

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

**A Secure Europe In A Better World: Is The European Union
Effectively Tackling its Key Threats ?**

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Declaration of Originality

I hereby declare that this bachelor thesis is the work of my own and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature is attributed and cited in references.

Bratislava, February, 2018

Ivan Iliev

Signature:.....

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Abstract

The subject of the thesis is the European Union and its effectiveness in tackling the threats mentioned in the 2003 European Security Strategy. There are five key threats plus two objectives mentioned in the 2003 European Security Strategy: Terrorism, Proliferation of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State Failure, Organized Crime and, Addressing the Threats and Building security in the neighbourhood. They have continuously been an issue of concern for the countries of the European Union and Europe in general. There has not been a complete analysis of the effectiveness of tackling them. The thesis will use the qualitative and quantitative methods, as the means for description of the threats and steps to tackle them. The thesis investigates whether the European Union has been effective in addressing those issues. Findings of the thesis will help to improve the future EU security strategies.

Bezpečná Európa v Lepšom Svete: Je Európska Únia Efektívna v Boji Proti jej Hlavným Hrozbám?

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Abstrakt

Témou bakalárskej práce je Európska Únia a jej riešenie hrozieb, ktoré sú definované v Európskej bezpečnostnej stratégii z roku 2003. Táto stratégia pomenúva päť bezpečnostných hrozieb: terorizmus, šírenie zbraní hromadného ničenia, regionálne konflikty, nefunkčné štáty, organizovaný zločin, ale aj strategické ciele ako riešenie spomenutých hrozieb a budovanie bezpečnosti v susedstve Európskej Únie. Všetky spomenuté problémy sú dôvodom obáv pre štáty EÚ. Napriek tomuto faktu neexistuje reálna analýza efektivity pri ich riešení. Pre vysvetlenie hrozieb a krokov, ktoré boli uskutočnené na ich riešenie, bakalárska práca využíva kvalitatívnu a kvantitatívnu vedeckú metódu. Práca skúma mieru efektivity Európskej Únie pri riešení hrozieb, ako aj pri budovaní bezpečnejšieho susedstva EÚ. Výstupy práce budú použité ako vzor pre zlepšenie budúcich bezpečnostných stratégií Európskej Únie.

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Introduction

Security is one of the most critical components of survival for the European Union. Since its establishment, the European Union has to fight and tackle different threats. As most of them have developed, the EU needed a proper security strategy. In 2003, the European Council put together the European Security Strategy - A Secure Europe In A Better World. Despite the fact it is called the European Security Strategy, it is focused on the EU and its security, as it is the leading community of states in Europe. It defines key threats and objectives for the European Union – Terrorism, WMD Proliferation, Regional Conflicts, Failed States and Organized Crime, plus Stable Neighbourhood as an objective. Simultaneously, addressing the key threats is mentioned as an objective in the 2003 Security Strategy. However, it is also the main topic of the thesis. Tackling and finding solutions to these 5+1 issues is essential to keep the EU a safe and stable region. What is more, the European Union, by addressing the threats and seeking an objective, makes itself a global player on the field of security and defence.

The thesis comprises three chapters. The first one explains the difference between democracy and autocracy. It defines the critical features of both types of polities, and what kind of values each of them defends. This differentiation is vital for understanding the European Security Strategy. It protects democratic values as human rights, freedom of speech, freedom of movement etc. All of them are the pillars of democracy. If a state does not defend them, it cannot be considered a democratic.

The second chapter starts with the explanation of the 2003 Strategy. There is defined the background and why it was put together by the European Council. Also, this chapter explains what are the elements influencing the face of the European Security Strategy. Later, chapter two provides the definition of the essential threats and a strategic objective. There is explained why that particular threats and an objective are important for the European Union. To tackle and deal with each of them is crucial for the European Union. There could arise the question why other risks and goals are not mentioned in the strategy. Therefore, this part makes clear why the European Council committed itself to deal with the mentioned issues. The second chapter of the thesis also explains proposed solutions to address terrorism, WMD proliferation, regional

conflicts, failed states, organized crime and building security in the neighbourhood. In the end of this part of the thesis, there is explained why building security in the neighbourhood is important regardless of the fact it is not a threat. Rather, it could be understood as a consequence of some threats. To support the argument about EU neighbourhood, the last part of the chapter two brings the Jolyon Howorth's opinion. Howorth, as the expert on the EU security also considers stable and safe neighbourhood the issue of critical importance.

The chapter three defines how the EU has been tackling each threat. It is the practical part of the thesis. That is the basis for answering the question whether the EU is addressing the threats and an objective effectively. There are named finished and ongoing military operations which are dealing with regional conflicts, failed states and building security in the EU neighbourhood. What is more, the second chapter also mentions adopted strategies to tackle WMD proliferation and terrorism. Additionally, this chapter also defines steps the EU has done to combat organized crime. Each section of the chapter three takes a closer look at tackling five key threats plus one objective. Based on these facts, evaluation of their tackling by the EU and proposals for their solution are added. They are based on a questionnaire about the effectiveness of tackling the issues, and communication with security experts who do not want to be named. The goal of this section is to explain how the EU deals with the mentioned issues. Also, the aim of this part is to answer whether the EU's effort is effective, whether there is still some space for improvements and if so, what should be improved.

The primary aim of the thesis is to analyse how the EU has been dealing with threats, an objective, and whether it is an effective strategy. Besides, the hypothesis is also focused on the improvements in tackling the issues. To understand what must be improved requires explaining what has been done. Comprehending the fundamental threats, the strategic objective and effectiveness of their addressing makes the basis for improvements in the future European Union security strategies and in the future tackling of the key threats.

Chapter 1:

1.1 Democracy vs. Autocracy

The world has experienced different types governmental systems. There has been a number of theories explaining why a particular system of government is better than other. However, the aim of this thesis is not to prove which of them is better and which is worse. To understand systems of government is important, as each one has its own features which influence the actions and behaviour of that particular society. Knowing these differences among the systems of government helps fully comprehend why that particular system works in its own way, and why the states follow different types of economic, security and social policy.

For the thesis, these differences are of crucial importance. The key to understanding different security policies in democracy and autocracy are the values each system of government follows and protects.

To understand the security strategy of the European Union requires an awareness of what democracy is, what its central values and goals are, and how it differs from autocratic states. The following chapter compares democracy and autocracy, their aims, and values which lead to the difference in the security policy of democratic and autocratic states.

1.2 What is Democracy?

Democracy, in simple words, means the rule of the people. It was developed in the city-state of Athens during the 5th century BC. Modern democracy has two forms: parliamentary democracy and presidential democracy (Minogue et al., 2005). Democracy is one of the most practiced forms of government in the world today. It is a system where each individual person is allowed to participate on the running of a state. One of the pillars of democratic states is that every citizen has an opportunity to be involved and participate in the political process of a country.

However, the states are not abstract political entities. Each state is comprised of its citizens. Democracy was, and always has been developed by people. Therefore, it is important to explain what a democratic country, or a democratic society is. In the case

of democratic communities, we can say that they protect “people and their rights at the heart of national processes -including their political, economic and socio-cultural rights – as well as freedom of speech, religion, assembly, communications media, and petition for redress of grievances without fear of reprisal. Those democracies also provide the guarantee of the rights to adequate food, clothing, shelter, education, and health care” (Widjojo, p.1, n.d.). These rights and freedoms are the reflections of values and essential elements of democratic societies.

Comprehension of democratic society means to specify and explain the four essential features of democracy. A democratic state should “have a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections” (What is Democracy, 2004). A democratic state protects the right of people to choose, follow, but also to change the leading authorities of their country.

Secondly, a state should secure “the active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life” (What is Democracy, 2004). Every citizen must be allowed to participate in the politics of the country. Each citizen has to be approved to vote and simultaneously can be the one people vote for. Active participation of citizens is a fundamental element of democracy. It allows everyone, who is capable of doing so to be the “the power of change” in a country. The third feature of democracy claims that a state which seeks to be democratic has to protect “the human rights of all citizens” (What is Democracy, 2004). The democratic state is expected to protect the human rights of its citizens. However, Hungary today considers itself a democracy, despite the fact its government does not behave so. Restriction of freedom of speech and expression is present in Hungary. Thus, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish what is and is not a democratic state.

Last but not least, a democratic state is the one that protects “a rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens” (What is Democracy, 2004). Not only the protection of human rights and free access to political process are important. Functioning and equal rule of law is necessary for securing democracy. All of the citizens must be equal in front of the law. Otherwise, it is not possible to call that particular society democratic.

1.3 Autocracy

Opposing the democratic regimes, there stands a different type of the governmental system, autocracy. Autocracy is a form of rule where the leading person or group of people stand above the laws and rule the country. Such control is typical for a dictatorship. “Autocratic leadership, also known as authoritarian leadership, is a leadership style characterized by individual control over all decisions and little input from group members” (Cherry, 2017). Autocratic regimes follow different values than democracy. They are usually ruled by one person, or a smaller group of people who are in charge. Such a person or a group of people possesses unlimited power over the country, making all the decisions with no limitations. In comparison with democracy, people living in autocratic regimes are not allowed to participate, or to change the politics of their country. In autocracy, there is no or insufficient possibility to become a “change maker” in sense of a person involved in political life. People have no right to protest against authorities or to question their decisions. Also, there can arise a question whether autocracy could be advantageous. In fact, in most of the cases, quick decisions are mentioned as an advantage of autocratic leadership (Meyer, Meijers, 2017). Quick decisions are advantageous. However, it is so only in the form of rule where people are allowed to participate in the political life and to influence the decisions of authorities.

It is also important to define what autocratic regimes look like in today's world. The most appropriate example is a dictatorship. There exist three types. The first one is absolute monarchy. In this type of dictatorship, a monarch holds unlimited power. The monarch is not restricted in ruling. All of the critical issues concerning laws or policies are bound by monarch's decision. In most cases, power in the absolute monarchy is succeeded. Absolute Monarchs come to power by right of succession, having been born into the royal family” (Legal Dictionary, n.d.). Examples of absolute monarchy are Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

There is also another type of a dictatorship, so-called benevolent one. That is known for the unlimited power of a leader. However, the leader is usually controlled by the people whether he rules in the way that brings benefits to people. In addition, “a benevolent dictator portrays himself as compassionate and altruistic, allowing for some decisions to be made by a democratic process. A benevolent dictator remains in

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power only while the people allow him” (Legal Dictionary, n.d.). A benevolent dictatorship allows people to participate in political life to some extent. There is also a limited level of freedom to make decisions in the democratic process. Typical examples of such autocratic regime are the cases of Singapore, Rwanda, and Belarus (Legal Dictionary, n.d.).

Undoubtedly, military dictatorship is a type of autocratic regime. In a military dictatorship, a military power holds the control. What is also of high importance, military dictatorship is in most cases the result of the coup, or overthrown due to dissatisfaction with the previous regime. However, a coup or overthrow by an army (military power) does not always lead towards democratic based government. “This type of coup may also result in the military force holding onto its power indefinitely” (Legal Dictionary, n.d.). Military dictatorships could be exemplified by Iraq, Peru, Algeria and Guinea.

This chapter was focused on the explanation and differentiating between democratic and autocratic regimes. Democratic administrations provide far more freedom for citizens in political participation and making political decisions. However, these values cannot defend themselves on their own. There is required a state power that protects them. Democratic regimes secure the essential rights that every human being should possess and be granted. In connection with EU security strategies, there is a particular one to be researched: strategy adopted by the European Council in 2003. There can arise a question why democracy and autocracy should be described in regards to security strategies. The security situation plays a key role in the world. However, the security situation is only the final product of the security situation in a certain region. States all around the world adjust their actions, agreements and behaviour to the values each of them follow. The European Union, as a community of democratic states strictly supports and defends democratic values (European Parliament in plain language, n.d.). Therefore, the 2003 Security Strategy was written as a tool for protection of such values. The dangers mentioned there are those that threaten the values of democratic states. Issues threatening democracy simultaneously threaten the European Union. In the next chapter, the 2003 European Security Strategy will be explained.

Chapter 2: 2003 European Security Strategy

2.1 Background

The European Union has faced a number of issues in the past. What is more, there have been many problems it has to face even today. That is why its member states have to keep their citizens safe and, simultaneously, protect freedom and democracy. The EU member countries ensure the security of their citizens by implementing particular strategies. It is also true that the European Union is a community of states. Each of them has its own security dilemmas. They are based on the domestic pressures and discussions that are considered significant in that particular state. However, “domestic actors played scant role in security and defence policy throughout these decades because it was eminently important to retain national unity in the face of an external enemy” (Matlary, 2009, p.1). Even though security discussions and dilemmas exist inside the states, they do not significantly influence state's security policy. Rather, the external enemies create its face.

During the years, despite the dilemmas and discussions, the EU states formed their security policies according to actual security threats. What is more, the use of military force became a necessity, not an option anymore. However, even war and the types of warfare are not the same as they were forty years ago. The forms of leading combat, and security challenges has changed throughout the years. After the cold war “European states typically engaged in wars of a new type, mostly optional ones that concern terror and/or humanitarian and human rights abuse” (Matlary, 2009, p.1). These new types of war do not only comprise the use of military power. Issues and wars the EU states have to fight are more complicated and thus, more difficult to tackle. The new ways of war are led by the military and political power, with importance in both of the elements. Despite the fact Europe has experienced many conflicts and wars, it has never been “so prosperous, so secure nor so free. The violence of the first half of the 20th Century has given way to a period of peace and stability unprecedented in European history” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.1). The basis for the situation when Europe is the peaceful and free place, was the creation of the European Union in the past. The EU has moderated the relations among the states. The states of the European Union used to deal with problems and disputes in a peaceful way and by cooperation. “European countries are committed to

dealing peacefully with disputes and to co-operating through common institutions” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.1).

Even though Europe is considered a safe region, it constantly has to deal with a number of security challenges. For example, ethnic conflict in the Balkans, or the one in Western Ukraine remind us that security and prevention against disputes have still been vital. Most of the victims in these conflicts were civilians (European Union Global Strategy, 2003).

That is the fact the European Union is aware of. There are many reasons why the EU needs a security strategy. It is a community of states with more than five hundred millions of citizens. To protect such a tremendous mass of people requires establishing a proper security strategy. Also, there are interests of the European Union that have to be protected, and simultaneously followed. It has become a global player in many fields, be it security, economy, etc. Additionally, the EU must be able to react to current threats as they have been developing after the 9/11 (Everts, 2003). Therefore, the European Council, as a body of the European Union developed the Security Strategy in 2003. There are defined critical security threats and strategic objectives for the European Union.

2.2 Key Threats

The Security Strategy from 2003 defines five key threats and an strategic objective. Despite the fact democratic peace theory is valid for Europe and “large-scale aggression against any Member State is now improbable” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.3), there are constant issues the EU has to worry about. Since the military conflict of big scale among the European states has been less likely, the new forms of threats have developed. The European Council starts naming the threats with terrorism. It is considered the threat of the century.

Terrorism is dangerous for the whole world. The European Union is not an exception. Terrorism puts lives at risk, seeks undermining the societies that are open and tolerant, imposes large costs and also, it is a serious strategic threat to Europe (European Union Global Strategy, 2003).

Europe has experience with different types of terrorism. In the past, the national oriented terrorist groups like ETA in Spain, Irish Republican Army in Ireland or fraction of Red Army in Germany posed a threat to particular parts of Europe. That means terrorism is not a new phenomenon for the citizens of Europe. The most threatening one has been the religiously motivated branch. “The most recent wave of terrorism is global in its scope and is linked to violent religious extremism” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.3). Religiously motivated terrorism is the most occurring one today. It is based on the beliefs of particular people or groups, that their religion or faith is “the chosen one”. European Council defines the causes of religiously motivated terrorism. “It arises out of complex causes. These include the pressures of modernisation, cultural, social and political crises, and the alienation of young people living in foreign societies. This phenomenon is also a part of our own society” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.3). Contrary to the past, Europe has become not only the target of terrorists, but also the base for them. “European countries are targets and have been attacked. Logistical bases for Al Qaeda cells have been uncovered in the UK, Italy, Germany, Spain and Belgium” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.3). Besides, the religiously motivated terrorism has mixed itself with a new form, so-called lone wolf terrorism. Lone wolf way of terrorism is the most dangerous from the point of view of predictability. There are practically insufficient possibilities to detect such violent acts (Kavický, Jangl, Gašpíerik, 2015). Terrorism is one issue, but there are also other issues that pose threat to the security of the European Union.

Another concerning issue is the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. According to the European Council, this is the most dangerous threat to Europe. “Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction is potentially the greatest threat to our security” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.3). Treaties among the states in the world and arrangements about export control made the spread of weapons of mass destruction slower. That is the fact that has to be considered a success, with no doubts. What is more concerning is the fact there have appeared new regions where the WMD arms race is present, the Middle East, for example. Some countries in this area developed their biological and scientific capacities on the level they are able to build a nuclear bomb. Additionally, “advances in the biological sciences may increase the potency of biological weapons in the coming 4 years” (European Union Global

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Strategy, 2003, p.3). There is obvious not only nuclear bombs are a threat anymore. Also biological weapons, and radiological materials are a severe warning. Also, Europe has to be afraid of the spread of missile technologies.

Weapons of mass destruction are undoubtedly dangerous to the European Union, and to the world too. The 2003 European Security Strategy mentions scenarios that are the most possible and dangerous simultaneously. The WMD are even more severe threat when they are in possession of a terrorist group. “The most frightening scenario is one in which terrorist groups acquire weapons of mass destruction” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.4). In this case, a small group of people would be able to cause severe damage and casualties. Therefore, WMD is a real threat the EU has to face.

Also regional conflicts are considered a threat. European Council claims that “problems such as those in Kashmir, the Great Lakes Region and the Korean Peninsula impact on European interests directly and indirectly, as do conflicts nearer to home, above all in the Middle East” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.4). Despite the fact these conflicts do not happen in the EU, they are dangerous. Stability could be influenced by such disputes and their continuation. Even though the conflicts threatening the EU security situation are happening on the borders or far from them, they are dangerous. They cause human casualties, threaten minorities, freedom and human rights. Conflicts create extremism, terrorism and make the place for an increase of organized crime (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). Every conflict in the world is a potential threat to the EU security. There does not exist a conflict that would not affect other regions in the world. An example is the Algerian Civil War in 1990's influenced the key player of the EU security, France. The Algerian ruling regime supported by France led war against the Islamists opposing the system. Not only Algeria fell into chaos and bloody war. Islamists knew who supported the regime and consequently, the Algerian terrorist group GIA started to commit terrorist attacks in France. This campaign was the first example of jihad terrorism in Europe (Nesser, 2015). A more current conflict poses a threat to Europe. The conflict that has been triggered on Western Ukraine is definitely the one Europe has to be afraid of. “The latest conflict in Ukraine changed the security situation on the European continent significantly” (Nychyk, 2017, p. 1). This conflict has revealed “the EU's response was

too weak to stop the war, for the Union the response was strong enough to divide its members” (Nychyk, 2017, p.126). What is more, the Syrian Civil War and consequent refugee crisis confirms the fact that regional conflicts threaten the European Union. They cause instability, chaos and disputes among the member states. Another threat is so called failed states. “Bad governance – corruption, abuse of power, weak institutions and lack of accountability - and civil conflict corrode States from within. In some cases, this has brought about the collapse of State institutions” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.4). Failed states pose a threat to the successful functioning of a country, but they can also be a decisive factor in the collapse of the particular state. European Council provides the cases of Somalia, Liberia, and Afghanistan, as the example. Afghanistan under the rule of Taliban terrorist group is the best example (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). Through the years, unfortunately, also Libya joined the club. It has been truly an example of a failed state. Collapse of the state does not bring problems only for that particular region. It can spread terrorism and organized crime (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). In the case of Afghanistan under the reign of Taliban, many terrorists coming to Europe used to undergo training in the country. Later, they committed attacks in the region of Europe and were involved in the regional conflicts like the Yugoslav War in the 1990's. Based on this information, it is possible to conclude that state failure poses a severe threat to security in the EU. Not only does it provide place for spread of terrorism, but it is also undermines global governance, and causes regional instability (Shay, 2009) (European Union Global Strategy, 2003).

Last but not least, there is the threat of organized crime. It is “a threat to European citizens, businesses, state institutions as well as the economy as a whole” (European Commission, 2018). There have been more types of organized crime. Some of them are less serious, the others more. For example, “cross-border trafficking in drugs, women, illegal migrants and weapons accounts for a large part of the activities of criminal gangs” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.4). Such problems also appear in normally functioning states. However, they usually stem in failed states or even weak states. Situation in these countries is dangerous to Europe. Also, revenue from organized crime is usually used to support the conflict in other parts of the world (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). Organized crime is also a threat to the rule

of law. “In extreme cases, organized crime can come to dominate the state” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003), 2003, p.4).

There is also drug smuggling as one of the most dangerous forms of organized crime. However, it is crucial to stress that different forms of organized crime are connected. For example, criminal groups on the Balkan Peninsula involved in human trafficking are also engaged in smuggling of Afghan heroin (Shay, 2009). These connections make organized crime a serious threat to the EU. The EU has to deal with organized crime as it is a source of many other issues and problems.

Dealing with direct threats has its importance, as it is mentioned as a strategic objective in the 2003 Security Strategy. Simultaneously, and importantly, it is also the main topic of this thesis. However, there is one more issue that must be addressed, building security in the EU neighbourhood. Its importance is the fact that stable neighbourhood is as crucial as tackling the key threats. Also, tackling the key dangers is in the connection with stable neighbourhood. Solution of regional conflicts, or failed states highly increases the stability in the EU neighbourhood.

2.3 Building Security in Our Neighbourhood

The European Council mentions conflicts and problems that are appearing in the neighbourhood of the EU. “It is in the European interest that countries on our borders are well-governed” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.7). Even a conflict in the EU neighbourhood poses an issue, whether or not that dispute is situated within the states of the union. Therefore, support of neighbouring countries means a commitment to help, but simultaneously, it makes the European Union closer to the problems of troubled areas. The regions that pose such a threat are countries to the East of the EU, the states on the Mediterranean border, Balkan and African states. The European Security Strategy claims that the task is to make these regions well governed and consequently, make them partners for cooperation. The EU stresses those regions need the help and that the EU should be directly interested and involved in collaboration. Firstly, “the importance of this is best illustrated in the Balkans. Through our concerted efforts with the US, Russia, NATO and other international partners, the stability of the region is no longer threatened by the outbreak of major conflict” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.8). The Balkans is a critical

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region that influences the stability and security situation in the EU. It is necessary to make it more stable and safer (European Parliament, 2016).

Secondly, Arab-Israeli conflict is the priority of strategic importance for Europe. This conflict is something like a gate to the solution of other problems in the Middle East. The European Union proposed the creation of two states. However, the implementation of this resolution needs support of other key players as the U.S., UN, Russia and surely, Israel and Palestine (European Union Global Strategy, 2003).

Thirdly, Mediterranean area is also of high importance to the European Union. Cooperation at the economic and security level is needed. Countries of the mentioned regions must become the partners of the EU. It is possible to achieve by cooperation in culture, economy, security (IEMed, 2015) (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). The following part of the chapter explains Jolyon Howorth's opinion on the stability of neighbourhood. He stresses the importance of dealing with the issue.

2.4 Howorth

Also, the EU security experts are concerned with the EU neighbourhood and instability there. Jolyon Howorth, a professor of international relations at the Bath University, in the book *Security and Defence Policy In The European Union*, mentions the problematic neighbourhood. According to him, Europe's immediate neighbourhood will be more volatile and simultaneously even less stable in the future. He names a few regions that are and also will be the most problematic and dangerous for the European Union security. Russia has been an unpredictable country that does not want to be a Western partner. Instead, Russia tries to build its Moscow-centred system (Howorth, 2007). Russian lack of industrial diversification, social problems and limited and reversible elements of democracy make Russia “a weak neighbour which arguably offers Europe less long-term security than when it was a strong one” (Howorth, 2007, p. 249). What is more, Russian-Chinese cooperation is threatening Europe because it could become a separate trading block, or even worse, a military alliance that would challenge the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation for supremacy (Howorth, 2007).

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On the other hand, Howorth in his book also mentions the Middle East as a problematic region. He is concerned by Turkish ambitions to become a member of the European Union. Despite the fact Hoyworth's book was published in 2007, the strengthening of Erdogan's power and consequent lack of democracy in Turkey are threatening today. Additionally, possible Turkish membership in the European Union would make the EU a neighbour with some of the most turbulent areas as Georgia, Armenia, Iraq, Iran, and Syria. Moreover, with Turkey in the EU, Lebanon would be situated only one hundred miles from another turbulent region, Golan Heights. Iran that is more stable country than Iraq or Syria has developed its nuclear program. Despite the concerns about Iranian nuclear activity, Howorth states it is not so dramatic in the end.

Problems in the EU neighbourhood could be solved by cooperation and partnership, the Security Strategy claims. Only assistance and support from the EU is the way towards more stable neighbourhood. The European Union as the key player on the continent has to be aware of the tackling of mentioned threats. The European Security Strategy was published in 2003. Since that time, many facts have changed, but the threats continuously pose a danger. Therefore, it is necessary to ask what does the European Union propose to tackle them? This question is answered in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Addressing and Tackling the Threats

3.1 Addressing the Threats

The 2003 European Security Strategy proposes addressing the threats because that is also mentioned as an objective. Terrorism is the first key threat and the Security Strategy explains how to tackle it. The 9/11 was a terrible crime committed by terrorists on the civilians in the U.S.A. The terrorists killed thousands of innocent people and also attacked the values that Western civilization protects and follows. This attack was a hit on democracy and freedom (Nesser, 2015). Consequently, also the European countries started to fight against terrorism. The EU responded “by measures that included the adoption of a European Arrest Warrant, steps to attack terrorist financing and an agreement on mutual legal assistance with the U.S.A” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.6). The war against terrorism is a global issue. That is a problem every country in the world has to be aware.

In the case of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the European Union has pursued policies and means to tackle this issue. The EU has agreed on a programme that predicts steps to “strengthen the International Atomic Energy Agency, measures to tighten export controls and to deal with illegal shipments and illicit procurement” (European Union Global Strategy, 2003, p.6). The European Union is committed to tackle the problem of WMD. Mentioning of this problem in its Security Strategy, but also strengthening the cooperation in order to tackle the problem proves it.

The issues of regional conflicts, failed states and building security in neighbourhood are connected. The EU has tried to solve many regional conflicts in Afghanistan, the Balkans, Africa, etc. The EU contributed to military operations in these countries. What is more, cooperation, restoring good government and fostering democracy have tried to enable the Balkan countries to tackle the issue of organized crime, and to build more stable neighbourhood (European Union Global Strategy, 2003) (Shay, 2009). In the case of organized crime, the EU established agencies and adopted the strategies to tackle this problem.

The modern era is not characterized only by the threats that are near at hand. There have appeared possible dangers - distant threats the European countries have to face. Such threats could be considered North Korea and its nuclear program, South Asia and the nuclear risk that lays there, and proliferation of WMD in the Middle East (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). Additionally, terrorism in Europe is not the only one the EU has to be concerned with. Terrorism is a global phenomenon. Even a terrorist group operating in Asia could be considered a threat.

With the changing world, the face of threats has changed. Dangers are more sophisticated and challenging to tackle. Therefore, each threat needs to be addressed by the mixture of means and solutions. As the European Security Strategy claims, proliferation could be tackled by export controls and political pressures. Terrorism needs the cooperation of intelligence, police, military and other institutions. Failed states require the mixture of military and humanitarian solutions. Regional conflicts do not need only military, but also political instruments. Especially, in the phase after the conflict (European Union Global Strategy, 2003). Since 2003, many years have gone. The EU have had enough time to deal with the threats and to achieve the strategic objectives. Is the EU's effort effective or is there a space for improvements? This question will be answered by naming the military operations, adopted strategies and opinions of security experts about the effectiveness of tackling the issues by the EU, expressed in a questionnaire. Also, the following part provides the proposals how to deal with the issues. They are based on the various consultations with security experts from Slovakia and abroad, who do not want to be named.

3.2 EU Military Operations and Tackling the Threats

The need of continuous tackling of the critical threats required from the European Union finding solutions and means to do so. The EU, as the community of states that all possess army and police units, started operations aimed at dealing with failed states, regional conflicts and stabilisation of neighbourhood. Each operation was tackling particular issues. They have taken place in different regions of the world. Some of these activities are finished yet, while the numerous have been ongoing. Simultaneously, the EU has established agencies and put together strategies to fight terrorism, organized crime, and WMD proliferation.

3.3 Tackling Terrorism

The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy was adopted by the European Council in 2005. It provides patterns for countering terrorism in Europe, prevention of recruitment to terrorism, etc. The document aims to make the EU a safer place. In 2005, terrorism was a threat. Importantly, this fact has not changed since that time. The types of terrorism have been developing. Thus, the EU had to react to that fact. As a consequence, the responsible bodies of the European Union publish new strategies and recommendations for countering terrorism. In this chapter, the crucial points of the 2005 Counter-Terrorism Strategy are discussed, and also the policies and proposals of the following years. The 2005 Counter-Terrorism Strategy is based on four pillars.

A) Prevent

The term in connection with terrorism means to prevent people from turning to terrorism and to stop terrorist groups from emerging in the future. In plain English, to prevent terrorism means to create an environment where joining the terrorist group would be meaningless for the people.

The key priorities for prevention of terrorism are: “to develop common approaches to spot and tackle problem behaviour, to address incitement and recruitment in particular in environments as prisons, places of religious training or worship, to develop a media and communication strategy, to better explain EU policies, to develop inter-cultural dialogue within and outside the Union” (Council of the European Union, 2005).

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, terrorism has been changing. Therefore, it is essential to adjust the counter-terrorism strategies to the current situation. The point of prevention from 2005 was revised in 2014. It was a response to the wave of the terrorist threat in Europe, as well as to the new forms of terrorism as lone-actor terrorism, the return of foreign fighters from the Islamic State and, the use of social media as a means of terrorism (Council of the European Union, 2014). The 2014 revised strategy reacts to the changes in the ways of terrorism. The European Union has made the steps in prevention of terrorism. However, that does not mean radicalization does not exist anymore. Attacks in Brussels, Paris, Barcelona and Nice show that the strategy was not as successful as it should be. On the contrary, there raises the question whether it is even possible to prevent radicalization completely.

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From authors' point of view, there will always be even a small number of radicalized people. The problem stems in unemployment, discrimination and lack of work opportunities. Perhaps, the EU should be focused on these issues, as radicalization is in most cases their consequence.

B) Protect

Protection plays a central role in countering terrorism. The less vulnerable the society and terrorist targets are, the smaller number of terrorist attacks happen. The EU 2005 strategy claims that protection of significant targets weakens the possibility of terrorist attacks. The four key priorities to this point are:

- to deliver improvements to the security of EU passports through the introduction of biometrics
- to develop FRONTEX's effective risk analysis of the EU's external border
- to implement agreed common standards on civil aviation, port and maritime security
- to agree a European programme for critical infrastructure

Source: (Council of the European Union, 2005)

In 2016, the EU adopted Regulating the use of passenger name record data. It is a system of personal information about passengers as their name, travel dates, baggage, seats or means of payment. It was adopted as a supporting document for the protection against terrorism. The importance comes from the fact that terrorists often use international travel as the means for reaching their final destination. On the one hand, this document collects the personal information of passengers, what somebody could find restrictive. However, thousands of saved lives worth it (Official Journal of the European Union, 2016).

On the field of protection, the EU makes important decisions. Safe infrastructure comprising the airports, train stations, roads and places where many people are gathering is a necessity. The most severe terrorist attack in the history, 9/11 happened because the airport's systems did not detect the threat. Protection of infrastructure plays the decisive role in successful and unsuccessful terrorist attacks. The EU has to keep and develop a way of security of its citizens and infrastructure. That is the only one way to make EU immune against terrorist attacks.

C) Pursue

This point covers strengthening and implementation of the commitments to disrupt terrorist activities. It aims to “impede terrorist's planning, disrupt their networks and the activities of recruiters to terrorism, cut off terrorists' funding and access to attack material, and bring them to justice” (Council of the European Union, 2005).

Priorities for pursuing terrorism are strengthening national capabilities to combat terrorism, to fully use EUROPOL and EUROJUST to facilitate police and judicial cooperation, to develop the principle of availability of law enforcement information, to tackle terrorist access to weapons and explosives, to strengthen national capabilities and to address terrorist financing (Council of the European Union, 2005).

As the need for tackling the latter mentioned issue, terrorist financing, became more acute, the Council of the European Union and the EU Parliament agreed on “new rules to prevent money laundering and terrorist financing” (European Council-Council of the European Union, 2017).

Counter-terrorism strategy has many components. In the case of the one from 2005, the point of pursuing terrorism is of crucial importance. Prevention and protection are vital. However, constant seeking of terrorists weakens their ability to attack, or to even prepare attacks. Exchange of information helps the EU member countries to be prepared and to prevent attacks, while strengthening national capabilities and use of agencies like EUROPOL make the fight against terrorism a common goal. The European Union has drawn a pattern for countering terrorism. It is the task of the member states to cooperate and expel terrorism from the EU.

D) Respond

It is nearly impossible to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks to zero. However, the EU possesses the ability to deal with terrorist attacks. As the 2005 strategy claims: “recognising that attacks can have effects across EU borders” (Council of the European Union, 2005). Being prepared for terrorist attacks means to reduce the possibility of crises as a consequence of an attack. If there appears an incident in one state, it could affect many other countries in the EU. In such cases, media coordination and mutual operational support are crucial to prevent a crisis. A terrorist incident in one state requires solidarity, support, and cooperation of other nations.

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Responding to terrorist attacks also have four crucial points, defined in the 2005 Counter-Terrorism Strategy (Council of the European Union, 2005). They are the following:

- to agree EU Crisis Co-ordination Arrangements and the supporting operational procedures
- to develop risk assessment as a tool to uniform the building of capabilities to respond to an attack
- to improve co-ordination with international organisations on managing the response to terrorist attacks and other disasters
- to share best practice and develop approaches for the provision of assistance to victims of terrorism and their families

Source: (Council of the European Union, 2005)

In addition to the strategy from 2005, the EU adopted other mechanisms for responding to terrorist attacks. In 2013, the EU integrated political crisis response arrangements were agreed. The same year, the EU revised the civil protection legislation. Both documents reinforce the EU capacities to deal with terrorist attacks and significant emergencies (Consilium, 2013).

Despite the fact the EU tries to prevent terrorist attacks, protect the citizens and pursue terrorists, it is not always possible to do so. Of course, the casualties and impact these attacks bring are awful. However, when the attacks happen, mourning and panic do not help. The European Union must be prepared to act immediately after an attack takes place. Cooperation of secret agencies, police forces, media, medical personnel and other vital components are necessary. The European Union with the ability to respond to terrorist attacks makes itself a community of states with everlasting devotion to counter terrorism.

From theoretical point of view, counter-terrorism strategies may look effective. However, there is a space for improvements in practice. Especially, the attacks in Paris, Brussels, Nice and Barcelona have proven that police and secret services do not have ability to detect radicalised individuals, or terrorist cells. Lone-actor terrorism surprised security forces. Thus, stricter control of suspicious persons would be

helpful. Despite the fact more severe terrorist attacks have not happened since Barcelona, radicalisation and terrorism have been the issues of concern. Therefore, radicalisation and terrorism cannot be prevented only on the paper. It is necessary to work with vulnerable groups of people and also, to strengthen their assimilation and to provide more job opportunities for them. Simultaneously, these groups should be granted for proper education. That would lower the level of radicalisation and make the counter-terrorism strategies more effective.

3.4 WMD Proliferation

In 2003, the EU Strategy Against Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction was adopted. Based on this document, the Progress Reports on the issue launched to be published regularly. In 2004, the First Progress Report about tackling the WMD was issued, as well as about the improvements in this struggle. Progress Reports are the summaries of what has been done to decrease the number of WMD in the world. However, as reports cover many points and recommendations, three of them will be described, each by one, significant action or agreement that has contributed to the fight against WMD proliferation.

Fifth Progress Report – 2006/I – “the Commission and the Member States are proceeding with the ratification of the revised Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material with a view to early entry into force” (Council Of The European Union, 2006, p.3).

Seventh Progress Report – 2007/I – “WMD Monitoring Center becoming operational with regular meetings between Council Secretariat and the Commission” (Council Of The European Union, 2007, p.2).

Ninth Progress Report – 2008/I – “the Council has adopted in April 2008 a fourth Joint Action in support of the nuclear security fund of the IAEA, making the EU the main contributor to the IAEA Nuclear Security Fund” (Council Of The European Union, 2008, p.2).

Except the Progress Reports, the EU has also adopted other documents to tackle WMD proliferation. Some of the latest four are the following:

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- Council Decision 2017/2303/CFSP - on the destruction of chemical weapons in Syria.
- Council Decision 2017/2302/CFSP - as support for chemical weapons cleaning operations in Libya.
- Council Decision 2016/51/CFSP - in order to promote Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention.
- Council Decision 2015/1837/CFSP - which aimed to strengthen and support the actions of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty Organisation.

Source: (European Union External Action, n.d.)

The WMD Proliferation is a serious problem. It threatens the whole world, with no exemptions. The European Union, as a global player, regularly develops the strategies countering the issue. The EU continues in its actions to decrease the number of WMD worldwide. Be them the sanctions against Iran, DPRK or other steps. Also, security experts see countering WMD proliferation more addressed than the terrorism issue is. However, that does not mean there is no space for improvements. The EU should keep a position of the strong player in the field. This community of democratic European states should continue in an effort to tackle WMD proliferation by progress reports, council decisions, and agreements, for example. However, the European Union must be careful in tackling WMD due to the fact that also states like DPRK Korea and Iran are in the possession of the Weapons of Mass Destruction. These are neither democratic nor stable countries. They could feel threatened by the EU activities. Consequently, they could use their WMD in the case of a conflict. Thus, careful tackling of the problem is necessary.

3.5 Completed EU Military Missions

3.5.1 Regional Conflicts, Failed States and Building Security in the EU Neighbourhood

Aceh Monitoring Mission – AMM - 15 September 2005 – 15 December 2006

The mission conducted by the EU, ASEAN countries, Norway and Switzerland. Forces of these countries were deployed in Indonesia. Their principal task was “monitoring the implementation of various aspects of the peace agreement set out in

the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed by the Government of Indonesia and the Free Aceh Movement” (European Union External Action, n.d.). The operation could be considered a stabilization effort of the EU to prevent the continuation of a regional conflict in Indonesia. Consequently, the Free Aceh Movement transformed itself to the political movement, involved in the elections (EU Council Secretariat, 2006).

CONCORDIA/FYROM – 31 March 2003 – 15 December 2003

CONCORDIA was launched to contribute and secure a stable environment in FYROM Macedonia, and further implementation of the Ohrid Framework Agreement signed as a peace document between FYROM Macedonia and Albanian representatives in 2001. During the CONCORDIA, 357 troops from the EU nations (except of Ireland, Denmark) and other 14 countries deployed their soldiers (Howorth, 2007). The mission “succeeded in helping keep the peace between bands of lightly armed irregulars and the Macedonian army” (Howorth, 2007, p.231). CONCORDIA later continued as the operation Proxima. The European Union's pursued to prevent conflict in Macedonia. However, the tensions between Albanians and Macedonians have been continuously present. It was most visible in the previous four years when the political crisis was caused by fear from the possibility of Albanian political parties present in Macedonian parliament (Lynch, Missiroli, n.d.).

EUPOL PROXIMA/FYROM – 15 December 2003 – 14 December 2005

Following the CONCORDIA mission, PROXIMA consisted of EU police experts monitoring and advising the FYROM police units in tackling organized crime and dignifying European policing standards. Macedonia is a state struggling instability. Bringing this Balkan country closer to the European policing standards strengthens the stability of the EU neighbourhood (European Union External Action, n.d.).

EUPAT – 15 December 2005 – 14 June 2006

The operation conducted in the form of an advisory team. The EU started the project of EU police advisory team (EUPAT) in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Again, it was within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), comprising around 30 police advisors, as well as the support of professional police service. Well trained police units could weaken the tensions

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between Albanians and Macedonians and as a consequence, prevent another regional conflict (EU Council Secretariat, 2005).

EUPM/BiH – January 2003 – December 2011

The European Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina sought the establishment of “sustainable policing arrangements under BiH ownership in accordance with best European and international practice” (European Union External Action, n.d.). Especially after the bloody conflict in the country and present tensions among the Serbs and Bosniaks, the police mission was required. To solve the conflict is one issue, the other is to keep the relatively stable situation in the country. Also thanks to this mission, another clash between Serbs and Bosniaks did not start again (Osland, n.d.).

Artemis/DRC - 12 June 2003 – 1 September 2003

It was the first-ever autonomous mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo led by the EU. The focus of the operation was the contribution and the stabilization of security, as well as the increase of the humanitarian conditions, protection of the airport, refugee camps, UN personnel and other civilians in the area around the city of Bunia, Ituri province. This region witnessed violent confrontations between the military forces of Uganda and the DRC. The number of casualties since the year 1999 - 50 000 dead people in the area required EU military action. The mission proved EU ability to lead a peacekeeping operation, even far away from its borders. (Howorth, 2007). With no doubts, the instability of the country requires more actions as Artemis was. In the case of the DRC, it is essential to realize that EU operations of any type would be endless without proper and final solution of the violence that has been present for decades. Although, the effort of the EU is obvious, violence has been current in the DRC (Koenig, 2012).

EUAVSEC South Sudan – February 2013 – January 2014

The mission covered many issues. Firstly, strengthening of the security situation at Juba International Airport. Secondly, to “establish the aviation security organization at the Ministry of Transport and to strengthen aviation security at Juba International Airport” (European Union External Action, n.d.). Thirdly, to train security forces and

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to provide assistance on mentioned aviation security and support the coordination of security activities related to aviation.

South Sudan has been suffering conflict since 2013. This particular action may be regarded as part of the peacekeeping mission that contributes to the solution of the conflict. Some parts of the country suffer from famine. Therefore, the continuation of the EU operations is a necessity, indeed (Council of the European Union, 2012).

EUFOR RCA - 30 APRIL 2014 – March 2015

The European Union decided to establish a military operation as a contribution to an environment in the Central African Republic. The action was authorized by the UN Security Council, resolution 2134. EUFOR RCA provided help, support, and protection for the achievement of security and safety in the Bangui area. The EU mission protected the population and offered crucial humanitarian aid. The action sought prevention of the Central African Republic from failing into another conflict (Tardy, 2015).

EUFOR RD Congo – 25 April 2006 – 30 July 2006

The mission was conducted as a supportive act for the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) during the process of elections. It was authorized by the UN Security Council Resolution 1671, which approved “temporary deployment of an EU force to support MONUC during the period encompassing the elections in the DR Congo” (European Union External Action, n.d.). The elections are one of the crucial points on the way toward a more stable country and prevention of another local disputes. The military operation was needed. That was caused by the fact that the rebel groups present in the country could negatively influence the electoral results (United Nations, 2007).

EUFOR Tchad/RCA – February 2008 – 15 March 2009

The operation in Eastern Chad and North East of the Central African Republic. The objective was to protect the civilians, displaced people, to deliver humanitarian aid, to secure free movement of humanitarian assistance and to protect the UN personnel in the area and to ensure free flow of the UN personnel (European Union-European Security and Defence Policy, 2009).

EUPOL KINSHASA (DRC) – 12 April 2005 – 30 June 2007

The action was crucial help to the Congolese police keep order on the DRC's way toward stability. The operation simultaneously supported Congolese National Police units in Kinshasa, the country's capital. There are some countries in the world which need help and support of the EU. The DRC is one of them. Consequently, such a mission provided a chance to increase the Congolese police capacities to make the DRC a stable country in the future (Council of the European Union, 2006). Stable police forces are one of the conditions for making the DRC a stable country. Also, police forces could prevent violence and conflicts in the future.

EUPOL RD CONGO – 1 July 2007 – 30 September 2014

The EU police mission in the DRC. Main tasks of the mission were providing assistance, support, and advice to the Congolese experts working on security sector reform in the country. Mainly, the action covered the field of policing and its interaction with the justice system, protection of human rights, protection of children in the military conflicts and tackling the sexual violence (European Union External Action, n.d.). Assistance and advising the Congolese security experts are vital for the future ability of the DRC security forces to fight all of the mentioned issues on their own. Additionally, tackling sexual violence and protection of human rights are essential in order to secure the DRC from being a failed state unable to protect its citizens.

EU SSR Guinea-Bissau – 12 February 2008 – 30 September 2010

The mission conducted by the EU Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) to support the Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau, the country with violent conflicts happening in the past. The EU mission was led in order to prevent the country from regional disputes. Even the conflict took place far away from EU borders, it could cause problems with illegal migration and terrorism (European Union-European Security and Defence Policy, 2009).

EU Support to AMIS (Darfur) July 2005 – December 2007

The action focused on the support to the African Union mission in Sudan. The mission sought to stabilize the region around Darfur, Sudan. However, Sudan has

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been suffering conflict even today regardless the EU support mission was established (European Union Delegation to the United Nations-New York, n.d.).

EUJUST LEX – Iraq – 1 July 2005 – 31 December 2013

The primary objective of the mission was to train about 770 judges, investigative magistrates, and police officers. The aim was to secure the rule of law in Iraq (European Union External Action, n.d.). The operation was a step to make Iraq a stable country. It was also a move against corruption, radicalisation and for promotion of the rule of law in the country.

EUJUST THEMIS/Georgia – 16 July 2004 – 14 July 2005

Another Rule of Law Mission, this time in Georgia. It was the first Rule of Law mission launched and led by the EU in the context of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The EU action sought to support Georgia to be more democratic country. It was also conducted as an action to strengthen security and stability in the EU neighbourhood (Kurowska, 2009).

3.5.2. Failed States

EUFOR Libya - April 2011

The Libyan mission was conducted to secure humanitarian assistance in the country. Libya around the year 2011 was a region where civilians died every day, and violence was present everywhere. The whole operation was lead as a humanitarian one. However, it was also meant as prevention and solution to other crisis in North Africa. Even today, Libya is a failed state. The EU wanted to prevent this situation. Unfortunately, it was not successful (Official Journal of the European Union, 2011).

3.6 Ongoing Operations

The military actions are required to secure the European Union from the threats. Besides the operations that have been finished, the European Union has been conducting many ongoing operations. Mostly, they tackle the threats outside the European Union. Table number 1. shows all of the ongoing operations conducted by the EU and its partners.

Table 1: Ongoing Operations

Name	Country	Aims
ALTHEA/BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina	monitoring the situation in the country, proposing security actions and solutions
EUAM Ukraine	Ukraine	reform of the civilian security sector
EUBAM Libya	Libya	developing the security of the country's borders
EUBAM Moldova and Ukraine	Moldova/Ukraine	combating customs fraud, drug smuggling, irregular migration and human trafficking, tobacco smuggling/ good governance, conflict resolution, border management trade facilitation
EUBAM Rafah	Palestine	enhancing PA border agencies capacity, to build up confidence between the Israeli and Palestinian authorities
EUCAP Nestor	Somalia	maritime civilian law

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		enforcement capability
EUCAP Sahel Mali	Mali	strategic advice and training to the Malian Police and National Guard, support of the security sector reform

EUCAP Sahel Niger	Niger	support to security forces, developing operating strategies, strengthening security sector, combating terrorism, organized crime, control of migration
EULEX Kosovo	Kosovo	assisting judicial authorities, law enforcement agencies, strengthening multi-ethnic system, multi-ethnic police system
EUMAM RCA	Central African Republic	support of authorities in preparing a reform in the security sector
EUMM Georgia	Georgia	prevention of an armed conflict, protection of civilians, reducing the detrimental effect of diving lines, contribution to police and military backgrounds
EUNAVFOR SOPHIA	MED Mediterranean area	disrupt human smuggling and trafficking, prevent loss of life at sea, training

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		of Libya's Coast Guard and NAVY
EU NAVFOR Somalia	Somalia	countering piracy on the coast of Somalia
EUPOL Afghanistan	Afghanistan	institutional reform of the Ministry of Interior, professionalization of the Afghan National Police, law enforcement, criminal justice, cooperation of police forces and prosecutors.

EUPOL COPPS/Palestinian Territories	Palestine	supporting the reform and development of the Palestinian Civilian Police, strengthening the position of the Palestinian Civilian Police within the security sector
EUSEC RD Congo	Democratic Republic of the Congo	support to the Congolese authorities in security and creating the conditions in order to return economic and social development, assisting in creating the security sector reform plan
EUTM-MALI	Mali	military training and advice to Malian Armed Forces, restoration of the military capacity, restoring Malian territorial integrity,

		protecting population and reducing the threat posed by terrorist groups
EUTM Somalia	Somalia	military training, strengthening Transnational Federal Government and institutions in Somalia, stabilisation of the country

Source: (European Union External Action-Ongoing Missions, n.d.)

The European Union has conducted dozens of operations in order to solve regional conflicts (see Table 1). From Africa to Asia, to the Middle East, and to Europe, the EU has provided its financial resources, military personnel and all the means possible to solve or even support the solution of regional conflicts and strengthening the neighbourhood. However, this effort did not always bring the end of violence and a solution. Based on these facts, even security experts do not consider effort to solve the regional conflicts effective. The DRC, Iraq, Afghanistan and many other states have been suffering constant violence. The missions have not proven to solve the conflicts and stop violence in these countries. Ongoing sexual abuse, rebel groups fighting, weak governments, active terrorist organisations and civilian casualties do not prove the European Union's missions effective.

Unfortunately, also in the case of failed states, the EU was not so successful. Despite the fact Somalia is not anymore considered a failed state by the United Nations, it is still a very fragile country. Even though it is difficult to recreate the state after a conflict, or even during the ongoing conflict, the EU with its partners (NATO, UN...) should make effort to rebuild a state in Libya. The EU has capacities to do more for Libya. It has become a stronghold of terrorist groups like ISIS, for example. Even this argument is a strong reason to rebuild the country. What is more, civilians have been suffering there daily. Proper solution of regional conflicts and failed states requires long presence of EU missions. Iraq could be the example. After the departure of

international military forces, the country quickly fell into chaos. To secure peace and stability in countries like the DRC, Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan and Libya is not possible without the long-lasting EU military missions. Additionally, as the security in neighbourhood has direct connection to failed states and regional conflicts, the EU has not been successful in dealing with it either. Secure and stable neighbourhood requires the solutions of regional conflicts and rebuilding of failed states.

3.7 Organized Crime

The previously mentioned operations, were in most of the cases focused on the tackling of failed states, solving regional conflicts and strengthening EU neighbourhood. However, the European Union has also been dealing with organized crime. Since the 1990's, the European Union has taken measures to fight organized crime.

In 1997, the EU adopted the first Action plan to combat the issue. In 1998, the EU agreed on the Joint Action 98/733/JHA on participation in a criminal organization. Later, in 2002, the EU adopted Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA on combating terrorism by the definition of illegal structures. In 2004, the European Commission “recognises a need to improve measures used to combat organised crime” (EUR-Lex, 2016).

The European Union understand the necessity of tackling organised crime. Thus, “the EU continuously adapts its response in relation to the growing complexity of the situation. This is also reflected in the development of specialised EU agencies, such as Europol, Eurojust and CEPOL” (European Commission, 2018). These agencies are the embodiment of the EU effort to fight organized crime. Each of them has its responsibilities.

A) FRONTEX (established in 2004) – European Border and Coast Guard Agency based as a body for the implementation of border management. It guarantees control of persons and surveillance over the EU external borders. Simultaneously, FRONTEX monitors migration flows, prepares the assessments on the threats and challenges at the external borders and participates in the research and innovations related to the outer border control. FRONTEX helps the EU to manage its outer perimeter. It is many times a venue for organized crime activities (FRONTEX, 2018).

B) EUROPOL (established in 1999) – The European Police Office “assists EU States' police forces in improving their cooperation on the prevention and fight against the most severe forms of international crime, such as terrorism, drug trafficking, and people smuggling, focusing on the targeting of criminal organisations” (European Commission, 2018). In the case of tackling all the forms of organized crime, cooperation is of vital importance. Open borders make it easier to commit criminal activities. Hence, collaboration in the way of prevention, exchange of information and cross-border fight of international crime help the European Union to counter organized crime (European Commission, 2018).

C) CEPOL: The European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Training develops and implements training for law enforcement officials. It secures cooperation and knowledge sharing among the EU Member States' law officials. CEPOL also provides collaboration and expertise to non-member countries' law professionals. By these actions, CEPOL prepares law officials to counter different types of organized crime from the legal point of the issue (European Commission, 2018).

D) EMCDDA: The European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction helps to understand drug problem and response to it. The purpose of the agency is “to provide the EU and its states with a factual overview of the European drug situation and a solid evidence base to support the drugs debate” (European Commission, 2018). Agency for monitoring the drug problem in Europe is a tool to prevent drug based crimes. In fact, drug-focused organized crime is many times a consequence of neglected prevention or lack of information. Therefore, this agency contributes to the fight against organized crime in Europe.

The EU is also tackling the human trafficking, as it is one of the most serious types of organized crime. As an example, there are documents and legislations countering human trafficking. They are “Directive 2004/81/EC on the residence permit issued to third-country nationals who are victims of trafficking in human beings or who have been the subject of an action to facilitate illegal immigration, who cooperate with the competent authorities” (European Commission, 2018). Then, it is important to mention the Brussels Declaration on human trafficking and May 2003 Council conclusions on the declaration, which introduced new EU policy for fighting human

trafficking. Moreover, the 2005 EU plan on combating and preventing human trafficking, and the establishment of EU Anti Trafficker Coordinator was a crucial step.

There are other examples of tackling the human trafficking by the European Union as Directive 2011/36/EU – protection of victims of human trafficking. One of the latest important documents is called Trafficking in Human Beings. It states new EU priorities in the fight against human trafficking in Europe (European Commission, 2018) (EUROPOL, 2016).

Another case is the European Crime Prevention Network, offering an exchange of best practices and information about local crime prevention. Also, there is the Programme for the Prevention of and Fight against Crime. Simultaneously, the EU supports law enforcement and police operational cooperation among the member states as a tool for fighting organized crime (European Commission, 2018).

The EU is a community of democratic, free states. Unfortunately, not everyone positively understands freedom. There always appear individuals who exploit liberty for the purpose of illegal activities. In the case of the problem with organized crime, the EU has to be continuously prepared to deal with human trafficking, smuggling, etc. Adopted strategies and agencies established by the EU are trying to tackle organized crime. However, this effort is not significantly effective, as in most of the previous cases. The EU should do more against drug smuggling, human trafficking, illegal migration etc. More frequent cooperation to tackle mentioned problems would be helpful. As a solution, there should be established EU centres for tackling different elements of organized crime. Each in the Northern, Southern, Western and of course, Eastern regions of the Union. Such centres would strengthen the cooperation at the regional level as well as would provide exchange of information among the responsible institutions.

Conclusion

This bachelor thesis is concerning the critical threats and a strategic objective defined in the 2003 European Security Strategy. These threats pose a grave danger to the European Union, but also to Europe in general. Moreover, an objective to build security in the neighbourhood is also a decisive factor between the stable and vulnerable European Union. Each of the threats has its features, causes, and solutions. The same is valid for the strategic objective. This thesis uses the opinions and theories of experts such as Jolyon Howorth, Petter Nesser, Janne Haaland Matlary and Shaul Shay. The authors provide different perspectives on the EU security, as well as on the threats which are considered the most severe. Based on the theories, analysis of the most severe risks, a questionnaire and communication with security experts about the EU effectiveness in tackling the mentioned dangers, this thesis provides the answer on the question: Is The European Union Effectively Tackling its Key Threats?

The first chapter of this thesis concerns two types of government, democracy and autocracy. To make a difference among them means to understand the EU security strategy. Autocratic regimes are governed by a leading person or a small group of people. However, such rulers hold unlimited power over all decisions in the country. What is more, people living under autocratic rule have only limited opportunity to participate in the politics and decision making of the country. Also, the part about autocracy explains three most frequent forms of autocracy. They are the absolute monarchy, benevolent dictatorship, and a military dictatorship. Based on the mentioned facts, autocracy protects rights of the “chosen individuals”.

Democracy stands the opposite side to autocracy. It is defined as a rule of people. Democracies protect values such as each citizen is allowed to participate in the running of the state, replacing the government through free elections, strict protection of human rights and the rule of law equally applicable to all citizens, etc. Based on the differences between autocracy and democracy, the first chapter explains the values that the 2003 Security Strategy protects, as the EU is a community of democratic states.

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The second chapter starts with the background of the 2003 Security Strategy. It continues with the part about key risks, introducing the explanation of terrorism. Terrorism has been a threat of century. Terrorism causes civilian casualties, and simultaneously spreads panic and chaos within society. Chapter two continues with WMD proliferation issue. Any WMD must be considered dangerous to the EU. Especially, when the states like North Korea and Iran are in their possession, the European Council claims.

Another of the threats are regional conflicts which have taken place in Ukraine, Middle East, the Balkans and Africa. Every regional strife is dangerous to the EU, be it in the EU neighbourhood, Africa, Asia and wherever in the world.

Also, the EU is afraid of so-called failed states. Failed countries have been concerning for the EU security. They are the incubator of terrorism, human rights violations and illegal migration.

Last but not least, the chapter two mentions organized crime. There are many types of organized crime. Each of them must be addressed without an exception, the European Council claims.

There is one more issue that must be addressed. The 2003 European Security Strategy names building security in the EU neighbourhood as a strategic objective. Despite the fact it is not a threat, creating a stable and secure environment outside the EU promotes the security of the member states. Chapter two explains the dangers and a strategic objective. Therefore, it is essential to find out whether the EU is effective in tackling and dealing with all of them.

Chapter three explains that the EU seeks to tackle terrorism by four points defined in the 2005 European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy and the documents issued in the following years. However, the security experts do not consider that effort effective. The EU should also be focused on the causes of terrorism.

Secondly, the European Union is also tackling the WMD proliferation. The fact that more states have committed themselves to fight the WMD only proves it. Also, the security experts consider the EU a more successful global player on this field.

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The chapter three continues with the evaluation of tackling the regional conflicts, failed states and building security in the neighbourhood. There are explained all of the complete and ongoing operations focused on addressing the issues. As in the case of terrorism, the EU should do more. Actions supposed to solve regional conflicts and build failed states are not effective. There should be established long-lasting operations focused on solutions of local disputes and rebuilding of failed states. Even if the EU has set them, their scope is not sufficient. Thus they are not effective.

The issue of building security in the neighbourhood is highly connected with the previously mentioned two issues. The stable neighbourhood is obtainable only through operations that can solve the conflicts, but also keep the peace.

Chapter three ends by organized crime and its tackling. Strategies adopted since 1990's, and established security agencies are able to counter the issue to some extent. However, the improvements are necessary. For example, the EU centres for tackling each type of organized crime should be established in different regions. Such institutions would increase the exchange of information and ability to cooperate on the transnational level.

Consequently, the European Union seeks to tackle the key threats with no doubts. Military operations, adopted documents and strategies, progress reports and security agencies are the tools for protection of the EU. However, especially the cases of terrorism, regional conflicts, failed states and organized crime require more frequent cooperation among the member states, equal access to education, work opportunities, strengthening the assimilation process, and more long-lasting military operations. So, application of proposed improvements would make the European Union a safer place.

Resumé

Túto bakalárska prácu je možné rozdeliť na tri kapitoly. Prvou z nich je teoretická. V nej sú vysvetlené pojmy ako demokracia, autokracia a dôležitosť demokratických princípov pre bezpečnostnú stratégiu Európskej Únie. Prvá kapitola opisuje základné črty a ciele demokratických a autokratických režimov. Pre autokraciu je príznačné obmedzenie slobôd jednotlivca, ako aj veľmi obmedzená možnosť obyčajných občanov participovať na politickom vývoji štátu. Naopak, demokracia kladie dôraz na práva jednotlivca, ochranu ľudských práv a možnosť občanov rozhodovať o chode a smerovaní ich štátu. Na základe týchto opisov je možné ďalej rozviesť bezpečnostnú stratégiu Európskej Únie z roku 2003, keďže hlavné hrozby, ktoré stratégia udáva ohrozujú už spomenuté demokratické hodnoty.

Druhá kapitola začína vysvetlením, čo vlastne bezpečnostná stratégia EÚ je, prečo bola vytvorená a pokračuje hlavnými hrozbami a cieľmi EÚ, ktoré sú nosnými bodmi tejto bakalárskej práce. Prvou hrozbou pre EÚ je terorizmus, ktorý sa stal hrozbou storočia, hlavne kvôli strachu a obetiam, ktoré prináša. Ďalšou hrozbou sú zbrane hromadného ničenia. Táto hrozba je o to vážnejšia, keď sa vezme do úvahy, že štáty ako Irán a Severná Kórea disponujú zbraňami hromadného ničenia, ale rovnako sa môžu dostať do rúk teroristických skupín. Druhá kapitola spomína aj ďalšie hrozby pre EÚ. Sú nimi regionálne konflikty, nefunkčné štáty a organizovaný zločin. Bezpečnostná stratégia EÚ z roku 2003 ich vysvetľuje ako vzájomne prepojené hrozby. Regionálne konflikty môžu byť začiatkom výskytu nefunkčných štátov. Neskôr, takéto štáty, ktorých príkladom je napr. Lýbia, sú liahňou organizovaného zločinu, nehovoriac o terorizme. Druhá kapitola rovnako vysvetľuje aj jeden strategický cieľ, ktorý je definovaný v bezpečnostnej stratégii EÚ z roku 2003. Ide o budovanie bezpečnosti v susedstve Únie. Keďže stabilita Európskej Únie je závislá aj od stability jej susedstva, je dôležité vysvetliť aj tento problém. Na základe vysvetlenia piatich hrozieb pre EÚ a jedného strategického cieľa, v nasledujúcich kapitolách je vysvetlené, či Európska Únia reálne bojuje proti spomenutým hrozbám, a či sa snaží dosiahnuť bezpečnosť v jej susedstve.

Kapitola tri je zameraná na zodpovedanie vyššie spomenutej otázky. Napriek faktu, že EÚ vydala v roku 2005 stratégiu na boj proti terorizmu a v neskorších rokoch bolo

vydaných mnoho dokumentov na túto problematiku, bezpečnostní experti nepokladajú vynaložené úsilie za dostatočné. EÚ by sa mala radšej zamerať na príčiny terorizmu, než len na boj s ním.

V kapitole tri je rovnako ohodnotené úsilie EÚ v boji proti šíreniu zbraní hromadného ničenia. Experti na bezpečnosť tvrdia, že v tejto oblasti je EÚ relatívne silným hráčom, pričom aj kroky podniknuté na odstránenie hrozby sa považujú za účinné. Avšak, EÚ by mala pokračovať vo vynaloženom úsilí. Rovnako, EÚ by mala byť opatrná pri riešení tejto hrozby.

Inak je to ale pri riešení regionálnych konfliktov a nefunkčných štátov. Podľa expertov na bezpečnosť sú kroky EÚ nedostatočné. Väčšina krajín, v ktorých pôsobili alebo pôsobia mierové misie pod hlavičkou EÚ, sa nestali stabilnými krajinami. Príkladom môže byť Irak, Demokratická Republika Kongo, alebo Lýbia. Z toho dôvodu bezpečnostní experti navrhujú zvýšenie počtu misií, ale aj ich dlhšie trvanie. Bezpečnosť v susedných krajinách EÚ je závislá aj od riešenia regionálnych konfliktov a nefunkčných štátov. Na základe tohto faktu sa nedá povedať, že by EÚ bola efektívna v tomto ohľade. Je teda treba riešiť spomenuté hrozby a následne budovať stabilitu a bezpečnosť v susedných krajinách EÚ.

Kapitola tri sa rovnako zaoberá efektívnosťou EÚ pri riešení problému organizovaného zločinu. Napriek tomu, že EÚ založila rôzne agentúry, ako aj vydala mnoho dokumentov pre boj s organizovaným zločinom, stále chýba vyššia úroveň kooperácie. Experti na bezpečnosť zastávajú názor, že v jednotlivých regiónoch EÚ by mali byť založené centrá, ktoré by bojovali proti organizovanému zločinu, a zároveň by zastrešovali kooperáciu s rovnakými centrami v rozdielnych častiach Európskej Únie. Na základe vysvetlenia jednotlivých hrozieb, strategického cieľa, konkrétnych krokov EÚ pre ich riešenie a názorov bezpečnostných expertov je možné tvrdiť, že Európska Únia musí vynaložiť väčšie úsilie pri riešení problémov ako terorizmus, regionálne konflikty, nefunkčné štáty, organizovaný zločin a bezpečnosť v susedstve EÚ. Naopak, EÚ je relatívne efektívna v boji proti šíreniu zbraní hromadného ničenia. Odporúčania na zlepšenie riešenia problémov a strategického cieľa uvedené v bakalárskej práci slúžia ako návod pre zlepšenie efektivity Európskej Únie pri boji proti spomenutým hrozbám, a rovnako, pri dosiahnutí strategického cieľa.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Questionnaire

1. Is the European Union Tackling Terrorism Effectively?
2. Is the European Union Tackling WMD Proliferation Effectively?
3. Is the European Union Dealing with Regional Conflicts Effectively?
4. Is the European Union dealing with the Failed States Issue Effectively?
5. Is the European Union Tackling Organized Crime Effectively?

Appendix B: Results

1. Is the European Union Tackling Terrorism Effectively?
- 5/5 people – Effectively in some way, but need for improvements
2. Is the European Union Tackling WMD Proliferation Effectively?
- 1/5 – Effectively, 2/5 – Effectively in some way, but need for improvements,
2/5 – Completely Uneffectively
3. Is the European Union Dealing with Regional Conflicts Effectively?
- 1/5 – Effectively, 3/5 – Effectively in some way, but need for improvements,
1/5 – Uneffectively
4. Is the European Union dealing with the Failed States Issue Effectively?
- 2/5 – Effectively in some way, but need for improvements,
3/5 – Uneffectively
5. Is the European Union Tackling Organized Crime Effectively?
- 1/5 – Effectively, 1/5 – Effectively in some way, but need for improvements,
2/5 – Uneffectively, 1/5 – Completely Uneffectively