EU AS A GLOBAL SECURITY ACTOR - ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

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Abstract

The contemporary security environment has imposed a necessity of applying a comprehensive approach related to dealing with security risks and threats. Such an approach should be based on the expansion and deepening of the security concept. The expansion of the security concept is related to the security perception through the prism of military, political, economic, societal and environmental sphere. On the other hand, starting from the individual to international level, deepening of the security concept is related to the inclusion of more actors in the security sphere. In this context, this paper analyzes EU security role as a global security actor. Actually, in light of the achievements and the challenges for the EU in this field, the research question to be answered is: Is the EU a serious global security actor today? According to this, the paper specifically analyzes the EU's major policies and strategies in the security sphere, as well as the EU's security arrangements in the field of civil and military crisis management.

Keywords: European Union, security, crisis management, foreign policy.

Introduction

The EU Foreign and Security Policy as well as the EU external relations have become very dynamic and intensive since the end of the Cold War, especially with the entry into force of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993. Actually, as a result of a wide range of activities that have been undertaken in this area in the past 25 years, the EU has established bilateral and multilateral relations with almost every country and every region of the world. One could argue that the EU is recognized as an international actor today, especially in the field of international politics, economy, trade, development of international cooperation, promoting democracy and human rights as well as in the security sphere.

However, being a regional organization does not equate to being an actor. Actorness can be defined as the capacity of regions and regional organizations "to develop

presence, to become identifiable, aggregate interests, formulate goals and politics, make and implement decisions" (Rùland 2002,3). Related to this definition, it could be concluded that the EU is a recognizable actor in the international arena today since it meets all of these criteria. Over the last two decades, the EU institutions have been granted more powers in the security area, as well as an extended mandate to defend European interests and to shape the EU's global profile. The EU's security role is also confirmed by the goals, objectives and decisions implemented in the EU Common foreign and security policy, European security and defense policy, EU security strategy, as well as by the undertaken worldwide military and civilian missions. Yet, the EU remains a fledgling security actor with limited capacities in preventing and resolving certain contemporary security risks and threats, such as the crises in Ukraine, Iraq and Syria. As a result of all these processes, the actual perception of the EU as a security actor is more ambitious and more complex than the prior one.

This paper looks into the EU's strategic approach to global security, mainly through the major security policies and strategies, as well as through the missions, operations and the EU's response to the contemporary security risk and threats.

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Responding to the post-Cold War security problems and cross-border challenges, the EU established the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 1993. The establishment of a second pillar - CFSP - has produced as a side effect expansion of the areas of the EU external relations that had previously been exclusively economic by nature.

The 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam identified four main CFSP instruments: 1) principles and guidelines, which provide general political direction; 2) common strategies, which set out objectives and means; 3) joint actions, which address specific situations; and 4) common positions, which define an approach to a particular matter. In this context, the implementation of other relevant CFSP instruments that have been established with the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997, such as: the High Representative for the Union in Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, Group of RELEX Advisors and CFSP Working Groups is also important step.

All of these new instruments and bodies have improved the enhancing of decision making process as well as the institutional strengthening in the CFSP sphere. Therefore, they have positive impact to the proliferation of the EU as a serious security actor.

The European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)

The St.Malo's 1998 Declaration, which stated that the European Union "must have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and a readiness to do so, in order to respond to international crises", has had a most important impact on the ESDP development.

Therefore, the military dimension of ESDP was established at the EU Helsinki summit in 1999, related to the headline goals that were determined, such as: ability to deploy within 60 days and within a year to maintain forces in the capacity of 50-60 000 troops by the end of 2003. Meanwhile, in 2004, the EU defined new headline goals for 2010 that have opened transformation from quantitative concept into qualitative one. Hence Battle Groups were formed which are characterized by high readiness and smaller numbers (1500), and which should be able to respond quickly in crisis (30-120 days).

On other hand, the EU member states began to commit to the establishment of the EU civilian capabilities at the Feira European Council meeting in 2000. At the time, they focused on four areas: police, civil administration, rule of law and civil protection. Two further areas were added in 2004: monitoring and supporting the EU Special Representatives. More recently, security sector reform (SSR) has also been added.

In order to enable the EU fully to assume its responsibilities for crisis management, the European Council (Nice, December 2000) decided to establish permanent political and military structures. Thus the Political and Security Committee (PSC) keeps track of the international situation and helps defining policies within the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It prepares a coherent EU response to a crisis and exercises its political control and strategic direction. The European Union Military Committee (EUMC) is the highest military body composed of the Chiefs of Defense of the Member States which provides the PSC with advice and recommendations on all military matters within the EU. The Committee for the Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management serves as a working group that makes recommendations and helps with strategy development on civilian issues. Its main effect has arguably been to ensure an appreciation of the importance of civilian work to post-conflict and other crisis situations. Another important institutional innovation in recent years is the establishment of a Civilian Planning and Conduct Capability (CPCC) in 2007, which serves as a headquarters for EU civilian missions, providing planning and operational support.

The European Security Strategy (ESS)

The European Security Strategy (ESS) adopted by the European Council on 12-13 December 2003 provides a conceptual framework for the CFSP. Therefore, it is another important touchstone for understanding the basic philosophy of EU foreign policy. The ESS sets out three broad strategic objectives: 1) necessary actions in addressing a considerable list of global challenges and security threats, including regional conflicts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, state failure, organized crime (The 2008 Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy adds piracy, cyber security, energy security, and climate change to the list (Council of the EU 2008)); 2) building regional security in its neighborhood: the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Mediterranean region, and the Middle East; 3) building multilateral world order in which international law, peace, and security are ensured by strong regional and global institutions (Council of the EU 2003) .

The ESS asserts that the threats and challenges it describes cannot be adequately addressed by military means alone, but require a mixture of military, political, and economic tools.

The EU's neighborhood policy (ENP) is important instrument related to the realization of second strategic objective. Actually, it provides the EU with a framework and tools to promote its interests and manage security on its eastern and southern borders. Still, regarding to the current security environment, it could be noted that ENP is now cracking from all parts. Therefore, to the East, the unfolding Ukrainian crisis is showing the limits of the EU's power, while, to the South, the so-called "Arab spring" has fundamentally changed the socio-political landscape, and the regional security dimension has deteriorated into chaos in many places. Thus, the EU's inability to foresee and subsequently manage this grave situation on its borders was perhaps the most powerful signal that the ENP had not been delivering expected results.

Regarding to the effective multilateralism, the ESS stressed that the interconnected and transnational security issues must be tackled with a tailored set of actions and policies by groups of states. It rejects unilateral approaches. Effective multilateralism calls for broad coalitions, not only with the USA, but also other states, such as Russia, China, and India.

However, twelve years after the adoption of the ESS, the EU has a chance to revisit and update its security strategic approach with a new Global strategy on foreign and security policy which should be prepared by June 2016.

The Contributions of the Treaty of Lisbon

The Lisbon Treaty has enabled several EU policies to be reformed. Related to the external policies of the EU, above all, the Treaty of Lisbon gives greater coherence and visibility to the CFSP. Therefore, the EU acquires legal personality, enabling it to negotiate and to be a contracting party in International treaties. In addition, the EU is henceforth represented globally by the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy whose aim is to improve the consistency, effectiveness and visibility of the EU's external action. Actually, he contributes to the development of the CFSP by submitting proposals to the Council and the European Council. Then, he enforces the decisions adopted, as a representative of the Council. However, the High Representative of the Union does not have the monopoly on the EU's external representation.

The Treaty of Lisbon also gives the President of the European Council responsibility for the external representation of the EU, at a separate level, without prejudice to the powers of the High Representative. The main role of the President is to improve the cohesion and effectiveness of the work carried out within the European Council.

As mentioned above, a section of the founding treaties with the Treaty of Lisbon is devoted to the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). Actually, with the Treaty of Lisbon, the former ESDP has been replaced and enlarged by CSDP. The CDSP is focused on establishing of a common European defense capability. Therefore, the CSDP includes the progressive framing of a common EU defense policy what should lead to a common defense. Regarding to this aim, EU countries must make civilian and military capabilities available to the EU to implement the CSDP.

Missions

As of October 2015, there are 18 active CSDP missions: 7 military missions and 11 missions of a civilian nature.(CDSP missions and operations 2015) It should be also stressed that the EU missions are generally undertaken on the basis of a U.N. mandate or with the agreement of the host country.

According to the active missions, the EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) is a civilian rule-of-law mission that trains police, judges, customs officials, and civil administrators in Kosovo. EULEX was launched in 2008 and it is the largest EU civilian operation ever undertaken. The military operation (EUFOR) Althea is a peace-enforcement mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina that was launched in December 2004. It undertook the

responsibility for stabilization of Bosnia after NATO had concluded its Stabilization Force (SFOR) mission there. The EU Monitoring Mission (EUMM) was launched in September 2008, shortly following the conflict in Georgia. Now it represents the only official international monitoring presence in the country. The EU also conducts a border assistance mission to Ukraine and Moldova (EUBAM), which was launched in 2005. EUBAM's approximately 200 staff members provide technical assistance and advice to improve security and customs operations along the Ukraine-Moldova border (Rehrl 2014).

The EU has also been very active in Africa, having taken part in 14 CSDP missions since 2003. Due to largely humanitarian concerns, geographical proximity and the potential spillover effects of instability, and historical ties rooted in former colonial relationships, Europe maintains a substantial political interest in Africa. This interest has often translated into a perceived responsibility to intervene or assist in problematic situations. In February 2013, the EU launched a military training operation in Mali (EUTM Mali); a civilian training mission called EUCAP SAHEL Niger in July 2012; further an operation *Atalanta* which is a maritime antipiracy mission off the coast of Somalia that was launched in 2008; a civilian mission (EUCAP NESTOR) in 2012, that aims to build the maritime capacity of five countries in the region (Djibouti, Kenya, Seychelles, Somalia, and Tanzania). Two small civilian CSDP missions operate in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The EUlaunched a security sector reform mission (EUSEC RD Congo) in June 2005, which gives advice and assistance regarding army reforms and modernization. The EU has also conducted a police training mission in DRC since 2005. The current operation (EUPOL RD Congo) was launched in July 2007.

Response to the Current Security Environment

The current security environment that surrounds the EU is volatile, complex and uncertain. To the South and East, Europe is facing an arch of instability. Actually, in the south, ISIS and other terrorist organizations are proliferating instability in the Middle East & North Africa. In the East, the hybrid warfare waged by Russia against Ukraine and the illegal annexation of Crimea destabilize the Eastern Partnership countries. The migration crisis at the Southern and Eastern borders poses dramatic challenges, or better security threat, to the EU and its member states. It calls for collective action. In such a security environment the key problem lies in the lack of political will to fully use all existing military capabilities and instruments in order to achieve EU foreign policy goals and equally address security concerns of all member states.

However, the EU's response to the crisis in Ukraine is based on diplomatic and economic measures in general. These measures are related to an urgent need to agree on a genuine and sustainable ceasefire by all parties to create the necessary conditions for the implementation of peace plan. Regarding to the diplomatic measures, starting from March 2014, the EU has progressively imposed restrictive measures in response to the illegal annexation of Crimea by Russia and destabilization of Ukraine. Actually, in July and September 2014, the EU imposed economic sanctions targeting exchanges with Russia in specific economic sectors, while in March 2015 the EU decided to align the existing sanctions regime to the complete implementation of the Minsk agreement (launched on 15 February, 2015), which is foreseen for the end of December 2015. In meanwhile, the EU-Russia summit was cancelled and EU member states decided not to hold regular bilateral summits. Bilateral talks with Russia on visa matters as well as on the New Agreement between the EU and Russia were also suspended. EU countries also supported the suspension of negotiations over Russia's joining the OECD and the International Energy Agency.

Regarding to the economic measures, in March 2014, the European Commission proposed a support package of over €11 billion for the next couple of years. Actually, this economic support is based on both macro financial and development assistance. Related to the first one, the finance assistance should support Ukraine over the next few years, including the Macro Financial Assistance and the loans from the IMF, the World Bank and the EU-based International Financial Institutions. On other hand, the development assistance should aim improving the financial capability of the government and support the institutional transition of the society. According to the projected plan, this assistance should be complemented by actions aimed at supporting civil society.

Regarding to the second strategic objective of the ESS, it could be noted that by providing support for Ukraine, the EU provides support and security for itself. Therefore, the EU response must be focused on the determination to de-escalate the conflict by helping Ukraine to sustain its independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity.

The EU has similar approach, based on the economic and diplomatic measures as a response to the crisis in Syria. Actually, the EU is a leading donor in the response to the Syria crisis with over €4.2.billion of total budget mobilized by the Commission and the member states collectively in humanitarian, development, economic and stabilization assistance (European Commission 2015). In general, the EU is supporting humanitarian programs which provide millions of people with life-saving assistance including food and

safe drinking water, non-food items, shelter, emergency medical treatments and protection. In order to achieve these objectives and to ensure the effectiveness of its response, the EU must secure sustainable and predictable funding commensurate to the unprecedented level of needs in the region of the Middle-East. It is it is necessary because the conflicts in Syria and Iraq have growing potential to destabilize neighboring countries and the wider region. Therefore, the Commission proposes an aid package of EUR 1 billion from the EU budget for years 2015 and 2016 (European Commission 2015).

Actually, the EU has a responsibility to ensure that it uses its influence and its numerous instruments effectively and coherently to defend human lives, human dignity and rights, and help resolve these crises, in close coordination with regional and international partner. Regarding to this responsibility, in 6 February 2015, the European Parliament and the Council have achieved a Joint Communication about the elements for an EU regional strategy for Syria and Iraq. According to the objectives, the document emphasizes the need for the EU counter against the threat posed by Islamic State and other terrorist groups which represent a security threat to regional and international stability, as well as for simultaneously creating the conditions for an inclusive political transition in Syria and lasting stability in Syria and Iraq. It is also stressed that sustained EU high level diplomacy in the region is crucial to contribute to the necessary changes.

Related to military response of the crisis in Syria, the EU is a part of the Global coalition against terrorist groups in the region. The Coalition was launched in September 2014 and has the support of over 60 countries, including key countries in the region.

In general, the EU has comprehensive and mostly non-military response to the crisis in Syria. Such an approach is confirmed by the fact that together with the countries of the region and international partners the EU has active political and diplomatic engagement with the objective to de-escalate the regional tensions on the one hand and the war between the Assad regime and the armed opposition on the other hand. Still, having in mind actual consequences related to the migrant and refugee crisis in Europe, it is no doubt that the EU should have more active role in resolving the crisis in Syria. This is confirmed and by the president of the European council, Donald Tusk (Tusk 2015). According to him, the refugee crisis would be resolved by ending the conflicts underpinning it. Therefore, the EU needs to find sustainable political solutions in regions in conflict, such as Iraq, Syria, Libya and the Middle East. It should be also noted that the Islamist extremism such as that demonstrated by Islamic State, has to be fought with determination.

Conclusion

This paper discusses if and how the EU became a serious global security actor in the past 25 years. Therefore, it should be noted that seeking to play a more active security role in global affairs in current period, the EU has developed abroad framework of strategies and policies such as: CFSP, EDSP/CSDP, ENP, ESS as well as Internal Security Strategy. This framework is important from several aspects: 1) defining a common EU security and defense objectives; 2) defining common EU security risks and threats; 3) granting more powers to the EU institutions in the security area; 4) development of military and civilian capabilities for dealing with the security challenges; 5) launching numerous EU's mandate military and civilian missions and operations. All of these aspects are confirming the fact that in the past 25 years, serious activities and measures have been taken by the EU. There is clear evidence that the EU is establishing instruments and measures in order to promote itself as a serious security actor. As a result, through the civilian and military crisis management, the EU has been active over the last decade in Europe, Africa and Middle East.

At this stage, the EU member states stand ready to fight for their interests wherever they are, including far abroad. Still, it should be stressed that the EU itself has launched a number of operations, but all of them have been essentially of unconventional nature (counter-insurgency, counter-terrorism, counter-piracy, peace-keeping, etc.), nothing thus similar to a large-scale conflict (such is current conflict in Syria).

Actually, from current point of view, there are still challenges in terms of affirmation of the EU as a serious global security actor. The EU's security policy should rely on updated threat assessments and strategic documents. Having in mind the importance of ESS related to defining the security threats as well as the needed approaches for dealing with them, therefore it should be noted that there is no mechanism for updating or launching a new ESS. As a result, the ESS risks becoming increasingly irrelevant over time as the strategic landscape changes. As example, the economic crisis that is not mentioned in any of the EU's strategy papers, has produced a serious constrains to European defense and security budgets. Therefore, a new Global strategy on foreign and security should be based on a clear guidelines about how the EU sees its role in the world, in order to legitimize its actions vis-à-vis parliaments and citizens, and to create clarity vis-à-vis allies, partners, and competitors alike.

Syria, as another example, was and still is attracting large amounts of young fighters from European countries-much more than any conflict did. Therefore, the risk that

these trained and radicalized youths could return to Europe and try to do harm is not to be neglected. In addition, Europe's neighborhood is increasingly a space of conflicting interests between the EU and other powers, which constrain the EU's strategic maneuver approach.

However, it should be stressed that the EU is a nascent security actor. As noted above, the first CSDP operation was only launched in 2003 and all the following operations have remained of relatively small scale. There have also been a certain number of missed opportunities for CSDP as well, in Libya or in Syria, whereas some available capabilities such as the EU battle groups continue to be simply ignored. As a result, the EU is not yet perceived as a serious security actor in certain regions of the world. Therefore, it could be noted that a lot of work has still to be done internally, before EU can really start shaping the global security environment.

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