Malta and the European Union's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenges and Opportunities

Duncan Vella

A dissertation in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Master of Arts in Public Policy

Department of Public Policy under the Faculty of Economics, Management and Accountancy

June 2015

University of Malta
L-Università ta' Malta

University of Malta Library – Electronic Thesis & Dissertations (ETD) Repository

UNIVERISTY OF MALTA
FACULTY/INSTITUTE/CENTRE OF/FOR Public Policy

DECLARATION

Student's Code _333884 (M)_

Student's Name & Surname _Duncan Cille._

Course _MA Public Policy_

Title of Long Essay/Dissertation/Thesis _Malta and the European Union's Common Security and defence Policy. Challenges and Opportunities._

I hereby declare that I am the legitimate author of this Long Essay/Dissertation/Thesis.

I further confirm that this work is original and unpublished.

_____
Signature of Student

_____
Name of Student (in Caps)

30 June 2015.
Date

Abstract

The ever increasing global challenges and threats faced by the European Union (EU) today are posing pressures on the same Union to think globally and act locally. In response to this new security context, the EU evolved its security and political dimensions. One of the tools set forth was the creation of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) in 1999 which since then has evolved rapidly.

Malta's accession in the European Union (EU) in 2004 meant that it had to partake in this policy framework and in virtue of this, the country's foreign and security policy traditions had to conform to this new reality. Hence, with reference to the Meta theory of Europeanisation and following a set of interviews with key officials, this study initially uncovers how this policy domain has influenced Malta's foreign and security policy matters and brought about adaptations at the domestic level, new ways of projecting national priorities within the EU as well as the identity reconstruction of national actors.

Furthermore, this study identifies the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead to Malta following this participation and finally establishes a number of ways on how the country could enhance its potential within this policy framework.

The author augurs that this study provides an insight into this under researched area and will serve good for any strategic planning by policy makers.

Duncan Vella

MA Public Policy

June 2015

Acknowledgements

This study could not have been successfully completed without the contribution of various persons.

I am especially grateful for the help afforded by the research participants, Ambassador Tarcisio Zammit, Dr Tonio Borg, Mrs Helga Mizzi, Brigadier (retd.) Martin Xuereb, Colonel Brian Gatt, Ms Rachel Sapiano, Captain David Aquilina and Major Josef Ciappara. Their time and valuable contribution are highly appreciated.

Acknowledgements extend to the Head of Department Dr. George Vital Zammit and to the coordinator of the workshops that were held to guide students in their dissertations, Dr Mario Thomas Vassallo.

My last word of thanks goes to my family and close friends for their continuous support in my personal and academic life.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

AFM	Armed Forces of Malta
AMISOM	African Mission in Somalia
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Brig.	Brigadier
Capt.	Captain
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
Col.	Colonel
COREPER	Committee of Permanent Representatives to the European Communities
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
EDA	European Defence Agency
EEAS	European External Action Service
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EUBAM	European Union Border Assistance Mission
EUISS	European Union Institute for Security Studies
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission
EUMC	European Union Military Committee
EUMCWG	European Union Military Committee Working Group
EUMM	European Union Monitoring Mission
EUMS	European Union Military Staff

EUNAVFOR	European Union Naval Force
EUPM	European Union Police Mission
EUSC	European Union Satellite Centre
EUTM	European Union Training Mission
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
FAC	Foreign Affairs Council
HR	High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
Lt. Col	Lieutenant Colonel
Maj.	Major
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MPF	Malta Police Force
MILIREPS	Military Representatives
MLP	Malta Labour Party
MHAS	Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NSO	National Statistics Office
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PMG	Politico Military Group
PFP	Partnership for Peace
PN	Partit Nazzjonalista
PSC	Political and Security Committee

RELEX	Foreign Relations Counsellors Working Group
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
UN	United Nations
WEU	Western European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

Chapter 1:   Context of study

1.1 Towards a Common Union Security and Defence Policy

The creation of the European Union (EU) has been central to the development of a more prosperous, secure and free Europe by transforming the relations between states and the lives of its citizens. Now, European countries are committed to dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions. This brought about the dispersal of rule of law and democracy and eventually led to a number of authoritarian regimes paving the way for more secure, stable and dynamic democracies. Nevertheless, in a rapidly changing world, the EU is today faced with a number of security challenges, both in its immediate and distant neighbourhood. While a major war within Europe is unlikely, the 2008 Georgia war, the 2011 Libya civil war which is still ongoing and the 2014-2015 Russian military intervention in Ukraine reminds us that violent conflict on Europe's periphery is still prevalent and can pose serious challenges for EU governments. Moreover, the ever increasing global challenges, threats emanating from Terrorism, Proliferation of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State Failures and Organised Crime are posing further pressures on the Union to think globally and act locally (ESS, 2003:6). At the same time Europe can't keep relying on the United States to make up for its shortcomings (Ballester, 2013:10). Improving Europe's military and civilian capabilities in an ever-changing security environment, poses a major challenge for both the EU and its member states (Gross and Menon, 2013:5).

In response to this new security context the EU evolved its security and political domains. Over the years a distinctive European approach to security has developed in an integrated, multidimensional and comprehensive manner. Supporting this was the integration of a number of policy areas in order to arrive at a framework for a maximally consistent, coherent and effective external action (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:18). Illustrating this is the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) which has rapidly developed since the constitutive Franco – British declaration of St. Malo in 1998 (EU, 2015). The CSDP is tasked with the progressive framing of a common Union defence policy which leads to a common defence, when the European Council, acting unanimously, so decides. In any case such decision is taken with respect to the Member State's constitutional

requirements (article 42, TEU). Forming part of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the CSDP covers the Union's military operations, civilian missions and provides the policy framework for a number of permanent and military structures. In order to conduct the full range of missions encompassed in the Petersberg tasks[1], the CSDP draws upon civilian and military assets as provided by the member states in accordance with the principle of a single set of forces (article 43, TEU). The CSDP has been operational in the field since 2003 and up to now it is accountable for thirty field interventions in Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. These interventions have all contributed to the stabilisation and security of these regions (EU (a): 2015).

1.2 Malta's Security and Defence matters and its Strategic Foreign Policy

Malta is classified as the smallest country in the EU with a population of 425,384 inhabitants and a land area of 316km² strategically situated in the central Mediterranean (NSO, 2014: 7). It is a democratic island state which has "historically served as both a naval base and fortress under the crusading Knights of St John (1530 – 1798), very briefly under Revolutionary France (1798) and under British Rule (1814-1964). Britain maintained naval air facilities up until 1979. Since then, Malta has been neutral and non-aligned" (Warrington, 1998:186). Being surrounded by much more powerful neighbours makes Malta's self perception more vulnerable, but as its history shows, without a sense of resignation (Pace, 2013(a):243).

It is the Armed Forces of Malta (AFM) which is tasked with the country's primary defence responsibilities and for safeguarding national sovereignty and interest, both in peacetime and in crisis (AFM, 2011). The AFM embodies the characteristics surrounding armed forces of 'micro-states' who do not often attract attention, perhaps due to their insignificant offensive and defensive capabilities. Notwithstanding this, these armies still manage to generate interest from both domestic and international politics. Recalling what happened with Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, it is argued that an aggression against a micro-state that has strategic value can destabilise a region (Warrington, 1998:185). This shows that security and defence of 'micro-states' matter, and moreover are significant as those of larger states.

---

[1] A list of military and security priorities of a humanitarian, disarming, peacekeeping and peacemaking nature that the EU is empowered to carry out through its CSDP (EU (f), 2015).

Nevertheless one may question the extent to which small armed forces with limited capabilities could make up for the defence of their territory. Within this context Handel (1990:48) maintains that "the question of self-defence is irrelevant, as none of these states can effectively defend itself by its own devices against even the weakest of other states". It is due to this shortfall and because of its neutralist, pacifist approach enshrined in its constitution that Malta is a very reluctant supporter of the use of force in resolving political issues. Throughout its history Malta has addressed its vulnerabilities through self-help, reliance on outside powers and the energetic pursuit of multilateralism. Since independence from Britain in 1964, while focusing its attention mostly on the Mediterranean region, Malta has neither been indifferent to international security issues, nor has it pretended to be a world leader (Pace, 2013(a):244). Like other countries Malta had to ensure that its foreign policy goals are consistent with its internal policies and their ultimate effects point in the same direction. Moreover it had to decide which strategic foreign policy vision will enable it to maximise its interests and which foreign policy path offers Malta the best security guarantee that will serve as an insurance policy in times of instability (Calleya, 2002:4). As rightly articulated further by Calleya, in a new world order dominated by a state of flux, it is likely that "failure to take action in one direction or another will result in someone else or circumstance designing the future for you."

With this assertion in mind it could be argued that this was not the case for Malta whereby following its accession in the EU, in May 2004, the country started forming part of a Union which today is composed of twenty eight European member states. This integration offered the promise of a coherent identity and accelerated the development of this small country. Forming part of the EU bloc has rendered Malta participation in EU institutions, making it more susceptible to be viewed as significant by other states. Prior to integration, due to limited resources, Malta's foreign policy was centred on its regional subsystem and focused on the immediate threats rather than on the wider global system. Participation in the EU CFSP and its CSDP has advanced Malta from a 'micro-state' with limited influence in international affairs to the world-stage looking beyond the confines of its geographical region (Pace, 2013:159). Malta's involvement in this policy domain included participation in a number of civilian and military missions, council committees and working groups. This participation meant that the country had to conform itself with a number of EU rules, policies and procedures in different areas, hence resulting in

'Valletta' becoming more aligned to 'Brussels'. This conformity brings forward the scope of this thesis which is discussed in further detail in the succeeding section.

1.3 Scope and aims of study

The domestic impact emanating from Malta's accession in the EU often fails to receive the much required attention and does not feature prominently on the national agenda. While it appears that there are thousands of academics and students all over the world who engage in the study of the CSDP (Howorth, 2007:4), the domestic impact as a consequence on member states participation in this framework is under-researched (Klein, 2014:2). Much of this is owed to the "late, modest and faltering development of European Community competences in the area of foreign policy cooperation which remains the preserve of national sovereignty" (Featherstone, 2003:10). Within this context, this dissertation seeks to uncover the domestic impact on Malta's foreign and security policy matters brought about following its participation in the CSDP and to outline the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead as a result of this participation.

As depicted below, figure 1 represents a graphical representation of all the steps making up this research process. At the onset of this representation, the researcher expressed the research question, which specifically shows the topic under study and the direction this dissertation is to take. The research question that this dissertation seeks to answer is:

- How have Malta's foreign and security policy matters been affected and coped with the country's participation in the EU CSDP?

In view of this, this study will be conducted within the perspective of Europeanisation as a meta-theory since this provides an understanding of the domestic effects EU integration leaves on political and social processes (Radaelli, 2004:3). Moreover, as stipulated in figure 1, the aims of this research are threefold:

(1) To develop a theoretical framework from the meta-theory of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy which will organise the concepts for this study and moreover guide the researcher on where to look for primary and secondary data;

(2) To uncover the Domestic impact brought about to Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP;

(3) To outline the Challenges and Opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead to Malta's foreign and security policy matters, following the country's participation in the EU CSDP.

A detailed explanation on how the researcher planned to attain the above mentioned aims of this research is provided in the next section.

1.4 Research strategy

The above stipulated scope and aims outline the main themes making up this dissertation and moreover what the researcher wants to know. The next step that follows is 'how' the researcher will get there and what framework shall be used. Hence, the aim of this section is to provide an insight on the research strategy adopted for this study. Before delving into the technical matters, it is pertinent to describe the nature of this dissertation. The research strategy used here is qualitative since in the collection and analysis of data, emphasis is put on words rather than quantification. . Additionally, this study is broadly deductive, interpretive and constructionist. It is deductive since preconceived concepts emanating from theories of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy are used to uncover the domestic impact brought about to Malta following this participation.

Secondly, from an epistemological position this research is interpretive as the stress is on understanding the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants i.e. interviewees who will be used as a source for the collection of primary data. Thirdly, from an ontological position, this research is constructionist in the sense that social properties that are being searched for are outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than dependent on a phenomenon found in the field which is separate from those in its construction (Bryman, 2012:380).

Delving more towards the technical aspect of this dissertation, as indicated in figure 1, the starting point of this study is the research question. Following this, the next step that pursues is the literature review. This section is important as it provides an understanding

on "what is already known about the topic, the concepts, theories and research methods applied in previous studies, controversies and who the key contributors are" (Bryman, 2012:8). The literature review is divided into two parts. The first part reviews how the meta-theory of Europeanisation has been applied by social scientists in the study of foreign and security policy. As cited in Bryman (2012:4), the theories employed by social scientists to help understand the social world have an influence on what is researched and how the findings are interpreted. Hence, in light of this and with reference to the first aim of this dissertation, the main task of this part of the literature review is to develop a theoretical framework from the meta-theory of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy and to outline any concepts which are evident in the Europeanisation of a member states foreign and security policy. In this study, these concepts are to serve as a framework that provides indicators of domestic impact so as for the researcher to manage both his primary and secondary data and to a certain extent organise his findings.

The second part of the literature review is dedicated to providing a critical appraisal initially on the EU as a security actor and the emergence of a European foreign and security policy and following that, on Malta's foreign and Security policy choices and how they shaped within the context of its membership in the EU. Both chapters are guided by the research question and the concepts established in the theoretical framework. The literature review is then revisited at a later stage during the final stages of this dissertation in the discussion of the findings and conclusion.

However, before this final process is done the researcher has to embark in collecting primary data and hence identify which key persons are best suited to investigate the research question and what instrument is needed to carry out this study. With regards to the first, the researcher draws upon generic purposive sampling, a non-probability form of sampling where participants are sampled in a strategic manner, according to their relevance to the research question being posed. Here, the criteria for selecting individuals are formed a priori (Bryman, 2012:422). In fact, all participants in this study have a purpose whereby their relevance to this dissertation was emanated from the concepts established in the theoretical framework and the themes raised in the literature review. The reason why the researcher did not generate random samples was not due to technical constraints but rather to ensure that access is gained to a wide range of individuals relevant to the scope of the study.

In this dissertation the chosen instrument for the collection of data from the selected population is semi structured interviews. This method was chosen over others since the researcher is much interested in the participants 'concerns' rather than the 'point of view' only. In other words, rich detailed answers are sought. Due to this, two interview guides (attached in Appendix 1 and 2), were generated in order to guide the interviewees and direct the interview on a path consistent with the purpose of the study (Kothari, 2004: 98). During these interviews the researcher makes use of a recorder (for those who agree) so as to be highly alert to what is being said, hence, following up on interesting points and drawing attention to any inconsistencies in the responses provided.

With reference to one of the final parts of the research process making up this study, analysis of data, the researcher notes that the main difficulties that arise at this stage are the large, cumbersome data generated by interview transcripts. In order to mitigate these difficulties the researcher makes use of *thematic analysis*, a method which is used to analyse classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data collected. This method is considered appropriate for this thesis since it is suitable for those studies that seek to 'discover' by using interpretations and allows analysts to determine precisely the relationships between concepts (Marks and Yardley, 2004).

Another reason for the choice of this method is the fact that its flexibility allows it to be used also for deductive approaches, which as described above, is one of the characteristics of this dissertation. (Frith and Gleeson, 2004:40). All in all, this method provides the researcher with the opportunity to code and categorise data into themes which then will be compared against the reviewed literature during the discussion of findings stage. These comparisons will aid the researcher in providing an assessment on the second aim of this study, which as outlined in section 1.3, seeks to uncover the domestic impact brought about to Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP.

Following this assessment the researcher embarks to attain the third aim of this study i.e. to identify the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced to Malta and still lie ahead following its participation in the EU CSDP. In order to reach this aim the researcher makes use of the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis on the study findings that emerged following the thematic analysis. Through the use of this

analytical method the researcher seeks to identify and categorise significant internal (strengths and weaknesses) and external (opportunities and threats) factors faced by Malta as a consequence of its participation in the CSDP and further on determine how Malta could enhance its potential within the EU CSDP.

1.5 Ethical considerations and limitations

Another important aspect for this study is ethical considerations. Starting with, the researcher feels that since his professional position is intrinsically attached to the research core, it is ethically appropriate to introduce himself as Malta's National Counter Terrorism Coordinator within the Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security and as Malta's representative to the Terrorism Working Party Council Working Group. The experiences gained from these positions have facilitated the understanding of certain EU related concepts.

In addition to the above but from a different tangent, before carrying out the interviews it was ensured that every participant's privacy and sensitiveness is respected by (a) avoiding undue intrusion when collecting data and treating all disclosed information as confidential. Owing to this, in cases where the researcher indicated that he would like to record the interviews, it was explained that all recordings would be kept and played only by the researcher and would be destroyed once that the dissertation is over, (b) ensuring that participation is voluntary and based on an informed consent which includes adequate information about the research and specified what kind of commitment was required from the participant and (c) operating in an open and honest manner with respect to the investigation whereby even here all participants were briefed in detail the purpose of the interview and moreover were provided with a copy of the interview guide beforehand. Participants were informed about their possibility to refrain from answering any question put forward to them which they deemed not practicable to answer (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: 151).

Furthermore, it is imperative to note that although designed and implemented with great attention, the primary research was constrained by some limitations. First, the stakeholders that were initially chosen to participate in this study were sixteen. However, only eight respondents participated in this research. A broader set of participants from the present

officials within Malta's Permanent Representation in Brussels and others from the Defence Matters Directorate would have contributed towards more reliable and valid data, hence a more effective research outcome.

Secondly, despite that the place where the interviews took place were chosen by the respondents so that they would feel more at ease in answering the questions posed, given the sensitive nature of this particular study the researcher deems that respondents may have felt restricted in divulging certain data and information which besides being confidential, could also be of a political nature.

Thirdly, although certain documents related to the area under study such as instruction notes[2] would have been highly valuable to this research, due to the confidential classification of such documents, these could not be used for this study.

1.6 Dissertation layout

This dissertation is structured in seven chapters. The concluding part of this chapter, which has set the scope, aims and research strategy of this study, leads to chapter 2 which offers a critical review of the meta-theory of Europeanisation and the Europeanisation of foreign policy. This chapter goes further in developing a theoretical framework from these theories as described in the previous section. Chapter 3 provides an outline on the EU as a security actor together with an explanation on the legal framework and institutional architecture of the CSDP and a critical appraisal on the genesis of the CSDP, the EU as a global security actor, and the emergence of a common strategic culture. The fourth chapter focuses on Malta's security and defence matters and its strategic foreign policy in the context of membership in the EU. In this chapter a critical review is carried out on how Malta's characteristics as an island state in the Mediterranean have attracted Colonies that have shaped its security and defence and on Malta's entry in the EU. This is followed by an analysis on Malta's foreign policy agenda and the changes brought about to Malta following its accession in the EU, particularly in its foreign and security policy matters. Chapter 5 details the findings following a thematic analysis on the collected data. These are discussed in Chapter 6 with reference being made to the literature reviewed.

---

[2] Guidelines set out from Capital to national experts participating in meetings with other countries / intergovernmental organisations which reflect the country's position on the matter being discussed.

The SWOT analysis carried out on the findings is also presented in this chapter whereby the challenges and opportunities that surrounded Malta following its participation in the EU CSDP are identified. This is ensued by a critical analysis on how Malta could enhance its potential within this policy framework. The final Chapter, the concluding part, provides a synthesis of the main findings emanating from this study.

Figure 1 – Flowchart depicting all the steps of research process

RQ: How have Malta's foreign and Security policy matters been affected and coped by the country's participation in the EU CSDP?

Objective 2: What is it that the researcher wants to achieve?

Objective 1: What is it that the researcher wants to understand in the literature review?

Aim 2: Uncover the **Domestic impact** brought about to Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP

Aim 3: Outline the **Challenges** and **Opportunities** that have surfaced and still lie ahead to Malta's foreign and security policy matters, following the country's participation in the EU CSDP.

Theoretical perspectives and debates in the study of Europeanization

- The main concepts of Europeanisation
- The Europeanisation of foreign and security policy
- Develop a theoretical framework

Objective 3: How to achieve it

Aim 1: Develop a **theoretical framework** from the meta-theory of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy which will organise the concepts for this study and moreover guide the researcher on where to look for primary and secondary data.

The EU as a Security actor

- The emergence of a European Foreign and Security Policy
- The institutional architecture of the CSDP
- The EU as a global security actor

Use this framework as the basis for the literature to be reviewed.

Use this framework as the basis for the collection of primary and secondary data

Malta's security and defence matters and its strategic foreign policy in the context of membership in the European Union

- Malta's characteristics as an island state and the shaping of its security and defence
- Malta's EU accession and its constitutional neutrality
- Malta's Foreign Policy agenda
- Impact of CSDP on administrative and organisational structures
- Malta's participation in the institutional framework of the CSDP

Analysis of Data

Use **thematic analysis** for Aim 2

Use **SWOT analysis** for Aim 3

Chapter 2: Theoretical perspectives and debates in the study of Europeanization

2.1 The notion of Europeanisation and its use in this research

The EU is an economic and political partnership between twenty eight European countries that together make up a large part of the continent. Since its inception, following the Second World War, it expanded from a purely economic union into an organisation spanning over a number of policy areas (EU (B), 2015). Today the EU's competence has increased and its complex network of official and unofficial decision-making became more ingrained in a multi-level system of governance, where governments and civil society from different member states exchange greater contact. Taking this into consideration, it is logical to postulate that the increase in power by the EU in different policy areas would increase its influence on domestic policy, and moreover would impact different government structures. Rationality suggests that more national bureaucrats would be working on EU issues or with the EU directly, and that governments would strive to form up alliances to safeguard their national interests (Harwood, 2006:169). It is the impact that this whole process leaves on the domestic political system that dominates the research on Europeanisation.

The usage of the term Europeanisation has expeditiously increased much that it has been accepted amongst scholars as a newly fashionable term signifying a variety of changes particularly within European politics and international relations. Like Globalisation, Europeanisation is presumed constructive in understanding important changes in politics and society (Featherstone, 2003:3). Olsen (2002: 921) delineates that this concept is surrounded by many definitions and further on explains how the term is applied in a number of ways to describe a variety of phenomenon and processes of change. This very growth of the term has led to criticism for instance by Mair (2004:338) as being poorly and confusingly defined and by Kassim (2000: 238), as being unwieldy much that it is futile to use as an organising concept. In line with this, it has been articulated by a number of academics that the faddish use of the term 'Europeanisation' in different contexts can easily obscure its true meaning (Featherstone, 2003:3).

The different definitions assigned to the concept were not viewed by Radaelli (2003:28) as problematic but as an indicator that a debate is taking place. Relatively, he suggests that the potential risks surrounding the term are (a) concept misinformation, (b) conceptual stretching and (c) 'degreeism'. Notwithstanding this, Olsen (2002: 922) argued that the term should not be abandoned since most of the studies carried out were of late, there have been few systematic attempts to map and compare the different uses for this term and efforts to form the dynamics of Europeanisation and empirical evidence surrounding it were scarce. Likewise, Radaelli (2000:25) does not dismiss this concept. He finds that while studies at macro-level have uncovered low levels of Europeanisation, at the policy level, this was observed to have a more consistent impact. In a more recent study Tonra (2013:2), outlines how the concept is now composed of acknowledged definitions and empirical applications to test its added-value.

Through this chapter the researcher will seek to provide an assessment of what Europeanisation is, an understanding of its main concepts and how these are applied to the study of Foreign Policy i.e. the domain of EU policy covering defence and military aspects, as well as civilian crisis management. The researcher also aims to develop a workable theoretical framework from the central texts surrounding this area of study which will be used to guide him on what further literature is to be reviewed and moreover to support him in assessing the research question outlined in the first chapter. However, in view of what was argued above, the researcher understands that creating a workable theoretical framework from Europeanisation literature poses a challenge in itself. It has been noted that great care needs to be taken in defining Europeanisation in the first place and that it is the obligation of the researcher to give the concept a precise meaning (Featherstone, 2003:3). In keeping up with this premise this study shall make reference to key research on Europeanisation and furthermore shall outline how this is applied to Foreign policy so as to provide some structure to the potential confusion of this concept.

Additionally, in this study, Europeanisation is not regarded as the *'explanans'* (the solution), but the *'explanandum'* i.e. the framework for analysing difference and variation in process of mutual adaptation and change (and of resistance to change) affected by new patterns of transnational - national relations (Gualini, 2003:24). In simpler terms Europeanisation here is seen as a problem in search of explanation and not an explanation itself. Moreover, it is pertinent to mention that it is not the intention of the researcher to

embark on a study of the grand theories surrounding the process of European Integration as these, tend to focus more on explaining the dynamics and outcomes of the integration itself rather than providing an understanding of the domestic effects this leaves on political and social processes (Radaelli, 2004:3). The questions concerning why and how do member states produce European Integration and whether the European Union is more inter-governmental or supranational do not fall under the scope of this study (Gualini, 2003:24). Keeping this in mind, this dissertation uses Europeanisation as a meta-theory that has been developed to deal with the problems and limitations of these grand theories (Burch, 2001, Dyson, 2000, George, 1976). This study demarcates from the notion that there is a process of European Integration under way and that the EU has developed its own institutions and policies in the past decades (Radaelli, 2004:2).

2.2 Conceptualising Europeanisation

In conceptualising Europeanisation, the researcher shall make reference and build on a commonly cited study conducted by Reuben Wong (2011:151), who grouped the different usages and meanings of Europeanisation into five different categories being: national adaptation, national projection, identity reconstruction, modernisation and policy isomorphism.

With regards to the first category, *national adaptation,* Wong contends that this is where the central focus of Europeanisation lies, since it is commonly referred to by practically all authors. In explaining this category Wong makes reference to Robert Ladrech's 1994 definition of Europeanisation as a process of national adaptation to EU membership. In this definition Ladrech (1994:70) argues that Europeanisation is:

"An incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organisational logic of national politics and policy making"

Wong argues that this definition seems to necessitate a process of 'downloading' or top-down procedures from the Supranational / European level to the national level in decision-making politics. In an idealised form, there would be a "clear vertical chain of command in which EU policy descends from Brussels into the Member states" (Bulmer and

Radaelli, 2004:61). A central argument for top-down Europeanisation is the 'goodness of fit' argument as proposed by Cowles, Carposo and Risse (2001:4) which states that the ease of adaptation between the European and the domestic level determines the degree of pressure for adaptation generated by Europeanisation on the member states policies, politics and polity whereby: "The lower the compatibility between European and domestic processes, policies and institutions, the higher the adaptation pressure". Cowles et al. suggested that the impact of Europeanisation would be pronounced most in cases of moderate goodness of fit. In the context of downloading Radaelli (2000:14) identified four ways by which member states respond to EU changes i.e. accommodation, transformation, inertia and retrenchment. Accommodation refers to when downloading is compatible with domestic structures, policies, discourses and identities; transformation, where downloading poses a challenge to these areas; inertia, when a political will to bring about change does not exist and retrenchment refers to when a downloaded policy area strengthens opposition to the EU and provides an impetus for anti-European interests and dismantling aspects of European integration.

Another dimension of Europeanisation is that of what Wong (2001:152) calls *national projection*. This refers to when member states are portrayed as the primary actors and the agents of change while the EU is perceived as the object of their activity. In line with this, Borzel (2002:193) uses the term *pace setting* to refer to the active shaping of EU policies by member states according to their domestic preferences. Borzel adds that in an ideal situation, these are exported at EU level and adopted by other member states. Moreover, it is postulated that member states could minimize the costs that "downloading' sets on them by 'up-loading' their domestic policies to the European level given that the better the fit between the EU and domestic policies will result in lower implementation cost at the national level. In her two-dimensional conceptualisation Borzel recognises that while member states both shape and adapt to policy at the European level, they have an interest to transmit key national ideas and interests onto the emerging European ones. Hence, more explicitly, under this category Europeanisation depicts the state as a pro-active player projecting its policy preferences, ideas and models to the EU (Guyomarch et al. 1998, Bulmer and Burch, 1999, Milward, 1992: 20 and Laffan and Stubb, 2003).

The third dimension attributed to Europeanisation by Wong (2011:153) is *identity reconstruction* ('cross loading') which refers to:

"A process of identity and interest convergence so that European interests and a European identity begin to take root alongside national identities and interests indeed to inform and shape them"

This convergence is carried out through cross-national emulation, learning and policy-transfer resulting from interaction between EU member states representatives particularly in policy areas which are characterised by national discretion (Bulmer, 2007 and Radaelli, 2003). It entails the development of shared European and national interests and the emergence of norms among policy-making elites, much associated with national officials attached to EU institutions in Brussels (Wong, 2011:153). On the same lines, Philip de Schoutheete (1986) sees an EU identity emerging through elite socialisation in Brussels, and moreover resulting in a change in the views of national governments and their foreign policy priorities.

The fourth dimension of Europeanisation outlined by Wong (2011:154) is the political, economic and social *modernisation* provoked as a result of prospective EU membership. It relates to the adoption of a European state model which involves the firm anchoring of democratic institutions and market economies and relates mostly to less developed states that are being brought into the core of EU institutions through membership.

Policy isomorphism is the final dimension of Europeanisation indicated by Wong. This is a variant of the first concept outlined above and is concerned with the degree of convergence in substantive policy areas between member states. This is due to what Radaelli (2007) described as either 'direct' Europeanisation where the regulatory competence of various public policy areas are passed from member states to the European Union or 'indirect' Europeanisation, through the emulation of policy choices or frameworks from a member state to another.

2.3 Europeanisation of Foreign and Security Policy

By developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and a Common Defence Policy, the EU is seeking to play a more active role in global affairs. It is argued by a number of analysts that Europe's relevance in world affairs depends on its ability to speak

and acts as one (Mix, 2013:2). In this context the key preposition made on Europeanisation is that membership in the EU leaves an effect on the member state's foreign and security policies and that there is a process of negotiation and coordination between all member states through EU institutions. In light of this, this section aims to explore the concept of Europeanisation in the foreign policy realm.

In contrast to policy fields in the EU's first pillar, foreign policy has not been extensively studied through the lens of Europeanisation. However, a growing interest in applying the concept of Europeanisation to this area of study has been witnessed in the recent years (Major, 2005, Miskimmon, 2007, Vaqueri Fanes, 2001, Wong, 2005, 2007)). As a middle range theory this concept is presumed as a useful analytical framework for both the study of changes created in national foreign policy as a result of EU integration as well as regards the establishment of a 'common' EU foreign policy (Tonra, 2013:2).This trend has been welcomed by a number of scholars as it prepares the ground for a European approach to foreign policy analysis, an area which is assumed sensitive due to the different environments in which the national foreign policies of EU member states are constructed.

While further detail on the legal and institutional framework of the CSDP, which falls under the CFSP, is outlined in the third chapter, a brief overview of the nature of the CFSP is going to be provided in this section so as to better shape the arguments surrounding the conceptualisation of Europeanisation in the foreign policy realm. Wright (2013:70) describes the nature of the CFSP as:

> "a policy making arena that is dynamic and multi-directional, operates on multiple levels and crucially lacks a single supranational policy entrepreneur or mechanism to enforce decisions. The continuing power of the veto is more than just a symbolic nod towards Intergovermentalism. It remains the clearest indicator that however strong the cooperation, the national cannot be ignored".

Due to the intergovernmental nature of the CFSP, a number of arguments were raised with regards to the extent of impact this leaves on the domestic policies of member states. One school of thought is that the intergovernmental character of this policy domain could somehow leave a 'limited impact' on domestic policies (Hix and Goetz, 2000:6). Furthermore, Europeanisation was expected to be less likely to occur and where

substantial competences have been transferred to the supranational EU level, the effect of Europeanisation would be much weaker and more difficult to trace than in other policy fields of the EU's first pillar (Muller and Flers, 2010: 5).

However, other works have shown that there are strong indications that some degree of Europeanisation of national foreign policy objectives is taking place as a result of interaction to the CFSP. It was also observed that while the CFSP is intergovernmental in nature, the incremental institutionalisation of foreign policy cooperation taking place in this arena places increasing demands on Member States to engage with it, even if only to safeguard their own interests. While this does not substitute national foreign policies, it is a constraint, and over the longer-term, the premise is that this will increase (Smith, 2004:176). Correspondingly, Hix and Goetz (2000:6) reinvigorate the notion by Smith when they argue that "the more general impact of EU membership, or even the prospect of it, has in some cases led to profound national orientation".

Manners and Whiteman (2000) contend that a contrast exists between the impact of EU pressures in the area of European foreign policy and those in many areas of economic and social policy. This well may be attributed to the actuality that foreign policy cooperation remains the preserve of national sovereignty. This brings forward the notion that any conceptualisation of Europeanisation of foreign policy has to account for the fact that the dynamics in this field are different from those in other policy areas. In contrast to other policy fields marked by a hierarchal governance, in the area of foreign policy, there is usually no "clear, vertical chain-of-command, in which EU policy descends from Brussels into the Member States" (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2004:9).

Rather, decision making here is more consensual, with less involvement from the European Commission or the European Court of Justice. Consequently, the processes and outcomes of Europeanisation here are less clear and to some extent different than those found in the EU's more "communitarised" first pillar where policy templates are made on the EU level, and involve supranational actors like the EU Commission. Less formal processes such as 'Socialisation' and 'learning' may find more space here than other explanations, such as the 'goodness of fit' of national policies (Baun and Marek, 2013:6, Muller and Flers, 2012:20).

2.4 Europeanisation of Foreign and Security Policy – Creating a theoretical framework

This section seeks to develop a theoretical framework from the meta-theory of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy so as to organise the concepts for this study. The degree to how and to what extent a member state's foreign policy has been Europeanised over time is measured in this study by using three criteria: National Adaptation, Projection of National Policy and Internationalisation of Europe in National Identities i.e. 'identity reconstruction'. All three criteria are extracted from the five categories of Europeanisation described in the previous section. The other two that are not listed here were not found to be relevant for the study of foreign policy (Wong, 2011: 157).

As described in the previous section *national adaptation* and policy convergence of foreign policies is a top-down form of Europeanisation where member states download or receive new sets of norms, rules and policies from the EU. Under this process, national governments will seek to change the focus and content of their foreign policies by adapting their respective domestic governance structures in accord to the foreign policies of the EU (Ladrech, 1994: 70). While the top-down dimension of foreign policy Europeanisation does not take place in the form of forced, formal adaptation to EU rules, academic studies recognised that foreign policy cooperation at EU level feeds back into domestic politics and results in the "adaptation of national institutions, processes and procedures and possible perceptions of national interest as well" (Baun and Marek, 2013:6).

In relation to this, an early study conducted by Smith (2000:617) identified four indicators of domestic adaptation to political co-operation being 1) elite socialisation, 2) bureaucratic reorganisation 3) constitutional change and 4) the increase in public support for European political cooperation. While in this early study, Smith sought elite socialisation as an indicator of adaptation, a substantial number of other scholars later on approached it from a horizontal dimension perspective which they called 'cross loading', further explained in this study under identity reconstruction. This study shall follow suit the second approach and hence elite socialisation will be approached from a horizontal dimension perspective and as an effect of identity reconstruction.

Reference is made to the second manifestation of domestic adaptation mentioned by Smith i.e. bureaucratic reorganisation at national level. This concerns institutional set-ups made by member states in order to participate in the CFSP which include the creation of new positions, increases in the size of staffs or budgets, and the establishment of mechanisms to coordinate with other government ministries and offices dealing with the EU (Baun and Marek, 2013:8). In line with this category, Smith (2000:619) outlined three main changes which take place at national level and which are meant to enhance political cooperation at EU level. These include but are not limited to first and foremost the appointment of new national officials to serve in institutional roles whose aim is to provide a key source of continuity in national attention to CFSP affairs. This change stems from the fact that political cooperation relies on one hand on the regular meetings among political directors of EU member states and on the other hand on the participation in EU committees and working groups.

Secondly, the expansion of most national diplomatic services and third, a reorganisation of national administrative structures towards Europe in order to improve their handling of EU affairs particularly European community and CFSP activities, which are increasingly expected to function in a coherent manner. The second and third changes relate to the expansion in the size and finances of ministries at national level which owes to the growth of political co-operation agenda and the fact that the number of missions in third countries has increased. In all this, and in order to cope with their co-operation workload, Smith articulated that smaller EU states made extensive changes in terms of reorganisation and expansion. However, with their limited representation outside the EU, they especially benefitted from information provided by larger states. In line with this, Wong (2011:160) states that the EU sometimes gives small states the necessary institutional resources to profile themselves in 'new' regions, or to project their own interests as European interests.

Although less prevalent, constitutional changes were also prompted as a result of European foreign policy cooperation. A number of member states have adapted changes and reinterpretation to their national constitution in order to participate in the CFSP. Notably, prior to accession, neutral states such as Austria, Finland and Sweden were faced with controversial issues back home as they were forced to reconsider their positions on security/defence issues in the context of accession i.e. as stipulated in the defence

provisions of the Treaty of European Union (TEU). This shows the willingness of member states in joining the European community despite the often high political costs such orientation brings about (Smith, 2000: 624).

Another area in which foreign policy adaptation is manifested is through growing public support for political co-operation at the EU level policy domain, where the CFSP emerges as an area of interest for European citizens. Unlike the previous processes, this area is not a direct indicator of how political co-operation brings about change at the domestic level. Though being a recent phenomenon due to the fact that public attention was more focused on economic matters and due to the co-operations own rules which require secrecy of its participants, recently public opinion has grown more attentive to this political co-operation. Possible influences may attribute to the length of a state's membership in the EU, economic and political benefits and linkages to other international institutions (Smith, 2000: 626).

With regards to national adaptation, Muller and Flers (2012:23) note how this differs in individual member states due to domestic factors such as the size of the member state and its foreign relations network, as well as other historically conditioned variables such as national identity and strategic culture. It has been argued by Gross (2009) and Miskimmon (2007), that the impact on small states is usually considered to be more profound since larger member states are portrayed frequently as shapers rather than takers of European Foreign Policy.

Projection of National Policy is the second criteria selected to measure the degree to which a state's foreign policy has been europeanised. The uploading dimension is an outcome of Europeanisation which refers to the projection of national foreign policy preferences and priorities to the EU level in an effort to influence the making of EU foreign policy (Muller and Flers, 2010: 8). This could be done by trying to set or shape the CFSP agenda, influencing the outcome of negotiations and deliberations on foreign policy positions and actions and through the formation of coalitions with like-minded states. By uploading their foreign policy preferences member states may seek to prevent EU action on issues deemed of national interest (*domains privé*). On the other hand, acting through EU foreign policy can bring the advantage to member states of having a collective cover

from taking unpopular, controversial, or risky policies on their own (Tonra, 2000, Gross, 2009:18).

Within the CFSP framework, the projection of national policy by member states takes place in the form of "arguing" and "normative suasion" rather than a traditional "bargaining" style of interest mediation. Here, member states strategically conform to common norms, values and policy precedents and make use of 'peer pressure' to promote their agenda and exclude those lacking to cooperate (Muller and Flers, 2010: 9-10). Through increased socialisation, different member states representatives may start to regard each other as partners tasked with solving joint problems, rather than negotiating opponents in a bargaining game (Smith, 2004(b):102). In line with this Juncos and Pomorska (2006:3) outlined how member state representatives in Council working groups are rational actors and hence make strategic use of the opportunities provided by an institutional environment characterised by common norms and rules.

In relation to the above, from the perspective of rationalist institutionalism, foreign policy cooperation results in a 'politics of scale effect' by pooling their resources. This allows member states to promote their interests more effectively onto the EU level and to increase their influence in world affairs (Ginsberg (1989)). Congruently, Wong (2011:152) notes how small member states strive to limit their interdependence by pursuing integration on the premise that it will put them on the world stage and ultimately increase their international influence.

Identity reconstruction is the third and last criteria adopted to measure the degree to which a state's foreign policy has been Europeanised. From this aspect, "socialisation" and "learning" are regarded as primary mechanisms surrounding the Europeanisation of this domain. The socialisation effect due to European integration has been widely discussed by many scholars including Juncos and Pomorska (2006), Nuttal (1992, 1997), Radaelli (2004), Smith (2000), and Wong (2011). Those who advocated the socialisation effect treat the Europeanisation effect from a sociological perspective in the sense that people learn from each other's sharing of best practices and continuous networking. This consolidates the lateral effect of Europeanisation when officers of MS learn from each other and not necessarily from Brussels.

In foreign policy Europeanisation, socialisation is attributed to Elite socialisation which refers to "the effect of participation by national actors in the CFSP system characterised by the norms of trust, regular communication, political cooperation, consultation, consensus-based decision making and a general 'problem-solving' approach" (Smith, 2000: 615). This socialisation process provides many opportunities for discussions to flourish which are then ensued by actions on world politics, often in very agreeable surroundings which were described by Nuttal (1997:3) as a club like atmosphere. Same recalled how in order for socialisation to work, one had to socialise and while meetings were important, so were lunches and dinners and agreeable little excursions.

The internalisation of these norms result in the development of a 'coordination reflex' which refers to the instinctive habits of cooperation by national elites with other member state's representatives to the level that before defining a national position, they seek to discuss foreign policy issues firstly with them (Nuttal 1992, Tonra 2001)). Going further, others argued that, these norms promote the convergence of national foreign policies and will result in a redefinition of national preferences, interests and even identities (Wong 2011, Gross 2009). In line with this, Beyers (2005:901) argued that socialisation goes beyond conscious role playing as it stimulates actors to shift their alliances towards common European objectives and in finding solutions for a common European good. Conversely, in their study Juncos and Pomorska (2006:3) found that member states diplomats comply with a group's procedural norms and rules because they calculate that doing so helps them reach their domestically defined goals.

The second aspect of identity reconstruction, learning, refers to the: "change in beliefs (or the degree of confidence in one's beliefs) or the development of new beliefs, skills, or procedures as a result of observation and interpretation of experience" (Levy, 1994:283). Within this context, learning is taken as a consequence of the socialisation process described above which is facilitated by the CFSP institutional setting and which involves a change in one's belief system rather than the adjustment of national policies to domestic and external stimuli (Baun and Marek, 2013:9). Muller and Flers (2012: 28) identified three conceptualisation of learning which in practice may interact and overlap i.e. organisational learning, policy learning and lesson drawing/policy transfer.

With reference to Organizational learning within the CFSP, they outlined how this involves simple learning about process – related behaviour and strategy, resulting in organisational change at both EU level and at the national level. In relation to this concept, Levy (1994:311) highlighted the importance of the institutionalisation of individually learned lessons into the routines and procedures of an organisation and how these are crucial for its impact on foreign policy. A case in point outlined by Muller and Flers (2012:28) is when lessons learned in CSDP military and civilian crisis management are institutionalized through mission reviews and lesson-learned reports. Furthermore, these authors describe organisational learning as a process where national representatives acquire new knowledge on how to transform national interests into EU outputs such as by giving more responsibility to lower level officials and the need to speed-up the decision making process.

The second conceptualisation of learning refers to policy – learning by national actors along networks of 'policy middlemen'. The sharing of information, learning from collective EU foreign policy experiences, and the evolution of common knowledge may redefine the approach on how these actors view a problem and eventually leading them to evaluate their initial preferences. Whether this change of preference is reflected in national agendas and policy positions depends on the capacity these actors have in influencing decisions back home. This relates more to highly technical issues rather than to sensitive political questions which are dealt with at a higher level. The third conceptualization of learning, lesson drawing/policy transfer focuses on what individual member states can learn from the experience of others, or what they can teach others about their own experiences. Here the EU serves as a theatre where member states exchange best practices and policy mechanisms much that these are adapted from one member state to another (Muller and Flers, 2012:28).

As witnessed above, national adaptation, projection of national policy and identity reconstruction show how EU membership brings about adaptation or change in national foreign or security policies. With respect to each element, different mechanisms of Europeanisation were discerned and henceforth the role of national or domestic mediating factors can be analysed. In this study, these three elements shall be used as concepts which will guide the researcher on what further literature is to be reviewed. Moreover, relying on the above literature and that found in the previous sections, each and every concept shall

be attributed with a set of specific questions which will be used in the interviews carried out in this study. The construction of these questions shall be based on the participant's relationship with the criteria under study.

Prior to conducting this, a thorough explanation of the policy field under study i.e. the CSDP, is necessary in order to understand better the mechanisms and characteristics of this policy framework and who the key players are. This brings forward the third chapter of this dissertation which shall provide an outline on how the EU evolved as a security actor together with an explanation on the legal framework and institutional architecture of the CSDP. This shall be followed by a critical appraisal on the genesis of the CSDP and the emergence of a European common strategic culture.

Chapter 3: The European Union as a Security Actor

3.1 The emergence of a European Foreign and Security Policy

The EU's foreign policy knows its beginning in 1970 by the creation of the European Political Cooperation (EPC), an informal consultation process on foreign policy matters. This was consolidated on the 1 November 1993 under the second pillar of the Maastricht treaty and has served as the foundation of today's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) (Dosenrode, 2012:13). This treaty was a milestone for the development of the EU's involvement in the field of Foreign and Security Policy and while at that time the EU had no operational capacities, on the other hand it had a clear political will to evolve into a global actor. In making up for this deficit, in June 1992 its operational tasks were given to the Western European Union (WEU), an organisation and military alliance between seven EU nations and the USA and became known as the Petersburg tasks (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:54). These included humanitarian and rescue tasks, peacekeeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacekeeping (Petersberg declaration, 1992).

Notwithstanding this, it was only in the late 1990's that concrete provisions to endow the Union with conflict prevention and crisis management capabilities were introduced. Much of this is owed to the events that shaped that period which showed that war seemed far from disappearing with the fall of the Berlin Wall. The Gulf war which led European militaries realise how dependent they were on the US and how ineffective and even inappropriate their armed forces were for a post-cold war crisis management, the violence that erupted in the former Yugoslavia between the summer of 1991 and autumn of 1995 and the conflict that was brewing around the EU's periphery, from the Maghreb to Kosovo and from the Kaukasus to the Baltic left no choice for the EU but to assume responsibility for the stabilisation of its region (Howorth, 2007:6). Hence, the treaty of Amsterdam which was adopted by the EU member states in June 1997 and entered into force in May 1999, codified new structures and tasks for the EU's CFSP whereby though it did not create a Common Defence Policy and only indicated its possibility in the future, it did increase responsibilities in the realm of peacekeeping and humanitarian aid by incorporating the Petersburg Tasks in the TEU and by introducing the post of the "High

Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy", to allow the Union to have a common front on these matters (Dosenrode, 2012:14).

A pivotal moment in the story of European security is the bilateral meeting held between the government of France and the United Kingdom in Saint-Malo, France, in December 1998, better known as the St Malo declaration. While calling for the full and rapid implementation of the Amsterdam provisions on CFSP, this declaration indicated for the first time a Franco-British consensus on the evolution of a defence component for the EU (St Malo, 1998:8). This declaration constituted the basis for an agreement reached during the European Council meeting in Cologne in June 1999 whereby in pursuit of the CFSP objectives and the progressive framing of a common defence policy it was agreed that the Council should have the ability to take decisions on the full range of conflict prevention and crisis management tasks as defined in the TEU. Hence by calling on the necessity to put in place institutional arrangements for the analysis, planning and conduct of military operations, the Council laid down the foundations for the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). There, EU heads of state and government agreed that:

> "… the Union must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises without prejudice to actions by NATO. The EU will thereby increase its ability to contribute to international peace and security in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter." (Cologne European Council, 1999).

In 2003, the ESDP was enhanced through the Berlin Plus agreement, a comprehensive package of arrangements between the EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), allowing the former to make use of NATO's assets and capabilities for EU-led crisis management operations and moreover became operational with the initiation of its first mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina . Also, on the 12 and 13 December of that year, the European Council adopted its first ever European Security Strategy (ESS), titled, 'A secure Europe in a Better World' which established the conceptual framework for the CFSP and its ESDP. This strategy outlined the EU's security environment, key security challenges and subsequent political implications for the EU. In the 2004 intergovernmental conference for a 'European Constitutional Treaty', the so-called

Petersberg tasks were revisited and a solidarity clause and a mutual assistance clause were included to the ESDP. Since this treaty was not ratified, these tasks were then transferred unchanged to the Treaty of Lisbon (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:54).

With the entry into force of the Lisbon treaty on December 2009, the ESDP was replaced by the CSDP. The change was not only in the name but also in the functioning of the framework and its mission spectrum. As stipulated in article 42 (1) of the TEU.

> "The common security and defence policy shall be an integral part of the common foreign and security policy. It shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civil and military assets which may be used on missions outside the EU for peace keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter".

Furthermore, this article draws obligations on member states to make military capabilities available to the Union for the implementation of the CSDP and as in article 42(3); member states are also to undertake progressive measures to improve their military capabilities. The tasks with which the CSDP was entrusted and the conditions under which the Union may use civilian and military means were defined by the Lisbon Treaty under article 43 (1) TEU. These include joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making and post-conflict stabilisation. Moreover, "these tasks may contribute to the fight against terrorism, including by supporting third countries in combating terrorism in their territories".

It is also pertinent to mention that according to article 41 TEU, which sets the principles for financing of EU civilian and military crisis management operations, missions of a military nature cannot be financed from the Union budget. In view of this in February 2004 the Council of the EU established the so called ATHENA mechanism which provides the framework for costs relating to military operations under the authority of member states except Denmark, which does not contribute to such missions. ATHENA manages the common costs of each military operation from its preparatory phase to its termination and contributions by member states are based on the GNI-scale (COE (A),

2014). Another obligation of the CSDP which was brought in following the Lisbon treaty was the mutual assistance clause whereby as outlined in article 42 (7) of the TEU, if:

"a member state is the victim of an armed aggression on its territory, the other Member States shall have towards it an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power…" However, this "shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States …".

Along the way, following the Lisbon Treaty, a number of issues have shaped the CSDP debates. During the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) of the 19th and 20th December 2013, a strong commitment was made towards the further development of a capable and effective CSDP. There, Member States were called upon to deepen defence cooperation and their capacity to conduct missions and operations. On this basis, this Council identified three priority actions i.e. increasing the effectiveness, visibility and impact of CSDP; enhancing the development of capabilities and strengthening Europe's defence industry (COE, 2013). Following these conclusions, the global security situation only got worse. Hence, in the face of an increase in conflicts, threats and instability in the EU's immediate and wider neighbourhood affecting inter alia Iraq, Libya, the Sahel, Syria and Ukraine, during the 18th May 2015 FAC, the EU and its Member States responded by calling for a stronger and more effective CSDP by setting a number of actions as well as by calling for continuous efforts to implement the conclusions of the December 2013 FAC (COE, 2015).

Following an analysis of the emergence of a Foreign and Security Policy and the legal framework surrounding the CSDP, the following section shall provide an analysis on the institutional architecture of the CSDP.

3.2 The Institutional architecture of the CSDP

As described above, the CSDP constitutes the institutional framework for the development and implementation of the EU's Security and Defence policy. The institutional development of the CSDP reflects the nature of the CFSP hence it is intergovernmental in nature, rests on unanimous decision making and is surrounded with strict oversight by member states through their participation in the activities carried out in the EU Council. The CSDP's institutional architecture is complex and fragmentary much that it leaves

uncertainty amongst those studying its set-up particularly as to where power lies when it comes to direction and decision making (Dyson and Konstadines, 2013:75). Within this background, this section aims to provide a brief overview of the main institutional actors which are central in shaping CSDP agendas and decisions.

As outlined by Rehrl and Weisserth (2012:32) at the highest level stands the European Council (EC) which according to article 26(1) of the TEU provides the political direction to the CFSP by identifying the Union's strategic interests and objectives and defines the guidelines including for matters with defence implications. The next in line is the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC) which defines and implements the EU's foreign and security policy based on the guidelines set by the European Council. In pursuit of the EU's objectives of peace and security, the FAC could launch both civil and military EU crisis management actions together as well as any other measures needed to implement the EU's foreign and security policy including possible sanctions (COE (A), 2014). Furthermore, the Committee of Permanent Representatives to the European Communities (COREPER) which is made up of ambassadors from EU member states is the formal filter beneath the Council and is responsible for preparing Ministerial-level Council meetings. Article 240 (3) TEU provides more details on this committee's power to adopt procedural decisions as provided by the Council's Rule of Procedure.

A pivotal role for the institutional set up of the CSDP is the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HR), which, according to articles 18 and 27 of the TEU, conducts the Unions' CFSP and CSDP, contributes with her proposals to the development of any policy mandated by the Council and ensures the implementation of the decisions adopted in this field. Moreover the HR presides over the FAC, is one of the vice-presidents of the Commission, ensures the consistency of the Unions External Action, represents the Union in matters relating to the CFSP and exercises authority over the European External Action Service (EEAS) and the delegations of the Union in third countries and at international organisations.

In relation to the CSDP, article 42(4) TEU outlines that the HR has a shared responsibility with the member states to formulate proposals with regards to decisions relating to the CSDP, including those initiating a mission and also may propose the use of both national resources and Union instruments, together with the Commission. Furthermore under

article 44(1) TEU the HR has a coordinating role when it comes to the implementation of the Petersburg tasks by a group of member states by agreeing with them on the management of those tasks and moreover as stipulated in article 46 TEU, together with the Council, the High Representative is one of the main actors, whom participant member states deciding to engage in permanent structured cooperation have to notify.

Moreover, a number of political and military bodies such as the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the EU Military Committee (EUMC) and the EU Military Staff (EUMS) have been set in place to drive, collect information, give military advice and supervise CSDP operations (Dyson and Konstadines, 2013:76). More explicitly the PSC, through its mandate under article 38 of the Lisbon Treaty monitors the international situation in the areas falling within the CFSP and contributes in defining policies by delivering opinions to the Council at the request of the Council or of the High Representative or on its own initiative. Without prejudice to the powers of the HR it also monitors the implementation of agreed policies. Moreover, the PSC deals with crisis situations, examines all the options that might be considered as the Union's response to the crisis, makes recommendations to Council and, when authorised, exercises "political control and strategic direction" of the operation under the authority of Council and the HR. Within this mandate it prepares discussions and conclusions of the Council (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:32-33).

Furthermore, the EUMC is the highest military forum within the EU and consists of the member states chief of defence who meet at least twice a year. The national chiefs of defence are regularly represented by their permanent military representatives (MILIREPs) in Brussels who meet at least weekly. The main tasks of this committee are to advice and recommend the PSC on all military matters within the EU. It is the key decision shaping body in crisis management situations, drawing up and evaluating strategic military options, overseeing the elaboration of an operational plan and monitoring operations throughout the mission. It is also responsible for giving advice on the termination of an operation. The EUMC's work is prepared by a Military Committee Working Group (EUMCWG). The Committee as well as its working group are chaired by a permanent chairperson and supported by the EU Military Staff (EUMS) (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:33).

The EUMS is the only permanent military structure of the EU providing on one hand military expertise for the High Representative and on the other hand operating under military direction and assisting the EUMC over all Petersburg tasks-related operations. Made up from military personnel seconded by member states this body coordinates the military instruments with particular focus on operations / missions and the creation of military capability (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012:44). Apart from these three main political and military bodies, the CSDP is characterised by other working groups and committees such as the Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVCOM), the Politico-Military Group and the Foreign Relations Counsellors Working Group (RELEX) to assist the PSC and compliment the CSDP civilian missions.

3.2.1 Agencies in the Field of CSDP

Three agencies have been established to support the CFSP and the CSDP i.e. the European Defence Agency (EDA), the EU Satellite Centre (EUSC) and the EU Institute for Security Studies (EUISS). The role of the EDA is to develop defence capabilities, promote armaments co-operation, defence research and technology, to create a competitive European defence equipment market and the strengthening of the European defence, technological and industrial base. The ultimate aim of this agency is to provide an integrated approach to capability development. It's control and guidance is in the hands of a steering board chaired by the High Representative and is made up from the defence ministers (except Denmark) and a member of the EU Commission.

Moreover, the EUSC supports the field of the CFSP, in particular the CSDP, including EU crisis management operations by providing products resulting from the analysis of satellite imagery and collateral data, including aerial imagery and related services. The third agency mentioned here, the EU ISS, is an autonomous agency with full intellectual independence operating in the framework of the CFSP. Funded by the member states, its core goals are to help develop and project the CFSP, provide research and recommendations that can contribute to the formulation of the CFSP and to enhance Europe's strategic debate. It also acts as an interface between European experts and decision-makers at all levels and provide analysis and forecasting to the HR and CFSP (Rehrl and Weisserth, 2012: 50, 51).

3.3 The EU as a Security Actor

The above literature shows how the role of the EU as a security actor became part of its integration process and moreover how a number of legal and institutional instruments have been generated to enhance the Union's effectiveness and efficiency in the world stage. Hence, it could be argued that the EU is progressively emerging as a security player in Europe and beyond by granting more powers to EU institutions, extending the mandate to defend and shape the Unions global profile (Renard, 2014:1) and by establishing the necessary conditions to exercise its security responsibilities both globally and within its own borders (Jung, 2009:14). Through this political project all member states except Denmark agreed to coordinate their security and defence activities into a common body of instruments, while at the same time noting that such an alliance would not supersede their national policies (Howorth, 2007:2). However as shown in section 3.1, the success of this political project depends on the political will and active participation of member states. In view of this, this section aims to uncover how the EU has assumed increased responsibilities as a security actor through its CSDP in an ever changing security context and whether the EU is deemed as a global security player with a common European strategic culture.

3.3.1 Security Challenges to the EU

Globalisation and the multi polarisation of the international system with the rise of new powers are posing new security challenges which are more fluid and interconnected than ever before. Military power in its traditional form has shown that it has limited political usefulness in an environment where failed states have become more dangerous than powerful states. Such environment has also transformed into a context where collective security became more relevant than territorial defence, human rights are as important as states' rights and civilian instruments are as important as military instruments (Van Crefeld, 1991, Kaldor, 2007). Whereas Europe considers that it has "never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free", it still faces security threats and challenges (ESS, 2003:1) that make it an island of peace in an ocean of instability (Renard, 2014:1).

While outlining that security is a precondition for development, the 2003 ESS approaches the notion of security beyond the purely military perspective. It identifies a series of

potential sources of insecurity and instability such as globalisation, worldwide poverty, competition for natural resources and the energy dependence of modern industrial nations. Moreover this strategy outlines that while a large-scale aggression against any member state is now improbable, it goes on to mention a series of key threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable. First on the list comes terrorism which "puts lives at risks, imposes large costs, seeks to undermine the openness and tolerance of societies and poses a growing strategic threat to the whole of Europe". Second on the list comes the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which "is potentially the greatest threat to security" even more if these are acquired by terrorist groups.

The other threat is regional conflicts whereby while these are a threat to manhood, social and physical infrastructures and to the fundamental human rights these add to regional instability and "impact on European interests both directly and indirectly". Adding to this, State failure emanating as a result of bad governance through corruption, weak institutions and lack of accountability "undermines global governance and adds to regional instability" (ESS, 2003:3-5). The last threat identified is organised crime for which Europe has been identified as being a prime target. In the 2008 implementation report of the ESS, cyber security was added as one of the key threats. The dependency of modern economies on the internet have made this medium to be used as a weapon by perpetrators to commission attacks against private or government IT systems in EU member states (COE, 2008).

3.3.2 A Global Security Actor through CSDP?

Through its peacekeeping and state-building tasks, the CSDP plays a central role in coping with the aspects of the above mentioned threats especially with regards to regional conflicts and state-failure. In its infancy many had hoped that the CSDP would provide Europeans with military capacity to manage large scale crisis in Europe's near own border (Bailes, 2008:115). Today, as cited in ISIS Europe (2014), the ever-increasing number of past and present CSDP operations stands at thirty four missions in Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Eighteen of these operations are still ongoing. These interventions have all contributed to the stabilisation and security of these regions. The CSDP missions and operations launched within the EU's neighbourhood are:

- Two monitoring missions in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in Georgia;
- Two military operations in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- Four supporting / assisting missions in Georgia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (succeeded by another mission), Ukraine and in Kosovo (completed and replaced by another mission);
- Two Rule of Law missions in Georgia and in Kosovo;
- Two police missions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and
- One border assistance mission in Ukraine and Moldova.
- One border assistance mission in Libya.

Beyond its neighbourhood under the CSDP auspices, the EU has launched:

- Six military operations in Congo, Chad, Somalia and in the Central African Republic;
- Two military training missions in Somalia and in Mali;
- Eight supporting / assisting missions in Congo, Darfur, Guinea, Somalia (replaced by another mission), Niger, Horn of Africa and Western Indian Ocean, South Sudan and Mali;
- Four police missions in Kinshasa (succeeded by another mission), Palestinian territories, Congo and Afghanistan and
- One border assistance mission in Gaza.

These military and civilian interventions show that since its inception, the CSDP has been and is still being used as a crisis management tool by the EU to support long-term conflict prevention in a conflict-affected region. Whilst noting that the CSDP has shifted from a European to Global focus, it has also evolved from its concentration on military crisis management operations to address other key threats through long-term civilian stabilisation operations management (Bickerton, Irondelle and Menon, 2011:4). As of the missions and operations launched to date it is sought that with regards to security policy the EU remains first and foremost a regional power with an emphasis on its neighbourhood. This is visible through the assurance and protection policy that the Union has adopted till now. In operations beyond its regions the EU seems to be mostly oriented

towards the Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East with no focus on the Asia-Pacific yet (Renard, 2014:10).

From the missions and operations outlined above, it could be argued that the CSDP has achieved in its goals of enhancing the Union's ability to intervene in international security affairs through institutional development and capabilities. In particular, it has managed to launch a number of operations in a short time span, operations varied in nature as well as in terms of size ranging from ten EU experts in rule of law missions in Georgia and thirty in Iraq to seven thousand soldiers in Bosnia-Herzegovina's operation Althea and moreover managed to launch military missions both autonomously as well as with the support of NATO. Evidence that most of these missions have left a beneficial impact is the number of requests for EU CSDP interventions. This shows that the EU has developed into a credible and important partner in international crisis management (Bickerton, Irondelle and Menon, 2011:4, 5).

These lines of argumentation are in concert with the neo-functionalists school of taught who view European foreign policy as one that already exists, is respected and leaves an impact on world politics. Moreover , while this school of thought promotes a common European identity through Supranational European institutions, it still recognises the importance of individual member states foreign policies and moreover contends that European foreign policy will not replace national foreign policies in the near future especially in the area of defence and security matters. Though, it presumes that in the future European foreign policy will expand and take over national policies (Carlsnaes and Smith, 1994, Zielanka, 1998b, Nuttal, 2000, White, 2001, H Smith, 2002, K. E. Smith, 2005).

On the other hand, the EU's development as an international security actor has been contested by a number of critics who deny that the Union has the capacity to be an effective global actor. Critics have stressed the limited scale of EU operations and moreover described the EU impact on the ground as cosmetic and one which is undertaken just to highlight the role of CSDP rather than to solve problems. Additionally the EU has been criticised for failing to intervene in a number of cases such as in Darfur and in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in 2008, and for member states hidden interests behind the CSDP flags (Menon, 2009:228). These arguments are in line with the state-centric

(realists) school of taught which suggest that the state is the only essential and salient actor and the EU lacks to be a serious international player due to its lack of state-like qualities (Wong 2011:155).Moreover, Howorth (2010:457), while acknowledging that the EU has become an international security actor, contends that it cannot be considered as a 'world power' in any conventional sense as it lacks both political and constitutional unity and does not have a standing army that could project military force much that could influence the global balance of power. Adding to this, same articulated that the EU's ambitions are constrained by an ongoing tension between the Union itself and its member states.

However, notwithstanding these perspectives one cannot deny the presence of the EU in the international stage as a security actor, which presence is expected to remain (Biscop and Whiteman 2013:1).

3.3.3 Towards a common European strategic culture

In this study, strategic culture is understood as "The institutional confidence and processes to manage and deploy military force as part of the accepted range of legitimate and effective policy instruments, together with general acceptance of the EU's legitimacy as an international actor with military capabilities" (Cornish and Edwards, 2001:587). In 2003, the ESS called on the Union to develop a strategic culture that fosters "early, rapid and when necessary robust intervention" (ESS, 2003:11). The arguments raised in the above section bring forward the question on whether an EU common strategic culture exists. Twelve years later following this call, opinion on this matter is deeply divided between those who see elements of convergence and others that view a lack of strategic coherence.

Wither regards to the latter, Howorth (2007:179) suggests that within the EU there are twenty seven different strategic cultures, meaning that member state's entities have different views on how they think about defence and security, the role of armies, the function of war and the likelihood of peace. As in Sweeney (2013:1), a possible reason for this is that the CSDP is surrounded by bureaucratic politics hence making it dependent on the tolerance of different perspectives. Moreover same noted how member state's differing interests undermine an EU strategic culture and until common interests are better articulated and prioritised, the CSDP will not realise its potential to exercise significant influence on the contemporary security environment.

Likewise, Howorth (2007:179) stipulates that the differential positions between allies and neutrals, Atlanticists and Europeanists, large states and small states and between those emphasising military as opposed to civilian instruments could hinder a European strategic culture. In line with this, Meyer (2006:28) observed how while member states may share basic norms between them, military capable nations such as the UK and France can still go their own ways, as demonstrated in their Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Iraq interventions. The lack of consensus amongst member states was also brought up by Bailes (2008:123) who argued that due to this, the EU 'picks and chooses' the nature of deployments into relatively low-risk theatres.

Notwithstanding this, it is worthwhile noting that strategic culture is not a predetermined hard concept but a fluid notion that develops over time to changing circumstances (Sweeney, 2013:4). Hence this brings forward the alternative argument to that just discussed above. As outlined in the ESS (2003:1), in the face of the contemporary threats surrounding the EU, no single country is able to tackle today's complex problems on its own. Moreover, the EU has learnt that crises cannot be handled solely by the use of military means and hence has responded to this new security context through the CSDP. The wide range of security interests, the emerging consensus on how threats should be managed and the evolution of institutional means to achieve security objectives show Europe's transition towards a strategic culture (Biava, Drent and Herd, 2011 and Norheim – Martinsen, 2011). On the same wavelength Bennywoth (2011:4) outlined how the EU together with the member states share a basic set of beliefs, attitudes and norms towards the use of military force with foundations in the Petersburg tasks and adherence to international law.

Furthermore, Biava, Drent and Herd (2011:13) argue how, institutionalised socialisation has lead to the enabling of a European strategic culture towards which member states are framing their security strategy and military reforms. In countering the argument of Bailes (2008:123) about the deployments in low risk areas by the EU due to the lack of consensus amongst member states, Bennywoth (2011:3) outlined that taking into consideration the infancy of this Policy in terms of capabilities available to it and the political will to use them, it is only logical that the EU will engage in manageable operations. Moreover same contends that a number of shortfalls within the EU security domain such as that of not

being a fast, effective and decisive actor does not hold it away from claiming to a strategic culture.

In conclusion, the emergence of an EU strategic culture is one of the greatest challenges facing the CSDP (Howorth, 2007:205). However, as noted above, despite the inherent differences between all member states, there is evidence that the EU acts with some notion of strategic culture. Shared ideas, beliefs and interests supported by a legal and institutional set-up are to a certain degree affecting the EU's approach towards regional and global security. However as rightly placed by Sweeney (2013:15), in order for a coherent European strategic culture to take place through the CSDP, one of the prerequisites is consensus on common interests amongst member states followed by a political will to act even with pro-active engagement.

Having provided an examination on the EU as a security actor, the next chapter shall compliment the preceding one by providing a critical appraisal, this time, on Malta's foreign and security policy choices and how they shaped within the context of its membership in the EU. This shall be followed by a review of literature on the impact that CSDP has left on the administrative and organisational structures of Malta's foreign and security matters.

Chapter 4: Malta's security and defence matters and its strategic foreign policy in the context of membership in the European Union

4.1 Malta's characteristics as an Island State in the Mediterranean has attracted Colonies that have shaped it's security and defence

The aim of this section is to provide an outline on Malta's characteristics as an island state in the centre of the Mediterranean and its regional context so as to value better Malta's relations with the European Union vis-à-vis the Common Security and Defence Policy. As a small island state Malta's relevance to the outside world has always been its strategic position, a characteristic that has shaped the island's history and its security matters. Paradoxically although being small and costly to defend, Malta has been conquered and colonised until its independence in 1964. Malta's central position between north and south and east and west augmented by its natural harbours was the main attraction for those powers that intended to dominate and control the Mediterranean. With no natural resources and just a strategic position, this was the only attractiveness for its imperial powers that used Malta "as means to an end and not an end in itself" (Fenech, 1996: 153).

From the control of the Spanish Habsburgs and later on to the Ottoman Empire, in 1530 Malta's security was taken care of by the Knights of St. John who transformed the islands into a highly fortified frontier fortress actively involved in the defence of Christendom. After the Napoleonic occupation in the 19th century Malta passed into the hands of the British (Fenech, 1996: 153). During this era the island saw a transformation in its security and defence whereby in making Malta as their home port in the Mediterranean, the British turned the islands into a state of the art fortress and a naval base (Lee, 1972). This was mostly evident in the role played by Malta during the Second World War. While Malta got its independence from the British in 1964, it was only in 1979 that the British troops and the Royal Navy withdrew from the island. The departure of the destroyer HMS London from the Maltese grand harbour meant the end of 180 years of British military support (Greaves, 1979) but also that the Maltese had to start taking care of their own security and defence.

Against these new responsibilities it is pertinent to mention that one of the prominent features of a small island state like Malta is its smallness and the limits it has in facing a determined aggressor without any outside power (Fenech, 1996: 154). In the face of this, although Malta was not subject to any acts of external aggression it was only logical to take the necessary measures to ascertain its defence. The neutrality concept as launched by the then prime minister of Malta Dom Mintoff in 1978 was to serve Malta as the basis of its security. Entrenched in the Maltese constitution in 1987, the neutrality provision in an abridged form reads:

> "Malta is a neutral state actively pursuing peace, security and social progress among all nations by adhering to a policy of non-alignment and refusing to participate in any military alliance. Such a status will, in particular, imply that: (a) no foreign military base will be permitted on Maltese territory; (b) no military facilities in Malta will be allowed to be used by any foreign forces except at the request of the Government of Malta, and… (i) in the exercise of the inherent right of self defence in the event of any armed violation of the area over which the Republic of Malta has sovereignty, or in pursuance of measures or actions decided by the Security Council of the United Nations; or (ii) whenever there exists a threat to the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity or territorial integrity of the Republic of Malta…." (Constitution of Malta: Chapter 1, Article 1(3)).

It could be proclaimed that throughout the twentieth century Malta managed to read the tea leaves of international relations and adapt to the changing environment. It managed to succeed the decolonisation process and become an independent state and during the cold war period it sought to maximise its national interests by distancing itself from any superpower. Neutrality and the Non-Aligned movement became the buzzwords of Malta's foreign policy agenda (Calleya, 2002:4). Pace (2013(a):244) stipulated that Malta's past successive foreign occupations have instilled a sense of vulnerability to the small island in the Mediterranean and hence this could perhaps be the reason why in the security domain the Maltese want to be masters of their own defence but at the same time believe that they can't protect themselves against any outside aggression without the help of others. It is this reason that encourages the researcher to agree with the assertion made by Fenech (1996:154) that "Malta enjoys a sense of security rather than a state of security".

The post-Cold War period brought about a power shift in the international system with, the United States emerging as the dominant political and military power, the rise of China as the centre of global industrial growth based on low wages and the re-emergence of Europe as a massive, integrated economic power (Friedman, 2013). Like most other states, Malta had to try and find its foot in this period of international transition and in the face of the reviving regionalism it had to decide whether to participate directly in this process through EU membership or whether to seek a different path. Considering that small state's interests are often served better by the international rule of law rather than by a system based on the struggle for power (Pace, 2002:25), after a consultative referendum in 2003, the Maltese chose the road towards accession in the EU (Pace, 2003:370).

4.2 Malta's road to EU membership and it's constitutional neutrality

Malta's entry in the EU was not an easy ride and much of this owes to the radically opposing views that the two major political parties in Malta had on EU membership prior to accession (Fiott (2010:104), Fenech (2010:163)). On one side there was the Malta Labour Party (MLP) fiercely opposing membership and whom alternatively promoted the idea of Partnership with the EU without the obligations of membership (Fenech, 2010:163). On the other there was the pro-EU membership Partit Nazzjonalista (PN) who has always been vociferous in foreign policy aspirations and commitments to the EU (Fiott, 2010:105). The idea of membership in the EU had been a goal for the PN since the 1970's much that in July 1990 former Prime Minister of Malta Edward Fenech Adami lodged formally Malta's application with the hope of achieving membership through the 1995 enlargement.

However, when the short lived MLP government took office in 1996 it froze the application for EU membership and adopted a "look before you leap" policy. The application was only renewed again two years later by the 1998 newly elected PN government who sought to catch up with the group marked for the next enlargement. Accession negotiations began in 2000 and closed in Copenhagen in December 2002 during the enlargement summit itself (Fenech, 2010:164). A referendum on whether Malta should join the EU was organised on the 8th March 2003 and since the MLP did not recognise the result, in order to remove the uncertainty created by this stance an early election was called in April 2003. Consequently, the PN returned to government and

continued with its road towards membership in the EU and the signing of the Athens Association Treaty on the 16th April 2003 (Pace, 2003:371).

Reverting back to a number of years before accession, in 1993 the EU Commission outlined that it did not appear that the adoption of the Community's acquis would pose insuperable problems to Malta's accession, however its participation in the Community's institutions would have to be resolved in accession negotiations (European Commission, 1993:7). When such negotiations took place, Maltese negotiators faced substantial pressures from capital to include a number of demands in the negotiating briefs. Additionally these negotiators had to ensure an appropriate package that would answer a number of concerns. It is worthwhile mentioning that during these negotiations two general stances were adopted by the negotiators in order to justify their demands for a 'special treatment' by the EU i.e. Malta's small size as well as the argument that the major concessions requested by Malta were trivial for the Union (Pace, 2003:272).

The end result of these negotiations, was described by an observer as a "tailor made suit of the finest material for a dwarf and from Europe's best tailor" (Sajdik and Schwarzinger, 2009:70). If this proclamation is to be understood as Malta's ability to overcome the challenges it had in its accession negotiations, then this could well be attributed to one of the negotiating chapters of the acquis i.e. chapter 27, which relates to the EU CFSP and its CSDP. This was owing to the fact that at EU level, the special status of the neutral candidates raised doubts about their capability to adhere fully to the political acquis (Blavoukos and Bourantonis, 2012:2), which concerns, were also raised on Malta.

This was evident when in its opinion on Malta's application for membership the European Commission vouched that Malta's proclamation to participate in the EU CFSP including the eventual framing of a common defence policy which might in time lead to a common defence, "does not alter the fact that it might be necessary to amend the Constitution if Malta is to participate fully in that policy as it develops over the next few years" and that "The principle of neutrality and Malta's nonaligned status set out in the Maltese Constitution raise the problem of their compatibility with Title V of the Maastricht Treaty and could lead to difficulties in the area of 'joint action' and future cooperation on defence" (European Commission, 1993:7, 10).

In the face of all this, during the negotiation period it was regularly echoed by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Joe Borg, that there is no need for Malta to amend its constitution prior to EU accession since Malta's neutrality is based on the principles of non-alignment which in no way contradicts the chapter concerning the CFSP of the 1999 Amsterdam Treaty (Calleya, 2002:63). On the same lines Busuttil (2003) argued that Malta's commitment to this policy does not require any changes to the Maltese constitution since all questions relating to the security of the Union and any progressive framing of a common defence policy shall respect the constitutional requirements of the member states and shall not prejudge the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States.

Furthermore, Busuttil outlined that due to the much political sensitivity surrounding the concept of Neutrality and the emotional manner this is debated in Malta, negotiators sought the need to attach a declaration to the accession treaty confirming Malta's status of neutrality, even as an EU member state. Though such declaration is not legally binding, it has political authority since it is signed by all twenty-five member states making up the Union at that time. This means that Malta's neutrality is acknowledged by all EU countries and if the EU moves to a common defence policy, then Malta's consent is to be sought. As stipulated in the results of negotiations concerning the CFSP this declaration reads:

> "Malta affirms its commitment to the common foreign and security policy of the European Union as set out in the Treaty on European Union. Malta confirms that its participation in the European Union's common foreign and security policy does not prejudice its neutrality. The Treaty on European Union specifies that any decision by the Union to move to a common defence would have to be taken by unanimous decision of the European Council adopted by the Member States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements". (MEUSAC, 2012)

During the accession process negotiators also dealt with other concerns related to the issue of neutrality. A number of questions were raised on whether Malta would be obliged to serve as a military base once it will join the EU and whether Malta would be obliged to participate in any war declared by the EU. With regards to the first, it was noted that the EU can't impose any such decision on Malta and nor can any Maltese government decide to do so unless there is a change in the Constitution. With regards to the latter, it was

affirmed that the EU does not have the power to engage in a war but can only participate in specific missions which are authorised by the United Nations (UN) and which are related to peace-keeping, humanitarian and rescue missions. Moreover, the Maltese government also committed itself that any participation by any soldiers in any such missions will be voluntary (Busuttil, 2003). Notwithstanding the issues that propped up with chapter 27 concerning the CFSP, this was one of the first negotiating chapters to be temporarily closed in December 2001 (Pace, 2002:37).

Notwithstanding this, the issue of neutrality was raised again following accession when due to the fact that Malta was not a full member of NATO owing to the neutrality clause discussed above and also not a member of the Partnership for Peace (PfP) after its rescission in 2006, together with Cyprus it was excluded from the "Berlin Plus" agreement (Pace 2013:167) i.e. a comprehensive package of arrangements between the EU and NATO which allows the former to make use of the latter's assets and capabilities for EU-led crisis management operations. This agreement also limits the distribution of NATO documents only to those member states that are either members of NATO or are subscribed to the PfP framework (EU (c) 2015). This has led Malta to reactivate its PfP membership in 2008, a decision which according to Harwood (2014:118) is a sign of the importance the government of that time was giving to cooperation within the CSDP.

Notwithstanding this, Malta's participation in the PfP is described by Pace (2013:248) as a 'saga worth analysing' as it depicts the differences that exist amongst political elites in areas concerning neutrality and defence matters. Malta first joined the PfP in 1995 under the Nationalist Party government, withdrew it later in 1996 under the short lived Labour government in the same time that Malta's EU membership was frozen and rejoined years later in 2008. During this twelve year period the Nationalist Party was keen on rejoining the PfP, however it faced a strong resistance from the Labour Party who harshly opposed such membership and Turkey who wanted to block Cyprus from this organisation and on the same principles opposed Malta's membership.

4.3 Malta's Foreign Policy Agenda

In a rapidly changing security environment every country's challenge is to ensure that its foreign policy goals are consistent with its internal policies (Calleya, 2009: 218). In view of this, this section aims to explore Malta's strategic foreign policy so as to uncover at a later stage in this dissertation whether this is reflected in any positions taken by Malta within the CSDP so as to maximise its interests. Malta's strategic relevance in the central Mediterranean has led the country to pursue a comprehensive and proactive foreign policy in this region (Borg, 2008) whereby following independence, it contributed constructively to the international security debates and initiatives concerning the Euro-Mediterranean area through its membership in the UN, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Calleya, 2009: 219).

Within the Euro-Med process Malta played a leading role in helping to identify the commonalities that exist in this region so that cooperative relations could be developed to: enhance further peace, security and stability across the Euro-Mediterranean region, create an area of prosperity by enhancing economic and financial interaction between Europe and the Mediterranean and to promote exchanges between civil societies by developing a partnership in social, cultural and human affairs (Calleya, 2002:89). Likewise, within the OSCE and the UN, Malta has supported security initiatives in the Euro-Mediterranean area (Calleya 2009: 218).

However, in order for Malta to maintain a premier league status at international level in post-cold war relations it was aware that it had to outline clearly its strategic objectives and that these will serve well as a roadmap to maximise opportunities at a regional and global level for the enhancement of peace and stability across the Euro-Mediterranean region (Calleya, 2009:220). In the first foreign policy objectives set out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two years after Malta's entry in the European Union, the Mediterranean region was prominently promoted when it was pointed out that:

"As a small country and a historic meeting place for reconciliation and dialogue, Malta seeks to project the European Union's friendly face towards its neighbours to the South of the Mediterranean. Inversely, as a country with a closeness and understanding of its southern neighbours and the Arab World, Malta seeks to be a

trusted interlocutor, and a voice sensitive to their realities within the European Union. In the context of the European Union's Common Foreign and Security Policy Malta's characteristics are particularly valuable to enhance understanding and stability in a region that remains potentially turbulent" (MFA, 2006:5).

Moreover, these strategic objectives expressed that European and Mediterranean security are firmly connected, hence, it was vouched that Malta shall "put its longstanding commitment to, and understanding of, the Mediterranean region to the formulation and adoption of European Union positions" (MFA, 2006:10). On the 7 July 2013, this time under a different administration the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) published a set of guiding principles which were set to update and enhance the 2006 strategic objectives. The same here, these principles promoted peace and security in the Mediterranean which, as pointed out in these objectives, is directly linked to peace and security in Europe (MFA, 2013:5).

Following its entry in the EU, Malta has also promoted peace in the Middle East through its foreign policy agenda. Malta has actively encouraged a two-state solution to the Palestine-Israeli conflict and supported the Middle East Road Map peace proposal (Calleya, 2009:20). In line with this, in its 2006 Foreign policy strategic objectives Malta clearly supports and vouches to contribute to the success of the framework for wider cooperation provided by the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Strategic Partnership for the Middle East (MFA, 2006:7), while in its 2013 guiding principles, this time, Malta outlined that it seeks to ensure the re-launch of the peace process in this region for a lasting and comprehensive two state-solution (MFA, 2013:4).

Moreover, in its foreign policy agenda Malta included one of its main security concerns i.e. illegal migration. In the past years the Mediterranean has witnessed an exorbitant number of African illegal migrants trying to flee their war-torn countries by crossing from North Africa to Europe. Located in the centre of the Mediterranean, Malta is subject to be one of the migrant trajectories. In fact as stipulated by FRONTEX (2014), in 2014 the central Mediterranean was the main entry point to Europe for irregular migrants with flows crossing to Italy and to a lesser extent Malta. In view of this Malta has implemented a comprehensive foreign policy strategy to raise consciousness on this phenomenon and has also made reference to this phenomenon both in its 2006 strategic objectives as well as

in the 2013 guiding principles. Within this context, Malta supports maritime security cooperation through an enhanced naval presence along the EU's southern borders (Calleya, 2009: 221).

4.4 Impact of CSDP on the administrative and organisational structures of Malta's Foreign and Security policy matters

It is pertinent to start this section by noting that the Community has no competence to regulate the member states public services. Nonetheless, Membership in the EU brought about a change to the role of Malta's public administration which since then has moved away from the traditional roles of a public services provider towards an active contributor to the development of society as a whole (Sammut, 2009.77). Akin to other member states, community law and administrative cooperation has affected Malta's administrative and organisational structures (Sammut, 2009.77) much that in preparation for membership, the Public Sector's organisational set-up was revamped and changed in its outlook, attitudes and the way things are done (Grima, 2009:24). In more tangible terms the Maltese public administration restructured itself centrally, transformed and upgraded the EU affairs department in each ministry and established an EU secretariat at the OPM to make itself more akin to new structures and decision-making processes brought about by EU policymaking practices (Sammut, 2009:77).

Additionally, a number of new Directorates were also set up to focus on particular areas (Grima, 2009:24). From an operational aspect, since EU issues do not necessarily pertain to one ministry but rather touch on many aspects, the traditional practice that ownership of issues is taken by one ministry changed and different departments and ministries started to interact regularly prior to the formulation of Maltese national positions (Sammut, 2009:77). According to Grima (2009:25) this change:

"Represented the overcoming of the silo mentality and the past tendency to withhold information within one's department unless expressly authorised to share it".

In view of this, the aim of this section is to examine the administrative and organisational changes that took place in areas relating to Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the CSDP. Before moving further it is worth noting

that such an examination is not simple since it demands an examination of both quantitative factors as well as intangibles (Bailes and Rafnsson, 2012:117) and as articulated by Harwood (2014:117) the influence of the EU on domestic policies in this area is less clear cut than in others. Hence, this section will aid the researcher to raise questions on those aspects which are not realised in the available literature and further on use them in the collection of primary data.

4.4.1 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Before Malta's accession in the EU, defence matters were largely taken as the sole competence of the Prime Minister and were dealt with together with the AFM and the MFA (Harwood 2014:118). Following EU membership, like other member states, CFSP matters including its CSDP were vested under the responsibility of the MFA, a situation which left an impact on the ministry itself as well as on Malta's security and defence matters. Starting with, as a consequence of EU membership this ministry witnessed the setting up of the Permanent Representation of Malta to the EU Communities which incorporates within it diplomats, attaches and other public officers who are responsible for other ministries other than the MFA (Sammut, 2009:81). This permanent representation serves as a filter for all interaction between the Maltese administration and EU institutions and entities and has to ensure that such interaction functions well (DOI, 2012:1). Within it, this permanent representation includes a military representation as well as a number of diplomats and attaches who represent Malta in the CSDP structures which were outlined in chapter 3. (EU (d), 2014:202).

Moreover, within the MFA, the Directorate General Political, EU Affairs and Maltese Abroad came to ensure that "Malta's foreign policy objectives on bilateral and regional issues are pursued, not least through active participation in the EU's CFSP". Hence, this directorate is responsible for "preparing positions for interventions at the Foreign Affairs Council (FAC), the relevant Council structures, including working group meetings" (MFA, 2014). Due to the inclusion of security and defence related issues on its agenda this directorate had to enhance its coordination with different departments and ministries. This is clearly manifested in the 2013 MFA Annual report whereby it is stipulated that:

"The Directorate continued to coordinate with the Defence Directorate at the Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security, and with the Military Representative at the Permanent Representation of Malta to the European Union in Brussels on issues concerning CSDP" (MFA (a), 2013:8)

It is also pertinent to mention that all matters concerning CFSP / CSDP are subject to Maltese parliamentary scrutiny under the Foreign and European Affairs Committee which is presided over by members from both sides of the Parliament. This committee has the power to scrutinise on its own initiative "any proposal for a common strategy, a joint action or a common position under Title V of the Treaty on European Union (concerning provisions on a Common Foreign and Security Policy) which is prepared for submission to the Council or to the European Council" (Parlament ta' Malta, 2015).

4.4.2 The Defence Matters Directorate

One of the directorates that were set up as a consequence of EU accession to focus on particular areas was the Defence Matters Directorate. This directorate was established to consolidate and develop the defence functions of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). Its main responsibilities are: "to provide objective technical and policy advice as well as timely analysis on all aspects of military matters affecting the Government's defence policy; to monitor and analyse the implementation of Cabinet decisions and Government policies on defence matters and to report on the extent to which policy and performance targets are met; to develop new policy initiatives and concepts on all AFM matters with a view to improving the operational, logistic and administrative effectiveness of the AFM; and finally to liaise with the MFA, to manage bilateral as well as multilateral defence relations with other countries and international organisations" (MHAS, 2003). Since Malta's accession in the EU this directorate has been heavily involved in the monitoring of the developments and the formulation of Malta's positions in matters relating to the CSDP (AFM, 2007:5).

4.4.3 The Armed Forces of Malta

The Armed Forces of Malta has also followed a review in its organisational structures as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP. In order to keep up with its requirements, in 2006, a CSDP branch within the AFM structures was established. Under the responsibility of the Commander AFM this branch is headed by an officer in the rank of Col. It also handles the EU Classified Information Registry within the same headquarters and is also responsible for the UN and OSCE matters that affect the AFM. Amongst other duties this branch liaises regularly with the Defence Matters Directorate and Malta's Military Representative at the Permanent Representation to the EU where the AFM has a Lt Col. appointed as Malta's Military Representative (MilRep) to the EUMC (OPM, 2007:64). Due to the increasing demands in foreign assistance faced by the AFM, this branch became responsible for all international matters that affect the AFM and became known as the CSDP and International relations branch (OPM, 2008:73).

4.4.4 Malta's contributions and level of participation in the EU CSDP

Malta's participation and contributions to the EU's security and defence policy should be studied within the context of the country's size and resources. Being the smallest EU member state, it is logical to sympathise with the argument brought forward by Fiott (2015) that Malta's "contributions to operations will be miniscule and it will never be in a position to launch and lead a CSDP mission' and moreover that 'in defence terms Malta is but a drop in the ocean". However, notwithstanding this, Malta's participation in the CSDP must not be overlooked as it has sought to be a cooperative partner within the EU's Security and Defence policy through a number of ways. Maltese personnel mainly from the AFM and to a lesser extent from the Malta Police Force and the MFA have participated in a number of CSDP missions and operations. In September 2008, the AFM made its first CSDP operational deployment when it started participating in an EU monitoring mission (EUMM) in Georgia. Before the operation was officially launched the AFM deployed one officer and one senior non-commissioned officer and has continuously sustained this deployment with two personnel ever since. The objectives of this mission are to contribute to stability throughout Georgia and the surrounding region (AFM 2011(a)).

Also in November 2008 the AFM started participating in EU Naval Force (EUNAVFOR) Atlanta. The objectives of this mission are to deter, prevent and repress acts of piracy and armed robbery off the Somali coast. Additionally EUNAVFOR protects vessels of the World Food Programme delivering aid to displaced persons in Somalia and also protects the African Union Mission on Somalia (AMISOM) shipping. Malta's contribution to this operation consisted in the filling of a key staff post for an initial period of four months at the newly set-up EU NAVFOR Operational Headquarters in Northwood, UK. Also in support to this mission in July 2009, the AFM embarked a military force of 12 personnel from its C (Special Duties) Company for a period of up to six months to protect merchant vessels or any other vulnerable shipping from pirate attacks under the escort of the Dutch State warship, HNLMS Johan de Witt'. Following this deployment, the government approved a second deployment which after a period of preparatory training commenced on the 25 October 2011 (AFM 2011(A)).

Another mission that saw the participation of the AFM is the EU Training Mission (EUTM) in Somalia whereby Malta collaborated with the Irish Defence Forces. The aim of this mission was to contribute to the training of Somali security forces. The first deployment took place on the 24 April 2010 and returned the same year in October 2010. The second deployment took place on the 10 January 2011 and returned on the 13 June 2011. Also, on the 21 September 2011 an AFM officer was seconded to the Mission's headquarters in Kampala, Uganda for a period of six months and deployed as one of the Personal Assistants to the Irish Mission Commander. This was the first time that an AFM officer held such post. On the 5 November 2011, a third team of instructors together with their Irish counterparts were deployed to Bihanga camp until succeeded by another team in June 2012 (AFM 2011(A)).

Aside these, Malta also offered its contribution towards the EU border assistance mission in Rafah (EUBAM RAFAH) which mission is presently suspended. This mission was introduced following an agreement on 'Movement and Access' between the government of Israel and the Palestine authority on 15 November 2005, which agreement included agreed principles for the operation of the Rafah Crossing Point on the Gaza-Egypt border. In this agreement the EU took a third party role and hence launched this operation to provide presence at the Rafah Crossing Point in order to contribute to its opening and operation in accordance with the agreement on Movement and Access and to build up

confidence between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority. In all this Malta through the AFM in January 2009 nominated two participants which are presently on standby and could be deployed in theatre at a fourteen day notice (AFM 2011(a)).

Malta has also participated in the EU border assistance mission in Libya (EUBAM Libya). Launched on the 22 May 2013, the aim of this mission is to support the Libyan authorities to improve and develop the security of its borders and support the reconstruction of this country post-conflict. Two AFM officers and a diplomatic officer within the MFA were deployed in this mission. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs remarked that the secondment of its diplomatic officer had been made to "demonstrate Malta's exceptionally commitment to the country". Moreover it was outlined by the Ministry that this mission had been fraught with challenges resulting from the deteriorating security environment in the country, much that it had to be temporary located to Tunis in August 2014 and downsized its personnel (MFA, 2015).

Malta's participation in CSDP missions also saw the involvement of the Malta Police Force in, the European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) ('Maltese Policemen join EU mission', 2005), which mission was mandated to establish sustainable arrangements under BiH ownership in accordance with best European and international practices (EU (e), 2015) and in EULEX Kosovo ('dedicated to the eastern front', 2010), a mission focused on supporting Kosovo's rule of law institutions, including the Kosovo Police, at the strategic level (EULEX Kosovo, 2015).

With reference to EDA data on the number of troops deployed by member states for the period 2005 to 2012, it is sought that throughout the years Malta has increased its participation in CSDP missions and operations. As shown below in figure 2, within this timeframe the number of deployed troops was recorded largest in 2011 and 2012. It is worthwhile noting Malta also contributes financially to military missions through the CSDP Athena mechanism which is referred to in chapter 3. Contributions are based on a GNI-scale whereby Malta is the least contributor amongst all contributing member states with a percentage of 0.05 percent (COE (A) 2014).

Figure 2 – Malta – Troops deployed

Malta - Troops deployed
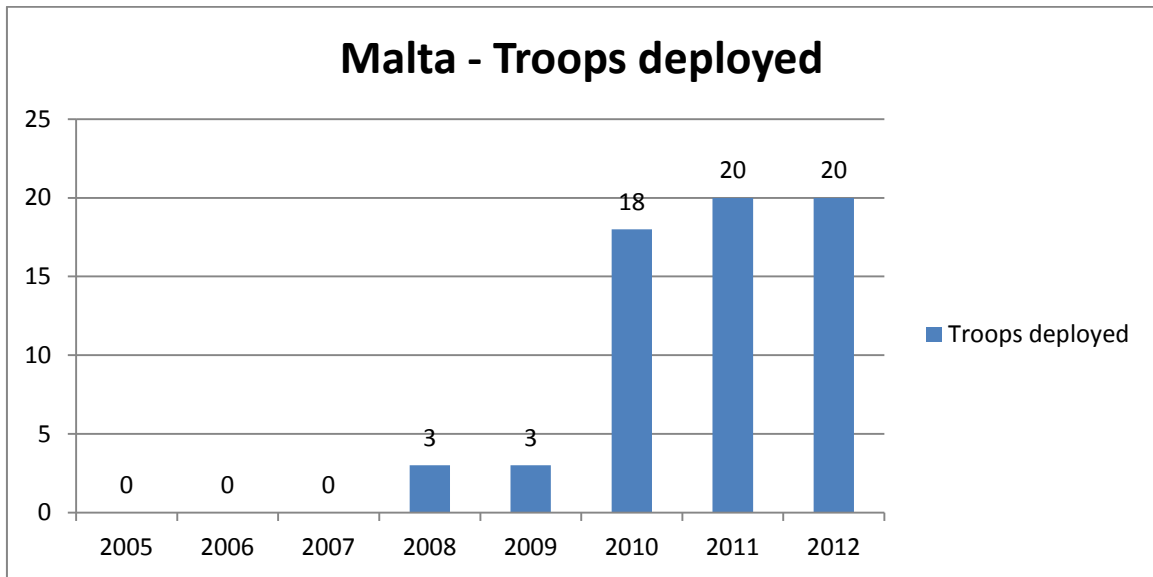
(EDA 2005 – 2012)

From the literature reviewed above and as depicted below in figure 3, it could be said that Malta's participation in the CSDP left an impact on the administrative and organisational structures of its foreign and security policy matters. These outcomes are explored further in the field research stage of this dissertation in order to study the Europeanisation of this policy domain in Malta.

With reference to the methodology applied in the course of this study, including the data collection and analysis tools, ethical considerations and research limitations, the next chapter will report on the data collected from a set of eight interviews carried out with individuals that were relevant to the concepts under investigation.

Figure 3 – Graphical representation of the impact that participation in the CSDP left on Malta's Foreign and Security administrative and organisational structures

Military representation and other diplomats attached in Brussels representing Malta in the CSDP structures

MFA became the lead Ministry for this policy domain

COORDINATION

Defence matters directorate

AFM

MPF

Prepares positions for interventions at the Foreign Affairs Council, the relevant Council structures, including working group meetings

Assists in the development and formulation of Malta's positions in matters

Setting up of CSDP branch

Secondment of Personnel in CSDP missions

Scrutiny of CSDP related matters under the Foreign and European Affairs Committee

Secondment of Personnel in CSDP missions

Secondment of Personnel in CSDP missions

Chapter 5: Analysis of findings

This chapter presents the findings that emerged from the field research carried out in line with the methodological details presented in chapter one. The research population comprised of eight respondents, each of whom was provided with a set of questions which were based on the relationship each participant has with the concepts under study i.e. National Adaptation, National Projection and Identity Reconstruction. Calling to mind, the aim of these questions were to uncover the domestic impact brought about to Malta's Foreign and Security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP and moreover to outline the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead as a result of this participation.

5.1 National Adaptation and policy convergence

Through the questions posed in the interview guide, under the concept of National Adaptation participants were primarily requested to provide from their perspective an evaluation on the harmonisation and transformation of Malta's foreign and security policy matters to the needs and requirements of EU membership in the area of CSDP.

5.1.1 Organisational and procedural changes in national bureaucracies

As indicated in section 4.4.1 of the literature review, one of the changes brought around as a consequence of Malta's entry in the EU and which is related to the area under study concerns the expansion of the diplomatic service within the MFA with the setting up of a permanent representation in Brussels. This was mentioned by former Foreign Affairs and Justice and Home Affairs Minister Dr. Tonio Borg as well as by former representative to the EU's PSC, Ambassador Tarcisio Zammit.

From his perspective, Dr Borg outlined how one of the things that Malta adopted when it entered the EU was that of having a very good permanent representation in Brussels since this plays a vital role in policy formulation. Reference was made to the civil servants working there, who participate in the working groups and meetings with other member

states. The interviewee highlighted the importance of their role, due to the fact that the policy making system in the EU requires member states to object to decisions at the initial stages while these are being formulated, through their representatives. Same added that it would be extremely difficult, and an embarrassment for the minister, to make any objections during the Council of Ministers meetings. On a similar note, Ambassador Zammit recalled how participation in CSDP missions required the setting up of a military representation in Brussels within Malta's permanent representation, so as to follow-up the meetings taking place within the working groups of this policy domain.

These meetings were described by Dr Borg as the real places where discussions take place. This was also implied in the interviews carried out with Ambassador Zammit, former first secretary for General Affairs and external relations within the permanent representation of Malta to Brussels, Ms Rachel Sapiano, Director General Political, EU affairs and Maltese Abroad within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mrs Helga Mizzi and former Brig. and Military attaché for Malta to Brussels, Martin Xuereb. For this reason, according to Dr Borg, there has been a change in mentality in a manner that the perception of having the Minister deciding everything by himself had to change as in reality, the civil servants came to play an important role in the formulation of national decisions by following issues being discussed at EU level and by highlighting any reservations or objections Malta might have from the start. A proof of this is the fact that before attending any Council of Ministers meetings, Dr Borg used to discuss the agenda with these civil servants, something that did not exist before Malta entered the EU.

The responsibility in the decision making process vested in the civil servant was confirmed by Ms Rachel Sapiano who averred how she used to follow the discussions during the CSDP meetings and further on would follow up by consulting with the related ministries back in capital, so as to form a national position. Correspondingly, Ambassador Zammit mentioned how during his tenure, the officer responsible for a particular policy used to liaise with Capital so as to form a national position, and how their feedback used to incorporate also the positions of other member states and the main problems that would have surfaced. Describing it as a two way process, Brig. (retd) Martin Xuereb affirmed how a national position used to be guided from Capital based upon his recommendations.

Bearing in mind these responsibilities, it was emphasised by Dr Borg that if Malta did not have a strong permanent representation with skilful and competent people in every area, it would risk missing out on important issues and even face negative repercussions. Supporting this argument was that of Brig. (retd) Xuereb who stated that the selection of the personnel in Brussels is important for the country to put the message across. Same added that a country may have either a warm body that just attends the meetings with little participation or else someone who truly represents Malta's interests in the best possible way by participating actively and networking both during the meetings and in the margins of the meetings.

Logically, the structure built in Brussels so as for Malta to participate in the CSDP framework needed its counterpart in Malta to handle the new procedures that came in place. When this matter was raised with Mrs Mizzi, it was learnt that the MFA is the coordinating ministry for this policy framework and moreover, a CSDP desk within her directorate follows the CSDP together with other issues. Furthermore the interviewee provided an explanation on the process required before any deployments take place and hence how as a matter of procedure the MFA feeds the policy and then initiates the consultation process with other ministries to see in terms of capabilities and designations what the concerned entities could offer. Following this, Mrs Mizzi stated that a clearance procedure consisting of a laborious process ensues, whereby at the onset it has to be ensured that the concerned mission is approved from the United Nations Security Council or the General Assembly. Although this is the system used for every CSDP mission by the EU, it is hence one of the boxes that the Ministry has to tick on its check list. This means that in CSDP missions Universality has to feature. When these two things are covered, the concerned ministers usually the MFA and the Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security (MHAS), whom most of the times share the same policy priorities, consult each other. Then, following a much researched exercise the proposal is presented by the MFA to cabinet and subsequently scrutinised by the Foreign and European Affairs Committee of the Parliament whereby that would be the last stage of the clearance procedure.

With regards to calls for participation, Mrs Mizzi averred that as a Ministry they try to promote the CSDP recruitment calls, particularly those which are of national interest as widely as possible by coordinating with the permanent representation in Brussels as well as with other line Ministries so that these will be publicised as much as possible. Having

said this, same averred that a number of considerations are made before any recruitment is done. Mrs Mizzi noted that initially, one has to see that the system within the entity where the call is being made permits the secondment of personnel, in the sense that this wouldn't be a burden on its human resources. In explaining further same exemplified that if due to a secondment the maritime squadron of the AFM is going to finish up with a limited number of persons, then this would be of a constraint on the same entity and hence one would have to reconsider such secondment. Thus, Mrs Mizzi stated that the point here is that the policy vision does not always match with the capabilities. This point was also highlighted by Ambassador Zammit who argued that human resource was to a certain extent an issue because if a specialised person is seconded from Malta, one needs to initially find a replacement for that particular post. However, same added that the bright side of such participation was that the seconded personnel would acquire knowledge and experience.

Notwithstanding the burden that such missions might put on the human resources, it was argued by Mrs Mizzi, that as a country Malta needs to contribute to CSDP missions particularly those that it would have highly promoted and supported, since although not so openly, other member states would take the country to task and hold it accountable to see what it will be willing to contribute so as to sustain the arguments put forward. With reference to the mission in Libya, which according to Mrs Mizzi was highly promoted by Malta, it was recounted how the MFA had reached out intensively to other ministries for possible participation. While noting that amongst all entities, the most forthcoming for participation in CSDP missions are the AFM, Mrs Mizzi stated that her wish is to see the Malta Police Force also building their profile within the CSDP within their area of specialisation. The same line of thought regarding participation was also put forward by Dr Borg who stated that, it does not make sense that Malta participates in the discussions that take place and then does not share with the obligations of the CSDP missions.

Participation in the CSDP has also required a corresponding structure within the contributing entities. This point was highlighted by Ambassador Zammit when speaking about the administrative and organisational changes that were required as a consequence of this participation. Using the AFM as an example same elucidated that an EU officer within the armed forces was required to liaise with Brussels and brief the Commander before attending any related meetings and moreover how a structure was necessary to select the personnel and to ensure the arrangements of any provisions or any other matters

needed by the participants. In corroboration with these arguments and with the details provided in the 2007 Annual Report of Government Departments which are presented in section 4.4.3, Brig. (retd) Xuereb confirmed that organisational adjustments took place within the AFM structures as a consequence of its participation in the CSDP whereby an ESDP (CSDP) section was set up so as to look into and follow up CSDP related matters.

These adjustments were discussed in depth with Col. Brian Gatt, the person in charge of the International Affairs branch within the AFM under which the CSDP section falls, who also confirmed that a number of changes had taken place within the entity due to its participation in the CSDP. Col. Gatt made reference to the establishment of the CSDP section and outlined how due to its security regulations this had to literally incorporate a physical structure in a high secure area which could handle confidential documents. Same added how all personnel entering this place have to be security cleared up to the level of the documents they are handling and moreover all documents have to be handled according to EU regulations. This meant that all personnel working within this section had to pass from a security clearance process which is set up within the Office of the Prime Minister. It was further mentioned how this section incorporates within it personnel of different ranks, presently amounting to twelve, who are also responsible for administrative CSDP related work and the coordination of the AFM's participation in these missions.

Moreover, Col. Gatt outlined how before being selected for a mission every participant has to initially pass from a process of training and reach the required standards. Same added that this requirement has led the AFM to invest more in equipment and training, which is either provided abroad or else in Malta by foreign counterparts. Additionally, same outlined that the International Affairs branch has witnessed an increase in budge, a substantial amount of which is exclusively dedicated for deployment. The issue of training was also brought up with Capt. David Aquilina who was one of the AFM officers that participated in the CSDP civilian mission EUBAM Libya, which was commissioned in 2013.In support of Col. Gatt, Capt. Aquilina stated that in order for him to participate in this mission he had to pass through a lengthy process, whereby one of the requirements was to undergo specific training relating to hostile environment and first aid in England. Furthermore same recounted how prior to this he had to pass from a competitive selection process, whereby following a call for applications which stipulated the requirements of the post in the mission, he applied within the AFM structures after which a filtering and

selection process took place. It was described how after being selected, the application was passed to the Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) within the EEAS and further on forwarded to the Mission whom from their side carried out an interview to all applicants from different member states.

Another function of the CSDP section within the AFM outlined by Col. Gatt is that of corresponding with Malta's MilRep in Brussels whom from his side informs the AFM on any activities related to military and civilian missions as well as on the thoughts behind the margins of policies being drawn. Like the previous interviewees mentioned above, Col. Gatt emphasised the importance of the role of the MilRep in Brussels and his participation in important weekly meetings of the EUMC and other committees within the EEAS. Same outlined how the information provided from Brussels is vital for the formulation of decisions relating to CSDP matters and in assisting the Commander AFM in determining participation in CSDP missions.

Although less prevalent, members from the Malta Police Force also participate in CSDP missions. While remarking that in its first CSDP civilian mission Malta was represented by two Police Officers, Ambassador Zammit argued that some form of structure for the selection of people and other necessities would have taken place within this entity as well. This matter was discussed with Police Maj. Josef Ciappara who participated in the CSDP civilian mission EUPM Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) in 2008. During the course of this interview it did not transpire that a specific structure dedicated to CSDP exists within the Malta Police Force. However, it was learnt that all procedures were handled by the EU office within the Force which amongst others is responsible for EU related business. Major Ciappara added that the first applications for participating in this mission were issued in 2005 and these were only available to the then Special Assignment Group (SAG) as it was wrongly perceived that joining a mission in a conflict zone required combat experience or at least some weapons handling expertise. Same explained that this was a misunderstanding as the mission was unarmed and international police officers did not have executive powers. The mandate of the mission was to let the locals do their job with the assistance and guidance of the mission. In view of all this, Maj. Ciappara remarked that at that time this mission was learning by trying for the Malta Police Force and it was evident that the top brass were operating in unchartered waters due to the fact that Malta

did not even have a diplomatic mission in BiH and therefore information and assistance for the interested seconded personnel was scarce.

Maj. Ciappara further stated that in 2008, a vacancy within the same mission had opened and after being made aware of it through an internal file that was circulated within the department, he applied and later on was proposed by the Force to the CPCC Same argued how at that time no training was provided prior to being deployed, however as soon as he arrived in the mission area he was called in for a three day induction training. During this period, it was noted, how some participants from certain countries had a difficulty communicating in English and while these were brilliant in their work, they were struggling to keep up. According to Maj. Ciappara all this led to the introduction of an interview whereby Mission members started being interviewed prior to being accepted in a mission and moreover a training program for personnel joining CSDP missions was established by the CPCC.

5.1.2 Constitutional changes

As outlined in section 4.2, one of the main challenges that Malta faced in its accession negotiations was that of adapting its neutrality, which is enshrined in its constitution, to the requirements of the CFSP. This concept was discussed with Ambassador Zammit who stated that as a result of the negotiations and as outlined in the accession treaty, Malta could participate in the CFSP, and its neutrality was not a problem. This was also echoed by Dr Borg who outlined that CSDP missions do not go against the principle of Malta's neutrality as the prohibition in the Constitution relates to the engagement of Malta in a Military alliance, which means that it's a military kind of neutrality. In explaining further Dr Borg added that the Constitution stops Malta from entering into agreements with other countries on the basis that if they were to engage in war, Malta will defend them, as is required by NATO's military alliance. Having said this, nothing stops Malta from allying with another country, as long as the decision is not pre-planned, should it be in the national interest.

However as stipulated in section 4.2, the fact that Malta was not a full member of NATO and not in the PfP framework did in fact bring around a number of constraints. This matter was brought up with Ambassador Zammit who stated that when Malta was negotiating to

enter the EU, the issue of the ESDP (CSDP) was always a sensitive one. Same outlined how while on one hand the Maltese government wanted to safeguard Malta's constitutional neutrality, on the other hand the same government was aware that it had no partnership agreement with NATO. Apart from this, Ambassador Zammit remarked how the government at that time sought that any negotiations concerning neutrality would be acceptable for Malta across the board, both for the opposition and also for those Maltese that didn't want Malta to deny its neutrality so that it could enter the EU. Describing it as the itchiest issue that they had, Ambassador Zammit outlined how the EU had negotiated the Berlin Plus agreement which allowed it to make use of NATO's assets and information for its missions. Due to this, NATO was requesting that all members of the EU would have a security of information agreement with it so that countries which are not part of the EU would have their classified information protected.

In the face of all this, according to Ambassador Zammit, due to the lack of security of information agreement with NATO, Malta could not participate in any discussions or missions that concerned NATO. This situation was also remarked by Brig. (retd) Xuereb who stated that due to this, there is a big difference from the day that Malta started attending CSDP meetings to when effectively it started participating in operations. Same added that until 2008, Malta's position within the CSDP was somewhat curtailed. This point was also highlighted by Ms Sapiano who recounted how in the beginning, together with Cyprus, Malta was being excluded from certain meetings which concerned NATO. Due to this she used to hold regular discussions back in Capital, mostly with the OPM, whom at that time were responsible for the defence matters so as to see how Malta was going to handle the situation. Ms Sapiano remarked that back then, this had become a big priority for the government since it was realising that Malta was missing out while it was still contributing financially via ALTHEA to CSDP missions. Same added that at that time, instructions from Capital were to be diplomatic and make the point firmly but forcefully and to continue insisting in being present for the meetings.

From his side, Ambassador Zammit outlined that they tried to solve this issue by attempting to convince the NATO secretariat and the EU Council secretariat that in fact Malta had a security agreement with NATO, since when it withdrew from the PfP in 2006, it did not abolish this security agreement. Same remarked how the EU Council secretariat had accepted this understanding and moreover tried to help Malta but the NATO

secretariat refused such interpretation. Furthermore, Ms Sapiano stated that from their side in Brussels, they used to do a lot of pressure back in Capital to participate in those missions that did not involve NATO. In this way Malta, although it had every right to make its point on the NATO issue would show its goodwill from its side as well and would pass the message that where it is being allowed to participate it is in fact doing so.

Ambassador Zammit outlined how this situation remained standing until Malta entered in the PfP in August 2008 and following that as explained by Dr Borg Malta started having access to NATO confidential information which before was not available to it. Moreover Dr Borg stated that participation in the PfP did not infringe Malta's neutrality since it can choose in which programs it participates and even more it can opt not to participate in any of the programs while the information would still be available. On the same lines Brig. (retd) Xuereb, recalled how after this development, Malta's efforts to participate in CSDP operations increased and hence it became a fully fledged member of the CSDP. In fact, same noted that following this agreement there were quite a number of both civilian and military crisis management operations that saw the participation of the AFM. This assertion corroborates exactly with the figures presented in figure 2 of section 4.4.4, which shows an upward shift in the number of troops deployed following 2008, and also with the increase in the number of operations that Malta participated in following that year which are detailed in the same section. Moreover Brig. (retd) Xuereb averred how this had also changed how Malta was viewed by other member states, whereby all of a sudden Malta became one of the boys and everyone started appreciating the fact that although the limitations size brings with it, Malta was still participating in CSDP missions. Hence, Malta was no longer perceived as the state who was complaining for not receiving the documents, but it became one of the participants.

5.2 National Projection

With regards to National projection the aim here was to gauge how Malta projects its foreign policy preferences and priorities to the EU level in the area of CSDP in an effort to influence the making of EU foreign policy. As outlined in section 4.3 Malta's foreign policy interests in relation to the area under study are surrounded mainly around the Mediterranean region, the promotion of peace in the Middle East and its main security concern, illegal migration. Through the questions posed in the interview guide under National Projection, participants were primarily requested to provide from their perspective an evaluation of how Malta tries to set or shape the CSDP agenda and how Malta tries to influence the outcome of negotiations and deliberations on foreign policy positions and actions through the formation of coalitions with like-minded states.

5.2.1 Shaping the CSDP agenda according to Malta's strategic foreign policy interests

When the matter of shaping the CSDP agenda according to Malta's foreign policy preferences and interests was brought up with Ambassador Zammit, it was stated that Malta always resisted the implication that its small size could limit its influence in the CSDP. Same added that while its economic and military weight and outreach in the international influence is overshadowed by that of many of the other member states, it is important to stress Malta's equal status and that its views have to be taken into account because of the intergovernmental structure of the CSDP. Same added that by time Malta learned not to rush into things and be selective and pro active in those areas that are of national interest. This point was also brought up by Brig. (ret) Xuereb, who averred that Malta needs to be selective on where its priorities lie since its delegation is small when compared to the larger ones of other member states. Same added that one has to decide between operations which are not in the focus for Malta and others which are of priority for the Country such as Libya and the Horn of Africa. Hence, it is up to Malta through its delegation to try as much as possible to shape the outcome in those areas of interest. On the same lines Mrs Mizzi outlined how if there are a number of missions in the making, the Ministry would assess which scenario is the closest to Malta's policy priorities, and focus on those.

Following these lines of argumentation the next thing that follows is how Malta tries to shape the outcome in its areas of interest. In view of this, Ambassador Zammit noted that it is unproductive to drive oneself into an isolated position, therefore, the building up of alliances and the exercise of lobbying to build a favourable critical mass is important. Hence, it was argued that it is particularly important for the Maltese representative to establish himself/herself as someone whose interventions are worth listening to, who genuinely seeks compromise, consistently follows clear objectives and as an individual whom other member states know where they stand. Moreover, it was recalled how during his tenure, on the whole, Malta was effective within reason and while it always sought to be proactive and to persuade others on issues of direct interest to Malta, on the other hand, on other topics which were not of direct interest, it was wise to wait and see how Malta could make best of its support to build up alliances. In fact, same added that because of the intergovernmental structure and need for coalition building to achieve a favourable consensual position Malta was regularly approached for its support, particularly on divisive issues and issues where coalition building mattered.

From his side, Brig. (ret) Xuereb outlined that a lot of work was done through lobbying in the margins of the meeting which requires a lot of advanced work. Correspondingly, Ms Sapiano described lobbying in the corridors as the place where most deals or requests for support were done. Same outlined how she used to plan before hand with the Capital on whom to approach and what agenda is to be pushed forward. Likewise, Mrs Mizzi, outlined how a number of decisions are taken after months of Lobbying and that Malta does team up whereby the more powers it will have on its side, the better off it would be. Same added that when the small or peripheral countries would be pushing something on the EU agenda, the first thing that should be done is to team up between themselves and secondly to rope in one of the bigger states. The same was echoed by Ambassador Zammit who mentioned that the reality is that Malta is a small country and so as for it to reach its aims it used to try and bring the support of the bigger countries by building alliances.

Moreover, Mrs Mizzi recounted how for the mission in Libya, Malta had found resistance from a number of countries including one of the big ones because they sought that it wasn't the right timing for the mission to take place. Same noted that when one of the big countries is against you, it would be harder to promote your interests. Nonetheless, in this

case Malta kept its point that the mission is to take place, and eventually it did. Also, Mrs Mizzi outlined that she does not recall any instance whereby Malta was pushing for a given country with a given mandate and due to pressure from Brussels it changed its position. It was further noted that so far Malta has always managed to bring good results and that Malta's Foreign policy grew a lot thanks to CSDP. Same added that this policy framework is an important national tool. The same view was echoed by Ambassador Zammit who stated that through the CSDP, Malta's horizons had increased as it had an opportunity to drive its Foreign Policy preferences on the EU agenda.

It is pertinent to mention that from the interviews carried out it did not transpire that Malta has ever opposed any mission proposed by other member states. In relation to this, Dr Tonio Borg argued that whenever there was something which was not in Malta's interest, whether it was a unanimity principle or a qualified majority, the best attitude that Malta sought and what was done in practice was to jump on the bandwagon and during the policy formulation process try to change legislation. While stressing the point that within the CFSP, according to law Malta has every right to block anything, Dr Borg outlined that sometimes one has to look at the political realities and rather than opposing a decision it is best to use the tactic to 'threat' that the country is going to oppose such decision so that if Malta does not succeed in all its goals, it would attain a number of them.

5.2.2 Malta's participation in CSDP missions have served its foreign policy interests

When the matter of Malta's foreign policy preferences and interests in relation to CSDP missions was brought up with Brig. (retd) Xuereb, it was averred that initially an EU crisis management operation is not viewed from the military perspective. Primarily, this is approached from a national perspective which means that Malta participates in those operations which suit its national interest. Also, Ambassador Zammit stated that every member state participates according to its national interest hence before deploying any personnel Malta had always weighed the political aspect of the mission and whether this was in the country's best interest and in line with its foreign policy priorities. On the same wavelength, Mrs Mizzi, explained that whenever deployment is made, it is ensured that this would be on the right niches such as the mission in Libya whereby in this particular case Malta hit the nail on its head when it sent two naval officers supporting naval and coastguard training in an area where illegal migrants flee to Europe. Same also mentioned

67

the mission in RAFAH, which is currently suspended and stated how from a policy perspective this is important for Malta due to the country's interest in the Middle East so were it to deploy the Ministry would probably seek a presence.

Moreover Mrs Mizzi explained her argument by exemplifying that between a mission in Asia, the Mediterranean and the Horn of Africa, while assessing the value of the one in Asia and does not object for it, from a policy perspective, this would be the third priority for Malta. The dilemma would then be between the Mediterranean and Africa. Mrs Mzzi argued that the obvious option would be to go for the Mediterranean because it's in Malta's immediate sphere. Having said this, if the mission in Africa is in the Horn of Africa from where Malta receives the largest number of illegal migrants, then the decision would get harder because as a Ministry it would have to decide what it has to prioritise, between the regional priority and migration priority. Same added that thankfully in the past two years Malta managed both.

Similar to these perspectives, Dr Tonio Borg remarked that the missions Malta participated in had served the national interest. A clear example of this was the mission in Somalia due to the fact that since Malta has one of the biggest shipping registrations, it makes sense that it participates in protecting the sea lanes from Pirates and provides some sort of protection to the ships that are registered under the Maltese flag. This mission was also flagged by Brig. (retd) Xuereb who outlined how this served Malta's interest for two significant reasons. First, as Dr Borg said, that Malta has the second largest ship register in Europe so it is in the national interest that there would be encumbered sea lanes of communication. Secondly, since the majority of illegal migrants that arrive in Malta and in Europe come from that part of the world, i.e. from the Horn of Africa, it was in Malta's national interest that it participates in EUTM Somalia by training the Somali troops in Uganda. Same added that if there is stability in that region, then there would be less illegal migration and fewer problems for Malta.

5.3   Identity Reconstruction

With regards to Identity Reconstruction the aim here was to gauge the effects of elite socialisation on Malta's national actors and to outline whether as a consequence of this socialisation process, learning as defined in section 2.4, has taken place.

5.3.1 Elite Socialisation

With reference to elite socialisation, Brig. (retd) Xuereb outlined how coordination reflex continuously exists and that all national actors are after all human beings, hence socialisation and the social aspect of diplomacy even at the military level, is important. Same added that firstly this socialisation allows one to know the positions of other member states on distinctive issues which could then be used to form national positions back in Capital and secondly, it is the right time to ask for support from other member states on issues that the Capital would be willing to bring up during the meetings. Same added that this can only be done if the national representative would have built a relationship with his/her counterparts. It was further explained how socialisation is part of the job, so if one goes to a dinner or a cocktail party, he/she wouldn't go there to enjoy the glass of wine but to network and talk to people in a different environment.

Similarly Ambassador Zammit highlighted the importance of socialisation, especially in light of the intergovernmental nature of the PSC which is characterised by consensus building and one where a high level of common agreement is difficult to keep up. Moreover, it was recalled how due to coordination and socialisation between national actors there were instances where a number of ambassadors realised that their Capital was exaggerating on certain issues and hence they tried to pass messages back home to try to convince them otherwise. It was further argued that socialisation and coordination leave an effect on the decisions taken back in Capital. This is due to the fact that before providing any suggestions or recommendations to form national positions, permanent representatives provide background information which would have been previously discussed with their counterparts.

A particular case related to the above, brought up by Ambassador Zammit concerned Malta's recognition of Kosovo's independence. It was recalled how in the beginning Malta

was not going to recognise this country's independence but, on the other hand, it had a candidature for a head of a CSDP mission in Kosovo. Ambassador Zammit outlined how as a permanent representation they were affected by the fact that they wanted to participate seriously in the mission but then this country's independence was not recognised by Malta. Same stated that their effort had left an effect on how the Maltese government, which eventually recognised Kosovo's independence in 2008, perceived this issue.

5.3.2 Learning

Learning as a result of the socialisation process and which is facilitated by the CFSP institutional setting was also brought up with a number of participants under study. From his side, Dr Tonio Borg outlined how the civil servant had to learn how to cope with the new policy process and the idea of objecting and showing reservations from the preliminary discussions, a process which according to him was not learnt overnight but had been ingrained by time. While outlining that the first two years were very difficult for the civil servant to come to terms with this new mentality, Dr Borg noted how after over ten years of experience, there has been a lot of improvement and considering the smallness of the country, Malta has made huge steps forward. In line with this, Brig. (retd) Xuereb outlined how as time went by, there were best practices that developed and which were inherited from one MilRep to another. Same added that there was a natural progression by the civil servants in CSDP related knowledge from 2004 until he left in 2012.

This was confirmed by Ms Rachel Sapiano who recounted how the first few years were difficult for her, however by time she got to terms with the new policy process. It was further mentioned that after covering a number of different meetings she learned that everything is linked. Eventually, matters that were being discussed in the PMG and in CIVCOM, together with any outstanding issues, would then be put up for discussion in the PSC. Moreover, Ms Sapiano recalled how in the beginning she used to attend the meetings and take notes of what was being said, but by time she learned that most of the work is done in the corridors where most of the discussions take place. It became clear that in this whole process the civil servant has to be pragmatic and rather than writing long reports and sending them to Capital with the premise that something will happen, there has to be a continuous direct contact with Captial so that matters are followed up forthwith.

When the concept of learning was discussed with Ambassador Zammit it was mentioned how in the beginning things were a little bit scattered, however, when staff increased and things settled down, Malta adapted well and learned how to deal effectively with this policy mechanism. Moreover, same averred how on a personal level, he had learned a lot on international relations and the frame of mind of different member states. From a national perspective, same contended that Malta learned how in reality not everything revolves around it and that there are more problems in the world which though they do not affect the country directly, are humanitarian and important. It was further argued that Malta now had the possibility to contribute in helping to find solutions for these problems, a point which was also outlined by Maj. Ciappara when he averred how participation in a mission is an opportunity for Malta to transmit the message to a nation in need that it really cares, is competent to help and ready to go the extra mile to assist and contribute to a country in need of peace, security and prosperity.

Another aspect of learning is the institutionalisation of lessons learned at the domestic level. Regarding this matter, Col. Brian Gatt stated that CSDP deployments had brought new opportunities for the AFM since its personnel are participating in geographical areas that otherwise wouldn't have been possible. Same averred how these opportunities have brought new experiences at operational level on the use of equipment, techniques and procedures which is then transferred to the AFM by the personnel themselves, a point which was also confirmed by Capt. David Aquilina. Moreover, Col. Gatt stated that there is always the encouragement for the inclusions of any best practices within the AFM. In relation to this concept, Major Josef Ciappara also outlined how through the BiH mission he had a number of opportunities to acquire knowledge at operational level. However same contended that he was never approached or asked about what practices could be adopted within the Malta Police Force, hence any best practices are transferred automatically during the course of work.

The emerged findings presented in this chapter provide an insight on the domestic impact that Europeanisation left on Malta's foreign and security policy domain. As depicted in figure 4, for each of the three concepts under study i.e. National Adaptation, National Projection and Identity Reconstruction, a set of themes were unfolded. In the next chapter, these shall be analysed vis-à-vis the literature reviewed in chapters 2, 3 and 4 and

following that a SWOT analysis shall be carried out to uncover the challenges and opportunities that surrounded Malta following its participation in the EU CSDP.

Figure 4 – Thematic map depicting the Major fieldwork findings

```
                          ┌─────────────────────────────┐
                          │   Major Fieldwork Findings   │
                          └─────────────────────────────┘
```

National Adaptation	**National Projection**	**Identity Reconstruction**
The setting up of a very good Maltese Permanent representation in Brussels	The intergovernmental nature of the CSDP puts Malta on an equal status as other larger Member States	Coordination reflex exists at EU level. This is an important aspect in light of the intergovernmental nature of the CSDP
Change in responsibilities and mentality of civil servants	Due to its small delegation, Malta is selective on where its priorities lie

It is pro active in those areas that are of national interest particularly the Mediterranean basin, Horn of Africa and the Middle East | Socialisation provides knowledge on other member states national positions

This detail is vital for Malta to form its own national position

Socialisation is used by Maltese representatives to build networks and gather support |
| Increase in Inter-ministerial coordination and cooperation | | |
| Creation of organisational structures and procedures within the MFA and the AFM | | |
| Participation in CSDP missions (secondment of Maltese soldiers and Police)

AFM most participating entity - Increase in equipment and training | Maltese representatives build alliances and lobby to promote their national interests

When one of the big countries is against the country's proposal, it would be harder to promote the national interest | It took time for the Maltese civil servant to learn how to cope with the EU policy mechanism

Knowledge and best practices were developed by time and inherited from one civil servant to another

In the beginning things were a little bit scattered. When things settled down Malta adapted well |
| No specific CSDP structure exists within the MPF | | |
| Participation in the CSDP did not require any constitutional changes

However, Malta was not a fully fledged member of CSDP until Malta it reactivated its partnership for peace membership | Malta never opposed to any missions proposed by other member states

One of the big countries opposed to a proposal highly promoted by Malta | CSDP brought around new learning curves to seconded personnel which are then naturally institutionalised within their respective entities |
| In capital, policy vision does not always match with the capabilities | | |

73

Chapter 6: Discussion of findings

6.1 Discussion of findings

From the contributions presented in chapter 5, it can be contended that Malta's participation in the CSDP has left an impact on its foreign and security policy matters. With reference to Ladrech's (1994:70) definition of this concept, it is evident that there is a process whereby the dynamics of the CSDP became part of the organisational logic of Malta's politics and policy making, in the sense that, as outlined by Baun and Marek (2013:6), foreign policy cooperation has resulted in the adaptation of national institutions, processes and procedures.

Correspondingly with Smith (2000:619) regarding the changes which take place at national level and which are meant to enhance political cooperation in Europe, the findings presented in section 5.1.1 show that Malta witnessed the creation of these new positions. Particularly, reference was made to the appointment of new officials at national level to serve in institutional roles so as to follow-up with the policy at national level, evident in these findings with the creation of the CSDP desk within the MFA and the creation of the CSDP branch within the AFM; the expansion of the national diplomatic service, noticeably with the setting-up of Malta's permanent representation in Brussels; and a reorganisation of national administrative structures so as to improve the handling of the CSDP activities, evident in this study with the changes mentioned by participants concerning the new modes of procedure and decision making processes that came about following participation in the CSDP.

It could be argued that this is in line with what had been articulated by Sammut (2009:77) that participation in the EU has affected Malta's administrative and organisational structures and Grima (2009:24), who outlined how due to EU membership, the Public Sector's organisational set-up was revamped and changed in its outlook, attitudes and the way things are done. The inter-ministerial coordination particularly between MHAS, MFA, and the OPM presented in these findings also showed how issues relating to the CSDP came to touch on many aspects. This confirms the assertion made by Sammut (2009:77) that the traditional practice of ownership of issues being taken by one ministry

changed, and different departments and ministries started to interact regularly prior to the formulation of Maltese national positions. Another mode of procedure uncovered from these findings is one which relates to 'due diligence'. As explained by Mrs Mizzi, for any participation to take place, there has to be parliamentary scrutiny as well as cabinet clearance. With these findings in hand the researcher agrees with Smith (2000:619), when he outlined that smaller EU states made extensive changes in terms of reorganisation and expansion.

Another aspect of national adaption that was brought up with the participants was constitutional changes. As outlined in section 4.2, due to Malta's constitutional neutrality, the European Commission had reservations on the country's proclamation to participate in the EU CFSP including the eventual framing of a common defence policy which might in time lead to a common defence. Also, as indicated by Ambassador Zammit, similar to other neutral states identified by Smith (2000:624), during the negotiations period, back home the government of that time faced pressure from both the Opposition and other Maltese citizens to safeguard the constitutional neutrality. With all these issues in the background, while a number of member states had adapted changes and reinterpretation to their national constitution in order to participate in this policy domain of the EU (Smith 2000:624), from the findings presented above, it did not transpire that Malta had to suffer the same fate as these countries. With reference to section 4.2, it could be argued that this is in line with what had been regularly echoed by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Joe Borg before EU accession and with what had been articulated by the now leader of the Opposition Dr Simon Busuttil back in 2003 that Malta's commitment to this policy domain did not require any changes to the Maltese constitution.

However, notwithstanding this, this study uncovered how the issue of neutrality did not cease to exist following accession. From the emerged findings it was outlined how Malta had been excluded from anything that had to do with the Berlin plus agreement since it did not have a security agreement with NATO, which could be acquired either through full membership, or through a PfP agreement with this organisation. Hence, due to this situation, which as outlined in section 4.4 by Pace (2013:248), shows the differences that existed amongst Malta's political elites in areas concerning neutrality and defence matters, this study established that Malta was not a fully fledged member of CSDP until it entered NATO's PfP in 2008. Moreover, while the researcher agrees with Harwood (2014:118)

when he argued that Malta's entry in the PfP in 2008, is a sign of the importance the government of that time was giving to cooperation within the CSDP, findings also established that all this happened because this issue had become a big priority for the government since it realised that Malta was missing out while it was still contributing financially to CSDP missions.

Another dimension which sheds light on the domestic impact on Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the CSDP is national projection. In line with the definition of this concept as provided by Muller and Flers (2010:8), the findings presented in section 5.2.1, suggest that Malta does upload its national foreign policy preferences and priorities to the EU in an effort to influence the making of foreign policy. Notably, this 'uploading' was found to be determined by the country's foreign strategic objectives presented in section 4.3 which focus on the Mediterranean region, the Middle East and other regions that are synonymous to the phenomenon of illegal migration in the Mediterranean, such as the Horn of Africa. Moreover, in concert with the arguments brought up by Tonra (2000) and Gross (2009:18), in section 5.2.1 it was confirmed that like other member states, Malta projects its national policy preferences and priorities by trying to set or shape the CSDP agenda and by influencing the outcome of negotiations and deliberations of policies and actions in its areas of interest by teaming up with like-minded member states.

Additionally, with reference to Muller and Flers (2010:9), the fact that as shown in this study Malta tries to rope in the support of bigger countries by building alliances, indicates that like other member states, it does use 'peer pressure' to promote its agenda and exclude those lagging behind. Furthermore, as presented in section 5.2.1, this study established that Malta's representatives in the council working groups negotiate their support and make use of lobbying and networking so as to upload the country's national interest. In view of this, it could be argued that the assertion made by Juncos and Pomorska (2006:3), that member states representatives in Brussels are rational actors making strategic use of the opportunities provided by the institutional environment characterised by common norms and rules holds water and is also an attribute of Malta's representatives in Brussels.

These lines of argumentation, and the findings presented in section 5.2.2 which show how Malta's participation in CSDP missions has served its foreign policy interests, support the assertion made by Ginsberg (1989) when he argued that the 'politics of scale effect' allows member states to promote their interests more effectively onto the EU level and to increase their influence in world affairs. In addition to this, the assertions made in section 5.2.1 by Mrs Mizzi, that Malta's foreign policy grew a lot thanks to CSDP and by Ambassador Zammit, who stated that through the CSDP, Malta's horizons had increased as it had an opportunity to drive its Foreign Policy preferences on the EU agenda, underpin the argument of Wong (2011:152) when he stated that small member states strive to limit their interdependence by using integration as a means to put them on the world stage and ultimately increase their international influence.

The domestic impact of Malta's participation in the CSDP was also manifested in this study when the two main elements of the concept 'identity reconstruction' i.e. elite socialisation and learning prevailed in the research carried out. With regards to the former, the findings presented in section 5.3 confirm that the nature of EU foreign and security policy is, as outlined by Smith (2000:615), characterised by norms of trust, regular communication, political cooperation, consultation, consensus-based decision making and a general problem solving approach. The effect of this composition, which according to Nuttal (1992) and Tonra (2001), results in the development of a 'coordination reflex', was exhibited when in section 5.3.1 of this study, correspondingly with these authors, Ambassador Zammit and Brig. (retd) Xuereb outlined that cooperation between national elites exist and that national positions are discussed amongst them.

From these findings it transpired that elite socialisation was imperative for Malta to form its national positions. However, the assertion made by Wong (2011) and Gross (2009), that common norms promote the convergence of national foreign policies amongst member states much that there will be a redefinition of national preferences, interests and even identities was not manifested in this study. In fact this was only supported in a singular case mentioned by Ambassador Zammit in section 5.3.1 concerning Malta's recognition of Kosovo's independence. Furthermore, while throughout the course of this research, common European objectives seemed palpable in the interviews conducted with the former members of Malta's permanent representation, this was not to the extent outlined by Beyers (2005:901), who argued that socialisation goes beyond conscious role

playing by stimulating actors to shift their alliances towards the EU and in finding solutions for a common European good. The findings produced in section 5.3.1 lean more towards the argument brought up by Juncos and Pomorska (2006:3) whereby it is stated that diplomats comply with the group's procedural norms and rules because they calculate that doing so helps them reach their domestically defined goals.

Moving forward to the second aspect of identity reconstruction, learning, it could be observed that from the findings presented in section 5.3.2 and with reference to the definition of this aspect outlined by Lavy (1994:283), as a result of observation and interpretation of experience within the CFSP/CSDP, participants have developed new beliefs, skills and procedures. With reference to the first conceptualisation of learning outlined by Muller and Flers (2012:28), organisational learning, it could be said that this was evident both at the domestic level particularly within the MFA and AFM as well as within the civil servants who were attached in Brussels. In this study, particularly in section 5.2.1, it was evident that national representatives have, as articulated by Muller and Flers (2012:28), learned how to transform national interests into EU outputs. This, together with the assertions made by Ambassador Zammit, Dr. Borg and Brig. (retd) Xuereb in section 5.3.2, that Malta had adapted well by time, made huge steps forward and had progressed in its knowledge on CSDP indicate that lessons learned have been institutionalised in the country's routines and procedures. According to Levy (1994), this institutionalisation is crucial for the country's progression of foreign and security policy.

The second conceptualisation outlined by Muller and Flers (2012:28), policy learning by national actors in Brussels, has also been evident in section 5.3.2 of this study when participants outlined the sharing of information amongst member states during meetings and discussions, the evolution of common knowledge as well as the learning from collective EU foreign policy experiences. However, while there was no direct reference by these participants that this has lead them to redefine their approach on how they view a problem and eventually leading them to evaluate their initial preferences, it was noted in section 5.1.1, how such knowledge is fed back to capital when participants were required to provide their feedback on national positions. So, with reference to Muller and Flers (2012:28), it could be argued that indirectly, policy learning is in fact reflected back in national agendas and policy positions.

With regards to the third conceptualisation of learning, lesson drawing/policy transfer, in this study, there was no direct reference by participants of any best practices or policy mechanisms which were adopted from another member state by Malta or vice versa. However as outlined in section 5.3.2, this was evident at operational level when Col Gatt and Capt. Aquilina outlined how any best practices attained by their participants are automatically transferred by the personnel themselves into the system, a point also remarked by Maj. Ciappara. Moreover, this was also evident when Col Gatt outlined that the AFM is always open for the inclusion of any suitable best practices.

6.2   Challenges and Opportunities

Following an analysis of the domestic impact brought about to Malta's foreign and security policy matters, it is evident that Malta's participation in this policy framework is characterised by profound opportunities yet also by a number of challenges. An analysis of these opportunities and challenges is put forward in this section by looking at the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that have surfaced and still lie ahead in order to establish how Malta could enhance its potential within the EU CSDP.

Starting off with the strengths, it has been evident in this study that Malta now has an institutional set up in place both in Brussels as well in capital which was built over the past eleven years and is made up from civil servants who have progressively acquired knowledge and experience within the CSDP. With reference to the challenges faced by civil servants in the first years of participation, when such set up was in its infancy, this establishment is seen as a potential aspect for Malta since it reassures stability in the handling of CSDP matters, hence resulting in better projections of national priorities and interests. Moreover, the fact that in past turbulent times Malta has successfully evolved within the CSDP and managed to put its message across within this institutional framework signifies the competence of the Maltese civil servants. Adding to this is the illustrations made in this study that Malta's representatives didn't suffer from any inferiority complex, even though coming from the smallest member state in the European Union

Additionally, another potential that Malta has within this framework and one of the reasons behind the lack of inferiority complex that the Maltese representatives had, is the

intergovernmental nature of the CSDP which is characterised by the unanimity principle. This means that on paper Malta has the same powers as other bigger member states much that it could abstain from participating in any decisions which are in conflict with its national interest and even more, in extreme circumstances it could even block the same decision. Furthermore, as witnessed earlier in this study, due to the power this principle has, Malta has the possibility to negotiate its vote on those areas which are not much of direct interest to it for other areas which are pertinent to its priorities. Falling also under this category is the point that the policy priorities of the MFA are most of the time identical to those of MHAS, from where most of the capabilities are drawn. This shows that Malta's foreign policy goals are consistent with its internal policies, a matter which eradicates any possibilities of having the line ministry perceiving participation in the CSDP as a burden on its resources, which in turn will impinge on inter-ministerial cooperation and effective participation.

Looking back to the other sections of this chapter it could be argued that Malta's participation in the CSDP is also surrounded by a number of weaknesses. Starting with, an observation that emerged from this study is that Malta would benefit from a clearly defined national vision declaring the objectives of its participation in the CSDP which in turn will provide guidance to the internal decision making process and will solidify the country's credibility within this framework. Furthermore, weaknesses were also evident in the limitations brought around by lack of human resources. These were prominently mentioned by participants whereby it was noted that the policy vision does not always match with the capabilities at operational level. Hence this has resulted in situations whereby while the country would support a CSDP mission, on the other hand it wouldn't be able to contribute towards it with personnel. In line with this but from a different aspect, it was also outlined by participants that due to the fact that Malta's delegation in Brussels was small when compared to other member states, it had to be selective and concentrated mostly on its priorities, hence leaving other areas which are not of direct interest behind.

In addition to the above, it was also noted how the majority of participants for CSDP missions come from the AFM, a fact which denotes a lack of attraction to this framework by other entities, particularly the Malta Police Force which have a lot to contribute in areas within the CSDP civilian missions. In this study it transpired that no institutional set-up

dealing with the CSDP exists within this same entity. Another aspect falling under this category was the absence of a security agreement with NATO whereby as indicated in this study, until Malta entered the PfP in 2008, its participation in the CSDP was somewhat curtailed. This brought a situation where Malta was missing out while still contributing financially to CSDP missions. In line with this, while it could be said that this issue has been resolved, one cannot say the same for its root cause i.e. Malta's constitutional neutrality due to the fact that if in the future the EU decides to move from a common defence policy to a common defence, Malta's position within this framework would again be questioned.

On top of the weaknesses, Malta's participation in the CSDP can be negatively affected by a number of external issues (threats) relating to the projection of its national priorities and interests. In this study it was uncovered how big countries have great influence in the decision making process of the CSDP. As outlined by participants, due to being a small member state, so as to successfully promote its interests, Malta has to bring on board bigger countries. However, if this fails to happen or else as in the case of the mission in Libya which was highly promoted by Malta, one of the bigger states would be against the proposal, then it would be harder for the country to promote its interests.

Notwithstanding this, participation in the CSDP has opened a window of opportunities for Malta whereby from this study it transpired that Malta's foreign policy grew a lot following the country's participation in this framework and moreover, Malta's horizons increased since now it has an opportunity to drive its Foreign Policy priorities on the EU agenda. Moreover, one cannot fail to recall the amount of knowledge gained by national actors both at policy level as well as at operational level which knowledge, according to this study, was found to have been institutionalised in the country's routines and procedures.

Figure 5 – SWOT chart outlining the Challenges and Opportunities

Strengths

- Malta has a CSDP institutional set-up both in Brussels as well as in Malta;
- Experience and knowledge acquired by civil servants in the past 11 years;
- Intergovernmental nature of CSDP characterised by the unanimity principle;
- Policy priorities of MFA are most of the time identical to those of MHAS.

Weaknesses

- Lack of local attraction to this framework by entities other than the AFM;
- Policy vision does not always match with the capabilities at operational level;
- Malta's delegation in Brussels is small, therefore it has to be selective and concentrated mostly on its priorities only;
- Lack of CSDP section within the MPF;
- Malta was not a fully fledged member of CSDP until it entered in the PfP;
- Malta's Constitutional Neutrality could be of a problem if the EU decides to move from a common defence policy to a common defence.

Opportunities

- Malta's foreign policy grew a lot thanks to CSDP;
- Knowledge gained by national actors, both at policy level as well as at operational level;
- Institutionalisation of acquired knowledge.

Threats

- Big countries have great influence in the decision making process of the CSDP;
- Being a small state, in order to successfully promote its interests, Malta has to bring on board bigger countries:

Based on the findings gathered from the field research, the above analysis and its graphical representation in Figure 5, has outlined the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead to Malta following its participation in the EUCSDP. It could be argued that so as for Malta to increase its opportunities, it must continue building on the strengths outlined above particularly the institutional set-up that has to do with CSDP-related work both in Malta as well as in Brussels. As indicated by the participants, the absorption of both the knowledge and experience acquired by the civil servants into the system together with the right selection of personnel in vital positions plays an important role for this success. Another determinant for Malta's success within this framework is the enduring capitalisation of the intergovernmental characteristics surrounding the CSDP such as the building of alliances through lobbying so as to increase support for its policy priorities and the fact that these policy priorities are identical for both the MFA and MHAS.
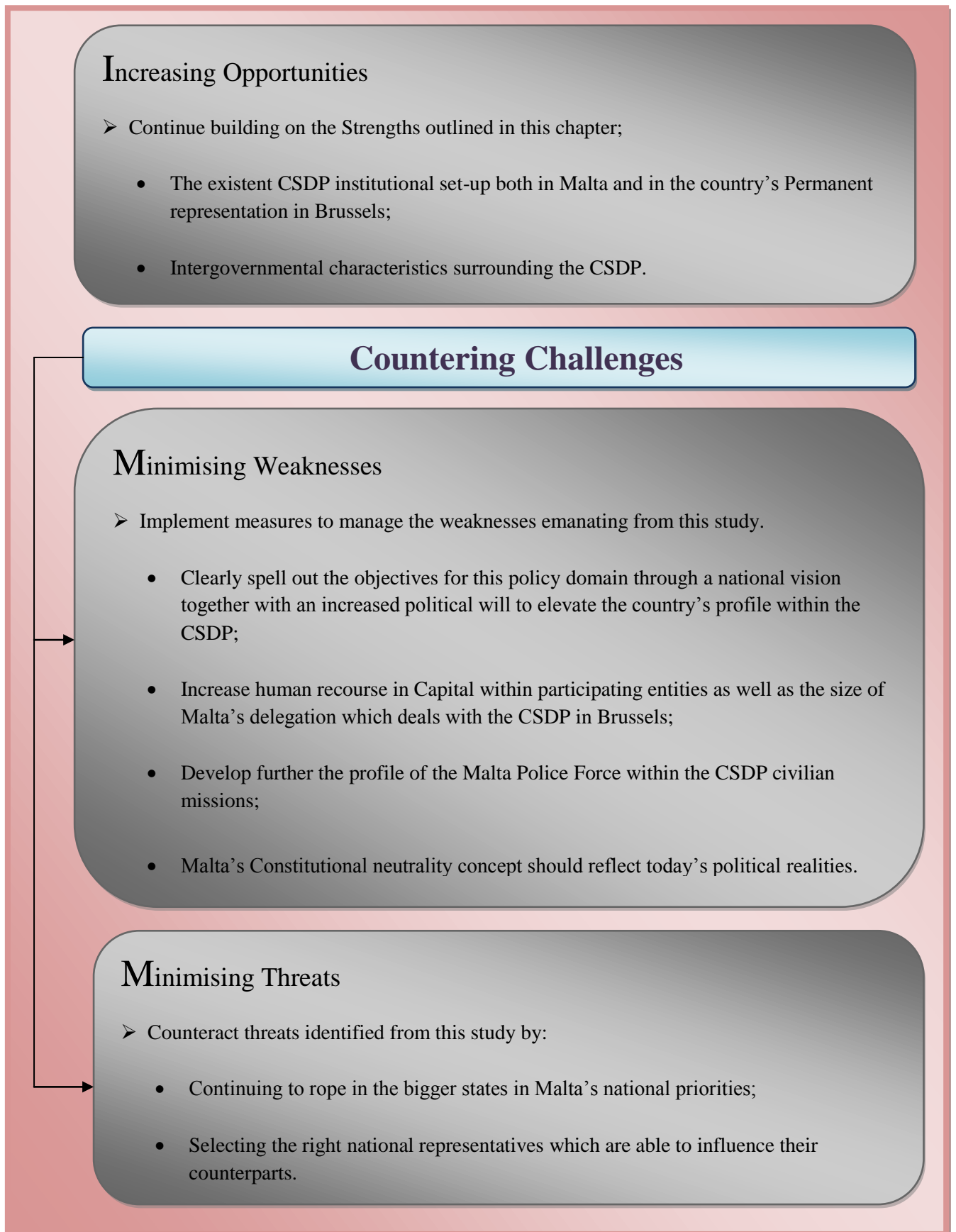
The weaknesses outlined earlier are the characteristics that put Malta at a disadvantage to other member states. So as for Malta to further its successes within this framework, it is imperative that its objectives for this policy domain are clearly set out through a national vision together with an increased political will to elevate the country's profile within the CSDP. Aside this more is to be done to increase the human resources in Capital within the participating entities as well as the size of Malta's delegation which deals with the CSDP in Brussels. In tandem with this is the development of the profile of the Malta Police Force within the CSDP civilian missions, which naturally will reflect positively on Malta's capabilities within this framework as well as on the knowledge gained by the entity's participants. Additionally, an institutional set up within this entity similar to that of the AFM ensures that any knowledge and best practices acquired would be absorbed in its system. As outlined above, the neutrality aspect mentioned under this category could also hinder Malta's participation within this framework in the future. Regarding this matter it is clear that the country needs to recognise that the time has come for Malta to revisit its self declared neutrality which is a remnant of the cold war period. Any progression by Malta towards a second republic or an amendment to its constitution would be the ideal time for this issue to be put up on the agenda.

Maintaining and building on the strengths and minimising the weaknesses will allow Malta to seize further the opportunities brought around following participation in the CSDP. Besides this, Malta should also counteract the threats emanating from the

influences possessed by the bigger countries which could have an effect on the country's success in projecting its policy priorities within the CSDP. As outlined by the participants themselves, this could be mitigated by having the national delegate roping in the bigger states with them. For all that, again, it all boils down to having competent national representatives who are capable of influencing their counterparts.

A graphical representation on how Malta could increase its Opportunities by building on its strengths and minimising the Challenges it faces within this policy framework i.e. the weaknesses and threats, is presented in Figure 6.

Figure 6 – Thematic map depicting how Malta could enhance its Opportunities in the CSDP framework

Increasing Opportunities

➢ Continue building on the Strengths outlined in this chapter;

- The existent CSDP institutional set-up both in Malta and in the country's Permanent representation in Brussels;

- Intergovernmental characteristics surrounding the CSDP.

Countering Challenges

Minimising Weaknesses

➢ Implement measures to manage the weaknesses emanating from this study.

- Clearly spell out the objectives for this policy domain through a national vision together with an increased political will to elevate the country's profile within the CSDP;

- Increase human recourse in Capital within participating entities as well as the size of Malta's delegation which deals with the CSDP in Brussels;

- Develop further the profile of the Malta Police Force within the CSDP civilian missions;

- Malta's Constitutional neutrality concept should reflect today's political realities.

Minimising Threats

➢ Counteract threats identified from this study by:

- Continuing to rope in the bigger states in Malta's national priorities;

- Selecting the right national representatives which are able to influence their counterparts.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Recalling from Chapter 1, this study was primarily concerned with examining the domestic impact brought about to Malta's foreign and security policy matters as a consequence of its participation in the EU CSDP, followed, by an analysis of the challenges and opportunities that have surfaced and still lie ahead. Prior to this, a theoretical framework generated from the meta-theory of Europeanisation of foreign and security policy was required to organise the concepts of this study and guide the collection of primary and secondary data. With a specific focus on the direction set to this thesis, the research question generated at the onset of this study enquired how Malta's foreign and security policy matters had been affected and coped by the country's participation in the EU CSDP.

And as the findings reported in chapter five and the analysis carried out on the challenges and opportunities in the preceding chapter have clearly demonstrated, this study has reached two major conclusions. First, that Malta's participation in the EU CSDP has left an impact on its foreign and security policy matters through national adaptation, national projection and identity reconstruction. In its national adaptation to the EU, Malta has followed the sort of adaptation outlined by Ladrech (1994:70) where new norms, rules and policies were received from the EU and domestic government structures were reoriented towards the EU's foreign and security policy. Particularly, it was uncovered how a bureaucratic reorganisation was necessary and moreover, though it was not required for Malta to amend its constitution to participate in the CSDP, it did have to regularise its position with NATO by entering in the PfP.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated how the projection of national foreign policy preferences and priorities to the EU level as outlined by Muller and Flers (2010: 8), was one of the impacts that came around with Malta's participation in the CSDP. This was highlighted in this study when it emerged how the country promotes and highly supports CSDP missions in the Mediterranean region, the Middle East and other regions that are synonymous to the phenomenon of illegal migration in the Mediterranean, such as the Horn of Africa.

Additionally, this study has also shown how Malta's participation in a framework which is intergovernmental in nature and as outlined by Smith (2000:615), surrounded by norms of trust, regular communication, political cooperation, consultation, consensus-based decision making and a general problem solving approach, has led to a process of elite socialisation and learning which resulted in the identity reconstruction of national actors. As transpired in this research, socialisation was imperative for Malta to promote its interests and moreover, as a result of learning within the CFSP/CSDP, national actors developed what Lavy (1994:283) described as new beliefs, skills and procedures which by time were institutionalised in the country's routines and procedures.

The second conclusion reached in this dissertation is that, Malta's participation in this policy framework is characterised by profound opportunities yet also by a number of challenges. This conclusion is a result of a SWOT analysis carried out on the domestic impact brought about following Malta's participation in the CSDP which was uncovered earlier in the study. The outcome of this analysis established how Malta could enhance its potential in the EU CSDP by: building on its strengths i.e. the already set up national institutions related to CSDP in capital as well as in Brussels, the competence of the Maltese civil servants, the unanimity principle within the CSDP framework and that Malta's foreign policy goals are consistent with its internal policies; minimising the weaknesses i.e. the lack of human resource, the lack of participation by national entities other than the AFM and Malta's constitutional neutrality if the EU decides to move towards a common defence; seizing opportunities i.e. that Malta's horizons have increased, since it could drive its foreign policy priorities on the EU agenda; and counteracting the threats i.e. the fact that bigger countries have great influence in the decision making process.

From these two conclusions a number of inferences could be drawn on Malta's foreign and security policy. It is clear that following the cold war, Malta's strategic foreign policy vision was characterised by EU accession and as the study has clearly demonstrated, this has enabled the country to maximise its interests and furthermore to set up a path which serves as its security guarantee within the EU. Although this policy area has presented Malta with a challenge to its security policy tradition, on the other hand, as shown in this study and in concert with Pace (2013:159), from a foreign policy which was centred on its

regional subsystem just focusing on the immediate threats, Malta advanced to the world-stage beyond the confines of its surroundings.

Logically, activism within this framework also means that Malta has left an impact on shaping the character of the CSDP. Although at first sight such assertion made on the smallest state in the EU, which also is not a full member of NATO appears doubtful, this study has shown that in fact Malta did leave its footprint in the CSDP. Keeping in mind the limitations small size brings with it, the country has contributed both with personnel to a number of CSDP operations as well financially to, military missions via the CSDP Athena system, and to the EU Institute for Security Studies. In addition to this, Malta's participation has also shaped the CSDP by giving more voice to those regions which may not necessarily be the policy priorities of those member states situated outside the surroundings of the Mediterranean basin.

This study highly supports the arguments raised by the neo-functionalists school of thought presented in section 3.3.2, where it is argued that European foreign policy is one that exists, is respected and leaves an impact on world politics. As witnessed in this dissertation, while within the CSDP framework a common European identity is being promoted through Supranational European institutions, a point which shows that a European strategic culture is emerging; it is also evident that this supports national foreign policies rather than replaces them. Moreover, taking into consideration how the CSDP has grown into sophistication to meet the challenges surrounding the security environment and its deployment in turbulent regions it could be deduced that this study discards the arguments raised by realists presented in section 3.3.2, which shed doubt on the EU in being an effective global actor.

Recalling from the ESS (2003:1), taking into consideration the ever growing complexity of the security challenges faced by Europe and the fact that no single state is able to prevent or manage crises alone, the researcher agrees with the former High Representative for the CFSP and Secretary General of the Council of the EU, Javier Solana (2009:7), who stated that alliances and coalitions are the only choice. This assertion becomes more relevant when one considers that since the creation of the ESS in 2003, the world became more dangerous, dividing and disorienting and the EU's security environment at its eastern and southern neighbourhoods has deteriorated significantly. Hence, in the face of these

contemporary security challenges, one concurs with the present High Representative for the CFSP Federica Mogherini, when she articulated that in a degraded security environment, a commitment to strengthening CSDP is crucial (EU (G), 2015).

Being part of the EU and surrounded by a highly turbulent region i.e. North Africa, which since the Arab spring in 2011 has been faced with conflicts, threats and instability, these assertions also hold water for Malta. Thus, in view of all this, as a final outcome of this study, it is advocated that the CSDP should continue to be part of the instruments that the country uses to meet its present-day security challenges, particularly with regards to Illegal Migration, which according to Federica Mogherini herself, the need to tackle this problem is a huge responsibility shared amongst all Member States, not only as Europeans but also globally (EU (H), 2015).

On a concluding note, further research in this area is suggested, particularly on the socialisation effect as a consequence of European Integration. It is to be remarked that notwithstanding the evidence of the socialisation effect in this study, it has to be acknowledged that this needs further research in the future in order to substantiate and triangulate elements of socialisation that resulted through this research.

Moreover, further research could also delve into an in depth study on the CSDP mission planning process and the involvement of Member States in this whole system. This would be a highly relevant contribution towards understanding better the concept of governance beyond the nation state within this policy framework.

Finally, it is perceived that the outcomes of this study would serve good for any strategic planning by policy makers aimed to enhance Malta's effectiveness within the CSDP framework.

References

AFM (Armed Forces of Malta). 2007. *On Parade 2007 – The Civilian counterpart of the AFM*. Armed Forces of Malta. Cited from http://www.afm.gov.mt/op2007?l=1 (Accessed on the 04/04/2015).

AFM (Armed Forces of Malta). 2011. *The Armed Forces of Malta - Welcome*. Cited from http://www.afm.gov.mt/home?l=1 (Accessed on 14/01/2015).

AFM (Armed Forces of Malta). 2011(a). *Overseas operations*. Cited from http://www.afm.gov.mt/overseas?l=1 (Accessed on 06/04/2015)

Bailes A. 2008. *The EU and a 'better world': what role for the European Security and Defence Policy?* International Affairs 84(1), pp 115-130.

Bailes, A J K and Rafnsson . 2012. *Iceland and the EU's Common Security and Defence Policy: Challenge or Opportunity?* Stjornmal and Stjornsysla 1. Tbl. 8.arg. 2012(109-131).

Ballester, B. 2013. *The Cost of Non-Europe in Common Security and Defence Policy.* Report 4/2013, European Parliamentary Research Service, European Parliament, Brussels.

Baun, M and Marek, D. 2013. *The New Member States and the European Union. Foreign policy and Europeanisation.* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.

Benneyworth, I J. 2011. *Does the European Union have a strategic culture?* E-International Relations Publishing.

Beyers, J. 2005. *Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials.* International Organization, Vol. 59, No. 4, International Institutions and Socialization in Europe (autumn, 2005), pp. 899-936.

Biava, Drent and Herd, 2011 and Norheim – Martinsen, 2011 as cited in Sweeney, S.2013. *Emergent strategic culture and coexistence: can a CSDP based on lowest common denominator agreement be strategic?* Paper presented at UACES annual conference 'exchanging ideas on Europe', Leeds UK.

Bickerton, C, Irondelle, B and Menon A. 2011. *Security Co-operation beyond the Nation-State: The EU's Common Security and Defence Policy*. JCMS 2011 Volume 49. Number 1 pp 1-21.

Biscop S and Whiteman R G. 2013. *The Routledge Handbook of European Security*. Routledge New York.

Blavoukos S and Bourantonis D. 2012. *The Evolving Relationship between Neutrality and European Security Integration: What Lies Ahead?* Paper prepared for the Conference 'Comparing and contrasting "Europeanization": Concepts and experiences' 14-16 May 2012 Athens – Greece.

Borg T. 2008. *Malta's Euro-Mediterranean Vocation*. Speech by Hon. Dr. Tonio Borg, Malta's Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Euro-Med Seminar, St. Julians 14/07/2008. Cited from: http://www.euromed-seminars.org.mt/seminar25/papers/081114-Tonio_Borg-EMSXXV-Malta.htm (Accessed on 02/04/2015).

Borzel Tanja.2001. *Pace-Setting, Foot-Dragging, and Fence-Sitting. Member State Responses to Europeanization.* Queens papers on Europeanisation.

Bryman A. 2012. *Social Research Methods.* 4th Edition, Oxford University Press, New York.

Bulmer, S and Radaellli, C M. 2004. *The Europeanisation of National Policy*. Queens papers on Europeanisation.

Bulmer, 2007 and Radaelli, 2003 as cited in Baun, M and Marek, D. 2013. *The New Member States and the European Union. Foreign policy and Europeanisation.* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.

Burch 2001, Dyson 2000, George 1976 as cited in Kerry, H E. 2004. *Developing Conceptualisation of Europeanisation: Synthesising Methodological Approaches.* Queens Papers on Europeanisation No. 03/2004.

Busuttil S. 2003. *Neutrality. What was the outcome of negotiations on Neutrality?* Times of Malta 14 January. Cited from: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20030114/opinion/neutrality.158952 (Accessed on 27/03/2015).

Calleya, S. 2002. *Looking Ahead: Malta's Foreign Policy Agenda*. Standard Publications Limited.

Calleya, S.2009. *Malta's Foreign Policy and European Union Membership.* European Documentation and Research Centre (EDRC) report on Malta in the EU: Five Years On and Looking to the Future. Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence Civil Society Project.

Carlsnaes and Smith 1994, Zielanka 1998b, Nuttal 2000, White 2001, H Smith 2002, K. E. Smith 2005 as cited in Wong, R. 2011. *The Europeanisation of Foreign Policy* in the International Relations and the European Union, 2nd edition, Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press.

Cologne European Council. 1999. *Conclusions of the Presidency*. European Council Cologne 3-4 June 1999. Cited from: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/kol1_en.htm (Accessed 08/06/2015).

Cornish, P and Edwards, G. 2001. *Beyond the EU / NATO dichotomy: the beginnings of a European strategic culture.* International Affairs 77 (3) 587-603.

COE (Council of the EU). 2008. *Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy - Providing Security in a Changing World. Cited* from: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/104630.pdf (Accessed on 08/05/2015).

COE (Council of the EU). 2013. European Council 19/20 December 2013. Cited from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/140214.pdf (Accessed on 02/10/2015).

COE (Council of the EU). *2014. Foreign Affairs Council configuration*. Cited from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/configurations/fac/ (Accessed on 08/05/2015).

COE (Council of the EU) (A). *2014. Financing of military operations: the ATHENA mechanism.* Cited from: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/cj15/dv/sede210115factsheetathena_/sede210115factsheetathena_en.pdf (Accessed on 08/05/2015).

COE (Council of the EU). 2015. Council conclusions on CSDP 18 May 2015. Cited from http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/05/18-council-conclusions-csdp/ (Accessed on 02/10/2015).

Constitution of Malta, Chapter 1 Article 1(3). Cited from: http://justiceservices.gov.mt/DownloadDocument.aspx?app=lom&itemid=8566 (Accessed on 10/05/2015).

Cowles M, Carposo J and Risse, T. 2001. *Transforming Europe: Europeanisation and Domestic change*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Dedicated to the Eastern Front. 6 July 2010. Times of Malta. Cited from http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20100706/local/dedicated-to-the-eastern-front.316392 (Accessed on 09/05/2015).

DOI (Department of Information).2012.*Permanent Representative of Malta to the European Union. Adviser to the Prime Minister on EU affairs*. Cited from: http://www.doi-archived.gov.mt/en/press_releases/2012/07/Perm.Rep.of%20Malta%20to%20EU.pdf (Accessed on 10/04/2015).

Dosenrode, S. 2012. *The European Union after Lisbon. Polity, Politics, Policy*. Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Dyson, T and Konstadines, T. 2013. *European Defence Cooperation in EU law and IR theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.

EDA (European Defence Agency). 2005 – 2012. *Defence Data Portal*. Cited from http://www.eda.europa.eu/info-hub/defence-data-portal (Accessed on 09/04/2015).

EULEX Kosovo. 2015. *EULEX implements its mandate through four operational objectives.* Cited from http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,44 (Accessed on the 06/04/2015).

European Commission. 1993 . *The challenge of enlargement. Commission opinion on Malta's application for membership.* Office for official publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.

ESS (European Security Strategy). 2003. *A Secure Europe in a better world*. European Council, Brussels.

EU (European Union). 2015. *About CSDP – The Cologne European Council.* European External Action Service (EEAS), Brussels. Cited from: http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/about-csdp/cologne_council/index_en.htm (Accessed on 13/01/2015).

EU (European Union) (a). 2015. *Security and Defence - CSDP.* European External Action Service (EEAS), Brussels. Cited from: http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/index_en.htm (Accessed on 13/01/2015).

EU (European Union) (b). 2015. *How the EU works.* Cited from: http://europa.eu/about-eu/index_en.htm (Accessed on 13/02/2015).

EU (European Union) (c) 2015. *About CSDP - The Berlin Plus Agreement.* European External Action Service (EEAS), Brussels. Cited from http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/about-csdp/berlin/index_en.htm (Accessed on the 10/4/2015).

EU (European Union) (d). 2014. *Official Directory of the European Union 2014*. Publications Office of the European Union. Luxembourg.

EU (European Union) (e). 2015. EUOM / BiH. European External Action Service (EEAS). Cited from http://www.eeas.europa.eu/csdp/missions-and-operations/eupm-bih/index_en.htm (Accessed on 11/04/2015).

EU (European Union) (f). 2015. *About CSDP - The Petersberg Tasks.* European External Action Service (EEAS), Brussels. Cited from http://eeas.europa.eu/csdp/about-csdp/petersberg/index_en.htm

EU (European Union) (g).2015. The European Union in a changing global environment: A more connected, contested and complex world. Cited from http://eeas.europa.eu/docs/strategic_review/eu-strategic-review_strategic_review_en.pdf (Accessed on the 02/10/2015)

EU (European Union) (h).2015. High Representative/Vice-President Federica Mogherini's remarks at the UN Security Council, New York. Cited from http://www.eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150511_03_en.htm (Accessed on the 02/10/2015).

Featherston, K. 2003. *Introduction: In the Name of 'Europe'*. Paper presented in The Politics of Europeanisation, Featherstone, K and Radaelli, C M (2003). Oxford University Press.

Fenech, D. 1996. *Malta's external security*. Geojournal 4.2: 153-163. Kluwer Academie Publishers. Printed in the Netherlands.

Fenech, D. 2010. *The 2003 Maltese EU Referendum and General Election.* West European Politics. Routledge.

Fiott, D. 2010. *How Europeanised has Maltese Foreign Policy become?* Meditarranean Quarterly 21:3, Meditarranean Affairs Inc.

Fiott, D. 2015. *Being Small and Acting Tall? Malta and European Defence.* The CSDP: National Perspectives Series, Article 19 (Malta No.1). European Geostrategy.

Friedman, G. April 2 2013. *Beyond the Post-Cold War World*. Geopolitical Weekly. Cited from https://www.stratfor.com/weekly/beyond-post-cold-war-world (Accessed on 22/03/2015.

Frith, H. and Gleeson, K. 2004. *Clothing and Embodiment: Men Managing Body Image and Appearance.* Psychology of Men and Masculinity 5(1), p. 40.

FRONTEX. 2014. *FRONTEX publishes Risk Annual Analysis*. Cited from http://frontex.europa.eu/news/frontex-publishes-annual-risk-analysis-2014-wc71Jn (Accessed on 03/04/2015).

Ginsberg, 1989 as cited in Muller, P and Flers N A. 2012. *Dimensions and Mechanisms of the Europeanization of Member State Foreign Policy: State of the Art and New Research Avenues.* Institute for European Integration Research , Austrian Academy of Sciences , Vienna , Austria.

Guyomarch et al. 1998, Bulmer and Burch 1999, Milward 1992: 20 and Laffan and Stubb 2003 as cited in Wong, R. 2011. *The Europeanisation of Foreign Policy* in the International Relations and the European Union, 2nd edition, Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press.

Greaves, W. 1979. *Heroic Islands finally fall – without a shot being fired*. Daily Mail. 2 April 1979.

Grima, G .2009. *Five years down the line, does the public administration have a great narrative?* European Documentation and Research Centre (EDRC) report on Malta in the EU: Five Years On and Looking to the Future. Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence Civil Society Project.

Gross 2009 and Miskimmon 2007 as cited in Muller, P and Flers N A. 2012. *Dimensions and Mechanisms of the Europeanization of Member State Foreign Policy: State of the Art and New Research Avenues.* Institute for European Integration Research , Austrian Academy of Sciences , Vienna , Austria.

Gross, E and Menon, A. 2013. CSDP between internal constraints and external challenges. EU institute of security studies, Paris.

Gualini, E. 2004. *Multi-Level Governance and Institutional Change: The Europeanisation of regional policy in Italy.* Ashgate Pub Ltd.

Handel, M. 1990. Weak States in the International System, Frank Cass, London.

Harwood, M. 2006. *The Potential for Change : Europeanisation, Civil Society and Ethics*.' Paper presented in the Family, Law, Religion and Society in the European Union and Malta (169 – 181) (2006), ed. P. Xuereb, Dormax Press, Malta.

Harwood, M. 2014. *Malta in the European Union.* Ashgate Publishing company, England.

Hix, S and Goetz, K. (2000). *'Introduction: European Integration and National Political Systems'.* West European Politics, special issue 'Europeanised Politics? European Integration and National Political Systems', 23(4) (Oct).

Howorth, J. 2007. *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Howorth, J. 2010. *The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?* JCMS 2010 Volume 48. Number 3 pp. 455-474.

Howorth, J. 2011. *Decision-making in Security and Defence Policy. Towards Supranational Intergovermentalism?* KFG Working Paper, Freie University Berlin.

ISIS Europe (International Security Information Service Europe). 2014. CSDP Map mission chart. Cited from: http://www.csdpmap.eu/mission-chart (Accessed on 13/03/2015).

Juncos, A and Pomorska, K. 2006. *Playing the Brussels game: strategic socialisation in CFSP Council Working Groups*. European Integration online papers, 10 (11).

Jung, J F. 2009. *Germany's role in European Security and Defence Policy.* Paper presented in Wogau, K. (2009) pp14-26. The Path to European Defence, New Roads, New Horizons. John Harper Publishing.

Kassim, 2000: 238 as cited in Vale, R. 2011. Is 'Europeanisation' a useful concept? E-International Relations Students. Cited from http://www.e-ir.info/2011/01/17/is-%E2%80%98europeanization%E2%80%99-a-useful-concept/ (Accessed on 15/02/2015).

Klein, T. 2014 . *Small states in the Common Security and Defence Policy. Insights from foreign policy role conceptions.* Paper prepared for the ECPR Graduate Student Conference, University of Innsbruck, July 2014.

Kothari, C. R. 2004. *Research Methodology Methods and Techniques* .2nd ed. New Age International Publishers.

Ladrech, R. 1994. *The Europeanisation of Domestic Politics and Institutions: The Case of France*. Journal of Common Market Studies 32(1): 69-88.

Lee, 1972 as cited in Fenech, D. 1996. *Malta's external security*. Geojournal 4.2: 153-163. Kluwer Academie Publishers. Printed in the Netherlands.

Levy, J S. 1994. Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a conceptual Minefield. International Organisation 48(2): 279 – 312.

Mair, P .2004. *The Europeanisation Dimension*. Journal of European Public Policy 11(2) 337-348.

Major, 2005, Miskimmon, 2007, Vaqueri Fanes, 2001, Wong, 2005, 2007 as cited in Muller, P and Flers, N A. 2010. *Applying the concept of Europeanisation to the study of Foreign Policy : Dimensions and Mechanisms.*Paper prepared for the GARNET Conference 2010 – The European Union in International Affairs, Panel B.3.

Manners and Whiteman, 2000 as cited in Featherston, K. 2003. *Introduction: In the Name of 'Europe'*. Paper presented in The Politics of Europeanisation, Featherstone, K and Radaelli, C M (2003). Oxford University Press.

Maltese Policemen join EU Mission. May 1 2005. Times of Malta. Cited from: http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20050501/local/maltese-policemen-join-eu-mission.91738 (Accessed on 06/05/2015).

Marks, D. and Yardley, L. 2004. *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. SAGE.

Menon, A. 2009. *Empowering Paradise: ESDP at Ten*. International Affairs 85(2) 227-246.

MEUSAC (Malta – EU Steering and Action Committee). 2012. Pre-Accession Documentation. Cited from http://www.meusac.gov.mt/media-docs?l=1 (Accessed on the 27/03/2015).

Meyer C. 2006. *The Quest for a European Strategic Culture: Changing Norms on Security and Defence in the European Union*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2006. *Strategic Objectives of Malta's Foreign Policy*. Valletta 8 February 2006. Cited from: http://www.doi-archived.gov.mt/EN/press_releases/2006/02/pr0184a.doc (Accessed on 03/04/2015).

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2013. *Malta's Foreign Policy Guiding Principles*. Valletta 17 July 2013. Cited from:

https://foreignaffairs.gov.mt/en/Documents/Guiding%20Principles.pdf (Accessed on 03/04/2015).

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (A). 2013. *Annual Report 2013*. Cited from: https://www.gov.mt/en/Government/Publications/Documents/Annual%20Reports/2013/MFA.pdf (Accessed on 04/04/2015).

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). 2014. *Director General Political, EU Affairs and Maltese Abroad.* Cited from: https://foreignaffairs.gov.mt/en/Pages/DG-Political.aspx . Cited on 05/04/2015 (Accessed on 05/04/2015).

MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). February 26 2015. EU Medal for Maltese Diplomatic Officer seconded to mission in Libya. Cited from: https://foreignaffairs.gov.mt/en/Government/Press%20Releases/Pages/EU-MEDAL-FOR-MALTESE-DIPLOMATIC-OFFICER-SECONDED-TO-MISSION-IN-LIBYA.aspx (Accessed on 05/04/2015).

MHAS (Ministry for Home Affairs and National Security). 2013. *Defence Matters Directorate*. Government of Malta. Cited from: https://homeaffairs.gov.mt/en/MHAS-Departments/Defence%20Matters%20Directorate/Pages/Defence-Matters-Directorate.aspx (Accessed on 05/04/2015).

Mix, D. 2013. *The European Union Foreign and Security Policy*. Congressional Research Service (CRS) report for Congress, CRS.

Muller, P and Flers, N A. 2010. *Applying the concept of Europeanisation to the study of Foreign Policy : Dimensions and Mechanisms.*Paper prepared for the GARNET Conference 2010 – The European Union in International Affairs, Panel B.3.

Muller, P and Flers N A. 2012. *Dimensions and Mechanisms of the Europeanization of Member State Foreign Policy: State of the Art and New Research Avenues.* Institute for European Integration Research , Austrian Academy of Sciences , Vienna , Austria.

Nuttal, S, 1992 and Tonra, B, 2001 as cited in Tonra, B and Christianson, T. 2004. *Rethinking European Union Foreign Policy*. Manchester University Press. Nuttall, S. 1997 *'The CFSP at Maastricht: old friend or new enemy?'* Paper prepared for the Fifth Biennial International Conference of the European Community Studies Asso- ciation, Seattle, WA, 29 May–1 June.

NSO (National Statistics Office). 2014. *Malta in Figures 2014*. National Statistics Office, Valletta.

Olsen, J P. 2002. *The many faces of Europeanisation*. Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 40 No 5. (921 – 952).

OPM (Office of the Prime Minister). 2007. *Annual Reports of Governments departments – 2006*. Government of Malta. Cited from: https://www.gov.mt/en/Government/Publications/Publications%20and%20Policies/Documents/Annual%20Report%20of%20Government%20Departments%20-%202006.pdf (Accessed on07/04/2015).

OPM (Office of the Prime Minister). 2008. *Annual Reports of Governments departments – 2007*. Government of Malta. Cited from: https://www.gov.mt/en/Government/Publications/Publications%20and%20Policies/Documents/Annual%20Report%20of%20Government%20Departments%20-%202007.pdf (Accessed on07/04/2015).

Pace, R. 2002. *A Small State and the European Union: Malta's EU Accession Experience.* South European Society and Polities, Vol 7, No 1 (Summer 2002) pp. 24-42, Published by Frank Cass, London.

Pace R. 2003. *Malta and EU Membership: Adaptation, Change and Modernisation*. Agora without Frontiers Volume 8, (4) 2003.

Pace, R. 2013. *Malta. A Lilliputian state's struggle for security and peace.* Paper presented in The New Member States and the European Union. Foreign policy and Europeanisation. Baun M and Marek D. 2013. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group.

Pace, R. 2013 (a). *Malta – Strategic Culture.* Paper presented in 'Strategic Cultures in Europe'. H, Biehl, Giegerich, B and Jonas, A. 243 – 253 (2013). Springer Science and Business Media.

Parlament ta' Malta. 2015. *Foreign and European Affairs Committee*. Cited from http://www.parlament.mt/foreignandeuropeanaffairscommittee (Accessed on 05/04/2015).

Petersberg Declaration. 19 June 1992. *Western European Union. Western European Union Council of Ministers.* Bonn 19 June 1992. Cited from: http://www.weu.int/documents/920619peten.pdf (accessed on 26/02/2015).

Philip de Schoutheete, 1986 as cited in Fiott, D. 2010. *How Europeanised has Maltese Foreign Policy become?* Meditarranean Quarterly 21:3, Meditarranean Affairs Inc.

Radaelli, C M. 2000. *Whiter Europeanisation? Concept stretching and substantive change*. European Integration online papers.

Radaelli, C M. 2003. *The Europeanisation of Public Policy*. Paper presented in The Politics of Europeanisation, Featherstone, K and Radaelli, C M (2003). Oxford University Press.

Radaelli , C M. 2004. *Europeanisation: Solution or problem?* European Integration Online Papers.

Radaelli, C M, 2007 as cited in Wong, R. 2011. *The Europeanisation of Foreign Policy* in the International Relations and the European Union, 2nd edition, Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press.

Rehrl, J and Weisserth, H. 2012. *Handbook on CSDP. The Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU. Second edition*. Federal Ministry of defence and sports of The Republic of Austria. Armed Forces Printing Centre Vienna Austria.

Renard, T. 2014. *The European Union: A new Security Actor?* European University Institute working paper RSCAS 2014/45.

Sajdik and Schwarzinger.2009. *EU Enlargement Background developments and facts.* Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick.

Sammut, J. 2009. *The influence of EU membership on Malta's public administration.* European Documentation and Research Centre (EDRC) report on Malta in the EU: Five Years On and Looking to the Future. Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence Civil Society Project.

Smith, M .E. 2000. *Conforming to Europe: The Domestic Impact of EU Foreign Policy Cooperation*. Journal of European Public Policy, 7(4): 613-31.

Smith, M .E. 2004. *Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: the Institutionalization of Cooperation* .Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, M E. 2004(B). *Institutionalisation, Policy Adaptation and European Foreign Policy Cooperation*. European Journal of International Relations, 10(1), pp.95-136.

Solana, J. 2009. *10 years of European Security and Defence Policy.* Paper presented in Wogau, K. (2009) pp2-10. The Path to European Defence, New Roads, New Horizons. John Harper Publishing.

St. Malo. 1998. *Joint Declaration issued at the British-French Summit St Malo France 3-4 December 1998.* EU Institute for Security Studies. Cited from: http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp047e.pdf (Accessed on the 26/02/2015).

Sweeney, S.2013. *Emergent strategic culture and coexistence: can a CSDP based on lowest common denominator agreement be strategic?* Paper presented at UACES annual conference 'exchanging ideas on Europe', Leeds UK.

TEU (Treaty of the EU). 2012. Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Cited from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-

content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=en (Accessed on 13/01/2015).

Tonra, B, 2000 and Gross, E, 2009 as cited in Baun, M and Marek, D. 2013. *The New Member States and the European Union. Foreign policy and Europeanisation.* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.

Tonra, B. 2013. *Europeanisation and EU Foreign Policy: A genealogy and Survey*. 8th Pan European Conference on International Relations Warsaw 2013. UCD School of Politics and International Relations, Dublin.

Van Crefeld, 1991, Kaldor, 2007 as cited in Howorth, J. 2010. *The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?* JCMS 2010 Volume 48. Number 3 pp. 455-474.

Warrington, E. 1998. *'Standing to arms in Lilliput' – the armed forces, external relations and domestic politics in a micro-state: Malta, 1965-1997*. Public Administration and Development Dev 18, 185-199 (1998). John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Wong, R. 2011. *The Europeanisation of Foreign Policy* in the International Relations and the European Union, 2nd edition, Christopher Hill and Michael Smith, Oxford University Press.

Wong, R, 2011 and Gross, E, 2009 as cited in Baun, M and Marek, D. 2013. *The New Member States and the European Union. Foreign policy and Europeanisation.* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.

Wright, N. 2013. *Co-operation, Co-optation, Competition? Understanding how Britain and Germany interact with the EU's Common Foreign Security Policy, and why they employ the strategies they do.* A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of East Anglia, School of Political, Social and International Studies. Norwich, March 2013.

Appendix 1: Interview Guide 1

This interview guide was presented to Ambassador Tarcisio Zammit, Dr Tonio Borg, Mrs Helga Mizzi, Brigadier (retd.) Martin Xuereb and Colonel Brian Gatt.

1. How has the process of domestic institutional reform (new structures, new personnel) within (name entity / organisation) (in particular relating to the CSDP) been affected by its adaptation to the demands of EU membership?

2. Has the 'need to fit into and interact' within the CSDP collective policy-making machinery altered work practices and procedures when it comes to policy making?

3. What has been the impact of cross-border networking and cooperation within CFSP / CSDP on the policy cultures or styles of national foreign ministries? *(has FP became more of a collective endeavour, increased cooperation between other national foreign ministries)*

4. Did Malta face constitutional and legal questions about its participation in the CFSP / CSDP?

5. Has Malta altered national foreign policy positions to align them with established CFSP common positions and principles?

6. Has Malta broadened or deepened its national foreign policy interests, leading in to involvement in policies and issues in which it would not otherwise engaged? E.g. participation in CSDP missions in Georgia, Somalia, Gulf of Eden, Gaza

7. Has it given rise to new perceptions of national interests and altered views of relations with third countries?

8. To what extent has elite socialisation (by personnel in Brussels) led to the development of habits of cooperation and a consultation or coordination reflex among national foreign policy elites?

9. Has participation by national elites (e.g. ambassadors / perm rep) in the collective effort to forge common policy positions within the CSDP (e.g. initiation of CSDP missions) altered national perceptions and policy positions on key issues?

10. Does Malta view its participation in the CSDP and European Foreign Policy Cooperation as an opportunity or a constraint when it comes to national foreign policy?

11. What specific tactics or strategies have been used to exert influence (in initiating CSDP missions or opposing CSDP missions) and how effective have they been?

Appendix 2: Interview Guide 2

This interview guide was presented to Major Josef Ciappara and Captain David Aquilina. Both officers participated operationally in CSDP missions.

1. In which CSDP mission did you participate?

2. What process or procedures did you follow before participating in this CSDP mission? (How did you get to know about the mission, where did you apply, what procedures did you encompass? in simpler words was there an institutional set-up in place?)

3. Were you provided with any training before participating in this mission?

4. What was your role in the mission?

5. In what ways has your role contributed to regional stability?

6. How are the objectives of the mission set out? (Are they stipulated from Brussels?)

7. Are these objectives strictly adhered to or are they reviewed during the course of the mission? If they were reviewed in what ways has your participation affected such decision?

8. Has your participation brought you in closer collaboration with other personnel from different member states (police forces / military etc...)? Do you share the same objectives and sense of direction as other diplomat-police / soldier from other member states?

9. What challenges did you face in this mission? (e.g. such as deteriorating security environment)

10. To what extent has this mission served as an arena for the learning of best practices? (such as in gaining operational insights, command-decision making and equipment used by more advanced forces)

11. To what extent have these best practices directly or indirectly been reflected back to Malta?

12. How do Maltese participants cope with the fact that they are coming from a small island state with limited experiences in overseas missions and are participating closely with others from much bigger countries?

13. Do you view the mission as a matter of national interest? If so in what ways?

14. In what ways does Malta benefit from its participation in these missions?