

Book Review

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The EU and Multilateral Security Governance

by Sonia Lucarelli, Luk Van Langenhove and Jan Wouters (eds)

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Whereas discussions on unipolarity and the United States as the leading actor in global security are common among academics and policy-makers in the North American context, scholars in Europe seem to be particularly interested in exploring the various ways European countries work in concert on security issues. A distinct group of studies on *multilateral security governance* (MSG) emerged in the early 2000s. This research framework studies the complex social interactions and relationships among various kinds of actors engaged in discussing and acting on a wide range of security issues. This volume, edited by Sonia Lucarelli, Luk Van Langenhove and Jan Wouters, is one of the most recent collections that feature conceptual and empirical analyses of MSG and the EU's role in it. The volume calls for increased effectiveness in the EU's actorness and representation that can help cope with problems bearing on common peace and sustainable development both regionally and globally.

The book is divided into two parts: Part 1 addresses the main theoretical concepts; Part 2 is dedicated to studying the role of the EU in multilateral security governance empirically. In Chapter 1, Michela Ceccorulli and Sonia Lucarelli provide an assessment of the literature on MSG and address some of the ways the research in this area is likely to develop in the future. James Sperling's contribution in Chapter 2 provides a theoretical analysis of a post-Westphalian state and its key features juxtaposed with preceding forms of statecraft. Largely relying on the Constructivist approach to security, the authors of Chapter 3, Luk Van Langenhove and Tiziana Scaramagli, analyse the extent to which the human security discourse is related to MSG, thus beginning to draw the strands of the first two chapters together. Although the connection between human security and MSG is not explicit, the argument the authors develop contains an important theoretical premise: the human security agenda is argued to challenge gravely the Westphalian world order, in that way fostering a continued debate on the issues of state sovereignty, governance, and multilateralism. Chapter 4 by Siobhan Gabriella Gibney and Sven Biscop argues that the EU is itself a product of multilateral cooperation because of its extensive bureaucratic framework based on common laws and shared values, and as such is one of the good examples of MSG. Chapter 5 by Jan Wouters, Stephanie Bijlmakers and Katrien Meuwissen engages in an examination of the extent to which the constitutional and institutional changes introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon enhance the EU's capacity to be an effective multilateral security actor. This chapter discusses the legal personality of the EU and its potential to enhance EU coherence and visibility, the importance of post-Lisbon de-pillarisation and the future of the CFSP and the CSDP, as well as new mechanisms for coordination and solidarity among the member states.

Part 2 of the volume is a collection of case studies on the EU as a multilateral governance actor. Chapter 6 by Emil Kirchner presents the analysis of the EU's participation in multilateral organisations that engage in peace and security such as the G20, the UN, and the OECD and OSCE. This chapter is primarily concerned with the EU's policies that promote democratic principles and good governance, policies that prevent

the occurrence of major conflicts, and policies related to the use of force to end hostilities or maintain stability when hostilities are over. Proceeding with the analysis of EU policies, Ruth Hanau Santini engages in a discussion of the EU's democracy promotion in the Middle East and North Africa in Chapter 7. Santini argues that the engagement of the EU in bringing peace to the Middle East after the 'Arab awakening' is guided primarily by *realpolitik*. Rather than promoting democracy as a good per se, EU's policy-makers engage non-democratic regimes in contractual and trade relations. Chapter 8's authors, Sijbren de Jong, Jan Wouters and Steven Sterkx, explore the EU's role in MSG in another area of 'non-traditional' security. By studying the case of the 2009 Russian-Ukrainian gas dispute and its consequences for EU-Russian energy relations, they study the EU's interventions during the dispute. Taking a critical stance on the EU's position in the gas crisis, the authors are sceptical about the EU's ability to handle similar crisis situations in the future due to its incapacity to take action on a global or interregional level. The last chapter of the volume, by Michela Ceccorulli and Emmanuel Fanta, touches upon the EU's management of migration from North and West Africa. Having compared the discourses and practices of migration in these regions, the authors suggest that the EU has been more successful in establishing interregional management of migration in West Africa because of ECOWAS - a well-established regional organisation with mandates in migration and security. The EU's position of turning a blind eye to the internal situation in North African states, such as in the case of Libya, has led to little consensus and poor coordination between the EU and North African states on issues related to migration.

Regardless of its multiple merits, the volume is not without limitations. MSG may be an excellent general framework for thinking about state interactions, but it is far too abstract and amorphous. Due to its manifold interpretations and multifaceted nature, the term inevitably causes gaps in research consistency, case selection, and operationalisation of concepts. How, for instance, can one measure the effectiveness of MSG? Other questions also arise in terms of case selection. It is not clear why the cases of energy security, migration, and democracy promotion were preferred to other areas. The volume could have also been improved if there were a concluding chapter. A well-crafted conclusion could have helped the audience to digest the complexity of contemporary interpretations of multilateralism, governance, and security.

Despite these minor defects, the volume is undoubtedly an insightful collection of articles that collectively endorse multilateral security governance as the conceptual framework for understanding complex forms of regulation and coordination of different actors at different levels. The edited book is an eminently readable and understandable work featuring solid contributions on the transformation of security agendas and the EU's role in international security and will certainly be appreciated by academics and policymakers alike.

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