# The Power of War
# Why Europe Needs It

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December 2008

NETHERLANDS INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
'CLINGENDAEL'

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# The EU's Self-Imposed Meekness

The European Union's founding myth goes as follows: 'Once upon a time, there were nasty states that didn't like each other much, even fighting bloody wars. Then the EU Fairy showed them the way to cooperate, first on coal and steel, afterwards on other things as well. Today, European people look back in wonder on their ignorant and aggressive forefathers, and they live happily ever after'. This is, of course, an abridged version of the EU discourse. But in all stories on European integration, overcoming narrow-minded nationalism and avoiding war among member states are attributed to the EU's strategy of pooling sovereignty and consensus-based policy-making. Bad states make war; good Europeans make compromises.

The European Union takes great pride in having tamed the 'beast of nationalism' and bringing about a Deutschian security community in which the use of force to solve disputes has been made truly unthinkable. Since this myth does not admit classical 'power politics', the EU subscribes to softer, more social versions of power. This is often referred to as 'normative' or 'ethical' power, since the European Union ostensibly seeks to inspire and convince, rather than to intimidate and coerce.[1]

As Ludger Kühnhardt claims, 'European integration is perceived as a source of inspiration for other processes of regional cooperation and

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1)  Adrian Hyde-Price, 'A "Tragic Actor"? A Realist Perspective on "Ethical Power Europe"', *International Affairs*, vol. 84, no. 1 (January 2008).

integration around the world'.[2] Reflecting upon the EU's role in the world, Romano Prodi (then European Commission President) argued in February 2000, that 'Europe needs to project its model of society into the wider world. We are not simply here to defend our own interests: we have a unique historic experience to offer. The experience of liberating people from poverty, war, oppression and intolerance. We have forged a model of development and continental integration based on the principles of democracy, freedom and solidarity and it is a model that works. A model of a consensual pooling of sovereignty in which every one of us accepts to belong to a minority'.[3]

The European Union likes to portray itself as a postmodern entity that does not require war to establish itself as a political player. This breaks a pattern, since war and violence have historically played a major part in state formation and shaping the national interest. Europe's public disavowal of power gained political prominence after Robert Kagan's influential essay *Power and Weakness* of 2002.[4] Kagan argued that Europe's reluctance to use force derives from the lack of it, and that the United States' preference for military might can be explained by the fact that it has this tool in abundance. Kagan's depiction of Europe as a postmodern, Kantian space was not unjustified, but his conclusion that a more military-capable Europe would close the transatlantic power gap, and hence make US–European cooperation easier, remains controversial. In response, Robert Cooper nuanced Kagan's point by claiming that 'Europe may have chosen to neglect power politics because it is militarily weak; but it is also true that it is militarily weak because it has chosen to abandon power politics'.[5]

Commentators have frequently summarized this 'chicken-and-egg' dilemma by quipping that 'if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail', or, alternatively, 'when all you have is a pen, every problem looks like a treaty'. What may at first glance sound like a silly, somewhat trivial, debate is actually a profound and fundamental question about the relationship between military power and foreign policy in general, and between war and identity in particular.

Ian Manners suggests that the European Union exercises social (or what he labels 'normative') power by way of example, arguing that 'the most important factor shaping the international role of the EU is not what it does

2)    Ludger Kühnhardt, *The Global Proliferation of Regional Integration: European Experience and Worldwide Trends* (Bonn: ZEI Discussion Paper, 2004), p. 3.

3)    Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission, '2000–2005: Shaping the New Europe' (Strasbourg: European Parliament, 15 February 2000), available online at http://europa.eu.int/rapid/start/cgi/guesten.ksh?p_action.gettxt=gt&doc=SPEECH/00/41|0| AGED&lg=EN.

4)    Robert Kagan, 'Power and Weakness', *Policy Review*, no. 113 (2002).

5)    Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003), p. 159.

or what it says, but what it is'.[6] As a unique post-national political entity, the EU radiates good governance and the proof that inter-state relations can go beyond Hobbesian anarchy and instead may confirm the Kantian goal of perpetual peace. So, just as the United States radiates the American Dream, the European Union claims the Kantian paradise—and both do so by their very existence, functioning as models to be emulated. Euro-enthusiasts like Jeremy Rifkin therefore claim that '[t]he European dream emphasizes community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation, quality of life over the accumulation of wealth, sustainable development over unlimited material growth, deep play over unrelenting toil, universal human rights and the rights of nature over property rights, and global cooperation over the unilateral exercise of power'.[7] In this view, Europe's power base is its very socio-political model, which explains why the European Union privileges social power over military power—at least for the time being.

In the light of the EU's modest defence ambitions (especially the development of the European Security and Defence Policy, or ESDP), one could conclude that the EU is not a civilian power 'by default' (making a virtue out of necessity), but rather a civilian power 'by design'.[8] Which begs the question of why the European Union would deliberately *choose* to be militarily weaker than it should be, and why it would renege on the option of becoming a military peer competitor to the United States, as classical Realist assumptions about the dynamics of power in international politics would suggest? In short, why cling to your diplomatic pen if you can go for the military hammer? Why stick with social power if you can have the hard-core version? The answer to these questions is twofold. First, the European Union sticks to social power since it reflects its own political identity. Second, and based on the first explanation, the European Union believes that it has a comparative advantage in the field of social power, and hence needs to capitalize on this, rather than try to close the nigh unbridgeable military gap with the United States.

Like all identities, Europe's character is socially constructed. It is not primarily derived from a clear codex of norms and values, but on discourse and performance. Since the domestic and international visions of what constitutes a 'good society' are not separate compartments, are not informed by different norms and values, the European Union's experiences with post-national governance informs and shapes its foreign policy. Europe's strategic culture has privileged compromise and 'appeasement', since EU integration

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6)   Ian Manners, 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2 (June 2002), p. 252.

7)   Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream* (New York: Tarcher/Penguin, 2004), p. 3.

8)   Henrik Larsen, 'The EU: A Global Military Actor?', *Cooperation and Conflict*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2002).

has undermined any illusion of absolute sovereignty and invulnerability. This stands in sharp contrast to the United States' domestic culture. As Colin S. Gray has remarked: 'For better or for worse, the United States is a society with a low tolerance for lengthy investment with distant payoffs [...] Americans do not resort to force quickly, but when they do, as citizens of the exceptional policy, they expect a thumping triumph'.[9] On a different level, Americans believe in self-help and small government at home, and project this image abroad. Europeans, on the other hand, stand for a strong welfare state that is based on strong social cohesion. Add to this the different geographical and historical peculiarities, and the dissimilar 'governmentalities' become rather obvious, which at least partially explains the 'chicken-and-egg' dilemma. By privileging multilateralism at home, the European Union is inclined to prefer multilateralism abroad. Just as it has *chosen* to shake off power politics at home (that is, within the EU), it has *chosen* a non-coercive approach to its foreign policy.

The second part of the explanation suggests that the European Union has a certain comparative advantage in the field of social power. Europe, and the EU in particular, considers itself a normative power, setting standards for itself and the rest of the world that are morally superior. In his biography of the EU's Founding Father Jean Monnet, François Duchêne argues that Monnet saw European integration as a method to 'civilianize, or turn into relations between people, the impersonal traditions and relations between states [...] Through partnership [Monnet] was seeking in the world the same effect as through the Community in Europe: to "civilianize" international relations'.[10] About half a century later, Romano Prodi argued that 'Europe's destiny is not inherently Eurocentric, but one of universality. It should therefore reassert its role as the "beacon for world civilization" [...] Such a role could eventually revive the Christian soul of Europe which is the basis for unity [...] It is precisely this dual consciousness of commitment to religious faith and full political responsibility, and having to aspire to a new cultural unity through a debate over ideals, that gives us renewed vigour, and identity and a role to play'.[11]

Indeed, key EU documents confirm Europe's values and mission in lofty terms, confirming the Monnet line of the normative power of the Union. Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union, for example, claims that '[t]he Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States'. The Constitutional Treaty (which was voted

9)   Colin S. Gray, 'Strategy in the Nuclear Age: The United States, 1945–1991', in Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox and Alvin Bernstein (eds), *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 593 and 597.

10)  François Duchêne, *Jean Monnet: The First Statesman of Interdependence* (London: W.W. Norton, 1994), pp. 368 and 388.

11)  Romano Prodi, *Europe As I See It* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 40.

down by the French and Dutch electorates in 2005) has an even broader list of principles that the EU stands for: equality; social solidarity; sustainable development; and good governance. Since no other political actor in world politics offers these commodities, the EU considers itself uniquely placed to act as a normative, social power; and with some remarkable success at that.

Hovering over all of these lofty principles is the Realist question of whether Europe's social power would not be better off with a healthy dose of hard might and 'national' interest. In short: does normative power need hard power to be effective?

# Cooper Meets Kagan

The novelty of the post-'9/11' strategic environment and nervousness about the rapidly deteriorating transatlantic relationship have forced the European Union to reconsider the role and place of power in its foreign policies.[12] The EU is now reconsidering the relevance of its own fairytale and is brainstorming on its strategic options—a requirement since the EU wants to close the transatlantic gap in threat perceptions that opened up after '9/11'. The Bush administration's National Security Strategy (NSS, which was corroborated by the invasion of Iraq in 2003) indicates that the US is prepared to embark upon pre-emptive military interventions, even without the UN Security Council's green light via a mandate. As President Bush formulated in his 2004 State of the Union address: 'America will never seek a permission slip to defend the security of our country'.

The change in EU thinking has been encouraged by the thought-provoking ideas of Robert Cooper, the European Council's Director-General for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Cooper—who has the ear of Javier Solana, the EU's High Representative for the CFSP—suggests that while Kantian peace prevails inside the EU's postmodern space, a vast array of security threats by both modern states and premodern areas lie in waiting outside. Especially the premodern world of so-called 'failed states' poses problems, since drug cartels, crime syndicates and terrorists use this anarchical territory as bases to attack and/or destabilize Europe's postmodern harmony.

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12) Ivo H. Daalder, 'The End of Atlanticism', *Survival*, vol. 45, no. 2 (summer 2003).

Cooper's policy prescription is clear: the European Union needs to intervene. Cooper argues that the

> [...] challenge to the postmodern world is to get used to the idea of double standards. Among ourselves, we operate on the basis of laws and open cooperative security. But when dealing with more old-fashioned kinds of states outside the postmodern continent of Europe, we need to revert to the rougher methods of an earlier era—force, pre-emptive attack, deception, whatever is necessary to deal with those who still live in the nineteenth-century world of every state for itself. Among ourselves, we keep the law but when we are operating in the jungle, we must also use the laws of the jungle.[13]

Cooper suggests that the European Union should be prepared to undertake an enlightened form of colonialism under the label of 'liberal imperialism'. He realizes the hazards involved, but argues that 'the risks of letting countries rot, as the West did Afghanistan, may be even greater'. Hence the EU has a duty to intervene, to spare itself future attacks from premodern 'failed states', and to 'export stability and liberty'.[14] Such an assertive foreign policy would not only be in the EU's interest, but also be in line with the US Bush administration's strategy of pre-emptive (or even preventive) strikes against terrorists and their supporters.

Such an assertive military strategy would be a watershed for the European Union, to be considered the military equivalent of introducing the EU's single currency, the euro. But just as EU member states have been understandably reluctant to hand over their monetary sovereignty to 'Frankfurt', they are loath to let go of this other crown jewel of modernity: their monopoly of violence. Member states remain hesitant about the EU's competence and capabilities in executing complex, dangerous and controversial military operations. But it is more intricate than that. The territorial differentiation of politics is not a 'given', but needs to be produced, proven and imagined on a regular basis. Like male dogs, states endlessly mark their territory; even neutered dogs/states continue this habit, to the annoyance of many. European states used to have a plethora of these socio-spacial markers, from passports and visa, to asylum rules and citizens' rights. They still have some left, but nervousness has crept in since with monetary sovereignty pooled, the state's 'unique selling point' loses allure.

In this volatile political context, delegating the business of 'war' to the European Union is seen as a possible tipping point. Recalling Max Weber's modernist definition of statehood as the combination of territoriality, administrative and military monopolies (as well as the legitimacy to use

13) Robert Cooper, 'The New Liberal Imperialism', *The Observer*, 7 April 2002, available online at http://observer.guardian.co.uk/Print/0,3858,4388912,00.html (20 August 2003). See also Cooper's *The Post-Modern State and the World Order* (London: Demos, 1996).

14) Cooper, 'The New Liberal Imperialism'.

them), one can understand the anguish of EU member states. With intra-EU (statal) borders crumbling and EU governance flourishing, delegating the use of (external) violence to 'Brussels' may just be a bridge too far. This reluctance illustrates the classical Realist assumption that states are jealous guardians of their privileges and powers.

Rationally, this may not make much sense, especially since many European states already support the United States and NATO in their military operations. But institutional power envy seems mainly reserved for the European Union. European states realize that only accumulated EU power challenges their legitimacy and status; only a strong, 'masculine' European Union courts European citizens' favours, to the detriment of conceited European states. And the European Union still has much courting to do if it wants to be successful, since participation in 'European defence' remains voluntary (only new members have little choice but to accept the Union's *acquis stratégique*). For example, Austria, Denmark and Ireland have special arrangements on defence, exonerating them from any EU activity with military connotations that does not suit their political and/or moral tastes. The parallel with the early stages of European state formation imposes itself, since (as Mary Kaldor has argued) during this epoch 'monarchs raised armies to fight wars from coalitions of feudal barons, rather as the UN Secretary-General, today, has to mobilize voluntary contributions from individual states in order to raise a peacekeeping force'.[15] The EU's velcro-forces are organized in a similar way.

In the debate on the future of the European Union (the so-called 'Convention'), proposals to insert a collective defence clause in Europe's embryonic constitution were rejected. Several EU member states do not see the need to accept the avowal that 'an armed attack against one or more of them shall be considered an attack against them all'. This may indicate unwillingness to subscribe to the very idea of territorial defence, but also points to a lack of solidarity and a refusal to adopt a geostrategic view on Europe's security.[16] The absence of a standing European army under EU control also indicates that 'Brussels' cannot (yet) apply the Clausewitzian dictum that war is a rational tool for the pursuit of European interests as a 'continuation of politics by other means'. There are no signs that the European Union will copy the state's process of consolidating its authority. Whereas the European state levied burdensome taxes to finance its standing armies (which in the eighteenth century accounted for three-quarters of the

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15) Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 16.

16) Simon Dalby, 'Security, Modernity, Ecology: The Dilemmas of Post-Cold War Security Discourse, *Alternatives*, vol. 17, no.1 (winter 1992), esp. pp. 108–110.

state's budget), the European Union continues to pay for its military operations on an *ad hoc* basis.[17]

This is not surprising. Europe's 'old' wars of the twentieth century were total wars involving mass mobilization (and conscription-based armies), mass production, and mass communication. Instead, the 'new' wars still to come are decentred and deterritorial, where power is not in mass but in speed, not in muscle but in flexibility. Like the United States, the European Union strives for a postmodern military based on professional armed forces trained to deal effectively with diverse, but probably subnational (ethnic or terrorist) threats. This implies that, unlike modern times, no mass mobilization is required. Germany is among the few major powers that cling to military conscription, and unlike the United States, most European countries do not have so-called 'reserve forces'. This means that ordinary citizens no longer have to ask 'Why die for Brussels?' Instead, postmodern warfare is turned into a high-tech spectator sport 'in which audiences will have been reduced to postmodern Romans watching bloody spectacles in the electric arena comprised of televised images'.[18] This may make ad-hocism and a high level of voluntarism on EU defence tolerable, but it also holds back Euro-jingoism and obstructs the accumulation of shared formative (military) experiences at an EU level.

17) Antonio Missiroli, 'Euros for ESDP: Financing EU Operations', Occasional Papers no. 45 (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, June 2003).

18) Stjepan G. Mestrovic, *The Balkanization of the West: The Confluence of Postmodernism and Postcommunism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 83. See also Colin McInnes, 'Spectator Sport Warfare', in Stuart Croft and Terry Terrif (eds), *Critical Reflections on Security and Change* (London: Frank Cass, 2000); and James Der Derian, 'War as Game', *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 10, no. 1 (summer/fall 2003).

# Warrior Politics—Pagan Ethos

Like humans, the European Union has great difficulty in freeing itself from the Kantian illusion, mainly since it offers Brussels comfort and peace of mind. The EU has become immune to disturbing truths, and still prefers lovely daydreams over harsh, realist reality. The problem for the European Union, and for Realism in particular, is that Europe (and the West in general) is not confronted with a competing Great Power engaged in a classical poker-like game for influence and geostrategic supremacy. Yes, there is Russia, which under Putin has picked itself up; and yes, there is China, which might start throwing its considerable weight around. But if we agree that the main security threat facing Europe is international terrorism, the challenge is mainly asymmetrical warfare. This requires levels of versatility and steadfastness in European policy that remain few and far between.

It is now becoming evident that the main challenge to the West is jihad, the Islamic holy war against the West. This was again confirmed by US President Bush's statement at NATO's Bucharest summit in April 2008: 'The terrorist threat is real, it is deadly, and defeating this enemy is the top priority of NATO'.[19] The al-Qaeda-led jihad stands for the violent struggle of a radical Muslim community against infidel outsiders.[20] As Andrew Bostom has

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19) 'President Bush Visits Bucharest, Romania, Discusses NATO', White House press release (2 April 2008), available online at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2008/04/20080402-2.html.

20) Andrew Bostom (ed.), *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims* (Amherst NY: Prometheus Books, 2005).

argued, the secret of success for the Arab camel nomads who started jihad against the Byzantine Empire was based less on military superiority than on the weakness and decadence of the powers that they overthrew. These decadent empires centred on a sedentary culture, forgetful of the struggle for existence and far detached from the warlike spirit of jihad, making them ripe for conquest. The main question facing Europe today is whether history repeats itself? Has Europe's self-imposed meekness made it decadent, unwilling to 'look evil in the eye', and unlike the United States unable to reawaken the warrior spirit that has been suppressed by decades of European integration?

This key question, which touches upon the ostensible division between realism and morality, has been developed most provocatively in Robert D. Kaplan's book *Warrior Politics*.[21] Kaplan suggests that important lessons can still be learned from pre-Christian thinkers from antiquity such as Thucydides, Cicero, Seneca and Sun Tzu, as well as their modern disciples Clausewitz, Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes. Realist scholars will find themselves supported by Kaplan's call to take these thinkers seriously, and use their wisdom to enlighten the problems facing the twenty-first century. Kaplan suggests that the post-industrial West seeks to deny conflict, exercising self-denial based on the prevailing Judeo-Christian ethical code of cooperation and compromise. Kaplan calls upon the West to cease its values rhetoric and instead adopt a Realist strategy based on results, rather than on good intentions. This is particularly relevant for the European Union, whose civil libertarian impulses are of course salutary, but dangerous. As Kurt Tucholski once argued: '*Das Gegenteil von Gut ist nicht Böse, sondern gut gemeint*' [in English: 'the opposite of well done is not badly done, but well meant'].

It is certainly true that the West has become wary of war, and has for the very first time in history frowned upon military conquest and the concomitant warrior spirit. Every culture has revered heroes—such as Odysseus, King David, Muhammad, Aeneas and Genghis Khan—until now. Warrior heroes now need a 'license to kill', but the population at large seems to assume that it has transcended this kind of brutality; Genghis Khan has now been superseded by Javier Solana. This rather smug disdain for war and warriors reflects a mistaken view that modernity and the Enlightenment have not only changed international politics, but human nature at large.

Together with Kaplan, Lee Harris suggests that jihadists are warriors of the old school, and not just slightly more radical or retarded versions of postmodern man.[22] Harris suggests that the rise of democracy and reason are

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21) Robert D. Kaplan, *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos* (New York: Random House, 2001).

22) Lee Harris, *The Suicide of Reason: Radical Islam's Threat to the West* (New York: Basic Books, 2007). See also Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Sageman argues that

because of rare historical circumstances, and not because of their superiority. As a result, the survival of the Western societal model is not inevitable, but always tenuous. Liberal societies will always have to live with war, or at least acknowledge the spectre of war and be prepared to engage with it. Following Kaplan's ideas, Harris suggests that the liberal West may well be *morally* superior to others, but its values are not as widely shared as it assumes, and fragile to top. This raises the question of whether the West can embrace the warrior mentality, which is inimical to the very basic beliefs of liberalism, without destroying precisely what is being defended. In short, and focused on Europe: can the European Union conduct a Realist foreign and security policy, while maintaining its postmodern security community? Can the European Union develop a strategic culture (*à la* Robert Cooper's 'liberal imperialism') that incorporates at least a semblance of this warrior spirit, without the unravelling of its own post-national paradise?

Kaplan's warrior spirit may be just another way of referring to the Clausewitzian paradigm, underlying what is now often called a 'strategic culture'. As a strategic actor, the European Union starts off as a *tabula rasa*, whose institutional record still has to be set. This is not only a discursive process (based on words and discourse), but also a performative one (based on actions and policies).[23] In itself, this would hardly be new. As Erik Ringmar argues (taking Sweden's interventions during the Thirty Years' War as a case study), states can fight wars mainly to get recognition for a different identity, to be taken 'seriously' as a Great Power, rather than for objective, rational, Realist reasons of pre-established national interests.[24] For the nation-state, this offers new, heroic narratives based on wars of national defence, national liberation, and the customary glorification of the individuals who sacrificed themselves out of loyalty to their *Heimat*, Motherland, or whatever anthropomorphic characterization of territory is chosen.[25] It will be difficult to imagine a nation whose identity has not been (at least partially) framed by its conflicts and wars.

The power envy of EU member states indicates that their national identities remain sticky, and do not change easily, let alone often. But change is possible, particularly during critical junctures that can be defined as '*perceived* crisis situations occurring from complete policy failures, but also

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contrary to widespread assumptions, terrorists are not willing to sacrifice themselves because they hate their target, but because of a positive reason, such as glory and reputation.

23)  David Long, 'The Security Discourses of the European Union: A Functional Critique', in Lucian M. Ashworth and David Long (eds), *New Perspectives on International Functionalism* (London/New York: Macmillan, 1999). See also John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (Cambridge MA.: Westview, 2003), esp. pp. 331–341.

24)  Erik Ringmar, *Identity, Interest and Action: A Cultural Explanation of Sweden's Intervention in the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

25)  Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

triggered by external events'.[26] European examples are the change in Germany's national identity after the Second World War, the United Kingdom's post-colonial identity after the dissolution of the British Empire, as well as more recently Russia's shift towards a post-imperial identity after the end of the Cold War and the demise of the USSR. Obviously, war is such a critical juncture, making it both necessary and easier for political elites to promote different ideas about political order and the role of their own state in a novel power constellation. War—won, lost or merely endured—often confronts states with a new territorial reality (see the examples of Germany, Britain and Russia), making a commensurate change in identity appear reasonable, almost natural.

Europe's identity as a (mainly) civilian power was severely dented by the Balkan wars of the 1990s, and the Kosovo imbroglio in particular. The informal institutional division of labour—whereby NATO fights, the EU funds and the UN feeds—gnawed at Europe's self-image as enlightened, superior Kantians-with-a-mission: to enlarge their postmodern space for others to benefit. But the European Union missed this unique and timely chance to use (or abuse) 'Kosovo' as an alibi to stabilize the meaning of 'European security' through military intervention. It was not the European Union that intervened, but NATO. Or, more precisely, it was the United States with its military superiority and 'just do it!' mentality that muscled in and brought the internecine conflict to a halt.[27] The Kosovo episode was devastating to Europe's continental dignity and pride. Europe—and the European Union in particular—was humbled, even humiliated.

As the crow flies, Kosovo is a mere 100 miles from Italy, Greece and Austria. As such an obvious part of geographical Europe, ending this conflict was flatly on Europe's policy plate. But while Europe's historical 'other' resurfaced in Kosovo, the European Union experienced a *déjà vu* all over again: impotent in the face of evil, long on rhetoric, short on political courage and military power. For the European Union, 'Kosovo' embodied a critical

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26) Martin Marcussen, Thomas Risse, Daniela Engelmann-Martin, Hans Joachim Knopf and Klaus Roscher, 'Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation-State Identities', *Journal of European Public Policy*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1999), p. 616.

27) The steady drumbeat of the US entertainment and media industry supports the United States' image as a superhero that 'reluctantly' steps in to rescue passive and usually incompetent communities and peoples. This is the myth of Captain America, the Lone Ranger and Superman, constructing the US as a redeemer nation. It is also an image that tickles the egos of US foreign policy-makers. For example, when the influential German weekly *Der Spiegel* created a cover featuring President George W. Bush as Rambo, Vice-President Dick Cheney as The Terminator, Condoleezza Rice as Xena Warrior Princess, and other officials as Batman and Conan the Barbarian, Washington did not express its indignation; instead, the US ambassador to Germany ordered 33 poster-sized renditions of the cover, which were sent back to the White House; see *Der Spiegel* (18 February 2002). See also Lillian Daniel, 'Doubting Tom', *The Christian Century*, vol. 120, no. 17 (23 August 2003), p. 38.

juncture, a war not fought but merely 'seen on TV'.[28] It showed that there were still people in Europe who failed to believe in the Euro-fairytale, who defined survival not in terms of ego-comfort, but in valleys and hills that were occupied in ethnic cleansing, not expressed in comitology.

'Kosovo' has also been a key challenge to the European Union's ego and nascent security identity. The ensuing European discourse on the Balkans/Kosovo has reformulated the EU's feebleness into a mythical 'wake-up call', sparking a *jetzt erst recht* mentality [in English: let's go for it!] in the face of its embarrassing military weakness *vis-à-vis* the United States. As (then) NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson argued in 1999: 'The division of labour we saw in the Kosovo air campaign was militarily necessary, but it is politically unsustainable in the longer term. The European Security and Defence Identity is no longer just an attractive idea; it has become an urgent necessity'.[29]

Trying to live up to this test, the European Union adopted its first-ever Security Strategy at the December 2003 European Council.[30] Echoing the US strategy (and reflecting the impact of Cooper's 'liberal imperialist' ideas on European strategic thinking), the EU Security Strategy identifies WMD proliferation as 'potentially the greatest threat to our security'. And although the European Union still maintains that 'our security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system', it makes a few path-breaking statements: 'With the new threats, the first line of defence will often be abroad. The new threats are dynamic [...] left alone, terrorist networks will become ever more dangerous'. It continues that: '[a]ctive policies are needed to counter the new dynamic threats. We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention'. The European Union also carefully copy-cats the United States' judgement that 'the gravest danger to [our Nation] lies at the crossroads of radicalism and technology'.[31] Obviously, it is this concoction of premodern barbarity and postmodern high-tech that poses the greatest threat to modernity's institutional framework.

But although the European Union's Security Strategy (which is currently under revision) takes an important step towards developing a European strategic culture, the transatlantic division of labour still exists: the US adopts a pagan ethos, whereas the EU turns the other cheek. This is best reflected in

28)  Elizabeth Pond, 'Kosovo: Catalyst For Europe', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 22, no. 4 (autumn 1999).

29)  Speech by Lord Robertson, Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, Amsterdam (15 November 1999).

30)  'A Secure Europe in a Better World', Brussels, no. EN-SO138/03 (June 2003). See also Peter van Ham, 'Europe Gets Real: The New Security Strategy Shows the EU's Geopolitical Maturity', *American Institute of Contemporary German Studies* (9 January 2004), available online at http://www.aicgs.org/c/vanham.shtml (22 January 2004).

31)  Office of the US Secretary of Defense, *Proliferation: Threat and Response* (Washington DC: Department of Defense, January 2001),

the radically different threat perceptions of the United States and the European Union. Whereas US President Bush clearly states in 2006 (introducing the US National Security Strategy) 'My Fellow Americans, America is at war', the EU's Security Strategy optimistically suggests that 'Europe has never been so prosperous, so secure nor so free'. Obviously, the European Union accepts only as much threat as it can afford, both militarily and psychologically.

# The European Union's Metrosexuality

The European Union's confusion about the role and place of power is unique. Parag Khanna therefore labels the EU the world's first 'metrosexual superpower', arguing that '[j]ust as metrosexuals are redefining masculinity, Europe is redefining old notions of power and influence'.[32] The term 'metrosexuality' (which gained currency in the mid-1990s) is based on images of narcissistic young men who adore fashion and accessories, and who are comfortable with their feminine side (based on the assumption that each person's personality has masculine and feminine elements). Nothing could probably be further detached from the Realist paradigm than a gendered view of power and politics. Still, Europe's lacking warrior spirit and denial of war can largely be blamed on the domestification (or sissification) of EU politics, and the marginalization of force and violence.

Europe's culture no longer honours traditional codes of manhood. Masculinity stands for being in control at all times, being in the driver's seat. But today, EU member states pool sovereignty, and acknowledge that they have exchanged government for governance. Of course, the feminization of politics has also touched other post-industrial societies, including the United States. Even the US military has been criticized as a 'feminized, hollow, demoralized, politically correct military' and suffered under claims that a

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32) Parag Khanna, 'The Metrosexual Superpower', *Foreign Policy*, no. 143 (July/August 2004), p. 68.

'feminist agenda emasculates the armed forces' warrior ethic'.[33] Reinstating Realism into the European Union's strategic culture therefore goes beyond recalibrating 'high politics', and touches upon the Union's overall identity as a metrosexual power. Reviving and renewing Realism inside the European Union basically asks to strengthen Europe's masculine side, to the detriment of its feminist persona.

Feminist scholars classically equate Realism with masculinity, mainly since Realism privileges action over passivity, and strength over weakness. As Cynthia Enloe argues: '[I]deas about masculinity are [...] intricately and invisibly interwoven with ideas about national security. So-called realist strategic dictums for state behavior sound a lot like dictums for hegemonic masculinity'.[34] Enloe links masculinity to politics by arguing that masculine and feminine roles and identities are shaped and confirmed in the international arena: 'A "real man" will become the protector of the world', Enloe suggests, suppressing his fears and stepping forwards to defend the weak, women and children. Whereas in 'the same "dangerous world" women will turn gratefully and expectantly to their fathers and husbands, real or surrogate'.[35] Enloe therefore concludes that '[i]deas of masculinity have to be perpetuated to justify foreign-policy risk-taking'.[36] Rekindling the European Union's inadequate and fragile warrior spirit, and returning to a sense of Realism in its foreign and security policy, therefore upsets Europe's cherished metrosexuality by privileging patriarchy over matriarchy.

Feminists' arguments that society can do without the constituting force of war are feeble. When Anita Taylor and M.J. Hardman argue that recent archaeological excavations 'in Peru lend additional support to the thesis that violence is not essential to the construction of civilization', they merely confirm that this may be a rare exception to the general rule.[37] For centuries, war has prompted the development of new technologies, inspired artists, and shaped values about loyalty, courage and honour.[38] From Homer to Ernst Jünger, war has been seen as a necessity of the human condition, and as a supreme test of body and will. More recently, Chris Hedges' book *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* argues (as the book's title of course gives away) that the

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33) Mona Charen, 'Feminist Agenda Emasculates the Armed Forces' Warrior Ethic', *Insight on the News*, vol. 16, no. 17 (8 May 2000), p. 48.

34) Carol Cohn, 'A Conversation With Cynthia Enloe: Feminists Look at Masculinity and the Men Who Wage War', *Signs*, vol. 28, no. 4 (summer 2003), p. 1204.

35) Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley/Los Angeles CA: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 12–13.

36) Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, p. 13.

37) Anita Taylor and M.J. Hardman, 'War, Language and Gender, What New Can Be Said? Framing the Issues', *Women and Language*, vol. 27, no. 2 (fall 2004), p. 4.

38) John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 2003).

[...] enduring attraction of war is this: Even with its destruction and carnage it can give us what we long for in life. It can give us purpose, meaning, a reason for living. Only when we are in the midst of conflict does the shallowness and vapidness of much of our lives become apparent. [...] And war is an enticing elixir. It gives us resolve, a cause. It allows us to be noble.[39]

In most of today's conflicts and wars, Hedges, a cameraman and journalist, finds the same psychological desire for violence among fighters in El Salvador, the Sudan, the Punjab, Iraq or Bosnia. Despite the obvious *horrida bella* [horrid wars], wars confirm that without the huge costs and suffering, violence's value would be less profound.

As mentioned earlier, EU citizens are no longer faced with this supreme test of patriotism, mainly since the military draft has generally been abolished. Horace's famous remark *dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori* [it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country] therefore no longer applies to EU Man. The EU is such a symbolically weak and nigh invisible political entity that it is difficult to image what event could trigger a 'rallying around the European flag'. Whereas the '9/11' terrorist attack on the Twin Towers ('the two erect towers penetrated then destroyed, [visualizing] the threat of the homosexual rape and simultaneous castration of the United States by a dark, brutal, and overwhelmingly masculine enemy')[40] symbolized an obvious declaration of war on the United States, the equivalent *vis-à-vis* the European Union is hard to come by. The EU's illusiveness and indecisiveness reflect its postmodern qualities, making it glib, untouchable and detached. To 'die for Brussels' is no option, mainly since it seems both impossible and ridiculous.

Feminists suggest that the United States' 'new supermachismo' grew out of 'recent challenges to male domination that made them feel insecure. In America the public humiliation of "9/11" added to the private humiliation of women who won't stay in their place', which, taken together, has 'created a need to reassert "manhood". That impulse is making military force America's foreign policy and tearing through society with a full throated roar'.[41] As Susan Faludi shows, '9/11' and the surge of the United States' traditional macho strength have pushed feminism off the map and led to the return of the 'manly man'.[42] Whereas this has been successful in the United States, the European Union's metrosexuality has made it immune to any possible 'attack' on Europe's remaining masculinity. Faludi's comment on the July 2005 terrorist attack on the London Underground illustrates the difference between the US and European responses: 'A criminal event was treated as a criminal

39) Chris Hedges, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning* (Oxford: PublicAffairs, 2002), p. 3.
40) Bonnie Mann, 'How America Justifies Its War: A Modern/Postmodern Aesthetics of Masculinity and Sovereignty', *Hypatia*, vol. 21, no. 4 (fall 2006), p. 155.
41) Marlene Nadle, 'Women on War', *Tikkun*, vol. 18, no. 5 (September/October 2003), p. 75.
42) Susan Faludi, *The Terror Dream: Fear and Fantasy in Post-9/11 America* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2007).

event. The British media did not go into paroxysms over how this was a referendum on British sexual politics'.[43]

The diverging impact of '9/11' on the United States and Europe has had significant ramifications for the transatlantic relationship and the manner in which the Iraq and Afghanistan wars have been fought by allies. The European Union has failed to show its colours in either conflict, but has only been involved in nation-building, economic and political reconstruction, and post-conflict reconciliation efforts. Clearly, the European Union has not yet embarked upon 'war', but has limited itself to the so-called 'lower echelon' of the conflict resolution spectrum, leaving the more heroic action to the United States (and NATO). This transatlantic division of labour was already established during the Balkan wars of the 1990s, when US National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice discomfited Europeans (in 2000) by advocating a withdrawal of US troops from the Balkans: 'This comes down to function. Carrying out civil administration and police functions is simply going to degrade the American capability to do the things America has to do. We don't need to have the 82$^{nd}$ Airborne escorting kids to kindergarten'.[44]

To equate the European Union as the gentler, kinder, normative, moral and civilian power would support the EU's security niche (or brand). However, in doing so, the European Union is trapped in a double bind.[45] The EU's own fairytale still holds states accountable for violence throughout human history, whereas member states still cling to traditional ('masculine') traditions as a means of identifying themselves as 'states'. While rejecting these traditions in the public (European) arena, they covertly adhere to principles that they must overtly reject.[46] The question confronting the European Union is whether war is 'a force that gives *Europeans* meaning'. Since its own rhetoric of anti-aggression has radically altered the way that Europe perceives itself, it remains questionable whether a more Realist worldview is achievable in the corridors of the European Union's Justus Lipsius building.

43) Patricia Cohen, 'An Interview With Susan Faludi: Towers Fell, and Attitudes Were Rebuilt', *The New York Times* (27 September 2007).

44) Michael R. Gordon, 'The 2000 Campaign: The Military; Bush Would Stop US Peacekeeping in Balkan Fights', *The New York Times* (21 October 2000).

45) Zaki Laïdi, 'The Normative Empire: The Unintended Consequences of European Power', *Les Essays de Telos* (Paris: Telos, 2008).

46) Kevin Alexander Boon, 'Men and Nostalgia for Violence: Culture and Culpability in Chuck Palahniuk's *Fight Club*', *Journal of Men's Studies*, vol. 11, no. 3 (spring 2003).

# Faire l'Europe par l'Épée?[47]

According to modern myth, Monnet argued that were he to begin again with the process of European integration, he would start with culture. Equally apocryphal, (former) European Commission President Jacques Delors has claimed that one should not expect European citizens to 'fall in love with the Common Market'. Both statements are frequently cited in the European discourse on identity formation, indicating the message that even EU Man 'shall not live by bread alone'.[48]

The European Union's moderation and modesty may be ethically, or morally, preferable and even superior. But this attitude has proven only partially justified. Gareth Evans was speaking for Western democracies as a whole when he claimed that '[i]t took us most of the [1990s] to relearn that war can be a progressive cause'.[49] In a similar vein, Christopher Hill indicated that '[s]tudents of the European Union have for too long neglected geopolitics, either because they could not see its relevance to a "civilian power" or because they were uneasy with that kind of discourse for normative reasons'.[50] Today, war is still abhorred, but repackaged and rebranded as

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47) In English: to make Europe by the sword.

48) *The Holy Bible*, Matthew 4:4.

49) Gareth Evans, 'The Responsibility to Protect: When It's Right to Fight', *Progressive Politics*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2003), p. 68.

50) Christopher Hill, 'The Geopolitical Implications of Enlargement', in Jan Zielonka (ed.), *Europe Unbound: Enlarging and Reshaping the Boundaries of the European Union* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 98.

'humanitarian intervention' and subsequently as 'nation-building' it has become at least acceptable to the EU's discerning political palate. 'War is never civilized', British Prime Minister Tony Blair declared in June 1999, 'but war can be necessary to uphold civilization'.[51] In short: the European Union does not do just 'war', but only 'just wars'.

The centrality of war as a state-builder and identity congealer is not only a political phenomenon with a long history; it remains lurking in the nature of Europe's postmodern society.[52] Within the European Union's Kantian space, war has been exorcized and delegitimized, turning the political game into collective nit-picking over voting rights and subsidies. European politics has become domestic politics. But within Europe's Postmodern Man[53] still lingers a Nietzschean desire to glorify war as the greatest of all mental and physical stimulants. It is part of Nietzsche's notion of the duality within individuals, the dynamic between their Apollonian and Dionysian sides. In his *Die Geburt der Tragödie* [*The Birth of Tragedy*], Nietzsche claims that the Apollonian principle exemplifies self-knowledge and moderation (Europe's civilian, reflexive mode), whereas the Dionysian element is a symbol of primal unity where 'each one feels himself not only united, reconciled and fused with his neighbour, but as one with him'[54] (Europe's new role as a military actor).

The Dionysian notion of war is therefore the flip side of the 'Real (Apollonian) Europe', a psychological urge to experience the danger of life at the 'wild side', because the 'splendours of freedom are at their brightest when freedom is sacrificed at the altar of security'.[55] One could argue that in today's world, war is the IR equivalent of bungee-jumping, something intrinsically useless but exciting that gets the adrenaline flowing. Without war and anarchy as the ultimate 'other', appreciation of Europe's peaceful and domesticated self would be less real, and ultimately decline. War is the Jungian shadow,

51) Tony Blair, *Prime Minister's Speech on a New Beginning for Kosovo (10 June 1999)*, available online at http://number10.gov.uk/public/info/index.html (accessed 16 November 2000).

52) See Joyce Carol Oates's review of Kasia Boddy's *Boxing: A Cultural History* (London: Reaktion, 2008), in *The New York Review of Books* (29 May 2008).

53) See the World Values Surveys (WVS) of Ronald Inglehart, where European states whose societies share a clear need 'for belonging, self-expression, and a participant role', in Ronald Inglehart, 'Globalization and Postmodern Values', *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (winter 2000), p. 221.

54) Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and the Case of Wagner* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 37. The original German text is more poetic: 'Jetzt, bei dem Evangelium der W eltenharmonie, fühlt sich Jeder mit seinem Nächsten nicht nur vereinigt, versöhnt, verschmolzen, sondern eins, als ob der Schleier der Maja zerrissen wäre und nur noch in Fetzen vor dem geheimnissvollen Ur-Einen herumflattere. Singend und tanzend äußert sich der Mensch als Mitglied einer höheren Gemeinsamkeit: er hat das Gehen und das Sprechen verlernt und ist auf dem Wege, tanzend in die Lüfte emporzufliegen'. Many thanks to J. Peter Burgess for referring me to Nietzsche's work on this issue.

55) Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodernity and Its Discontents* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p. 3.

giving Europe's persona its depth, and—although Europeans will not easily admit to it—also a foundation and a sense of community. As Kwame Anthony Appiah has it, 'the world we have inherited is the product of identities created long ages ago in rivers of blood proceeding from slaughter that was as often within Christendom or Islam as it was at their frontiers'.[56] For the European Union, the continued centrality of war therefore asks the question of whether 'Europe' will, or should, be made by the sword, just as most of its member states have done before it.[57]

Rationally, the continental organization of European defence is advantageous, since the economies of scale derived from EU-level military R&D, defence procurement, planning and operations are impressive.[58] The European Union now restricts itself to peacekeeping and peace-support operations, mainly in the Balkans, but also 'out of area' in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Chad. These are piecemeal steps towards changing the EU's identity (and imago) from a purely 'civilian actor' to a fully fledged statal entity on a continental scale.

The inevitable—be it equally uncomfortable—conclusion may be that what is necessary for the European Union to become 'bad' and cool is to engage in military interventions, preferably without the United Nations Security Council's mandate. This would signal to the EU's international partners that 'Europe' has reached the political Champions League, and at the same time signal to 'its' citizens that the European Union (and *not* the state) takes responsibility for security and defence matters. Cynthia Weber therefore argues that 'intervention is understood to be the flip side of sovereignty', turning 'sovereignty and intervention [into] the boundary of a sovereign state's authority'. The bottom line is that 'to speak about intervention practices is to imply the existence of sovereign states [...] [O]ne way to assert the existence of something (sovereignty) is to insist upon the existence of its opposite (intervention)'.[59] Just playing with guns does not a soldier make; the European Union has to make its mark, collect scalps and

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56) Kwame Anthony Appiah, 'How Muslims Made Europe', *The New York Review of Books*, vol. 55, no. 17 (6 November 2008), p. 62.

57) These constructivist notions of national identity follow the arguments of (the recently deceased historian) Charles Tilly, who claims that states do not only make war, but that war also makes (constructs and justifies) states. See Charles Tilly, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). See also Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson, *War and State Making: The Shaping of the Global Powers* (Boston MA: Unwin Hyman, 1989). Rasler and Thompson argue, for example, that '[g]lobal wars and global power state making [...] are inextricably bound together' (p. 205).

58) Burkhard Schmitt, 'The European Union and Armaments: Getting a Bigger Bang For the Euro', *Chaillot Paper* no. 63 (Paris: EU Institute for Security Studies, August 2003).

59) Cynthia Weber, *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State and Symbolic Exchange* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 18, 19 and 27.

earn respect. The European Union has to undergo the initiation rite of intervention to shed its civilian, feminine image and join the exclusive rank of superpowers, run by supermen. Such an intervention-prone EU which is trying to prove its *machismo* will be a mixed blessing. But this is a normative judgement, and not an academic one.

Following this line of argument, the European Union may take the next step and prove its 'manhood' (or its 'actorness')[60] to itself and the rest of the world by ignoring and violating the sovereignty of others, and it has to mark its territory by illegally trespassing on the territory of others.[61] For the European Union, the added bonus of this policy is that it aims to 'repair' failed states that are anomalies in the modern world system, and, by their very existence, question other states' status and authority. Following the logic of *horror vacui* [fear of emptiness], failed states either have to go (for example by being absorbed into 'successful' federations), turn themselves into UN protectorates, or reform and thrive. By identifying the 'Indians' and putting on war paint, the European Union prepares itself for defending its frontiers and civilizing that anarchic wilderness, subjugating its wild nature and converting the savages to accept the Kantian gospel. Following Cynthia Weber's logic, an EU-led intervention would substantiate the European Union's authority over defence matters, elevating it into a league of its own.

60) Christopher Hill, 'The Capabilities–Expectations Gap, or Conceptualizing Europe's International Role', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 31, no. 3 (1993).

61) Peter van Ham, 'Simulating European Security: Kosovo and the Balkanization–Integration Nexus', in Peter van Ham and Sergei Medvedev (eds), *Mapping European Security After Kosovo* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

# Conclusion

Robert Walker has rightly reminded us that it is a grand cliché of modernity to claim that we live in an 'era of rapid transformations':

> Ever since the possibility of a progressive history was elaborated during the European Enlightenment, modern thinkers have struggled to grasp the succession of events as an unfolding of a more or less reasonable, even rational process.[62]

Europe's post-'9/11' fairytale follows a similar narrative: we live in a different era, with new threats and new actors, which 'Europe' can only control by continuous integration at home, and a new style of fierceness abroad.[63] It will take some time and many incantations to make this story stick.

What is essential in this process is a dual effort to act strategically (by military intervention) and discursively (by the EU's Security Strategy), encouraging a process of elite and popular socialization towards a heroic European identity within a circumscribed EU space. EU-led war as the 'right thing' to do involves practical adaptation (moving towards European armed forces and defence planning, etc.), as well as socialization through discourse,

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62) Rob Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 3.

63) 'Final Report of Working Group VIII: Defence', *The European Convention* (16 December 2002), available online at http://register.consilium.eu.int/pdf/en/02/cv00/00461en2.pdf (18 November 2008)).

emphasizing communication, argumentation and persuasion.[64] For the European Union, military action should be adopted as a 'persuasion', a *habitus* (as encapsulated by Pierre Bourdieu, or an acquired pattern of perception, thought and action), or a *Hintergrundkonsens* (or background consensus, as in Jürgen Habermas), which shines through over time, be it erratically, and whose meaning we recognize only in retrospect. For the European Union to reach this goal, it will take time and will only be realized through deeds and achievement.

It will also mean that the European Union—which is always referred to as a process, rather than a condition—is reaching adolescence. After the absorption of Central Europe into the European body politic, the European Union will have a clearer appreciation of its territorial shape. But the floods of the world's poor will continue, reminding the swollen 'Real Europe' of its 'real' tasks and the permeability of its borders. The European Union will (have to) realize that (its) territory is no longer the basis of (its) power; nor is it a sufficient guarantee of (its) security. The prospect of a 'Fortress Europe'—emulating the gated communities of opulence dotted across the United States—is unrealistic, while unsustainable. Threats to Europe's security know no inside/outside dichotomy; 'terrorists' of all feathers have cells, rather than bases, and use the internet, rather than classical diplomacy.

The European Union's embrace of the persuasion of power adds a masculine side to its increasingly androgynous persona, inevitably turning diversity into internalized schizophrenia. What Cooper calls a 'policy of double standards' means accepting a legitimate role of war to annihilate (or convert) failed states, and terrorist 'undecidables', whose very existence cannot be tolerated. By using the practice and language of violence, the European Union makes a discursive move that offers it state-like qualities and state-like authority. Again, this will take time. Taking a Braudelian perspective, our interest goes to the evolution of the fundamental structures and the *mentalités* that define a specific era, rather than mere events or medium-term time spans.[65] In this *longue durée* [long-term historical perspective], the European Union will take on 'imperial' (that is, empire-like) qualities, and many of the neo-medievalist fantasies may come true. Within this European *Großraum* [large space], people live the experiences of (regional) globalization, informatization and risk society, in the unsettling awareness that the postmodern geostrategic condition is gnawing at all of the boundaries—between inside/outside, domestic/foreign, West/rest, and us/them. Perhaps even between good/bad. It is in this context that the

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64) Pernille Rieker, 'Security, Integration and Identity Change', *NUPI Working Paper*, no. 611 (December 2000), p. 32.

65) Fernand Braudel, *On History* (Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press, 1980 [originally published 1958]). See also Andrew Latham, 'Warfare Transformed: A Braudelian Perspective on the "Revolution in Military Affairs"', *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2002).

European Union's ambitions of fighting necessary but 'just wars' should be situated.

Despite all the horror and suffering, war remains the most forceful signifier of all.

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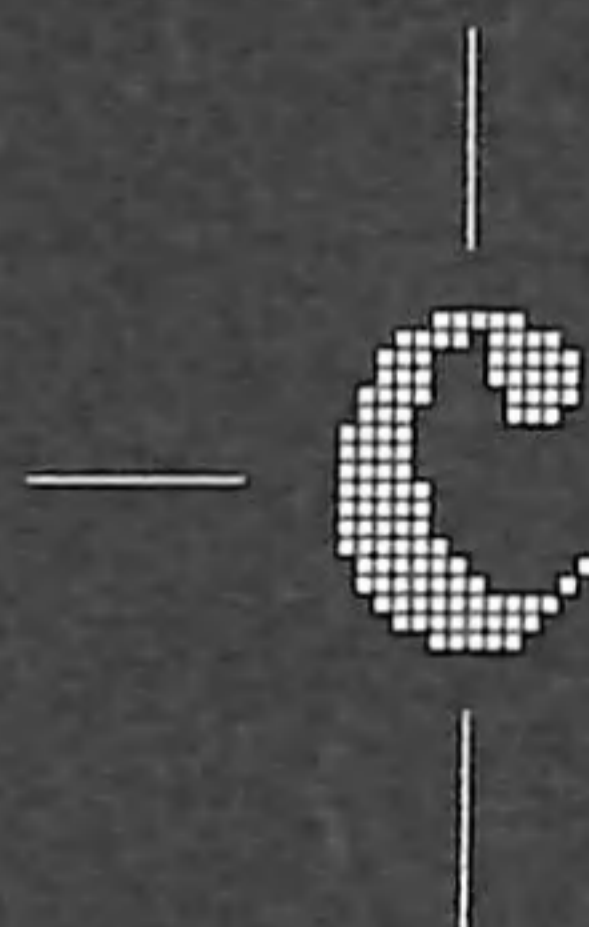
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This paper examines the role of conflict and war in the process of European integration from a neoclassical Realist perspective. It borrows generously from theoretical relatives, most notably constructivism and feminist theory. It argues that the EU needs to normalize its relationship with power, and find a balance between its modern and postmodern personae. It concludes that the EU should abscond its 'ethical' commitment to shape the world in its own, post-national image, and that it has to return to its Realist roots and base its foreign, security, and defense policies on a more hard-headed calculation of common European interests.

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