATO's SFOR by the EU

troops EUFOR. The foundations of the EU's action in Bosnia and Herzegovina are the UN Security Council Resolution 1551, the Dayton / Paris Agreement (1995), the targets set earlier by NATO (IFOR, later SFOR), the Berlin Plus Agreement (2003) and the Declaration of Thessaloniki (July 2007) – 'the Western Balkans on the road to EU membership' (EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation EUFOR ALTHEA), EUROPEAN UNION COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY, EU Council Secretariat, Brussels, January 2015). The EUFOR – Althea is the concrete exemplar of the strategic partnership with NATO in crisis management. Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina also has an opportunity to support the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

The headquarters is in Sarajevo. In 2004, the EU forces consisted of 7 000 soldiers (*EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation EUFOR ALTHEA)*, EUROPEAN UNION COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY, EU Council Secretariat, Brussels, January 2015). In 2007, the decision was made to reduce the EU's military contingent to 2 500 soldiers (*EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation EUFOR ALTHEA)*, EUROPEAN UNION COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY, EU Council Secretariat, Brussels, January 2015). Currently in this operation are involved 20 states (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Czech Republic, Finland, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom).

The effect of the EUFOR – Althea and the EUPM in Bosnia and Herzegovina is primarily the reconstruction of state institutions, the police, the judiciary and strengthening the state administration. Moreover, among achievements are the improve of the effectiveness of border protection, the respect for human rights, particularly women's rights and the post-war reconstruction of the economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Key challenges for the EU are the further process of democratization of the country, improving the investment climate, sustainable development and resolving the debt problem.

### EU civilian missions in South caucasus

The Rule of Law Mission in Georgia EUJUST THEMIS began at the invitation of the Georgian government in July 2004 (EUJUST THEMIS was established on the basis of Council Joint Action of 28 June 2004). This incentive was the first such EU peacekeeping mission, and third civilian operation under the ESDP (Council Joint Action 2005/643/CFSP of 9 September 2005 on the European Union Rule Law Mission in Georgia, EUJUST THEMIS, Official Journal of the European Communities, L 228/21.. This mission has been established for 12 months. The basic objectives of the mission was to support the Georgian government in developing a horizontal strategy to reform the criminal justice system in accordance with European and international human rights standards, coordination of cooperation between relevant Georgian authorities responsible for the management of the Georgian criminal justice system, initiating regional and international cooperation in criminal matters and support for developing a plan and guidelines of the

new Georgian legislation on criminal law. EUJUST THEMIS senior staff was responsible for the support, supervision and counseling designed for ministers, senior officials and appropriate bodies at the central government in Georgia. EUJUST THEMIS was developed to support Georgia to address the urgent challenges in the justice system in criminal matters, and to assist the government of Georgia to develop a coordinated global approach to the reform process (*Civilian Headline Goal 2008: Civilian crisis management within the European Security and Defence Policy*, the general information questionnaire to the Committee of Article. 36, the General Secretariat of the Council, the Council of the European Union, 14199/06, p. 10).

EUJUST THEMIS as a first such a civilian peacekeeping mission in the framework of the CSDP was a success, because it met all the objectives. At the end of the mandate, the mission staff has developed a strategy which was presented to the government in Georgia (EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia – EUJUST THEMIS Briefing by the Head of Mission on the Successful Conclusion of EUJUST THEMIS, EU Council Secretariat, THE/03 (update 3), 22 July 2005). The strategy set out further recommendations and comments on reforms after leaving Georgia by the EU. The government of Georgia has committed to continue reforms and implementation strategies developed by the EU members of the mission. Moreover, the Georgian authorities have established a special group which was responsible for its implementation. The strategy for the government in Georgia, which is in line with European and international standards has become an integral part of the Action Plan for Georgia under the European Neighbourhood Policy.

During the Georgian-Russian of South Ossetia and Abkhazia conflict, which broke out in the first half of 2008, the European Union along with NATO and the United States supported Georgia in favor of territorial integrity of that country. In addition, the Security Council, including the EU countries France, Germany and Great Britain have expressed concern about Russia's cooperation in establishing and providing support for separatists in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. However, the European Union had been in favor of negotiations with Russia on a new agreement on cooperation and partnership. With the postulate of Lithuania, which was tabled before the negotiations with Russia, the European Union had to monitor the actions of Russia in Georgia. The European Union in the case of Russian-Georgian conflict clearly opted for preventive diplomacy. 15 September 2008, the Council of the European Union has established an independent civilian observer mission in Georgia (EUMM GEORGIA). The mission was deployed in October 2008. The purpose of the mission is to ensure the stability of Georgia after completing the Russian-Georgian conflict. The main tasks are to monitor the situation, allowing the return of refugees and easing tensions between the parties of the conflict.

The European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia EUMM Georgia was launched in September 2008 following the EU-mediated Six Point Agreement which ended the August war between Russia and Georgia. The main purpose is to support efforts to achieve a lasting and peaceful settlement of the dispute between Russia and Georgia, including the provision of monitoring compliance with the six-point agreement reached between the two countries on 12 August 2008 and the Implementation Agreement of 8 September 2008.

The mission headquarters is located in Tbilisi. All EU member states are involved in this mission. The mission staff is made up of 200 monitors. 'The Mission's tasks are:

- To ensure that there is no return to hostilities,
- To facilitate the resumption of a safe and normal life for the local communities living on both sides of the Administrative Boundary Lines (ABL) with Abkhazia and South Ossetia,
- To build confidence among the conflict parties,
- To inform EU policy in Georgia and the wider region' (*European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia*, https://eumm.eu/en/about\_eumm/facts\_and\_figures).
   The mission current budget amounts 18 300 000 euros.

With regard to Azerbaijan and Armenia, the most serious regional challenge for the European Union is the future of the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh. Any possible solution and negotiations for several years stuck in a deadlock (A. Grigorian, *The South Caucasus: a challenge for the EU, The EU and the Karabakh conflict*, Chaillot Paper, no 65, the EU Institute for Security Studies: Paris, December 2003, p. 130). This impasse in negotiations is huge limit for maneuver of the European Union. The other causes of the current state result from the increase of Armenian spending over the defence sector, economic growth in Armenia, policy of force against Azerbaijan, growth of radical sentiment in Azerbaijan and Karabakh, and the weakness of governments in Armenia and Azerbaijan, whose legitimacy is questioned in the international arena (A. Grigorian, *The South Caucasus: a challenge for the EU, The EU and the Karabakh conflict*, Chaillot Paper, no 65, the EU Institute for Security Studies: Paris, December 2003, p. 130).

## **Summary**

Currently, the European Union as an international organization is committed to maintaining peace, security and stability in Europe and South Caucasus by strengthening the justice sector reform, security sector reform, development of democratic rule of law and civilian administration, monitoring of peace agreements and the training of police forces. This is made possible mainly by civilian and military capabilities to conduct these missions and peacekeeping operations.

The problem of civilian missions and military operations organized by the EU and other international organizations or individual states are primarily restrictions that are brought by international law, notably the requirement to obtain consent of conflict parties to deploy troops in these countries. Other limitations arise from the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations (including the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states and the prohibition of the use of force).

This study focuses on the contemporary dimension of the EU's engagement in Europe. Hence, some missions have been described on the basis of available literature or websites of the EU institutions dealing with this issue. Therefore, this article is in this extent an outline of the EU's commitment to maintain peace in Europe and South Caucasus. The aim was to present the most important aspects of EU missions and operations. Therefore

this article is in purpose descriptive with analytical elements in terms of types and roles of EU actions in these regions.

The European Union is now standing towards another opportunity to engage in activities aimed at stabilizing the situation in the world. It is very important because it is also a manifestation of the activity of the strongest actors of the contemporary international scene and raises the importance of both individual countries engaging in such activities as well as whole international organizations.

With regard to the weaknesses of civilian missions to overcome is primarily the heterogeneity of mission personnel. It is especially the fact that in most cases, the EU officials come from different countries and often represent different systems of justice and police training. In addition, there are significant qualitative and quantitative gaps. The composition of the staff of the EU often appears shortage of judges and prosecutors at the local and regional level, prison staff, police officers of lower and middle management officers and border service of lower level.

In the case of military operations the EU is using the strategic and operational resources of NATO under the Berlin Plus Agreement of 2003. In addition, some Member States are not engaged in missions conducted by the EU. For example, Sweden and Ireland have announced that they will only participate in the EU military actions that have the UN mandate. In contrast, Denmark does not participate in the CSDP under the opt-out clause. Another problem is the requirement of unanimity in the Council of the European Union, which is necessary for the EU to conduct missions outside its borders.

The European Union is facing a very difficult task to meet the requirements to play a stabilization role in a number of the most volatile regions of Europe and the whole world. However, to achieve it, the EU must first overcome internal weaknesses and lead to a kind of a European consensus on defense and security issues over particularities of individual EU countries. Perhaps the new after Brexit reality could be an incentive for a new EU dialogue on security and defense aspects. It has been blocked so far by the compromise set within Saint Malo's agreement (1998) and the European Secure Strategy (2003).

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- About EUNAVFOR MED Operation SOPHIA, European External Action Service, https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med/36/about-eunavfor-med-operation-sophia\_en.
- Civilian Headline Goal 2008: Civilian crisis management within the European Security and Defence Policy, the general information questionnaire to the Committee of Article. 36, the General Secretariat of the Council, the Council of the European Union, 14199/06.
- CONCORDIA / FYROM, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/concordia/index\_en.htm.
- Council Joint Action 2005/643/CFSP of 9 September 2005 on the European Union Rule Law Mission in Georgia, EUJUST THEMIS, Official Journal of the European Communities, L 228/21.

- Council Joint Action 2006/121/CFSP of 20 February 2006 appointing the European Union Special Representative for South Caucasus, Journal of the European Union, L 49/14.
- COUNCIL JOINT ACTION 2008/124/CFSP of 4 February 2008 on the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo, EULEX KOSOVO, Official Journal of the European Union, L 42/92.
- EU External Action, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations\_en, Brussels.
- EU military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Operation EUFOR ALTHEA), EUROPEAN UNION COMMON SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY, EU Council Secretariat, Brussels, January 2015.
- EU Rule of Law Mission to Georgia EUJUST THEMIS Briefing by the Head of Mission on the Successful Conclusion of EUJUST THEMIS, EU Council Secretariat, THE/03 (update 3), 22 July 2005.
- EUBAM in numbers, http://eubam.org/who-we-are/.
- EULEX implements its mandate through two operational objectives, European External Action Service, http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,44.
- *EUNAVFOR MED Operation SOPHIA*, https://eeas.europa.eu/csdp-missions-operations/eunavfor-med\_en. *EUPAT*, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupat/index\_en.htm.
- EUPM/BiH, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupm-bih/index\_en.htm.
- EUPOL PROXIMA/FYROM, http://www.eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/proxima-fyrom/index\_en.htm.
- European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia, https://eumm.eu/en/about\_eumm/facts\_and\_figures.
- Governance in the European Consensus on development policy. In direction of harmonized approach within the European Union, Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament and the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, European Commission, Brussels, COM (2006) 421 final, 30.08.2006, p. 21.
- Grigorian A., *The South Caucasus: a challenge for the EU, The EU and the Karabakh conflict*, Chaillot Paper, no 65, the EU Institute for Security Studies: Paris, December 2003, p. 130.
- Łoś Nowak T., Organizacje w stosunkach międzynarodowych: istota, mechanizmy działania, zasięg, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2004.
- Musioł M., Overview of the EU role in maintaining peace and security in the Middle East and Central Asia preventive diplomacy and peace operations, in: B. Molo (ed.), Nowy wymiar konfliktów politycznych i społeczno-gospodarczych w XXI wieku, Krakowska Akademia im. Andrzeja Frycza Modrzewskiego, Kraków 2016, p. 71-86.
- Nowak A., *Civilian crisis management: the EU way*, Institute for Security Studies, Chaillot Paper, No 90, June 2006.
- Preparations for a future ESDP mission in the broader rule of law area, EUROPEAN UNION PLANNING TEAM FOR KOSOVO EUPT KOSOVO, https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/brochure07.pdf.
- Presidency Conclusions, Brussels European Council, 16-17 December 2004, the Council of the European Union, 16238/1/04, REV 1, CONCL 4, Brussels, 1.2.2005.
- SOLANA J., EU High Representative for the CFSP, welcomes the successful completion of the European Union Monitoring Mission (EUMM), EU COUNCIL SECRETARIAT, S375/07, Brussels, 27 December 2007.
- The European Union Advisory Mission (EUAM) Ukraine, European External Action Service, http://www.euam-ukraine.eu/en/what-we-do/our-mission.
- Zięba R., *Unia Europejska jako aktor stosunków międzynarodowych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa 2003.