Contents

List of Tables and Boxes x
Foreword by Helen Wallace xi
Preface xiii

Introduction 1

1 Security in the New Europe 5
Security: a problematical concept 6
The European security community 11
Institutionalized security co-operation 16
Enlargement and its consequences 18
Conclusion 28

2 The New Global Security Agenda 32
The new international (dis)order 33
The new wars 36
Proliferation: the second nuclear age 39
The 'new terrorism' and the 'war on terror' 42
Soft security 45
American hegemony 49
Conclusion 54

3 Europe and America: The End of an Era? 58
The post-Cold War era 59
The Bush Administration, 9/11 and the Iraq War 62
NATO: transformation and uncertainty 67
Interpreting transatlantic relations 71
Conclusion 77

4 The EU and the Europeanization of European Security 79
Towards a common foreign and security policy? 80
Euro-atlanticism versus Euro-Gaullism 86
Neighbourhood politics 88
A global role? 92
The military dimension: peacekeeping and beyond 95
Internal security: the EU’s Area of Freedom, Security and Justice 97
Conclusion 99

5 Russia: Partner or Problem in European Security? 102
Russia: post-communism and foreign policy 103
Russia and the West: a troubled partnership 107
Russia and NATO 109
Russia and the EU 110
Russia and the former Soviet Union: the ‘near abroad’? 112
The security problems of Russian weakness 116
Conclusion 120

6 The New Interventionism 123
The new interventionism 123
Intervention within Europe 130
The Balkans 130
The former Soviet Union 133
Europe and global interventions 136
NATO and the EU: global peacekeepers? 138
NATO 138
The European Union 142
Conclusion 146

7 Proliferation 149
Assessing the proliferation threat: European perspectives 150
Arms control 155
‘Loose nukes’ and co-operative threat reduction 158
Dealing with tough cases: diplomacy, sanctions and the use of force 160
Living with proliferation? 163
Conclusion 167

8 The ‘New Terrorism’ and the ‘War on Terror’ 169
Europe and terrorism — ‘old’ and ‘new’ 170
Europe and the US ‘war on terror’ 174
Counter-terrorism I: the homeland security agenda 177
Europe’s Islamic population: an internal terrorist threat? 182
Counter-terrorism II: foreign policy and the root causes of terrorism 187
Conclusion 190

9 Soft Security 192
Economic development policy 193
Global warming 198
Population movements 206
Conclusion 215

10 Conclusion 217
The new European security order 217
New threats? 219
Europe and America, NATO and the EU 221
Europe and global security 223

Bibliography 225
Index 250