

He concludes that greater international cooperation is required to combat the necessarily transnational trafficking system.

The fourth part moves in yet another direction to examine the victimisation of migrants. Rob T. Guerette presents a lucid approach for preventing the deaths of Latino migrants en route to America (Chapter 12). The final two chapters explore the phenomenon of battered immigrant women. Edna Erez and Linsey Britz outline effectively the cultural and legal barriers for preventing such abuse in America (Chapter 13).

Taken as individual papers examining discrete topics, this volume has much to offer. But as lamented above, there are few analytical bridges between the varied chapters. This volume was the product of conferences held in 1999 and 2003 and I look forward to the authors' future collaboration on and clarification of the intersection between these complex issues.

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**Old Europe, new security: evolution for a complex world**, edited by Janet Adamski, Mary Troy Johnson and Christina M. Schweiss, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, 198 pp., £55.00 (hardback), ISBN 0 7546 4644 0

The idea that Europe and the US are on different wavelengths when it comes to security has by now a fairly long tradition. Between François Duchêne's description of the European Economic Community as a 'civilian power' in the early 1970s and Robert Kagan's celebrated observation, three decades later, that 'Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus',<sup>1</sup> many academics, public intellectuals and politicians have interpreted the differences between the European and the American way to interact with the rest of the world as the product of a cultural as much as – or rather than – a military gap.

The essays collected in *Old Europe, New Security* elaborate on this notion to offer a systematic analysis of what could be called the 'European approach' to foreign policy and security, and of the institutions through which this approach is implemented. The volume is structured in two parts: the first presents the European approach in general terms and opens with a summary of the basic principles behind it. Here Mary Troy Johnson compares Europe and America's foreign policy preferences in four broad fields: international law, human rights, the use of force and internationalism. The resulting picture is, not surprisingly, one of sharp contrast between the (especially recent) American tendencies to solve international issues with weapons instead of words – and to do it alone if necessary – and Europe's greater willingness and ability to use the means of diplomacy, engagement and soft power in a broad range of situations.

The essence of the European approach, however, is not just to deal with old challenges in new and different ways, but also – and perhaps especially – to respond adequately and effectively to the new security challenges of the globalised post-Cold War world. This is the opinion of Peter Liotta who, in the third chapter, sketches a categorisation of security concepts that distinguishes between traditional, state-centred conceptions and non-traditional security

1. François Duchêne, 'Europe's Role in World Peace', in *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*, ed. Richard J. Mayne (London: Fontana, 1972); Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Knopf, 2003).

problems such as migration flows, global inequality, human rights violations, trans-border crime and the depletion of natural resources. The ‘vulnerabilities’ generated in all these fields, Liotta argues, represent a formidable challenge for the West, not least because they are often less visible and more contentious than traditional ‘threats’. And to date Europe seems much more prepared than the US to confront this challenge, as demonstrated by the author’s analysis of key EU documents like its *European Security Strategy* and its *Human Security Doctrine*.

The remaining five chapters of the first part look more closely at the way all these general principles so far have been translated into concrete common structures and policies. Here the book follows a twofold trajectory. In the first place, it moves from the general to the specific, going from Charles Krupnick’s overview of the EU’s foreign and defence policy architecture to Kenneth Keulman and Christina Schweiss’ analyses of the evolution of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), of its goals (expressed mainly, though not only, by the Petersberg tasks) and of its instruments (most notably the 60,000-troop rapid reaction force). The second trajectory is historical, and is represented primarily by Janet Adamski’s study of the Brussels Treaty Organization and the European Defense Community as the two first institutional embodiments of the European approach to security. Somewhere at the intersection of the two trajectories, finally, is Christopher Jones’ chapter on NATO’s recent evolution from a traditional alliance into a dual-purpose institution addressing collective defence as well as collective security issues.

The second half of the volume analyzes Europe’s security principles and institutions in action in four strategic theatres: the Balkans, the Middle East, Russia and Latin America. The first and the last of these four chapters are particularly worth noting. In their account of the EU’s experience in the Balkans, Christina Schweiss and Cindy Webb show not only how Europe has been able to learn from its past mistakes and humiliations in establishing a common post-war policy for the region, but also that the Union is making a unique – though often overlooked by the Americans – contribution to the political stability of its surroundings through its effective ‘member-state-building’ strategies. In his essay on Latin America, on the other hand, Joaquín Roy takes us to a region where the chasm between the US’ concern for traditional security and the European Union’s focus on non-traditional security issues (such as poverty, inequality and drug trafficking) could not be greater. However, he also highlights some of the limits of a diplomacy made mainly of aid, trade and persuasion, as epitomised by the several political and, especially, economic problems still plaguing the Latin American sub-continent.

Like many other works in its field, *Old Europe, New Security* is a ‘hybrid’ book with the ambition to speak to both a theoretically and an empirically minded audience. All considered, its results are mixed: taken together, these essays do a fairly good job of providing the reader with a well-balanced and comprehensive picture of Europe’s security policies, structures and actions as they are and have developed over time. On the theoretical and conceptual side, however, the book leaves something to be desired. Its first, and most obvious, shortcoming is its ambiguity on the definition of ‘Europe’, which keeps swinging between the Rumsfeldian notion of ‘old Europe’ referred to in the title and the more comprehensive European Union. This is not just a matter of pedantry, as solving this definitional issue would require answering a number of crucial questions on the relationship between the European approach to security and the process of integration: what is the constitutive impact of the latter on the former? What are the consequences of the integration of ‘new Europe’ in the EU foreign policy structures? Will new Europe ever grow old? All these questions come naturally to mind when reading the volume, but practically none of them is answered.

More generally, the book could and should have dared more in identifying the origins of the European approach, analyzed its development and traced the causal processes behind it. The overall impression one gets from reading the essays of the first part is that the differences

between the US and Europe's security values, ideas and cultures are mostly taken for granted and never problematised. Two aspects are particularly important here: the first is the relationship between material and ideational factors in the formation of the European approach. That material circumstances (military as well as economic) play a big role, in addition to values and ideas, in determining the way the EU and the US deal with certain security problems is undeniable – Iran being perhaps the most evident example. But while most of the contributors seem to acknowledge that, none of them takes up the challenge of attempting to specify the general domain of application of these two distinct causal logics.

Second, the book makes no effort to examine the relationships between social constructions – primarily normative and cognitive ideas – at different geographical and temporal levels. The general result is a rather simplistic analysis that reduces Europe – however defined – to a unit and pays virtually no attention to differences between European countries and, within each of them, between sub-national political agendas. It goes without saying that this picture clashes both with the longstanding differences between the foreign policy traditions of some European countries and with the security policy reorientations that countries like Italy, Spain and France have experienced in recent years as a result of changes in their political leaderships.

Clearly, solving all the questions posed here would have required the authors and editors of the book to pay a price, most notably giving up most of the book's conceptual and stylistic parsimony and perhaps change its structure somehow. Accepting at least some of these costs, however, would have resulted in a more accurate, original and theoretically sophisticated work.

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