

Marsh, Steve and Rees, Wyn:
*The European Union in the Security of Europe:
From Cold War to Terror War.*

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Reviewed by Ondřej Filipec

There have been several books published by Routledge in last two years which deal with the EU's external dimension. However, only few of them focus on the various security issues. Steve Marsh, from Cardiff University, and Wyn Rees, a well known professor of international security at the University of Nottingham, wrote a unique book in many aspects. Their book examines the European Union's contribution to providing security in Europe amidst an increasingly complex and challenging environment. The book is divided into nine balanced chapters, including an introduction and conclusion. Two thematic chapters are dedicated to the EU's contribution to internal and external security. The remaining five chapters focus on the EU's external dimension through a geographic approach. In these chap-

ters, key security issues are presented within the EU partners and neighbours. Security issues are dealt with regarding the areas of the USA, Russia, Western Balkans, and South Caucasus, Eastern and Central Europe or Southern Mediterranean neighbours.

The reader who expects detailed historical development of security issues within Europe since beginning of Cold War will be a little disappointed. The very brief historical introduction provided spans less than three pages. Almost the whole book focuses on the period demarcated by the end of Cold War, and following the changes in the geo-strategic order which resulted in a change the security environment and a re-conceptualisation of security. The authors try to trace how the EU pursued its security interests, and slowly became a key security actor

in its neighbourhood. The book does not stop there. As many security issue policies towards EU neighbours and key partners are still developing, the authors try to offer recommendations for future development in various external policies. The book is very empirical in its nature. Instead of testing theories, the book provides an empirical examination of what the EU has done regarding security issues since the Cold War and it tries to discover what security challenges the EU faces.

Despite being separated into two chapters about internal and external security, both chapters are connected. It is clearly demonstrated how internal security measures have become a key element of external security. Facing the complex and growing threats, such as illegal immigration, organised crime and drug trafficking or terrorism, member states have recognised the necessity of working together, which further encouraged the institutionalization of security cooperation: *"The blurring of boundaries between internal and external security has made it more important that security responses are not limited to one or other field of action"* (p. 34). The chapter about external security focuses on the EU's tools and its development, presenting a framework of European Common Foreign Policy, European Security Strategy and the European security architecture, with a special emphasis on NATO. The authors argue that the EU has developed only a modest military power and that important constraints still exist, because member states are unwilling. Despite this fact the

EU has developed very important set of security competencies of how to address the main challenges through its trade policy aid or promotion of democracy.

Two very well structured chapters are dedicated to the EU security cooperation between the USA and Russia. The authors consider both actors to be very important in creating the EU's security identity and in determining the EU's security policies and their effectiveness. The chapter about the US focuses mainly on the development of relations between the EU and the USA under the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations, and the content of the EU-US agenda. After George W. Bush's administration, which introduced strategic dissonance and some value differences within US-EU relations, the authors conclude that America remains an "indispensable nation" in helping the EU to address security threats. The authors argue that even though many things have changed under the Obama administration, there is limited room to manoeuvre in the US approach. The primacy of NATO in Europe is non-negotiable and there are many controversial stances inherited within Europe, such as NATO enlargement, Turkey's accession to the EU, or European commitments in Afghanistan.

The security relationship between the EU and Russia seems to have increasing significance. Despite the proclaimed strategic partnership, both actors have different interpretations of its content. Traditional geo-politics and geo-economics have created tensions over the spheres of influence and energy

resources. The strategic partnership lost its credibility, as Russia dislikes “EU tutelage” and refuses the conditions under the European Neighbourhood Policy. Between both partners a lack of trust remains, as well as a tendency to zero sum thinning. Interests clash on many lines, including the Baltic States, Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Iranian nuclear issue, and Syria. The authors identified the main factors influencing the current relationship: a difference between liberal and authoritarian democracy, the post-modern entity versus the traditional modern state, and difference between soft versus hard power, largely contributed to many misunderstandings and different mutual perceptions. Eastern enlargement brought EU security closer to Russia.

The return to Europe for twelve Central and Eastern Europe countries filled up the security vacuum of the former Soviet sphere of influence. The authors briefly describe the impacts made on hard security and the costs of enlargement, and the problems of diversity and reforms within the candidate member states. Possible impacts and challenges to future enlargement are also included in this chapter. Despite eastern enlargement being considered as the greatest EU success, the EU failed to prevent dividing new lines in Europe. Enlargement made the EU more diverse and brought new security challenges into the European agenda as the borders of EU expanded to east.

After its failures in the 1990s, Europe successfully exported security and democracy to Eastern and South Eastern

Europe. The prospect of possible EU membership increased the EU’s influence on its neighbours. The authors assess the impact of three different frameworks in the Eastern and South-Eastern European neighbourhoods: the European Neighbourhood Policy, enlargement and the strategic partnership with Russia. They argue that with this division the EU signals the division of Europe into inner and outer circles with different priorities. While the Western Balkans are a priority, Eastern Europe is a privileged periphery which will serve as a buffer against Russia (s. 131–132). The EU also failed to resolve the possibilities in the long term perspective of possible membership of Eastern European countries, which is decreasing its credibility in the Eastern European Region. The authors remain doubtful about the EU’s ability to guide reform processes under the Stabilization and Association Process, which greatly depends on the scope of tangible rewards. States in Eastern Europe have different aspirations, and thus fragmentation within this area is most likely. The EU’s success, according to the authors, will depend on the constructiveness of the EU-Russia relationship and EU willingness to define its geographical limits in the East, which could send clear signal and bring light to the EU neighbourhood.

The authors present a very interesting paradox in the chapter on the Mediterranean: while this region presents the foremost security challenges to the EU (illegal migration, radicalization, nuclear proliferation, energy supply etc.), it re-

ceives relatively little popular attention, and cooperation here is very limited. The EU introduced various tools and programmes with disputable outcomes and limited evidence of progress. In the long term perspective, the EU was unable to find the right mix of policies, mainly because of the great heterogeneity of those countries. Subsequent fast development in many countries influenced by the Arab Spring's transition from formerly authoritarian regimes could spin out of control and result in regional destabilization, and later, the establishment of democratically legitimate but hostile radical governments.

The authors conclude with three main arguments. First, the importance of EU as a security actor within the EU is growing and EU member states have recognised the need for a coordinated approach. Second, the EU's holistic view of security has meant that the EU is using a variety of security instruments, including trade and aid. However, necessary steps were taken under the European Security and Defence Policy, and the EU developed the necessary military capabilities to match Petersberg's challenge (s. 164). The authors argue that the EU created a sort of hybrid power, which proved to be very relevant to post-war insurgency in Iraq or Afghanistan. Third, the EU is entering a new and more difficult phase

as a security actor. The USA and Russia are significantly affecting the security framework of Europe. The EU is seen as a base for the projection of power to the Middle East and some Asian countries, where EU interests may be opposite to Russia perception. The unclear borders and the tool of enlargement are of fading utility. Finally, the authors conclude that the EU, being comprised of many sovereign states is preoccupied with internal reform, and still lacks a strong strategic culture. This has significant consequences for cooperation with the USA and Russia (s. 163–166).

This book could be characterized as a comprehensive guide to the EU's role in security. It touches on all the important areas well, and the authors successfully find rationale behind the examined issues. The book is well structured, consistent and easily readable, which makes it a welcomed contribution to the existing literature dealing with the EU's external dimension. The book is excellent source of information for students of European integration, especially those who are meeting EU security issues for the first time. However, for advanced readers, it will lack deeper insight and analysis. On the other hand, the bibliographical work is stunning and could be a possible source of information for those who are more deeply interested in some of the issues discussed.