

# Concept of Security in Croatia and the European Security Strategy

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*The article refers to the National Security Strategy of Croatia compared to the European Security Strategy. The development of the Security Strategy in Europe can be related to the situation in Southeast Europe, particularly to the fall of Yugoslavia, where European security has been forming and developing its strategies of security and defence within its borders. The article is divided into the two parts; the first part refers to Croatia and its way to independent state and its path from developing the National Security Strategy to the NATO membership. The second part of the article deals with the European Security Culture and Strategies, the missions of ESDP in the Southeast Europe and its cooperation with Croatia.*

**Keywords:** concept of security, defence, Security Strategy, National Security Strategy, European Security Strategy, international organizations, NATO, CFSP, Southeast Europe, ESDP missions

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## 1. Introduction

From past to present. In almost two decades from achieving independence, Croatia has become the most advanced country in the region – from a rather unenviable situation of a state destroyed by war, to a sustainable state on a “firm road” towards the full membership in the European Union. Today, being a member of NATO, Croatia is no longer threatened by possible attacks, but has other issues as its “priority problems”, i.e. to fight against organized crime, corruption, efficiency of judiciary, weak economy, etc).

This year Croatia has achieved one of the two main political goals and priorities, it was accepted as a full member to NATO in April 2009. When mentioning priority politics

of the Republic, NATO membership and EU membership have been top priorities of the Republic of Croatia since the declaration of independence in 1991.

Although eroded by the recent Homeland war, Croatia has shown a good progress in the recent period. Considering that it did not have experienced staff in foreign policy and diplomacy as a young state, one could conclude that political successes in a decade seem rather sufficient.

After the post-conflict tensions with the ex-Yugoslav countries, Croatia had to overcome many obstacles in its efforts to open negotiations with the EU.

Croatia has to solve the forthcoming problems and challenges in the near future. In the area of foreign policy the priority most certainly is continuation of the accession negotiations with the European Union.

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In the field of internal politics, many deeper changes and cuts have to be done in order to achieve the progress. The issues of main priority for the state's government are: weak economy, fight against corruption, cutting subsidies to agriculture and shipbuilding industry, efficiency of judiciary and many more. In order to achieve all political objectives and to demonstrate the ability for cooperation with other states on the international scene, Croatia has to work and improve in a very fast pace. Whether it is capable to cope with multiple priorities (foreign and internal) at the same time is to be seen within a couple of years.

## 2. Legacy of History - The Homeland War and the International Community

To show the problematic of security and defence in Croatia it is necessary to begin with the intersection of the Homeland war, communist legacy and the creation of the independent democratic state.

In order to sort the changes that have highly influenced Croatia on her process of transition in a chronological way this chapter is divided into four main periods:

- The collapse of communism – the first multiparty elections in Croatia and the initiation of building the independent democratic state – in 1990;
- The Homeland War – defending the national territory – many collateral victims and great losses in economy –1990-1995;
- Military-police operations “Flash” and “Storm” for the liberation of the occupied territory – Conclusion of the Erdut agreement that led to the peaceful re-integration of Eastern Slavonia in 1998, and complete integration of the whole territory;
- The year 2000 was crucial for setting the priorities in Croatian foreign policy – beginning of the real transition and beginning of the process of accession to Euro-Atlantic Community – In the field of internal politics, it meant the end of semi-authoritarian regime.

The causes of transition can, of course, be found in the global policies – the collapse of the communist regimes had a major influence in the region that was economically and socially eroded throughout history. In some countries, the reintegration has succeeded in more or less peaceful tone – the examples of the ex-Czechoslovakia (today Czech Republic and Slovak Republic) could have been a good model for the former Yugoslavia.

A series of events led to a bloodshed war that took many victims, and set the countries of once rather stable federation (although under the communist regime) to economic and social downgrade.

In 1990, the first turning point was the constitutional changes in the then Socialist Republic of Croatia which paved the way for the democratisation of the society and changes in electoral legislation. That was the first step in creating the preconditions necessary for the first multiparty elections. When the Parliament decided to organize the first multiparty parliamentary elections in April 1990, the triumph of the new party (Croatian Democratic Union - HDZ, led by Franjo Tuđman with the idea of independent national state high on the agenda), the unrest began. Soon afterwards (in the winter of 1990/1991), the New Constitution was adopted (22 December 1990), defining the country as independent, democratic, with multiparty and a new market system. To show the exact state of the public opinion and support to these changes, the data of 94% of population that were in favour of the new political regime speaks for itself. Earlier that year, a few months before the crucial December, the riots began to spread within the country.

In the central part of Croatia (the so-called ‘Serbian Autonomous Region’) in August 1991 the Serbian rebellion in Croatia started in the so-called Log Revolution rapidly spreading all over the country supported by the federal army – Yugoslav People's Army. In that moment it was absolutely necessary to establish Croatian Armed Forces to be able to protect the nation in case of war. So in September 1991 National Guard was formed under the name “Croatian Armed Forces”.

The international community has been caught by surprise with the happenings in the Southeast Europe. Although Southeast Europe throughout the history has been the stage of many instabilities – like the murder of Franz Ferdinand in 1914 leading to the beginning of the First World War – these instabilities have left the community unprepared.

The first reaction to the events came from the Contact Group<sup>1</sup>; it created the commission of international law experts which was called “Arbitration Commission of the Peace Conference on the former Yugoslavia” (also known as “The Badinter Commission” due to its president Robert Badinter). The main conclusion of the Badinter Commission, after six months of strenuous meetings was that the SFRY did not exist anymore, that the state itself had collapsed.

After the opinion of Badinter Commission (being the first International arrangement in the collapse of Yugoslavia) came the recognition of Croatian independence by the 12 countries of the EC in January 1992. The EC recognition of Croatia initiated the same process of recognition worldwide. In such an environment, when one third of the territory was occupied and with many obstacles in communication between different parts of the country, military, intelligence services and police had the essential role. As a direct consequence, the state was left with weak institutions, low transparency, accountability and openness of the system with collapse of intelligence and non-existent security system.

The reactions of the international community continued with the Erdut Agreement at the end of 1995; the Agreement led to the peaceful reintegration of Eastern Slavonia in 1998, and to the finalisation of regaining the control over the whole territory by the state’s authorities.

This second “move” of the international community has been followed by the process of post-conflict stabilisation which aimed at strengthening the state apparatus. Croatia centralised the political system and took over the French model of a semi-presidential regime. However, coupled with the lack of political

culture, and “leftovers” of the communist regime, this model made the parliament and the government marginalised in its political system.

Since the opposition was rather weak and the institutions were either destroyed or in chaos, the political system had an image of semi-authoritarian regime. Further changes were made in May 2003 as an expression of formal US support for the NATO bid of Albania, Croatia and Macedonia, the document called “The Adriatic Charter” signed in Tirana. “The Adriatic Charter” was followed by the positive opinion (Avis) of the European Commission on Croatian application for membership in the EU in April 2004, and later on the Croatian acquirement for candidate status for membership in the European Union (June 2004). Accession negotiations to the European Union have been opened in October the following year. A significant number of reforms and efforts marked that period. The intense reforms in order to meet the criteria of accession to the transatlantic structures within mentioned frameworks of cooperation showed that Croatia was not only ready, but far ahead of all the newly emerged states of ex-Yugoslavia, with the exception of Slovenia.

Due to international recognition of the general success of the reform process in the country, Croatia was selected to be the presiding state of the UN Security Council for the period from 2008 to 2009. For the first time in its short history, the state was involved in the highest international body dealing with global problems.

The latest success was the official invitation for Croatia to join NATO at the Bucharest Summit 2008. A year later at the Strasbourg/Koehl NATO Summit in April 2009, Croatia became a member of NATO. By becoming a member, Croatia fulfilled one of the two major foreign policy priorities (the EU and NATO membership).

### **3. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia**

In its early years, the Security System Reform in Croatia was more Security System

Reduction; motivated only by a need of downsizing and cost cutting of the security services by the end of the war. Unfortunately, the process itself was not driven by advanced criteria or the democratization process.

Nowadays, Strategy of the National Security Croatia is a conceptual document in which the Parliament of the Republic (as the supreme and legislative body) establishes and accepts political positions on fundamental issues of the national security. The Strategy provides a unique foundation for creating and implementing systematic institutional solutions as well as measures and activities in terms of response to a general security challenges and specific forms of prejudice in Croatia. Conceptual solution set in this document is, primarily, projections of four basic factors:

- (1) The geopolitical position of Croatia - which is marked decisively in the effort, to cooperate and to become a significant factor of the Euro-Atlantic and European security organizations;
- (2) Stages in the field of security challenges and risks for the Republic of Croatia;
- (3) Performance and the realization of the National Security; and
- (4) All the available resources.<sup>2</sup>

The National Security of the Republic of Croatia is divided into several domains:

- (1) Provided (achieved or implemented) security;
- (2) Functional scope of operations and various security institutions, together with the overall community efforts in order to achieve security goals; and
- (3) The institutions' security, linked to the arranged system of relations.<sup>3</sup>

With this document, Croatia was and is trying to build a state with strong national security, which will guarantee its freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity within the framework of internationally accepted arrangements, human rights and freedoms of its citizens, political and social stability of society, stable economic development in conditions of freedom and enterprise markets, func-

tioning of the rule of law, internal rules and personal security of citizens, as well as healthy and stable environmental conditions.

In that sense, National Security is defined as a condition of protection of the fundamental values of society and the institutions based on them.

The Strategy of the National Security is divided into several fields that create the main items on which the strategy is based.<sup>4</sup>

With this official document, legislative bodies and government of Croatia have shown the competence to operate and understand the security polices on the international level. By proving the implementation of the strategy at this level, it has been clearly shown that the cooperation on the "real field" exists. Closely working with the prestigious international organizations, showing that the Strategy is not just a "dead letter", its capability and relevance to the European Security System (ESS) has been pointed out. With rather limited experience, Croatia is participating in missions worldwide in a satisfactory manner. The potential it has, still needs to develop in all the fields of security and defence of the European Security and Defence Policy. To a certain extent, Croatia has to obtain its position having a role of peace and stability keeper in the region of Southeast Europe thus helping the security in Europe. It is its main role at the moment.

#### **4. Cooperation of the International Organizations**

##### **Organization of the United Nations:**

During the past eleven years, the role of Croatia in the United Nations (UN) has had some significant changes - from the state that was a subject of discussion in the Council of Security and the General Assembly to the current non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, especially in the field of economic and social issues as well as a provider of the military units into the UN missions.

Croatia supports the shared vision of the UN on prosperity and peaceful world that has been declared in the "Millennium Declaration". It has also fulfilled its obligations as a

member, submitting the Organization the first national report on the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals in September 2004.

Continuing the intensity of participation in the activities of the Organization, aware that peace and security are the basic prerequisites for economic and social wellbeing, Croatia has intensified its efforts to participate more in the present and future peace operations<sup>5</sup>, i.e. peacekeeping mission UNTSO (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization).

**Council of Europe:** Croatia participates in all activities of the Council of Europe by the Permanent Mission in Strasbourg. The continuation of the activities are the priorities in development of the norms and legal standards in the field of protection of human and minority rights and the rule of law for the country.

**Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe:** The cooperation of Croatia with the OSCE Mission consist in the implementation of programs related primarily to the return of refugees, reform of judiciary, freedom of media and the protection of human and minority rights.

**International Criminal Court:** Croatia accepted the idea and the basics of the activities initiated under the auspices of the UN with the aim to establish a permanent International Criminal Court, and to actively participate in its work. The Croatian Parliament adopted the Law on the confirmation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in 2001. The Law on the approval was published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, and entered into force in eight days. The Parliament signed the Agreement on privileges and immunities of the International Criminal Court in September 2004.

**International treaties, conventions and other documents in the field of cooperative security:** Croatia is the contracting party and an active participant of most international treaties, conventions and documents related to non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons, control of exports and imports, control of arms and "Mine Action".<sup>6</sup> Also, it has adopted the principles

that are contained in the EU Code of Conduct regarding the export of arms and has signed and ratified the Treaty on Open Skies.

**Restricting implementation of measures of economic sanctions:** One of the most important issues in this field was the implementation of all relevant measures and actions in the resolution of the UN Security Council. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was responsible for informing and cooperating on this matter all relevant agencies in the country about the contents and obligations of each of the resolutions of the UN, including the need for full implementation of restrictive measures issued by the Security Council against certain countries. Currently, under these Resolutions, Croatia has implemented restrictive measures against Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Rwanda, Burma (Myanmar) and Ivory Coast.

**Contribution of the Republic of Croatia in the fight against terrorism:** After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, Croatia has joined the global coalition for fight against international terrorism. Also, it has become a key party of the UN Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism. Croatia has initiated the necessary legislative process for accessing the counterterrorism.

United Nations Conventions with Croatia as a Contracting Party:

- International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Attacks
- Affairs initiated the ratification process are currently in the intercessor procedure
- Convention for the Suppression of illegal acts against safety of maritime navigation
- The Ministry of Sea, Tourism, Transport and Development procedure launched in the process of ratification
- Protocol for the Suppression of illegal acts against the safety of solid platform
- Convention on the marking of plastic explosives for the purpose of disclosure - Ministry of Defence initiated the ratification process<sup>7</sup>

Croatia is also a member of the Council of Europe conventions relating to fighting the terrorism, and in 2004 signed the Protocol on Amendments of the European Convention on fight against terrorism.

A proof of its capability to help fight terrorism was its short presidency of the UN Security Council in December 2008.

**European Security and Defence Policy:** As a candidate for the membership in the European Union, the Republic of Croatia has to adjust the system of security to the specific European Security and Defence Policy in the framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU. Croatia is supporting the strategic partnership of the European Union and NATO based on strong transatlantic ties and coherent development of joint capabilities.

**CFSP – political dialogue:** Promoting sustained peace and stability in the Southeast Europe is Croatia's objective it shares with the EU. It has consistently been aligned with the CFSP positions on the countries of the region. The support is shown by the active engagement in regional cooperation initiatives such as the South East European Cooperation Process (SEECP), the Stability Pact, the Central European Initiative (CEI), and the Adriatic-Ionian Initiative.

The extent of Croatia's relations with the third countries beyond its immediate neighbourhood reflects the state's foreign policy orientation.

Since the Thessalonica Summit in 2003, Croatia has put many efforts to consistently align with EU positions. By the accession the efforts should be directed at strengthening, developing and improving the necessary institutions, mechanisms, as well as developing a diplomatic network which, with certain adjustments, should be able to participate in the work of the CFSP and ESDP within CFSP.

Another long-term goal is to continue upgrading Croatia's IT infrastructure and increase the number of professionals dealing with CFSP and ESDP in headquarters as well as in Brussels, and to continue strengthening coordination of agencies involved nationally to

ensure full implementation of the *acquis communautaire*<sup>8</sup> (chapter 24 – justice, freedom and security for crime related fight against terrorism and terrorist financing and confiscation).

## 5. Public Perception

Croatian contemporary social and political circumstances are highly influenced by the ongoing process of European integration. The negotiation process itself has brought challenges of harmonizing, adopting and implementing the regulations of the EU. Public perception of the EU and Croatian accession to the EU, at the moment marks relatively low public support and approval. Although public diplomacy has been focused on increasing public awareness on how the EU works, it has been done in a rather insufficient way and with low and poorly organized methods. Some studies in Eurobarometer<sup>9</sup> show that the level of expectations, hopes, fears and stereotypes concerning the European Union is directly linked to the insufficient level of information for citizens about various aspects of the Union's work.<sup>10</sup>

Currently challenging issue blocking Croatia's accession to the Union is the issue of the Maritime Border with the neighbouring country, Slovenia. Therefore, public perception and support for the membership in the Union has significantly fallen.

The analysis of the relations between Croatia and Europe during the last two decades, shows that foundations of the present perception of the European Union have significantly changed through several periods in the last two decades. The perception of the European Union is determined not only by specific expectations (benefit and detriments) in various aspects of social and economic life, but by general impressions of citizens about the European Union and Europe's treatment of Croatia.

## 6. The Role of NATO in Croatia

In May 2008, leaders of the NATO Alliance met in Romania and decided to invite

new potential members to join the Alliance. The conclusions of the meeting also reflected a strong belief that bringing new countries into NATO - countries which share the alliance's commitment to peace and prosperity - will contribute to the security of all the members. The United States supported the invitation to Croatia, based upon Croatia's progress in preparing for membership and upon the Croatian government's promise to continue the challenging work once becoming a member of the Alliance.

A position of strengthened Europe is now more assertive and brings more awareness of its responsibility for its territorial security. All the members of NATO support the opinion that the security at home increasingly means the insurance of security of the others.

Analysts have agreed that Croatia's highly motivated volunteers have already played a positive role in some operations (preventing the resurgence of the Taliban in Afghanistan, keeping the peace standing points in Kosovo, protecting the innocent in Sudan) contributing with all available funds. Thus, Croatia has shown that it understands and supports the importance of acting when necessary.

At the beginning of forming and stabilizing the state, the USA cooperated with Croatia to support democratic and economic reform to help overcome the legacies of communism, war, and ethnic division. The USA embarked on a broad policy of assistance in the entire region to support critical steps such as demining, rebuilding and strengthening of democratic institutions.

"American engagement in Croatia is aimed at fostering a democratic, secure, and market-oriented society that will be a strong partner in European and Euro-Atlantic institutions. This will advance our goal of establishing a durable, prosperous peace in Southeast Europe and contribute to the construction of a Europe, whole and free" said the vice president of the USA Joseph Biden<sup>11</sup> in the recent visit to the region.

The goal of NATO was to enhance Croatia's local capacities to combat terrorism, trafficking in persons, organized crime, and cor-

ruption, and thus continue taking necessary steps to solidify its place within the community of democratic nations and to become a model of stability, peace, and cooperation throughout Southeast Europe. After becoming a member in April 2009, Croatia and NATO cooperate in a range of areas, with a particular emphasis on defence and security sector reform as well as support for wider democratic and institutional reform.<sup>12</sup>

## 7. Perception of European Security Culture

The successive enlargement of the EU has been, and still is, quintessential to the security policy. Focusing on the Central European candidates for the EU accession, it can be seen as the evaluation of their impact in the broader context of the Union's CFSP/ESDP. CFSP and ESDP are affected by the presence and input of the acceding countries in various ways, although the overall spectrum of sensitivities and inclinations will change only marginally. While the issue of the future borders of the Union will become ever more important, a viable compromise will have to be reached between the rights and interests of all member States, and the overarching imperative of effectiveness and credibility on the regional and international scene.

Addressing the issue of the foreseeable borders of the enlarged Union could be crucial for shaping credible, coherent and effective plans for action not only in and around Europe itself, but also - hopefully - in the wider world. The Southeast European newcomers can play a crucial role in this process, especially if they actively contribute in formulating policies that may be broadly acceptable to all EU members.

Nowadays, European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has become a contentious subject in transatlantic security relations.

Current preoccupation of the CFSP is reducing the difference in the defence policies and instruments of the Member States, i.e. the establishment of coordination institutions. European Defense Agency (2005) with its headquarters in Brussels confirmed by a strong political will of the EU to strengthen their own

defence capacity, crisis management and providing support to the European Security and Defence Policy.

The CFSP is faced with several challenges: how to achieve a consensus of political will, consistency, establish priorities and future development of Euro-Atlantic partnership. Perspectives of the CFSP, Security and Defence Policy of the EU in strengthening their own military capacities and capabilities, and taking and carrying out full responsibility are the main challenges to be solved.

The European Security Strategy (ESS) as an instrument for enhancing coherence in the EU security policy, deals with international peace and security, and has at its core the concept of effective multilateralism. The ESS insists on preventive action through international institutions and forums. European Security Strategy is to be discussed in the next chapter.

### **8. CFSP and Croatia – The Guarantee of the Everlasting Peace?**

The European Security and Defence Policy aims to strengthen the EU's external ability to act through the development of civilian and military capabilities in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management.

By the 1997, the EU had adopted the policy of a Regional Approach for the region of Southeast Europe. In June 1999, the Stabilization and Association Process (SAA) and the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe took effect, with an ambition to bring peace, stability and economic development to the region, and opened a perspective for integration into the EU for the Republic of Croatia.

Political relations between the EU and Croatia strongly intensified during 2000, after the parliamentary and presidential elections in Croatia. The EU-Croatia formal Political Dialogue was established in October 2001 with the adoption of the Joint Declaration on Political Dialogue.<sup>13</sup> So far, Croatia and the EU had led an informal (ad hoc) political dialogue on a high level. With the SAA entering into force, formal political dialogue continued within the

framework of the Stabilization and Association Council.<sup>14</sup>

The Declaration of the "EU-Western Balkans Summit" in Thessalonica (June 2003) and the Joint Conclusions of the first "EU-Western Balkans Forum" (December 2003) confirm that "the future of the countries in the region is in the EU". At the Thessalonica European Council in June 2003, the Stabilization and Association Process was upgraded with the adoption of the Thessalonica Agenda.

**Co-operation in the field of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP):** Co-operation in this field has been partially established by the previously mentioned Joint Declaration on Political Dialogue. It has been strengthened by the Thessalonica Agenda, which enabled a more systematic co-operation and introduced the mechanism of formal alignments by Croatia and other SAP countries with the CFSP Declarations, demarches and Common Positions. This mechanism was officially launched in November 2003 by the invitation of the General Secretariat of the Council.

**List of CFSP Declarations with Croatia's alignment:** In the framework of CFSP cooperation, Croatia has also been invited to the EU co-ordination meetings and briefings in third countries and international organizations. Regular meetings took place between EU and SAP countries on the political director's level (on the margins of the UN General Assembly). In 2002, the Croatian Government endorsed the EU Code of Conduct, agreeing to respect its principles and rules in Croatia's policy of arms export control.

### **9. ESDP – the Important Element of the Foreign Policy of the European Union in the Southeast Europe**

**The lessons from Southeast Europe:** When the war in Southeast Europe began, the EU did not have a strong military force of its own and its member states could only intervene as part of the UN and NATO forces which were later sent to the region.



The lessons of this experience have not been forgotten. In the light of the Southeast Europe instabilities, and conflicts in Africa in the 1990s, the EU has created a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) within the overall framework of the CFSP. Under the ESDP, military or police forces were sent to the areas of crisis to carry out humanitarian operations, peacekeeping, crisis management and even peacemaking. Military actions were carried out by an EU rapid reaction forces separate from NATO but with access to NATO resources. The first missions carried out under the ESDP were in the former Yugoslavia. An EU police mission replaced a taskforce of the UN police officers in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2003, while the EU military replaced NATO in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia three months later.

### 10. The Missions of the ESDP in Croatia and Southeast European Region

After the ratification of the Amsterdam Agreement and the crisis in Kosovo in 1999, the development of ESDP has been significantly accelerated. The central objective of this policy was strengthening of the ability of the Union's external action for the development of civilian and military resources, conflict prevention and management of international crises.<sup>15</sup>

ESDP as an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, with the main aim of strengthening the EU external action through the creation of their own opportunities, the development of autonomous civil and military capacities for the prevention of international conflicts (conflict prevention) and the management of crisis situations (crisis management).

The Treaty of Amsterdam, incorporated in Article 17 of the Petersburg tasks, and made in the now nonexistent Western European Union (humanitarian operations, operations of preserving peace, the use of military forces in crisis management situations, including the establishment of peace operations) provided a legal framework for operational development of the ESDP.

Before the beginning of the foundation of the European peacekeeping forces, the EU had to reach an agreement with NATO on the conditions under which it could use its resources and on cooperation between the EU and NATO in the implementation of those missions (Berlin Plus agreement).

ESDP operations include fulfilment of the 'Petersburg tasks' or operations of preserving peace, crises management, but also the establishment of peace operations. So far, four operations have successfully ended: a military operation "Concordia" in Macedonia (March-December 2003); military operation "Artemis" in Congo (June-September 2003 – the first military operation without the participation of NATO), civil judicial mission "Eujust Themis" in Georgia (July 2004 – July 2005), and the police mission "Proxima" in Macedonia (December 2003 – December 2005).

**Classification and analysis of the missions in Southeast Europe:** So far, two operations in Southeast Europe have been successfully completed:

- Military operation "Concordia" – FYR Macedonia (March-December 2003.), and
- Police Mission "Proxima" – FYR Macedonia (December 2003-December 2005.)

The four ongoing EU missions are:

- Military operation "EUFOR Althea - Bosnia and Herzegovina" (December 2004).
- Police Mission "EUMP" - Bosnia and Herzegovina (January 2003).
- Police Advisory Team "EUPAT" – FYR Macedonia (from December 2005 to resume the mission "Proxima")
- Mission "EULEX" - Kosovo (operational since December 2008.) The aim of the mission - providing assistance in the field of rule of law (police, judiciary)

**Military operation "Concordia"- FYR Macedonia:** On 31 March 2003, the EU took over NATO's Operation Allied Harmony in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with its own Operation Concordia. The aim of the operation was to contribute to a stable and

secure environment under which progress could be made in the implementation of the August 2001 Ohrid Agreement. Approximately 350 military personnel, from thirteen EU members and from fourteen non-EU countries, were engaged in the operation. The EU mission relied on NATO assets and capabilities under the Berlin Plus arrangements. On 15 December 2003 it was replaced by the EU Police Mission named "Proxima."

**Police Mission "Proxima" - FYR Macedonia:** The European Union Police Mission in FYROM launched operation Proxima, on the 15 of December 2004, as follow-up Mission to the mission Concordia.<sup>16</sup> In accordance with the plan of the operation four main challenges were to be dealt with: the purpose of the mission was to support the reorganization of the police; the Police Forces of the EU did not carry weapons, except for the protection detachment; the Protection Detachment comprises of about 30 policemen bearing weapons, based at the FYROM Special Forces Camp near Skopje; MEDEVAC is coordinated by the Head of the Force, in cooperation with the hospitals engaged, and, if required, with NATO/EU member state (Greece) which assumed the responsibility.

**Military operation "EUFOR Althea - Bosnia and Herzegovina":** On 2 December 2004 the European Union launched a military operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This followed the decision by NATO to conclude its SFOR mission. The key supporting tasks of the EU-led force are to: provide support to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and relevant authorities, including the detention of Persons Indicted for War Crimes (PIFWCs), and provide the security environment in which the police can act against the organized criminal network.

**Police Mission "EUMP" - Bosnia and Herzegovina:** The European Union Police Mission (EUPM) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) started on 1 January 2003. It followed on from the UN's International Police Task Force. In line with the general objectives of the Paris/Dayton Agreement, the EUPM seek to establish sustainable policing arrangements

under BiH ownership in accordance with best European and international practice. It does so in particular through monitoring, mentoring and inspection activities.

**Police Advisory Team "EUPAT" - FYR Macedonia:** The beginning of EUPAT mission follows the termination of the mandate of the EU Police Mission Proxima on 14 December 2005. Under the guidance of the EU Special Representative and in partnership with the host Government authorities, the EU police experts monitor and mentor the country's police on priority issues in the field of border police, public peace and order and accountability, the fight against corruption and organised crime.

**Mission "EULEX" - Kosovo:** The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX KOSOVO), April 2009. The European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) is the largest civilian mission ever launched under the ESDP. The central aim is to assist and support the Kosovo authorities in the rule of law area, specifically in the police, judiciary and customs areas. The mission is not in Kosovo to govern or rule. It is a technical mission which will mentor, monitor and advise whilst retaining a number of limited executive powers. EULEX works under the general framework of United Nations Security Resolution 1244 and has a unified chain of command to Brussels. The mission reached its initial operational capability in early December 2008 and its full operational capability on 6 April 2009. The initial mandate is for 2 years but the mission is foreseen to be terminated when the Kosovo authorities have gained enough experience to guarantee that all members of society benefit from the rule of law.<sup>17</sup>

## 11. European Security Strategy

The security environment in the post-Cold War area is no longer territorial but is beyond the functional aspects. The EU response to the new security environment is the European Security Strategy - A Secure Europe in a Better World - has been approved by the

European Council in December 2003. The ESS emphasizes global role of the EU and its responsibility for global security and reflects a European security concept with a broad understanding of security – including political, military, economic, social and environmental aspects. It emphasizes that none of the new security threats not only military, and therefore the measures for their solution should involve a combination of civilian and military instruments.

This document points out the global challenges, and five main threats to European security: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, weak states or states in collapse (failed states) and organized crime. The ESS placed special emphasis on effective multilateralism and international law, which may offer an appropriate legal framework for the use of force in international relations. It introduces new concepts of "preventive engagement" (including the activities of diplomacy, economic measures, development cooperation and humanitarian aid) and "effective multilateralism" and represents the first official and systematic exposure to security-strategic concept of the EU. In terms of strategic-security environment, the security concept of the EU makes working distinction between the three spheres: the EU, which represents a 'security community', in which armed conflict is almost unthinkable; near environment (as an integral part of the security architecture of Europe); and the rest of the world. The European Security Strategy is a tool for action.

## **12. The European Security Strategy and Croatia**

The next enlargement of the EU with new Member States has an enormous impact on the potential members as well as on the EU. The basic condition for applicant states means two things: being a functioning constitutional state with a competitive market economy. These first two criteria are the "must have" preconditions. The changing character of NATO and the OSCE will re-

fine the relations between European security organizations and the EU Security and Defence policy (ESDP) that may look different after the enlargement.

The idea of a security strategy was developed when Europe acknowledged that it could be stronger if there was a common perception of the threats we faced and how to deal with them. The concepts on which the strategy is built are responsibility, prevention, capability and partnership. Violent conflicts take an unacceptable toll in terms of human suffering, destruction and wasted resources.

The EU already uses a wide range of traditional tools, including technical and financial assistance to developing countries, economic cooperation and trade relations, humanitarian aid, social and environmental policies as well as diplomatic instruments like political dialogue and mediation. But it also employs new tools provided by the ESDP such as gathering information and monitoring international agreements to anticipate potential conflicts.

Partnership is another key concept in this security strategy. No single country can tackle today's complex and multi-dimensional problems on its own. The threat that Europe has to face on a global scale is an effective multilateralism. Therefore, even though Croatia is just a small link in the chain, it is nevertheless rather important to the Union concept of security. As it has been presented through all the chapters of the article, Croatia did not only prove that it is capable and has the necessary instruments to participate in the international missions, but that it is a relevant factor for the EU security being a crucial factor of maintaining the peace and security in the Southeast Europe.

It is of a great importance to Europe to have a strategic partner in Southeast Europe. Still, there is much space for the improvement and many efforts have to be made to build better and more functional assistance to security and defence of the continent.

### 13. Concluding remarks – Tangent Points between Croatia and European Security and Defence Policy

**Bigger EU, wider CFSP, stronger ESDP?**<sup>18</sup>: I chose the title of the article of Antonio Missiroli to conclude this article. Nowadays, when the whole world is affected by various problems (economical recession, terrorism, social problems), the European Union should become more capable, both in terms of military and civilian capabilities, and coherency. The EU is the organisation with a wide range of political, diplomatic, humanitarian, economic and financial, police and military instruments, and one of the most important pillars lays in security and defence. Its ambition from the beginning has been to co-ordinate more effectively its policies and institutions.

All in all, this could also be the time of many opportunities for Croatia – primarily to show that it is not only capable to become a full-fledged member of the Union, but to

contribute to a safer Europe, not only in the region. However, the reform agenda for progress is rather detailed – a route to European integration is difficult and wide-ranging. Dealing with many external issues, it seems that Croatia is neglecting the internal problems, and that could be the biggest problem. To coordinate these two issues, could be a primal obstacle in good governing of the current government.

It seems that the government sees the accession to the European Union as the most important and comprehensive goal for Croatia, and is less concerned about the order in the internal affairs. But there can not be one without the other. It seems that Croatia's process of democratic transition is not completed. In many areas the institutions and relations that might guarantee the type of development in keeping with Croatia's diverse potentials have not been fully developed, and therefore can not be used either by the state or by the international community.

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<http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>

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Article "Vice President Joseph Biden's Trip to Southeast Europe" – <http://csis.org/publication/vice-president-joseph-biden%E2%80%99s-trip-southeast-europe>

Embassy of the United States of America in the Republic of Croatia, official page <http://zagreb.usembassy.gov/root/pdfs/signed-croatia-declaration.pdf>

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### NOTES:

1. Contact Group was composed of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia;
2. National Security Strategy of the Republic of Croatia – official document – see more <http://www.cpi.hr/download/links/hr/1972.pdf>
3. Relevant chapters ; 1) Security environment and challenges of the Republic of Croatia; 2) Values and interests of the Republic Croatia; 3) Challenges, risks and threats to the Republic of Croatia; 3) Security concept; 4) Security objectives of the Republic of Croatia; 5) Principles of achieving national security; 6) Croatia security policy -

areas and instruments; 7) Accession to NATO; 8) Integration into the European Union and the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP); 9) Relations with the neighbours and regional cooperation; 10) Arms control and confidence-building measures and security; 11) Contribution to international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations; 12) Defence; 13) The Internal Security of the Republic of Croatia;

4. Taken from the official document - Strategy of the National Security of the Republic of Croatia;

5. Croatia is currently actively participating in the following UN peacekeeping operations: Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL); Ethiopia / Eritrea (UNMEE); India / Pakistan (UNMOGIP); Western Sahara (MINURSO); Liberia (UNMIL); Haiti (MINUSTAH); Ivory Coast (UNOCI); Cyprus (UNFICYP); Afghanistan (UNAMA). Also is preparing to send military observers to Georgia (UNOMIG), Sudan (UNMISUD) and the Middle East (Lebanon (UNIFIL) and Golan plateau (UNDOF);
6. The agreement on nuclear non-proliferation of weapon of Mass destruction, Convention on the physical Protection of Nuclear Material, Comprehensive agreement to ban nuclear tests, Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological Weapons, Convention on Prohibition or restriction of the use of certain conventional weapons, Convention on the Prohibition of Anti-Personnel Mines (Ottawa Convention), the Hague Code conduct against the spread of ballistic missiles, Vienna Document 99, Subregional agreement on arms control;
7. See details on page - <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>
8. Historical legacy of the European Union;
9. [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm)
10. [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm)
11. Article "Vice President Joseph Biden's Trip to Southeast Europe" <http://csis.org/publication/vice-president-joseph-biden%E280%99s-trip-southeast-europe>;
12. <http://zagreb.usembassy.gov/root/pdfs/signed-croatia-declaration.pdf>
13. Meetings of political dialogue were a platforms for exchanging information on the political and economic situation in Croatia and the EU, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) issues, and in general on EU-Croatia relations. These dialogues contributed to the overall strengthening of political relations. Before the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) entered into the force, formal political dialogue was carried out on the basis of the Joint Declaration on Political Dialogue (2001);
14. Through regular parliamentary cooperation, the EU and Croatia conduct a special form of political dialogue. In the new EP, parliamentary co-operation will continued within the framework of the Joint Parliamentary Committee;
15. Five main objectives of the Common Foreign and Security Policy: Protect the common values and fundamental interests of the Union; Strengthening the security of the EU; Preserve peace and strengthen international security; Promote international cooperation and Develop democracy and the rule of law, including human rights;
16. Regarding the operation Proxima, the following was noted: deployment of Police Forces, along the northern and western border of the country; the total Force amounts to approximately 180 persons, 160 of which come from 15 member states, 10 from states that are to be accepted, while the rest 20, from third countries and the contribution of Greece consists of 5 officers of the Hellenic Police;
17. Information about the missions taken from the site - <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=1458&lang=en>;
18. Article title edited by Antonio Missiroli.