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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Assessing European Security Since 9/11 to 2015" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university

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PREFACE

The European Union(EU) dominates the European space and the term European Union is often used as a synonym for Europe (Hyde-Price 2007: 54). While assessing European security, one is automatically drawn towards studying the European Union (EU) security conditions through the institutions of the EU. Many important events have unfolded in the European continent, and in its near abroad since the European Security Strategy was released by Javier Solana in 2003. Since then the concept of ‘Security’ has transformed and the European Union, has changed as well; EU has expanded to absorb new members from the former Soviet bloc in 2004 to Britain in June 2016 voting for an exit. The current configuration of issues related to security, peace and prosperity especially with the escalation of the Syrian Civil war, innumerable number of people are fleeing home, seeking asylum in Europe and elsewhere. The unprecedented rise of non- state actors such as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) after Al-Qaeda has reiterated the threat of terrorism, which was listed as one of the security threats to the EU in the European Security Strategy (2003); hence there is a need for strategic reflection on the EU’s way ahead.

The European continent and the EU in particular does not need to deal with East–West conflict and nuclear threat today, but they are certainly feeling a new range of security threats that are not easily identifiable. There is a growing concern about terrorism, proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction(WMD), regional conflicts, transnational crime and failed states. From the 1990 war in Iraq to the Balkan conflict, Europeans found themselves struggling to deal with the new threats. It is quite ironical that despite the endeavours for a long-awaited ‘peace dividend’, Europe has never been more active militarily than in the last decade.

The 2010 Treaty of Lisbon delivered the Union with a certain powerful set of external action instruments. The CSDP in its ‘comprehensive approach to external conflicts and

crises' enabled the EU to be more active with its security mechanisms. The link between internal and external security is strategic in today's time, with globalization and movement of people. The porous borders signal more vulnerability as more people are beginning to care about what happens beyond their borders. The EU has a great opportunity to forge a coherent and more effective foreign policy strengthened by the full weight of 27 member states as well as a wide range of other actors, namely through NATO and international organisation such as the United Nations Organization (U.N.O).

The chapter one begins by defining Europe and provides a brief chronological events that are relevant from the past because of their impact on the formation of the European Union over the years and how it deals with security. And as the study progresses, an attempt has been made to investigate and analyse upon the changes in the nature of threat, from traditional to non- traditional, mainly the threat of terrorism in Europe. After the 9/11 attacks in the U.S. and the following attacks in Madrid, London, France, Brussels and Nice, terrorism has become the most formidable security concern for the European Union. The study also tried to draw a link between the EU's Internal and External security strategy; the evolving nature of Internal and External security challenges and their inter-relationship in the face of growing challenges from terrorism along with a discussion on the new European Agenda on Security from 2015-2020 and the very recent EU's Global Strategy of 2016.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AQI	al-Qaeda in Iraq
AFSJ	Area of Freedom Security and Justice
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
CSCE	Conference on Security and Co-operation
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
EaP	Eastern Partnership
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDA	European Defence Agency
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Spain)
FYROM	Former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia
ISS	Internal Security Strategy

GTD	Global Terrorism Data
HR/VP	High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/ Vice-President of the European Commission
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
PNR	Passenger Name Record
RIESS	Report of the Implementation of the European Security Strategy
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNMDGs	The United Nations Millennium Development Goal
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The European Union (EU) is an extraordinary economic and political union that has led to regional integration and cooperation between 28 sovereign states. It is the quest for a peaceful European continent where nations would not wage war against one another and come together to create peace, prosperity and security was the driving force behind the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC). The 1950 Schuman Declaration initiated the making of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which accelerated the idea of a European Project; led by a set of resolutions in the form of ‘Green Paper’ (the Cecchini Report). This European project saw an integration based on sets of common principles of single market, a common agricultural policy, a common trade policy, a common currency, the implementation of Schengen or the ‘big bang’ enlargement of 2004 to accommodating Croatia as the twenty eight member state and most importantly, common political binding treaties.

It was the 1993 Maastricht Treaty that consolidated the EEC when it was named as the European Union (EU). The treaty created the three pillar system wherein the first pillar was the European Communities, the second pillar consisted of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the third pillar was Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). The policy of ‘common strategies’ was further introduced as one of the foreign policy instrument in the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty (Skordeli 2012; Archick 2013: 150, 1-2). The inability to deal with the Yugoslavian and the Balkan crisis in the 1990s, the push for designing a Common European Foreign Policy was made, which is the CFSP. Under the CFSP, the Maastricht Treaty provides the member states to form a common position and take combined action. The decision-making in the case of foreign policy issues mandates a unanimous agreement of all member states and therefore remains inter-governmental in nature. This characteristic of the EU’s decision making process undermines the CFSP’s coherence.

The CFSP's efficiency was accredited by the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy by the Lisbon Treaty of 2009. This position combined the post of the Council of Ministers High Representative for CFSP and the Commissioner for External Relations along with the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS). These developments undoubtedly have increased the perceptibility of the EU in the region and in the international politics as well (Archick 2013: 3, 6-7).

As EU faces security threats, ranging from an internal level threat to external ones the Union's main concern is to identify the source of these threats and come together successfully to address these threats. EU's growth from a successful economic giant to political and security actor needs to be calculated, especially after series of developments in its institutions and the international politics altogether. The EU, in expanding its membership and opening its borders the union has to reckon with increased vulnerability; open borders and free movement of people have implications on its security agenda. In order to rectify its security conditions, EU's relations with its neighbourhood is also vital both the eastern and southern neighborhoods, to its foreign and security policy. The eastern neighbourhood is comprised of the former Soviet Union's satellite states, many of which are now EU members and the southern neighborhood comprises countries from both North Africa and Middle East (MENA). Although the southern neighborhood does not share its boundary with the mainland of Europe, and is geographically divided by the Mediterranean Sea, it is yet the world's most volatile region due to its political instability, hence, the region renders its importance to the EU. The Union's concern lies here to ensure a secure Europe by checking instability from the MENA region spilling over to the Union.

EUROPEAN UNION AFTER THE COLD WAR

Ten years after the end of the Cold War, Europe and the U.S. witnessed different kinds of Political and Security developments. The enlargement process in the late 1990s led to the largest expansion of the European Union in 2004, when ten Central Eastern European States (CEE) joined it. This development took the borders of the EU to the Russian territory, bring in more political and security issues. A decade after détente, peace was

shattered in the American and the European soil, when the al-Qaeda attacked the U.S. and exposed the superpower to the Non- traditional threat, which is terrorism. The European attempts to handle the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s were, the main reason for the first real push for designing a Common European foreign policy. Although Terrorism was not new to Europe, the widespread reach and the globalization of such threats and its implications on the region was felt. The 2004 Spain, 2005 Britain, 2011 Norway, 2015 Paris attack (Charlie Hebdo), the continual threat in the southern neighborhood, which is creating the ongoing Refugee Crisis from Syria and the most recent, the November 2015 Paris attack. All of these incidents sent a message of new forms of threat that has surfaced, especially the unprecedented rise of non- state actors, like al-Qaeda and ISIS.

From the 1990 war in Iraq to the Balkan crisis Europeans found themselves caught in a security crisis. The EU's endeavours for a lasting peace has been dismantled today, we have quite a number of EU-North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) joint military missions and various other EU led peace keeping missions, which sends a message of, war returning to European soil. If there is one aspect about studying Europe today, that it is persistently facing challenges. After the Paris attack on the thirteenth November 2015, Terrorism, The Syrian Civil War and the associated Refugee crisis, security was at the core of the discussion at the EU Foreign Affairs Council in Brussels. Europe's Security is rigorously being shaken, distorted and questioned. Today, the biggest question that EU is being confronted with is 'How Secure is Europe? Since 9/11, it has been widely accepted by the European leaders including the U. S that the event was a "Game Changer". Today, there is a tremendous concern for border security, the complexity here involves the different kinds of borders in Europe: the outer border, such as between Turkey and Greece, which marks the boundaries of the European Union, and internal open borders of the 26-nation Schengen area.

CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF THREAT: TRADITIONAL TO NON-TRADITIONAL THREAT: EU AFTER COLD WAR

Much literature on the security studies give us a general overview of how the concept of security has evolved over the last few decades. From being an ‘underdeveloped’ security studies, which focussed on the nuclear rivalry and inter-state conflicts, security became a ‘highly contested’ concept with issues such as climate change, health and migration and terrorism being the emerging threats on the international and national security. Therefore, a way forward is to adopt a more balanced approach between securities which is theoretically-oriented and that which is empirically grounded. In defining the European security problem one is suggested is to show that it is not only the literature on contemporary security studies which approaches security in a more inclusive way, but also the EU itself; for example, it has recently adopted a ‘security lens’ to examine these new threats with the change in time. Despite, the EU security has adopted a broader and deeper conceptualisation, both in theory and in practice, the literature on the EU as a security actor is still largely influenced by the narrow and military-oriented approach. In the early decades of the post-WWII era, especially after the development of nuclear capability by key states around the world, security was primarily about preserving autonomy of the state and freedom of decision-making, by the means such as armed forces, diplomacy and intelligence, but also economic leverage and cultural superiority (Sheehan 2005: 6).

Barry Buzan (1991; 2007:107) is one of the scholars who challenged this situation at the beginning of the 1980s, when he introduced five sectors of security (military, political, economic, societal and environmental), in which an interstate military conflict was still a primary, but not the only security threat. Similarly, the state was still the main referent object to be secured, but the levels of individuals and international system were also recognized. Buzan’s work was ground-breaking to the extent that “acknowledging the merits of a ‘broad concept of security’ (McSweeney 1999: 53). Buzan (1991; 2007: 107) acknowledged that “military threats occupy the traditional heart of international security concerns” because they basically affect all the functions of the state. The end of Cold War brought a transformation in the concept of security. In the 1990s it became possible to distinguish at least three “broad churches” within which many scholars have tried to

broaden and deepen the concept of security (Mutimer 2007). A broader definition of security was given on the concept of Human Security by who defined security by Janne H. Matlary (2008: 135) as the “agenda where the point of reference is the individual person and his or her right to personal security”.

THE AL-QAEDA ATTACK- ITS IMPACT ON THE EUROPEAN SECURITY

The terrorist attacks on the United States and the ensuing disclosure of Al Qaeda units in Europe provided a new impetus to European Union (EU) inventiveness to battle terrorism and the associated other cross-border crimes such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, and financial fraud. The attack on September 11, 2001 sent a message of terror and the EU policy makers announced that terrorism was the next greatest security threat to the international arrangement following the 9 /11 terrorist attacks.

In the past, the EUs effort to address such were deprived by impediments such as limited resources, lack of consensus among members’ states along with differences in the law enforcement agencies. The EU has for a long time pursued to synchronise security policies among its members in the “justice and home affairs” (JHA)area. JHA deals with countering terrorism, managing cross-border crimes, supervising police and judicial cooperation, border controls, and immigration and asylum concerns. Further, EU’s endeavour against terrorism has resulted in a number of strategies and programs such as the European Security Strategy, The Hague Programme: Ten priorities for the next five years, the Counterterrorism Strategy, the Lisbon Treaty etc. Despite the progress made by the EU in the fight against this dread, terrorism remains a constantly unceasing threat to the European security.

With the Maastricht Treaty which came into effective in 1993, created the three pillars of which one was the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). CFSP enables the EU to assert its views in the international political arena. It is an approved foreign policy for mainly security and defence diplomacy and actions. The CFSP shares a close affinity with NATO, where the EU and US come together for the territorial defence of Europe. However,

since 1999, the European Union has also initiated its own missions through peace-keeping and policing of treaties, etc. A phrase that is often used to describe the relationship between the EU forces and NATO is "separable, but not separate" (Bensahel 1999: 8(2), 52-72).

Following the Amsterdam Treaty of 1999, that established the office of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy to organize and prepare the EU's foreign policy and by December 2009 the pillar system had ceased. Since the December 2011, the High Representative (HR) is in charge of the European External Action Service (EEAS), provisioned by the Treaty of Lisbon. The EU High Representative Federica Mogherini in referring to the threat of terrorism underscored that "Terrorism is a global threat and requires a global response" urging the international community to be united in tackling the threat.

The following 2004 March train bombing in Madrid and the London Underground attacks of July, both committed by an Al Qaeda inspired group of North Africans resident in Spain and U.K caused a greater sense of earnestness in the EU to establish new measures like establishing the Counterterrorism Coordinator to address the issue by augmenting intelligence-sharing among EU member states. Further, there was an emergence of a new kind of terrorism, Lone wolf or a Lone-wolf terrorist, who is an individual, carrying out violent acts alone without having any affiliation from any group. Such cases of lone wolf terrorism were reported in Europe in 2009 and 2011 with the Royal Family Assassination attempt and the Norway Terror attacks (Global Terrorism Database 2016).

These developments added impetus to EU initiatives aimed at improving transport security arrangements and impeding terrorist travels. Enabling EU to establish a counter terrorism coordinator in part to enhance intelligence sharing among the EU member states. Besides, the deadly July 2012 terrorist attack on Israeli tourists in Bulgaria which has been said to be linked to the Lebanese Hezbollah organization reiterates the stark reality of Terrorism as an inevitably strong threat and that Europe as a continent remains vulnerable to such activities. Also, while calculating this, let us also remember to mention about the most recent, The Paris attack or the Charlie Hebdo case, the November Paris attack along with the Brussels and the Nice attack in 2016. The anti-terror legislation in the EU has

traditionally been evolved in response to all these events and urgent measures like the European Arrest Warrant and the setting up of Euro just were taken.

THE EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY (ESS).

The European Security Strategy (ESS), adopted by the European Council on 12-13 December 2003, provisioned the conceptual framework for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which was later what is known as the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Additionally, the ideological confrontations between the EU member states over the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 surfaced the necessity for a common strategic vision to enhance internal cohesion at EU level. Therefore, granting the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, to draft such a strategy to do the needful. In this framework, the ESS singles out five key threats:

1. Terrorism
2. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
3. Regional conflicts
4. State failure
5. Organized crime.

With the Title, '*A Secure Europe in a Better World*', the "ESS is a brief but comprehensive document which analyses and defines for the first time the EU's security environment, identifying key security challenges and subsequent political implications for the EU." In December 2007, Four years after the adoption of the ESS, member states assigned the High Representative at the European Council 'to study its achievements with the intent to suggest elements on how to advance certain implementation, appropriation and elements to complement it. Hence, the resulting document, the 2008 'Report of the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World', urging for

the need to be ‘more capable, more coherent and more active’ in its foreign policy (EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY Brussels, 12 December 2003).

TERRORISM AS A SECURITY CONCERN

Age of Terrorism (Laqueur 1987) has been accepted widely since the emergence of the non-state actors in 2011, which redefined the paradigm of terrorism today. It has compelled scholars to study and analyze the shifting designs of terrorism; in terms of its geographical outreach, technique and means of attack, its successful popularity and expansion with various other smaller party involved and their implications on the international politics and economy. According to the report provided by the Global Terrorism Index 2015, from the Institute for Economics & Peace, a think-tank based in Sydney, Australia, there were as much as a nine-fold upsurge in terrorism related deaths worldwide, from 3,329 in 2000 to 32,685 in 2014. (Global Terrorism Index, 2015) Today, we have enough data to support the discourse, that most of the asylum seekers in Europe comes from a terrorism related conflict area and most of the deaths are also terror related subsequently and statistics from countries like, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan proves it profoundly. The attack on Charlie Hebdo in January 2015 was another blow to the European Security. It is not really surprising that when looking at the wording of the Agenda, “security” plays a dominant role. Internal security has begun to play a pivotal role on the European level, today it seems like the focus of the EU’s internal security policy has been “incident-driven” (Strambol, Strazzari, 2015). Examples include 9/11 as well as the attacks in Madrid and London 2004 and 2005 and others. While there is no doubt that the EU has increased its presence in this field not only through more coordination and legal measures but also through new and strengthened institutions like Europol or EuroJust. However, EU still plays a subsidiary role compared to the Member States (Ibid: 201).

Non- state actors are the new form of threat on the rise, group such as ISIS, have the inexplicable potential to set their agenda and carry out unprecedented attacks at their own will. Terrorism has become a too-familiar term in today’s international system. It could be

described as the actions and methods adopted by non-state actors that are associated with low intensity conflict and insurgency and whose aims are usually political or religious ones. Groups like this have existed for centuries now; however, the threat had never been as high as it is now. Advances in armament and technology have made the job easier and any attack has the potential to be as deadliest as ever, as seen in the 9/11 offensive in New York. Within terrorism itself groups can be ranked by the level of threat, and heading the list are the Islamic terrorist bands (Al Qaeda, Daesh, Boko Haram, etc.) Today, the trend of a Non-State actor, of being a regional threat has been debunked. The series of attacks that we have witnessed in the past to the most recent in Paris and Brussels manifest, their premeditated strategically shift towards target outside the Middle East, hence expanding their area of engagement and dramatically, targeting especially the unarmed civilians.

Terrorism is the deliberate use of violence performed against non-belligerent targets to induce fear by use of violence, by the Non-state actors, influencing a group larger than the immediate victims with the intention of a political change (prominent datasets such as the State Department's Patterns of Global Terrorism, International Terrorism). Attributes of Terrorism Events (ITERATE), the Global Terrorism Data (GTD), and the Rand databases of worldwide terrorist events all employ some version of this definition, though some variation does exist between the different data sets. Terrorism is a dread, a curse that refuses to acknowledge any borders and threatens the security, the rights and freedoms of citizens and democratic values. The ease of mobilizing terrorists by the free access of internet and media, together with the state of the art technology providing a fast and communication between members of terrorist groups, as well as the access to sources of finance led to a rapid evolution of this scourge, with repercussions for the European countries.

It has been acknowledged by the western policy makers that the terrorism represents the next great security threat to the International system. Navin Bapat (2007/10/25) following the 9/11 attack has made an important conclusion that, even though the terrorist outfits are capable of killing at low levels, terrorism has the tendency to instigate a macro level power

shifts. He made an important remark that the, “transnational terrorism is seen as a potential catalyst for interstate war”.

According to Kristin Archick, a specialist in European Affairs, after the commencement of the 9/11 attacks, Europol conducted a strategic review of the situation annually in Europe – EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT4) - based on the information substantiated by the EU Member States where the Europol experts resonated that “terrorism is not an ideology or a movement but a tactic or a method to achieve political goals” In the analysis EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report 2009, terrorist organizations are classified according to the source of motivation. The types of terrorism identified are those that reflect the current situation in the European Union: The Islamist terrorism, the Ethno-nationalist and Separatist terrorist groups, the Left-wing terrorist groups, the Right-wing terrorist groups and the Single issue terrorism or the Lone Wolf.

EU AS A SECURITY ACTOR

The recent attacks on the European Soil, the attack on France, Brussels, Nice and many others in the past which are discussed in the chapters, was a significant reminder to the European leaders to reassess their security. Today, the Islamic State stands with al-Qaeda as one of the most dangerous, after its gains in Syria and Iraq. Under its former name Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), formed in April 2013, growing out of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), is demanding a comprehensive security strategy for the EU, especially the dynamics between its internal and external security. With the Lisbon treaty of 2010 and the following enlargements especially the one after the 2004, it was now important to adopt a new lens to perceive security matters.

A continuous assessment of the EU’s role in counterterrorism has taken place in the aftermath of 9/11. Argomaniz, Bures and Kaunert (2015) gives an inclusive detail of the counter terrorism development in ‘Intelligence and National Security’. The list does not give out any new laws and policies to deal with terrorism and other related threats rather,

it rather necessitates a rigorous implementation of existing legislation and mechanisms (e.g. the Prüm Treaty on the comparison of DNA profiles, fingerprint data and vehicle registration data) or an adjustment of older initiatives (e.g. a new legal basis for Europol Common rules but also common rules on data protection). The Agenda also suggests the opportunity to form Joint Investigation Teams to be used more extensively along with the focus on training, funding (Internal Security Fund) and the promotion of security-related research and innovation (Mussler, 28.04.2015). The European Parliament also asked for an immediate strategy of how to deal with so-called “Foreign Fighters” (European Parliament resolution 9 July 2015).

European Commission’s “European Agenda on Security 2015-2020”. The European Agenda on Security implements the Political Guidelines of European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker in the area of security and replaces the previous Internal Security Strategy (2010-2014). The European Security agenda also concerns the actors who cooperate in the implementation of the Agenda along with the link between internal and external security. Each of these mentioned issues stances an enormous challenge for the European Union (EU). The official goal of the Agenda is to build “an EU area of internal security” until 2020 (The European Commission, The European Agenda on Security 2016).

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The study aims to analyse the European Security in the midst of the events that have transpired since 9/11 in the region up till the most recent, the Paris attack. With the escalation of Civil War in Syria and the unprecedented rise of Non- state actors such as al-Qaeda and ISIS in Syria and Iraq, the European Union security calls for a revision of its Security apparatus. After the end of World War II, the Cold War period in Europe was marked by long years of peace. However, the 1991 Yugoslavia and the following Bosnian crisis brought war and deaths back to Europe in the form of civil wars and ethnic conflicts.

From then on, EU has faced innumerable security threats, however the nature of threats being diffused or say, unidentifiable. And after the 9/11 attack in the U.S. and the following attacks in Madrid, London, France, Brussels and Nice Terrorism has become the most formidable security concern for European Union. Therefore, the need to study and understand the European Security agenda once again with Terrorism at the core of it and to redefine the literature on Security Studies by identifying and understanding this new threat, re-examining one's security measures, most importantly reassessing its open borders, the intake of refugees and others is what the research paper emphasized upon.

The rationale behind this study is to investigate and analyse upon the changes in the nature of threat, from traditional to non- traditional, mainly the threat of Terrorism in Europe that EU is dealing with to which there are limited literature available. The study shall also make an attempt to understand EU's Internal and External security strategy; the evolving nature of Internal and External security challenges and their inter-relationship in the face of growing terrorism along with a discussion on the new European Agenda on Security from 2015-2020.

Since Terrorism is a dread and is rapidly expanding its magnitude, Europe's response to the threat is refining and developing as the events unfold. But not much work has been conducted on the recent, after the Paris attack and the Rise of ISIS and their impact on the EU security agenda. The study will cover the period from 9/11 to 2015.

The study validates the following premise: As Europe faces growing security challenges from terrorism, coordinating the EU's Internal and External Security Strategy is essential for ensuring security in the Union.

Following are the prominent research questions that the chapters will undertake to address them: a) how is security defined in the 21st century b) what are the Internal and External security challenges for EU? what was the consequence of 9/11 in America on European security? what are the 'New' security concerns of Europe today? e) What are the security measures taken up by Europe to deal with the new security problems f) How does the rise of Non- state actors such as ISIS, concerns the European Security?

The proposed study used deductive method and took a realist approach of research. It shall be based on both primary and secondary sources of information. Primary sources will include European Commission's reports and European External Action Service's reports, Council Decisions and Parliament Documents and secondary sources will use books, articles, academic journals, and internet sources.

The present study is divided into the following framework: The first chapter introduces the subject by giving an overview of the study in terms of the proposed research questions. It briefly discusses the background of the research by introducing the European Union and its evolution as a regional organisation region. The chapter also discusses the perspective through which this research is being undertaken.

The second chapter will discuss on the paradigm change in the definition of what security is mainly after the end of cold war. Chapter will deal with EU's encounter with the new forms of 'Security' concerns recounting the events from 9/11, The 2004 Spain, 2005 Britain, 2011 Norway, 2015 Charlie Hebdo, the threat in the southern neighbourhood creating the prevailing Refugee Crisis from Syria and the most recent, November 2015 Paris attack and its growing role as a security actor.

The third chapter evaluates the European Security Strategy that was adopted in 2003 and its revision in 2008. It will also discuss the European Internal Security Strategy and the

various other measures taken up by EU to counter Terrorism. And finally analyse the security implication on the internal and external security arrangement of the EU, because of terrorism.

The fourth chapter studies the concern of growing terrorism on Europe especially the threat posed by the Al -Qaeda and ISIS, after 9/11 and the 2013 Syrian civil war. The chapter also makes an attempt to reason the underlying link between Terrorism and Displacement of People taking place in Europe currently, which enabled the chapter to affirm on the intricate relationship between the internal and external security threat of EU, by terrorism.

The last chapter presents the research findings on whether EU's policies have been shaped to establish a stable, secure Europe in the light of the many unprecedented events that have occurred in the proximity of European region and its neighbourhood, particularly dealing with the threat of Terrorism. The chapter concludes by discussing on the European Agenda on Security 2015-2020 and the EU Global strategy of 2016, wherein it reminded that, to achieve a secure EU, the EU will have to collaborate its external and the internal security measures efficiently.

CHAPTER II

THE CHANGING NATURE OF SECURITY THREATS IN EUROPE: THE SHIFT FROM TRADITIONAL TO NON-TRADITIONAL

The fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the end of the Cold War, which not only brought peace back to Europe, it also ended the existence of two super power blocs that of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The also meant communism across central and eastern Europe had collapsed and the disintegration of Yugoslavia signalled European Union opening its borders. The Maastricht Treaty in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999 was a hallmark in the history of EU; the Single Market is implemented with the 'four freedoms' of: movement of goods, services, people and money. The EU enlargements begin and in 1995, it gains three more new members: Austria, Finland and Sweden. Besides, the 'Schengen' agreements take place, which allowed people to travel without their passports checked at the borders. This was something new that was taking place in Europe. After the 2004 enlargements EU as a 27member state, was reckoned as the most successful regional organisation and has often been credited as a normative and a civilian actor. (EUROPA 1990-91). Using structural realist theory Hyde-Price (2007) in terms of understanding the changes in the European continent, gauged the new security agenda confronting Europe in today's time and explains why Europe is not 'primed for peace'; For example, the US war on Iraq had uncovered the travesty of the in transatlantic relations. The Russian invasion of Crimea also manifests Russian aggression. After the end of Cold -War, NATO and the EU faces the problems of 'balanced' multipolarity.

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF INTENATIONAL RELATIONS SECURITY BOTH AS A CONCEPT AND OPERATIONALIZED TERM HAS DIVERSE MEANINGS

In the period of the cold war from 1945- 1990, the focus of the International Relation scholarship was primarily concerned and limited on the traditional threats wherein the idea

of security was placed on State as the prime goal of conduct and behavior, in the global and regional security. The International theory on Realism centered upon the belief that that State is the main actor of survival and the sovereignty of the State and its political domain from all the other scope were superior (Morgenthau 2006:4-15). Neo Realist like Kenneth Waltz (1979) underlines the importance and the implication of the structure of the international system, and of their security. The Neo Realists also goes onto negate the idea, of the end of the Cold War bringing any change to the concept of security. The Neoliberals, on the other hand believe that cooperation through international organizations is the only way to maintain the disorder and anarchy of state at the international level (Niou 1991: 481). After the creation of the CFSP which enabled the EU to assert its views in the international political arena, the EU has been described with concepts such as civilian power (Duchêne, 1971), normative power (Manners, 2002), and Karan Smith (2003) attributes gentle power and postmodern power to the EU. The Union's international behaviour is hardly studied in the light of realism. Although neo-realism is state centric and occupied with hard power, it can throw some light on the systemic pressure that "shape and shove" the EU's foreign and security policy (Hyde-Price 2006: 219).

As the security dynamics changed after the 1990s, first attempt in undertaking security studies was conducted in 1994 at the York University in Toronto, where a conference entitled, 'Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies' was held. This conference resulted in the publication of the book, *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* (Krause et al. 1997) which outlined some direct challenges to the traditional assumptions of security. Emil J. Kirchner (2006) in his article, 'The Challenge of European Union Security Governance' acknowledges that security can include different dimensions such as ecology or society. Stefan Gänzle et al. (2007: 4) noted that, the end of the Cold War "diminished – perhaps even eliminated – the territorial and military defence focus of European security in the past. States are not only motivated with primary set of concerns (security and power maximisation), but with the change in the international and domestic structure, the quest for secondary set of concerns, a range of political norms such as protecting human rights to promoting democracy is gaining momentum.

Although world peace is vulnerable to inter-state wars and military conflicts, other security challenges such as conservation of environment, energy, water scarce, food unavailability,

cure for health epidemics and terrorism are emerging as equally potent threats to global security. While the contemporary times has witnessed the growth of non-state actors, and the impact of intra-state conflicts, along with other associated threats, including the incessant cyber-warfare, inter-state wars as the main threats to a nation's security has definitely been replaced by many other sources (Shearman 2004 :11). While there has been an evolution of the forms of threat, there is the need of a refined definition of security. Realism, devoid of a coherent definition of security especially failing to recognize role of non-state actors in ensuring security along with their refusal to expand the concept of security into the other disciplines has limited its scope in today's modern times (Krause 1996: 230). Today, no security as a concept could plainly be explained as "the absence of threats to scarce values" (Evans and Newnham 1998:490).

The Copenhagen School popularized by Barry Buzan (1997:13) in his work titled, 'People, States and Fear: The Problem of National Security in International Relations' explained the concept of security. His idea of security, went beyond the archaic narrative of militarism and went onto accommodate new objects of reference for security which are military as well as non- military in nature. Buzan identified five realms of security: military, political, economic, social and environmental. Another school of thought, the critical security studies analyzes the transformation that takes place from the focus on state to an individual and the changes in the institutions (Baylis 2005:313). All of these new definitions of security were posited with the changes that were taking place across the globe; in need of security that identified human security. Post-modernist security studies alike critical studies, disregards state as the main object of study and underscores the importance of non-state actors, narration and role of identity in understanding security (Sarcinski, 2005: 11)

EUROPEAN SECURITY IN THE POST COLD WAR PERIOD

The Cold War has had a significant impact in shaping the post-war European security; the events in the aftermath of Cold War, both, the domestic and in the international scenario now necessitated for an extensive revision of the European Security. It urged EU for a comprehensive European Security agenda for its members' states and its immediate neighborhood hence, calling for a speedy valuation of the Institution such as NATO, the ESCE and others (Hyde- Price 1991:60).

With the end of the Cold War ended European integration was undergoing a rigorous transformation with number of enlargement, but mainly with the 2004 enlargement with the launching of six member states to twenty-eight member states; accommodating the Central and Eastern European countries which were an erstwhile communist bloc, at the same time rebuilding the war-torn Balkan countries to Croatia joining as the twenty-eight-member state in 2013. These internal changes allowed the EU to develop over the years a political system that has power over various policy areas of which, one is the foreign policy area (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014:3). With the Treaty of Rome (1957) there was now a focus on the external security; the establishment of external trade policy and international agreements with other regions in the world were taking place simultaneously and the ECSC. there was also focus on external relations, especially The Union also forms relations with non-governmental agencies and engages in Track II diplomacy. Although the EU was not involved in important combats like Afghanistan and Iraq, it has nonetheless since 2003 held over thirty civilian and military missions, such as military operation in Bosnian and Herzegovina, anti-piracy operations on the coast of Somalia or the police training mission in Afghanistan etc (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014: 3). The EU has delegations in about 140 countries and even in some multilateral organisations (i.e. the UN) (European Commission, 2014c: 3).

Nigoul and Torreli (1987:2) have said, “everything has turned global, diffuse and multiform”. Even the language had changed; no longer was there “threats” but instead, security “risks” and “challenges”. The motive to build a European security group had been on the European agenda after the end of the second World War but the tensions of Cold War never allowed any progress. However, it was the 1973 Conference on Security and Co-operation (CSCE) in Helsinki, with 35 member states that laid the foundations of the OSCE later in January 1995, with the policy references in the form of, “The Blue Book”. (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 3 July 1973). When the cold war ended, the EU felt the implications of the amalgamated kind of security on the European continent hence the change in the role of the CSCE was called in. The reformed OSCE now took a decisive outlook towards dealing with the threats of security; it took a political-military approach, wherein a number of resolutions and obligations as abiding members

were written down. The OSCE employs apparatuses for prevention of conflicts, it also pursues military security by inculcating the values of multilateralism, cooperation and transparency. In November 1999, the EU had adopted the Charter for European Security further reinforcing the necessity for the changes in the European Security agenda (Ivanov 2002: 97-98).

Owing to the changes occurring globally, the international relations experts apprehended that the existing theories of realism, neorealism and liberalism and neoliberalism was not sufficient in explaining the vicissitudes taking place around the world, especially after the end of the Cold War. The attempt to look for a notion of security that pursue to make the concept of security expansive, with the coexistence of different actors (such as human security), diverse forms of threats (such as environmental security), and dissimilar responses (such as non-military collective action). Socio-constructivism that appeared at the beginning of the 90 is less of a theory and more of an approach, founded on the idea that international relations are socially constructed (Karacasulu and Uzgoren, 2007:29). This approach of Social- constructivism garnered striking importance after the end of the Cold War mainly due to failures of the dominant theories in able to explain identity problems in contemporary international relations and the inability to move beyond the understanding of military issues and hard-power politics in international relations (Todorean and Apahideanu 2006 :156).

Also what is striking in today's time is the Emergence of Non-state actors for example numerous terrorist webs, international organized crime such as maritime piracy networks and drug trafficking and intra-state conflicts like concerns has been reckoned as the new-age threats to the national security today. Also, not to forget, the boons of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), this has come about as a revolution in the 21st century owing to the materialization of cyber-espionage/ warfare, setting off the budge of the theatre of war from land, to transcending to air and sea to cyberspace.

An expansive narrative has been provided by Richard H. Ullman on security (1983: 133) addressing that a threat is an "action or sequence of events that... threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a

state.” The concept of Human Security gained momentum and brought the discourse of security beyond just traditional threats, attracting attention for Individual rights. The concept of Human Security became universal in early 90s by the efforts of United Nations Development programme (UNDP). The motive to popularize the idea of human rights came at a time when the world was experiencing massive Human Rights violations across the globe, Genocide and Mass crimes, Civil wars and others. The United Nations Millenium Development Goals (UNMDGs) of 2000, was one of the important parameters introduced in the field of Human Security to understand the scope of Human Security and human rights supported especially by the 198 UN member states.

However, the implementation of the programme has been rather slow. The non-fulfillment of the MDGs have led to the creation of a new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) implemented in 2015. The ambition of the SDGs is to move beyond the areas of MDGs, and identify the root causes of problems such as poverty and attempt to come up with a universal solution to the issues prevailing (UNDP-SDGs 2015). Quite an extensive definition of human security has been provided by the United Nations Development Program report (UNDP Human Development Report 1994). This report is considered a breakthrough journal in the field of human security, urging that, "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" for every individual is the best way to challenge the global insecurity. The report included these important elements- economic, food, health, environmental, physical harm, community, and political. However, the big dichotomy is between the traditionalists who emphasizes state security and the others who take a more expanded view of security, subscribing to human security.

THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

The two world wars of 1914 and 1939 had changed the structure of International Politics vividly and Europe had seen the most of the after-effects of the world war and the Cold War consequently. The Cold War period also beckoned the beginning of a nuclear era and the intense strain between the U.S and the USSSR had divided the world into two superpower blocks. It was this event which led to the building of transatlantic relations in response to the premeditated threats by the Soviet Union (Shearman and Sussex 2004:52).

Therefore, the idea of an intergovernmental Military alliance based on the principle of *collective defence* was formed on April fourth 1949 called the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The main objective behind the creation of this alliance was to counter Soviet threats through effective collaboration by the European members. NATO functions primarily on the idea of a collective defence, which has been mentioned in the Article 5 of the Atlantic Treaty, which entails every member states to cooperate when any other member states are subjected to an attack. The Article 5 of NATO has been invoked only once so far, when the terrorist outfit al-Qaeda attacked the U.S.A (NATO UPDATE 2001).

The EU and the U. S's relationship grew strong with the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) collaboration. This relationship has been significant in building the post-Cold War security arrangements of Europe. The various contributions made by the NATO in the European Security have been laid down in the OSCE Strategy which mentions strategic security threats such as transnational threats- including terrorism and cyber threats, Border management and security Disarmament etc. where both the EU and the U.S play an active role equally.

An important development took turn in the transatlantic relation when the U.S. was attacked on September 2001. Security experts say, it was the day that tainted the threat perceptions on both parts of Atlantic and also had a tremendous impact on the course of the transatlantic partnership as well. According to Shearman and Sussex (2004) the events of 9/11 also symbolized another array of caution for Europe. It was now lucid that European unity and expansion would be a prerequisite to consolidate the quality and temperament of security factors in the future (Shearman and Sussex 2004: 51).

After the announcement' of the New European Agenda on Security', various initiatives were undertaken by both sides, The US and EU on various fields; The Data Protection Umbrella Agreement' which is an international framework agreement taken up to provide a high-level protection of personal USA-EU cross-border data, which serves among others the investigation and prosecution of criminal offences. Subsequently, the Agenda also noted that the Commission is likely to create a legally sound and sustainable solutions for

EU Passenger Name Record (PNR) data exchange after the European Parliament declared that ‘in the case of processing of personal data for intelligence purposes, under US law, non-US citizens do not enjoy any judicial or administrative avenue to protect their rights, [which] nullifies the protections for EU citizens laid down in the existing PNR agreement [with the USA]’(European Commission, The European Agenda on security 2015-2020).

EU AS A SECURITY ACTOR

European Security and Defence Policy aims to strengthen the EU's external ability to act through the development of civilian and military capabilities in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) enables the Union to take a leading role in peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security. It is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian and military assets. Since 2003 the EU has launched some 30 peace missions and operations contributing to stabilisation and security in Europe and beyond. In a time of limited resources Europe also needs to do better with less. The CSDP allows EU Member States to pool their resources and to build stronger defence capabilities to act rapidly and effectively.

“European Security” according to Sens (2007 :3), constitute varied conventions and meanings. A wide spectrum of voices speaks contesting language on what the idea of European security is. While there are experts who submit that Europe is a rather secure zone, which is posing no unswerving and existential threats to its strategic location and proximity and above all to its core ideals. On the other hand, there are few others who reconcile about the Europe that is insecure due to a number of threats such as, terrorism and illegal immigration. European security can be an allusion to institutional building, procedures, strategy and policies that have been arranged as a cooperative endeavor to secure the continent. (Sen 2007:3)

There are certainly enough security challenges in the region for EU for a little while longer, but with the cooperation and efficient coordination of security mechanisms between the institutions such as NATO, OSCE, and international organizations such as the United

Nations Organisation only will see a good congruence of Internal and the External Security. (Bailes, Haine, & Lachowski, 2008: 65-79). And If EU had to be placed in the structural realism framework, the Union may not fit in the frame, as it is still a growing security actor. EU does not have the attributes of a sovereign actor with hard power, even so it outdoes state behavior having a CFSP and ESDP and also with the NATO. In its time frame form a successful economic union, the EU shall take time in being heralded as an international actor (Hyde-Price 2006: 226-227).

Chapter III

THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SECURITY STRATEGY OF 2003 AND ITS INTERNAL SECURITY STRATEGY

The EU's European Security Strategy is a well formulated guide and a vision document that calls for an active, coherent, dynamic and capable EU dedicated to addressing the regional and global security order, ensuring multipolarity. (Directorate-General for External Policies Policy Department, June 2015 - PE 534.989, European Union 2015). The Maastricht Treaty of 1991 established the European Union together with the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) to confront with the challenges of a transformed security environment: the demise of the Soviet Union and the various enlargements that led to accommodating of new members especially from the Central and Eastern Europe (2004 Enlargement). CFSP afforded EU with policy procedures and institutions which would aid them to see the global and regional developments, prepare strategic alternatives, and eventually implement EU operations. The chief objective was to encourage coherence among the member states foreign policies and to draw their resources for common policies. The treaty witnessed a number of amendments, Amsterdam and Nice, however the CFSP lacked the strategic attitude to deal with the violent turn out of Yugoslavia in the 1990s and its's after effects or to create a unanimous agreement toward the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Biscop, 2008).

In 2003, Javier Solana, the then High Representative, formulated the European Security Strategy (ESS), entitled 'A Secure Europe in a Better World' (European Council 2003). The Lisbon treaty of 2010 and the ESS were designed to improve the lack of coherence of EU foreign policies by creating a strategic framework and reforming the institutional structure of CFSP. The definitive goal was and is to change how security challenges are tackled internationally. This chapter will evaluate the European Security Strategy that was adopted in 2003 and its revision in 2008. The chapter shall also discuss on the significance of European Internal Security Strategy along with the ESS and the various other measures taken up by EU to counter Terrorism.

THE EU'S EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY OF 2003

The 2003 ESS, titled “A Secure Europe in a Better World”, was drafted in a very explicit context. First, it can be viewed as, a provisional consolidation of a course that began in the wake of the EU’s critical self-reflection and It was drafted in a pre-Lisbon Treaty environment. The defence pillar (then labeled European Security and Defence Policy, ESDP) was in its formative years as the first autonomous EU operations in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were launched in 2003. Second, as a reaction to the US National Security Strategy combining with the differences of opinion within EU over Iraq. Third, a framework for future approaches to regional and global security. The ESS identifies the EU as a “global player” which must “be more active, more coherent and more capable.” It calls for the EU to “develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid and when necessary, robust intervention” (European Council 2003 1, 11). Also, the ESS was drafted before the 2004 EU enlargements, there were only 15 member states at the time of its adoption, and future members were only associated marginally.

The primary dimensions of ESS:

The ESS identifies five chief threats to the EU:

- (1) Terrorism
- (2) The proliferation of WMD
- (3) Regional conflicts
- (4) State failure and
- (5) Organized crime

It is almost discernible that, these mentioned threats are not confined to one single state and therefore the document treats them as transnational in nature. The document is also a concerted attempt to revise the concepts of strategy, security, and power, to move away from the use of force, such as entire military engagement, and in the direction of creating an environment in which violence is prohibited through civilian and crisis management tools. It tries to triumph over the lowest common denominator that, as realists and liberal inter governments consider, is the result of the quintessentially intergovernmental

style which promotes the explicit interests of powerful EU member states, such as the UK, France, or Germany. The ESS commits the EU to effective multilateralism, a centre-piece of the strategic framework designed to change the global security environment.

2008 REPORT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY STRATEGY (RIESS)

Five years after the completion of the ESS, the EU underwent a review in 2008. The review of the ESS states, while authenticating the validity of the 2003 document, the ESS “for the first time [...] established principles and set clear objectives for advancing the EU’s security interests” (European Council 2008, 3). As Sven Biscop and Jan Joel Anderson spotted, the ESS is more than a purely ‘operational document’. And as a replacement, it provides a strategic framework to tackle various global threats (2008, 2-3). The 2008 Review of the ESS began with an idea to reinforce and not replace the 2003 ESS. With a firm determination to draft a new version, it produced an Implementation Report on the European Security Strategy while attempting to address the question, ‘How does the EU want to change the approach to security?’

The Report of the Implementation of the ESS (RIESS) is heralded as the eye opener of ‘ESS as grand strategy’ (Brattberg, E. and Rhinard Reviewing European Security Strategies Report:2011). There are variations in understanding the priority potential threat, hence not all the threats recognized in the ESS are found in the RIESS, which is carefully explained. While the RIESS recognizes, in tune with the ESS, proliferation of WMD, terrorism and organized crime as threats, it leaves out failed states and regional conflicts, including them in a separate chapter -Security and development nexus, while retaining the others’, cyber-security, energy, climate change. There is also an introduction of the new areas of security interest like piracy and small arms and light weapons (SALW) and interestingly, threat such as group munition on sand landmines may find its way in the report. The RIESS has significantly devoted part of its report to the neighbourhood policies and ESDP missions and the subject of ‘effective multilateralism is well accentuated.

Analysing the Two Documents: The ESS 2003 and the Review of the ESS 2008

Changes and differences between the two documents are visibly broad. Say, the report fails to accommodate the most vital aspect of the ESS: the development of a strategic culture and, moreover, it fails to mention the contribution of ESDP missions to its founding. The report considerably changes the ESS not only in content but also in its scope. It is quite obvious that, the international dimension of European security is more or less disposed of in favour of a regional one underlining, besides the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and ESDP successes, the need for a larger engagement with the neighbourhood (Council of the European Union 2008: 9-10).

It is noticeable that, despite the new meaningful accompaniments to the 2003 document, on cyber security, pandemics or climate change, the report did not fundamentally alter the overall balance of the document (see table 1 below for a detailed comparison between the two documents). It is inferred by many experts that rather than providing with a well revised and a calculated document, there seems to be a clear misconception on the prioritization of the threats enlisted. Finally, the RIESS revisits the subject of capabilities (Council of the European Union 2008: 9) further than the generalities of the ESS. It reveals Battle groups and Civilian Response Teams and underlines the role of suitable and efficient command structures and headquarters capability, strategic airlift, helicopters, space assets and marine surveillance etc. and mentions the necessary role of the European Defence Agency (EDA). The RIESS may be considered a revised security strategy, and more just than a report on the implementation of the ESS, possibly in an improved tune with the actual stature of the EU in the world than the ESS.

Table 1 - 2003 ESS and 2008 Implementation Report: A Quick Comparison

2003 European Security Strategy	2008 Implementation Report
<p><u>The security environment: global challenges and key threats</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terrorism • Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction • Regional conflicts • State failures <p>Organised crime</p>	<p><u>Global challenges and key threats</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction • Terrorism and organised crime • Cyber security • Energy security <p>Climate change</p>
<p><u>Strategic Objectives</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressing the threats (terrorism, proliferation, regional conflicts), Building Security in our neighbourhood (Balkans, Mediterranean, Southern Caucasus, Middle East) <p>An international order based on effective multilateralism (international law, key institutions, regional organisations, rule-based international order)</p>	<p><u>Building Security in Europe and Beyond</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enlargement: Turkey, Western Balkans • European Neighbourhood policy (ENP): Ukraine, Georgia, Mediterranean, Middle East • Security and development nexus • Piracy <p>Small arms and light weapons, cluster munitions, landmines</p>
<p><u>Policy implications for Europe</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More active in pursuing our strategic objectives • More capable: transform our military, stronger diplomatic capability 	<p><u>Europe in a changing world</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A more effective and capable Europe: coherence, better institutional co-ordination, more strategic decision-making.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More coherent by bringing together the different instruments and capabilities • Working with partners: irreplaceable transatlantic relationship, closer relations with Russia, develop strategic partnerships with Japan, China, Canada and India 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater engagement with our neighborhood: ENP, Union for the Mediterranean, Eastern Partnership, deteriorated relations with Russia • Partnerships for effective multilateralism: EU/UN, EU/NATO, EU/OSCE, China, Russia, India, Japan, Canada, Brazil, South Africa, Norway, Switzerland, regional organisations (AU, ASEAN, SAARC)
<p><u>2003 European Security Strategy</u></p> <p>Conclusion: This is a world of new dangers but also of new opportunities. The European Union has the potential to make a major contribution, both in dealing with the threats and in helping realise the opportunities. An active and capable European Union would make an impact on a global scale. In doing so, it would contribute to an effective multilateral system leading to a fairer, safer and more united world.</p>	<p><u>2008 Implementation Report</u></p> <p>Conclusion: Maintaining public support for our global engagement is fundamental. In modern democracies, where media and public opinion are crucial to shaping policy, popular commitment is essential to sustaining our commitments abroad.</p> <p>We deploy police, judicial experts and soldiers in unstable zones around the world. There is an onus on governments, parliaments and EU institutions to communicate how this contributes to security at home.</p> <p>Five years ago, the ESS set out a vision of how the EU would be a force for a fairer, safer and more united world. We have come a long way towards that. But the world around us is changing fast, with evolving threats</p>

	<p>and shifting powers. To build a secure Europe in a better world, we must do more to shape events. And we must do it now.</p>
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Source: Directorate –General for External Policies Policy Department. EP/EXPO/B/SEDE/FWC/201308/Lot6/05 EN June 2015 - PE 534.989©European Union 2015, “Towards a new European security strategy, Assessing the impact of changes in the global security environment”.

EFFECTIVE MULTILATERALISM

Multilateralism is defined by Robert Keohane (1990) as the exercise of managing national policies in a coordinated manner by seeking cooperation among several member states with the aim of achieving similar objective. United Nations Organizations(UNO) is a clear example of a multilateral agenda towards finding world peace and security, calling upon all member states to come together in finding solutions to the security concerns of this global world. Similarly, NATO is a military confluence of western powers sharing the similar tenet of multilateralism formed in 1949. The Treaty of Lisbon highlights the value of a multilateral approach stating, EU must “promote an international system based on stronger multilateral cooperation and good global governance” (European Union 2007: 22).

The idea of Multilateralism in European Union entails that the transnational security issues and its coherent issues identified by the ESS ought to be deterred with certain set of standard actions and policies by groups of states. It vehemently rejects unilateral

approaches. The idea of *Effective Multilateralism* envisions an extensive coalition, not just with the USA, but also other states, such as Russia, China, and India. Other international organizations also feature outstandingly in the ESS as a necessary part of effective multilateralism. For instance, the EU endeavours to legitimize its security role through a route to the United Nations Charter, professing its value, preserve and uphold through nation-building, crisis prevention and crisis management missions. A “stronger international society” with “well-functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order” is the absolute goal. (European Council 2003: 9). There is an incessant effort to consolidate the EU as a global actor and for this the EU needs the structures and capabilities of CFSP. EU wishes to endorse democracy and the rule of law globally as it believes that a system of democratic governance best suits its own security needs.

As envisioned by ESS, the principle of multilateralism maintains to sum up the EU approach to international affairs; however effective multilateralism has become far more complex to achieve. An example of EU’s dubious effective multilateralism is the subject of the Small Arms and Light Weapon(SALW). Identified as a distinct threat in the 2008 RIESS, the document is pointing out to closer cooperation with UN while forgetting to mention the OSCE. An ideal partner to address this problem, it includes practically all EU states, the US, Russia and Ukraine, the countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia accounting for the bulk of SALW exporters of the world. Today, EU’s post-Westphalian proceedings built around economic strength, soft power and multilateral institutions is at odds with an international environment based on the return of extensive high politics, power and geopolitics.

CALCULATING THE STRATEGIC CHANGES IN THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT SINCE 2003: A TRANSFORMED EU

The post-Cold War environment is one of increasingly open borders in which the internal and external aspects of security are indissolubly linked. Flows of trade and investment, the development of technology and the spread of democracy have brought freedom and prosperity to many people. Others have perceived globalisation as a cause of frustration

and injustice. These developments have also increased the scope for non-state groups to play a part in international affairs. And they have increased European dependence – and so vulnerability – on an interconnected infrastructure in transport, energy, information and other fields. Since 1990, almost 4 million people have died in wars, 90% of them civilians. Over 18 million people world-wide have left their homes as a result of conflict.

The European Union has radically grown and evolved since the adoption of the ESS in 2003. The Lisbon Treaty transformed the EU institutions by facilitating the creation and establishment of the European External Action conducting foreign policy, and conveying the EU closer under the management of the High Representative/Vice-President (HR/VP). As the first HR/VP, Catherine Ashton, *European External Action Service* (EEAS) reputed itself as a significant international player and the EU also did not fail to prove its leadership on several imperative crises such as the, the Iranian nuclear negotiations and Serbia/Kosovo.

The Enlargement:

The European Union of today's time is no longer the same old European idea, of an Economic community. Today, it is a geo-political entity and has undergone numerous expansions; beginning from 6 member states to 28. An enlarged EU is a major development, most prominently to Central and Eastern Europe, which has been the biggest inclusion of 13 member states remarkably, these are countries from west of the borders of the former Soviet Union. Leaving aside Turkey and former Soviet states (excluding the three Baltic States), the EU now encompasses most of the European continent with only very few of the countries having decided to stay out of the Union (Norway, Switzerland and Iceland) or seeking membership (in the Western Balkans). Because there have been enlargements, it has led to a dramatic change in the cohesion of the member states' commitment of aid and assistance by all the means in their power, in agreement with article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

Now, enlargement witnessed fundamental consequences in regard to the European Security Strategy and the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). First, in defining the priorities among the 28 states, whose national interest varies across agendas, however, this was easier said than done. This difficulty was displayed in the event of the 2008 process, which led to the Implementation Report and fell short of a genuine review. The management of potential enlargement mainly on the question of Turkey's membership, as well as regarding association of Turkey to specific policies such as CSDP in a Lisbon Treaty environment has also been conflicting view. There has been increasing concerns in reference to the disturbances in the Eastern neighbourhood, namely Russian assertiveness and non-cooperative behaviour in the latest developments in Ukraine. Many fear that these divisive attitudes towards foreign policy and national interests has exposed a divided EU, Developments in Russia since the Georgian conflict, and of course since the Ukrainian crisis, are not properly addressed in existing security documents, starting with the ESS.

Defence and Security:

There has been a visible negative trend in defence spending. According to SIPRI data, there has been a record of 10 percent reduction since 2008 to present, which has received few criticism as the figures lay in avid contrast from the rest of the world's spending, including Russia (an increased 48 percent since 2008). In 2001, the EU spent four times as much as China and Russia combined; it now spends roughly as much as these two powers combined. These developments have such deep reductions; EU's international crisis management has reduced inexplicably. (EDA Defence Data: 2013, 2015)

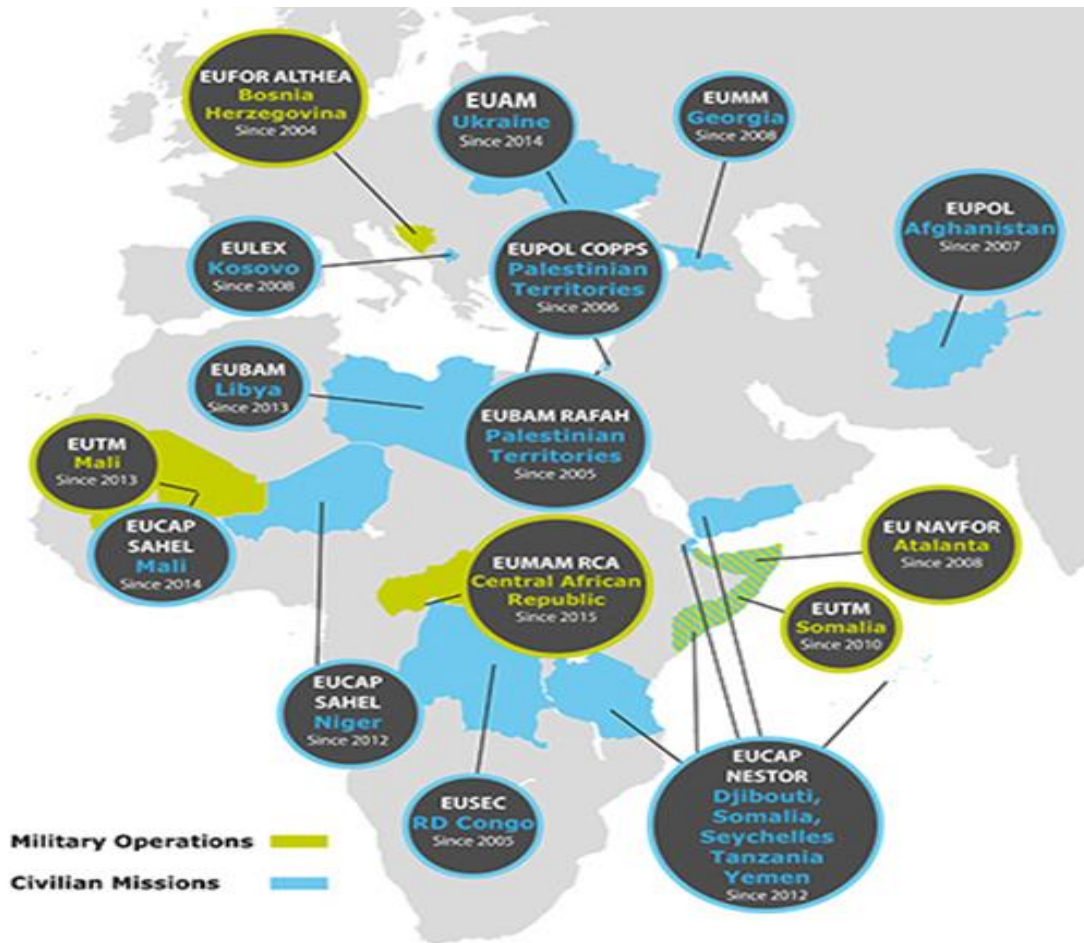
Map 1: An Overview of the completed EU mission and operation



Source: EEAS (2015)

The EU uses political and economic tools in conducting its foreign policy, and is considered in some instances as an influential international actor. The EU has delegations in about 140 countries and even in some multilateral organisations (i.e. the UN) (European Commission, 2014c: 3). The Union also forms relations with non-governmental agencies and engages in Track II diplomacy. Although the EU was not involved in important combats like Afghanistan and Iraq, it has nonetheless since 2003 held over thirty civilian and military missions (see Map 2) such as military operation in Bosnian and Herzegovina¹³, anti-piracy operations on the coast of Somalia¹⁴, or the police training mission in Afghanistan¹⁵ etc. (Keukeleire and Delreux 2014: 3).

Map 2: The Ongoing Military and Civilian Missions of the EU



Source: EEAS (2015)

It is also very important to note that EU is not the only regional security actor as NATO and the OSCE, are also the other two institutions, that play a vital role in regional security – and even beyond for NATO. Mechanisms of cooperation have been developed, such as the EU-NATO Berlin Plus agreement that allows the EU to draw on NATO’s assets. There are certainly enough security challenges in the region for these organisations to co-exist for a little while longer, but the spirit of competition between them is clearly counter-productive. Therefore, a well calculated coordination between these institutions only will see a good congruence of Internal and the External Security (Bailes, Haine, & Lachowski, 2008: 65-79).

AN ANALYSIS OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY OF EUROPE

The Post- Cold War Europe of today manifests the dividing line between internal and external security becoming progressively antiquated. This is predominantly because the internal and external dimensions of a nation's security have been affected exorbitantly by the emergence of globalisation: Threats such as human trafficking and terrorism, in the midst of an interdependent world warranted that these to be a transnational difficulty to tackle individually police and military correspond with each other is needed – to the extent that we see the ascension dealing with aspects of both to sustain security. Currently, police forces are taking on military characteristics and are out spreading their activities beyond the borders of the state while military forces are turning to internal security missions, and are adopting certain police features.

Convergence of the EU'S External and internal security agenda

Traditionally, the External and Internal domains were regarded as two different entities: challenges emanating in the state's internal security were perceived as internal, in terms of criminal or otherwise disturbing activities within the boundaries of the state, while threats to external security were seen as arising first and foremost from the aggressive behaviour of other states. However, it is obvious and commonly agreed that the main security challenges facing the continent are neither purely internal nor purely external, but rather transnational (Derek Lutterbeck, 2005).

It was Didier Bigo and Jean-Paul Hanon (2000 :171/205, (2003 :23/32) who noted that the transnationalisation of security has made the distinction between internal and external security increasingly blurred and that as a result there has been an arrangement of the respective roles of internal and external security agencies. In today's time, this set of developments are observed in many areas of policing, especially in Western Europe, also USA, most prominently in the field of border security, in the fight against transnational crime and irregular immigration. Since the 90s, the topic of 'border security' has generally

emerged as the most vital threat in the political discourse, garnering extreme importance among the countries of the European Union (EU), directing one's attention towards the policy of the Schengen agreement of 1985, which extensively covers all EU countries except Great Britain, Ireland and the countries that joined after the various enlargements. This policy entails, the participating states to lift their 'internal' borders, and to 'compensate' for this with tighter controls at the 'external' frontiers of the Schengen area, the states obviously adhere to these rules, as soon as they become part of the EU. (Lutterbeck D, 2005: *14*(2), 231-253).

The European Union is a good example of how modern states are thriving towards achieving their external security in coherence with the internal security. Florian Trauner (2011) constructs the conception that the traditional understandings of internal and external security are now becoming integrated to complement each other. The involvement of different security actors, the police forces and law enforcement agencies on one side, and military on the other contributed to a relative independence of both security realms while identifying the trans-boundary issues such as terrorism and organised crime, which affect all of its member states and urging to tackle them in a specialised manner (Trauner, 2011: 7).

However, their efforts can be meted out only through the close coordination between its institutions and organisations. Currently, most threats to the EU either originate outside Europe or can be traced to other parts of the world; the most potential threat, in the interest of a nation state's concerns over illegal migration and Refugee inflows from the 'outside'. Hence, it calls for an effective management of the borders that lie adjacent with regions that are not part of Europe (Spengeman, 2013: 6). To tackle the external threats that challenge the integral security of the EU, the European Agency for the Management of External Borders (Frontex) are also engaged in developing an alliance, by building external relations with other countries. The incessant concern of growing terrorism, especially suicide bombing in both Europe and the USA, has enhanced the need for a dramatic shift towards a more military-style modus operandi by the Police force, bringing a change in the

‘rules of engagement’ in dealing with security issues. However, such engagement of military-style methods to secure the external frontiers of the Schengen area has been criticized by many human rights organisations as unacceptable ‘border militarisation’

Between Military and Police

Besides military and police, there are other security actors that have emerged since the conception of a dualistic approach to security. These agencies play important roles as they create a supportive mechanism for order; say of intelligence agencies, rapid response units, paramilitaries and gendarmeries. The point must be made that certain modern nation states have the privilege of the differentiation between police and military to uphold their internal and external security interests. Against the order that is established one finds mercenary groups as a result of ex-military personnel, private security firms, guerrillas and criminal mafias (Luckham, 2003:17). Globalisation has shaped the conflicts in these areas in several ways. First, conflicts are prone to being prolonged as a result of resources that flow towards them, either in the form of arms or funding. Second, the regionalisation of conflicts causes them to enter adjacent regions. Then there are informal global networks that create conflicts and sustain them, such as holy warriors, mafias and illicit arms suppliers to name a few (Luckham, 2003: 24). In such cases, the use of military and police coordination, in addition to specialised forces such as Gendarmerie is needed to counter these measures.

The ‘globalisation of insecurity’ thesis linked to the spread of the modern narrative on global terrorism has had three consequences. First, it makes obsolete the conventional distinction between the two realms of war, defence, international order and strategy on the one hand, and crime, internal security, public order and police investigations on the other. Second, in the same stroke it undermines traditional state sovereignty and obliges all state agents to collaborate internationally. Third, it makes national borders effectively obsolete, as they no longer operate as effective barriers behind which the population could feel safe. The merging of internal and external security is not a result of the rise of a global threat, or at least not only; it also depends on structural evolutions of the different institutions dealing with security and their relations with the political professionals. Among EU countries, as has been documented by a number of studies, there has been increasingly close

collaboration between law enforcement agencies since at least the 1970s initially such cooperation was largely informal in nature, based on ad hoc groupings with a main focus on (European) terrorism. With the Treaty on the European Union, however, collaboration on internal security issues has been institutionalised within the EU's formal structure, the Third Pillar (covering Justice and Home Affairs), and in 1994 the common European police force, Europol, was set up. Law enforcement cooperation among EU countries has also become much broader in scope, and now covers not only terrorism but also various other issue areas such as irregular migration and different types of organised crime.

Anthony Giddens has pointed out that the emergence of the modern nation-state has been accompanied by the progressive removal of the armed forces from internal political life. The inviolability of the border was central in the differentiation of the two universes of police and military. The focus of the armed forces had to be an 'external' threat. The focus of the police had to be the 'internal' threat. The less interaction between the two institutions, the better for democracy, as the danger of a military coup had not been forgotten. The security complex 'permitting' freedom in a liberal society has expanded so much that the symbolic frontiers associating the military with the 'external' and the police with the 'internal' have been destabilised (Didier Bigo 2006 15(4):385-404).

The International Criminal Police Commission, better known as Interpol, was one of the first international bodies to play with the idea of a global threat coming from cross-border criminals and anarchists in the beginning of the twentieth century. Long before the rhetoric of 2001, transnational information exchange developed, even if the judiciary was still bound to national territory. To some extent this practice also affected military institutions, yet the possibility that yesterday's friend will become tomorrow's enemy remained more important than the idea of the common threat of transnational crime. The possibility to think about a 'beyond national state', but inside an 'alliance'. NATO was typically framed as an 'area' of security at the defence level. Later, Schengen tried to do the same for internal security at the European Union level with the ambiguity to create a 'space beyond national state' as an 'inside Europe' and then de-differentiating the clear distinction of the inside and the outside. Today, there is struggle between police, intermediaries and military agencies over boundaries and the definition of the term 'security', and over the

prioritisation of different threats as well as the definition of what is not a threat but only a risk or even an opportunity (Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, 2003: 5137).

The volume by Charlotte Bretherton et al. (2006) is one of the most influential books on EU's foreign policy. The authors acknowledge that "internal and external aspects of security are indissolubly linked and thus involve not only the ESDP and the Community but also Pillar III, the Justice and Home Affairs (JHA)." But what is the EU's role as a security actor? According to the authors, the role is threefold: a) providing security and stability for the wider Europe, b) counter-terrorism and countering proliferation of WMD, c) external crisis management (Bretherton et al. 2006: 191). However, the authors do not acknowledge that the environment, development and humanitarian aid policies also constitute a dimension of the EU's comprehensive security policy. Hence, there is not only a tension between freedom and security but also between the different levels of policy-making; as the monopoly of the legitimate use of force is one of the most fundamental elements of national sovereignty. While there has been a kind of "path dependency" towards more Europe in the field of security and protection, the political struggles around the question of 'How Secure is Europe?' and the perennial dilemma between, 'National sovereignty or European interests?' still persists.

Chapter IV

GROWING TERRORISM AND SECURITY

CONCERNS FOR EU

“Millions of people have fled the territory controlled by terrorist and violent extremist groups. Migratory flows have increased both away from and towards the conflict zones, involving those seeking safety and those lured into the conflict as foreign terrorist fighters, further destabilizing the regions concerned.”

-UN Report, 24 December 2015

The European Community, ever since its creation has witnessed immense growth. The idea of an integrated market and free movement of people allowed the idea of European Union. With the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC) of 1951 and 1958, The EU was a consolidated economic union. However, today's EU is no longer just an economic union but a unique economic and political union of 28 European states, evolving across all areas, from expanding its membership, to restructuring of its institutions and its policy formulations and their effectiveness. In all these processes, EU has transformed enormously making it effectual in its proceedings. To put simply, what started as a strict confluence of economic union has progressed itself into an association, a political and a security actor. Alongside, it has expanded its areas of interests; varying from environment to internal and external relations, security, peace, justice, terrorism, migration and others. (Laursen, 2010).

1990s in Europe was a catastrophe as there were series of inter-ethnic event leading to the Yugoslav war. It first began from Croatia spreading brutally, to a much more complicated multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina. The gruesome wars in the Western Balkans have left behind an enduring economic and political impairment to undo in the region. This event was unprecedented and EU had never before dealt with such conflict

before; EU was not prepared to deal with the issue as an actor yet. The Lisbon Treaty allows for 'enhanced cooperation' in all areas, including CFSP and CSDP (Art. 20 TEU).

The remnants of the conflict still remain problematic for the sub-region. Differences of ethnicity still persists as does the pain of a divided border along with the refugee endemic. The mayhems that transpired in the Western Balkans had exhibited the EU'S insufficiency and the inefficacy in dealing with such situations. It was in the Kosovo war in 1999, EU for the second time encountered a similar situation like the one from the Yugoslavia. However, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) came to the salvage. To prevent the recurrence of a similar violent conflict in the continent is one of the chief objective of the EU over two decades. Hence it is inevitable for any future security strategies of EU, especially the ESS to neglect this event from the past that unfolded twice (Whitman, R. G., & Wolff, S. 2012: 38-39).

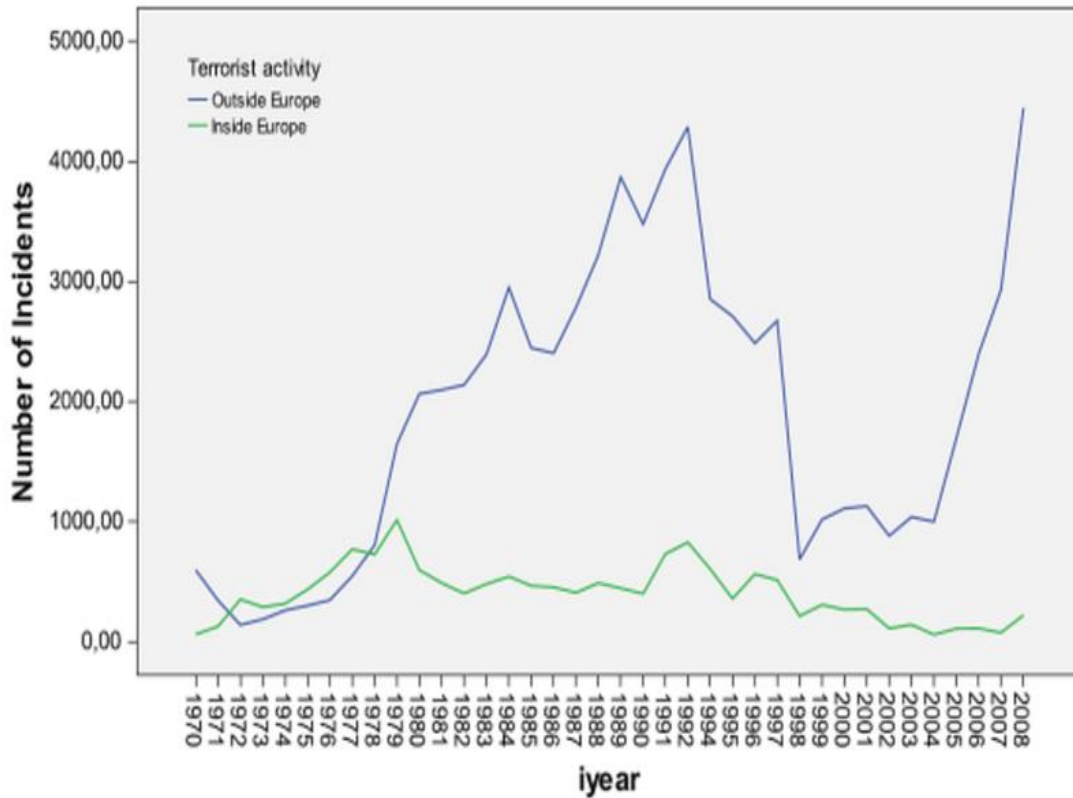
The Lisbon Treaty of 2009 aided in upgrading the efficacy of CFSP by introducing the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. This position combines the post of the Council of Ministers High Representative for CFSP and the Commissioner for External Relations. To support the High Representative, the treaty also created the European External Action Service (EEAS) which is a diplomatic corps of the EU. This new endeavor in many ways reinforced the prominence of the EU in international politics (Archick 2013: 3, 6-7).

As mentioned in the last chapter, EU has been evolving as an emerging security actor, for quite some time now, however, with a contested level of disproportionate 'Actorness'. Actorness is a quality accredited to an organization that "exhibits a degree of autonomy from its external environment and...its internal constituents...that is capable of formulating purposes and making decisions." Therefore, for an institution to show one's actorness, one must possess these three elements of actorness: capability, opportunity and presence. (Bretherton and Vogler 2006:16-17).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EU'S EXPERIENCE WITH TERRORISM

By the 1970s, Europe had already experienced terrorism; militant groups/nationalist movements and the left-wing terrorists who steered to begin a communist revolution by violence. The Italian prime minister's plan was captured and later killed by the Italy's Red Brigades. Similarly, Germany's communist group Baader-Meinhof, trained with the Palestine Liberation Organization was another such outfit. However, there are two separatist insurgencies that have gathered enough importance in Europe: The Irish Republican Army in British-controlled Northern Ireland and the Basque ethnic group ETA in the north-eastern Spain. (Zack Beauchamp 2015).

Figure: Depicting the terrorist activity, both inside and outside Europe-1970-2008.



Source: 33 maps that explain terrorism, by Zack Beauchamp, 15th December 2015
<http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-maps>

Table 2: Twenty Years of Terror in Europe

The confirmed terror attacks in Europe from 1995-2016

DATE	ATTACK	FATALITIES	INJURIES	AFFILIATION	LOCATION
Tuesday, March 22, 2016	Brussels Attacks	31	300	ISIS	Brussels, Belgium
Friday, November 13, 2015	November Paris Attacks	130	368	ISIS	Paris, France
Wednesday, January 07, 2015	Charlie Hebdo Attacks Hypercher	12	11	ISIS	Paris, France
Saturday, May 24, 2014	Jewish Museum Shooting	4	0	ISIS	Brussels, Belgium
Wednesday, July 18, 2012	Burgas Bus Bombing	7	32	Hezbollah	Burgas, Bulgaria
Sunday, March 11, 2012	Toulouse And Montauban Shooting	8	0	Al Qaeda / Jund al-Khilafa	Toulouse and Montauban, France
Friday, July 22, 2011	Norway Terror Attacks	77	319	Lone Wolf	Oslo and Utoya, Norway
Friday, May 01, 2009	Royal Family Assasination Attempt	7	12	Lone Wolf	Apeldoorn, Netherlands

DATE	ATTACK	FATALITIES	INJURIES	AFFILIATION	LOCATION
Thursday, July 07, 2005	London Underground Attacks	52	700	Al Qaeda	London, U.K.
Thursday, March 11, 2004	Madrid Bombing	Train 192	2,050	Al Qaeda	Madrid, Spain

(Source: Global Terrorism Database)

The 9/11 Terrorist Attack

While EU was battling with such security issues in its neighborhood, integrating more members whilst calculating its security measures, the United States of America for the first time in their history saw what Terror was. The attack by the al-Qaeda on the Twin towers and the subsequent attacks on the Pentagon on 11th September, 2001 had shaken the US and the world altogether. This event, also referred to as the 9/11 steered the US to analyze and review its security policies and ushered in new strategies like the USA Patriot Act that made the national security and defense as the top priority. However, there are differences of opinion when it comes to compromising one's civil liberties. The attack resulted in many American-led military operations particularly in the Middle East causing unrest throughout the region and also globally. Scholar like Trevor Salmon (2005), talks about EU security, emphasizing on the impact of the Iraq war and its campaign on the European (lack of) cooperation.

The US Invasion of Iraq and its occupation was the outcome of the 9/11. US was determined to wage a war in the pretext of finding 'Weapons of Mass Destruction or WMD. However, the polling data in Europe signalled a large scale disapproval against US's military

intervention against Iraq. Similarly, 'Anti-Bush' and anti-war sentiments were shown by the Europeans. In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation, the US Secretary of State Colin Powell addressed the return of UN weapons inspectors as a perilous “first step” in dealing with Iraq. He further cautioned on the necessity of the military action and hence called for an international debate on the same. He noted, “I think that the world has to be presented with the information, with the intelligence that is available,”¹ The EU ministers consented that any US action against Iraq should be made contingent on a UN Security Council mandate with countries such as Spain and Italy showing disagreements as high as 90% in the poll.) elaborate on the divisions within the EU over the war in Iraq, but infers that the EU can eventually become a security actor because it “has the institutions and some military capabilities” (Kerry Longhurst and Marcin Zaborowski 2004: 390).

EU's GLOBAL CHALLENGES

In terms of what security policy means, the EU has adopted three key documents, the European Security Strategy (ESS), a report on the implementation of the ESS and an internal security strategy (ISS) (Council of the European Union 2003, 2008, 2010). The EU is also an emerging actor in other areas of security concerns; cyber-security, non-proliferation, counter-terrorism, or the fight against organised crime. Since 2003, with the initiation of the ESS which has been at length discussed in the third chapter which mentions about how the EU has adopted ambitious strategies to cope with all these security challenges. EU has adopted three main documents as the European Security measures: European Security Strategy (ESS), a report on the implementation of the ESS and an internal security strategy (ISS) (Council of the European Union 2003, 2008, 2010). In the ESS, five (5) key threats are mentioned: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime (Biscop and Andersson 2008).

The challenge of organised crime is partly related to the terrorism challenge in the southern neighbourhood. Indeed, there are many evidences of a merging of criminal and (the

¹ For the full interview, visit- <http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0209/03/asb.00.html>

financing of) terrorist activities in the Sahel region. Organised crime is also a major challenge in the Eastern neighbourhood. The EU has developed some structures to address this challenge, such as Europol, EuroJust, the European Anti-Fraud Office (OLAF), Frontex (the external borders management agency), the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA), or the Commission's Anti-Trafficking Coordinator. Among these structures, Europol and Frontex have seen their activities increase significantly in the last few years. Europol is now in charge of cyber-crime, for instance. In 2013, with an annual budget of €90 million, Frontex has become an important factor in Europe's protection policy. Overall, despite a limited role in the fight against organised crime, the EU is increasingly cooperating with some strategic partners, bilaterally, and it is one of the main funder of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (Renard T. 2013).

TERRORISM AS THE THREAT TO THE EU

Having a closer look at the European continent during the past decade reveals that terrorism has been prominent and has taken a much lethal form even before the 9/11. The Madrid bomb attack of March 11, 2004 in the train where 191 people were killed and more than 1,000 injured (Lee, 2015), further followed by the Jul 7, 2005, London subway and the public bus where 52 people were killed and more than 700 casualties. (Lee, 2015).

2015 has seen the French capital, go through the biggest terrorist's attacks, since New York, starting by the raid on the Charlie Hebdo headquarters in January and ending with the November 13 attacks throughout the city of Paris, where 136 died and 352 were wounded (Almasy, 2015). Madrid's response to the attacks solely consisted on the increase of awareness, regarding other possible jihadist terrorist attacks, and on the arrest of those who were found guilty after months of investigations and that proved to be indeed from Al Qaeda, and not from Spanish Basque's separatists ETA (Jordán, 2014). The British response was not that much different, a European increase of terror alert and the passing of an anti-terror bill that would provide full preparation in order to avoid any other similar act that may occur in the future (Terrorism Act, 2006). And finally the controversial French

response that took a lot of people by surprise and that involved, unlike other European governments, military bombings of the Islamic State's so-called caliphate capital of Raqqa, Syria (Brumfield & Lister, 2015).

“Europeans in general have not defeated terrorist movements; they have managed them” (Shapiro, 2005). The IRA in Great Britain, ETA in Spain, the Red Brigades in Italy and the Baader-Meinhof organization in Germany are just some examples (Rabasa and Benard, 2015). Furthermore, the EU had never had to face terrorism as an international threat against the whole continent before the 9/11 attacks, which explains the lack of coordination in matters of defense within the EU States. European cooperation on counterterrorism in the past few years has been hampered by the fact that despite the creation of the position of EU anti-terrorism coordinator, counterterrorism policy remains a national responsibility (Rabasa and Benard, 2015).

It is undeniably clear by now that terrorism and counter- terrorism remains as the major threat for the foreseeable future for the European Union. Statistics point towards the localised (50 percent of all terrorist attacks in the world have occurred in ten countries), the domestic (93.1 percent of attacks were carried out by home grown elements), low fatalities (55.87 percent of terrorist attacks have caused zero fatalities and 94.66 percent have caused ten or fewer fatalities), and low tech (explosives were used in 46 percent of attacks and weapons in 28 percent of them) terrorist activities, which are likely to continue (GLOBAL 2013). The 9/11 terrorist attacks, has had an unprecedented input to today's state of global order in the sense that the source of the terror is unidentifiable. The event has clearly played a role in producing a convergence between positions taken on internal and international security. According to D. Bigo (2000 :171/205), this convergence has improved military exertions and has validated the fact that the ‘war’ on terrorism, can no longer be managed under the tutelage of the police. Above all, it has underscored how this notion of convergence was now to include the new geographies (transatlantic, new alliances and the revival of NATO). This enhancement has definitely compelled the police to employ a militaristic approach of ‘shoot to kill’ inside the state. Such instances were

recorded surrounding the 7/7 London bombings, for instance, where police on sight, shot a civilian (The Guardian, 2008).

This concept of high convergence between the sets of security agenda is manifested widely today because of the rise of a common global threat; globalization has had an impact on the determinations of security in both the dimensions. Earlier, the interests and discourses of the different security agencies were divided, while it is shared today. This change in perceptions, Internal and External Aspects of Security norms and interests of both professionals of security and of politics also explains changes at the EU institution level. In the 1980s the area of Justice and Home Affairs, renamed Liberty, Security and Justice (or the third pillar) was created, along with the second pillar of Common Foreign and Security Policy. Both use the terminology of security and the current struggle of many agencies (customs, border guards, police with military status, intelligence services) to play a more important role in the realm of security has blurred the distinction between these pillars.

The EU is a major counter-terrorism actor within Europe and an increasingly important one beyond its borders. According to Europol, following an increase in 2012, there was a decrease in the total number of terrorist attacks and terrorism-related arrests in the EU in 2013. 152 terrorist attacks were carried out in seven EU member states in 2013, a decrease on the corresponding figure of 219 for 2012 and fewer than in 2011 (174) (TE-SAT 2014). However, in 2015 to 2016, repeated number of violent extremist attacks took place in Europe for example in France, Belgium and Denmark and very recently in Brussels changing the perception of the threat throughout Europe.

The EU countries face serious threat from organized groups/networks to smaller EU-based units and also solo terrorists. Today, the most prominent threats lie outside EU territory, most notably in the Middle East and in North and West Africa. (MENA). Number of attacks in Libya, repeated hostage-taking in Algeria, Mali, Nigeria, Syria and Iraq including the infamous killings/beheadings performed by ISIS. The bigger concern is of the home coming trained fighters. The fear of such individuals to return to Europe and engage in

terrorist activities further is crucial. According to the US National Counter-terrorism Center, number of foreign fighters' probable to return home and engage in terror related activities exceeded 20,000, in 2015 (Rasmussen-2015).

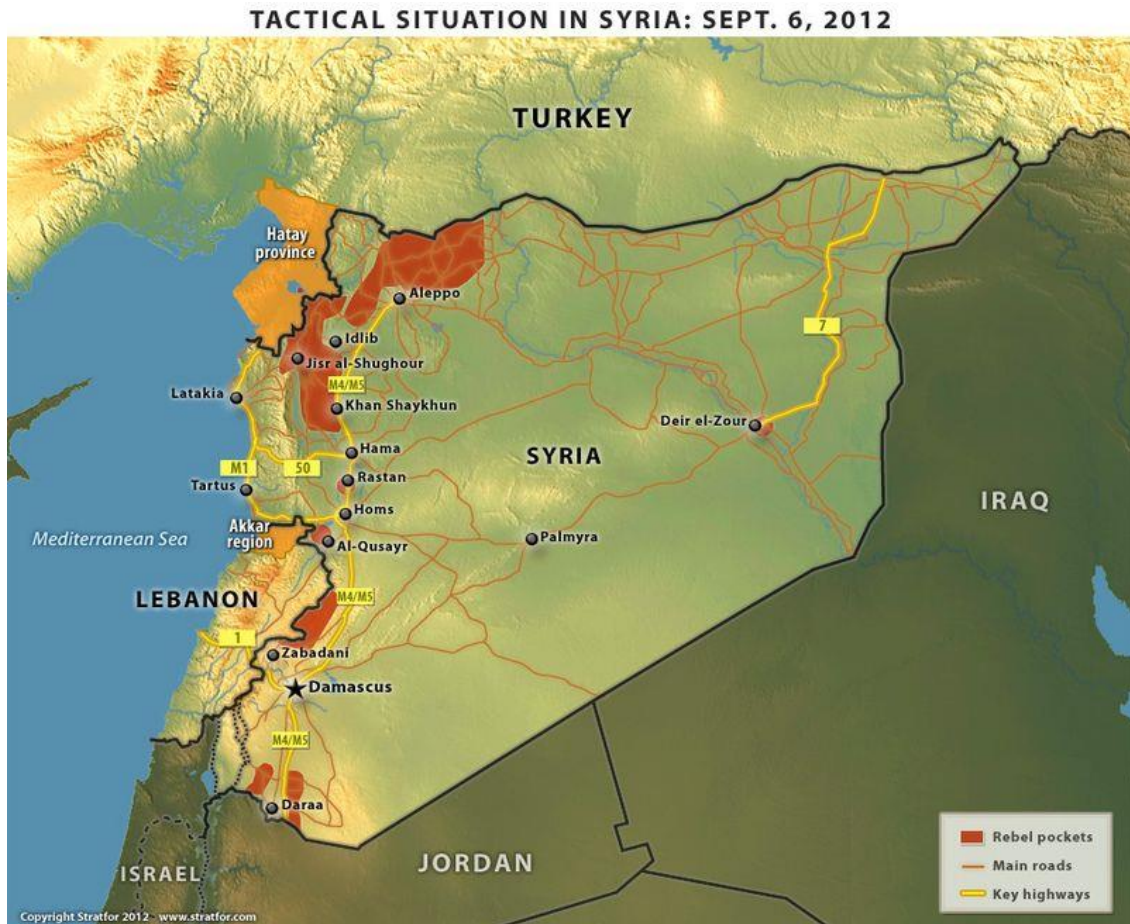
THE 2013 SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

Initially, what was believed to be Syria's civil war was mainly between the government and homegrown rebel groups. However, in the later days, Assad encouraged extremism among his opponents in order to deter foreign intervention: In amnesties issued between March and October 2011, Assad released large numbers of extremists from Syrian prisons. Meanwhile, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who was the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq then, sent operatives into Syria to establish its unit there. The jihadists recruited many of the released prisoners, and established Jabhat al-Nusra in January 2012. Nusra quickly became one of the most effective rebel forces on the battlefield, making it indispensable to the rebels struggling to defeat Assad. Both the civil war in Syria and the disenfranchisement of Sunni Muslims were critical to the Islamic State's rise.

Map below shows the intriguing blueprints of Syria's civil war with international support for factions in Syria in 2012. While Iran sent troops and weapons to prop up Assad's regime, the Sunni Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia secretly channeled money, arms and other necessary resources to the rebels through Turkey. This benefited ISIS in two ways. First, Iranian support for Assad helped polarize the conflict on sectarian lines, indirectly fueling Sunni extremism. Second, private individuals in Gulf states funded extremists, including ISIS predecessor groups, they saw as the best way to topple Assad. And the events that are taking place in this region, is strikingly significant because the human tide of refugees and migrants finding their way north through the sea, at the cost of their lives primarily to Germany and the other European states is alarming, calling for an international intervention. The situation in Syria looks disturbing and it looks like the refugee crisis may well deepen in months and years to come as the current flow of population fleeing from Syria and Iraq continue to derail the security situation. EU suffers from structural flaws

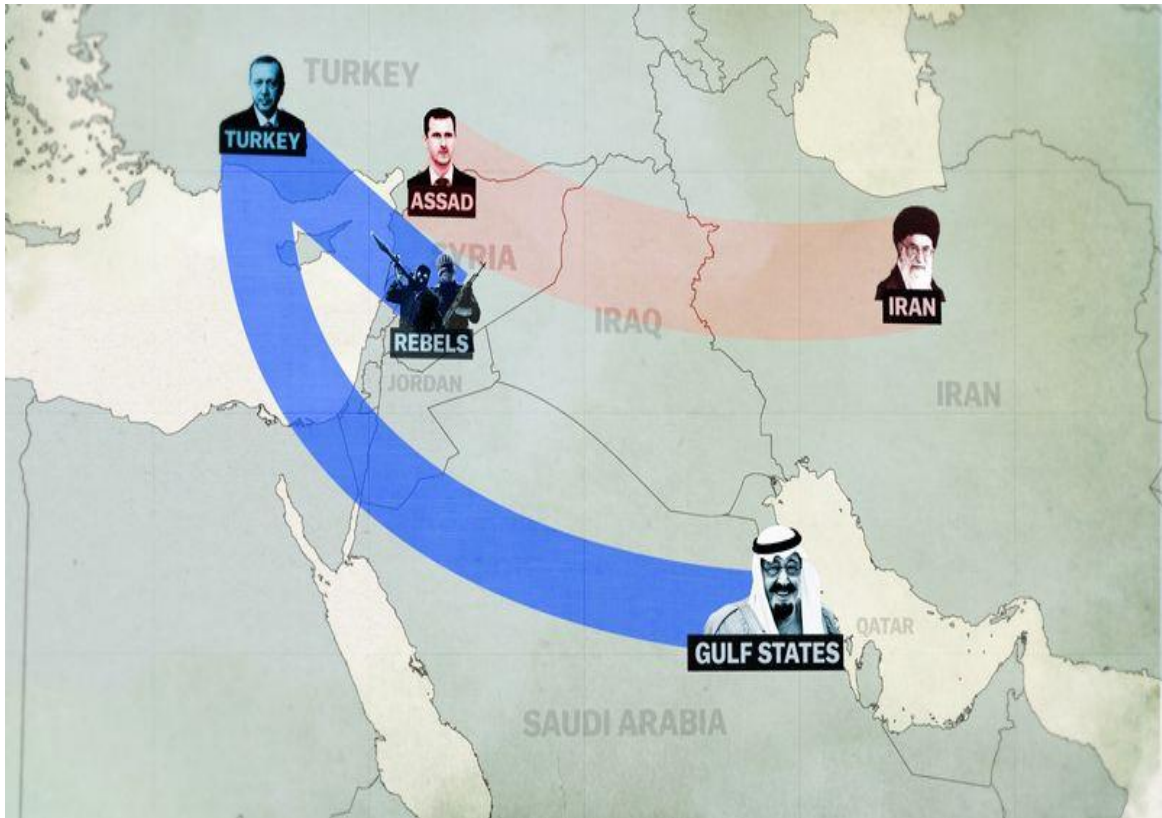
that will need to be remedied if it wants to go from Version 1.0 to Version 2.0. (Kishore Mahbubani, 2015)

Map 3: The 2013 Civil War in Syria



Map 3_ Sorce:33 maps that explain terrorism by Zack Beauchamp on December 15, 2015
Stratford (<http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-map>)

Map 4: The blueprint of the Syrian Civil War and the factions involved



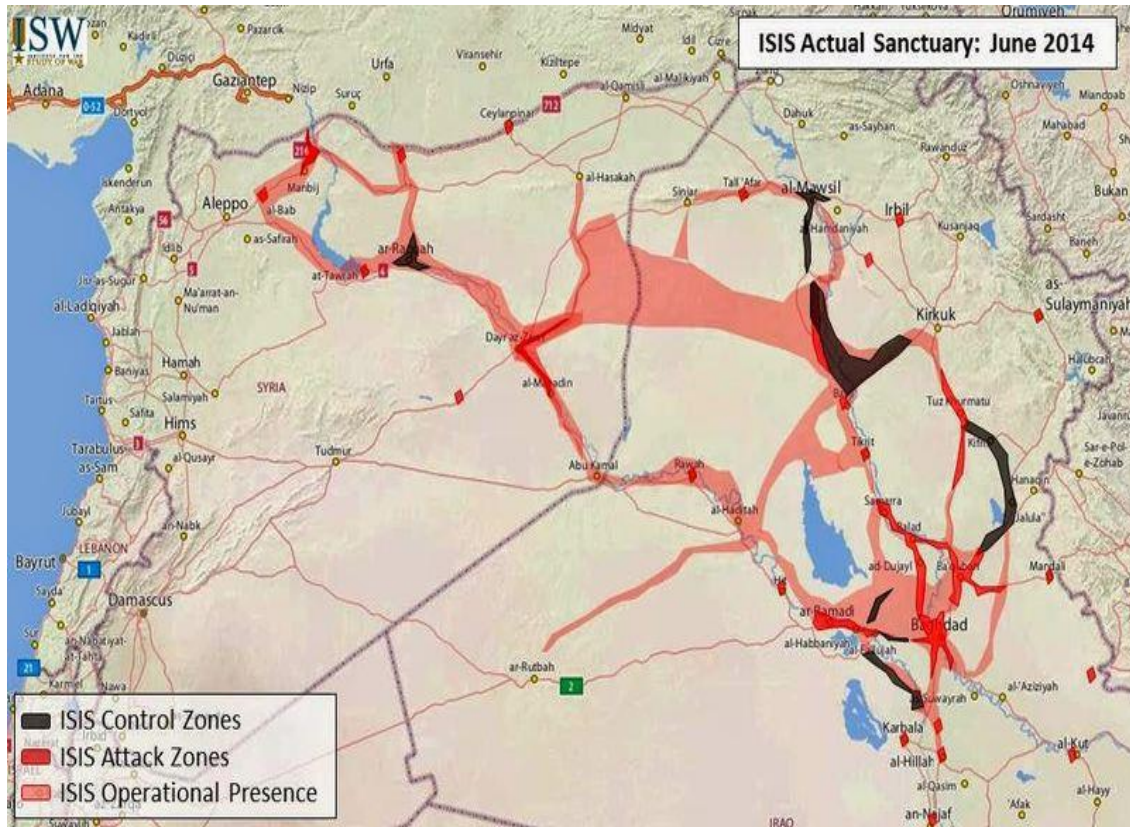
Map 4- Source: 33 maps that explain terrorism by Zack Beauchamp on December 15, 2015 Johnny Harris/Vox (<http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-map>)

ISIS breaks away from al-Qaeda in June 2014

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the current leader of ISIS announced in April 2013, that his group had taken control over all al-Qaeda operations in Syria and Iraq, thereby renaming his group "the Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria" — ISIS. He then sent its own forces into Syria. Al-Qaeda rejected this seize and eventually exiled Baghdadi. ISIS went to war with al-Qaeda and with Syria's other rebel groups, taking over vast territory there. It is also to be noted that The 2011 Arab Spring saw a dramatic change in the Muslim world. They were rising up, often peacefully, demanding their democratic rights. But the revolutions in Egypt, Yemen, and Tunisia weakened the local governments, making it easier for jihadists

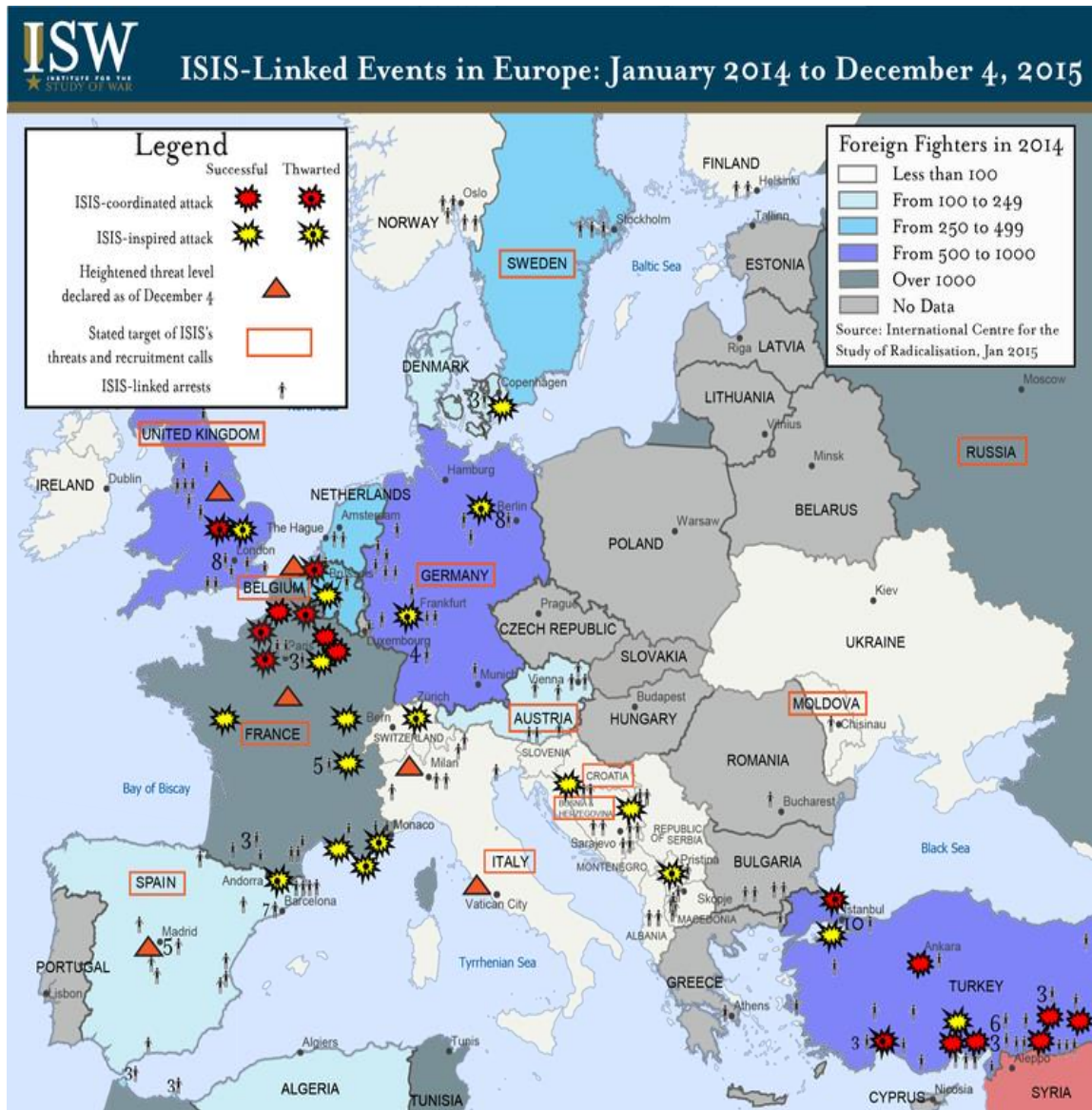
to move in. The civil wars in Libya and Syria were even easier to exploit. As a result, both ISIS and al-Qaeda expanded their presences around the region.

Map 5: The map represents the ISIS presence after breaking away from al-Qaeda in 2014.



Source: <http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-map>

Map 6: The Map shows the ISIS led attacks in Europe from January 2014 to December 2015.



Source: 33 maps that explain terrorism by Zack Beauchamp on December 15, 2015 Institute for the Study of War. <http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-maps>

TERRORISM AS A THREAT TO EUROPE'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY: THE REFUGEE CRISIS

Terrorist activity is the most significant driver of refugee activity and internal displacement in the EU now. The countries facing the existing threats of refugees and internally displaced people also suffer the most deaths from terrorism. According to the UNHCR report, ten of the 11 countries that had more than 500 deaths from terrorism in 2014 had the highest levels of refugees and IDPs in the world.

Europe is experiencing a tremendous assorted-migration trend. A phenomenon, in which both the economic migrants and asylum seekers move together. In assessing the security situation in Europe, amidst the growing threat of terrorism, the paper will investigate upon the primary reasons behind the ongoing trend of forced migration. Including the events such as the civil war like situation, which further deteriorates the state's mechanism, compelling approximately sixty million people to flee their home as refugees and displacing them perennially. Further reiterating the fact that terrorism is the potential cause for widespread migration across the continent. Jan Techau, the director of Carnegie Europe, says Europe wasn't unprepared for the arrival of mass migration at the analytical level although many experts had warned about it. (Jan Techau, 2015)

The year 2014 saw an unprecedented event of extreme displacement, especially in the vicinity of European continent. Today, the number of asylum-seekers² have gone considerably high; in particular, the global forced displacement which has grown to an astounding 59.5 million.³ In the same year, total number of refugees listed under UNHCR's directive, including those close to Refugee's state of affairs was 14.4 million, 23 per cent (2.7 million) excessively higher than that of 2013. This incessant increase in the number of

² Asylum is a form of international protection given by a state on its territory. It is granted to a person who is unable to seek protection in his/her country of citizenship and/or residence, in particular for fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion. http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics

³These included 19.5 million refugees: 14.4 million under UNHCR's mandate and 5.1 million Palestinian refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). The global figure also included 38.2 million internally displaced persons (source: IDMC) and 1.8 million individuals whose asylum applications had not yet been adjudicated by the end of the reporting period

refugees in the European borders from 1.8 million individuals in 2013 to 3.1 million individuals in 2014 is primarily an upshot of the arrival of Syrian refugees. As many as 1.55 million Syrian refugees were recorded as newly registered and granted temporary protection during 2014, mostly the neighbouring countries, while an additional 98,000 were granted international protection on an individual basis. By the end of 2014, Turkey had registered and granted temporary protection to over 1.55 million Syrians. In the first half of 2015, 185,000 people claimed asylum in Europe, almost 90 per cent more from the previous year, these are primarily from the Middle East, mainly Syria, North Africa and the Balkans who are fleeing in pursuit of survival, and escaping either war or poor quality of livelihood from their countries. ^(UNHCR 2015)

It is noted that as many as 350,000 migrants have been registered in Europe according to the International Organisation for Migration in 2015, while the actual figures could vary. It is also estimated that almost 95 per cent of the displaced people, as close to 4.5 million refugees from Syria have taken refuge in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, and Egypt. Even though Jordan is not a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the Government of Jordan pledged to recognize and aid the Syrians as refugees as oppose to the prosperous Gulf nations like Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the UAE who have refused to acknowledge these needy refugees as they are not signatories to the United Nations refugee convention. ⁴

The World Bank approximation stated that the rise in migration probability is 1.6 billion people, which means, as close as one fifth of the world population. In the year 2015, 1.9 million new applications for asylum was registered within the EU member states with nearly half a million of them from Syria and another half a million from Afghanistan, Iraqi, Pakistan and Nigeria.⁵ It also noted that the overwhelming 86 percent of all refugees belong mostly from the developing countries. (*ICG, 12 April 2016*). In the aftermath of 9/11, Western states have been obliged to look at ‘security’ by assimilating its measures within

⁴ Migrant crisis: Europe feels the pinch of a continental shift Ummu Salma Bava, Hindustan Times Updated: Sep 14, 2015 01:15 IST <http://www.hindustantimes.com/analysis/migrant-crisis-europe-feels-the-pinch-of-a-continental-shift/story-Y3fTUmbtNvu1pBVHqC6EHP.html>

⁵ Institute for Economics and Peace, Global terrorism Index 2015: measuring and understanding the impact of terrorism (Sidney: IEP,2015, P.59, www.visionofhumanity.org)

the migration regimes as the current issue of asylum seekers and other migrant categories come to be seen as agents of social instability or as potential terrorists. Now, treating migration as a security threat has therefore increased insecurity amongst migrant and ethnic minority populations. (Lazaridis, G., &Wadia, K. (Eds.) (2015).

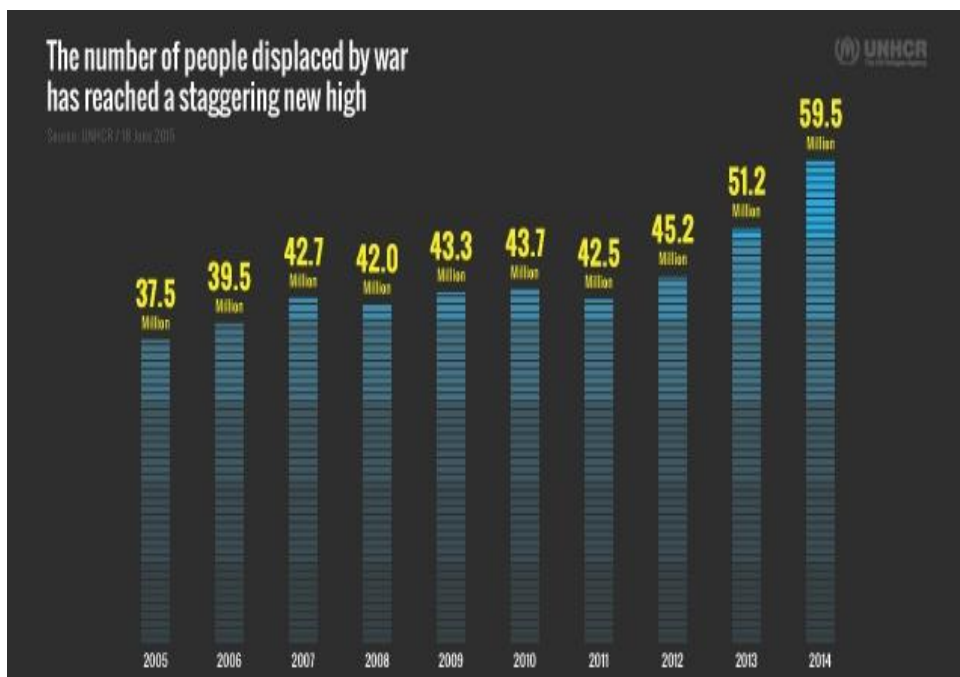
EU in 2015 witnessed gross amount of first-time asylum seekers, especially in its first seven months, with the numbers arriving at 1.9 million. There were 21.3 million of them worldwide at the end of 2015. It is believed that one in every 122 humans has now been reduced to either a refugee, internally displaced, or someone seeking asylum. If they were to form a country, it would be the world's 24th biggest nation. (UNHCR 2015) The current mishap taking place at the border of European Union, manifests how traditional armed skirmish, political and social oppression and other forms of violence related to terrorism can lead to large scale displacement of people. Today, mainly Syria, which has over seven million IDPs and it is no surprise that the 70 per cent of these displaced people, as reported by the UN Refugee Agency's comes from the 20 countries with the highest number of terrorism-related fatalities. Of late, Europe has had to accommodate innumerable refugees which has been quite a task. Meanwhile, Turkey, which has been urging for a membership in the EU since the time its candidature was accepted, at the Helsinki summit of the European Council in 1999. The current trend and intensity of displacement is so grave that it is believed to be the largest relocation since the end of World War II. According to a UNHCR figure there are 12 million refugees and IDPs from Syria alone, that is almost as the number of the Syrian population. These Syrians are also hugely accompanied by other terrorism afflicted nations such as Pakistanis, Afghanis, Iraqis and Nigerians.

Terrorism induces unwarranted civil war type situation leading to displacement and migration.

The intentional attacks on civilians is believed to be one of the primary driver of forced migration as well as the state repression concerning unprecedented attacks on civilian populations that, in cases of (civil) war, often also amount to war crimes or war-time terrorism. Schmid, A. P. (2016) has provided a substantial evidence on how in Syria the

Assad regime has purposely battered civilians as warfare apparatus disallowing the rebels of a supportive situation. It is accounted that the terrorists frequently use the Refugee camps and asylum centres as their important target, often in a politically disrupted nation, what is happening in Europe today. A comprehensive study of the Terrorism related activity; its trend and evolving patterns over the last 15 years has been compiled by the third edition of the Global Terrorism Index prepared by the Institute for Economics and Peace. The survey enlists series of terrorists attacks, mostly in the OECD countries such as Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada and France which witnessed unprecedented terrorist attacks in 2015.

Figure : The image shows the number of people displaced due to the ongoing crisis mainly caused by terrorism from the year 2005- 2014.

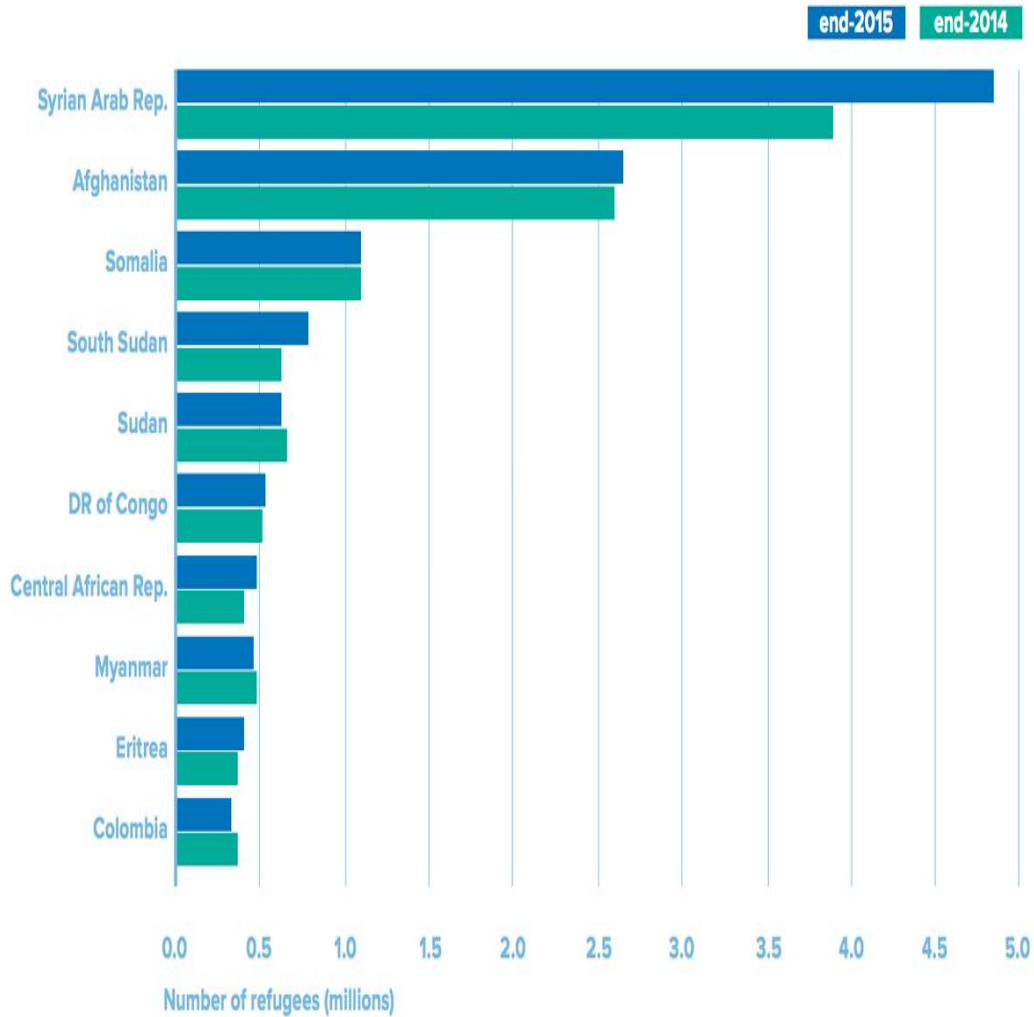


Source: Global Trends 2014 UNHCR

Currently, there are nine civil wars taking place in Islamic countries between Pakistan and Nigeria, and, in many of these places, extreme Islamist insurgencies are rising using terror against civilians. Hence the refugees are taking a mass flight from their original countries to other territories seeking asylum. However, it wasn't until 2015 that the European continent acknowledged the conflict in Syria which is concerning the Internal and External Security of EU (Cockburn, 2015). Millions of refugees are risking their lives to reach

Europe because it offers them security, safety and the possibility of building a future. The majority of them come directly from Syria, but it isn't the only driver (Stefan Lehne, 2015).

Figure 3: The representation of number of refugees from various conflict zone areas traveling to Europe, from 2014-2015. The highest being Syrians citizens.



Source: countries of refugees, 2014 to 2015 end-year (Image: UNHCR)

By the end of 2014, the total population of concern to UNHCR was estimated at 54.96 million people, broken down as follows: -(STATISTICAL YEARBOOK 2014- UNHCR)

- 14.4 million refugees
- 1.8 million asylum-seekers
- 126,800 refugees who had returned to their country of origin during the year
- 32.3 million IDPs protected and/or assisted by UNHCR
- 1.8 million who had returned to their place of origin during the year
- 3.5 million stateless persons
- 1.1 million others of
- concern

GLOBALIZATION OF THREATS AND ITS LOCAL IMPACT: THE HOME GROWN TERRORISM

Since the early 2000s, the Europeans' fear of 'Foreigners' have gone perennial and Immigrants are now easily referred to as potential criminals, in fact to be worse, as 'terrorists in disguise' (Guiraudon, 2004). According to the Global Terrorism index of 2015, The institute for Economics and Peace, the existing data shows us that, since the 9/11 to 2015, an estimated number of foreign fighters, between 25,000 and 30,000 were reported from 100 different countries. The flow of foreign fighters is still high with estimates suggesting that over 7,000 new recruits arrived in the first half of 2015. This highlights that the attraction of these jihadist groups is still strong. There are numerous concerns on this, especially on, if refugees should be allowed to seek safety in Europe? As Europe faces this dark hour, the bigger question is, whether the issue of refugees is a European regional problem or a global concern; apart from more fundamental issues of what make people refugees.

The rise of ISIS has brought with it several challenging dynamics for counterterrorism. One of many concerns is the increasing prevalence of foreign fighters joining armed groups, especially in Iraq and Syria. In order to assess the scale of movement of foreign fighters, IEP assembled estimates from ten different governments, media and expert

sources. Overall estimates from UN and government reports indicate that nearly 30,000 foreign individuals have travelled to Iraq and Syria from roughly 100 countries. The most authoritative, publically-available datasets to-date have been those published by security analysts The Soufan Group (TSG) and the think tank International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR), the latter including data for 50 countries. In order to understand how many fighters are in fact present in Iraq and Syria and which countries they come from, IEP has supplemented these two existing datasets with additional information to account for fighters from 67 countries. IEP's foreign fighter data represent a compilation of estimates from TSG, ICSR, US government reports, UN Security Council Report S/2015/358.

By June 2014 it is believed that as many as 12,000 foreign fighters have arrived to join ISIS. As of June 2014, reports estimates that another 15,000 and 19,000 have arrived, making it 27,000 to 31,000 fighters from broad.⁶ According to Thomas Hegge hammer, an eminent scholar of Jihadist history, in his interview with the BillMoyers.com noted, "Foreign fighters are over represented, so they help kind of radicalize the conflict- making it more brutal" (Joshua Holland 2014). However, the security analysts seated in Brussels are much concerned on the bigger issue of, the home returning fighters. These re the fighters who after having being trained in such camps return home after having seen the organization and its methods at close. While reports say, there are few North Americans are among these fighters, however, Europeans and Middle Easterners themselves are exceedingly outnumbering.

While many have argued and contested over what inspires these foreign fighters to renounce everything to come join this rebel group or to simply put, to fight somebody else's fight, many of the findings narrowed down to a distinction between external and internal motives. The external motives as explained by Stern and Berger (2014) directs on Individual's opinion of across-the-board events in the world: including factors such as weak states, education and social and economic disadvantages. However, John Horgan talks about the internal motives that stem out of an individual's quest, "They want to find

⁶ <http://www.vox.com/2015/12/15/10133138/terrorism-maps>

something meaningful for their life; some are thrill-seeking redemption” (Erin Banc, 2014). Conventionally, many of these Jihadist fighters have found the motivation to join the group in the promise of perceived religious awards such as entry into heaven or the niceness of after-life, such as the most talked about, the company of seventy-two virgins. (Stern, 2015) To researchers like Peter Neuman and Scott, in the ISIS awakening, the goal has shifted strikingly to founding Shariah law and supporting the institution of the caliphate, regardless of the wishes of the local Syrian population.

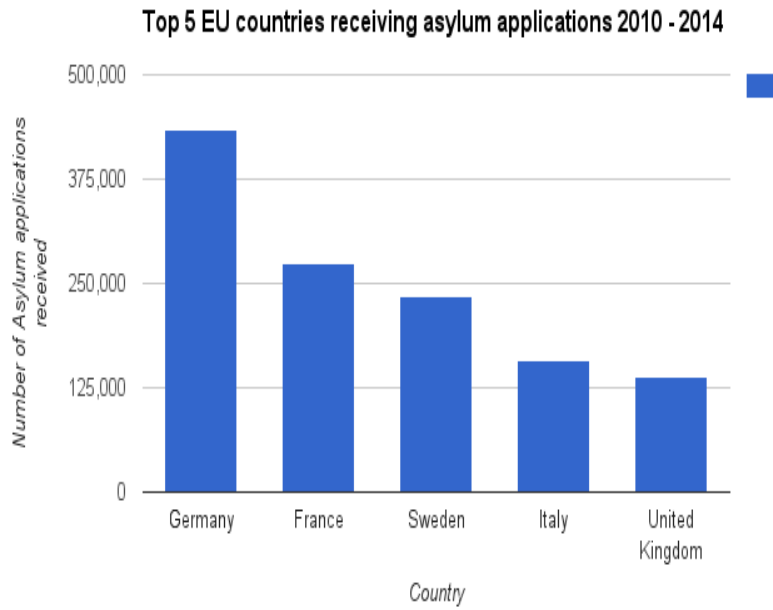
EU’S RESPONSE TO THE REFUGEE CRISIS

"Kiyiya Vuran Insanlik" meaning "Humanity Washed Ashore” in Turkish, was an infamous trend on various social networking site across the globe last year. The picture of a 3-year-old Aylan Kurdi, from Syria, in a red T-shirt, blue shorts and Velcro sneakers, was found face-down on a Turkish beach. This picture, was absurdly disturbing, it also reminded EU that Europe has been deaf and blind to Syria’s bloody and obscene civil war for just too long. And that it was time, the EU nations had to stand up for continuous Human Rights violations. As the 1951 Convention defines the status of a refugee and guarantees the basic rights that one is entitled to, one of the pivotal principles laid down in the International Law is that refugees should not be sent back to the conflict ridden country that s/he is fleeing from. In accordance with the provisions, EU 28 member states, along with few other important nations such as Turkey have played a paramount role in accepting and accommodating these Refugees and Migrants. Amidst all the chaos, Germany has been the most coveted preferred destination for thousands of Refugees and Migrants, as they continue to travel to Germany as of 2015. For humanitarian reasons, Germany resorted to follow the principle of article 17 of the Dublin III Regulation whereas, Germany's asylum practice is based on article 16a of its Basic Law. (Regulation(EU) No 604/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council, 2013). German chancellor Angela Merkel, showed an exceptional leadership by urging all EU member states to coordinate and welcome all the refugees and migrants with an “unilateral” open arms policy, however, this according to The Wall Street Journal, failed to take a good turn and triggered a domestic and an international recoil. Later Germany had to employ the ‘quota system’ in order to allocate precise number of asylum seekers among all German states (Katrin Bennhold and Melissa Eddy, 2015). Reports say, in January 2015, 1,091,894 asylum seekers were

registered in Germany's "EASY" system for the first distribution of asylum seekers among Germany's federal states. However, by the late December, the number of asylum applications in 2015 were only 476,649. (J.Huggler, The Daily Telegraph, 26, February 2016)

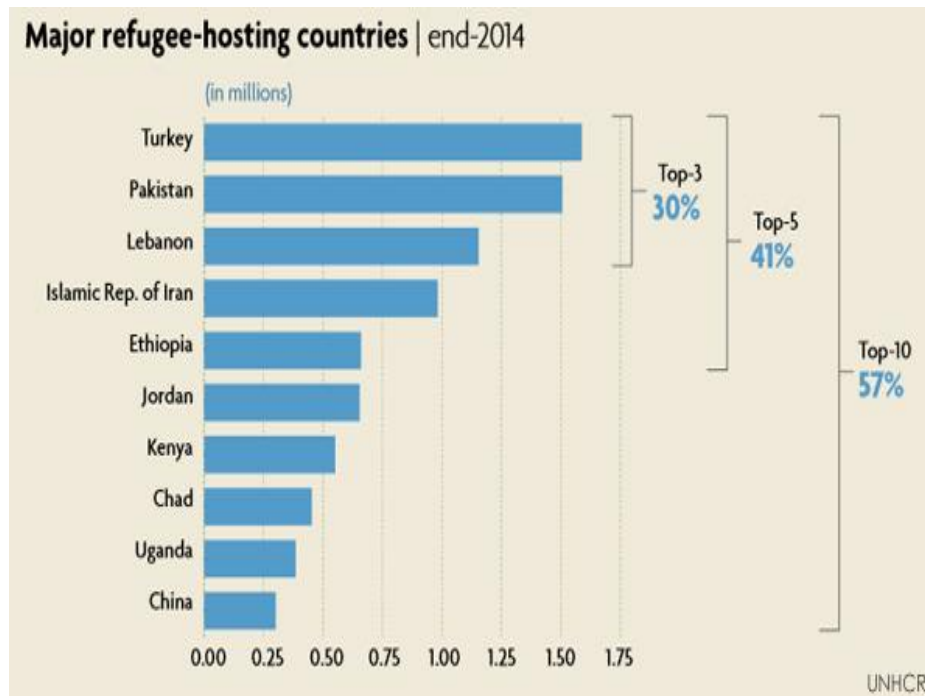
The humanitarian crisis is posing certain challenges to the European Union. The foremost and immediate one is of arranging for logistics for refugees, which includes shelter, food, health and education. As the refugee crisis grew out of proportion, the response of some of the governments within the European Union was a hesitation to open the borders. The President of Poland expressed his discontent and stated that the quota was being 'imposed' upon them. All the member-states of the EU, on the one hand, agreed that the human cost of the refugee crisis has been massive and all of them need to do more, but then there is an inherent fear of the long-term consequences of housing the refugees on the other. The very idea of accepting even a couple of hundred refugees as determined by the quota sparked protest by Right-wing parties. Further, the quota system proposed by the EU was also rejected by some of the member-states of Eastern Europe on the ground that bigger and developed member-states have better capacity to absorb refugees and they do not have resources for the rehabilitation of refugees. Yet another fear that grips the people in Europe is that in open borders extremists masquerading as genuine refugees might enter. Given the borderless travel in the Schengen zone, the whole continent becomes vulnerable to security threats posed by extremists who plan to carry out attacks on the Western world and who can gain easy entry in this chaos.

Figure 4: The figure represents the top 5 EU nations that received the most number of asylum seekers in the year 2010- 2014 since the civil war in Syria began.



Source: UNHCR, Asylum Trends 2014. Chart provided by www.migrantreport.org

Figure 5 : The countries that hosted the most number of refugees by the end of 2014



Source: UNHCR 2014

THE EU-TURKEY DEAL

On 12 November 2015, a proposal was made by the EU officials to Turkey, with an offer of 3 billion euros (for two years) to take in more than 2 million refugees from Syria who were seeking asylum in Europe, as a means of reducing migration through Turkey into the EU. (James Kanter, New York Times, 12, November 2015). The Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan showed disapproval of the proposal and threatened to send these millions of refugees in Turkey to EU member states if the burden was to be borne alone. However, the 3 billion euros fund for Turkey was approved by the EU in February 2016 and the EU-Turkey deal came into effect On 20 March 2016 (BBC News, 3 February 2016).

The deal sketched out few important notes such as; migrants on arrival should claim or apply for asylum, failing to do so shall be rejected. Under the agreement, the EU would assist Turkey with the proceedings by sending around 2,300 security experts, migration officials and translators to Turkey. Also, any Syrian who is returned to Turkey will be replaced by a Syrian resettled from Turkey to the EU, preferably the individuals who did not try to enter the EU illegally in the past and not exceeding a maximum of 72,000 people. The deal also provisioned for the Turkish nationals to have access to Schengen passport-free zone by June 2016, however, non-Schengen countries such as Britain will not be included. (BBC News 21 March 2016 and the European Commission 19 March 2016). UNHCR along with its four aid agencies (Médecins Sans Frontières, the International Rescue Committee, the Norwegian Refugee Council and Save the Children) made it very clear that they would not be a party to the EU-Turkey deal as the deal was against the international law. International agency like, Amnesty International also said the agreement between EU and Turkey was "madness", and that the day (18 March 2016) was a dark day for Refugee Convention, Europe and humanity. (UNHCR 22 March, 2016).

THE EFFECTS ON DUBLIN AND SCHENGEN RULES

The Dublin Regulation states that an asylum seeker has to apply for asylum in the first EU country they enter and, if they cross borders to another country after being fingerprinted, they can be returned to the former. As most asylum seekers try to reach Germany or Sweden through the other EU countries in order to apply for asylum there, and as 22 EU countries form the borderless Schengen area where internal border controls are abolished, enforcement of the Dublin Regulation became ineffective especially during the summer of 2015. Hungary had become overburdened by asylum applications. The change in Germany asylum policy incited large numbers of migrants to move towards Germany, especially after German chancellor Merkel stated that "there is no legal limit to refugee numbers". Austria was meanwhile allowing unimpeded travel of migrants from Hungary to Germany through its own territory (The Independent, 12 September 2015).

Similarly, the Czech Republic decided to negate the Dublin Regulation. The rules regarding immigrants of other nationalities were not changed—i.e., they would still face detention and return under the Dublin Regulation if trying to reach Germany through the Czech Republic (unless they had the right to apply for asylum in the Czech Republic (The Prague Post, 9 March 2015). Austria said, it would segment special measures that have allowed tens of thousands of migrants to cross its territory and will reinstate the Dublin Regulation (BBC News, 7 September 2015). But in between 9 and 10 September, Denmark defied all norms and closed rail lines with Germany, after hundreds of migrants refused to be registered in the country as asylum seekers and insisted on continuing their travel to Sweden (Business Insider, 14 September 2015).

These developments in the Central Eastern European Nations (CEE'S) compelled Germany to launch a temporary border controls along its border with Austria, in order to "limit the current inflows" and "return to orderly procedures when people enter the country" according to German Interior Minister Thomas de Maiziere. (BBC News) However, the following event were unprecedented here. The migrants in southern Hungary began a hunger strike protesting on such decisive measures by the EU nations, especially the

closure of the green border with Serbia and Croatia closing its border with Serbia while some resorted to employing violent means of pelting stones. Hungarian police in retaliation were using tear gas and a water cannon on protesting

According to a UN figure, the number of displaced people soared up to by 5.8 million by the end of 2015. As data's were released on the World Refugee Day, there was a reminder of the worldwide displacement catastrophe that needed an international attention and solution. "This is the first time that the threshold of 60 million has been crossed," UNHCR agency said.

CONCLUSION

The European Union since its formal establishment in 1993 with the Maastricht Treaty, is growing steadily as a significant actor in the international architecture for peace and security. The period of Cold War drastically changed the regional and global geopolitical environments. This also led to a series of European institutional innovations and developments following the creation of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 1999 along with the enlargements, the EU has brought in new member states with different security concerns, while redrawing its borders and therefore changing its neighbourhood.

Europe's political and strategic landscape has been deeply transformed by the end of the Cold War. Adrian Hyde-Price analyses the new security agenda confronting Europe in the twenty-first century and explains why Europe is not 'primed for peace': rather, it faces new security threats and the challenge of multipolarity. For example, the Iraq War has exposed deep divisions in transatlantic relations; in the east, a resurgent and increasingly assertive Russia has emerged; and at the heart of Europe lies Germany, which has re-learned its former role as the pivot of the European balance of power. The emergence of 'balanced' multipolarity has weakened the cohesion of both NATO and the EU; it has also created new possibilities for great-power cooperation to tackle security problems.

The academic field of EU security research has evolved and grown rapidly in the past 20 years due to these empirical developments and has become a central part of the research agenda on the European Union (Howorth 2007). The European security research field has generally taken security in the broadest sense possible to include everything that deals with EU external security affairs (Mérand et al 2012; Whitman and Biscop, 2013). And also currently, the European Union is going through a series of tests, including a debt crisis in some Eurozone countries, increasing migration from Middle Eastern countries, Russian military intervention in Ukraine and the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the EU.

The EU's Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was precisely crafted to deal with a new and challenging neighbourhood. To the East, the unfolding Ukrainian crisis is showing the limits of the EU's power, while highlighting geostrategic rivalry between Brussels and Moscow. To the South, the 'Arab spring' has fundamentally changed the socio-political landscape, and the regional security dimension has deteriorated into chaos in many places. The EU's inability to predict and subsequently manage this grave situation on its borders was perhaps the perhaps the most powerful signal that the ENP is not delivering. Above all, the EU favours 'effective multilateralism', which calls for a unanimous decision making process, which is often regarded as a hurdle to its functioning.

In terms of what security policy means, after the event of 9/11, the EU has adopted three key documents, the European Security Strategy (ESS), a report on the implementation of the ESS and an internal security strategy (ISS) (Council of the European Union 2003, 2008, 2010). In the ESS, five (5) key threats are mentioned: proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime (Biscop and Andersson 2008). In its 2003 ESS, the EU stated that it wants 'international organisations, regimes and treaties to be effective in confronting threats to international peace and security'. After all, the ESS was drafted in the context of the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq. If one adds the role of EU member states at the bilateral, regional and multilateral levels, we get the picture of the EU's complex multi-level security engagement.

Europeans may no longer live with the fear of an East–West conflict and nuclear warfare, but they are having to come to terms with a new range of security threats and a less predictable European order as concerns have grown about terrorism, proliferation, regional conflicts, transnational crime and failed states. The 1990s opened with a major war in Iraq and closed with another in the Balkans. In between, Europeans found themselves struggling with a series of conflicts which required the use of coercive military power. Paradoxically, therefore, despite hopes for a long-awaited 'peace dividend', Europe's armed forces have been more active than ever before. As the twenty-first century unfolds, it is already evident

that Europe faces a more uncertain and turbulent future. Both NATO and the EU have expanded to absorb new members from the former Soviet bloc.

Since Javier Solana, released the European Security Strategy in 2003, the European Union, has undergone significant changes. Mapping those changes, the report points at new threats and challenges and the changing nature of conflict. However, the security challenges significantly broadened in the last few decades. when analysing the EU, it leads to the conclusion that the EU is a growing security actor. After the success story of the European Project, the EU's major concern is to sustain and achieve greater heights of progress as one of the most successful regional organisation. This is achieved through ensuring stability around Europe. However, the EU is not yet perceived as a security player in most regions of the world. A lot of work has still to be done internally before Brussels can really start shaping the global security environment. The threat is particularly acute in its southern neighbourhood, with direct ramifications on Europe's internal security. Hence Reflects the need for better convergence between both strategies.

Russian aggression against Ukraine, or the brutality of ISIS and the terrible tragedies claiming the lives of people fleeing war, oppression and poverty are very different issues. However, they all tell the same story: that the world around the European Union is no longer the same as in 2003, when the EU adopted a security strategy that opened with the proud declaration that Europe had never been "so prosperous, so secure nor so free". The EU's relations with strategic global actors must be an integral part of its new foreign policy strategy. In parallel, the EU needs to do more to support the resilience of its partners in the East, including the eastern neighbourhood. The EU also needs to focus on its southern flank, given the turbulence in the region leading to refugee flows into Europe.

EU is still an infantile counter-terrorism actor that has developed policies and capabilities in this area and gradually strengthened its status as a trusted partner internally, with its member states and externally, with third countries.

EU should present a more proactive policy in order to meet the new security challenges. If the EU wants to prove that it stands up for its values and principles, then the next EU strategy should clearly define them loud and clear. However, most of all the Europeans need to tackle the current crisis now; preventing new disasters in the Mediterranean will require action across a broad spectrum of issues and over a sustained period of time. Saving lives at sea is the immediate priority. In the same way, addressing the threat posed by ISIS can only be handled through a combination of military action, humanitarian relief and political engagement to resolve the disputes that provide fertile ground for terrorism to grow.

To meet the security challenges and objective, the European Agenda on Security of 28th April 2015, mentioned how the Union can bring added value to support the Member States in ensuring security. President Jean Claude Juncker said in his Political Guidelines, "Combating cross-border crime and terrorism is a common European responsibility". The European Commission issued the new European Agenda on Security which calls for enhanced cooperation and joint action in the fight against three major threats: cybercrime, terrorism and organised crime. The European Agenda on Security replaces the previous Internal Security Strategy 2010-2014. Even though the word 'internal' has disappeared from the title of the new document, the overall result of this Agenda is intended to remain the same – an EU area of internal security by ensuring that the internal and external dimensions of security work in tandem.

Europe's security situation looks bleak and very uncertain for now. For having to manage two emergencies simultaneously: International and domestic terrorism and the inexplicable colossal inflow of migration of millions of people mostly from Syria and Iraq. While many are refugees from the Syrian war, escaping the dread of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), there are many others who are fictitious refugees, who have their way to get access

to political asylum. This flow of refugees is complicating the already disrupted security climate in what was left behind by the series of terror attacks here. These trends will result in a certain number of people to be labeled as terrorist threats. Leaders are constantly rebuked about contemplating on the Europe's system of porous borders—the Schengen visa policy, whilst Europe faces a daunting task of being a global actor, being the good actor in accepting the number of refugees stranded at the coast or to once and for all be redundant about it. Simultaneously, the fear of home grown terrorism especially the young citizens getting drawn to the ideology of the ISIS. EU and its member states thus have to develop a strategic vision for the future that redefines Europe's interests, its global role and its global responsibilities in the twenty-first century. A new strategic global direction for the EU therefore has to go beyond a narrowly defined security strategy and include the different interconnected external and domestic policy areas of the EU that are relevant to address inter-related and complex global development challenges.

EU's Global Strategy 2016 was recently released by EU's High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy/ Vice- President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini. The Global Strategy released in the midst of the British referendum from the European Union talks of developing its own security policy. The Strategy calls for starting a strategic review and to formulate a future strategy in the light of the current threats faced by the EU member states. This reinforces the point that European Security will be accomplished, if not successful only with the combination of both, Internal and External Security strategies.

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