

*Cross-border Cooperation
and Regional Stability
in the European Neighbourhood*

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Structure

- CBC policy frames and EU policies of regional stability
- Path dependencies of stretching the frames of CBC
 - Cohesion policies and apoliticized cross-border regionalization
 - CBC as a tool of preintegration, Europeanization of norms and values
 - ENP, institutional streamlining and EU policies of external relations
- Discussing CBC in post-Westphalian landscapes
 - Europeanization of CBC and the construction of post-Westphalian system: Age of post-Westphalian and post-national borders
 - Nationality and sovereignty as problems of theories of epochal change
 - European values and territorialization of divides between civilizations
- Towards alternative regional readings of European neighbourhood
 - Regional actors and problems of Europeanization of CBC
- EU responses to challenges of changing neighbourhood

CBC and regional stability

- **Wider Europe— Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours (2003)**
 - The December 2002 Copenhagen European Council confirmed that the Union should take the opportunity offered by enlargement to enhance relations with its neighbours on the basis of shared values. It repeated the Union's determination **to avoid drawing new dividing lines in Europe and to promote stability and prosperity within and beyond the new borders of the Union.**
 - The Communication argues that enhanced interdependence – both political and economic – can itself be a means to promote stability, security and sustainable development both within and without the EU.
 - The communication proposes that **the EU should aim to develop a zone of prosperity and a friendly neighbourhood – a 'ring of friends' - with whom the EU enjoys close, peaceful and co-operative relations.**
- Cooperation as an alternative perspective to Cold War visions of conflict and security threads
 - New glossary of political language
 - New approaches to the study of international relations

Changing CBC policy frames and EU policies of regional stability

- Interreg I (1989-1993), CBC and social cohesion
- Interreg II (1994–1999) Interreg III (2000-2006), Coordinating enlargement & pre-integration
- TACIS (1991-2006), aid to transition
- PHARE (1989-2000) economic restructuring and pre-integration
- European Neighbourhood (2004-), One policy frame and one instrument
- Eastern Partnership (2009)
- End of Stretching the Frame?

Path dependencies of stretching the frames of CBC

- Cohesion policies and a-politicized vision of cross-border regionalization
 - Economic integration and identity politics
 - Not tackling the problems of post-colonial and post-communist transition
- CBC as a tool of pre-integration
 - Europeanization of norms and values
- ENP and institutional streamlining of the EU
 - One frame and one instrument for EU policies of CBC and external relations?

Discussing CBC in post-Westphalian landscapes

- Europeanization of CBC and the construction of post-Westphalian system
 - Age of post-Westphalian and post-national borders
- Nationality and sovereignty as problems of theories of epochal change
 - European values and territorialization of divides between civilizations

Regional stability, borders and migration project: First findings

- Belarus
 - Mainstream academic approaches themselves part of nation-building and border construction
 - The EU and policies of the EU viewed through perspectives of national sovereignty and territorial integrity
 - Un-problematized relation between national and supra-national: ideas of fixed national borders and sovereignty connected to self-evident “civilizational” Europeanness
- Ukraine
 - Academic community recognizes simultaneity of processes of border construction and border deconstruction
 - Discussion on connections between democratization and state-building as well as European and Eurasian integration
 - Criticism against the tendencies to ethnicize processes of legitimizing and challenging power (Ukrainians and Russians within Ukraine)
 - or to link them to ideas of civilizational divides (East and West)

Critical remarks

- As the definer of the Neighbourhood frame the EU dominates the shaping of rules and visions for cooperation
- Juxtaposition of nation-building and European integration confusing for actors
- Normative EU rhetoric of European values can hinder adoption of new supranational institutional and discursive practices

Towards alternative regional readings of European neighbourhood

- Re-reading Europeanization of CBC
 - Need to avoid presenting Europeanization as the progressive force of our epoch
 - Need to avoid presenting European identity as alternative to national and regional identification; weakens hybrid identities
 - Need to promote forms of interaction that allow citizens to adapt to new supranational institutional and discursive practices

EU responses to challenges of changing neighbourhood

- New communication of the High representative and the Commission seems to recognize some of the political problems
 - Political problems openly tackled; less apolitical identity rhetoric
 - No references to “European values”; democracy, human rights and rule of law discussed without notion of territorializing civilizational divides
 - Demand for “greater flexibility and more tailored responses”; no ready-made model or recipe for institutionally uniform agreements
- Remains to be seen how emphasis on conditionality can open regional actors positive avenues of Europeanization
 - Adaptation of new supranational institutional and discursive practices from below
 - Can European Neighbourhood works as a frame of action for positive expectations of cooperation and stability?

**Thank You for
Your Kind Attention!**