

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

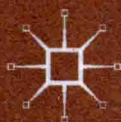


EXTERNAL GOVERNANCE AS SECURITY COMMUNITY BUILDING

THE LIMITS AND POTENTIAL OF THE
EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY



Edited by
Pernille Rieker



Pernille Rieker
Editor

External Governance as Security Community Building

The Limits and Potential of the European
Neighbourhood Policy

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The European Union in International Affairs

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The European Union (EU) has expanded its membership, scope and impact over time, to the extent that the EU now undeniably plays a key role in international politics, law and economics. At the same time, changes in the international system continue to have an impact on, and pose new challenges to, the EU. While the range of international policies grow with every summit, the EU's impact and influence on them have been disputed. The EU is a key interlocutor for states and regional bodies throughout the world and a promoter of effective multilateralism. It is even regarded as a putative model or reference point for many regional bodies, and admired for its policy design and institutional development. A feature of the EU is that it regularly 'imports' and increasingly 'exports' various policies and norms. Against this dynamic backdrop, this Book Series aims to be a central resource for the growing community of scholars and policy-makers who are keen to understand the interface between the EU and international affairs. This Series provides in-depth, cutting-edge and original contributions to world-class research on the EU in international affairs by highlighting new developments, insights, challenges and opportunities. It encompasses analyses of the EU's international role, as mediated by its Member States, in international institutions and in its strategic bilateral and regional partnerships. It will further examine the ongoing profusion of EU internal policies with external implications and the ways in which these are both driven by, and feed back into, international developments. Grounded in Political Science, International Relations, International Political Economy, Law, Sociology and History, the Series reflects a commitment to inter-disciplinary scholarship. We welcome book proposals relating to the changing role of the EU in international affairs across policies and the Union's relations with different parts of the world as well as relations with states, regions and multilateral institutions. We welcome both theory-informed studies and studies comparing the EU with other major global actors. We are interested in proposals from young and promising scholars, from mid-career academics and from established experts.

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I am particularly grateful for financial support from the Norwegian MFA and its Section for European and International Affairs, which funded the first phase of this project. The next phase of this project, with rewriting, updating, and the editing, was conducted at NUPI within the framework of the EUNOR project, which is funded by the Research Council of Norway under its programme, Europe in Transition.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the authors for their collaboration and for their contributions, which shed light both on how the Neighbourhood Policy functions as an instrument for security community-building and how it is perceived in the various partner

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Introduction: The European Neighbourhood Policy: An Instrument for Security Community-Building

Pernille Rieker

I INTRODUCTION

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was initially intended to create what the former president of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, called ‘a *ring of friends* surrounding the Union, from Morocco to Russia and the Black Sea’ (Prodi 2002). Today, however, the ever-worsening security situation in the region clearly shows that the aim has not been achieved. With wars and instability in Ukraine, Syria, and Libya, the Union’s neighbourhood can therefore better be described as ‘a ring of fire’. Does this mean that the policy has failed and that an alternative policy towards the European Union’s (EU’s) neighbours is needed? Or should these developments be seen as temporary setbacks caused by external factors beyond EU control? By comparing the EU’s approach to its eastern and southern neighbours, this volume seeks to answer such overarching questions. We find that the EU still has a potential role to play in providing regional security, but that this role also risks being

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increasingly undermined if it does not start to take into account the broader geostrategic realities in both regions.

The EU has been engaged in promoting democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in its eastern and southern neighbourhoods since the 1990s. The approaches in the two regions have differed but have always been presented as *instruments* for stability. The underlying assumption is that there is a positive relationship between greater economic (and political) integration, on the one hand, and security on the other—a logic central to the European integration process since the 1950s, and also the main reason behind the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU in 2012. While conditionality has been an important mechanism in the EU's policy towards its neighbourhood, practice has varied. For instance, this policy has been most successful for candidate and potential candidate countries in the east, where prospects of full EU membership have been an important element. In this book, we ask how does this approach function also beyond these categories of countries, throughout the regions covered by the 'European Neighbourhood' Policy? While most studies have investigated the EU's relations with partner countries in either the eastern or the southern neighbourhood, the chapters in this volume compare EU's policy towards a selection of countries in *both* regions.

As the policy has been increasingly challenged in both regions since 2010, the EU has started a process of revising this policy. While the first revision was made in response to the Arab Spring in 2011 (European Commission/HR Foreign and Security Policy 2011), the second was done in response to the crisis in Ukraine and the migration crisis (European Commission/HR Foreign and Security Policy 2015). The recent fighting between Russian-supported separatists and Ukrainian government troops in the eastern part of Ukraine, as well as the conflicts in Syria and Libya to the south, with the fight against Daech or ISIS leading to massive numbers of refugees, shows clearly that the Union's neighbourhood is far from stable. The dramatic deterioration of the security situation makes it increasingly important to understand more about the functioning (or malfunctioning) of this policy from the EU side (Tocci 2014). Is the ENP equipped to meet the security challenges in the region today? What are the limits of this policy? And what is the potential for such a policy to succeed?

Much has been written about the ENP (see, e.g. Bosse 2007; Börzel and van Hüllen 2014; Dannreuther 2006; Freyburg et al. 2009; Kelly 2006; Lavanex 2004; Whitman and Juncos 2012). The recent and comprehensive volume edited by Whitman and Wolff (2012), for instance,