

**NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE**

**Doctoral School of Military Science**

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**CRISIS MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES OF  
THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE  
SOUTHERN CAUCASIAN REGION**

Summary of the PhD-thesis

**Supervisor:**

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The politics of the European Union, since it plays significant role in the world, established the conditions of a long term peace and, by support and development policies, it aids poor countries more than any other donator. EU member states pay the 40% of the budget of the United Nations, and provides the three fourth of international peace keeping corps and expenditures of rebuilding. The European Union is the major regarding both development and humanitarian aid: more than half of the total contributions come from Europe.<sup>1</sup>

The aim declared in all important documents is to eliminate hostility and reconcile peace among nations. EU cooperates with other countries and organizations to spread the advantages of economic growth and stability in the world where states are becoming more and more dependent on each other. One of the challenges EU faces with is to bring peace and security outside its borders. To achieve this goal, the EU established organizations and launched imitations (Neighborhood Policy, Partnerships) that are based on Common Security and Defense Policy. By contributing to stability and security in different parts of the globe, the EU makes life safer within its boundaries.<sup>2</sup>

The integration process of the past forty years has established a legal, economic and mainly political community. The question is now that how can EU be a world political actor respected by its international partners. I think that the future of EU mainly depends on whether it creates a field of force by consciously accepting its global presence or it refrains from the opportunity provided by its past and geopolitical location and, afflicted by inner collisions, it and falls behind in the competition of world politics.

As it became clear during my research, the European Union realized that the notion of security should be redefined from both geographical and institutional perspectives in the post Cold War era. The reduced risks of a military strike and appearance of new types of weapons demand new and more complex responses from the European states. In accordance with this, the conflict and crisis handling has

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<sup>1</sup>Az európai biztonság- és védelempolitika néhány elméleti-gyakorlati vetülete, Az Európai Unió biztonság- és védelempolitikai dokumentumai, 2. kötet, (szerk. Póti-Tálas-Vincze) SVKK-Chartapress, 2005, <http://www.hajnalka-vincze.com/Publications/15/hu>, February 5, 2012.

<sup>2</sup>Globális szereplő, Az Európai Unió külkapcsolatai, Európai Bizottság, 2004. [http://europa.eu.int/comm/publications/booklets/move/47/index\\_hu.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/publications/booklets/move/47/index_hu.htm) March 29, 2012.

expanded and has become one of the most important security policy arranging notion in the international organizations and as well as in the European Union in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In the beginning of the 1990's the Petersberg Tasks were born in such spirit and then were adopted to the Union by incorporating the Western European Union. Parallel to this, the EU carried on with its activity, namely, instead of military measures it applies civilian and economic means for the development and stability of regions. Therefore, Neighborhood Policy and other measures have been gaining importance. At the same time, however, common foreign and security policy provides the possibility of a deeper cooperation regarding the foreign policy of member states. Due to the crises near the EU borders in the past two decades, member states became more active that first resulted in more unified political and economic undertakings then in civilian-military missions. In other terms, conflict and crisis handling has slowly reached as far as Africa (e.g. EUFOR RD Congo) and instead of reacting, the preventing and intervening characteristics of such missions are now more important. Political-strategic definition of these missions was stated in Solana Paper<sup>3</sup> that concluded the security policy aims and tasks of the EU.

The new approach of EU can be observed in the Southern Caucasian region despite the fact that no military intervention has been carried out yet. Almost all new measures and characteristics can be detected in this mission.

The EU plays an active role in economic terms as it provides continuous financial support to the states in the Caucasian region to maintain economic stability and facilitate development. By its programs, the EU also participates in establishing the democratic institutions – chiefly by providing experts and counselors. Its political presence is manifested in the Southern Caucasian special representative who maintains and facilitates conversations among the states in the region by playing a mediator role. This activity and the preventing characteristics of this mission are good examples of the responses of EU to the post bipolar world.

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<sup>3</sup> A Secure Europe in a Better World, the European Security Strategy that was published in 2003. <http://consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/031208ESSIIHU.pdf> April 4, 2012.

All in all, the European integration entered a new phase after the end of the Cold War and its international role and security policy tasks were expanded. New tasks required by the more complex international system are found in the redefinition of politics of the EU and in the establishment of organizations to execute tasks. The reactive Cold War system based on mere defense was replaced by the preventive conflict and crisis handling that is more suitable for expanding and maintaining security and stability. It seems that the EU is able to react to the regional and global challenges in a more flexible way and, despite the difficulties, it wishes to be in compliance with the requirements of security policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This compliance is important not only from security policy perspective, but also regarding the future of the EU as “the efficacy of acts of the Community greatly affects the internal life and credibility that is aimed at recovering trust of citizens vested in European integration”<sup>4</sup>

### Defining the Scientific Issue

1. Ethnic, religious and nationality crises and yet unknown dangers and conflicts occur that require the elaboration of permanently changing and renewing analyzing, planning and organizing activities in the EU.

2. The European Union has to in handling new types of ethnic, religious and national conflicts, therefore the conflict handling system and activity of EU shall be constantly renewed.

3. Southern Caucasian region is a danger zone that needs handling from the perspective of the security of the EU, therefore, the adequate conflict handling strategies shall be elaborated.

Regarding the above-mentioned, the objective of this paper is to introduce and analyze the conflict and crisis handling strategy of the EU from the beginning to present: its institutional system and organizations and the application of this strategy in the Southern Caucasian region. Two areas are noteworthy from the Community:

On the one hand, it is significant for the Community, since the region is characterized by instability and “new type threats” rooted in the past and in the post

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<sup>4</sup> Dr. Remek Éva: Az Európai Unió civil válságkezelési képessége, Európai Tükör, XII. évf. 6. szám, June 2007, pp 97.

Cold War era that directly threatens the security of the borders of the EU, therefore, it is inevitable to deal with it. On the other hand, conflict handling activities of the EU in the region provides the possibility of examining the implementation of ideas and operation European Union institutions.

## Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were assessed:

- In my work, I assumed that as new types of ethnic, religious and nationality conflict arose, the possibility implementation of military force broadened and adequate strategy is required to eliminate civilian and armed conflicts in order to maintain geopolitical and geostrategic role of the EU.
- By analyzing theory and practice of conflict and crisis handling strategy of EU, the permanent harmonization conflict handling system of EU may be carried out in accordance with the challenges of our days.
- I hypothesized that policies of the EU are appropriate for the democratic political and economic transformation, however, not always adequate to carry out conflict handling tasks in certain cases.

## Research Aims

1. Analyze and unearth potential dangers and conflicts and their consequences of ethnic, religious and national crises of the Southern Caucasian region.
2. Comparative analysis of conflict handling system of EU and the methods applied in Southern Caucasian crisis and deducing the consequences.
3. Based on the analysis of transformation and development of conflict handling system of EU, I shall suggest further possibilities regarding this issue.
4. Introduce and comprehensive analysis of conflict and crisis handling activities of the EU in the Southern Caucasian region.
5. Prove that these policies can contribute to ease the tension in the long term in area characterized by complex security risks.
6. By the analysis of the conflict and crisis handling system of common foreign and security policy of the EU and by applying a new comprehensive analyzing method, I shall define the principles of future methods, objectives, and priorities of the handling of conflicts.

## Research Methods:

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1. I studied the Hungarian and international publications, studies and analyses and the legal provisions of the European Union.
2. I also examined the results of studies carried out in different fields, namely, in sociology, political science, pedagogy and international law.
3. I constantly published my research results and participated in conferences and discussed the outcomes with the experts of the field.
4. I placed emphasis on empirical knowledge when deciding which topic to choose as only empirical knowledge provides the possibility of efficacy of practical use.

## Duration of Research

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My research regarding common foreign and security policy and the Southern Caucasian region dates back in 2005. Questionnaire survey was carried out in 2010-2011. Sampling was implemented twice in a six-month period, therefore, the results demonstrate a process rather than a state. The survey period ends in April 2012 thus the changes subsequent to this date may not appear in this paper, however, they could be applied in a further study.

## Structure of Paper

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- In the *Introduction*, as it was described above, I addressed the problem, proved its feasibility, and introduced the goals, hypotheses and the applied methods of research.
- In the *First Chapter*, I deal with the basic principles and theories of conflict and crisis handling, then drew the consequences and also introduced the development and present operation conflict and crisis handling activities of the EU.
- The main goal of the *Second Chapter* is to carry out a complex geopolitical analysis of the region and to overview the conflicts and the possible reaction of the EU to such crises.
- The *Third Chapter* introduces the relationship of the European Union and the Southern Caucasian region by the overview of policies and development of the EU and the demonstration and analysis of conflict handling mechanisms.
- In the *Summary*, I sum up the results of my research, outlined the new scientific achievements, and suggest the application such results and further surveys.

Results assessed during the research were published in periodicals. I participated in conferences organized by Postgraduate Students Organizations and meetings of Károly Kiss Club of Military Science of Hungarian Association of Military Science where my results were demonstrated, and I participate in BRIC countries meetings organized by Ministry of Public Administration and Justice as scientific counselor.

### Summarizing Results of the Research

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My research was aimed at studying the crisis handling activity of common foreign and security policy of EU in general and in regard to the Southern Caucasian region.

I proved that the Southern Caucasian region significantly affects the security of the entire international system, therefore, handling of conflicts of that area requires attention and co-operation.

I also proved that the conflict handling processes will require more complex and elaborated technique in the future, therefore, co-operation and collaboration of member states of the international organizations is indispensable.

- *In the summary of the First Chapter*, I asserted that the European Union faces permanently changing geopolitical situation and new threats and conflict arise that require the constant adaption of common foreign and security policy of the EU to these changing circumstances. The aim of the EU is to rapidly and efficiently react to challenges, however, its reaction may be late due to the different point of views. The establishment of the European External Action Service is a step toward the right direction but the system has not been yet synchronized with the declared aims and requirements, therefore, conflict prevention and conflict handling should be further adjusted to each other. Complexity of crises justifies the development of civilian and military conflict handling capability of the EU.
- *In the summary of the Second Chapter*, I asserted that the Southern Caucasian region has been affected by numerous regional and global powers since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The region is a geopolitical node where Middle East, Russia, Europe and Central Asia meet and the political interest of the European Union, the USA and Russia merge. The EU could be successful if a unified geostrategy on the region is prepared and troops that are able to react rapidly are fomed. Partnership and strengthening co-operation with the region is not only a possibility but also

requirement in order to handle the possible threats and hazards. Maintaining geopolitical stability is a challenge for the Southern Caucasian states and with the aid of the EU, due to its geographical proximity, the region could be an independent economic, political, military and cultural center that is globally perceived.

- *As a summarized conclusion of the Third Chapter*, I asserted that the EU could only become a global power if it could simultaneously achieve economical normalisation and establishment in the field of security policy of both its proximate and distant neighbors. Therefore, EU shall increase its ambition level in the Neighborhood Policy, since internal solidarity could be realized in the long term if the Union is able to appear as a unified political entity towards its neighbors. A neighborhood policy that has significant financial resources and is able to establish internal cohesion and a common European security culture shall be elaborated, since lacking these could lead to the loss of common foreign policy efforts that have been carried out for over two decades.
- *To sum up*, by the survey of crisis handling activity of the EU, I introduced the conflicts in the Southern Caucasian region then analyzed the present state of crisis handling activity of EU. I proved that the adequate and efficient conflict handling procedures may further strengthen the position and prestige of the European Union.



### The Followings Are Regarded As New Scientific Achievements:

Based on my research, the scientific systematization and analysis and the comparison of theory and practice, my scientific achievements are as follows:

1. I systematized and unearthed the notions of conflict handling and summarized the conflict handling method of the EU from new aspects.
2. I suggested topics on the harmonization theoretical and practical conflict handling of EU in the Southern Caucasian region.
3. I unearthed the most significant dangers towards the European Union by the geopolitical and geostrategic analysis of the Southern Caucasian region.
4. I suggested ideas on the strategies to be elaborated on the Southern Caucasian region by the EU.
5. By the analysis of the new types of challenges occurred in the Southern Caucasian region, I proved that the transformation of the conflict handling system of the EU was appropriate, however, its permanent development is inevitable for the future of the European community.

### Possible Areas of Applying Scientific Achievements

1. Study and comprehension of development of conflict handling activity of EU may contribute to define the foreign policy of Hungary in the future;
2. To understand and estimate the further direction of foreign policy of countries in the Southern Caucasian region;
3. To preliminarily calculate the effect of Southern Caucasian states on third countries.
4. In security policy evaluations and analyses on the European Union and Southern Caucasian region.
5. The paper could serve as the starting point and raw material for conflict handling mission in the area.
6. It may be applied in military and civilian higher education, in bachelor and master courses.
7. It could be applied directly or indirectly in security and defense policy education.
8. It could serve as a tool for the training of the officers of the Hungarian Defense Forces.

## Further Areas of Research

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My research has not been terminated yet as I wish to carry on with analysis on the geopolitical and geostrategic challenges of the EU. My paper focuses on the conflict handling activity of the EU in the Southern Caucasian region. In my work, I referred to the fact that the introduction of the military and operative needs further research, therefore, I regard it as the most important area for a future study.

My original intention was to explain the elaboration of setting up an ideal mission, however, I realized that this subject may not be fitted in my paper. I think it needs an independent research with the participation of senior researchers. I also think that the the exploration of this area is as important as my field of research. Studying principles and methods of ideal mission is not only useful for settling international conflicts but also for Hungarian officials when training staff for missions.

## GRÉTA CZENE

### PUBLICATIONS LIST

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1. 2012 Gréta Czene György Szternák: Impact of the NATO's new strategic concept on the armed forces development, Szakmai Szemle (Katonai Biztonsági Hivatal) 1:(1) pp. 5-23. (2012)
2. 2011 Czene Gréta Szternák György: Geopolitika és geostratégia. pp. 1-57. Jegyzet a Hadtudományi Doktori Iskola hallgatóinak a Hadtudomány általános elmélete tantárgyban (2011) E-publikáció/Tudományos
3. 2010 Tudomány és biztonság disszeminációja az MHTT tevékenységének tükrében, [http://193.224.76.4/download/tud\\_cikkek/Czene\\_cikk.pdf](http://193.224.76.4/download/tud_cikkek/Czene_cikk.pdf),
4. 2010 Czene Gréta – Demeter Attila: Thoughts concerning the complex security and the creation of the university of public services, Hadtudományi Szemle, ZMNE Kossuth Lajos Hadtudományi Kar Tudományos On-line Kiadványa, megjelenés alatt
5. 2010 Gréta Czene: To the Margin of a Book or Barack Obama: The Audacity of Hope, Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream, Central Political Science Review, Vol. 11. No. 41.
6. 2009 Czene Gréta: Az Európai Unió szerepe és eszközrendszere a dél-kaukázusi térség stabilizációjában, Tavaszi Szél konferencia kötet, 2009. Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége
7. 2009 Czene Gréta-Szternák György: Az Európai Unió eszközrendszere az Afrikai kontinens válságkezelésére, Katonai Biztonsági Hivatal, Szakmai Szemle, 4. szám, 5-23.o.
8. 2009 Czene Gréta-Szternák György: Hatvan éve történt. Katonai Biztonsági Hivatal Szakmai Szemle , 3: Pp. 5-18. (2009)
9. Czene Gréta-Szternák György: Hatvan éves a NATO, SZAKMAI SZEMLE (KATONAI BIZTONSÁGI HIVATAL) 2: pp. 5-13. (2009)
10. 2009 Czene Gréta-Szternák György: Kína, az Európai Unió és a világ, Katonai Biztonsági Hivatal Szakmai Szemle, 2: pp. 54-73. (2009)
11. 2009 Czene Gréta: Azerbaijan and its geopolitical status in the beginning of 21st century, Hadtudományi Szemle, 2. évfolyam 2. szám
12. 2008 Czene Gréta: A grúziai háború és az új nemzetközi rendszer, [www.biztonsagpolitika.hu](http://www.biztonsagpolitika.hu)
13. 2008 Czene Gréta: A koszovói precedens és az 5 napos háború hatása Abházia helyzetére, Társadalom és Honvédelem, 2009. XIII. évf. 1. sz. 147-163.

14. 2007 Czene Gréta: Armed Madhouse and Other Tales of Class Combat in a Dying Regime, Central European Political Science Review, Spring 2007, Number 27.
15. 2007 Czene Gréta: Új típusú fenyegetések a dél-kaukázusi térségben, Új Honvédségi Szemle, 2007. november
16. 2006 Czene Gréta: Needs and Lacks: The Energy Policy of the European Union, Central European Political Science Review, 2006. Number 25.
17. 2006 Czene Gréta: Politikai őrségváltás a dél-kaukázusi térségben, Társadalom és Honvédelem, 2006. 1. szám
18. 2005 Czene Gréta: Az Európai Unió szerepe és perspektívái a Kaukázus-Közép-Ázsia térségben, Társadalom és Honvédelem, 2005. 2-3. szám

## Curriculum Vitae



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### *Employment*

Profession **Office of Vice-Rector for Strategic and Institutional Development,  
Foreign Expert**  
 Name and address of the employer **National University of Public Service, 1101 Hungária krt. 9-11**  
 Period of time **2008-**  
 Profession **assistant lecturer**  
 Name and address of the employer **Faculty of Humanities, University of Miskolc, Miskolc, Hungary**  
 Period of time **2007-2008**

### *University degrees*

Period of time **2006-2009**  
 Achievement of qualifications and diplomas **PhD Absolutorium**  
 Institute **Zrinyi Miklós National Defense University, Military Science Doctoral School, Budapest, Hungary**  
 Achievement of qualifications and diplomas **Foreign Expert**

Institute	<b>Budapest Institute for Graduate International and Diplomatic Studies, Corvinus University of Budapest, Budapest, Hungary</b>
Achievement of qualifications and diplomas	<b>Political Scientist</b>
Institute	<b>Faculty of Humanities, University of Miskolc, Miskolc, Hungary</b>
Period of time	<b>2000-2005</b>

### *Knowledge of languages*

English	Intermediate (C type, Intermediate State Language Examination)
Spanish	basic level (C type, State Language Examination)

### *Other activities*

- **Founding member, POLIR Cultural Association tag,**
- **Member of the Hungarian Political Science Association 2005-**
- **Ph.D. student representative in the Council of the Military Science Ph.D School, Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University 2006-2008**
- **Board Member of the National PhD students Alliance 2009-**
- **Board Member of the Hungarian Military Science Association 2010-**

### *Professional accomplishments*

**National Scientific Student's Associations Conference (TDK) 2nd place in competition, Department of Political Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, University of Miskolc, - WTO and globalization criticism**

**National Scientific Student's Associations Conference (TDK) 3rd place in competition, Department of Pedagogy, Faculty of Humanities, University of Miskolc, - Parental influence on the infantine development**

### *Professional experience*

**Department of Competition Policy, Permanent Representation of Hungary in EU, Brussels, Belgium  
Territorial Department 7 (Americas), Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Hungary**

## *Conferences*

**2010 Hungarian Association of Military Science 20th anniversary conference: "The altering world order: changes in the regions of security policy"**

**2009 "Tavaszi Szél" conference, Szeged: "The role and instruments of the EU in the stabilization of the South Caucasian region"**

**2009 "Geopolitical and geostrategic analysis. The status of the Russian Federation", Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University, Military Science PhD School**

**2008 "Russian geopolitics from the beginning until today", Károly Kiss Section for Military Science and Security Policy, September 2008**

## *Scholarship*

**2007 Leonardo da Vinci Scholarship, Universidad de Valencia, Valencia, Spanyolország**