

HUMAN SECURITY IN THE EU
EXTERNAL POLICIES: THE CASE OF
UKRAINE

by

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Abstract

Lately, in today's world human security has become a very debated and controversial topic. It emphasizes that the security of the individuals comes first and that it is more important than states security. The focus and objective of this thesis is human security: analysing the human security concept and also its role in the external policy of the European Union (EU) framework. The human security concept is examined specifically including also its definition and its origins as a new approach to security. Moreover this thesis also compares it to the traditional concept of security where the main goal is the security of the states; after the thesis also explores the two dimensions of the human security.

Regarding the exploration of the EU policies conceptual framework, the thesis analyses several relevant EU documents. The European Security Strategy, the Barcelona Report and the Madrid Report are also analysed. Lastly this thesis investigates through a focus on human security, the role of the EU in the Ukraine crisis as well as the response to this crisis.

The main aim of this thesis is to provide a clear and significant view or analyse of the concept of the human, its role in the EU context and also provide an analysis to the recent Ukrainian crisis.

Keywords: *EU, Human security, External policies, Ukraine, Crisis management.*

Abstrakti

Së fundmi në botën e ditëve të sotme siguria njerëzore është kthyer në një temë shumë të debatuar dhe shumë të diskutuar. Ajo thekson se siguria e individëve është shumë më e rëndësishme se siguria e vetë shteteve. Fokusi dhe objektivi i kësaj teme është siguria njerëzore, analizimi i konceptit të sigurisë njerëzore dhe roli i saj në strukturën e politikave të Bashkimit Europian (BE). Koncepti i sigurisë njerëzore është shqyrtuar specifikisht duke përfshirë gjithashtu përkufizimin dhe origjininën si qasje e re e sigurisë. Për më tepër kjo temë krahason konceptin e sigurisë njerëzore me konceptin tradicional të sigurisë ku qëllimi kryesor është siguria e shteteve, më pas kjo temë eksploron dy dimensionet e sigurisë njerëzore.

Për sa i përket eksplorimit të konceptit në strukturën e politikave të BE-së, kjo temë analizon mjaft dokumenta të përshtashme të BE-së. Strategjia e Sigurisë Europiane, Raporti i Barcelonës, Raporti i Madridit dhe Traktati i Lisbonës gjithashtu janë analizuar. Së fundmi kjo temë duke u fokusuar në sigurinë njerëzore hulumton rolin e BE-së në krizën e Ukrainës si dhe përgjigjen e saj kundrejt kësaj krize.

Qëllimi kryesor i kësaj teme është të sigurojë një pamje ose analizë të qartë dhe të vlefshme të konceptit të sigurisë njerëzore, të rolit të saj në kontekstin e BE-së gjithashtu të sigurojë një analizë të zhvillimeve të krizës në Ukrainë.

***Fjalët Kyçe:** BE, siguria njerëzore, politikat e jashtme, menaxhim krize.*

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family for their continuous support and encouragement.

Especially, I dedicate this thesis to my brother. He has been a source of strength and inspiration.

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Declaration Statement

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part has consisted of:
 - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Albania and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CHG	Civilian Headline Goal
CRT	Civilian Response Team
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area
EC	European Commission
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEAS	European External Action Service
EPC	European Political Cooperation
EPLO	European Peacebuilding Liaison Office
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
EUAM	European Union Advisory Mission
EUBAM	European Union Border Assistance Mission
EUTM	European Union Training Mission
HR	High Representative
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Responsibility
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross

IOM	International Organisation for Migration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SMM	Special Monitoring Mission
TEC	Treaty for European Community
TEU	Treaty of European Union
TFEU	Treaty for Functioning of European Union
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WDM	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WEU	Western European Union
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation

1 Chapter One: Introduction, Methodology and Literature Review

1.1 Introduction

It is clear that since the end of the Cold War a transformation of the international system has occurred in the international relations structure, the system has shifted from bipolarity to multi-polarity. This shift of the system has impacted the created and implemented security policies of the European Union (EU), thus challenging and forcing the EU to better rethink its security role as well as finding new security approaches to better deal with this current security environment.

An important factor which has influenced the approach of the EU toward security has been globalization along with its complicated processes and outcomes since it has turned the world into a smaller place. Kaldor and Glasius rightly emphasize that:

In today's globalised world, the security of the citizens can only be assured through a global approach to security and through tackling the regional conflicts and failing states that are the main source of 'hard' security threats to Europe like Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) or terrorism. Requiring an approach that combines public security and the extension of the rule of law with economic and social development (Kaldor & Glasius, p. 1).

As a consequence there are crucial questions that can be raised as for example: Who is the provider of security and who is the main provider of this security, it is the state, transnational organizations or is it the international agencies? Another very important question is: who or which is the primary object of security; is it the state or are the individuals the main object? These are questions that have been raised and debated continuously. As a concept human security firstly appeared within the academic discourse arising within International Security Studies as it shifted the focus from the traditional security studies to a more expansive and deeper understanding of threats and what a threat constitutes and to whom.

The human security idea attempts to conceptualize the changing nature of security. The Commission on Human Security recognized that ‘the security of one person, one community, and one nation rests on the decisions of many others—sometimes fortuitously, sometimes precariously. Thus, policies and institutions must find new ways to protect communities and individuals.’ (Commission on Human Security, 2003, p. 2).

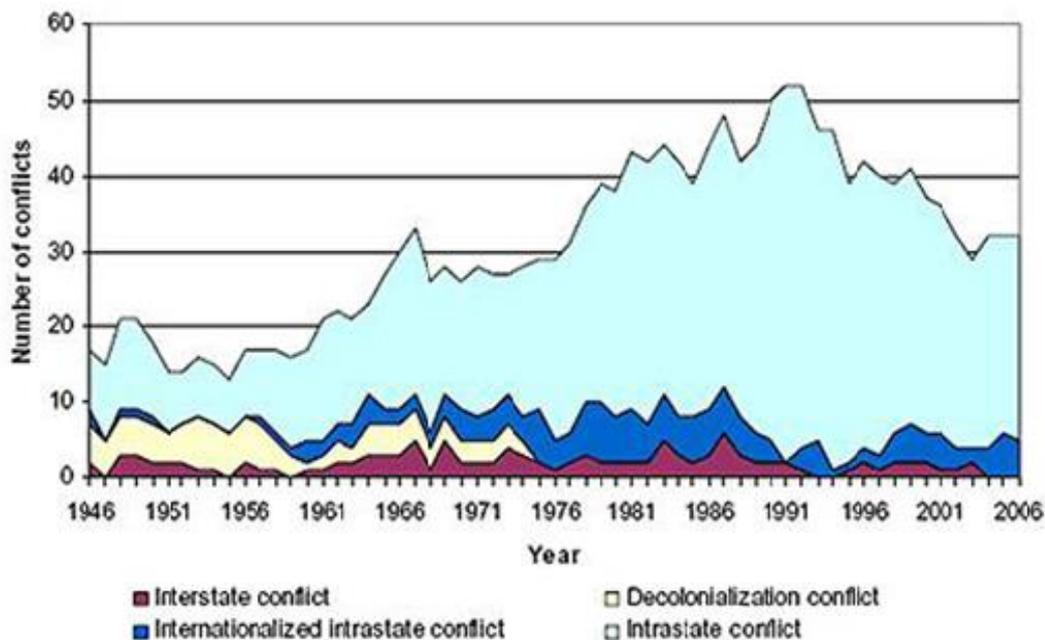
In regard to the approach of the EU in the response to contemporary threats and to contrasting security environment, several changes have been made. The efforts to incorporate the human security dimension in practice and in theory can be counted as an important change. One of the main reasons leading to this change in approach in the case of the EU has been the changed nature of the conflicts in our world as well as to the way that they effect and influence the responsibilities and interests of Europe itself. The new-wars nowadays can be distinguished from the traditional state to state wars and since 1945 they have become more common while the state to state wars have fallen in number.

The below table shows how the trends of the types armed conflict type has changed. It explains how from 1945 and onwards the intrastate conflicts have been increasing over the years on the other hand interstate conflicts exists but still not as high as the intrastate conflicts. This table clearly show that human security is no longer endangered only by state to state wars but also in intrastate types of wars.

The distinction of violations of human rights by states, non-state actor’s abuses and armed combatants conflicts has been blurred as much of the violence in intra-state conflicts is inflicted to the civilians. Thus borders are spilled by these wars involving local as well as global actors.

Kaldor and Glasius agree that: ‘The whole point of a human security approach is that Europeans cannot be secure while others in the world live in severe insecurity. National borders are no longer the dividing line between security and insecurity: insecurity gets exported.’ (Kaldor & Glasius, p. 16). Meaning that since various other states live in insecurity these state’s insecurities can reach the Europeans as well because as stated security and insecurity are no longer divided by the national borders.

Figure 1: Armed Conflict Type Trends: Armed conflicts per type, 1946-2006



Source: Buhaug, Gates, Hegre, & Strand, 2007, p. 3.

With such conflicts as well as other internal serious violence there are few implications for Europe which can be said to be two-fold. These include firstly there will be an influence or direct impact in the refugee flows, trade disruption, threats to the citizens of Europe living abroad and to their investments and damage caused by the conflict including to the peaceful system of the world that is necessary for the prosperity and survival of Europe as well as to the norms of Europe such as the human rights, peaceful resolution of disputes and the rule of law. The human security

approach in the EU context includes a variety of norms and concerns mentioning here crisis management, prevention of conflict, peace building and also transitional justice.

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study will be to further analyse the human security concept itself and also within the EU foreign policies. Even though it may seem to be an easy and simple idea or concept, human security is a very complex concept and with a variation of meanings, thus causing the policy makers and the international community to view the concept of security in contrasting views. Moreover the human security perception has shifted from states to the individuals.

The aim of this thesis is to explore and analyse human security and how it is playing a role within the external policy of the EU. The above mentioned analysis will be done by analysing different sources such as different documents concerning the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) framework and EU's role in Ukraine.

There are a few questions that this thesis will try to answer:

- ✓ What is human security and what does it include?
- ✓ Does the concept of human security play a role in the common foreign, security, and defence policies of the EU; and to what extent?
- ✓ To what extent has the human security been a part of the EU's crisis management in today's' situation in Ukraine?

Within EU's external policies there will be found many security aspects, through different document analysis related to CSDP and to the Ukrainian case various reflections and references will be identified and encountered.

1.3 Methodology

As the most efficient way and in order to better investigate the research questions a qualitative research method will be used in the writing of this thesis. Literature study is where this thesis will be based. The emphasis of this study is to understand human security as a concept, as a security theory and as well as the role of human security. This study is a descriptive and explorative study which analyses the human security in EU external policies and moreover in the Ukrainian crisis. This study is a political study. The reasons for the application this method is because of data accessibility. This thesis is mainly based on the qualitative data for it tries to explore or understand what the concept of human security and its role in EU external policies. This research bases on historical facts and analysis which are available by primary and secondary sources. The secondary data are collected from internet, books, journal articles, documents, newspapers, news, etc... All the data are analysed within-case analysis. The collected sources try to give thorough analysis regarding the concept of human security, its role in EU external policies as well as the extent to which human security has been a part in the crisis management in Ukraine.

In regard to this topic there are a number of sources with which to work. The intention of the thesis is establishing a good selection of the leading academicians who are working on developing the concept of human security within the EU foreign policy through the analysis of different articles and other documents. All the above mentioned sources can be said to be a solid ground for the writing of this thesis.

Regarding the issue of the human security there is a very wide range of literature in the field of human security and the European Union. The broad range can be interpreted as fundamental change which is taking place in the International Relations area. Still it is important to keep the focus on the subject title since there is as

mentioned very vast array of literature. Then regarding the literature of the EU's role in Ukraine there is seen a scarcity of sources emphasizing that it is important to read all this information with a very critical mind.

1.4 Literature Review

Human security has been the focus point of many scholars and academicians. Various articles and books have been written on human security. Traditionally security has been understood as the security of states. Alexandra Amouyel writes that in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia the Hobbesian model gained ground with its central characteristic being the exchange of security for its citizens against the legitimate monopoly of violence within its borders (Amouyel, 2006, p. 11).

This is the so called realist approach to security and the peak of this realist approach of security was during the Cold War time. At that time the international stability was relying on the balance of power between the states, accordingly if states were secure the citizen's security was also ensured. During that time security was perceived to be preservation of the territorial integrity, invasion protection and also protection from external aggression by the military. But this concept of security was questioned and lost credibility when the Cold War ended and it became clear that secure states are not a guarantee for the security of the citizens. For example Tutsi population mass slaughter by the Hutus in Rwanda and also the Bosnian's ethnic cleansing by the Serbs in 1990s.

It became clear to the international community that the Cold War had hid the fact that people were not necessarily secure with seemingly secure states. Liotta and Owen write that:

Ironically, the faith placed in the realist world view, and the security it provided, masked the actual issues threatening the individual. The protection of the person was

all too often negated by an over attention to the state. Allowing key issues to fall through the cracks, “traditional security” failed at its primary objective: protecting the individual (Liotta & Owen, *Why Human Security?*, 2006, p. 38).

In the above mentioned quote it is clear that the security of the individuals was left in the shadow of the state meaning that it was put much more emphasis on the security of the states rather than the security of the individuals.

Because of the traditional security concept not being able to address these new threats there was left a gap in the discourse of security thus leading intellectuals to think and explore new ways in broadening the security debate with the intention of including also non-military aspects. In prominent journals like the *Foreign Affairs* and *International Security* there were published two ground breaking articles. Richard Ullman published the first one in 1983 in which he emphasized that traditional security was focused more on military threats ignoring even more harmful threats.

More specifically he states:

Defining national security merely in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality. That false image is doubly misleading and therefore doubly dangerous. First, it causes states to concentrate on military threats and to ignore other and perhaps even more harmful dangers. Thus it reduces their total security. And second, it contributes to a pervasive militarization of international relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity (Ullman, 2009, p. 129).

The author of the second article *Redefining Security* is Jessica Mathews Tuckman, this article published in 1989 where she suggests that there is a need for a broader concept of human security in which there are included demographic, environmental and resource issues.

The 1990s will demand a redefinition of what constitutes national security. In the 1970s the concept was expanded to include international economics as it became clear that the U.S. economy was no longer the independent force it had once been, but was powerfully affected by economic policies in dozens of other countries. Global developments now suggest the need for another analogous, broadening definition of national security to include resource, environmental and demographic issues (Tuchman, 1989, p. 162).

At a conceptual level the concept of human security eroded both vertically and horizontally. In the horizontal perspective the concept of human security were included as well non-military dimensions such as economic, demographic and environmental. On the other way in the vertical perspective were included non-state referents such as ethnic groups, religion group, individuals and local communities.

The emerging of human security as a concept came due to the combination of these new security dimensions and the non-referent objects.

Firstly the term human security officially appeared in the report of UN Human Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994. With this report the traditional concept of security was challenged stating that security's central focus should be the individual and not the states. The report emphasizes the importance of shifting from the Cold War era of security thinking on a concept of security which includes also people's protection.

The change in the nature of war was partly a reason for the new emphasis on the importance on individual's security. Apart from state to state wars today's wars were more increasingly within states. In 1990s huge humanitarian crises erupted due to the increasing number of conflicts within states in Balkans, Africa and Asia. Moreover the UNDP states the need for a thinking transition thus from nuclear security to human security; many times security has been understood as the security of the territory from external aggression or even protection of national interests in the foreign policy. Human security has been related more to states than related to people according to UNDP it has to shift the focus in the people.

A basic tenet distinguishing the traditional approach of security from human security was the primacy of human rights nevertheless in today's world separating security

from development is impossible. The former UN Secretary in his report to the General Assembly points out:

Accordingly, we will not enjoy development without security, we will not enjoy security without development, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights (Annan, 2005, p. 17).

Human security identifies two different means to the goal of protecting people from threats. These two means include preventive and reactive means. Preventive means aim to minimize individual's vulnerability by all measures possible while reactive is secondary for providing security meaning that when force is seen as a last resort.

The means for providing security are: humanitarian help or intervention, peacebuilding, early warning, peacekeeping operations, diplomatic missions, sustainable economic development, preventive diplomacy and preventive deployment of armed forces.

When the topic first became a debated topic, the traditional security was seen as the only way to achieve global security by protecting states from external threats. However when human security on the other rose to prominence it was clear that the traditional approach of security and human security do not really exclude each other by rather exist side by side by being interlinked. Thus, if human beings become secure, states will become secure and also stability and global security will be achieved.

2 Chapter Two: The Concept of Human Security

2.1 Introduction

In this following chapter of the thesis will be discussed the concept of the human security by giving an overview of the emergence of the concept and the definitions as well as the difference from the traditional state security. This second chapter of the thesis will try to answer to the first question raised in the first chapter thus, what is human security and what does it include. The chapter will firstly explore the historical conditions under which the concept emerged then following the debate on human security. It will then explore the human security concept's approaches which are two respectively free from fear and free from want and fear. These two different approaches basically share same fundamental ideas both emphasizing the security of the individual.

2.2 The Human Security Concept

A European discourse has been catalysed by the European foreign and security policy developments. The lexicon of human security is a very confused case which complicates rather than simplifies the nature of the European foreign policy, ranging from crisis management to prevention of conflicts and civil-military cooperation. Secretary-General Kofi Annan points out that security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of armed conflict, be it between or within states. Gross abuses of human rights, the large-scale displacement of civilian populations, international terrorism, the AIDS pandemic, drug and arms trafficking and environmental disasters present a direct threat to human security, forcing us to adopt a much more coordinated approach to a range of issues.

United Nations Development Programme 1994 states:

The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as a global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust. It has been related to nation-states more than people. The superpowers were locked in an ideological struggle-fighting a cold war all over the world. The developing nations, having won their independence only recently, were sensitive to any real or perceived threats to their fragile national identities. Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives (United Nations, 1994, p. 22).

As a term human security encompasses concepts such as crisis management, prevention of conflicts and civil-military coordination. Moreover these concepts are taken further from which debates are generated together with other terms which are being used commonly in the global discourse, these terms include terms such as “responsibility to protect”, “human development” and “effective multilateralism”.

Insecurity is linked to crisis and human security can be understood to be the lack of crisis of the human right and human development terms. Need at extreme vulnerability moments in wars as well as in cases of natural and technological disasters, is what human security has to do with. Security most commonly is seen as the physical violence absence while on the other hand development is seen to be the improvement of the living standards as well as the material development.

In today’s globalized world that we are living many of the conceptual boundaries between civil, political, military or economic have to be redrawn because of the terms of nation-state frames that they are defined. In conflict cases human security is not solely about the impact of military violence but it is also about the violations of human rights as well as the material results of that conflict.

Human security is a part of human rights and human development but it is at the very sharp end of both terms, moreover human security means to feel safe while on the streets or even about ability of influencing political decision-making.

The policies of human security go beyond the crisis management, meaning that human security includes how we respond to different threats such as material or physical threats to communities or individuals. Thus the objective does not only include political stability but also encompassing concepts justice and sustainability.

Stability means the absence of conflicts moreover the international community seems to have learned stabilizing different conflicts, reaching and sustaining peace agreements and also stabilizing economies. However the international community has yet to learn addressing individuals and communities' security, violations of human right, dealing with crime and joblessness. For example crisis management within the EU emphasizes on strengthening the rule of law. The vulnerabilities of crisis management need to be addressed and reduce the risk of these crises to be renewed.

Crisis management of human security capabilities needs civil-military coordination but still it is not only about coordination or integration. Human security encompasses why and how civil and military capabilities are combined and not using them as standard conflict toolkit. In an operation of human security it is important to understand that the job of the military includes protecting and preserving rather than fighting the enemy.

2.3 The Principles of Human Security

Human security as previously mentioned is the shift of the national state security. However the human security concept is commonly criticized as being too idealistic. Nevertheless it is still more realistic than the traditional national security approaches since it addresses those kinds of insecurities that we are facing in this contemporary global era. The human security term possesses the advantage of being used to

combine ideas and concepts that have been in the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Below are listed some of the principles of human security:

a) The Primacy of Human Rights

The very first principle of the human security approach is ensuring respect for the human rights as well as securing the dignity, safety and welfare of the individuals and the communities. Providing the above mentioned is far more important and challenging than military victory or even the momentary abolition of violence. As a consequence protection of civilians both physical and material; that is social and economic and political and civil rights, has to come first and not defeating the enemy.

b) Legitimate Political Authority

A legitimated authority means that that authority has the trust of the population and it is responsible for providing law and order as well as respect and dignity for the human rights. This means that if it is the case for outside intervention it needs to seek creating a legitimated political authority provided by a local authority, a state or an international body. The conditions for this political process have to be provided in order for the authority to be build. Moreover it has to assist in promoting law and justice and also the capability to provide or ensure material well-being. In order for this authority to be legitimate it needs to be recognized as such locally as well as by the international community.

c) A Bottom-Up Approach

The bottom up approach consists of intensive consulting with local people. It is not just about gain better understanding and win hearts and mind it also includes making sure that vulnerable communities create an environment for stability and peace. Women, young people and civil society have to be involved and not only political

leaders. It is important to know that peace and stability have to be established within a country because human security cannot be delivered by outsiders they only can help.

d) Effective Multilateralism

Effective multilateralism involves commitment on working with the international law and close with regional and international agencies, non-state and state actors. It is from this that the approach of human security is distinguished from neo-imperialism. Effective multilateralism means a greater coherence and a better separation of tasks as well as solving the problems and difficulties through cooperation and rules and by doing this creating norms and rules.

e) Integrated Regional Approach

This principle involves regional action and dialogues in the neighbouring countries. When dealing with a crisis there is a tendency to focus on particular countries because still insecurity spills over borders by transnational crime networks and refugees thus emphasizing the importance of regional dialogues.

f) Clear and Transparent Strategic Direction

This principle states that when the EU needs to intervene externally it has to have a legal authorisation, a coherent strategy and transparent mandate. A close bond is needed between policy-makers and those on the ground. Ultimate control over operations is needed and civilians should lead all the EU external engagements.

2.4 Different Definitions and Debate

The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace (United Nations, 1994, p. 3).

The above quotation from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report shows that there are many insecurities and how they have to be fought. According to the UNDP there are seven different areas where human security threats are found:

- a) *Economic security* where poverty is the main persistent threat.
- b) *Food security* where famine and hunger are the threats.
- c) *Health security*, lack of access to healthcare and diseases and injury are the included threats.
- d) *Environmental security* where pollution and environmental degradation are among the other threats
- e) *Personal security* where are included the different forms of violence.
- f) *Community security* includes the threats to cultural diversity integrity as well as identity based discrimination.
- g) *Political security* includes among others the threats such as human rights abuses and political repression.

It is not that these threats are different from each-other but since threats themselves are interconnected they influence each-other in various situations. As Chenoy and Tadjbakhsh write in their article threats are interconnected in two ways. The first way is the “domino effect”, because for example poverty leads to health insecurity that itself can lead to food insecurity etc. The second way is that threats can spread over one country spilling over the borders and so impacting in a negative way the global security. As a consequence these threats are interconnected in the global context where national borders and sovereignty result in losing their relevance (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, pp. 16-18).

2.5 Human Security vs Traditional Security

It is important to make a clear distinction between the concept of human security and the concept of traditional security and to make this distinction it is important to discuss some common points.

The individual in human security is the central object of security placing him at the forefront. Nevertheless human security is aware that the primary protection for the citizens are the states and this security has to be ensured by soft powers, preventive measures and long-term cooperation and not through hard power. The status of the individual in human security has changed with human security. The individual does not come second to the state anymore but rather equal and as well as subject in international relations. In human security protection of the individual is the ultimate goal. Human security views security as concerning with individuals as persons and not with individuals as citizens meaning not only as citizens of the state.

On the other hand the traditional security approach considers people firstly as citizens of states meaning that security is concerned about security of the state as society and state were considered as one. State is considered to be the only provider of security.

International relations are characterized by tension and rivalry between states. However the key in securing a stable world is the balance of power between states.

While distinguishing human security from the traditional security various questions arise. The below table tries to answer to questions such as: Security for whom? Security at what values? Security from what threats? And security by what means? Through these questions the major debates, critiques, challenges and concerns emerge.

Table 1: Human Security versus State Security

Security National	Human Security	
Security for whom?	Primarily states	Primarily individuals
Values at stake	Territorial integrity and national independence	Personal safety and individual freedom
Security from what	Traditional threats	Non-traditional and traditional threats
Security by what means	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Force as the primary instrument of security, to be used unilaterally for a state's own safety ▪ Balance of power is important: power is equated with military capabilities ▪ Cooperation between states is tenuous beyond alliance relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Force as a secondary instrument, to be used primarily for cosmopolitan ends and collectively; sanctions, human development and humane governance as key instruments of individual-centered security ▪ Balance of power is of limited utility: soft power is increasingly important ▪ Cooperation between states, international organizations and NGO's can be effective and sustained

Source: Bajpai, 2000, p. 48.

2.6 Theoretical Debate

In the last years literature human security has been widely discussed. In the discourse of international organizations human security has become a reference point as well as in meditation exercises and peace building/peacekeeping in post-conflicts. Even though there are different opinions on the definition of human security meaning that there is not an agreed definition still there is a consensus that there is a deviation from the traditional state-based security. Moreover the specialists about human security are divided in two central definitions. These definitions are one narrow and another one broad: the narrow approach is centred on freedom from fear and the broad approach is centred on freedom from want and fear.

2.6.1 Freedom from Want and Fear

The specialists on human security advocating the broad concept relying on the work done by the UNDP and also the UN-Human Security Commission agree and believe that human security is not just about violent threats by stressing less on the military intervention. The report of the UNDP agrees that the combination of security issues with development issues is needed because freedom from chronic threats requires action under the security course. On this broad concept of security Japan possesses a leading role. Threat by Japan is emphasised by a broader range encompassing global warming, economic crisis, child soldiers, transnational crimes and landmines. The human security definition of Japan includes protecting people from livelihoods threats and dignity. Thus the broad definition is a combination of freedom from fear which includes freedom from direct violence, and freedom from want which includes focus issues like health, food and unemployment. According to the UNDP there is a shift from the traditional security concept to an all-encompassing human security concept.

The Commission on Human Security is a 2003 report called Human Security Now describes the human security as:

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care, and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of the future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment – these are the interrelated building blocks of human and therefore national security (Commission on Human Security, 2003, p. 4).

From this broad conceptualization there arise normative and analytical difficulties but it is unavoidable consequence of the shift from state security focus to individual security focus.

2.6.2 *Freedom from Fear*

According to Human Security Commission, the protection of the vital core of the individuals from different threats is the focus of the narrow definition of security. Thus the narrow definition relies more on the immediate intervention rather than in the in the long-term planning for a secure development. This narrow focus mainly is concerned with violent threats and it makes a clear distinction between human security and the broad international development field. There are several issues on which it is focused such as landmines, states failures, drug trade, ethnic discord and trafficking in small arms and these all constitute in direct and violent threats. The narrow definition considers human security primarily as a responsibility to protect and it focuses on civilian protection, peace operations and also conflicts prevention. The nature of the threats is physical and military and the individual is the focus of the narrow approach.

The concept of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is an expression of the narrow definition of human security which was proposed firstly by the International Commission on Intervention and State Responsibility (ICISS) as a response to the international debate regarding what happened in Rwanda and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover this idea relies on the traditional sovereignty concept and the belief that the responsibility to protect their citizens relies to the states but in cases where the states are not able or not willing to do so the responsibility of intervention then shifts to the international community. Thus sovereignty is a responsibility and it is no longer absolute and the international community has the legitimate duty to intervene in the domestic affairs when there are threats to human safety.

All the UN member states in the World UN summit in 2005 agreed on the conclusion of R2P emphasizing that the responsibility to protect the population from direct

violence such as war crimes, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and genocide relies within the state. On the other hand the summit also agreed that the obligation to support the states in fulfilling their responsibility to protect relies also to the international community in addition if these states fail in protecting their citizens the international community would have no choice but to take action.

Another name that has been given to the narrow approach is also “Canadian approach” because of Canada’s former foreign minister, Lloyd Axworthy, efforts in calling for new strategies and measures in dealing with problems such as terrorism danger, children in conflict zones and the increasing proliferation of arms.

Ensuring a safe environment in order for the development to take place is the logic of the narrow approach and securing individuals from violent threats is the first needed action. According to the supporters of this approach human security has to be limited to violent threats.

2.7 Conclusion

The human security concept in essence has the protection of the individuals meaning that the ultimate goal is helping threatened people.

Human security relates to the protection of the individual’s personal safety and freedom from direct and indirect threats of violence. The promotion of human development and good governance and, when necessary, the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing human security. States, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and other groups in civil society in combination are vital to the prospects of human security. Contrary to the traditional security approach, human security is flexible regarding the perception of security threats and the actors addressing them.

3 Chapter Three: Human Security and European Union

3.1 Introduction

In the world stage the EU has now become a global player with Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) serving as its tool in achieving its goals. In this chapter of the thesis will be provided an analytical overview of the CFSP in the framework of human security and the chapter attempts to answer to the second question that is the role of human security in the external policies of the EU. This chapter will provide an analysis of the following four documents concerning the human security in EU policies in determining the extent to which human security has a basis in the strategic documents, such as the European Security Strategy from 2003, the Barcelona report, the Madrid Report from 2007 and the Treaty of Lisbon. After analysing the above mentioned documents the chapter will follow with the EU and human security in crisis management and the strengths and weaknesses of EU's role in the field of security.

3.2 EU Involvement in the Foreign and Defence Policy

Different from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) which has been in the field of foreign and defence policy forefront in Europe since the Cold War, the EU does not possess a long history in the field of human security partly because of the strong presence of NATO. Nevertheless many efforts were made by the European countries in establishing a common European foreign and security policy mentioning the European Defence Community (EDC) and later the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), even though this agreement collapsed. The EU made efforts in dealing with the human security in a non-military context such as the European Political Cooperation (EPC) process but they resulted in failure thus none of them was

successful in challenging the NATO and its role in providing the security in Europe. During the Cold War it was the Western European Union (WEU) a security and defence organization which brought a European forum to address and discuss questions about security but it merely had a significant role in military.

For Europe a crucial step in the field of security was the Maastricht Treaty which was adopted in 1992 by coming later into force in 1993. The European CFSP was formally established constituting the second pillar of the EU. The EU assumed responsibility for the Petersberg tasks from the WEU and incorporated them into the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 as part of the CFSP and toward the work of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), by remaining still today a central element of the CSDP. It was in the Lisbon Treaty where these tasks were broadened by including now: rescue and humanitarian tasks, joint disarmament operations, military advice and assistance tasks and also including peace-making and post-conflict stabilization.

In 1998 in St. Malo it was signed an agreement by the British and French governments which would pave the way for the EU to establish the ESDP. The declaration of St. Malo emphasized that the EU needed to play its role fully in the international stage moreover it has to have the capacity to take autonomous actions.

In 1999 the ESDP came into force with the decision of giving to the EU the needed means and capabilities in assuming its responsibilities in regard to a common European policy about security. Military and non-military instruments were what the ESDP focused on by combining soft means and military means in the intervention capabilities. Different from NATO and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) the ESDP with its broad vision of instruments had more potential to tackle with security threats nevertheless it had a limited political mandate.

The ESDP allows the EU in developing military and civilian capacities to deal with crisis management and by this helping in ensuring international security and peace.

The EU leaders at the 2000 European Council in Portugal launched the civilian dimension of the ESDP by establishing the priority field which were four mentioning strengthening the rule of law, police, civil protection and strengthening civilian administration. The ESDP was declared operational in 2001 at the Leaken European Council and later in 2002 an agreement referred to as “Berlin plus” with the NATO was concluded. It states that the EU could have appeal to assets and capabilities of NATO. The spectrum of the ESDP was broadened by the adoption of the European Security Strategy in 2003. Later in 2004 the EU adopted the Headline Goal 2008 and with the addition of these tasks the missions within the ESDP which are military and civilian are now referred to as Petersberg Plus tasks.

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) was born in June 1999 when the European Council decided to give the EU the necessary means and capabilities to assume its responsibilities regarding a common European policy on security and defence. Although the Council’s main objective with the ESDP was for it to become an autonomous military arm of the EU, it was decided to include missions using non-military capacities. The ESDP was thus focused on both military and non-military instruments and was able to combine ‘soft’ civilian and ‘hard’ military means with a range of intervention capabilities. It distinguished itself through the focus on international crisis and conflict management and its narrow focus on political mandate, but also by a comprehensive understanding of security policy. With its broad vision of instruments, the ESDP had a far wider potential reach to tackle security threats than other international entities as NATO and OSCE, and from the start allowed action anywhere in the world, but at the same time it had a rather limited

political mandate. The ESDP was intended to cover all questions relating to security, including the possibility of non-military interventions:

In the context of the CFSP, the Union is developing a common security and defence policy, covering all questions relating to its security, including the progressive framing of a common defence policy. The European security and defence policy allows the European Union to develop civilian and military capacities for international crisis management, thus helping to maintain peace and international security (EUROPEAN UNION, 2009, p. 1).

In practice, the ESDP focused on crisis management operations specifically and on giving the EU the necessary capabilities to conduct such operations. At the June 2000 European Council in Feira, Portugal, EU leaders launched the civilian dimension of ESDP. They established four priority fields of civilian action: police; strengthening the rule of law; strengthening civilian administration; and civil protection. The year after, at the Laeken European Council, the ESDP was declared operational and in 2002 an agreement with NATO, referred to as 'Berlin plus', was concluded that allowed the EU to have recourse to NATO collective assets and capabilities. Unlike other major international actors, the EU did not start off with a doctrine that could provide a framework for its action abroad. The European Security Strategy that was adopted in 2003, however, set out a policy framework for the ESDP and broadened the spectrum of the ESDP missions to include joint disarmament operations, support for third countries in combating terrorism and security sector reform. This was reinforced when the Headline Goal 2008 was adopted by the European Council in June 2004. With the addition of these further tasks, the set of missions that provide the framework for both military and civilian missions within the ESDP are now collectively referred to as the Petersberg Plus tasks.

3.3 The European Security Strategy

With the establishment of the European Security Strategy (ESS) in 2003 the EU set clear objectives to reach its security interests. Possible ways were suggested in order for the EU to contribute in the global and regional security. The ESS starts with the notion “Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free” nevertheless it continues by stating that there still exists threats that Europe needs to face like the existing conflicts in the Balkans.

The ESS first section addresses the challenges to security and the change in nature after the Cold War ended. There are identified five challenging threats which are: weapons of mass destructions, organized crime, state failure, regional conflicts and terrorism.

In its second section that the EU has to defend itself even outside its borders because in this globalization era distant threats can as well be a threat as the near ones for example nuclear risks, nuclear activities and proliferation are all threats that concern Europe as well. Section two also outlines two main goals which are: creating a multilateral system where the UN charter and the international law are at the forefront and creating security in the neighbourhood of the EU.

Different policy implications in dealing with these threats are proposed in the third section of the ESS:

Firstly, in order to reach its strategic goals the EU has to become more active. In dealing with the prevention of conflicts and crisis management combining different instruments like military, diplomatic, civilian, political etc. is crucial moreover it is important to be involved in preventive engagement as well as developing operations that require involving military and civilian capabilities.

Secondly, the EU has to be able in taking more action and the militaries to transform in more mobile and flexible ones. Another important point is also the efficient use of resources. Increasing civilian capacity, reducing duplication, improved sharing of intelligence and stronger diplomatic capability among members, are also important in tackling with security threats.

Thirdly, the EU needs to be more consistent and this is achieved by joining EU's instrument and capabilities that include development, environmental, diplomatic efforts and trade policies.

Fourthly, in achieving its objectives is important to work with different partners. International cooperation and strategic partnerships are necessary.

The above mentioned sections are important because they form the basis in the crisis management approach. Still they do not offer any concrete recommendation.

With the fifth anniversary of the ESS in 2008 it was published it was published an implementation report on the ESS. A distinctive approach on foreign and security policy was elaborated in the report and human security was referred as a central goal of the EU. The report states that:

Drawing on a unique range of instruments, the EU already contributes to a more secure world. We have worked to build human security, by reducing poverty and inequality, promoting good governance and human rights, assisting development, and addressing the root courses of conflict and insecurity (European Union, 2008, p. 2).

However there was a lot of criticism of being weak in practice even though the ESS clarified that the implementation of the ESS is a work in progress. The ESS possessed the capacity of serving as a conceptual framework as well as serving as a strategy for EU's external actions but still it did not generate sufficient actions because the EU and the Member States had not clearly set the priorities.

The concept of human security was not explicitly referred in the original ESS however it reflected its importance and for it security was more than just state to state security. It was until the ESS implementation in 2008 that human security was mentioned directly by mentioning issues like disease and multilateralism, poverty as development preconditions. The ESS clearly reflects now the crucial aspects of human security.

3.3.1 The Barcelona Report

The first impact of human security concept on the creation of EU policy was by a report written from by an academic independent group so called the study group on the security capabilities of Europe know known as Human Security Group. The report called “A Human Security Doctrine for Europe” often referred to as the Barcelona report was published in 2004. In the report it was discussed about the development of the ESS with a basis on human security and also the human security concept was proposed.

According to the report the EU needs to reflect these changes in the international environment and to do that the EU needs to be involved in actions and has to be more involved to support the global security. Thus the best way to achieve all this is through the promotion of human security. In this report the concept of human security is defines as: individual’s freedom from the insecurities caused by the violations of the human rights. The primacy of human rights is distinguished by the traditional state approach. In the report there are identifies seven principles serving as guidelines. In the table below there are mentioned the principles.

Table 2: Principles and guidelines of the Barcelona report

Seven guiding principles for operations	Human security Response Force including	New Legal Framework based on
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The appropriate use of force -Clear political authority -The primacy of human rights -A bottom-up approach -Multilateralism -The use of legal -Regional focus instruments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Voluntary element -15 000 men and women -Both military and civilians -There of 5000 on permanent standby -Multinational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - International humanitarian law -Domestic law of member states - International human rights law - International criminal law - Domestic law of host states

Source: Bredow, 2005, p. 2.

Making the EU capable of responding to the new global context is what the Barcelona report is about. In the report there are distinguished three reasons for the EU to adopt a human security approach:

a) Morality basis is the first reason.

Thus, meaning that we as human beings have the obligation to help when the security of others is threatened. We all have the right to secure lives and dignity because the human life is equally valuable.

b) The legality is the second reason.

Concerning themselves with the protection of human rights is the obligation of the states as well the international institutions.

c) The third reason has to do with self-interest.

More specifically it means that the European countries cannot enjoy security or even be secure when there are countries in the other parts of the world where

insecurity dominates because conflicts tend to spill over borders and insecurity as well.

The changed world order is the main theme and the reason for the approach to human security thus meaning in this changed world order conflicts are no longer between different states but they now are within the states. These new wars have direct effects on people and another feature is that they spill over border and thus the distinction between internal and external is blurred also involving local and global actors.

The Barcelona reports took an important step away from the traditional concept of security by making clear differentiations to distinctive responses of civilian, military and humanitarian actors in crisis. The Barcelona report comprises the very first attempt in developing an intervention policy based on the civilian and military integration means and the individual's rights to security.

3.3.2 The Madrid Report

The Human Security Study Group published in 2007 the Madrid report. It was the follow up of the previous Barcelona report and its aim was to further develop the approach of human security by offering new ways in institutionalizing the concept of human security in the ESDP. The Madrid report is a better elaborated report in which there are answered also the criticisms of the Barcelona report and addressed the challenges. Another important point is the fact that the Madrid report is not of the narrow approach as the Barcelona report but rather of the broader approach. It makes clear that human security has to do with the individuals and communities and their basic needs in peril times and as also mentioned above it includes freedom from want and freedom from fear are both crucial for the security of people. It does not include only about the EU meeting the human needs in times in crisis but it also includes

meeting the needs of humans in times of natural and human made disasters. Thus human security is about material and physical wellbeing. People have to feel safe in their own homes as well as in the streets and the meeting the needs to live on.

The Human Security Study Group requires the EU to set clear principles for the EU interventions to be more effective in situations of crisis. Thus the report proposes six main principles serving as guidelines for the work of the CFSP. These principles are adjusted according to the previous Barcelona report. The principles are: the primacy of human rights, legitimate political authority, effective multilateralism, a bottom-up approach, an integrated regional approach, a clear and transparent strategic direction.

The approach of human security offers the EU the tools in coordinating its actions and increasing its coherence. In the end the report explains three proposals with the aim of advancing the agenda of human security in the EU. The suggestions are:

First, it gives the suggestion that all the countries of the EU should sign a Public Declaration of Human Security Principles and this declaration will be used as a guideline for the institutions of the EU guiding them in the crisis and when the EU should intervene.

The second suggestion is for the ESDP missions to have a new strategic framework with the goal to restore normal politics and to rule out international administrations or lengthy occupation and also suggesting that a civilian commander with required skills should lead the operations.

In the third suggestion in order to implement a human security approach different steps have to be identified and practical measures need to be provided for human security to be translated into actual missions of the ESDP. These steps include the adoption of mandates of Human Security ESDP, a systematic use of assistance on the

ground; Human Security cards for all mission personnel including the six principles as well as the goals and methods of the operation; improving the accountability of EU forces; using the human security principles as a means for EU institution's evaluation of missions; and incorporating the principles of human security into personnel training to make sure that EU forces integrate them into mission planning and execution.

Nevertheless the concept of the Madrid report after the publication received critics from the member states even though at the time Finland had the presidency and it made use of it to push for more normative acts.

3.3.3 The Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the member states of EU on the 13th of December 2007 and entered into force on the 1st of December 2010 when it was ratified by all 27 states. It amends and restates the provisions of previous treaties: the Treaty of European Union (TEU), also called the Maastricht Treaty; the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEC), also called the Treaty of Rome, which was with amendment renamed as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU); and the Nice Treaty.

The main articles on The European, ESDP which was renamed in the treaty as the CSDP are in articles 42-46 and in article 222, which contains a solidarity clause. This is important to note as before the Lisbon Treaty, no treaties made specific mention of the operational dimension of the EU. With the creation of the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the posts of the High Representative of CFSP and the Commissioner of External Relations have been merged into one. With this and the establishment of the EU's diplomatic arm, the

European External Action Service (EEAS), the Lisbon Treaty led to a considerable development in EU external actions. The EEAS has the aim to enhance coordination between civilian and military actors in crisis management, especially where the role of the various instruments are defined at the strategic planning stage. It brings together European Commission (EC) officials, member state diplomats, and the Council Secretariat into one agency responsible for representing the EU abroad in all areas relating to EU external action. Furthermore the Petersberg tasks were broadened, thus extending the types of possible operation under CSDP. In the Treaty they comprise joint disarmament operations, humanitarian and rescue tasks, military advice and assistance tasks, conflict prevention and peace-keeping tasks, tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peace-making and post-conflict stabilisation.

The principles of EU's international policies are stated in the General Provisions of the Union's External Action:

The Union's actions on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law (Treaty of Lisbon , 2007).

Following up on the strategy development in the ESS process, the Lisbon treaty enhances with this statement the vague formulation of the EU goals from the Maastricht Treaty. Moreover, the Lisbon Treaty in article 10 elaborates on these general provisions and states that the EU shall define and pursue common policies and action in all fields of international relations in order to, among others:

- a) Consolidate and support democracy, rule of law, human rights and the principles of international law
- b) Preserve peace, prevent conflicts and strengthen international security in accordance with among others the UN Charter

- c) Foster the sustainable economic, social and environmental development of developing countries, with the primary aim to eradicating poverty.
- d) Assist populations, countries and regions confronting natural or man-made disasters
- e) Promote an international system based on stronger multilateral cooperations and good global governance.

All these points made by the Lisbon Treaty can be said to belong to the broader approach to Human Security, which makes a clear departure from the traditional security of states and pays greater attention to people's security. With a focus on sustainable development, multilateralism and human rights and the interlinkages between them, the report clearly moves away from a traditional approach to security towards a softer type of security where the individual is in focus, namely human security. Thus although the Treaty does not mention the term Human Security directly, the importance of that concept is clearly implied in the text concerning CFSP's strategic goals, and in the relevant general provisions.

3.4 The EU and Human Security in Crisis Management

The security and defence policy of the EU in the last 20 years has been put in place and the crisis management and conflict prevention civilian and military capabilities have been made operational by the member states. Since the first was launched in 2003, 34 operations have been deployed all of them with a mixed civilian-military nature and differing in size and mandate but with a common aim that is stabilizing conflict or situations of post-conflict. Today in the framework of the ESDP/CSDP there are sixteen ongoing missions.

All the finished and ongoing missions have all contributed in the crisis resolution by strengthening the rule of law and administrative capacities and they have been set up

in full accordance by the UN. The launch of the first mission was in Bosnia-Herzegovina and EUTM Mali and EUBAM Libya were the latest. In the foreign policy of the EU the prevention of conflicts and crisis management have become key components. The EU has cooperated in the last years with other international institutions focusing on security aspects and rule of law.

3.5 The Weaknesses and Strengths of the EU

In the non-military security the role of the EU is different from the role of other institutions such as OSCE and NATO. The EU involves in crisis management within the framework of external actions of the EU thus funding is considerably small and unanimity is required for every step. This is a weakness since the EU has to take into consideration the priorities of its member states it and also the political objectives of its own.

The overlapping nature of the non-military missions of the EU is considered as another weakness. Moreover another weakness is the problem of how financing the missions because in the beginning financing was slow thus lacking coordination and flexibility. Still since then the issue has been addressed and better steps have been made in financing even though with a fluctuating budget. Finding qualified and suitable personnel for the mission has been another weakness because even though missions are seen as demanding sometimes deployment of the civilian and political ones is the most challenging. In the first Civilian Headline Goal (CHG2008) was noticed a personnel shortfall and it was proposed that a Civilian Response Team (CRT) had to be created in order to be drawn from a pre-trained and pre-selected pool of experts.

It cannot be denied that the EU does not have problems to fulfil its self-defined role but however many of its problems were identified in the Headline Goals 2008 and 2010 and improvement is slowly taking place. Issues such as the ability to deploy various missions simultaneously, responding faster to the UN requests and at a short notice were addressed in the CHG 2008 moreover refined concepts, conduct capabilities, planning and equipment were added by the CHG 2010. The EU is also concentrated in mission support, training improvement, field security, procurement and prevailing human rights and gender perspectives.

Often the wide range and variety of the missions of the EU is seen as a weakness but perhaps it can also be regarded as the biggest strength of the EU since it is probably the only international player capable of bringing together all kind of resources that are development, diplomatic, military and humanitarian.

3.6 Aspects of Human Security in CSDP

What the external policy of the EU aims is addressing the causes of the conflicts and this is considered as a long-term process where the change is essential. The management of the conflicts apart from including peace-making and peace-keeping it includes as well actions that occur after conflicts stabilization which can be missions in monitoring and border assistance and police. Human security aspects are also visible in strategy papers and legislative framework of the EU mentioning for example the agreement with International Criminal Court (ICC). This agreement adopted by the European Council includes exchange of information and documents which are of concern of both parties.

Another important adherence of human security is seen the engagement of the EU with the concept of R2P. The EU supports the idea that the international community

has a responsibility in protecting citizens that are not protected by their own states and also it affirms the authority given to the UNSC in acting on behalf of the citizens. Since then numeral references have been made to the UN and R2P from the EU.

Normally the mandates of the missions include UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions or requests from the country in need since in EU missions, cooperation with the UN and inclusion of third countries are clear priorities in CSDP. Inclusion of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is also important in CSDP process. An example here can be to mention the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) where come together NGOs that have the interest in policies that promote sustainable peacebuilding policies by the EU.

In the emphasis put on management of crisis as a long term process and also on the emphasis of the EU in prevailing human rights into missions are other seen elements of the human security. Within the CSDP the combination of military and civilian has gained importance which clearly shows that this is how procedures for mission are developed.

Making sure that human rights remain as part of the operational missions is another human security aspect within the CSDP. The paper of the European Parliament on Mainstreaming of Human Rights into ESDP explains that it is important to properly address the human rights protection in all ESDP operations phases which include the phases of planning and implementation.

Frequently human security has also been mentioned in different speeches stating its importance in placing people and their human rights along with the threats that they face at the centre of the external policies of the EU. Benita Ferrero-Waldner the former Commissioner for External Relations strongly believes that human rights,

security and development are interlinked meaning that achieving progress in one means achieving progress in all of them. According to her people should be placed at the very centre of the policies. According to her the clearest and most useful definition of human security is: the comprehensive security of people, not the security of states, encompassing both freedom from fear and freedom from want.

The ideas of human security have clearly influenced EU's security policies development. Moreover many of the human security aspects now can be easily found in the work of the EU even though it has never been referred in official documents explicitly. Obviously the EU is facing various challenges in the implementation of the human security policies because thinking of different policies clearly is not the same as to make those policies count or put into actual actions.

3.7 Conclusion

The EU certainly has realized that human security has to be a primary goal and its rise in importance cannot be negated. EU has understood that military is not the only way in responding to threats. If we have the secured individuals the security of states will come with it. To conclude the EU has taken several steps forward in the arena of human security but taking into consideration what has been happening recently it still needs to properly commit and further develop and better implement the human security concept.

4 Chapter Four: The Case of Ukraine

4.1 Introduction

In Ukraine began a prolonged and deadly crisis since its post-Soviet Independence. This crisis began as an against government protest refusing to forge closer ties with the EU. Since then this crisis has escalated tensions between Western Powers and Russia.

In February 2014 after the removal of President Viktor Yanukovich the Crimean peninsula and the port city of Sevastopol were annexed by Russia by deploying tens of thousands of forces in Eastern Ukrainian border. Moreover conflicts erupted between the new government in Kiev and the pro-Russian separatists. By Russia's moves the principles of world order such as non-intervention and sovereignty were challenged.

In this following chapter of the thesis the Ukrainian crisis will be analysed more specifically the behind reason for this crisis, the challenges that Ukraine is facing. Another important fact of the thesis is analysing the role of the EU in the Ukrainian crisis with a focus on human security and EU's response to the crisis. The chapter will try to answer to the last questions regarding the response of the EU to the Ukrainian crisis.

It is also important to emphasize that the Ukrainian crisis is still continuing and it hasn't been sorted out yet and this chapter will analyse what has happened so far meaning until August 2015.

4.2 Why is Ukraine in Crisis?

The Ukrainian country since the dissolution of the Soviet Union has struggled with its identity by failing to resolve its internal divisions and in building politically strong

institutions with the ability to implement the economic reforms. During the years the repression against political opponents has only intensified. The Orange Revolution in 2004 brought Viktor Yushchenko to the presidency. Yet severe troubles of economic nature emerged with the global economic crisis in 2008. Moreover this revolution masked the division between Russian oriented southern and eastern Ukraine and European oriented western and central Ukraine.

Yanukovich in 2010 won the presidential elections by campaigning on a closer ties platform with Russia. According to Anders Aslund of the Peterson Institute for International Economics Yanukovich was involved in corruption matter and his family may have stolen an amount of \$8 billion to \$10 billion a year for a period of three years. With abuses of power charges Yanukovich also imprisoned Yulia Tymoshenko his reformist opponent.

In late 2013 Yanukovich though he would sign a trade association agreement with the EU since they continued talk. But in order for the agreement to be signed the release of Tymoshenko was one of the conditions. In November Yanukovich dropped the plans for the agreement because of being under pressure from Russia citing concerns about the competition with Europe. However in Kiev demonstrations were provoked also known as the Euromaidan. The protesters wanted to align their future to Europe's speaking out also for corruption.

After three months of protests the government of Yanukovich broke down, by spurring reprisals in cases by radicalized demonstrators. In April 2014 fighting between government forces and pro-Russian separatists broke out scattering new divisions between western and eastern parts of the country. In the regions of Luhansk and Donetsk the separatists established the self-declared "people's republic".

Petro Poroshenko a pro-Western businessman brought into power by May elections, he tried to take control over the restive eastern cities. According to UN officials by August more than 2000 people were killed in the fighting it had caused as well hundreds of thousands to flee their homes.

Russia was accused by NATO states and Kiev officials of arming the separatists and the rebels in Eastern Ukraine using supplies such as ground to air missiles from Russia were held responsible for the drowning in July 2014 of a civilian airliner in which were killed 298 people. Russia on the other hand denied what it was accused for but meanwhile it continuously has deployed troops near the Ukrainian border.

4.3 EU – Ukraine Relations

EU-Ukraine Partnership and Cooperation Agreement were replaced by EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (AA) on 21 March 2014 as the legal basis and framework for EU-Ukraine relations. With the aim of political association and economic integration the AA constitutes a new step in the contractual relations between EU-Ukraine. Commitment in lasting relations with common values such as rule of law, respect for democratic principles, human rights, good governance and fundamental freedoms is what the AA emphasizes.

A Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) are also provisions included in the AA. In order for Ukraine to modernise its trade the DCFTA offers frameworks by opening markets by removing customs tariffs and quotas and by harmonizing laws, regulations and norms in several sectors of trade. These provisions will help the Ukrainian economy in aligning its key sectors in the standards of EU.

At the EU Summit on 21 March 2014 where signed the chapters of political matter of EU-Ukraine AA and on 27 June 2014 both parties signed AA's remaining sections. Once all the EU Member States and Ukraine ratify it the AA will enter into force.

The final goal of the cooperation between EU-Ukraine does not only constitute the implementation of EU-Ukraine AA and the DCFTA. However their implementation will create opportunities such as sustainable economic development and prosperity in Ukraine's regions and to its neighbours as well.

4.4 Recent Events in Ukraine and CSDP Mission

The EU has been monitoring Ukraine's political situation engaging also in finding solutions for the crisis that developed in central Maidan in Kiev after months of peaceful protests after the signing of the AA was suspended by the decision Cabinet of Ministers in Vilnius at the Eastern Partnership Summit.

The EU supports the new Ukrainian government in stabilizing the situation and in the establishment of reforms even the constitutional ones. According to the EU the Ukrainian government should ensure the inclusiveness of all the levels of government. These include steps planned to reach all the regions of Ukraine, ensuring the protection of national minorities and population groups. According to the EU the Council of Europe and OSCE is what Ukraine should rely on.

In July 2014 the Council of Europe in order to assist Europe in the field established a CSDP mission. The aim of the EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine (EUAM) is providing strategic advice that will help strengthening Ukraine's rule of law. The headquarters of EUAM Ukraine are in Kiev and EUAM is an unarmed, non-executive civilian mission. The Head of Mission is Kalman Mizsei and the mission for the first twelve months has a budget of €13.1 million. The

Ukrainian Foreign Minister and Pavlo Klimkin and EU High Representative (HR) Federica Mogherini signed on 17 November 2014 the Status of Mission Agreement between Ukraine and the EU and on 1 December 2014 the mission was launched.

4.5 How is the EU Supporting Ukraine?

The EU, together with its Member States, has since last year delivered unprecedented levels of support to help Ukraine in its efforts for launching this renewed reform process. In March last year, the EU and European Financial Institutions committed EUR 11 billion in support of Ukraine's political, economic and financial stabilisation. So far, around EUR 6 billion has been mobilised in the form of loans and grants, including the recently approved additional third macro-financial assistance programme of EUR 1.8 billion. The EU is both currently and since the country's independence in 1991 the biggest international donor to Ukraine.

The European Commission is determined to make sure that Ukraine has all the support it needs, in the short and long term, to undertake the political and economic reforms that are necessary to consolidate a democratic, independent, united and prosperous Ukraine.

Since 2014 the Commission has agreed on a number of concrete measures for the short and medium term to help stabilise the economic and financial situation in Ukraine, assist with the transition, encourage political and economic reforms and support inclusive development for the benefit of all Ukrainians. A further package of Macro-financial assistance worth €1.8 billion was proposed on 8 January 2015. In addition, the first special measure in 2015 for Ukraine worth EUR 70 million in support of private sector development and early economic recovery has been adopted. This will be complemented by a €40 million loan guarantee facility under the

Neighbourhood Investment Facility. Together this measure will help support SMEs and entrepreneurship across Ukraine's regions, including in areas most affected by the conflict.

In order to meet the particularly acute challenge presented by the situation as it was then developing, in mid-2014 the Commission established the Support Group for Ukraine. The Support Group coordinates the resources and expertise of the European Commission in order not just to monitor but also to assist Ukraine in the implementation of the Association Agreement and, crucially, in undertaking the deep and systemic reforms that will be necessary. The Group helps individual ministries draw up reform strategies and draft new reform legislation. This is the first time such a Support Group has been established for any country outside the borders of the EU.

4.5.1 Support to the OSCE

OSCE work in Ukraine is also being supported by the EU, thus giving the biggest contribution to OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM). The EU and its Member States have contributed about two thirds of both mission's budget and monitors. The EU apart from the contribution of its Member States also contributed a budget of €7 million through the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace to the SMM. Moreover the EU has donated to the SMM 4 armoured and 40 unarmoured vehicles.

4.5.2 Humanitarian Assistance

In Ukraine the number of the internally displaced people has reached a number of 1.3 million making it the ninth largest internally displaced population in the world, and a number of 890, 000 people have fled to neighbouring countries.

The humanitarian aspect of the Ukrainian crisis has been on top of the EU agenda since the early days of conflict. The humanitarian assistance of the EU has increased and also it is ready to increase its support as well.

In 2015 the EU is guaranteeing an additional €15 million in humanitarian assistance for the most vulnerable and most affected by the conflict. On 26 January 2015 during the visit to Ukraine the Commissioner for humanitarian aid and crisis management Christos Stylianides, announced the new aid package.

At the same time the financial aid was announced another operation was also taking place. The EU and its Member States would deliver a package of emergency supplies of 85 tonnes by road and air. The supplies included sleeping bags for harsh conditions in winter, tents and blankets; these were provided in cooperation with other humanitarian partners such as UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Children's Rights and Emergency Relief Organization (UNICEF). On the other hand Denmark, Finland, Austria, Germany, France, Finland, Poland, Latvia, Slovenia and the European Commission provided other relief items.

Addressing the needs of the most affected by the conflict including non-government controlled areas is what the EU assistance is intended. In the assistance are included health care for the injured and the sick, shelter for the displaced, sanitation, water and food and other emergency aid. Relief items for winter conditions such as heaters, warm clothes and generators are of special attention.

The humanitarian funding of the Commission addresses the needs of the population in areas affected directly by the conflict and that are specifically exposed and damaged by the ongoing conflict striving to survive the conditions of the harsh winter. The humanitarian aid of the EU also deals with refugees and displaced people who have

fled the areas of conflict. In order to help the local economy of the hosting communities often the humanitarian aid is distributed in cash or vouchers form so that the displaced people can buy the essential items at the local market. The EU Civil Protection Mechanism is mobilizing the material assistance. The delivery and transport of the supplies that the Member States provide are supported by the European Commission.

Partner organizations such as UNHCR, UNICEF, International Organization for Migration (IOM), World Health Organization (WHO), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), World Food Programme (WFP), Danish Refugee Council, Save the Children and People In Need are delivering the assistance on the ground.

4.6 Strengthening Security

The arms embargo on Ukraine was lifted on 16 July by the Council of the EU. The Member States can now provide arms for Ukraine with no objections including also the legal restrictions. As requested by Ukraine's authorities the task is to strengthen the defence capabilities of Ukraine. In the task are included weapons, individual protection and soldier protection, munitions, anti-tank missile systems, intelligence, enhancement of the navy to be able to defend the Black Sea coast, surveillance, communications and air defence systems such as anti-aircraft and combat training facilities. The EU is in need of exploring new ways in the support to the Ukrainian government in order to enhance its defence capabilities.

Once the law is properly and effectively enforced and defence and intelligence sectors are in place only then Ukraine can function properly. The defence structures as well as armed forces need to be restored substantially. The transformation of the armed forces of the EU member States who belonged to the former Warsaw Pact provides an

experience in this regard. This task would be conducted by the EU in the framework of CSDP in order to assist the authorities of Ukraine in conducting this task. CSDP provides training missions for armed forces throughout the world.

In reducing tensions and helping to foster peace, security and stability is of crucial importance the work of the OCSE Special Monitoring Mission. But in order to produce effective control and verification of the Russia-Ukrainian border while upholding the objectivity of its actions, its effects on the ground have to be stepped up.

An important step towards providing assistance to the civilian sector reform such as the rule of law and police is seen the deployment of CSDP EU Advisory Mission to Ukraine. If requested by the authorities of Ukraine an EU monitoring mission should be deployed by the EU to provide an effective control and monitoring mechanism of the Russian-Ukrainian border.

In order to respond to the new geographical situation especially with regard to a new threat of hybrid war, the EU should update its Security Strategy and also improve the CSDP cooperation with its Eastern partners.

The Allies reaffirmed NATO's support for Ukraine's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty at the last NATO summit. Thus the EU has to enhance significantly the coordination of its security response with that of NATO which remains a decisive framework for action.

4.7 EUAM Ukraine Mission

On 22 July 2014 the Council established the EU EUAM Ukraine; this was a civilian mission under the CSDP of the EU. The Head of the EUAM Ukraine mission was appointed Kalman Mizsei, on 24 July.

According to Catherine Ashton the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, the Ukrainians have requested the support of the EU since the Ukrainian authorities have embarked on the critical path of civilian security sector reform.

This mission is deployed by the EU in assisting Ukraine in the reform which also includes the rule of law and police. In order to strengthen the rule of law in Ukraine which will benefit the citizens of Ukraine throughout the country the mission will provide strategic advice for the development, accountable and sustainable security.

The EUAM Ukraine mission is a non-executive, unarmed civilian mission. Initially the EU advisers will focus in supporting the elaboration of revised strategies of security and the rapid implementation of the reforms in coordination with other EU efforts and also with the OSCE and other international partners.

Kiev is where the EUAM Ukraine headquarters will be on the other hand regional outreach in order to support the advisory task will start as soon as possible. Until 30 November the decision is allocated a budget of €2.68 million for the start-up phase of the mission. In Kiev there is a civilian response team and operational planning and various other preparations are underway. Once the initial operating capability has been reached the formal launch of operations of the mission will take place. Thus at the point will start the mandate of two years of the mission.

4.8 Conclusion

As a conclusion it can be said that the EU has very much been affected by the Ukrainian crisis. Nevertheless the EU has supported and is continuing to support and assist Ukraine. Its support varies from economic, political, border assistance and finally humanitarian assistance. EUAM Ukraine is a mission which came into

existence with the sole purpose of helping and assisting Ukraine in restoring the rule of law in the Ukrainian territory, various other planning and strategies were discussed in order to further help Ukraine. In this support EU is not alone meaning that other international organizations and partners are also helping to assist Ukraine.

5 Conclusion

Analysing the human security concept within the EU external policies framework is the aim in the writing of this thesis; Thus to find out the extent to which the concept has become a guideline, a policy standard for the diplomacy of the EU and the CSDP. Researching in the concept of human security including also its emergence and development and also contrasting the differences from the traditional concept of security provided the needed basis in order to answer to the first research question which was about the concept's theoretical approach. The conclusion of the second chapter is that the concept of human security is interpreted in different ways but still the central focus is the individual as the primary object of security. Thus this is the essential difference between the traditional (state to state) concept of security and the concept of human security. Moreover it is important to understand that it is impossible to achieve international security without assuring individual security.

Regarding the second research question about the EU and human security within it, it is obvious that human security does play an important role within the external policies of the EU. Human security aspects can be found in the general approach towards conflict management of the CSDP where mission objectives vary from the protection of individuals and humanitarian aid to the rebuilding of national security and democratic institutions. This is also obvious in the efforts of the EU in addressing the prevention of violations of human rights by using non-military and military instruments in the achievement of these means. It is clear that the EU follows a human security agenda by cooperating with other international institutions with approaches based on security sector reform, building up civil capacities and rule of law. In the ESS report from 2003 and in the Lisbon Treaty can be obviously seen more aspect of human security rather than traditional state security both of which mention the

importance of operational capacity which should be based on military and also civilian means.

To analyse the EU external policies and its approach to crisis management in more detail the before mentioned six principles of the Madrid report were used. The EU obviously has realized that security should not be based only on the realist definition and the traditional military. Threats such as regional conflicts, WDM proliferation, military threats, threats in a changed security environment and recognizing state failure cannot be dealt with military means only. Thus, a new approach to security is of crucial importance such as multi-instrument and multi-functional strategy in which can be integrated different aspects of security threats. Then, it is important to realize that that human security or individual's security is regarded as the precondition for the security of the states, security or regions and lastly security of the world. However it is important to not only know the principles but also fully commit to the concept of human security, because even though there exists the change from the traditional security to human security, states and also the EU have not fully committed to this concept.

As to the third research question regarding the crisis in Ukraine and to the extent of the human security being part of the crisis management of EU in today's situation in Ukraine. The crisis in Ukraine has certainly brought tensions in Europe and Russia since Europe is supporting Ukraine and Russia on the other side with the annexation of Crimea is trying to gain a strategic territory and in the meantime more power. Europe is certainly supporting Ukraine in many forms and ways and it will continue to do so because as stated even previously the crisis in Ukraine hasn't been sorted out yet meaning that the crisis is still going on even nowadays since the series of events has made it very difficult to settle and to reach an agreement with the parties involved.

Europe has supported and assisted Ukraine economically, politically as well as in humanitarian assistance also various missions such as EUAM Ukraine and strategic planning were drawn in order to assist Ukraine to restore the rule of law and order. Moreover the EU in cooperation with other international partners donated various supplies including also blankets, warm clothes and tents to help the Ukrainian people in the harsh winter conditions. However as said the crisis is still ongoing and it has still to be seen what will further happen.

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