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Permanent change? the paths of change of the European security organizations

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Epilogue

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My dissertation spans a quarter century, roughly from 1990 to 2016. The moment of writing is 2021, and looking back over the last few years it is evident that developments have not stopped. Again, the world order is challenged. The post-war multilateral system and the European security architecture, the OSCE, NATO and the EU, have come under scrutiny again. However, these organizations have survived many crises and conflicts for more than seventy years, as the title of my dissertation testifies.

The European security architecture has been dominated by two statements of American politicians for decades. First of all, former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's 'three D's' (1998), referring to future EU-NATO relation, contain no duplication, no decoupling, no discrimination. Though it was meant to prevent competition between NATO and the EU, which was especially feared by Trans-Atlantic states like the Netherlands, it foresaw a forthcoming battle between these two institutions. Second, former US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld stated that it is the mission that will determine the coalition, and not the other way around (2001), which yielded many flourishing initiatives for bi- and multilateral, and inter- and intra-, organizational cooperation schemes, such as BG, PESCO, Berlin Plus, NRF, VJTF, NG, JEF and El2, often applicable for NATO, the EU and a possible coalition of the able and willing creating an *à la carte* security architecture.

Based on EU's Treaty of Lisbon (2009), the 2016 EU Global Strategy gave rise to more European initiatives and instruments followed by the Strategic Compass, whose aim is to further develop all these initiatives like, for instance, the completion of the mutual assistance clause, a military headquarters, the legally binding PESCO commitments and the financial instruments. After the 'Wales' (2014) and 'Warsaw' (2016) Summits, NATO has been reconsidering its tasks and heading for a new strategy, preparing NATO for 2030. Furthermore, since 2016 EU-NATO ties have become closer and closer by broadening and deepening their cooperation in many areas, such as terrorist, hybrid and cyber threats, military mobility, emerging disruptive technologies, resilience, building-up of capacities, research and development and so on. Once an intention or a commitment has been laid down in a political agreement or treaty, like PESCO, it is likely that developments follow from there. Hence, instead of the EU and NATO contradicting and competing with each other, they have become complementary, connecting and mutually reinforcing. A stronger EU, as a security and defence actor equipped with an extensive and varied civilian and military toolbox, results in a stronger NATO, and vice versa.

However, although EU and NATO cooperation has strengthened, the European ring of fire is by no means a pile of smouldering ashes, quite the opposite, as is evident from the rekindled conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan (autumn 2020), and the upsurge in democratic protests in Belarus (from August 2020), which clearly demonstrates OSCE's valuable position in the European security architecture.

Hence, the formerly-held idea of an empirical division of tasks among the various European security organizations has, at the same time, led to a theoretical division in analysing security and defence cooperation, creating a strict dividing line between collective defence and collective security organizations, on the one hand, and the forms and functions of security organizations, on the other. However, theories by nature perpetuate an observation and turn a situation into a rule, which brings me to the observation that, as a result of the changes noticeable in the European security architecture, theories on security cooperation in a broad sense are lagging behind the empirical developments that are taking place in a rush. Scholars debating security cooperation and integration theories, who solely apply these theories either to alliances or to the European integration process, tend to overlook new international cooperation forms. In other words, the empirical observations mentioned above engender new fields of theoretical research that have so far been left unexplored.

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