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## SUMMARIA EUROPENSIA Euroopa Liidu ühine julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika

2015: 1

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**Märksõnad:** *Euroopa Liit; ühine välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika; ühine julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika; julgeolekupoliitika; kaitsepoliitika; Euroopa julgeolekustrateegia, kriisihjamine; julgeolekusektori reform; EL-NATO strateegiline partnerlus.*

**Keyword:** *European Union; Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP); Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP); Defence; Security; European Security Strategy (ESS); crisis management; Security Sector Reform (SSR); EU-NATO strategic partnership.*

### SISUKORD

<u>Sissejuhatus</u> .....	2
<u>Euroopa Liidu julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika olulisi dokumente</u> .....	3
<u>Eesti kaitsepoliitika</u> .....	4
<u>Raamatuviiteid</u> .....	5
<u>Artikliviiteid</u> .....	11
<u>Artikleid võrkeelsetest teadusajakirjadest</u> .....	11
<u>Artikleid Eesti väljaannetest</u> .....	18
<u>Valik internetiallikaid</u> .....	21
<u>Võrguväljaanded</u> .....	21
<u>Institutsioonid ja ametid</u> .....	22

## Sissejuhatus

Euroopa Liidu (ELi) välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika, mis on välja kujunenud järk-järgult paljude aastate jooksul, võimaldab liidul maailmapoliitikas ühtse tervikuna sõna võtta ja tegutseda. Koos tegutsedes on 28 ELi liikmesriigil palju suurem mõju, kui püüdes igaüks eraldi oma poliitikat ellu viia.

ELi ühine julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika on liidu ühise välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika lahutamatu osa.

Ühine julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika kindlustab liidu ühise operatiivse tegutsemise võime. Euroopa kriisiohje eesmärk on tagada rahu, ennetada konflikte ja tugevdada rahvusvahelist julgeolekut. Selleks kasutatakse kõigi liikmesriikide tsiviil- ja sõjalisi vahendeid. Missioonid mille täitmisel liit võib kasutada tsiviil- ja sõjalisi vahendeid, hõlmavad ühiseid desarmeerimisoperatsioone, humanitaarabi- ja päästeoperatsioone, sõjalist nõustamist ja abistamist, konfliktide ennetamist ja rahutagamisoperatsioone, relvajõudude missioone kriiside ohjamisel, sealhulgas rahusobitamist ning olukorra konfliktijärgset stabiliseerimist.

Ühise julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika sätted tuginevad [Euroopa Liidu lepingu artiklitele 42-46](#). Vastavalt aluslepingule võtab nõukogu ühise julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika alased otsused vastu ühehäälselt liidu välisasjade ja julgeolekupoliitika kõrge esindaja ettepaneku põhjal või liikmesriikide algatusel.

Lepingu alusel on liikmesriikidel, kelle sõjalised võimed vastavad kõrgendatud kriteeriumidele ja kes on selles valdkonnas siduvamaid kohustusi võtnud, pidades silmas kõige nõudlikumaid missioone, võimalus liidu raames teha alalist struktureeritud koostööd ([Protokoll nr.10](#)).

Ühise julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika sätted sisaldavad ka vastastikuse abi kohustust, millega teised liikmesriigi on kohustatud abi andma liikmesriigile, kes langeb oma territooriumil relvastatud kallaletungi ohvriks.

**Ühise julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitikaga seotud poliitilised ja sõjalised struktuurid** alustasid tööd 2000. aastal. Nendeks struktuurideks on:

**Poliitika- ja julgeolekukomitee** - koosneb suursaadikutest ning sellel on keskne roll nii ELi ühise välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika kui ka julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika kujundamisel. Komitees tehakse ettevalmistusi ELi nõukogu kohtumisteks, jälgitakse rahvusvahelist olukorda ühise välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika valdkonnas ning aidatakse kaasa poliitika kujundamisele. Samuti jälgitakse kokkulepitud poliitika elluviimist ning teostatakse kriisiohjeoperatsioonide poliitilist kontrolli ja strateegilist juhtimist.

**Sõjaline komitee** - nõukogu kõrgeim sõjaline organ, annab poliitika- ja julgeolekukomiteele sõjalist nõu.

**Sõjaline staap** - hindab sõjalise komitee juhtimisel julgeolekuolukorda, annab varajasi hoiatusi ning viib läbi ELi operatsioonide strateegilist planeerimist. Staap koosneb nii sõjalistest kui ka tsiviilekspertidest.

Kõigis nimetud struktuurides on ka Eesti esindajad.

Lisaks eelpoolnimetatutele on ELi välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika elluviimiseks loodud veel mitu struktuuri:

**Poliitilis-sõjalise töögrupi** ülesanne on poliitika- ja julgeolekukomitee juhtimisel hinnata kõikide ühise välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika alaste ettepanekute poliitilis-sõjalisi aspekte.

**Kriisiohje tsiviilaspektide komitee** annab poliitika- ja julgeolekukomiteele nõu kriisiohje poliitiliste aspektide kohta.

**Kriisiohje ja planeerimise direktoraadi** ülesanne on nii tsiviil kui ka sõjaliste missioonide ja operatsioonide kooskõlastatud strateegiline planeerimine. Samuti tegeleb direktoraat käimasolevate missioonide ja operatsioonide jälgimisega.

**Tsiviiloperatsioonide planeerimise ja elluviimise teenistus** tegeleb tsiviiloperatsioonide strateegilise planeerimise ja elluviimisega.

Allikad: [Kaitseministeerium](#); [Euroopa Liidu portaal](#)

## **Euroopa Liidu julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika olulisi dokumente**

[Turvaline Euroopa paremas maailmas – Euroopa julgeolekustrateegia](#) – heaks kiidetud Brüsseli Euroopa Ülemkogul 12. detsember 2003

[Euroopa julgeolekustrateegia rakendamise aruanne](#) – julgeoleku tagamine muutuv maailmas – heaks kiidetud Brüsseli Euroopa Ülemkogul 11. detsember 2008

[Välis- ja julgeolekupoliitikat käsitlevate ELi õigusaktide kokkuvõtted](#)

### **EL-NATO strateegilise parterluse dokumendid**

[EL ja NATO ühine deklaratsioon Euroopa kaitse- ja julgeolekupoliitika kohta](#) - 16. detsember 2002

EL ja NATO nn „Berliin pluss” kokkulepe – 17. märts 2003

<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/03-11-11%20Berlin%20Plus%20press%20note%20BL.pdf>

[Agreement between the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation on the Security of Information](#) (EL-NATO info turvalisuse kokkulepe) – 14. märts 2003

## Eesti kaitsepoliitika

Eesti julgeolekupoliitika eesmärk on kindlustada Eesti iseseisvus ja sõltumatus, territoriaalne terviklikkus, põhiseaduslik kord ning rahva turvalisus. Julgeolekupoliitika hõlmab tegevusi nendes valdkondades, mis võivad mõjutada riigi ja rahva kestmajäämist.

Eesti julgeolekupoliitika olulisim alusdokument on Riigikogu otsusega heakskiidetav Julgeolekupoliitika alused, mis määrab üldistatud kujul kindlaks julgeolekupoliitika eesmärgid, põhimõtted ja tegevussuunad. Julgeolekupoliitika alustele tuginevad erinevad strateegilised dokumendid, mis täpsustavad riigi tegevusi valdkondade kaupa. Kaitsepoliitika osas on selleks Riigikaitse strateegia, mille kehtestab kaitseministri ettepanekul Vabariigi Valitsus.

Tagamaks kaitsepoliitika pikaajalise ja ettenägeliku planeerimise, koostatakse Riigikaitse strateegilise kava põhjal sõjalise kaitse arengukava, mis määratleb vastavalt ohustsenaariumitele Eesti kaitsmiseks vajalikud sõjalised võimed ning planeerib 10-aastases perspektiivis nende arendamiseks ressursi.

NATO liikmesriigina on Eesti julgeolek tagatud kollektiivkaitse põhimõttega, mille kohaselt rünnak ühe liikmesriigi vastu tähendab kogu Alliansi ründamist. Liikmelisus Euroopa Liidus liidab Eestit Euroopa majandus- ja õigusruumi, Euroopa ühtse välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika ning Euroopa julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitikaga, mis on suurendanud turvalisust Läänemere regioonis ja kogu Euroopas. Osalemisega rahvusvahelistel sõjalistel operatsioonidel panustab Eesti nii vahetult oma kui laiemalt Euroopa ja kogu maailma julgeolekusse.

### **Eesti kaistepoliitika alusdokumendid:**

[Eesti Vabariigi julgeolekupoliitika alused](#)

[Eesti riigikaitse strateegia](#)

[Riigikaitse arengukava 2013-2022](#)

*Allikad: [Kaitseministeerium](#)*

## Raamatuviiteid

Kirje lõppu on nurksulgudesse lisatud leidumus Eesti raamatukogudes. Kasutatud on järgmisi lühendeid:

**RR** – Rahvusraamatukogu

**TLÜAR** – Tallinna Ülikooli Akadeemiline Raamatukogu

**TTÜR** – Tallinna Tehnikaülikooli Raamatukogu

**TÜR** – Tartu Ülikooli raamatukogu

**KVÜÕA** – Kaitseväe Ühendatud Õppeasutuste raamatukogu

12. Forum Balticum "Euroopa julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika" : rahvusvaheline konverents : 10.-12. mail 2002 Tartu Ülikooli aulas = 12. Forum Balticum "Europäische Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik - ESVP" : Internationale Konferenz : 10.-12. Mai 2002 in Tartu / Dorpat, Estland in der Aula der Universität Tartu / [eessõna: Eero Mikenberg]. - Tartu : Konrad Adenaueri Fond, 2002 ([Tartu : Tartumaa Trükikoda]). - 85, 98 lk. : ill. [RR EL infokeskus]

Acosta Sánchez, Miguel Ángel. The EU's military crisis management operations : Petersberg tasks and international peace / Miguel Acosta Sanchez. - Saarbrücken : LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2011. - 219, [4] lk. : ill. [KVÜÕA raamatukogu]

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The armed forces of the European Union 2012-2013 / editor Charles Heyman. - Barnsley : Pen & Sword Books, 2011. - 185 lk., [4] l. ill. : ill. [RR EL infokeskus]

The Baltic room : extending the northern wing of the European house / editors: Hans Zettermark ... [et al.]. - Stockholm : Swedish National Defence College, 2000. - 195 lk. : ill. [RR ühiskonnatead. saal; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

[The Baltic Sea region in the European Union : reflections on identity, soft-security and marginality](#) / Fabrizio Tassinari (ed.). - Gdansk : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdanskiego ; Berlin : Nordeuropa-Institut der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2003. - 104 lk. [RR ühiskonnatead. saal; TLÜAR; TÜR]

Baltic security : looking towards the 21th century / edited by Gunnar Artus, Atis Lejins. - Riga : Latvian Institute of International Affairs & Försvarshögskolan, 1997. - 224 lk. [RR; TÜR; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

The Baltic States on their way to the European Union (security aspects) : an international conference organized by the Latvian Institute of International Affairs and the Konrad

Adenauer Foundation, 3 December 1994, Stockholm School of Economics in Riga : conference proceedings = Baltijas valstis cela uz Eiropas Savienību (drošības aspekti) : Latvijas Arpolitikas instituta un Konrada Adenauera fonda rīkota starptautiska konference, 1994. gada 3. decembris, Rīgas Ekonomikas augstskola : konferences materiāli / Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Latvijas Arpolitikas institūts ; redaktori: Atis Lejiņš, Paulis Apinis. - Rīga : Latvijas Arpolitikas institūts, 1995. - 204 lk. : ill. [RR EL infokeskuse hoidla; TLÜAR]

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The common foreign and security policy and the enlargement of the European Union / European Parliament, Secretariat Working Party, Task-Force "Enlargement", Coordinator JF/bo. - Luxembourg : European Parliament, 1998. - 22 lk. [RR EL infokeskuse hoidla]

Common norms and good practices of civil-military relations in the EU / Anne Aldis and Margriet Drent, editors. - Groningen : Centre of European Security Studies, 2008. - 182, [2] lk. : ill. [Balti Kaitsekollēdži raamatukogu; KVÜŌA raamatukogu]

The Council of the European Union : the CSFP : the common foreign and security policy / European Council, General Secretariat. - Luxembourg : Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2000. - 27 lk. : ill. [RR EL infokeskus]

Defending Europe : the EU, NATO and the quest for European autonomy / edited by Jolyon Howorth and John T. S. Keeler.. - New York [etc.] : Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. - xii, 247 lk. [RR EL infokeskus]

Duke, Simon. Beyond the chapter : enlargement challenges for CFSP and ESDP / Simon Duke ; European Institute of Public Administration. - Maastricht : EIPA, 2003. - xi, 111 lk. [RR EL infokeskus]

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Meyer, Christoph O. The quest for a European strategic culture : changing norms on security and defence in the European Union / Christoph O. Meyer. - Basingstoke ; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. - xii, 211 lk. [RR EL infokeskus]

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The Nordic countries and the European Security and Defence Policy / edited by Alyson J. K. Bailes, Gunilla Herolf and Bengt Sundelius. - Oxford : Oxford University Press ; Solna : Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), 2006. - XIII, 427 lk. [TLÜAR; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu; KVPS rmtk]

Norheim-Martinsen, Per M. The European Union and military force : governance and strategy / Per M. Norheim-Martinsen. - Cambridge [etc.] : Cambridge University Press, 2013. - xiii, 230 lk. [TÜ]

Ojanen, Hanna. Non-alignment and European security policy : ambiguity at work / Hanna Ojanen together with Gunilla Herolf & Rutger Lindahl ; Ulkopoliittinen instituutti, Institut für Europäische Politik. - Helsinki : Ulkopoliittinen instituutti ; Bonn : Institut für Europäische Politik, 2000. - 273 lk. [RR EL infokeskus; TÜR; TLÜAR]

Oswald, Franz. Europe and the United States : the emerging security partnership / Franz Oswald. - Westport (Conn.) ; London : Praeger Security International, 2006. - x, 189 lk. [KVÜÕA raamatukogu; TÜ; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

The path to European defence / Karl von Wogau (ed.). - Antwerpen : Maklu, 2004. - 337 lk. [RR EL infokeskus]

Rieker, Pernille. Europeanization of national security identity : the EU and the changing security identities of the Nordic states / Pernille Rieker. - London ; New York : Routledge, 2006. - xiii, 226 lk. [RR EL infokeskus; TÜR Eurodokumentatsiooni Keskus; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

Rühl, Lothar. Conditions and options for an autonomous "Common European policy on security and defence" in and by the European Union in the post-Amsterdam perspective opened at Cologne in June 1999. - Bonn : Zentrum für Europäische Integrationsforschung, 1999. - 33 lk. [RR EL infokeskuse hoidla]

Ryter, Marc-Andre. EU capabilities for autonomous military crisis management: possibilities / Marc-Andre Ryter ; Finnish National Defence College. - Helsinki : National Defence College, 2001. - 51 lk. [Balti Kaitsekolledž raamatukogu; KVÜÕA raamatukogu]

Salmon, Trevor C. Toward a European army : a military power in the making? / Trevor C. Salmon and Alistair J.K. Shepherd. - Boulder, Co. ; London : Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003. - x, 239 lk. [RR EL infokeskus]

The security dimensions of EU enlargement : wider Europe, weaker Europe? / edited by David Brown and Alistair J.K. Shepherd. - Manchester ; New York : Manchester University Press, 2007. - xii, 239 lk. [RR EL infokeskus; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

Uncertain Europe : building a new European security order? / edited by Martin A. Smith and Graham Timmins. - London ; New York : Routledge, 2001. - xiii, 284 lk. [RR EL infokeskus; TÜ; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

The United States and Europe : beyond the neo-conservative divide? / edited by John Baylis and Jon Roper. - London ; New York : Routledge, 2006. - xvi, 236 lk. [RR ühiskonnatead. saal]

Veebel, Viljar. [Eesti julgeolekuperspektiivid Euroopa Liidu julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika valguses](#) / Viljar Veebel ja Toomas Riim. - Tartu : [Tartu Ülikool], 2004. - 36 lk. : ill.- Tartu Ülikooli Euroopa Kolledži toimetised, nr 22. [RR EL infokeskus; TLÜAR; TTÜR; TÜR Eurodokumentatsiooni Keskus; Balti Kaitsekolledži raamatukogu]

## Artikliviiteid

### Artikleid võõrkeelsetest teadusajakirjadest

**Bailes, Alyson J. K.** The EU and a 'better world': what role for the European Security and Defence Policy? // International Affairs. Vol. 84 (2008), nr. 1, lk.115-130.

*Abstract:* The article discusses the ethical issues surrounding the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), and the military undertakings of the European Union (EU) since 1999. The compatibility of any military posture with the stated purpose of the EU as an agent of international cooperation is discussed, along with issues around criteria for intervention in international conflicts, including concern for peace, human rights, and international law. Other topics discussed include the EU involvement with disarmament questions, internal EU security, and political accountability.

**Beyer, Jessica L; Hofmann, Stephanie C.** Varieties of neutrality // Cooperation and Conflict. Vol. 46 (2011), nr. 3, lk. 285-311.

*Abstract:* With the end of the Cold War, the neutral countries of Austria, Finland, Ireland and Sweden have grappled with the question of what their neutrality means in relation to membership in the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP).

**Bickerton, Chris J.; Irondelle, Bastien; Menon, Anand.** Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy // *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 49 (2011), nr. 1, lk. 1-21.

*Abstract:* The article presents a critical overview of research on the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Topics discussed include the evolving nature of the CSDP and the shift in its focus from European to global concerns, achievements of the CSDP, the debate on the performance and effectiveness of the CSDP, and theoretical frameworks within which to view the CSDP, among them international relations theories and an institutional perspective.

**Biscop, Sven.** The UK and European defence: leading or leaving? // *International Affairs*. Vol. 88 (2012), nr. 6, lk. 1297-1313.

*Abstract:* The UK, with France, initiated the European, today Common, Security and Defence Policy (ESDP/CSDP) in 1998–9. A strong consensus on the need to address capability shortfalls, which the UK accepted to attempt under the EU flag, however masked the lack of consensus about the extent to which the EU would also make policy and launch operations (which would require permanent planning and conduct structures).

**Bossong, Raphael; Benner, Thorsten.** The case for a public administration turn in the study of the EU's civilian crisis management // *Journal of European Public Policy*. Vol. 17 (2010), nr. 7, lk. 1074-1086.

*Abstract:* This contribution argues for extending the public administration turn in EU studies to the civilian Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). First it delineates the research gap with regard to governance networks and sections of the Council Secretariat that fulfil executive and operational management responsibilities for civilian crisis management. Then it highlights the need to look at cognitive factors, such as bounded rationality and learning, in explaining organizational behaviour and change in civilian CSDP.

**Cavatorta, Francesco; Tonra, Ben.** Normative foundations in EU foreign, security and defence policy: the case of the Middle East peace process—a view from the field // *Contemporary Politics*. Vol. 13 (2007), nr. 4, lk.349-363.

*Abstract:* This article examines the normative foundations of the EU foreign and security policy against the context of one of the world's most intractable disputes, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Recent scholarship has developed a thesis that the EU--perhaps uniquely--is a 'normative power', an international actor dedicated to the export of values and norms rather than (or in addition to?) the pursuit of interests.

**Cross, Mai'a K. Davis.** The Military Dimension of European Security: An Epistemic Community Approach // *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*. Vol. 42 (2013), nr. 1, lk. 45-64.

*Abstract:* This article advances the argument that security integration is occurring in the European Union (EU) as a result of the influence of certain knowledge-based networks or epistemic communities. Given that EU member-states consistently resist integration in areas that are central to traditional state sovereignty, security integration presents a puzzle. The case of the EU Military Committee (EUMC) will serve as an example of how and why epistemic communities matter in security decision-making.

**D'Argenson, Pierre-Henri.** The Future of European Defence Policy // *Survival*. Vol. 51 (2009), nr. 5, lk. 143-154.

**Abstract:** *Although ESDP has made considerable progress in the past ten years, it will soon have to make choices on its final aims: either to make the European Union a subcontractor of international security or to become the major instrument of the EU's strategic interests in the world.*

**Devine, Karen.** Neutrality and the development of the European Union's common security and defence policy // *Cooperation and Conflict*. Vol. 46 (2011), nr. 3, lk.334-369.

**Abstract:** *This article examines the content of concepts of neutrality articulated in elite and public discourses in the context of the development of the European Union's (EU) Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).*

**Dijkstra, Hylke.** Agenda-setting in the Common Security and Defence Policy: An institutionalist perspective // *Cooperation and Conflict*. Vol. 47 (2012), nr. 4, lk. 454-472.

**Abstract:** *The European Union (EU) has launched an impressive number of crisis management missions since its Common Security and Defence Policy became operational in 2003. This article analyses the agenda-setting phase of these civilian and military operations in order to explain why the EU has sent troops, policemen, judges, prosecutors and monitors across three continents.*

**Duke, Simon.** Consensus building in ESDP: The lessons of Operation Artemis // *International Politics*. Vol. 46 (2009), nr. 4, lk. 398-412.

**Abstract:** *This paper examines how EU Member States reach agreement in the area of European Security and Defence Policy, including how differences are resolved and priorities aligned.*

**Ferreira-Pereira, Laura; Groom, A.** 'Mutual solidarity' within the EU common foreign and security policy: What is the name of the game? // *International Politics*. Vol. 47 (2010), nr. 6, lk. 596-616.

**Abstract:** *This article assesses the effective meaning, scope and implications of intra-Community solidarity in the security and defence area.*

**Greiçevci, Labinot.** EU Actorness in International Affairs: The Case of EULEX Mission in Kosovo // *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. Vol. 12 (2011), nr. 3, lk. 283-303.

**Abstract:** *This article discusses one of the missions of the European Union Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and, so far, the biggest EU mission in the area of conflict management: the rule of law mission in Kosovo, dubbed EULEX Kosovo.*

**Howorth, Jolyon.** Decision-making in security and defense policy: Towards supranational inter-governmentalism? // *Cooperation and Conflict*. Vol. 47 (2012), nr. 4, lk. 433-453.

**Abstract:** *For scholars and practitioners of European politics alike, the distinction between supranationalism and inter-governmentalism has always been fundamental. This distinction has underpinned the various schools of European integration theory, just as it has remained crucial for European governments keen to demonstrate that the Member States remain in charge of key policy areas.*

**Howorth, Jolyon ; Menon, Anand.** Still Not Pushing Back: Why the European Union Is Not Balancing the United States // *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 53 (2009), nr. 5, lk. 727-744.

**Abstract:** *A recent wave of scholarly literature has argued forcibly that the European Union's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) represents an attempt on the part of the EU to "balance" against the United States.*

**Jacobs, And.** EU Crisis Management in Berlin: The Fall of Ministerial Walls? // West European Politics. Vol. 25 (2012), nr. 3, lk. 466-490.

**Abstract:** *The EU's civilian and military crisis management operations have grown in number, complexity, and geographical outreach. In the absence of EU-level capabilities, the success of EU external crisis management is highly dependent on the timely delivery of national financial, human, and material resources.*

**Jakobsen, Peter Viggo.** Small States, Big Influence: The Overlooked Nordic Influence on the Civilian ESDP // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 47 (2009), nr. 1, lk. 81-102.

**Abstract:** *There is almost universal agreement that the European security and defence policy (ESDP) has been driven and determined by the great powers (the UK, France and Germany).*

**Karlas, Jan.** The ESDP-building process and conflict prevention: intergovernmental policy-making and institutional expertise // Journal of International Relations and Development. Vol. 8 (2005), nr. 2, lk. 164-191.

**Abstract:** *Most of the proposals that emerged in the process of building the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) of the European Union (EU) in the 1999-2001 period did not contain any ideas with regard to conflict prevention. At the same time, only weak commitments to conflict prevention were initially made in this process. However, the EU ultimately made substantial conflict prevention commitments in the ESDP-building process and decided to carry out the reform of conflict prevention as one of its policy fields.*

**Kielmansegg, Sebastian Graf Von.** The meaning of Petersberg: Some considerations on the legal scope of ESDP operations // Common Market Law Review. Vol. 44 (2007), nr. 3, lk. 629-648.

**Abstract:** *For most of their lifetimes, the European Communities and the European Union were regarded as a purely civilian and diplomatic power. However, in combination with a number of weaknesses of the Common Foreign and Security Policy framework, this orientation necessarily resulted in a peculiar imbalance of European influence and policy options.*

**Lavallée, Chanta.** The European Commission's Position in the Field of Security and Defence: An Unconventional Actor at a Meeting Point // Perspectives on European Politics and Society. Vol. 12 (2011), nr. 4, lk. 371-389.

**Abstract:** *Due to its indirect role in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Commission seems to be a marginal actor in European security governance. As a result, there is little analysis of its role in this field.*

**Lee-Ohlsson, Fredrick.** Sweden and Development of the European Security and Defence Policy // Cooperation and Conflict. Vol. 44 (2009), nr. 2, lk. 123-142.

**Abstract:** *Since its creation in 1999, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has evolved rapidly. This new policy area presented Sweden, once a neutral state, with a challenge to its security policy tradition. In responding to the challenge, the Swedish government was initially reluctant about the ESDP, but today has become one of its staunchest supporters and active members.*

**Lord, Christopher.** The political theory and practice of parliamentary participation in the Common Security and Defence Policy // Journal of European Public Policy. Vol. 18 (2011), nr. 8 (special issue), lk. 1133-1150.

*Abstract:* This contribution develops normative arguments for the democratic and parliamentary control of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). However, on the Kantian assumption that 'ought implies can', it also tries to make a case for parliamentary control in the face of scepticism about parliamentary politics in general, the capacities of the European Parliament (EP) and national parliaments to exercise satisfactory levels of public control over Union decisions, and the participation of parliaments in security decisions.

**Mendoza, Alan.** European defence in the long run: can Europe play a leading role in a multipolar world? // European View. Vol. 9 (2010), nr. 2, lk. 233-240.

*Abstract:* The global system is moving away from an order in which a Western state, most recently the US, is at the centre. Instead, the rise of China and India and other emerging economies, has caused a shift towards multipolarity. There is cause for concern as these new powers are not founded on the same values as those of Europe and the US.

**Menon, Anand.** Empowering paradise? The ESDP at ten // International Affairs. Vol. 85 (2009), nr. 2, lk. 227-246.

*Abstract:* Since its formal launch in June 1999, the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has developed at a remarkable rate. In the subsequent decade, the EU has carried out 22 ESDP military and civilian operations and become an important element of Europe's ability to respond to international crises. For all this, however, there remain grounds for concern.

**Menon, Anand.** European Defence Policy from Lisbon to Libya // Survival. Vol. 53 (2011), nr. 3, lk. 75-90.

*Abstract:* The EU's inactivity in the face of a crisis with obvious security implications for its member states has led to anguished soul searching.

**Mérand, Frédéric; Hofmann, Stéphanie C.; Irondelle, Bastien.** Governance and State Power: A Network Analysis of European Security // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 49 (2011), nr. 1, lk. 121-147.

*Abstract:* A growing number of scholars argue that the development of the common security and defence policy (CSDP) should be analysed as the institutionalization of a system of security governance. Although governance approaches carry the promise of a sophisticated, empirically grounded picture of CSDP, they have been criticized for their lack of attention to power.

**Norheim–Martinsen, Per M.** Beyond Intergovernmentalism: European Security and Defence Policy and the Governance Approach // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 48 (2010), nr. 5, lk. 1351-1365.

*Abstract:* Over the last decade, the EU has developed into a regional institution whose military ambitions extend well beyond Europe. This development counteracts the assumptions of realist and intergovernmental theories, raising the question of what concepts appropriate for understanding security and defence policy in the EU.

**Ojanen, Hanna.** The EU and Nato: Two Competing Models for a Common Defence Policy // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 44 (2006), nr. 1, lk. 57-76.

**Abstract:** *European integration in security and defence was for a long time seen as impossible or at least highly unlikely. Even otherwise contradictory theories of European integration shared the assumption that the specific character of this field explained the absence of integration.*

**Olsen, Gorm Rye.** How Strong Is Europeanisation, Really? The Danish Defence Administration and the Opt-Out from the European Security and Defence Policy // Perspectives on European Politics and Society. Vol. 12 (2011), nr. 1, lk.13-28.

**Abstract:** *The article questions how strong Europeanisation is as an explanation of administrative changes in EU member states. Denmark has an opt-out from the European cooperation on defence, and, therefore, its defence administration represents a critical or a less likely case to test the Europeanisation thesis.*

**Pabriks, Artis.** European security: stop sleeping and wake up // European View. Vol. 13 (2014), nr. 2, lk 259-268.

**Abstract:** *The twenty-first century has come with new security challenges, some of which are being played out very close to Europe's borders. One of the latest examples is Russia's growing aggression, which is challenging European political principles and core values. Russia appears to be testing the unity and strength of the Western world.*

**Pohl, Benjamin.** To what ends? Governmental interests and European Union (non-) intervention in Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo // Cooperation and Conflict. Vol. 49 (2014), nr. 2, lk. 191-211.

**Abstract:** *Since the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy framework became operational in 2003, the Union has undertaken more than 20 crisis management operations. The drivers behind this activity remain debated. This article proposes a fresh interpretation based on governmental interests as defined by domestic political risks and opportunities.*

**Panayotova, Monika.** It is time for strategic rethinking // European View. Vol. 13 (2014), nr. 1, lk. 153-160.

**Abstract:** *It is time for Europe to undertake a major strategic rethink in the field of security and defence. The article looks at why this is the case and makes recommendations and conclusions on three key elements for EU consideration: the new challenges and the complex nature of security threats faced by the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the Common Security and Defence Policy, the new policy environment and legal framework after 2009, and the need for a new or an updated European security strategy.*

**Rayroux, Antoine.** Beyond Actorness in EU Crisis Management: Internal Functions of External Peacekeeping // Journal of European Integration. Vol. 35 (2013), nr. 7), lk. 731-748.

**Abstract:** *What do European crisis management operations in remote places reveal about the EU's political ambitions and about the present state of European integration?*

**Rayroux, Antoine.** Speaking EU defence at home: Contentious discourses and constructive ambiguity // Cooperation and Conflict. Vol. 49 (2014), nr. 3, lk. 386-405.

**Abstract:** *Using discursive institutionalism as an analytical framework, this article addresses how national actors build, coordinate and communicate discourses on EU defence policy (CSDP) at home. The empirical analysis is based on a comparative study of substantive and interactive discourses in France and Ireland, two contrasted cases.*



**Rosen, Guri.** EU confidential: The European Parliament's involvement in EU security and defence policy // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 53 (2015), nr. 2, lk. 383-398.

*Abstract:* In 2002, the European Parliament (EP) and the Council concluded an Interinstitutional Agreement that gave the EP privileged access to sensitive documents in the area of security and defence.

**Rynning, Sten.** Realism and the Common Security and Defence Policy // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 49 (2011), nr. 1, lk. 23-42.

*Abstract:* The European Union has ventured into the business of power politics with its common security and defence policy (CSDP). Realism can explain both why the EU is being pulled into this business and why it is failing to be powerful.

**Sari, Aurel.** The conclusion of international agreements by the European Union in the context of the ESDP // International and Comparative Law Quarterly. Vol. 57 (2008), nr. 1, lk. 53-86.

*Abstract:* Between 2002 and 2007, the Council of the European Union has entered into more than 70 international agreements with third parties pursuant to Article 24 of the Treaty on European Union in order to address various legal and practical matters relating to the conduct of EU crisis management missions in third countries.

**Sari, Aurel.** Status of Forces and Status of Mission Agreements under the ESDP: The EU's Evolving Practice // European Journal of International Law. Vol. 19 (2008), nr. 1, lk. 67-100.

*Abstract:* The conduct of EU military and civilian crisis management operations in third states within the context of the European Security and Defence Policy has presented the EU with new administrative and operational challenges in recent years, including the need to define the international legal position of such operations and their personnel during their presence abroad.

**Schlag, Gabi.** Into the 'Heart of Darkness' -- EU's civilising mission in the DR Congo // Journal of International Relations and Development. Vol. 15 (2012), nr. 3, lk. 321-344.

*Abstract:* 'Normative Power Europe', a concept introduced by Ian Manners in 2002 in order to describe the international identity of the European Union, remains a lasting point of reference for academic as well as political debates.

**Schroeder, Ursulac.** Strategy by Stealth? The Development of EU Internal and External Security Strategies // Perspectives on European Politics and Society. Vol. 10 (2009), nr. 4, lk. 486-505.

*Abstract:* Despite lively debates about the institutional development of the European security architecture, the larger question of the strategic aims it should serve has received less attention. This chapter serves to mitigate this lack.

**Selden, Zachary.** Power is Always in Fashion: State - Centric Realism and the European Security and Defence Policy // Journal of Common Market Studies. Vol. 48 (2010), nr. 2, lk. 397-416.

*Abstract:* The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is in large part a product of the institutional development of the EU and the consolidation of its authority over internal issues. This parallels the development of the United States as a global actor shortly after the federal government consolidated power over domestic affairs in the 1890s.

**Shepherd, Alistair J. K.** 'A milestone in the history of the EU': Kosovo and the EU's international role // International Affairs. Vol. 85 (2009), nr. 3, lk. 513-530.

**Abstract:** *The Kosovo war was a decisive catalyst in the development of the EU's international security role. The escalating crisis in Kosovo confirmed that the EU was still unable to prevent, contain or end violent conflict along its own borders.*

**Shepherd, Alistair J. K.** Irrelevant or Indispensable? ESDP, the 'War on Terror' and the Fallout from Iraq // *International Politics*. Vol. 43 (2006), nr. 1, lk. 71-92.

**Abstract:** *In May 2003 the European Union declared its European Security and Defence Policy fully operational. Simultaneously the EU appeared terminally divided over the conflict in Iraq and transatlantic divisions were emerging over the conduct of the 'War on Terror'. Given the already contentious nature of ESDP, this paper explores whether post-September 11 developments will undermine the development of this policy.*

**Soler I Lecha, Eduard.** Converging, Diverging and Instrumentalizing European Security and Defence Policy in the Mediterranean // *Mediterranean Politics*. Vol. 15 (2010), nr. 2, lk. 231-248.

**Abstract:** *This article addresses the degree of convergence, divergence and in some cases indifference of Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries towards the European Security and Defence Policy.*

**Styan, David.** EU power and armed humanitarianism in Africa: evaluating ESDP in Chad // *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*. Vol. 25 (2012), nr. 4, lk.651-668.

**Abstract:** *This article analyses the European Union's largest European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) military mission outside Europe to date; Eufor Tchad/RCA was a 3700-strong force involving personnel from 23 states, deployed to Chad and the Central African Republic for 12 months from March 2008.*

**Thym, Daniel.** The Intergovernmental Constitution of the EU's Foreign, Security & Defence Executive // *European Constitutional Law Review*. Vol. 7 (2011), nr. 3, lk. 453-480.

**Abstract:** *European Union – Common Foreign and Security Policy – Changes with the abolition of the pillar structure by the Lisbon Treaty – Common Security and Defence Policy – Executive order of the EU – Between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism – The role of the High Representative – Joint political leadership – The European External Action Service as an administrative infrastructure – Constitutionalisation of foreign affairs.*

**Zwolski, Kamil.** The EU as an international security actor after Lisbon: Finally a green light for a holistic approach? // *Cooperation and Conflict*. Vol. 47 (2012), nr. 1, lk. 68-87.

**Abstract:** *This article argues that a holistic approach is important when studying the European Union's role as an international security actor, but at the same time it identifies problems in adopting such a comprehensive research agenda.*

## **Artikleid Eesti väljaannetest**

**Babst, Stefanie.** Stefanie Babst: Euroopa armee muudaks NATO elu lihtsamaks / intervjuerinud Kaarel Kaas // *Valik riigikaitsealaseid artikleid*. II. Tallinn, 2008, lk. 82-83. Rahvusvahelise julgeoleku ekspert leiab, et Euroopa ühendamise loogiline lõpptulemus oleks ka üks ja ühine Euroopa armee.

**Baltrusaitis, Daniel F.** Operation unified protector: triumph or warning sign? / Daniel F. Baltrusaitis, Mark E. Duckenfield // Baltic Security and Defence Review. 14, iss. 2 / Baltic Defence College. Tartu, 2012, lk. 21-47.  
NATO sõjalisest operatsioonist Liibüas. Tabel.

**Herodes, Kristiina.** Milline on missiooni kommunikatsioon? / Kristiina Herodes // Kaja : kommunikatsiooni ja suhtekorralduse ajakiri (2014) mai, nr. 14, lk. 17-18.  
Euroopa Liidu välis- ja julgeolekupoliitika üks osa on aidata kaasa tsiviilkriiside lahendamisele. Missiooni kommunikatsioonist. Euroopa Liidu õigusriigimissioonist EULEX Kosovos.

**Kaldoja, Evelyn.** Britid võitlevad ELile väejuhatuse loomise ideega / Evelyn Kaldoja Postimees (2011) 17. nov., lk. 10-11.  
Nn Weimari kolmikusse kuuluvad Saksamaa, Prantsusmaa ja Poola tahavad rajada ELile oma sõjalise väejuhatuse, kuid Suurbritannia leiab, et see dubleeriks NATO struktuure ning eraldaks ELi ja NATO planeerimise üksteisest püsivalt. Suurbritannia suursaadiku Eestis Peter Carteri ja kaitseminister Mart Laari arvamusi. Poola eurosaadik räägib oma raportist "Finantskriisi mõju ELi liikmesriikide kaitsektorile".

**Kaldoja, Evelyn.** ELi välispoliitika raport pakub välja kollektiivkaitse / Evelyn Kaldoja // Postimees (2012) 12. sept., lk. 11.

**Kaldoja, Evelyn.** ELi kaitsepoliitikas tekitab hirne nii agarus kui seisak / Evelyn Kaldoja // Postimees (2013) 19. dets., lk. 10.

**Kaldoja, Evelyn.** Eurosaadikud tahavad jõulist ühiskaitset / Evelyn Kaldoja // Postimees (2012) 21. nov., lk. 8.

**Kaldoja, Evelyn.** Eurotuvi üritab küüniseid teritada / Evelyn Kaldoja // Postimees : AK : arvamus, kultuur (2012) 29. dets., lk. 14.

**Koorits, Vahur.** Mured ja saladused vaevavad ameeriklaste vasallriiki Eestit / Vahur Koorits Postimees (2008) 25. apr., lk. 10-11.  
Eesti NATO-poolse kaitsmise probleemidest Venemaa võimaliku rünnaku korral. Euroopa ühise välispoliitika ja armee loomise keerukusest.

**Kängsepp, Liis.** Euroopa võtab suuna ühtsele kaitsepoliitikale / Liis Kängsepp // Postimees (2013) 20. dets., lk. 10.

Euroopa Ülemkogu andis selge signaali, et Euroopa Liidu liikmetel tuleb hakata tõsisemalt tegelema ühise kaitse- ja julgeolekupoliitikaga. Eelkõige tuleb arendada sõjalist võimekust - arendada mehitamata õhusõidukeid, õhus tankimist ja raskeveokeid. Kaitseministeeriumi kantsleri Mikk Marrani sõnul on Eesti jaoks eriti olulised küberkaitse küsimused. Ülemkogu otsus on signaaliks ka Eesti kaitsetööstusele, sest suund on senisest enam toetada väikseid ja keskmise suurusega ettevõtteid.

**Lawrence, Anthony.** Rahu teenistuses: kaitseküsimused Euroopa Liidus / Anthony Lawrence ; tõlkinud Marek Laane // Valik riigikaitsealaseid artikleid. II. Tallinn, 2008, lk. 42-45.  
Euroopa julgeoleku- ja kaitsepoliitika (ESDP) ning põhjused, miks see peaks funktsioneerima väljaspool NATO-t.

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Eesti NATO ühing

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*Väljaanne kajastab teemakohast infot seisuga märts 2015*

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**ISSN 1736-9010**