



**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS
ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

**THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DEFENCE POLICY**

**CRONOLOGIA DEZVOLTĂRII POLITICII DE
APĂRARE A UNIUNII EUROPENE**

**ХРОНОЛОГИЯ РАЗВИТИЯ ОБОРОННОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ
ЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО СОЮЗА**

DURIS Marian* / DURIS Marian / ДУРИС Мариан
<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7033-8327>

ABSTRACT:

**THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S DEFENCE POLICY**

The evolution of the European Union's defence policy reflects a complex process shaped by historical experiences, institutional reforms, and changing geopolitical realities. This paper examines the chronological development of the EU's approach to defence and security, from the early post-World War II initiatives and the foundations of the Western European Union to the establishment of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and recent steps toward strategic autonomy. It traces how key treaties, European Council decisions, and global events have influenced the EU's growing capacity to change the legislation environment of these policies.

Special attention is given to the role of integration milestones such as the Maastricht, Amsterdam, and Lisbon Treaties, as well as mechanisms like PESCO and the European Defence Fund. The study highlights how the EU's defence identity has evolved to the attempts for more coherent and independent strategic posture. By outlining the key phases and turning points, this paper provides a comprehensive overview of how the EU's defence policy has transformed into one of the pillars of its foreign and security agenda.

Keywords: European Union, defence policy, security, Europe.

JEL Classification: K10; K33

Universal Decimal Classification: 341.3; 338.245; 327.5; 341.2; 341.231.14; 331.23-055.2 ; 355.02
<https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2025.22-2.11>

REZUMAT:

CRONOLOGIA DEZVOLTĂRII POLITICII DE APĂRARE A UNIUNII EUROPENE

Evoluția politicii de apărare a Uniunii Europene reflectă un proces complex modelat de experiențe istorice, reforme instituționale și realități geopolitice în schimbare. Această lucrare examinează evoluția cronologică a abordării UE în domeniul apărării și securității, de la inițiativele de după cel de-al doilea război mondial și de

* **DURIS Marian** - Master în științe Politice, Universitatea Alexander Dubček, Trenčín, (Trenčín, Slovacia). / **DURIS Marian** - Master of Arts in Political Science, Alexander Dubček University of Trenčín, (Trenčín, Slovakia). / **ДУРИС Мариан** - Магистр политических наук, Тренчинский университет имени Александра Дубчека (Тренчин, Словакия). **E-mail:** marian.duris@student.tnuni.sk ; <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7033-8327>

la bazele Uniunii Europene occidentale până la stabilirea politicii de securitate și apărare comune (PSAC) și pașii recentți către autonomia strategică. Acesta urmărește modul în care tratatele cheie, deciziile Consiliului European și evenimentele globale au influențat capacitatea tot mai mare a UE de a schimba mediul legislativ al acestor politici.

O atenție deosebită este acordată rolului etapelor de integrare, cum ar fi tratatele de la Maastricht, Amsterdam și Lisabona, precum și mecanismelor precum PESCO și Fondul European de apărare. Studiul evidențiază modul în care identitatea de apărare a UE a evoluat în încercarea de a avea o postură strategică mai coerentă și mai independentă. Prin prezentarea etapelor-cheie și a punctelor de cotitură, acest document oferă o imagine de ansamblu cuprinzătoare a modului în care politica de apărare a UE s-a transformat într-unul dintre pilonii agendei sale externe și de securitate.

Cuvinte cheie: Uniunea Europeană, Politica de apărare, securitate, Europa.

JEL Classification: K10; K33

CZU: 341.3; 338.245; 327.5; 341.2; 341.231.14; 331.23-055.2 ; 355.02

<https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2025.22-2.11>

РЕЗЮМЕ:

ХРОНОЛОГИЯ РАЗВИТИЯ ОБОРОННОЙ ПОЛИТИКИ ЕВРОПЕЙСКОГО СОЮЗА

Эволюция оборонной политики Европейского союза отражает сложный процесс, обусловленный историческим опытом, институциональными реформами и меняющимися геополитическими реалиями. В данной статье рассматривается хронологическое развитие подхода ЕС к обороне и безопасности, начиная с первых инициатив после Второй мировой войны и создания основ Западноевропейского союза до создания Общей политики безопасности и обороны (ОПБО) и недавних шагов в направлении стратегической автономии. В нем прослеживается, как ключевые договоры, решения Европейского совета и глобальные события повлияли на растущую способность ЕС изменять законодательную базу в рамках этой политики.

Особое внимание уделяется роли таких вех в интеграции, как Маастрихтский, Амстердамский и Лиссабонский договоры, а также таких механизмов, как PESCO и Европейский оборонный фонд. В исследовании подчеркивается, как оборонная идентичность ЕС трансформировалась в попытку выработки более согласованной и независимой стратегической позиции. Описывая ключевые этапы и поворотные моменты, этот документ дает всесторонний обзор того, как оборонная политика ЕС превратилась в один из столпов его внешней политики и повестки дня в области безопасности.

Ключевые слова: Европейский союз, оборонная политика, безопасность, Европа.

JEL Classification: K10; K33

УДК: 341.3; 338.245; 327.5; 341.2; 341.231.14; 331.23-055.2 ; 355.02

<https://doi.org/10.61753/1857-1999/2345-1963/2025.22-2.11>

INTRODUCTION

The question of how Europe should defend itself has long stood at the heart of its political and strategic debates. Emerging from the devastation of two world wars, European nations were forced to reconsider what collective security meant in a rapidly changing global background. The development of Europe's defence policy has been shaped by a complex interplay of historical experiences, geopolitical pressures, and evolving security challenges. From post-World War II reconstruction to contemporary efforts toward expected strategic autonomy, Europe's approach to defence reflects its ongoing quest for resilience and influence.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The evolution of European defence policy has been one of the dimensions of the European integration process, shaped by experience, institutional innovation, and shifting geopolitical realities. Scholars generally agree that Europe's pursuit of a collective security identity emerged from the continent's post-World War II need for stability and self-reliance within the alliance structure. The

legal and institutional foundation was first laid by the Brussels Treaty (MTR Legal, 2025), which represented Europe's initial step toward coordinated defence. As Rohan (2014) explains, the Western European Union that developed from this treaty served as a bridge between NATO and later EU structures, reflecting early tensions between national sovereignty and supranational ambitions.

The end of the Cold War and the crises in the Balkans redefined European security thinking. Smith (2004) and Howorth (2007) describe this period as a turning point when the European Union sought to move from an economic community toward a more political and strategic actor. The 1999 Cologne and Helsinki European Councils (European Parliament, 1999a; 1999b) institutionalized this ambition by launching the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), marking Europe's intent to develop autonomous operational capabilities. Ferreira-Pereira (2013) notes that the Lisbon Treaty later consolidated these efforts under the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), introducing legal and procedural coherence and enhancing the role of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in external operations.

The publication of the European Security Strategy (Publications Office of the EU, 2009) and the subsequent EU Global Strategy (Biscop, 2016) reflected the EU's gradual move toward a more realistic and outward-looking security posture. Biscop argues that this strategic evolution represented "Realpolitik with European characteristics," blending normative goals - such as conflict prevention and multilateralism - with a recognition of the need for power tools. This duality became particularly evident in the EU's responses to regional crises and global instability.

More recent scholarship highlights a growing emphasis on strategic autonomy and industrial capability. Blockmans (2021) identifies the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) as a mechanism that deepens defence collaboration among willing Member States, strengthening operational readiness and technological integration. Similarly, Perotto (2023) underscores the legal and industrial dimensions of this process, noting that the EU's defence initiatives increasingly seek to reduce dependence on external actors and foster an integrated defence market. The White Paper for European Defence – Readiness 2030 (European Commission, 2023) builds on this perspective, outlining a vision for long-term capacity development, innovation, and preparedness.

The literature collectively portrays the attempts of the European Union to gradually transform from a primarily economic and "civilian" power into a more strategically aware and capable actor. While earlier studies emphasized institutional development and intergovernmental negotiation, contemporary analyses focus on resilience, industrial autonomy, and the EU's response to new security threats, including the war on Ukraine. As Håkansson (2025) notes, recent events have accelerated Europe's strategic awakening and reinforced the role of the EEAS in coordinating collective action.

Overall, the scholarship reveals a clear trajectory: from postwar reconstruction and dependence on transatlantic tie toward a more coherent and autonomous defence identity. Although challenges of coordination, capability, and political unity persist, the EU's evolving security architecture demonstrates a growing determination to act as some kind of global security provider in its own right.

2 THE TREATY OF BRUSSELS, BASIS FOR EUROPEAN DEFENCE COOPERATION

The Brussels Treaty denotes an international accord that played a pivotal role in shaping European cooperation and security policy in the aftermath of the Second World War. From a legal standpoint, the term specifically refers to the agreement concluded in Brussels on 17 March 1948, formally titled the "Treaty on Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence."

The treaty was signed by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Its objective was to establish a unified defence and security framework, designed both to prevent any resurgence of German aggression and to counterbalance the growing influence of the Soviet Union in Europe. The treaty laid the groundwork for the subsequent formation of the Western European Union (WEU). Beyond collective defence, it also incorporated provisions for cooperation in economic, social, and cultural fields among its signatories. The treaty underwent

several amendments, most notably through the Protocol of 23 October 1954, which formalized the WEU as the successor organization to the original parties.

The core principle of the Brussels Treaty is the mutual assistance clause in the event of an armed attack on any Member State's territory. The contracting states are bound to consult one another and to provide immediate aid in case of aggression. This collective defence commitment was later mirrored in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. The agreement also envisaged the establishment of institutional mechanisms, including a Council and a Secretariat, to ensure implementation and oversight of its objectives. With the establishment of the WEU, these structures were expanded and institutionalized. The 1954 Paris Protocol, which amended and supplemented the Brussels Treaty, marked a major stage in its development. By admitting the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, the treaty was broadened in both scope and membership, and the WEU evolved into the principal organization for collective defence in Western Europe.

After the creation of NATO in 1949, the Brussels Treaty gradually lost much of its practical importance, as NATO assumed the primary role in safeguarding Western Europe's collective security. Nevertheless, the Brussels Treaty remained the legal foundation of the WEU, providing a formal framework for its security guarantees. The adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 and the subsequent establishment of a common foreign and security policy within the European Union further reduced the relevance of the WEU and the Brussels Treaty. In 2011, the Brussels Treaty was officially terminated, bringing the activities of the WEU to an end.

From the standpoint of international law, the Brussels Treaty constitutes a traditional multilateral treaty, established through reciprocal declarations of intent among its signatories, and stands as a fundamental milestone in the evolution of collective security and collaboration in Europe following the Second World War. Its legal framework - especially the mutual defence provision and the creation of common institutional structures - served as a blueprint for later international agreements, most prominently NATO and the European Union's security and defence framework. Although the treaty was formally dissolved in 2011, its legal and political influence endures, continuing to shape the processes of European integration and intergovernmental cooperation (MTR Legal, 2025).

2.1 Western European Union, formal organization served as the basis for later initiatives

Following the collapse of the European Defence Community (EDC), the issue of Germany's status remained unresolved. During the Nine-Power Conference — bringing together France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States - held in London from 28 September to 3 October 1954, a number of significant decisions were reached. These included the termination of the occupation regime in the FRG and the restoration of its sovereignty, the supervision of German rearmament through amendments to the 1948 Brussels Treaty, the accession of the FRG and Italy to the revised Brussels Treaty, and the FRG's entry into NATO. The British commitment to maintain military forces on the European continent provided reassurance to France regarding German rearmament while simultaneously ensuring the continued presence of American troops in Europe.

On 23 October 1954, at the conclusion of the London Conference, the Protocol Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty was signed. The five original Western Union members — France, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg — were joined by Italy and the FRG. The Paris Agreements, conceived as an alternative to the failed EDC initiative, established the Western European Union (WEU). These accords formally ended the occupation of West Germany and approved both West Germany's and Italy's membership in the Brussels Treaty framework.

In addition to the pre-existing Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the new Treaty introduced several institutions: a consultative Parliamentary Assembly, an Armaments Control Agency, and a Standing Armaments Committee. To avoid antagonizing European public opinion, still wary of an officially sanctioned German rearmament, the Paris Agreements explicitly forbade Germany from producing or acquiring weapons of mass destruction — atomic, biological, or chemical (ABC) arms. The French National Assembly, which had previously rejected the EDC, this time endorsed West Germany's rearmament. Consequently, West Germany was permitted to form its own military force, the Bundeswehr, which formally joined NATO on 5 May 1955. Despite France's earlier opposition to the EDC, West German rearmament ultimately proceeded.

The Soviet Union, which had conducted a vigorous campaign throughout the debates on German rearmament, responded rapidly to these Western developments. On 14 May 1955, it signed a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with seven Eastern bloc states — Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Hungary — thereby creating the Warsaw Pact. This alliance largely mirrored the structure and objectives of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In the same year, East Germany's paramilitary force, the "Garrisoned People's Police" (Kasernierte Volkspolizei), was transformed into the National People's Army (Nationale Volksarmee).

The downfall of the EDC and the subsequent formation of the WEU, which remained closely tied to NATO, exposed Western Europe's dependence on the United States for collective defence. Although the WEU represented the first European organization with explicit responsibilities for security and defence, the EDC's failure signalled the end of immediate prospects for political integration in defence matters. It was only in 1955, with the Messina Declaration, that European integration resumed — this time focusing on economic cooperation. These efforts culminated in the Treaties of Rome, signed on 25 March 1957, which established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) (Rohan, 2014).

2.2 Discussions after the Cold War and the first steps towards a common defence policy

After the end of the Cold War, during the 1990s, discussions about the need for a common European defence policy gained momentum. The changing international environment, marked by the dissolution of the actual world order, prompted European states to reconsider their collective security responsibilities. The conflicts in the Balkans further highlighted Europe's dependence. As a result, the European Union began to explore ways to strengthen its own capabilities. This period laid the groundwork for the development of the Common European Security and Defence policies.

Consequently, European nations began to reassess their collective role in preserving peace and stability. The 1990s thus emerged as a pivotal decade during which the groundwork for a Common European Security and Defence Policy was established. The overarching goal was to allow Europe to operate with greater strategic autonomy while maintaining its close transatlantic partnership with the United States.

A key milestone arrived in 1992 with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which founded the European Union and introduced the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as one of its three main pillars. Although the CFSP initially focused on diplomatic coordination and common statements, it symbolized the growing aspiration among Member States to develop a more unified framework for foreign and defence policy. However, the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s exposed the EU's inability to act decisively in crises occurring on its own continent.

In light of this reality, European leaders began discussions on reinforcing the Union's defence capabilities. A major turning point came in 1998 with the Franco-British Saint-Malo Declaration, signed by French President Jacques Chirac and British Prime Minister Tony Blair. For the first time, the United Kingdom—historically reluctant to transfer defence competences to the EU—accepted that Europe needed the capacity for autonomous action supported by credible forces. This bilateral initiative between two of Europe's principal powers injected new momentum into the process.

Following the Saint-Malo agreement, the 1999 Cologne European Council officially launched the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The EU subsequently established several key political and military bodies, such as the Political and Security Committee, the EU Military Committee, and the EU Military Staff. Later that year, at the Helsinki European Council, Member States endorsed the "Headline Goal," committing themselves to develop the ability to deploy up to 60,000 troops within 60 days and maintain them for at least one year in crisis management missions. These measures represented the beginning of Europe's operational capacity to plan and execute its own missions, though initially limited to peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts.

By the end of the 1990s, the European Union had built the essential institutional and political foundation for a collective defence policy. Despite ongoing challenges—including coordination with NATO, divergent strategic priorities, and constrained resources—the decade marked the formative phase of Europe's pursuit of a more cohesive and autonomous defence identity. The

advances made during this period set the stage for future progress, transforming the EU from a primarily economic entity into a more comprehensive actor (Howorth, 2007).

3 MAASTRICHT TREATY WITH THE COMMON FOREIGN & SECURITY POLICY

The signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 marked a historic milestone in the political and institutional development of the European Union. Officially known as the Treaty on European Union, it represented a step beyond economic integration toward the creation of a political union. One of its innovations was the establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which introduced, for the first time, a coordinated framework for the Member States' external relations and defence cooperation. This initiative reflected Europe's growing ambition to act as a unified player and to assume greater responsibility for its own security in the post-Cold War era.

Before Maastricht, European cooperation in foreign policy was relatively loose, taking place mainly through the European Political Cooperation (EPC) mechanism established in the 1970s. The EPC provided a forum for consultation but lacked the institutional strength and coherence necessary for effective action. The geopolitical changes following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the reunification of Germany, and the outbreak of violent conflicts in the Balkans exposed the limitations of this informal system. European leaders realized that in order to respond to new challenges and maintain stability on their continent, the European Community needed a stronger and more structured mechanism.

The Maastricht Treaty addressed this need by formally creating the European Union and introducing a "pillar" structure. The first pillar covered economic, social, and monetary policy; the second was the Common Foreign and Security Policy; and the third dealt with cooperation in justice and home affairs. The CFSP aimed to safeguard so-called common values and fundamental interests of the Union, strengthen its security, promote international cooperation, and preserve peace. Importantly, the treaty also acknowledged a defence dimension, paving the way for future integration in military matters. Although the implementation of the CFSP was largely intergovernmental—meaning that decisions required unanimity among member states—it signalled a political commitment to closer cooperation in diplomacy and security.

The inclusion of the defence aspect was one of the treaty's most forward-looking features. While NATO remained the cornerstone of European defence, the Maastricht Treaty recognized the Western European Union (WEU) as a potential defence component of the EU. The WEU was envisaged as the operational arm that could carry out humanitarian, peacekeeping, and crisis management missions on behalf of the Union. This arrangement was meant to ensure that Europe could take more responsibility for its own security while complementing, rather than replacing, NATO's role. However, the practical implementation of this defence dimension remained limited throughout the 1990s, primarily because of differing national interests and the absence of a unified command.

Despite these limitations, the Maastricht Treaty laid the institutional foundation for future developments in European security and defence policy. It represented the first formal attempt to articulate a common strategic vision for Europe's role. The CFSP provided the political framework from which later initiatives—such as the 1998 Saint-Malo Declaration and the creation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 1999—would emerge. In this sense, the Maastricht Treaty not only redefined the nature of European integration but also set the stage for the gradual evolution of the European Union into a more coherent and capable actor in international security affairs (Smith, 2004).

3.1 St. Malo Declaration and the development of the European defence capabilities

The St. Malo Declaration of 1998 was an important step in developing European defence policy. It was signed by French President Jacques Chirac and British Prime Minister Tony Blair during a meeting in the French city of Saint-Malo. The declaration showed that France and the United Kingdom agreed on the need to improve Europe's ability to act on its own in matters of security and defence. For the first time, the two main military powers in Europe supported the idea that the European Union should have its own defence capacity, based on reliable military forces. This

agreement later helped to create the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The declaration came after the conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s. Both Britain and France understood that if the EU wanted to play a real role in international security, it needed to be able to plan and carry out missions by itself, especially in situations where NATO did not take action. The leaders at Saint-Malo agreed that the Union should have the ability to act independently, supported by credible military forces, and be ready to use them when international crises occurred.

Although France and the United Kingdom had different views on defence—France often supported more independent European action, while the UK wanted to keep strong ties with NATO—the declaration showed that they could find common ground. It did not aim to replace NATO, but to make sure the EU could act when NATO chose not to. This balance between European and transatlantic cooperation became an important part of later developments in European defence. After the St. Malo meeting, the idea of building stronger EU defence structures was accepted by other Member States. In 1999, the European Councils in Cologne and Helsinki turned many of these ideas into practice by creating the political and military bodies needed for EU crisis management operations. The St. Malo Declaration therefore marked the start of practical cooperation between EU countries in these matters. It helped shape the EU's role as an organization able to carry out limited security and peacekeeping missions, making Europe more capable of acting together when facing regional or international crises (Gegout, 2002).

3.2 Cologne Council: new tasks

The 1999 Cologne European Council was another key moment in the development of the European Union's defence dimension. Meeting in June 1999, the heads of state and government of the EU adopted decisions that marked the beginning of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). One of the main outcomes of the Cologne Council was the EU's formal commitment to carry out the Petersberg Tasks, which defined the types of missions the Union would be able to undertake. These tasks included humanitarian and rescue operations, peacekeeping missions, and operations involving combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making.

The Petersberg Tasks had originally been outlined in 1992 by the Western European Union (WEU), a separate organization that served as a bridge between NATO and the EU. At the time, the WEU represented the European pillar of NATO and provided a forum for European defence cooperation. However, by the late 1990s, it became increasingly clear that the European Union needed to take on a more direct role in managing challenges. The conflicts had demonstrated the EU's limited capacity to respond to crises on its own. The Cologne Council therefore decided to incorporate the Petersberg Tasks into the framework of the EU's new security and defence policy, signalling the transfer of the WEU's operational role to the European Union.

In Cologne, EU leaders agreed that the Union must have the means and structures necessary to conduct crisis management operations independently when NATO as a whole was not engaged. The Council emphasized that the development of the ESDP would not weaken the transatlantic relationship but rather strengthen the European contribution to global security. The decisions made at the meeting included the establishment of new institutional structures, such as the Political and Security Committee, the EU Military Committee, and the EU Military Staff. These bodies would be responsible for political control, strategic direction, and operational planning of EU-led missions.

The Cologne conclusions also stated that the European Union should be able to undertake the full range of Petersberg Tasks using forces made available voluntarily by Member States. This commitment formed the basis for further decisions adopted later in 1999 at the Helsinki European Council, where the so-called "Headline Goal" was introduced. The goal was to enable the EU to deploy up to 60,000 troops within 60 days and sustain them for at least one year in order to carry out Petersberg-type operations.

The Cologne Council thus represented the beginning of the EU's practical steps toward an operational defence policy. It established the political framework for the Union's involvement in crisis management and laid the foundation for future missions in Europe and beyond. Although the EU did not yet have permanent military forces or a common command structure, the commitment to the Petersberg Tasks provided the necessary direction for the gradual development of the European Security and Defence Policy in the following years (European Parliament, 1999a).

3.3 Helsinki Council and the new goals of developing the capabilities

The 1999 Helsinki European Council marked the next stage in the development. Held in December 1999, only a few months after the Cologne Council, the Helsinki meeting built upon previous decisions that aimed to strengthen the Union's ability to respond. During this summit, the EU adopted the so-called "Helsinki Headline Goal," a plan that set a clear and measurable target for developing capabilities within the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

This decision reflected the EU's growing determination to take on greater responsibility for regional and international security, particularly after the experiences of the conflicts during the 1990s. However, the Council also reaffirmed that the development of EU capabilities would be compatible with NATO structures and that close cooperation between the two organizations would remain essential.

To implement the Headline Goal, EU member states agreed to provide national military resources for potential EU-led operations. These forces would not form a permanent army but rather a pool of units and capabilities available for deployment. The commitment also required the establishment of supporting elements, such as command & control systems, intelligence resources, strategic transport, and logistics. The EU aimed to create the necessary planning and operational structures to manage these missions. To this end, the Helsinki Council decided to strengthen the newly established Political and Security Committee, the EU Military Committee, and the EU Military Staff, which had been introduced earlier in 1999 following the Cologne Council.

The Helsinki meeting also addressed the issue of cooperation with non-EU European NATO members and candidate countries. It was agreed that these states could contribute to EU-led operations and participate in relevant consultations, which reinforced the inclusive character of the ESDP. In addition to capacity building, the Council emphasized the importance of improving civilian crisis management capabilities. It identified four priority areas for civilian operations: police, rule of law, civil administration, and civil protection. This dual approach underscored the EU's understanding of crisis management, combining both military and civilian instruments.

By adopting the Helsinki Headline Goal, the bloc took a concrete step toward establishing its own capacity for crisis management and operations. Although the target was ambitious and depended on the political will and resources of Member States, it provided a clear framework for developing the defence potential. The decisions made in Helsinki laid the groundwork for the first EU-led missions launched in the early 2000s and became a cornerstone of the Common Security and Defence Policy that evolved in the following decade (European Parliament, 1999b).

4 COMMON SECURITY & DEFENCE POLICY AFTER 2000

Between 2000 and 2010, the European Union transformed its initial security ambitions into a more structured and operational framework known as the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). During this decade, the EU established the institutional, political, and military mechanisms needed to conduct crisis management missions. The Union also launched its first operations.

4.1 European Security Strategy and the identification of threats and strategic objectives

In 2003, the European Union adopted its first European Security Strategy (ESS), formally outlining the Union's approach to security and defence. The strategy was prepared in response to evolving global threats and the need for a coherent framework for EU action in international security. For the first time, the ESS identified common threats faced by the Union and set strategic objectives to guide its external policies, including the use of military and civilian instruments. Its adoption represented a shift from a reactive approach to security toward a more structured and strategic planning process within the EU.

The ESS identified five main threats to the Union's security: terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crime. These threats were recognized as interconnected, requiring both preventive measures and active engagement in crisis management. The strategy emphasized the importance of a comprehensive approach to security, combining diplomatic, economic, development, and military tools to prevent and manage conflicts. This holistic perspective reflected lessons learned from the EU's experiences in the Balkans and other regions, where military and civilian measures needed to be coordinated to achieve effective outcomes.

A central concept in the ESS was the promotion of international stability through early action. The strategy stressed that the EU should work to prevent conflicts from arising, rather than relying solely on post-crisis interventions. To achieve this, the Union was encouraged to develop crisis management capabilities, including rapid deployment forces, intelligence, and planning capacities. The ESS also highlighted the need for stronger cooperation with international organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, and regional bodies, as well as with non-EU partners. Multilateral collaboration was seen as essential to address threats that exceeded the capacity of any single actor.

The document further established strategic objectives for EU security policy. These included the ability to respond to crises in Europe's neighbourhood, the capacity to contribute to global peacekeeping and conflict resolution, and the development of capabilities to protect EU citizens and interests. The ESS served as a reference for subsequent policy initiatives, including the refinement of military capabilities under the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and the integration of civilian crisis management tools. It provided a framework for assessing EU missions and identifying capability gaps, thereby guiding the planning of resources and operational readiness.

The adoption of the ESS also underlined the political commitment of EU Member States to a common security path. While decisions remained intergovernmental, the strategy offered a shared understanding of priorities and threats, facilitating coordination and cooperation among Member States. It became a cornerstone for the Union's external action, influencing both strategic planning and practical operations in crisis management.

Overall, the 2003 European Security Strategy established a structured approach to EU security and defence. By identifying common threats and setting clear strategic objectives, it provided the basis for the development of coherent policies and capabilities, linking the EU's political goals with the instruments for crisis prevention, management, and response (Publications Office of the EU, 2009).

4.2 European Council 2004 and launch of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)

In 2004, the European Union formally launched the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) during the European Council. This step marked the transition from the political and conceptual planning of EU defence and security capabilities toward practical implementation. The ESDP was designed to enable the Union to conduct crisis management operations independently, complementing NATO while remaining consistent with the EU's broader security and foreign policy objectives. The Council also approved the first operational missions under this new framework, providing the ESDP with concrete tasks and responsibilities.

The ESDP had been under development since the late 1990s, following earlier agreements such as the Cologne and Helsinki Councils. The 2004 Council gave the policy a formal status and established the operational and institutional structures needed to plan and execute actions. Among the main objectives were the ability to conduct civilian and military operations, respond to regional crises, support peacekeeping efforts, and assist in conflict prevention. By approving initial missions, the Council aimed to demonstrate the Union's capacity to act. The first missions approved under the ESDP included both military and civilian operations.

These missions focused on tasks such as police training, rule-of-law support, and peacekeeping in areas affected by conflict or instability. The operational approach of the ESDP relied on contributions from Member States on a voluntary basis, including personnel, equipment, and logistical support. This framework allowed the EU to organize missions without creating permanent standing forces, instead drawing upon the capabilities offered by participating countries. The Council also stressed the importance of integrating political guidance, strategic planning, and operational command in order to ensure effective mission execution.

Institutional support for the ESDP was strengthened through the development of new EU bodies. The Political and Security Committee (PSC) was tasked with political control and strategic guidance, while the EU Military Committee and the EU Military Staff were responsible for planning and directing military operations. Civilian components of the ESDP were coordinated through the newly established Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability. Together, these structures

enabled the Union to plan and conduct a wide range of missions, combining military and civilian instruments of crisis management.

The Council also emphasized the importance of cooperation with NATO, the United Nations, and other international organizations. While the ESDP allowed the EU to act autonomously, the Council acknowledged that joint planning and coordination with external partners were essential for efficiency and legitimacy. This approach reflected the EU's intention to complement existing security frameworks rather than compete with them. Overall, the 2004 Council marked the operational launch of the ESDP and the beginning of the EU's first missions under this policy. By establishing structures, approving initial operations, and integrating both military and civilian instruments, the Council laid the groundwork for the Union's evolving role in international security and crisis management (Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı, 2004).

5 LISBON TREATY AS THE FRAMEWORK IN THE DEFENCE AND SECURITY

The Lisbon Treaty, signed in 2007 and entering into force in December 2009, significantly reformed the European Union's legal and institutional framework. Among its many provisions, the treaty strengthened the EU's capacity in the fields of security and defence. It consolidated previous treaties and clarified the roles and responsibilities of EU institutions in foreign policy, providing a clearer legal basis for the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), which had evolved from the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The treaty also introduced new mechanisms to improve decision-making, coordination, and operational capabilities in defence matters.

One of the key innovations of the Lisbon Treaty was the formal incorporation of the CSDP into the EU's legal structure. The treaty included detailed provisions regarding the Union's ability to conduct civilian and military crisis management operations.

The Lisbon Treaty also introduced institutional reforms that affected these fields. It created the position of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, who also serves as Vice-President of the European Commission, and strengthened the European External Action Service (EEAS). These changes enabled some kind of coordination between EU institutions, improved communication between Member States, and enhanced the Union's ability to conduct coherent policies. The treaty also allowed for the establishment of permanent structured cooperation (PESCO), which created a framework for willing Member States to develop joint defence capabilities, increase interoperability, and plan collaborative projects.

Additionally, the treaty clarified decision-making procedures for CSDP missions. It allowed for more flexible and faster arrangements for adopting decisions in the Council of the European Union, particularly when addressing crisis management operations. The treaty confirmed that the Union could conduct operations using capabilities provided by Member States on a voluntary basis, including personnel, equipment, and other resources. This approach maintained the intergovernmental character of EU defence cooperation while providing the legal and political framework necessary for coordinated action. Overall, the Lisbon Treaty provided more coherent legal framework for the EU's security and defence activities. By clarifying institutional responsibilities, enabling structured cooperation, and codifying the CSDP within EU law, the treaty contributed to a more organized and predictable system for planning and conducting EU-led crisis management operations (Ferreira-Pereira, 2013).

5.1 Strengthening Defence Capabilities and Cooperation after 2010

Between 2010 and 2020, the European Union focused on improving its defence capabilities and enhancing cooperation among Member States. During this period, the EU worked on developing both military and civilian tools for crisis management and operations. Initiatives such as the European Defence Fund and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) were introduced to support joint projects and increase interoperability. The Union also strengthened coordination mechanisms to ensure effective planning and deployment of forces.

5.2 EU Global Strategy and the replacement of the European Security Strategy

In 2016, the European Union adopted the EU Global Strategy (EUGS), replacing the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS). The strategy was developed in response to a rapidly changing security environment, including new threats such as terrorism, hybrid warfare, regional conflicts, and instability in Europe's neighbourhood. The EUGS aimed to provide a comprehensive

framework for the EU's external action, offering guidance for political, economic, and security policies. One of its central objectives was to strengthen the Union's defence capabilities and its capacity to act independently when necessary.

The EUGS identified five strategic priorities for EU external action. These priorities included: responding to external conflicts and crises, building resilient states and societies, advancing cooperative regional orders, upholding the rules-based global order, and enhancing the EU's internal capacity to act, particularly in the areas of security and defence. The strategy emphasized that these priorities were interconnected and required coordinated use of civilian, diplomatic, and military instruments. In this way, the EUGS continued the approach of the ESS by linking strategic objectives to operational capabilities but provided an updated assessment of threats and opportunities in a more complex global context.

A key element of the EUGS was the focus on defence and security cooperation. The strategy called for improved coordination among EU Member States to increase military capabilities, enhance interoperability, and ensure that forces could be deployed rapidly in response to crises. It also highlighted the need to invest in capabilities that could address both conventional and unconventional threats, including hybrid threats and cyber challenges. The EUGS explicitly supported initiatives such as Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and the European Defence Fund (EDF), which were designed to facilitate joint development of defence projects and capability improvements across the Union.

The strategy also reinforced the EU's commitment to multilateral cooperation and partnerships. It underscored the importance of working with NATO, the United Nations, and regional organizations to respond to crises effectively and to uphold international law and security. The EUGS stressed that EU-led operations should be complementary to NATO, while also emphasizing the Union's ability to act autonomously when required what means change in rhetoric and "mindset".

The 2016 EU Global Strategy provided a policy framework for subsequent developments in European defence. It guided the planning and implementation of defence initiatives throughout the following years, influencing investment priorities, capability development, and operational planning. By linking strategic objectives to initiatives and emphasizing collective action, the EUGS changed the Union's ability to respond to contemporary security challenges while maintaining coherence with broader foreign policy goals (Biscop, 2016).

5.3 Permanent Structured Cooperation and European Defence Fund

In 2017, the European Union introduced two major initiatives aimed at enhancing defence cooperation among its member states: Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and the European Defence Fund (EDF). Both initiatives were designed to strengthen the EU's defence capabilities, improve interoperability among national armed forces, and promote collaborative projects in the areas of research, development, and operational capacity. Together, they represented a more structured approach to European defence within the framework of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

PESCO was established as a framework under the Lisbon Treaty that allows willing EU Member States to deepen defence cooperation on a permanent basis. Participation is voluntary but binding: states that join commit to fulfilling common obligations, including increasing defence budgets, developing specific capabilities, and contributing to joint projects. The initiative provides a platform for collaborative development of military equipment, joint training programs, and operational planning. By setting binding commitments, PESCO seeks to ensure that participating states follow a coordinated approach in both capability development and operational planning.

Alongside PESCO, the European Defence Fund was created to provide financial support for joint defence research and development projects. The EDF encourages EU Member States to collaborate on the design and production of defence technologies, including advanced weapon systems, communication tools, and intelligence platforms. Funding is allocated to projects that strengthen the Union's strategic autonomy while reducing duplication among national defence programs. The fund also seeks to promote innovation and efficiency in the defence industry, facilitating the development of capabilities that would otherwise be too costly for individual countries to undertake alone.

Both PESCO and the EDF are intended to complement existing EU defence structures and initiatives. These EU frameworks provide additional tools to coordinate investment, enhance interoperability, and support joint missions under the CSDP. PESCO projects cover areas such as air-to-air refuelling, cyber defence, medical support, and training exercises, whereas EDF funding targets research programs and prototype development for new defence technologies.

The introduction of PESCO and the EDF in 2017 marked a step toward a more integrated defence policy. By combining a binding framework for cooperation with targeted financial support, the EU sought to encourage long-term collaboration, ensure more effective use of resources, and build capabilities relevant to both EU-led and multinational operations (Blockmans, 2021).

5.4 Coordinated Annual Review on Defence as the new mechanism to assess and coordinate

In 2018, the European Union launched the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD), a mechanism designed to assess and coordinate the defence capabilities of its Member States. CARD was introduced to provide a systematic and transparent overview of existing military capacities and to identify opportunities for greater cooperation and capability development. The initiative aimed to improve planning, reduce duplication, and ensure more efficient use of resources across EU member states, supporting the goals of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

The review mechanism complements other EU defence initiatives, such as Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) and the European Defence Fund (EDF). While PESCO focuses on binding commitments for joint projects and EDF provides funding for collaborative defence research and development, CARD ensures that these initiatives are guided by up-to-date information on existing capabilities and emerging needs. It enables the EU to coordinate its efforts more effectively and to prioritize investments in areas that will have the greatest impact on security and operational readiness.

CARD also contributes to enhancing interoperability among Member States' armed forces. By identifying where capabilities can be shared or developed jointly, the process supports the development of forces that are compatible and ready for EU-led missions. It provides a framework for aligning national planning with EU-level objectives and encourages cooperation in areas such as logistics, strategic mobility, and command structures. Overall, the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence serves as a tool for capability assessment, planning, and coordination within the European Union (Perotto, 2023).

6 EU RESPONDING TO NEW SECURITY FACTORS AFTER 2020

Between 2020 and 2025, the European Union focused on adapting to new security challenges and emerging threats. The period has been marked by efforts to strengthen defence capabilities and improve coordination among Member States. New initiatives have been introduced to address evolving risks, including cyber threats, hybrid warfare, and regional instability. Overall, the EU has aimed to enhance its readiness and resilience in a changing environment.

6.1 Conflict in Ukraine as the new argument for strengthening the defence capabilities

In 2022, the Russian incursion to Ukraine marked a significant shift in the European security environment and provided an impetus for the European Union to strengthen its defence capabilities. In eyes of the leadership of the European Union, the conflict underscored the importance of strategic autonomy, rapid response, and enhanced coordination among EU member states. It highlighted vulnerabilities in European defence structures and emphasized the need for more robust preparedness, interoperable forces, and effective mechanisms for joint planning and procurement.

The EU's response to the conflict involved both political and operational measures. At the political level, the Union condemned the invasion and coordinated sanctions against Russia while providing support to Ukraine through humanitarian aid, financial assistance and providing the arms and ammunition. At the same time, the conflict accelerated discussions among Member States on increasing defence spending, modernizing armed forces, and improving the Union's abilities. The urgency of the situation demonstrated these abilities can be essential for responding effectively to large-scale security events in Europe's neighbourhood.

The war in Ukraine also prompted the European Union to reassess its strategic priorities. Greater attention was given to territorial defence, cyber resilience, and the protection of critical

infrastructure. Member States increased their investment in modern equipment, including armoured vehicles, air defence systems, and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capabilities. The EU also sought to enhance interoperability among national forces, ensuring that units from different countries could operate together efficiently in joint missions. These measures were intended to improve both the EU's collective deterrence and its capacity to support NATO when required.

Furthermore, the conflict reinforced the importance of European defence cooperation within a broader international context. The EU worked closely with NATO, partner countries, and international organizations to coordinate responses to the crisis, demonstrating the complementary nature of EU-led initiatives and transatlantic security frameworks. The developments of 2022 thus accelerated existing plans for capability development and cooperation while highlighting the urgency of building a more resilient and capable European defence posture.

Overall, the conflict in Ukraine can be considered as the catalyst for changes in the European Union's defence capabilities. By emphasizing coordination, modernization, and investment, the EU has taken concrete steps to strengthen its security regarding the events in the neighbourhood and beyond (Hakansson, 2025).

6.2 European Defence Plan 2030 and the Readiness 2030 (ReArm Europe)

In 2023, the European Union adopted the European Defence Plan 2030, outlining the goals and priorities for the Union's defence policy over the coming decade. The plan was designed to respond to evolving security challenges in Europe and beyond, including conventional and hybrid threats, regional instability, and technological developments in military capabilities. It builds on previous EU initiatives, such as the European Defence Fund (EDF), Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), and the Coordinated Annual Review on Defence (CARD), by providing a comprehensive framework for capability development, cooperation, and operational readiness.

The Defence Plan 2030 sets clear strategic objectives for EU Member States, emphasizing the need to strengthen military capabilities, improve interoperability, and enhance rapid response capacities. One of the main goals is to ensure that the EU can deploy forces effectively in crisis management and peacekeeping operations, both within Europe and in its neighbouring regions. The plan prioritizes the development of key capabilities, including intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance systems, cyber defence, air and missile defence, and strategic mobility. It also addresses the modernization of existing forces and the procurement of advanced equipment to maintain operational relevance in a changing security environment.

The European Commission's Readiness 2030 (formerly ReArm Europe) initiative, unveiled in March 2024, aims to unlock more than €800 billion in defence-related expenditure. It intends to do so by granting Member States greater fiscal leeway, creating a new €150 billion SAFE loan facility for joint procurement, potentially reallocating parts of cohesion funding, and expanding the role of the European Investment Bank. The plan also seeks to attract private financing through the EU's savings and investment union.

ReArm Europe has triggered wide discussion. While many observers welcome its scale and the EU's growing involvement in defence, there are ongoing worries about democratic accountability, further fragmentation of the defence market, and economic viability. Alternative proposals - such as establishing a new Rearmament Bank or a Defence, Security and Resilience Bank - have gained visibility. Such institutions could provide low-interest loans and risk-sharing mechanisms to bolster European and allied defence investments. Experts note that, although ReArm Europe represents a significant political step, it should be accompanied by concrete implementation measures to deliver real results. They underline the importance of joint procurement, prioritising equipment produced in Europe, and fostering a more integrated defence industrial base. Others argue the plan should be more ambitious, suggesting options like grant-based financing and stronger governance arrangements. The coming months will be decisive in determining whether ReArm Europe can produce a genuinely coordinated and durable European defence effort.

In a debate held in March 2025, most political groups in the European Parliament expressed strong support for enhancing Europe's defence capabilities and endorsed the ReArm Europe Plan, while also calling for a longer-term strategic vision. Many emphasised the need for greater strategic autonomy, secure access to critical resources, and continued assistance to Ukraine. Concerns were

raised about Parliament being sidelined through the use of Article 122 TFEU and about an over-dependence on emergency instruments. Some warned that increased defence spending must not undermine funding for other policies like social policies, or research and development (European Commission, 2023).

6.3 New Initiatives: Enhancement of the European Air Defence Shield

In recent years, the European Union has introduced several initiatives aimed at strengthening its collective defence capacities and enhancing strategic autonomy. Among the key projects are the European Air Defence Shield, the European Defence Fund (EDF), and Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO). These initiatives are designed to improve operational capabilities, foster cooperation among Member States, and ensure that the EU can respond more effectively to emerging security threats in Europe and its neighbourhood.

The European Air Defence Shield is a project aimed at enhancing Europe's air and missile defence capabilities. Its objective is to create an integrated system that can detect, track, and neutralize aerial threats, including missiles, drones, and other airborne platforms. The project involves coordination among Member States' armed forces to share radar, sensor, and command-and-control resources. By pooling expertise and technology, the Shield seeks to increase both the speed and effectiveness of EU air defence operations. It also contributes to interoperability, ensuring that forces from different countries can operate together efficiently in joint missions or in support of NATO operations when required.

As was said, the European Defence Fund, launched earlier in 2017, provides financial support for collaborative defence research and development projects. On the other side, Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) is a framework that allows willing Member States to commit to deeper defence cooperation. Together, these initiatives represent a multi-layered approach to enhancing EU defence capacities. The European Air Defence Shield strengthens operational capabilities, the EDF supports technological and industrial development, and PESCO ensures sustained cooperation among Member States. Combined, they improve the EU's ability to plan, deploy, and sustain operations in response to crises and emerging threats, while also reinforcing interoperability and strategic coordination (EU External Action, 2025).

CONCLUSION

Since the 1950s, the European Union's defence policy has evolved in response to changing political, strategic, and security challenges. In the early post-World War II period, European countries focused primarily on economic integration, while collective defence was largely ensured through NATO. During the Cold War, the EU's precursor institutions maintained a limited defence role, relying on the transatlantic alliance to deter the perceived threats. After the end of the Cold War, Europe faced new security challenges, including regional conflicts and instability in the Balkans, which revealed the Union's limited crisis management capabilities. In response, the 1990s saw the introduction of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the first steps toward a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The St. Malo Declaration in 1998 emphasized the need for Europe to have autonomous defence capabilities, while the Cologne and Helsinki Councils in 1999 further developed operational frameworks and set the Headline Goal for rapid deployment of forces. In the 2000s, the ESDP became operational, and the EU conducted its first civilian and military missions. The European Security Strategy identified common threats and set strategic objectives for EU defence policy. The Lisbon Treaty of 2007 strengthened the legal and institutional framework for defence and security, while later - between 2010 and 2020 - the EU focused on capability development and cooperation, introducing initiatives such as the European Defence Fund and PESCO. The 2016 EU Global Strategy updated priorities to address hybrid threats, cyber challenges, and regional instability. In eyes of the European leaders, the conflict in Ukraine highlighted the need to enhance readiness, modernize forces, and improve coordination. The European Defence Plan 2030 set long-term goals for capability development and interoperability and new initiatives, including the European Air Defence Shield, reinforced the EU's operational capacity. Over the decades, EU defence policy has evolved from reliance on external alliances to building a more autonomous, coordinated, and adaptable security and defence posture, responding to both conventional and emerging events. This evolution reflects the Union's efforts to align

political objectives, technological development, and operational readiness in a changing international environment.

References:

1. Avrupa Birliği Başkanlığı (2004). *16-17 December 2004 Brussels European Council Presidency Conclusions*. p. 2-27. URL: https://www.ab.gov.tr/files/ardb/evt/1_avrupa_birligi/1_4_zirveler_1985_sonrasi/2004_12_bruksel_zirvesi_baskanlik_sonuc_bildirgesi_en.pdf (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
2. Biscop, S. (2016). *The EU Global Strategy: Realpolitik with European Characteristics* (Security Policy Brief). Egmont Paper 87, Egmont – Royal Institute for International Relations, 2016. p. 1-6. URL: <https://www.egmontinstitute.be/app/uploads/2016/06/SPB75.pdf?type=pdf> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
3. Blockmans, S. (2021). *PESCO: A Force for Positive Integration in EU Defence*. European Foreign Affairs Review, Vol. 26, Special Issue (2021). p. 87 – 110. URL: <https://kluwerlawonline.com/journalarticle/European+Foreign+Affairs+Review/26.3/EEER2021028> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
4. EU External Action (2025). *General Publication: Other EU defence initiatives and programmes*. EUEA The Diplomatic Service of the European Union. p. 1-11. URL: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/other-eu-defence-initiatives-and-programmes_en
5. European Commission (2023). *White Paper for European Defence – Readiness 2030*. The European Commission (2023). p. 2-22. URL: https://commission.europa.eu/document/download/e6d5db69-e0ab-4bec-9dc0-3867b4373019_en (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
6. European Parliament (1999a). *Cologne European Council, 3-4 June 1999, Conclusions of the Presidency + Annexes*. The European Parliament 1999, p. 2-11. URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/koll1_en.htm (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
7. European Parliament (1999b). *Helsinki European Council, 10-11 December 1999, Conclusions of the Presidency + Annexes*. The European Parliament 1999, p. 1-10. URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/hell1_en.htm (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
8. Ferreira-Pereira, L. (2013). *The European Security and Defence Policy under the Lisbon Treaty: State of the Play and Future Prospects*. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V. Online Publication from October 2013, p. 1-5. URL: https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7_dokument_dok_pdf_35874_2.pdf/c8435913-fdfd-8143-68a6-0d016a5b5ad1?version=1.0&t=1539662240784 (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
9. Gegout, C. (2002). *The French and British change in position in the CESDP: a security community and historical-institutionalist perspective*. Politique Européenne, 4/2002, p. 62-87. URL: <https://shs.cairn.info/revue-politique-europeenne-2002-4-page-62?lang=en> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
10. Håkansson, C. (2025). *Understanding the European Union's Response to the Russian war on Ukraine: The role of the European External Action Service*. Defence Studies 2025, Volume 25/3, p. 1–19. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14702436.2025.2562978> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
11. Howorth, J. (2007). *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. JCMS Journal of Common Market Studies 45(12): Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, p. 23–49. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/4991713_Security_and_Defence_Policy_in_the_European_Union_-_By_J_Howorth (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
12. MTR Legal (2025). *Brussels Treaty – Legal Foundations and Comprehensive Interpretation*. MTR Legal Rechtsanwälte, 2025, p. 2-8. URL: <https://www.mtrlegal.com/en/wiki/brussels-treaty/> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
13. Perotto, G. (2023). *The Legal Framework of the EU Defence Industry and the Pursuit of Strategic Autonomy*. European Papers – European Forum, Vol. 8 (2023) No 2, Insight of 27 July 2023, p. 475-486. URL: <https://www.europeanpapers.eu/europeanforum/legal-framework-eu-defence-industry-and-pursuit-strategic-autonomy> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
14. Publications Office of the EU (2009). *European Security Strategy – A secure Europe in a better world*, Publications Office, 2009, p. 12-43. URL: <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2860/1402> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).
15. Rohan, S. (2014). *The Western European Union: International Politics Between Alliance and Integration*. Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2014, p. 286-391. ISBN 9780367669416.

16. Smith, M. (2004). *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 85–106. URL: <https://ir101.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Smith-2004-Europes-Foreign-and-Security-Policy.pdf> (Date of visit: 31.01.2026).

Copyright©ĐURIS Marián,2026.

Contacte/Contacts/Контакты:

DURIS Marian.

Master of Arts in Political Science,
Alexander Dubček University of Trenčín,
Trenčín, Slovakia.

E-mail: marian.duris@student.tnuni.sk ;
<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-7033-8327>