THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND THE EU

FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY STRATEGY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

TAYLAN ÖZGÜR KAYA

I.B.TAURIS

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To Aslı with love

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
EC	European Community
ECU	European Currency Unit
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
EOM	European Union Election Observer Mission
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EUBAM Rafah	European Union Border Assistance Mission for the Rafah Crossing Point
EU	European Union
EUCOPPS	EU Coordinating Office for Palestinian Police Support
EUFP	European Union Foreign Policy
EUPOL COPPS	European Union Police Mission for the Palestinian Territories
EUSR	European Union Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process
Fatah	Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filastini (Palestinian National Liberation Movement)

GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
GMP	Global Mediterranean Policy
Hamas	Harakat Al-Muqawama Al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MEDA	Mesures d'Accompagnement (Accompanying Measures)
MEPP	Middle East peace process
MERCUSOR	Mercado Comun del Sur (Southern Common Market)
MFO	Multinational Sinai Force and Observers
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PEGASE	Palestino-Européen de Gestion et d'Aide Socio-Economique (European Mechanism of Support to the Palestinians)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
REDWG	Regional Economic Development Working Group
SFOR	Stabilization Force in Bosnia Herzegovina
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TIM	Temporary International Mechanism
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since 1999, EU Member States have striven to consolidate the EU's CFSP and the EU has become an important foreign and security policy actor in international politics. At the Cologne European Council on 3–4 June 1999, the defence dimension of the EU's foreign and security policy, the ESDP was introduced. In the post-9/11 era, the CFSP and the ESDP have gained substance and momentum. Jolyon Howorth and John T.S. Keeler (2003: 15) have put forward the opinion that 9/11 made the case for the ESDP even more compelling. In this area, significant elements of integration emerged. Institutional struggles were left behind and a range of EU actors and agencies started to work together to develop a coherent political approach to the crises (ibid.). In the post-9/11 era, the EU started to become one of the key foreign and security policy actors in the international arena with the ability to use a full range of instruments including military ones in addition to civilian ones for crisis management and conflict prevention. Michael Smith called this the process of hardening of European foreign and security policy. He argued that particularly since the late 1990s, there was a process of hardening which has led to an injection of hard as opposed to soft security into the European foreign and security policy process, particularly through the elaboration of the ESDP (Smith 2006: 40).

In the post-9/11 era, the ESDP was operationalized. Several operations in the framework of the ESDP have been carried out since 2003.

Until the time of writing, 23 operations had been carried out under the aegis of the ESDP and more are under consideration and planning.

These operations demonstrated that, in the post-9/11 era, the EU became more deeply committed to crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation efforts in different parts of the world including Africa, the South Caucasus, the Western Balkans, the Middle East and Asia by using its civilian and military instruments (Bono 2006: 14). This demonstrated that, as Michael Smith (2006: 40) put forward, in the post-9/11 era, there is a widening of the geographical scope of European foreign and security policy which means that more regions have become entangled in European foreign and security policy.

In the post-9/11 era, the EU and its Member States officials' efforts to increase the coherence of the EU's foreign and security policy instruments have increased. Intensification of the coordination between the EU and its Member States officials in terms of external deployment of resources including development aid, humanitarian aid, judges, diplomats, military forces etc. in their relations with the so-called 'failed states' or post-conflict-states such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, Democratic Republic of Congo, has been observed (Bono 2006: 28). The threat of terrorism was identified as one of the main reasons for the acceleration of the coherence of the EU instruments for external action (ibid.). In the post-9/11 era, European Council's suggestion that all the activities carried out under the CFSP could be considered as a contribution to long-term actions for the prevention of terrorism represented a radical departure from the notion that was at the heart of the EU that external economic development had to be fostered for the benefit of humanity and be geared to principles of need and removing of regional and global inequalities (ibid.). In the post-9/11 era, the link between external economic development and European security was increasingly highlighted by the EU.

In the post-9/11 era, the EU's first-ever security strategy, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World, European Security Strategy', was prepared by the High Representative for the CFSP Javier Solana and adopted by the EU leaders at the Rome European Council on 12–13 December 2003. In Peter Van Ham's words (2004), the ESS has offered an *acquis stratégique* by establishing priorities and setting clear policy goals. The

document primarily offers a common view of the nature of current international security environment (post-Cold War and post-9/11 international security contexts), the EU's role within it, the shared perception of the most serious threats, the most important opportunities in that security environment and appropriate policy responses that the EU should adopt in dealing with them.

In the ESS, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime were identified as key threats to European security in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 international security context. In the ESS, a comprehensive approach to security is identified as the most effective way to manage these security threats. The comprehensive security approach refers to the combined use of full range of available security policy instruments, including both civilian and military (Rieker 2004: 370; Biscop 2003: 185). As a part of its comprehensive security approach, the EU recognizes that transnational threats cannot be dealt with by using traditional security instruments such as military force, these threats have root causes and military force is not an appropriate means to manage their root causes. In the post-9/11 era, the EU prefers a security strategy which combines civilian and military instruments and addresses the root causes of transnational threats.

It was noted in the ESS that the new threats in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 period are not purely military and they cannot be tackled by purely military means; each needs a mixture of instruments. In addition to that, it is stated that European states need to use the full spectrum of instruments for crisis management and conflict prevention at their disposal, including political, diplomatic, military and civilian, trade and development activities in pursuing their strategic objectives. It is also noted that the European states need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention, to be able to undertake operations involving both military and civilian capabilities. Javier Solana (27 January 2006) also argued that the EU's comprehensive approach to security, that is part civilian, and part military, corresponds to the needs of today's complex security crises.

The nexus between security and development, which was developed in the 1990s and was manifested in an increasing interest in

the human security agenda, has assumed a new dimension since 9/11 (Bono 2006: 28). In the ESS, for the first time in the EU's history, underdevelopment in non-European states was identified as a threat to the security of Europeans (ibid.). In the post-9/11 era, underdevelopment, which provides a breeding ground for insecurity, is identified by the EU as one of the contemporary challenges to European security.

In the ESS, it is also stated that European security and prosperity increasingly depend on an effective multilateral system. The development of a stronger international society, well functioning international institutions and a rule-based international order is accepted as the objectives of EU Member States. The latter are committed to upholding and developing international law. The UN Charter is considered as the fundamental framework for international relations, and the consolidation of the UN's international role and responsibilities remains a European priority. It is also noted that EU Member States demand international organizations, regimes and treaties to be more effective in confronting threats to international peace and security, and must be ready to act when their rules are broken. The document also emphasizes that it is a condition of a rule-based international order that law evolves in response to developments such as proliferation, terrorism and global warming. It is acknowledged that EU Member States have an interest in further developing existing institutions such as the World Trade Organization and in supporting new ones like the International Criminal Court. Furthermore, spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are regarded as the best means of strengthening the international order.

In the ESS, key threats to European security are identified as common threats, shared with all the EU's closest partners. By relying on this, building multilateral cooperation in international organizations and partnerships with key actors is identified as a necessity for dealing with these threats and pursuing the objectives of EU. In the ESS, it was stated that the EU needed to develop an effective and balanced partnership with the USA, since transatlantic relationship is identified as indispensible for the EU. It was also noted that the EU needs to

continue to develop closer ties with Russia which is identified as crucial for security and prosperity of the EU. It was pointed out that the EU has to develop strategic partnerships with Japan, China, Canada and India and with all those countries that share the same goals and values with the EU.

In order to implement the defence aspects of ESS, Britain, France and Germany proposed the formation of EU 'Battlegroups' in February 2004.[1] At the Brussels European Council on 17–18 June 2004, EU Member States agreed on Headline Goal 2010, which also included the EU 'Battlegroups concept'. At the 22 November 2004 Military Capabilities Commitment Conference convened in Brussels, EU Member States agreed on the formation of 13 'EU Battlegroups' and it was decided that first Battlegroups would reach full operational capability in 2007. It was also decided that Battlegroups would be employable across the full range of Petersberg tasks as listed in the TEU Art.17.2 and those identified in the ESS, in particular in tasks of combat forces in crisis management, bearing in mind their size. Battlegroups have to be sustainable until mission termination or until relief by other forces. They should be sustainable for 30 days initial operations, extendable to 120 days, if re-supplied appropriately.

It is within this context that this book aims to investigate the congruity between the role that the EU aspires to play as a foreign and security actor and its actual foreign and security policy actions and decisions in a specific case of the MEPP in the post-9/11 era. The correspondence between EU's foreign and security policy rhetoric and the EU's foreign and security policy behaviour will be examined in this book.

The Purpose and the Research Questions of the Book

The overall purpose of this book is to identify the EU's foreign and security policy role conceptions defined in the post-9/11; to examine the congruity[2] between the EU's role conceptions and its role performance in a specific case of the MEPP in the post-9/11 era; and to assess the consequences of (in)congruity between the EU's role conceptions and role performance on both the EU's profile as a foreign and security

policy actor and the MEPP. This book aims to analyze the level of congruity between self-conceptualization of 'what the EU is' (role conception) and 'what the EU does' (role performance) and the impact of (in)congruity between the EU's role conceptions and role performance on the EU's profile as a foreign and security policy actor.

This book addresses three main research questions:

1. which role(s) does/do the EU define for itself as a foreign and security policy actor in the post-9/11 era;
2. is there a congruity or incongruity between the EU's self-defined role conceptions and its actual role performance in a specific case of the MEPP in the post-9/11 era;
3. what are the outcomes/consequences of (in)congruity between the EU's role conceptions and role performance on both the EU's profile as a foreign and security policy actor and the MEPP.

Organization of the Book

This book consists of six chapters. It begins with this introductory chapter, which outlines the necessary background to understand and conceptualize this book. This introductory chapter begins with an overview of the context and background that frames the study, which makes an analysis of the EU as a foreign and security policy actor in the post-9/11 international security context. This chapter presents the purpose and accompanying research questions of the book, which demonstrates what the main objectives of the book are and the questions the book seeks to answer.

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework for analysis of the book, a review of the literature on the analysis of the European foreign policy and the research design and methodology which will guide the research in this book, and is organized in three parts. In the first part, the theoretical framework for analysis, on which this book is based, will be presented. In this part, application of role theory in analyzing foreign policy and why the role theoretical approach was selected as theoretical framework for analysis and two key concepts, which are associated with role theory and used to inform the analysis

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