

SYNTHESIS

The Thesis sheds light on the role of ideas and discourse within artful institutional design of the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) of the European Union which is an integral part of the Union's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian as well as military assets and capabilities. Since 2003 the Union has launched some 30 peace missions and operations contributing to stabilization and security both on the European continent and beyond. Each of these missions have had different tasks and different results. The Thesis is concerned with the examination of the EU's regional and global role as a modern emerging security actor in the context of her relationship with other security actors, especially NATO (general philosophical level of ideas), of her evolving CSDP as well as the role of major EU member states in its evolution (programmatic ideas level), and of the realization of single CSDP missions, namely EU rule of law mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo) and EU police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan) missions (policy ideas level). Those levels are analyzed through digging into historical-institutionalist context, various types and forms of ideas which underpin the EU security and defense framework, cognitive/normative argumentation exploited within EU coordinative and communicative discourses, and, finally, institutional change which has been or might be characteristic for the EU in this area of activity.

Although economic and financial crisis has not yet passed from the picture and the EU has experienced myriads of serious difficulties and problems with the realization of the CSDP's potential, the Policy is not dead. The CSDP still evolves, slowly and sometimes at hardly observable pace, but it does. The role of ideas and discourse in the institutional design of this highly specific and nationally sensitive Policy was what raised the genuine interest in working out this Thesis. Discursive institutionalism developed by V.A.Schmidt presented a brilliant opportunity for the fulfillment of this uneasy task. It is a relatively young new institutionalist approach, not very well examined yet with regard to such a "hardcore", "realist" topic within International Relations/European Studies, and it has its own promising perspectives. There are certainly minimal expectations concerning its complete self-sufficiency as a sole right explanatory framework, albeit this can be said about any other approach as well, but it can definitely enrich

academic knowledge about the EU's security and defense capabilities as a part of the wider EU external action, and about the EU herself at the end of the day.

The first Chapter serves as a nodal point for the interosculation of the theoretical and empirical components of the Thesis. The Chapter 1 is focused upon the background of the institutional theory in the study of politics and IR, evolution of institutionalist school, its early varieties and gradual transformation into new institutionalism. Apart from providing insights into origins of (new) institutionalism and its modern 4 varieties – rational choice, historical, sociological and discursive institutionalisms – the given sub-Chapter sheds light on the institutionalist turn in IR, regionalist and European integration studies.

In the next 1.2. sub-Chapter the author smoothly proceeds to a closer overview of the DI framework as the forth neo-institutionalist set of approaches by showing how the problem of ideas, norms and values has evolved in the social sciences and political science, IR and EU research, in particular. This sub-Chapter vividly demonstrates that DI is not a homogenous set of approaches but is a complex umbrella framework of ideational and discursive concepts which also benefited from other new institutionalist schools other than DI. In the remaining part of the sub-Chapter the author exhaustively addresses basic characteristics of the set of approaches labeled as discursive institutionalist: sentient agents, ideas, discourse, institutional context and collective action potentially leading to institutional change. The author reviewed: the nature and role of thinking and speaking but also doing sentient agents, nature and characteristics of ideas carried by those actors in various forms, types, at various levels and exploited in various types of argumentation, coordinative and communicative discourses as well as bottom-up/top-down “launching platforms” of discursive interactions, characteristics of formal/informal institutions and institutional context, external and internal dimensions of institutional context in various political systems, “background ideational abilities” and “foreground discursive abilities” owned by actors within the internal dimension of institution-agent relationship, causal influence of ideas and discourse, and, finally, DI's most advantageous component – incremental and radical institutional change as the result of the collective action undertaken by sentient actors by using “foreground discursive abilities”, the ways and the reasons of institutional change.

Following the logic behind the DI approach the discussion of the problem of the EU's civilian crisis management under the CSDP as a part of the EU actorhood, issues addressed in the Thesis are structured on the basis of three ideational levels: philosophical ideas or the 3rd-level with focus

on NATO-CSDP dialogue as a part of the EU's role, communication and operation within above-EU global political arena; transition (civilian-military integration within the CSDP) from the 3rd level to the 2nd level of programmatic ideas located on the EU-level (CSDP-level), and, finally, the 1st level of policy ideas represented by single CSDP missions (two civilian CSDP missions – EULEX Kosovo and EUPOL Afghanistan).

The 3rd/philosophical level of ideas coincides with the NATO-CSDP dialogue highlighted in the 1.3. sub-Chapter of the Thesis. Here the author relies on historical facts when demonstrates extremely close interrelationship that exists between the NATO/US and CSDP/EU. General review of the evolution of NATO-EU security relationship is thoroughly accompanied by providing insights into ideational-discursive dimension of ever-developing cooperation (in accordance with the whole spectrum of DI's basic characteristics explained in the 1.2. sub-Chapter) within ever-changing historical-institutional context. Uneasy interaction between the two sides has undergone a very long and complex way of mutual suspicions and two-way endeavors to get closer to each other. Perceptions of each by the other one have altered immensely and the roles of both as international security actors have been transformed in the last decades and years. Special attention was paid to the exhaustive examination of the pre- and post-1999 security cooperation between changing NATO and ever-maturing EU as well as the evolution of the EU's (self-)identity within this relationship.

As a part and logical continuation of the debate about NATO-CSDP cooperation the author places civilian-military integration within the CSDP under spotlight in the next 1.4. sub-Chapter. Overview of the gradually developing institutional and policy-making framework which underpins civ-mil coordination within the CSDP has also allowed for the analysis of the real nature of the Policy, its actual specialization and future development perspectives, as well as the EU's overall international image.

EU as a regional and global security actor within the 2nd/programmatic level of ideational analysis is under focus of the concluding - 1.5. – sub-Chapter of the Chapter 1. What possible scenarios for EU's current and future actorship does literature offer? Which concepts about EU's role as a collective security provider do scholars propose? How does the EU's future as a global security actor look like? These are the questions which the author puts under discussion here and tries to provide answers to by means of available academic literature on the EU's actorhood and external action which has constantly evolved during the last decades. By attempting to move beyond the

two maximalist approaches of perceiving the EU as a completely sui generis power or as a model power, the author takes a look at the ideational-discursive changes in the developing EU external action and security and defense policy and the EU's role as a security actor. EU's regional and global actorness is reviewed on the basis of the three key components of actorhood proposed by Bretherton and Vogler (2006) and they are co-matched with the basic discursive-institutional notions: (1) opportunity or (historical-institutional context) which build upon ideas and processes having constraining or enabling effect on actorness; (2) presence (underpinned by foreground discursive abilities) embodies the actor's ability to generate influence on other actors which comprises actor's identity, self-identity and often unintended consequences of the actor's internal policies; (3) capability (underpinned by background discursive abilities) represents internal dimension of the actor's external action which presupposes possession of relevant policy instruments and understandings for using these instruments. Within this structured examination the author specifically addresses the concepts of strategic culture, various EU as a power (civilian, military, normative, structural and adjacent) concepts, and all this is analyzed in strict accordance with the DI-based approach.

The main focus of the Chapter 2 lies in the closer familiarization with the detailed history of the EU's security and defense policy with due attention to the pre-Maastricht background of the future CSDP. This dovetails with the 2nd/programmatic level of ideational examination. Following the DI tradition, global institutional context as well as sentient agents', i.e. major EU member states' (UK, France and Germany) role in the creation and evolution of the CSDP are closely addressed. Historical review is divided into specific periods of 1970-1989 European Political Cooperation epoch, 1989-1999 post-Maastricht or the immediate pre-CSDP period, 1998-1999 CSDP's creation and post-Lisbon (2007) CSDP period. Institutional novelties of each period are exhaustively described and this all is explained in the light of the DI-based terms and understandings. The author pays equal attention to the explanation of strengths and weaknesses of both coordinative and communicative discourses established within the EU with regard to the CSDP. Discursive-ideational evolution in the context of the CSDP is closely interlinked with the analogical debate raised within the Chapter 1's debate about NATO-CSDP dialogue and the wider framework of the EU global relationships. Civilian component of the CSDP is given special attention: a substantially large part of the institutional explanation of the Chapter is devoted to the civilian CSDP structures and instruments. After having provided the possibly broad picture of the

history of the CSDP the author lists all the civilian and military missions undertaken under the CSDP mechanism since 2003 until 2015 and informs about their basic characteristics: geographical parameters, sizes, time frames, key tasks, specificities etc. The Chapter is finalized with the full review of all CSDP-related EU institutions and bodies. The detailed list includes both those EU institutions and bodies which competences are not confined to the CSDP or even to the EU external action but operate as full, multi-task EU institutions in all (or almost all) EU policies and programs (e.g. European Council, the Council, Commission, EP), as well as those which work within a wider EU external action scheme (e.g. HR-VP, COPS), and those working only within the CSDP framework (e.g. CMPD, CPCC).

The concluding Chapter 3 of the given Thesis embodies the 1st/policy ideas level of ideational examination and is basically concerned with the two largest civilian CSDP (ongoing) missions – EU rule of law mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo) and EU police mission in Afghanistan (EUPOL Afghanistan or EUPOL-A) launched in 2008 and 2007 correspondingly. The author is interested in the ideational-discursive aspects of the planning and pre-decision-making phase which led to the launch of those missions. Various forms and types of ideas and various types of argumentation exploited for delivering these ideas through coordinative and communicative discourses, background ideational abilities and foreground discursive abilities within the EU which all led to the realization of a collective action in the form of a CSDP mission are being thoroughly explained by the examples of various aspects of decision-making process prior to deciding on these two missions. Following the logic of systemic approach to the problem the author provides further insights in the historical background of crisis management operations in two regions, interaction of the EU missions with other regional actors and assessments of effectiveness. Before proceeding to the actual DI-based analysis of each mission the author describes historical-institutional context which underlies security situation in each region by paying close attention to the events which led to the destabilization, the reaction of the international community to the crises, actual crisis management and post-conflict situation. This is important in order to understand ideational and argumentative framework which led to the ultimate involvement of the CSDP into the regions. The EU's interaction and cooperation with other global security actors involved in the crisis management process in the regions is shown as one of the cornerstone problems. The Chapter provides sufficient information on the available assessments of effectiveness of each CSDP mission. All explanations about the missions build on the comparative analysis of the two

missions. Main idea behind the Chapter does not dictate to find as many similarities as one can about EULEX Kosovo and EUPOL Afghanistan but to demonstrated how ideas and discourse worked in both regions and to sincerely display both commonalities and differences.