
Book Reviews

Managing Crises, Making Peace: Towards a Strategic EU Vision for Security and Defense, edited by M.G. Galantino and M.R. Freire (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, ISBN 9781137442246); xvi+297pp., £65.00 hb.

In just the past 15 years, the European Union (EU) has undertaken more than 30 crisis management operations around the world. From Africa to Europe to Asia, the EU has sent troops, government officials and policy experts to some of the world's most demanding conflict zones. Many of these operations have been small and have focused on civilian tasks and activities, such as election monitoring, police training and strengthening civilian administration, but the EU today has experience in the full range of peace operations, from conflict prevention and peacekeeping to development and humanitarian relief. This book asks whether the EU has become a global actor with a distinctive approach to international and regional security challenges, and explores the possibility of 'a strategic EU vision for security and defence'.

The volume contains both conceptual chapters, which explore topics such as public support for the EU's external security missions and the role of women in peace operations, and empirical chapters, which examine EU crisis management operations in Kosovo, Georgia, Chad and Mali. While highlighting some of these missions' achievements, the chapters also chronicle the many obstacles that continue to frustrate the EU's attempts at formulating and implementing common crisis management operations, including at times sharp differences amongst EU Member States over the use of force, geopolitical interests and priorities, threat perceptions and the proper instruments to address common security challenges.

While offering interesting and intelligent discussions on a range of issues central to the EU's effectiveness in external security operations, the volume's diversity of perspectives at times obscures broader lessons and conclusions. There is little explanation or specification of core terms and concepts used by the various authors, for example, such as what exactly constitutes a 'comprehensive' EU approach to security and defense, or what a common EU 'strategic vision' for crisis management might look like. Some chapters employ theoretical perspectives while others do not, and the conclusion, which gamely tries to synthesize and evaluate the findings from the preceding chapters, instead illustrates the many ambiguities and unanswered questions that remain when it comes to our understanding of the EU's role in crisis management operations.

Despite its mixed record of success, however, it is important to keep in mind that EU crisis management operations today far exceed anything the EU tried even two decades ago, and that they surpass anything any other regional organization currently attempts.

And with fires raging across its periphery, from North Africa to the Middle East to eastern Ukraine, and the worst migration crisis it has faced since World War II, EU crisis management will become more essential than ever. This book and others like it will help us make sense of this new reality.

RICHARD MAHER
European University Institute

Eurasian Regionalisms and Russian Foreign Policy, by M.M. Molchanov (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, ISBN 9781409435341); xii+190pp., £65.00 hb.

This is a timely albeit flawed contribution to the debate on Russian foreign policy with a focus on Moscow's approach to regionalism. The author, of Ukrainian origin now teaching in Canada, is well qualified to examine the trend towards greater regionalism in Eurasia, defined here as the former Soviet Union plus China. The theoretical basis for the book is new regionalism, a subject pioneered by UNU-CRIS (United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies) in Belgium. Usefully for students, the author sets his approach within the wider International Relations (IR) theoretical framework.

The book provides a useful if incomplete analysis of the Russian rationale for developing the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Eurasia Economic Union as well as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). The Sino-Russian struggle for influence in Central Asia is assessed, but there could have been a deeper analysis of how China has benefited from Moscow's enforced turn to the East after the West imposed sanctions on Russia. An analysis of the implications of the imminent successions amongst the political leaders in Central Asia would also have helped the reader navigate the many currents flowing through the region.

The importance of the energy sector is highlighted with a separate chapter, but more could have been written about the influence of Gazprom in supporting Russian foreign policy aims. There is, for example, little about Moscow's arm-twisting and use of energy blackmail to press states such as Armenia not to move closer towards the EU and instead join the Eurasia Economic Union.

The author fails to offer a convincing explanation of how the Eurasia Economic Union will benefit its members given the seemingly endemic corruption in the region. Nor is there an explanation of how Russia might achieve its alleged modernization aims by linking its future to Belarus and Kazakhstan.

The main weakness of the book, however, is that the author uncritically accepts the Russian version of recent history. The EU and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are to blame for their successive enlargements. The Ukrainian diaspora in Canada and the Western media are also blamed for demonizing Russia. There is no mention of Russian interference in Abkhazia, South Ossetia or Transdniestr. The Russian annexation of Crimea and support for the separatists in eastern Ukraine is glossed over. Russian motives have more to do with altruism than re-assertion of spheres of influence. This repetition of Russian propaganda does not sit well with the main analysis of

developments in Eurasia and detracts from what is a useful contribution to the growing literature on the region.

FRASER CAMERON
EU–Russia Centre

Police Cooperation in the European Union under the Treaty of Lisbon: Opportunities and Limitations, edited by H. Aden (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015, ISBN 9783848708437); 266pp., €54.00 pb.

Representing an in-depth study of police co-operation and its challenges within the EU, the book is very informative. It analyses how police co-operation within the EU has been developed and why it is important to give more powers to EU institutions in order to further strengthen it. Some authors emphasize that the Lisbon Treaty led to a democratization of the former third pillar dealing with police and judicial co-operation in as far as the European Parliament acquired an active role in the legislative process related to the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice. However, Europol remained intergovernmental and does not have investigative powers. Therefore, continuous tensions are witnessed between EU institutions and EU Member States, the latter being reluctant to transfer more powers in this highly sensitive area of national sovereignty to EU institutions.

Other problems that the book brilliantly highlights concern the fact that national police are not adequately trained to perform cross-border police co-operation. More training and education should thus be provided to strengthen police co-operation. Moreover, the chapters also focus on the need to reinforce police co-operation beyond EU borders in order to effectively fight cross-border crimes committed outside EU territory. Unfortunately, according to the analysis, this co-operation cannot be adequately established, because the former second pillar, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, remained intergovernmental and related action cannot be scrutinized by the European Parliament. Therefore, authors examine whether co-operation within the Council as well as non-binding soft law instruments could be adequate means to support stronger police co-operation.

The book is a very good guide for policy-makers, practitioners, researchers and post-graduate students interested in pursuing research on police co-operation within the EU. However, there are some aspects that should have been given more attention. The book should have focused more on the potential contribution of the European Public Prosecutor's Office (EPPO) to EU police co-operation. As it was also introduced by the Lisbon Treaty, the reader would have expected one chapter on it in a volume like this. Important questions to be discussed in this context would have been whether or not the EPPO enhanced police co-operation within the EU and whether it could contribute to the establishment of police co-operation outside the EU in order to fight cross-border crimes committed within the EU and non-Member States. Finally, although the book rightly emphasizes the importance of a balance between the need for police co-operation within the EU and the protection of civil liberties, it does not analyse how this balance should be struck vis-à-vis an increased need for successful police functions at national level of EU Member States.

MATILDE VENTRELLA
University of Wolverhampton

Governance Transfer by Regional Organizations: Patching Together a Global Script, edited by T. A. Börzel and V. van Hüllen (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, ISBN 9781137385635); xv+298pp., £65.00 hb.

This edited volume represents a successful attempt to systematically investigate how and under what conditions regional organizations (ROs) transfer legitimate governance institutions in their Member States or third countries. The authors focus particularly on exploring the logic of governance transfer in ‘areas of limited statehood’ and on identifying factors that explain how and when ROs prescribe, promote and protect such governance standards with regard to institutional design, intensity and point in time. This theory-backed work is a welcome contribution to the existing academic literature on (comparative) regionalism, inter-regionalism, diffusion and the role of the EU as a transformative power and global model for good governance, as it goes beyond Eurocentric research and applies a comparative approach that embraces case studies of key ROs from all over the world.

The book unfolds in 14 chapters: the first and second chapter form the introduction and provide theory-driven explanations on the demand and supply of governance transfer as well as an analytical framework, which includes an operationalization and mapping of the observed phenomenon. According to Börzel and van Hüllen, transfer of legitimate governance institutions is based on three components: actors (ROs), standards (democracy, human rights, rule of law, fight against corruption) and mechanisms (coercion, incentives, capacity-building, persuasion and socialization). On this ground, the second chapter presents findings of an evaluation of a data set comprising about 120 treaties and legal documents from all ROs under observation. The results allow for mapping the efforts of ROs in view of introducing or substantiating legitimate governance institutions during the past decades and provide indications to assume ‘that governance transfer by ROs may indeed follow a global trend’ (p. 46). With a shared analytical framework in place, the subsequent 11 chapters present carefully researched in-depth analyses on the conditions and evolution of governance transfer by individual ROs in Africa (AU, ECOWAS, SADC), Middle East and Asia (ASEAN, Arab League, CIS), the Americas (OAS, NAFTA, Mercosur) and Europe (Council of Europe, EU). All these case studies are rich in empirical details and strong in their argument, proving the regional experts’ profound expertise in their areas of research. Pooling and interpreting these insights allows the editors to formulate general conclusions in chapter 14. They claim ‘that regional organizations do not follow one centralized global script defining the content and mechanisms of governance transfer’ as the ROs themselves ‘shape the way in which the emerging global script is read and rewritten at the regional level’ (pp. 15, 21).

The strength of this work is its innovative character, elaborate analytical framework and convincing argument in combination with a remarkably coherent comparative case study design that looks beyond Europe and provides rich information on key ROs. This stimulating and very informative book is thus strongly recommended for all academics and students interested in global and comparative regionalism, diffusion and the evolution of (good) governance institutions in and outside Europe.

JOHANNES MUNTSCHICK

Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

Germany After the 2013 Elections: Breaking the Mould of Post-Unification Politics?, edited by G. Dóttavio and T. Saalfeld (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, ISBN 9781472444394); xvii+228pp., £65.00 hb.

As Europe's leading power increasing attention is focused on German politics, in particular on its policy responses to the Euro zone and, more recently, the refugee crisis. This volume's focus is slightly different, namely, a review of politics in the immediate aftermath of the 2013 federal elections. The chapters derive from papers given at a workshop in Bologna at the end of 2013. There is a strong set of contributors, from German, Italian and British universities.

The volume is occasioned by the election, but it is not a study confined to the election. In its first part there is a review of the policies of the second Merkel government (2009–13). There are contributions on economic and social policy (Zohlnhöfer); the European question (D'Ottavio); the Euro zone crisis (Dyson); and German foreign policy (Miskimmon and Molthof). These chapters offer authoritative analyses on key policy areas.

The second part of the book comprises six chapters with a focus on the election itself. These chapters are focused on rather more specific issues, such as on the role of party manifestos in the campaign or programmatic change in the Christian Democrat and Social Democrat parties that make up the Grand Coalition. This part of the book is notable for the attention given to the smaller parties. For example, AfD (Alternative for Germany, the anti-euro party that only emerged in 2013, but failed to secure representation in the federal election) is examined in two chapters. The analysis covers a period when the AfD was dominated by economists critical of the rescues of the euro. The party has subsequently shifted to the right as internal divisions have played out and popular support has been garnered for its critique of government policy on the refugee crisis. Also covered are the Pirate Party as well as the three longer-standing small parties in the German federal party system – the Greens, the FDP (Free Democrats) and *die Linke*, all 'losers' from the election. The analysis explains how the FDP – part of Merkel's coalition from 2009 to 2013 – failed to gain representation in the 2013 Bundestag. In a final chapter, Saalfeld pulls together this part of the book by focusing on the election outcome. He explores the complex process of coalition formation – which took a record 86 days of negotiation and a referendum of Social Democrat members before being agreed – and the prospects for the coalition in a more fragmented party system.

Overall, this book is a valuable library addition for students of German politics and Berlin's policy responses to the EU's crises.

SIMON BULMER
University of Sheffield

EU Foreign Policy Towards Latin America, by R. Dominguez (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, ISBN 9781137321275); xii+187pp., £63.00 hb.

Under an apparent liberal consensus amongst political elites, regional organizations emerged or were reformed in the sub-regions of Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1990s. Following these developments, open regionalism and neo-liberalism paved the way to inter-regional relations between the EU and the regional organizations of South America, Central America and the Caribbean. However, in 2010 it became evident that

a variety of political regimes and ideological orientations would make both, regional integration and truly inter-regional relations (meaning an integration between different regional organizations), hard to achieve in the short run. Against this backdrop, the EU – in dialogue with Latin American political actors – envisioned an array of mechanisms, some of them inter-regional, but most regarding individual states, that the author of this book singles out and describes with great clarity and exhaustiveness: summit mechanism; association agreements; bilateral free trade agreement (FTA); strategic partnership; and collaboration mechanisms mainly with Caribbean countries. The analysis of these five mechanisms in a single volume makes this book not only an original contribution to the existing EU-Latin America relations literature, but a most welcome road map for academics and practitioners alike.

According to the author, these mechanisms reflect the pragmatism of EU foreign policy to deal with differentiated national and regional contexts. However, they also imply a degree of overlap and dispersion that undermines a more coherent common policy and horizon. It remains to be seen whether incipient efforts to regionalize and multilateralize some of these mechanisms within the framework of the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC)-EU Summits will allow moving beyond what the author calls ‘hybrid interregionalism’.

Notwithstanding these benefits, some flaws in an otherwise very good book should not be overseen. The author gives more weight to the thorough description of EU policies towards Latin America than to a more analytical perspective. Therefore, questions about the interests that steer EU policies towards Latin America remain blurred. The discussion of EU policies towards the Andean countries, for instance, indicates the coexistence of different material and normative preferences that would be important to disentangle in order to better understand the rationale behind EU efforts towards countries with low significance for the overall European economy. Likewise, the conceptual chapter 1 gets trapped in the cacophony of concepts that unfortunately characterize the academic field of comparative regionalism, falling short of providing an analytical grid to make sense of the policies analysed in the other chapters. Additionally, some imprecise information, such as on Mercosur (p. 16), the Brazilian National (not regional) Development Bank (p. 104) and the year of election of President Correa (p. 119) have to be bemoaned. That said the merits of the book as a useful guide to the ‘institutional labyrinths’ of the EU policies towards Latin America stand out.

STEFANO PALESTINI
Free University of Berlin

The Politics of Transatlantic Trade Negotiations: TTIP in a Globalized World, edited by J.-F. Morin, T. Novotná, F. Ponjaert and M. Telò (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015, ISBN 9781472443618); xxiii+227pp., £25.00 pb.

The EU and the United States started negotiations on a Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) in July 2013. The negotiation agenda for TTIP combines the elimination of tariffs on virtually all goods traded between the EU and the United States with rule-making on regulatory convergence. This book offers a range of views on TTIP and is divided into four parts: historical context and timing; actors in the process; possible

consequences for third countries as well as for the World Trade Organization (WTO) regime.

Contributors to part I observe that TTIP negotiations are taking place in a multipolar rather than unipolar world, between political entities largely similar in power potential and in their internal division of political powers and competences. Yet, in doing so, the authors use an encompassing concept of power, and fail to wonder why, in the issue area of trade, the EU was the *demandeur* for negotiations, just as it had asked for the start of the WTO Doha Round that subsequently failed. It is a pity that all authors shy away from evaluating whether the United States' decision of February 2008 to join Trans-Pacific Partnership negotiations pushed the EU on the defensive, occasioning it to ask for a FTA with the United States – an option it often considered, yet had never acted upon before.

Part II paints a picture about a negotiation agenda in line with business demands, while civil society groups counter-mobilized, especially in Germany where commotion about secret service spying lowered trust and caused parliamentarians to link TTIP negotiations to a hard stance on privacy protection and the limitation of anti-terrorism competences. Yet, would EU Member States with such domestic opposition dare to opt for hard unanimity voting in the Council of Ministers, once the Commission presented its negotiation results? The Lisbon Treaty kept the exclusive competence over agenda-setting in EU external trade policy to the European Commission for good reasons: preventing special interests in one Member State gaining disproportionate influence; allowing for democratic control over outcomes by the European Parliament and allowing the Commission to speak for the Union. Would an increased Member State involvement through the European External Action Service not undermine that strength?

Parts III and IV present inferences about possible future effects on third countries, downscaling expectations about centripetal forces drawing all excluded to the negotiation tables of the EU and the United States. According to the analysis much depended on the nature of the rules on regulatory convergence of technical standards in the different economic sectors under negotiation: while some of such rules created public goods for all members of the international trading system, others created exclusive collective goods, the benefits of which could only be appropriated by TTIP signatories, the EU and the United States.

DIRK DE BIÈVRE
University of Antwerp

The Eurasian Project and Europe: Regional Discontinuities and Geopolitics, edited by D. Lane and V. Samokhvalov (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, ISBN 9781137472953); xvi+225pp., £68.00 hb.

Any contemporary survey of Russian politics and foreign policy has to account for the country's Eurasian project as elucidated under the leadership of Vladimir Putin, the man that has become the public face of the Russian Federation since becoming its prime minister in August 1999. Here, the past also becomes relevant as the notion or concept of 'eurasianism' sustains the ideological vehicle within which the Eurasian project is

formulated and implemented. This well-written, well-structured and relevant volume brings together a very knowledgeable mixture of established scholars such as Lane, Sakwa and Korosteleva with a number of their younger peers to produce a comprehensive work befitting further reference and study.

A triptych of sorts emerges as the basic themes of the authors. The first is a historical contextualization of eurasianism rooted in 'Russian specificity' (Shkaratan), 'embedded civilizationalism' (Silivius), a distinctive Russian 'dialectical' approach (Richardson), an ideological cum interest-based construct (Duncan) and 'Russian neorevisionism' which Sakwa asserts makes sense in 'the context of what from the Russian perspective appears to be an era of renewed great power rivalry'. Filimonova goes as far as to assess 'eurasianism' through the prism of a discursive literary space via the study of literature across centuries.

The second is a discursive spatial attempt at explaining the notion of Eurasia smacking of critical geography and critical historicism, which posits the vastness that is Eurasia/Russia. Irrespective of the focus on the Eurasian project and Europe, Asia cannot be dismissed as a unit of analysis as the project touches upon the interests of the Central Asian republics, China and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *inter alia*. In other words, it is a project with Asiatic roots (Kalra and Saxena) linked to Central Asia and the Silk Road as well as the current geopolitical, geo-economic and 'institutional overlap' that is Eurasia today.

The third is an effort to present the common neighborhood of the EU and Russia as a contested region where the notion of possible cohabitation is assessed. In this case, Korosteleva suggests that convergence, however distant, may be possible when 'modernization becomes popularly associated with stability and future prosperity' (p. 199). Whether the emulation of the EU's integration process influences the institutional design of the Eurasian Union, as Dragneva and Wolczuk suggest, remains to be seen.

Ultimately, the Eurasian project depends largely on Russia's ability to survive as a distinct project from the neo-liberal order it seeks both to emulate and reject. This book provides just the right amount of fuel to keep the debate alive.

DIMITRIOS TRIANTAPHYLLOU
Kadir Has University

European Integration and Consensus Politics in the Low Countries, edited by H. Vollaard, J. Beyers and P. Dumont (London and New York: Routledge, 2015, ISBN 9780415659796); xxiv+250pp., £90.00 hb.

Publications that look into EU Member States and European integration often tend to focus on the large states, in particular France, Germany and the UK. The volume edited by Vollaard, Beyers and Dumont is a welcome deviation from this. Focusing on the interaction between European integration and consensus politics in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, the book addresses two questions in particular. First, whether and how consensus politics has affected European integration's impact on these countries; and, second, whether and how European integration has resulted in changes in consensus politics.

These questions are addressed by looking into a number of issues related to governance institutions and processes, as well as policy fields, including governments, parties, constitutional reviews and interest groups, but also family migration policy and the

(failed) ratification of the Constitutional Treaty. Worth noting is that despite this variety of issues the chapters are quite coherent in terms of their approach, which cannot always be said of edited volumes. The main finding that resounds throughout the chapters is that consensus politics in the Low Countries has not changed substantially. The epilogue by Andeweg not only focuses on the main findings and the limitations of the book, but also takes a step back by looking at broader implications in light of discussions about democracy and Euro-scepticism.

The book does have a number of limitations that should be considered. The first concerns the fact that Luxembourg does not always feature as prominently as the other two countries. This is a shame, because the chapters that do discuss all three countries are, arguably, the most interesting ones. Second, the majority of chapters actually do not discuss both aforementioned questions. Instead, the focus is mostly on the second question, which does go at the expense of some degree of coherence of an otherwise very consistent edited volume. Last, but not least, whereas the findings provide us with a general insight into the interaction between European integration and consensus politics, we learn less about how European integration has affected modes of politics in specific policy fields. Yet, it is quite likely that policy fields have been affected in different ways.

Despite these limitations, this book will be interesting for students of Europeanization, especially for those who are interested in European integration and the Low Countries. The chapters offer a wide-ranging overview of the current situation in Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands (including new data), and raise questions that have more general importance for our understating of the impact of European integration on domestic politics.

PATRICK BIJSMANS
Maastricht University

France and the Politics of European Economic and Monetary Union, by V. Caton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, ISBN 9781137409164); xi+211 pp., £63.00 hb.

The work of a former British diplomat, one should not turn to this book for a detailed academic study or any new theoretical insights on French policy and Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). The 'select bibliography' is disappointingly brief at just over two pages, and only a dozen or so academic works are referenced. No explicit theoretical or analytical approach is presented. Caton's book might thus be seen as a testament to a disturbing gulf between academic EU studies and diplomacy. The author discusses briefly 'external monetary' and 'domestic economic and political' 'drivers'. She discusses the crucial role played by President Francois Mitterrand in securing French support for EMU. Yet only occasional reference is made to the extensive literature that examines in detail each of these explanatory factors.

This book nonetheless has obvious added value for scholars and students of European integration, and specifically the move to and operation of EMU and French policy on EMU. First, Caton offers one of the few studies of national policy on EMU that covers both the pre- and post-Maastricht period, examining the political management of EMU, and bringing the reader right to present debates on fiscal policy reinforcement and Banking Union. Second, Caton provides unique insights into French policy-making on EMU

stemming directly from her professional life. She was First Secretary for Internal Political Affairs at the British Embassy in Paris from 1988 to 1992 – as EMU was being negotiated – and then Financial and Economic Counsellor in Paris from 1997 to 2001 – as EMU was being put into operation. She also has a good grasp of EU affairs having begun her career in 1982 at the UK Representation to the European Communities in Brussels. Thus, Paton's study combines an appreciation of the main factors that must be examined best to understand French policy-making – political, economic, financial and European – with a detailed insider's knowledge of the stepping stones of the political negotiations leading to the Maastricht Treaty and the political and economic developments preceding and following the introduction of the single currency in 1999.

Third, the author avoids the kind of superficial (and often selective) reminiscences in which policy-makers and diplomats can often engage. Despite the limited use of academic work, Caton has done proper research for her book: in addition to a number of interviews with policy-makers, the author has dug into the archives, including the French National Archives, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Archives and Francois Mitterrand's unpublished official papers.

Finally, while eschewing an analytical framework to drive her study, Caton nonetheless produces a strong argument that seeks to explain both the rationality of French support for EMU and further European integration, but also the limits to this support. These limits help to explain the weaknesses of the EMU design which exposed the project to potential collapse during the sovereign debt crisis and have yet to be convincingly tackled.

DAVID HOWARTH
University of Luxembourg