

European Security in Transition

**Edited by Gunther Hauser and Franz Kernic
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European security, its evolution and its institutionalisation has, in reaction to significant events and changes in the international environment in the post Cold War period, become a significant issue for both policy-makers and academic commentators alike. Indeed, the challenge of the new security agenda has catalysed significant change in the European security system, with the European Union (EU) seeking to enhance its status and capability as a defence and security actor. Whilst the commitment to coordinate and project a security identity in Europe has its origins in the aftermath of the Second World War, more recently, the agreement on a European Security and Defence Policy (1998) provided the momentum for the development of 'hard' capabilities to complement the EU's 'soft' power. The European Security Strategy (2003) was the first attempt to articulate the EU's ambition in developing a coherent, proactive and effective security policy across a full range of its capabilities.

Whilst there has been a clear transformation in terms of both challenges and evolution, however, the European security system in reality has not been entirely reflective of the rhetoric, strategically or politically. Whether it is internal EU coordination, interaction between the different European security providing institutions (NATO, OSCE, EU etc) or the commitment to providing military civilian and crisis management tools, important challenges remain if Europe is to develop an effective security system. This edited book by Hauser and Kernic aims to provide a broad overview of how the European security system has emerged and is evolving, and to highlight the central debates relating to its development. In this sense, it covers both history and what it sees as key issues on the security agenda, and is an introductory text aimed particularly at 'graduate and undergraduate students of the social and political sciences' (p. 1).

The book is certainly comprehensive in its coverage of history, institutions and key issues. The first chapter provides a historical overview of the emergence of European security, from the Cold War to the post-Cold War context. Beginning with the Brussels Treaty in 1948 and the failure to establish a European Defence Community in the early 1950s, it charts the evolution of the European security landscape through to the CFSP in 1992, the idea for an ESDP that emerged at St. Malo in 1998 and the European Security Strategy in 2003, the purpose of which was

to provide an overarching framework for the EU's nascent security strategy. It also alludes to the pressure for change to the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) because of the new European post-Cold War environment. Overall, the chapter points to the complexity of the post-Cold War European security landscape, incorporating both 'traditional' and more 'comprehensive' notions of security, whilst being challenged in its evolution by a constantly changing environment. The essence of the second chapter is an analysis of the 'problematic' relationships between the key security organisations in Europe: first between the EU and NATO, whereby the notion of the two organisations existing on two different planets whilst working in the same city, still seems to hold true, strategically and culturally; second, the EU and OSCE, and how the soft power of both is coordinated to work towards conflict prevention; and third, in terms of the relationship between NATO and the OSCE, and the potential limits to working together in the area of 'cooperative security'. The conclusion points to the challenge for Europe in cooperating and providing security, in particular the governance structures that are developing and continue to evolve in the enlarged EU.

The third chapter focuses on the European security pillar, from a predominantly legal but also political perspective. It provides a detailed analysis of key articles and declarations related to the evolution of CFSP and ESDP, with an emphasis on both the military and civilian aspects (and cooperation between these). It then goes on to analyse this in the context of ESDP and NATO cooperation, whilst also providing an overview of the key changes to the CFSP in the European Constitutional Treaty. The fourth chapter somewhat continues the focus on the European Constitutional Treaty for a very different purpose: to analyse its implications for the neutral and non-aligned states in the context of the ESDP framework. The fifth chapter ventures in to the 'internal aspects of external security' through an analysis of Justice and Home Affairs and demonstrates how EU cooperation in this area has evolved in terms of policy, in order to address issues such as drug trafficking, terrorism, fraud and other activities deemed to be illegal. Chapter six engages in a more substantive analysis of the European Security Strategy (ESS) adopted in 2003 by the European Council. It focuses in particular on the integrated nature of the ESS and its potential in the local and global context, whilst also reminding us of the problems in implementing and operationalising such an ambitious security framework, in particular in terms of institutionalising strategic reflection and consolidating a strategic culture.

Chapter seven moves to analyse the bilateral aspect of European security through focusing on the US transformation of its military for the purpose of addressing the 'new' security challenges of the twenty-first century. More specifically, it evaluates the implications of this transformation for European security and defence. A central argument is that European transformation is very much

based on the degree of adaptation to US operational guiding principles, but that also, US defence transformation brings with it risks for European security and defence. The central questions raised in this chapter are thus of the importance and relevance of NATO to the US and the extent to which US transformation is leading to a transatlantic divide in security and defence policy. The main conclusions are that US defence transformation should be welcomed by Europeans, that US defence transformation concepts should not in their entirety, be imported to Europe, and finally, that transformation in US defence and security requires a restructuring of the transatlantic relationship, in particular a better NATO-EU structure within the new security context. Chapter eight provides an interesting argument relating to the need for transformation of existing military and defence governance instruments and processes in order to adequately meet the security challenges of the twenty-first century. This, it is asserted, should be manifest in a shift from the traditional state-centric approach to security, to a network-centric approach that produces 'a strategic, multinational, multilevel, and future-orientated interagency process that helps increase the coherent use of diplomatic, informational, economic and military instruments of power' (p. 133).

Chapter nine discusses the regional aspects of security in Europe, and provides examples of regional security cooperation arrangements as well as describing the way in which the European Neighbourhood Policy 'fits' into and is part of the more comprehensive regional security framework. Chapter ten moves the discussion to the South Caucasus, with an analysis of the security issues emanating from Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. It focuses particularly on the role of Russia in the ethno-territorial conflicts within these countries, and in relation to the increasingly significant issue of economic (read energy) security. Chapter eleven analyses Turkey's importance in the evolving European security architecture in the new security context: a role it argues would become even more significant and effective were Turkey to join the EU. Separated into two parts, it first establishes the importance of the Turkish role in European security in the post-9/11 milieu, and then focuses on the impact of 9/11 on European security, and Turkey's role therein. The importance of Turkey within European security, of course, cannot be underestimated, in particular for the eastern Mediterranean. A positive institutionalisation of Turkey within European security institutions (including the EU) might facilitate the resolution of various disputes and conflicts that currently constrain the effective and cohesive functioning of security policy across a range of issues and organisations. It might also provide the basis for more positive relations to evolve in the Cyprus issue, which will, of course, be of particular relevance and importance to the readers of this journal. Of course, in the current context, there are constraints to realising Turkey's integration into European security structures, especially the EU. However, it becomes even more pertinent that these are addressed if Turkey is to become an active partner in resolving security disputes

that it is involved in, and if it is to help address the broader security threats that face the EU. Seeing Turkey as more than just the 'other' that acts as a buffer to secure threats, but as an equal partner in the European security architecture (p. 173), would certainly be a constructive starting point for this to occur. Chapter twelve focuses on an analysis of the EU's role in the Greater Middle East. It argues specifically that the EU should play a greater political role and gain more visibility in the Middle East and that it should present an alternative to the US approach in the region, especially in efforts to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict. It offers a critical evaluation of the EU in its actions and approach and concludes that it has been hampered in its effectiveness by its inability to speak with one voice or act as a single actor. The final, concluding chapter, attempts to draw the different strands of the book together, highlighting the remaining difficulties and challenges for the European security system and the institutions, actors and processes within its architecture. Inevitably, it raises more questions for future research in European security, in particular with respect to the flexibility, coordination and thus effectiveness of Europe's overlapping and security infrastructure.

In summary, what is immediately noticeable about the collection of essays in this book is that the contributors are both practitioners from military institutions, as well as researchers from think tanks within Europe. This is a positive feature of the book that enables thorough and empirically detailed discussion and analyses to emerge of some of the most important issues impacting on the evolution of the European security architecture, with the individual chapters providing well-researched, interesting and rigorous accounts. However, if one was to be critical, one might wonder whether the absence of any overarching theoretical discussion or framework within which the analyses could be located (although individual chapters do allude to certain concepts), even loosely, is one of the core weaknesses of this edited collection. For a book aimed at undergraduates, but more importantly postgraduates, such an introductory text might well have benefited and been enriched by an overview of the theoretical literature and debates in understanding and explaining European security. Overall, if the aim of the book is to provide an overview of the European security architecture and the important issues therein, then it has been met – and I am sure it will appeal to academics, policy-makers, experts, and those with a general interest in European security.

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