

Book Review

Gunther Hauser & Franz Kernic (eds) European Security in Transition

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The topic of European security has proven to be popular in European studies literature, especially after the European Security and Defence Policy project was launched in 1998. Nevertheless, the redefinition of the security paradigms of the Transatlantic Alliance, the post-9/11 security environment, as well as the enlargement of the Union to include twelve and potentially fourteen new members dictate the transformation of the security agenda of the European Union. This transformation has not been an easy task: coordination and cooperation has failed or even collapsed in many occasions, whereas some of the proposed peacekeeping and enforcement actions have only remained at the rhetoric level. This edited volume by Hauser and Kernic examines exactly this aspect of European security; in other words, its transformation through time and the impact that this may have upon its future deployment.

This very carefully selected compilation of essays examines sensitive issues and elaborates on the contemporary debates on European security. The first chapter provides a general overview of European security starting at the end of the Second World War and the embryonic and quite unsuccessful efforts for creating a collective security environment in Europe, such as the European Defence Community in the 1950s. It continues to the foundation of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Cold-War security setting and moves on to the new order that appeared after the collapse of Communism and the plans for a Common Foreign and Security Policy/ESDP. The second chapter picks up the so called 'problematical relationship between Europe's key security institutions' (p.23), providing a quite thorough examination of the security arrangements between NATO and the EU, the EU and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and NATO and the OSCE, concluding that after the recent enlargement more flexible security arrangements should be the dominant paradigm. The third chapter outlines a more legal perspective of the implications of ESDP regarding crisis management and civilian/military cooperation. The fourth chapter critically assesses the implications of the Constitutional Treaty for non-aligned and neutral EU member states in the context of ESDP and public international law. The fifth chapter discusses Justice and Home Affairs within this new security environment providing extensive analysis on issues of cooperation and coordination in the areas of terrorism, trafficking and other illegal activities. Chapter six focuses on the implementation of the European Security Strategy arguing that this integrated approach to European security constitutes probably the most ambitious security agenda ever brought forward in the Union, though its implementation, operationalization and institutionalization has proven quite difficult.

The second half of the book illuminates the debates on European security from a more bilateral and regional perspective. Chapter seven describes the restructuring of the United States defence policy and the Transatlantic Alliance and the relevance that NATO presents in contemporary post-Cold War times. The author comes to three conclusions arguing that the EU should welcome the transformation of the US defence policy; that the EU should not necessarily replicate this transformation in its entirety as a model for a security strategy but should take under consideration the needs of individual member states; and, finally, stresses

the need for a redefinition of the EU-NATO security structure within this new global context. Chapter eight argues that today, defence agencies and military forces are obliged to transform to reflect the current technological needs in terms of information provision and conduct of operations. The author correctly points out that the core element of this transformation is a shift to a network rather than a nation-state approach to better respond to the threats of terrorism—a phenomenon that recurrently crosses national boundaries. Chapter nine is a textbook approach towards the regional initiatives to European security detailing examples of bilateral or multilateral security cooperation and bringing the newly created European Neighbourhood Policy into the broader European security strategy framework. Chapter 10 outlines the security issues present in the Caucasus involving not only regional actors like Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, but also Russia, Turkey and Iran as well as the United States and NATO. These issues mainly evolve around 'ethno-territorial' conflicts (p.149) that have a deep impact on the economic security of the important energy depots of the region. Chapter 11 presents the role of Turkey in the European security and the significance the country has acquired post-9/11 in the fight against terrorism arguing for a positive impact on European security should Turkey become an EU member-state. The last chapter describes the involvement of the EU in the Middle East arguing that the EU should be more deeply engaged in the region providing an alternative to US-led attempts to bring peace and prosperity in the region and critically assesses its involvement thus far, highlighting that the main problem of the EU is its impotence to act as a single actor in the wider Middle-Eastern context. The book finally comes to the conclusion that despite the fact that the EU has numerous security arrangements, these institutions will face serious challenges in the near future, especially when it comes to the flexibility of these provisions after the recent EU enlargement, the stabilization of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, and the effectiveness of the transatlantic partnerships.

Overall, the book brings together a thorough analysis of the contemporary security dilemmas and debates in Europe. The structure of this edited volume covers all areas of concern and follows a coherent flow from theoretical and institutional matters to actual empirical evidence of the transition process of European security. In my opinion, the choice of topics and of course, the choice of authors for the chapters of the book was well-balanced and carefully scrutinized. Each author brought his or her particular expertise to present a collection of essays that do not only provide a thorough presentation of the European security agenda developments but also an extensive and meticulous analysis over the wider implications of the new security order for Europe and for the world. It is a book that can be read and understood not only by experts in the area but by all of us broadly interested in the future of European security.

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This book attempts to analyse and explore the institutional development and progress of European security in the aftermath of recent international events. As it is highlighted in the introduction the general aim of this attempt is to provide an interdisciplinary reference or handbook focusing on the development and current status of the European security system as well as on selected key issues of today's security agenda. In this framework, all the researchers have presented a rigorous and analytical approach towards the issues they tackle having in mind that any scientific discussion regarding European security is in any case restricted by the current developments in international affairs which often constitute such a discussion unpredictable.

The first four chapters provide an analysis of the historical and institutional evolution of security issues in Europe highlighting European security organizations such as the EU, NATO,



OSCE and the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Chapter five is a significant addition to the volume since it focuses on the third pillar of the European Union, Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), in an effort to investigate its correlation and impact on security developments. Chapters six to nine refer to the main factors that play crucial roles within the evolution of European high politics. Chapter six, for instance, prescribes the adoption of the European Security Strategy (ESS) and its interrelationship with the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the ESDP. Following this reference, chapter seven analyses the impact of US foreign policy towards the European security agenda from a European perspective whereas, chapter eight tackles the issue of command and coordination of armed forces in Europe in a very realistic and objective way. Chapter nine could be seen to serve as a link towards the remaining chapters that refer to regional security issues and it provides a discussion on why regional security issues are equally as important as European / US relations. Finally, chapters ten to twelve explore the regional attitudes and national perspectives towards current European security questions through the use of a number of case studies (south Caucasus, Turkey and the Middle East). These are indeed very interesting chapters that provides the reader with an alternative angle of analysis of how different countries behave towards foreign policy developments. In addition, they also provide a brief overview of the necessary historical background.

In general, this is a very good attempt to provide some explanations on current European security issues and any researcher that explores this domain will find the information that is provided very fruitful. In any case, there is always the concern when future events and developments overturn the existing status quo.
