



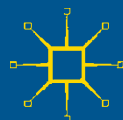
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THE EU, PROMOTING REGIONAL INTEGRATION, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Edited by
Thomas Diez and Nathalie Tocci



Palgrave Studies in European Union Politics

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The EU, Promoting Regional Integration, and Conflict Resolution

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACFTA	ASEAN-China Free Trade Area
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
ADMM	ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting
AEISP	ASEAN Economic Integration Support Programme
AFET	Committee on Foreign Affairs
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission to Mali
ALBA	Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América (Bolivian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America)
AMDH	Association Marocaine des Droits Humains (Moroccan Association of Human Rights)
AMM	ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Meeting
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APF	African Peace Facility
API	Arab Peace Initiative
APRIS	ASEAN-EU programme for Regional Integration Support and Plan for Action
APT	ASEAN Plus Three cooperation
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamist Maghreb
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
AU	African Union

BCEAO	Banque Centrale des Etats de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (Central Bank of the West African States)
CAN	Comunidad Andina (Andean Community)
CEAO	Communauté Economique de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (Economic Community of West Africa)
CELAC	Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños (Community of Latin American and Caribbean States)
CEPGL	Communauté économique des pays des Grands Lacs (Economic Community of Great Lakes Countries)
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CILSS	Comité permanent Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse au Sahel (Permanent Interstate Committee for drought control in the Sahel)
CNDH	Conseil National des Droits de l’Homme (National Human Rights Commission)
COC	Code of Conduct
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
COPOLAD	Cooperation Programme on Drugs Policies between Latin America and the European Union
COREPER	EU’s Committee of Permanent Representatives
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
CSCE	Council for Security Cooperation in Europe
CSDN	Civil Society Dialogue Network
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CT	Conflict Transformation
DG	Directorate General
DOC	Declaration of the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea
DPRK	Democratic People’s Republic of Korea
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EAS	Europe-Asia Summit
EC	European Commission
EC	European Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOMICI	ECOWAS Mission in Côte d’Ivoire

ECOMIL	ECOWAS Mission in Liberia
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEAS	European External Action Service
EEC	European Economic Community
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EP	European Parliament
EPA	European Partnership Agreement
EPADP	EPA Development Programme
EUHR	High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
EUISS	EU Institute for Security Studies
EUPOL COPPS EU	Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support
EWASH	Emergency Water and Sanitation Hygiene Group
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People’s Army)
FDLR	Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda (Armed Liberation Forces of Rwanda)
FTA	Free Trade Area
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICEIDA	Icelandic International Development Agency
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
IMB	International Maritime Bureau
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
JWG	Joint Working Group

KEDO	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organisation
LA	Latin America
LAS	League of Arab States
LDCs	Less Developed Countries
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur (Southern Common Market)
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MNLA	National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAS	Organisation of American States
OAS	Organisation of American States
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PA	Palestinian Authorities
PAIRCA	Programme to Support Central America Regional Integration
PAIRCA	Programme for the Support of Central American Integration
PAPED	Economic Partnership Agreement Development Programme
PASS	Programme of Support for the Security Sector
PDGG	Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
POLISARIO	Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguía el Hamra y Río de Oro (Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguía el-Hamra and Río de Oro)
PRDP	Palestinian Reform and Development Plan
REC	Regional Economic Community
RI	Regional Integration
RIP	Regional Indicative Programmes
ROK	Republic of Korea
RSC	Regional Security Complex

RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADR	Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SEDE	Subcommittee on Security and Defence
SEFRO	Programa Regional de Seguridad Fronteriza en América Central (Regional Programme of Secure Borders in Central America)
SICA	Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana (Central American Integration System)
SOM	Senior Official's Meeting
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
TIM	Temporary International Mechanism
UAC	United Arab Command
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UEMOA	Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (Economic and Monetary Union of West African States)
UfM	Union for the Mediterranean
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Unión de Naciones Suramericanas (Union of South American Nations)
UNCLOS	UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCTAD	UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	UN Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
UNOWA	UN Office for West Africa
UNRWA	UN Relief and Works Agency
UNSC	UN Security Council
US	United States (of America)
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WFP	World Food Programme

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Introduction: Promoting Regional Integration and Transforming Conflicts?

*Thomas Diez, Nathalie Tocci,
with Giovanni Faleg, and Eva Scherwitz*

The promotion of regional integration has been a central pillar of European Union (EU) relations with the rest of the world. In fact, it has been depicted as a “distinct European idea” (Börzel and Risse 2009: 5; see also Bicchi 2006; Grugel 2004). Since the 1970s, the EU has negotiated and concluded several interregional agreements with Asian, Latin American or African States, including the EC-ASEAN Cooperation Agreement (1980) or the EC-Mercosur Interregional Framework Cooperation Agreement (1995). The EU has also supported regional integration efforts elsewhere

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with significant sums of money, for instance building up administrative and security capacities in the African Union (AU).

This policy is an essential part of the promotion of particular norms to shape the future of international society in what Manners (2002) has described as “Normative Power Europe” (see Adler and Crawford 2006; Santander 2005; Hänggi 2003). As a regional integration project, and with the historical experience of European integration as a background, it is no surprise that the EU would follow such a course as part of its developing foreign policy. Furthermore, the construction of the EU single market favours the extension of trade relations with similar entities as part of its wider external action.

Yet the promotion of integration is by no means only a matter of expanding trade relations. It involves a more fundamental transformation of international relations towards regional international societies, in which institutionalised cooperation replaces conflictive behaviour as a standard. As such, promoting regional integration is part of a classic liberal peace project of constraining states and transforming conflicts between them. The EU received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012 for its own contribution to such a transformation within Europe—from a continent that had been the turf for two world wars to an integrated entity in which conflicts persist but in which war is no longer an option to deal with them. Regional integration also has been a key strategy of the EU in order to foster conflict transformation in its near abroad (Bicchi 2011; Tsardanidis 2011; Niemann and de Wekker 2010; Ciambra 2008).

Promoting regional integration thus is a strategy to deal with core security challenges, the transformation of conflicts and in particular regional conflicts. The 2003 EU Security Strategy lists such regional conflicts as one of five “key threats” in the “global challenges” that the EU faces (Council of the European Union 2003a: 2–4). The Strategy also outlines an “international order based on effective multilateralism” as the way forward to address these challenges. In particular, it emphasises regional organisations in their “contribution to a more orderly world” (Council of the European Union 2003a: 9).

Yet to what extent has the promotion of regional integration been successful in transforming conflicts? What can we regard as the core mechanisms of such an impact? And even if the success so far has been limited, what are the prospects of such a policy moving forward? The literature,

as we will discuss below, has been rather sceptical both on the success of promoting integration and on its impact on conflict transformation. Does that mean that this focus on regions as the pillars of an alternative, peaceful international order is misguided?

In this volume, we offer a comprehensive assessment of the nexus between promoting integration and conflict transformation. We do so by systematically comparing the consequences of EU involvement in eight conflicts in four world regions within a common framework, which we set out in the remainder of this introduction. In doing so, we are not interested in direct EU interventions, militarily or otherwise, in violent conflicts. Instead, we focus specifically on the promotion of integration as a preventive strategy to avoid conflicts turning violent and as a long-term strategy to transform violent conflicts by placing them in a broader institutional context. Simultaneous EU or member state direct interventions in conflicts may of course have an impact on such a strategy (both in its formulation and its success or failure), but they are not our focus in their own right.

Our analysis includes some “hard” cases such as North Korea and Israel/Palestine because, as we will outline in these chapters, the EU has a long-standing regional engagement there. Other cases such as Syria and Iraq are missing—regionalism has not been at the forefront of dealing with Iraq, and the war in Syria had not yet fully developed when we started our analysis in 2011. Yet the problems of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership as one regionalisation tool will be evident from the Israel/Palestine case and will underline one core policy consequence of this book: that the EU needs to be more open to different forms of regionalism, rather than promoting its own experience. Thus, when we write about “integration” or “model setting” in this book, we do not imply the “export” or replication of the EU’s integration path.

DEFINITIONS

Thus, before we engage further with the literature and outline our analytical framework, we need to define the core terms involved in our question. This is particularly important given that concepts such as “integration”, “conflict” and “transformation” are essentially contested and thus may provoke misunderstanding if not set out clearly at the beginning.

Regional Integration

We define integration in the broadest terms possible, as institutionalised linkages across state borders within a territorially confined space. Such linkages can be formal or informal; however, they need to be institutionalised in the sociological sense of an evolved pattern of behaviour that is also recognised as such by the actors involved. Integration can take place in different societal sectors; in particular, there may be economic (e.g. through the development of integrated markets), political (e.g. through the construction of common organisational structures) or societal integration (e.g. through the twinning of cities). Consequently, the actors of integration vary from politicians and civil servants to market participants, civil society representatives and ordinary citizens.

This is a quite undemanding definition. Neither do we equate integration with the development of a supranational system of governance, that is a system in which laws passed on the regional level take direct effect in member states, nor do we set the transcendence of national identities as a threshold. Indeed, sustained intergovernmental cooperation would be one form of integration according to our definition and so would regional trade patterns without any overarching organisational structure.

We have adopted such a broad definition because we want to differentiate between the specific model of European integration and the wider forms of integration that may be possible. If we had taken the EU model as our baseline, we would have run the risk of setting the bar too high and of ignoring alternatives that may be marginalised by or fostered against the EU. Our definition, in contrast, allows us to consider the ways in which state-centred integration projects have disrupted regionally integrated informal social interactions in East Africa, or how local actors have pushed Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Mercosur as alternative models to European integration. Even the European Commission noted in 1995:

It should be recognized that the European model, shaped by the continent's history, is not easily transferable nor necessarily appropriate for other regions. On the other hand, to the extent that the European model of integration has become an unavoidable 'reference model' for virtually all regional initiatives, the EU should share with other interested parties its experience on: improving the functioning of regional institutions, absorbing the adjustment costs originated by lowering barriers, and sharing the benefits from integration. (Commission of the European Union 1995: 8)

The questions that flow from such a broad definition of integration concern the degree to which, therefore, the EU focuses on only a specific model of integration in its policies, how the promotion of particular kinds of integration affects existing local alternatives and to what extent different regional integration projects can learn from each other.

Regional Conflict

While the European Security Strategy clearly identifies regional conflicts as a core threat, it failed to provide a definition of the term, except for providing the examples of “Kashmir, the Great Lakes Region and the Korean Peninsula” (Council of the European Union 2003a: 4). These are, however, very different types of conflicts, concerning both the types of actors involved and their regional spread.

The term “conflict” describes, in broad terms, a set of incompatible subject positions (Diez et al. 2006: 565). Conflict actors can deal with conflicts in peaceful or violent and in regularised or irregular ways. Conflict thus does not imply the exercise of physical violence. Instead, conflict pervades societies and often has a productive function in that it sparks the development of societal institutions and innovations designed to channel difference in constructive ways.

In contrast, conflicts in the sense of the European Security Strategy, given the example used, are characterised by violent behaviour. This matches a less technical, yet more widespread definition of conflict as armed clashes that result from contested incompatibilities concerning government, resources or territory (Stefanova 2006: 83). In that sense, conflicts are constrained to the highest level in our broader definition.

For reasons that are important to our definition of conflict transformation, we use conflicts as the incompatibility of subject positions as our underlying reference point. However, in our selection of cases, we apply the more restrictive definition, not least because our task would otherwise become unmanageable but also because such an understanding of conflict underpins the political problem that we want to address. We therefore look at conflicts in which some degree of physical violence is present, has been present in the past or threatens to be present in the near future.

The focus on the regional character of conflicts can be traced back to the concept of “regional security complex” (RSC). RSCs are defined as groups of states whose security interests are linked together “sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart

from another” (Buzan 1991: 190) and are “regional” to the extent that “interests are tied together by regional, short-distance, cross-border linkages” (Fürstenberg 2010: 9).

According to the RSC framework, and on the basis of several empirical studies (Rubin and Armstrong 2003; Leenders 2007; Giroux et al. 2009; Lambach 2007), regional conflicts are characterised by four dimensions: (1) the degree of geographical proximity; (2) the type of interaction between involved parties, which may either be “cooperative or confrontational” (Ansorg 2011: 174); (3) the structure of the relationships between conflict actors, which features a dynamic plurality of national and transnational networks; and (4) the degree to which conflict interactions have become interlocked to make a conflict intractable (Fürstenberg 2010: 9).

Conflict Transformation

Our broad understanding of conflict as the incompatibility of subject positions is vital to our definition of conflict transformation. We do not assume that such transformation leads to the disappearance of conflict. To the contrary, we assume that in most cases, conflict will persist, but conflict identities and, above all, conflict behaviour will change. Again, we therefore opt for a broad understanding of conflict transformation that simply identifies a change in the behaviour of conflict parties and possibly, although not necessarily, in their identities or in their perception of the issue at the heart of the incompatibility itself. Such a change may be positive in the sense of leading to more peaceful means of dealing with the conflict, or it may be negative in the sense of a further intensification of the conflict in the sense of a move towards more violent conflict behaviour.

This implies that we are interested in both conflict management as a strategy to contain violence through institutionalised rules of behaviour and conflict resolution as a strategy to tackle the “root causes” of conflicts through meeting the needs of conflict parties and altering their conflictual identities and interests. While the degree of “transformation” involved in conflict management is lower than in conflict resolution, we propose that the two are not necessarily incompatible, and that over time, the engagement in management may well lead to resolution and need not perpetuate the core conflict lines. The effects that management has on a conflict, we presume, will depend on the nature of the rules and institutions set up as well as on societal developments outside of the management framework.

Our interest in the distinction between conflict management and conflict resolution as two transformative strategies in relation to our argument stems from their interplay with different forms of integration. Integration in the EU sense is supposed to generate “alternative satisfiers” necessary to address the basic needs of all conflict parties leading to the gradual re-articulation of subject positions to the point when conflict parties no longer view themselves as such (Burton 1990; Gurr 1994: 365). Integration thus transforms the societal fabric in which conflicts are embedded (Mitchell 2011: 92; Wallensteen 2007: 251). It binds actors to institutions and codes of conduct that shape their behaviour, ultimately transforming the identities underlying a conflict and leading to the long-term prevention of violent conflict behaviour (Senghaas-Knobloch 1969; Lederach 1997).

Yet not all forms of integration will have, or indeed aim at, such a deep transformative effect. Regional integration, especially in more intergovernmental forms of sustained cooperation, may merely serve as a channel to manage conflict through the institutionalisation of relations between conflict parties. The aim of integration is then not necessarily that of eliminating or fundamentally transforming the conflict structure and the social relations therein but managing conflict behaviour to ensure that their most acute manifestations such as violence are kept at bay (Kleiboer 1996: 382). By situating a regional conflict within a regional institutional structure, the conflict is expected to unfold within the confines and constraints of rule-bound action, although to repeat, this may, in the long run, also lead to deeper transformation.

This raises a number of interesting questions for our purposes. Is the EU better at promoting conflict management or conflict transformation? Does the type of regional integration promoted make a difference to conflict transformation? Can the promotion of integration only work in particular conflict stages? And to what extent do the characteristics of a particular conflict constrain the possibilities to effectively promote integration?

THE STATE OF THE ART

The interest in regional integration as a means to conflict transformation is not new, but it has intensified since the end of the Cold War. In her study on regional conflict systems, Ansorg (2011) describes a general change in terms of the characteristics of warfare that took place in the aftermath of World War II before the global overlay of the Cold War set in.