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HANDBOOKS



# The Routledge Handbook of European Security

Edited by Sven Biscop and Richard G. Whitman

# THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

*Edited by Sven Biscop and Richard G. Whitman*

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# THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

This new Handbook brings together key experts on European security from the academic and policy worlds to examine the European Union (EU) as an international security actor.

In the two decades since the end of the Cold War, the EU has gradually emerged as an autonomous actor in the field of security, aiming to safeguard European security by improving global security. However, the EU's development as a security actor has certainly not remained uncontested, either by academics or by policy-makers, some of whom see the rise of the EU as a threat to their national and/or transatlantic policy outlook.

While the focus of this volume is on the politico-military dimension, security is also put into the context of the holistic approach advocated by the EU. The book is organized into four key sections:

Part I: The EU as an international security actor

Part II: Institutions, instruments and means

Part III: Policies

Part IV: Partners.

This Handbook will be of great interest to students of European security, the EU, European politics, security studies and IR in general.

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To Sven and Aberu, husband and husband since 5 May 2012. We do not believe in matches made in heaven, but we do believe in matches made in Asia.

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# INTRODUCTION

*Sven Biscop and Richard G. Whitman*

In the 20 years since the end of the Cold War, the European Union (EU) has gradually emerged as an autonomous actor in the field of security, aiming to safeguard European security by improving global security: 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', as the 2003 *European Security Strategy* (ESS) has it. A key aspect of this development has been the emergence of a defence component through the EU's European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), re-baptized the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) by the Lisbon Treaty. The EU's development as a security actor has certainly not remained uncontested, neither by academics, some of whom deny the EU the capacity to be an effective global actor, nor by policy-makers, some of whom see the rise of the EU as a threat to their national and/or transatlantic policy outlook. Yet regardless of one's normative perspective on this emerging international role for the EU, its development can definitely not be denied: in spite of all its imperfections, the EU presence as a security actor is here – and the trend is that it is here to stay.

The aim of this Handbook is to bring together the key experts on European security from the university and think-tank worlds and assess the state of play of the EU as an international security actor. While the focus is on the politico-military dimension (CSDP and CFSP – Common Foreign and Security Policy), security will be put in the context of the holistic approach advocated by the EU.

The Handbook does not shy away from taking sides: it is the conviction of the editors and contributors that the development of the EU as an autonomous actor in this area is a positive evolution, offering the best chances for effective European policies to safeguard and enhance European security in an increasingly multipolar world. Labels abound to describe the EU: civilian, normative or transformative power, *puissance tranquille* – if a label is required, perhaps 'positive power' can serve (Biscop 2005). More important than the adjective is the noun: the EU must be a *power*, an effective strategic actor. Being a model for others to emulate is not sufficient, for too many, swayed by nationalism, radicalism, fundamentalism or just cynicism, simply no longer see the EU as a model. Attractiveness alone does not generate soft power – the EU must be seen to act upon its strategy. The EU therefore cannot be a status quo power that seeks to maintain current conditions: its agenda entails a commitment to proactively shape the environment.

The idea of the EU as a power is mentioned neither in the ESS nor in the 2008 Report on the Implementation of the ESS – the former states only that because of its weight the



EU 'is inevitably a global player'. To be a power rather than a player demands a much more self-confident and voluntarist outlook. The European Council's Laeken Declaration (15 December 2001) had already put it in much more assertive terms:

Now that the Cold War is over and we are living in a globalised, yet also highly fragmented world, Europe needs to shoulder its responsibilities in the governance of globalisation. The role it has to play is that of a power resolutely doing battle against all violence, all terror and all fanaticism, but which also does not turn a blind eye to the world's heartrending injustices. In short, a power wanting to change the course of world affairs in such a way as to benefit not just the rich countries but also the poorest. A power seeking to set globalisation within a moral framework, in other words to anchor it in solidarity and sustainable development.

The EU definitely has the means to be a power – if that is what it *wants* to be. This brings us back to the starting point: our belief that the EU must be an autonomous strategic actor. That implies the choice of a certain type of Union. An EU that is a mere market simply cannot be a grand strategic actor. This is Europe as a process: a platform for functional economic cooperation between sovereign states, which may continue to evolve in line with the technical needs of the internal market. Such a Europe does not constitute a pole of the multipolar world; it lacks the centre of gravity to be a strategic actor. But as argued above, if Europe wants to safeguard its interests vis-à-vis the other large strategic actors, it has no choice but to become one itself. That automatically entails the choice for Europe as a project: an ever deepening political union in which Member States pool sovereignty in order to pursue their common vision with maximum effect.

In that sense, this Handbook takes stock of the EU's achievements to date in the area of international security. The Handbook is organized in four parts:

- Part I sets the scene. After a historical overview of the development of European security institutions, and a theoretical perspective on this development, it analyses the holistic 'grand strategy' underlying EU policies and assesses whether a European strategic culture has emerged.
- Part II looks at the institutions that make and implement policy in the different dimensions covered by the 'grand strategy', charts the instruments and means at their disposal and assesses the extent to which 'sub-strategies' in each area are linked up with the overall objectives put forward in the ESS and the 2008 Report on the Implementation of the ESS.
- Part III then assesses the effectiveness of the actual policies and actions undertaken, focusing on CSDP, but putting the politico-military dimension in the context of the holistic approach and other EU policies towards third countries/regions.
- Part IV analyses the role of partnerships with other actors in these policies.

Each chapter critically examines EU objectives, instruments and means, in order to assess their effectiveness, identify the weaknesses and offer some recommendations for the way ahead. Thus the Handbook is not only retrospective, looking back at and evaluating what the EU has done, but also prospective, putting forward proposals to enhance the effectiveness of EU security policy. And that is exactly what political science is for.