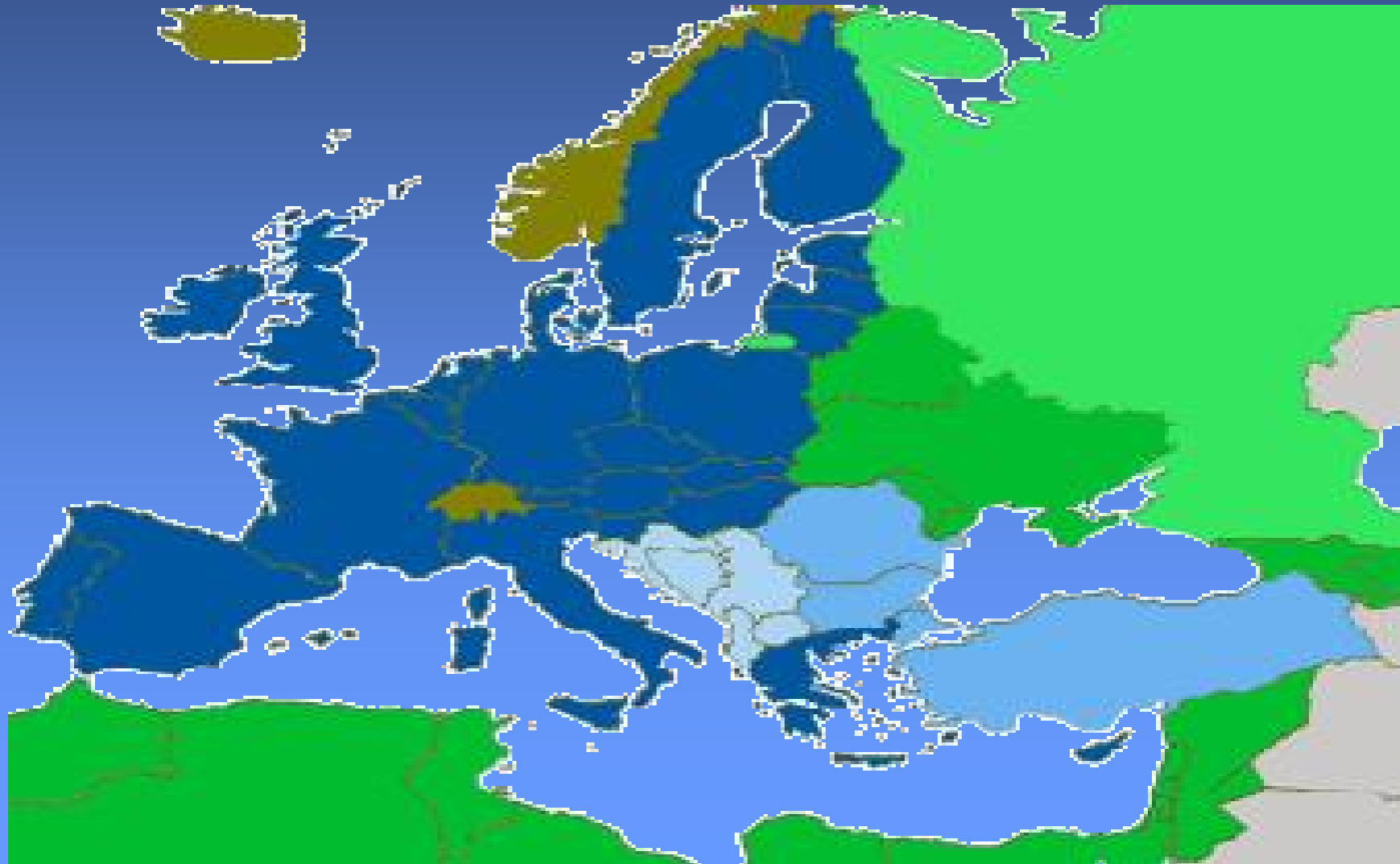


The clash of integration processes?



In a nutshell...

Analysis of political/strategic situation in wider Europe after EU/NATO enlargement:

EU enlargement has

- created problems for European integration
- changed role & objectives of main players: EU and Russia

Russia and EU have overlapping 'neighbourhoods':

- competitors?
- compatible?

Contents:

1. EU: paradoxes of enlargement & ENP
2. Russia: foreign policy under Putin
3. Dynamics of overlapping neighbourhoods

1. European Union

EU EXTERNAL IMPACT:

a) Intentional: proactive foreign policy to realise implicit or explicit objectives

b) Unintentional: impact produced by mere presence on international scene

- externalisation effects
- side-effects of (economic) presence
- EU as model

EU matters more for what it is, than what it does:

- magnetic force
- shadow effect

The EU's magnetic force



Ø THE PARADOXES OF ENLARGEMENT

1. The Schengen paradox

More integration within the EU makes involvement of third countries more difficult

2. Insider/outsider paradox

The more the EU expands, the more it becomes problematic *not* to be a member

> runs counter to founding commitments of EU

EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY

What?

privileged relations, but no membership

Strategic objectives

- Avoid new dividing lines
- Stability & security: ‘a ring of friends’
- Economic: trade & investment opportunities
- Energy: diversification of energy dependence

Characteristics

- Differentiated approach
- Low level of institutionalisation
- Partial integration
- EU-centric
- Dynamic policy



Significance of ENP:

1. Shift in EU strategy:

- From creating stability by extending EU (Copenhagen strategy)
- To exporting stability to new neighbours (ENP)

2. Redefines EU's international role:

increasingly active, visible, responsible regional player

2. RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Global (military) disengagement
Economic re-engagement
More assertive regional player



Two-track foreign policy:

- Pragmatic, cooperative towards the West
- Coercive, differentiated towards Near Abroad

Integration process of different nature:

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

EU and CIS integration compared

EU Integration	CIS Integration
Hard law	Soft law
Pooling of sovereignty	Russian hegemony
Value-based (democracy, stability)	Interest-driven

3. DYNAMICS OF OVERLAPPING NEIGHBOURHOODS

Russia-EU have 'strategic partnership', but since enlargement both are assertive regional actors in same area

Conflicting strategic interests?

- EU has interest in stability in overlapping neighbourhood
- Russia has interest in keeping regimes dependent, in maintaining influence

... but also **shared interests:**

- Russia needs EU to avoid isolation, for export
- EU needs Russia for energy and stability in Europe

*EU and Russia
clashing over the
Orange Revolution*



3 possible scenario's:

- Zero-sum game / relative gains (Realist perspective)
- Interdependence / absolute gains (Liberalist perspective)
- Norm sharing/creation (Constructivist perspective)

Future of Europe will depend on triangular relation: EU – Russia - countries in between

3 factors will be esp. determining:

1. Will conflicting interests in overlapping neighbourhood put Russia's two track foreign policy under strain?
2. What will be the outcome of ENP in Eastern Europe?
 - victim of its own success: compelling logic of enlargement?
 - or: failure to deliver? (insufficient incentives)
3. Will the partnership EU-Russia be undermined of clashing interests?

By way of conclusion...

1. Cross-conditionality:
EU and Russian benefits may keep interests of countries in between distributed
2. Dichotomy hard power (Russia) – soft power (EU) needs to be balanced
3. Reasons for optimism...:
enough ground for a win-win partnership because of interdependence