Final Report

January 2013 - December 2014

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INTRODUCTION

This report summarises the results of the research project *"The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for a Global Challenge?"* (RegioConf), which ran from 1 January 2013 to 31 December 2014. The report is divided into three main parts. The following substantive report outlines **the framework, the main findings and conclusions** of the project group's research (divided by region). Secondly, the report provides an **organizational overview** of the **project activities**, including information on all events, panels and publications that have so far resulted from the RegioConf project. Future publication and dissemination activities as well as deviations from the original research proposal are also discussed in this second part. Finally, the **financial report** provides an overview of the expenditures of all partners throughout the funding period.

RegioConf has been coordinated and administered by the University of Tübingen (responsible: Thomas Diez). The academic coordination was done in close collaboration with the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI, Nathalie Tocci). In addition, the research teams in Tübingen and at the IAI were responsible for research on the 'input side' of the analysis, i.e. the EU perspective on the link between regional integration and conflict transformation and the EU policy-making process. The research partners at the American University in Cairo (Marco Pinfari), the University of Pretoria (Lorenzo Fioramonti), the University of São Paulo (Kai Lehmann) and Myongji University Seoul (Moosung Lee) have focused their analysis on the background of regional integration and regional conflicts in the case studies as well as on the impact of the EU's engagement in the respective regions. The joint efforts of all research partners have allowed the RegioConf research team to assess the EU's activities in transforming conflicts through regional integration.

I. SUBSTANTIVE REPORT

1. General Project Overview

The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for a Global Challenge?
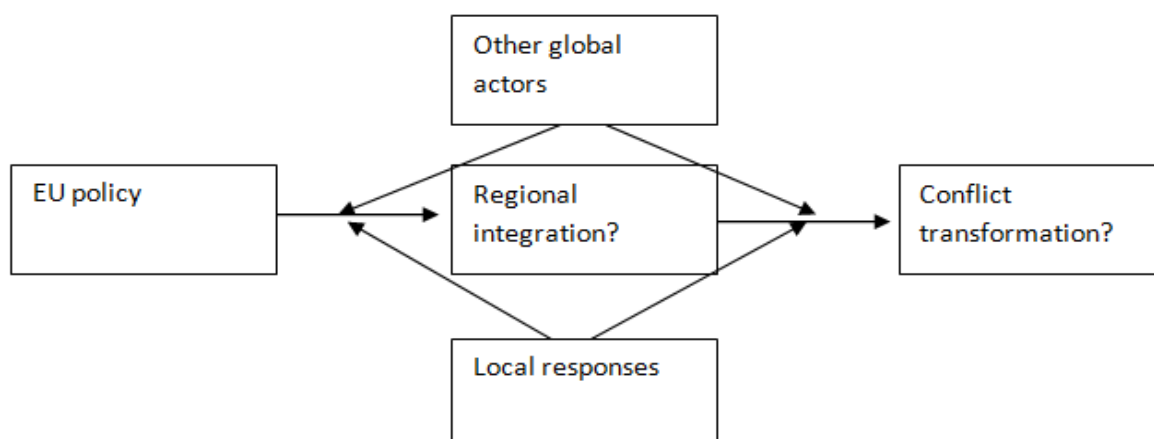
Supervisors and heads of project:

Prof. Thomas Diez,
Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, Institute of Political Science

Natalie Tocci PhD
Italian Institute of International Affairs (IAI)

Regional conflicts are a core global challenge in that they threaten international peace and affect global actors either because of economic and strategic interests or because of challenges to normative claims. The European Union (EU) has been seen as a normative power able to help transform such conflicts. A prominent strategy in this regard has been the promotion of regional integration through various forms of support for regional integration projects and strategies, from the Andean Community to the African Union. REGIOCONF aims at assessing this strategy by comparing EU involvement in different cases in the Mediterranean, Africa, Central and South America and East Asia. In doing so, it enhances our understanding of a crucial part of EU external policy, contributes to the debate about sustainable peace strategies, and puts forward policy recommendations about how to assist the transformation of regional conflicts more successfully.

Our research builds on the following two-step model

We further argue that the EU can promote integration (and thus indirectly contribute to conflict transformation) either actively or passively, and both instrumentally and normatively. Our papers build on the idea that there are three pathways of EU influence: compulsion, social learning, and model setting.

- *Compulsion:* The EU induces actors to change their behaviour through conditional incentives and sanctions.
- *Social learning*: The enablement of learning processes through dialogue and interaction with EU counterparts or through the provision of new rules, leading to a voluntary change in the behaviour of conflict actors that in turn leads to a regional conflict transformation approach.
- *Model setting:* reconstruction of conflict parties' identities by lesson drawing or emulation of the European integration experience. The EU may thereby contribute to a change of the conflict context by introducing new formal/informal rules.

Pathways of EU impact on regional integration and external conflicts

Influence of local and global actors. Logic of action	Pathway of influence	Supply: EU	Demand: local actors	Intervening: other global actors
Consequentialism	Compulsion	Conditions, incentives, sanctions	Cost/benefit calculations	Complementary or competitive through counter-incentives and sanctions
Mixed	Social learning	Provision of behavioral patterns, persuasion, interaction (e.g. TAIEX, twinning)	Lesson-drawing, mimicry *vs.* conflicting routines	Provision of supporting or alternative patterns and frameworks
Appropriateness	Model setting	Consistency of behavior, enduring interaction. This includes also the functioning and reputation of the EU model itself (in times of deep crisis)	Socialisation ontological insecurity Receptiveness to 'model EU'	Setting example with supporting or alternative norms, creating (in)consistencies

Our common core findings are the following

- EU influence depends on credibility. This in turn requires a committed presence, no retreat into pure bilateralism, not reducing integration to market integration, and not privileging the EU's own economic short-term interests.
- EU influence is enhanced if its regionalisation policies are aligned with other great powers such as the US. However, in some cases local actors turn to the EU because it offers an alternative to US strategy.
- EU influence further depends on local windows of opportunity. The EU is normally not the direct cause of regionalisation and conflict transformation, but it is important to provide a context in which such processes can unfold.

The EU needs to take into account the greater variety of regionalisation approaches, engage more actively with local actors and be open to learn from others, for instance in how to deal with multiple regional memberships.

New research insights impacting on the conceptualization of the overall approach

- Internal discussions among project partners and the fieldwork results led to a restructuring of the influence path pattern. The social learning and changing context paths have been combined into **one social learning pathway**: The EU's regional integration approach implies in many cases the changing of the context of interaction, which results in socialisation effects on the EU's regional partners abroad.

- We also became increasingly aware that social learning has worked, or (rather more often should work) the other way around: **feedback-loops** of the partner regions with regard to the EU's regional integration promotion have in turn affected the EU's approach. The EU has re-adapted its regional conflict transformation strategy to these regional responses. However, the result of this adaptation has not necessarily been more engagement in terms of the EU's regional integration promotion but has rather implied reluctance to get actively involved, a bilateral turn or a shift in the EU's regional approach from smaller to larger entities and vice versa. Such feedback effects have been mostly limited to adaptation as opposed to more significant social learning as the book chapters reveal.

2. Main project conclusions

Pathways of influence

- **Compulsion** is a mechanism that has proven to work well within the direct neighbourhood of the EU but has only a limited effect in the far abroad. It has mostly been applied through direct financial assistance or economic incentives, e.g. such as the EU funding of the African Peace Facilities. Although it is the most widespread instrument used by the EU, such pathway has shown overall limited effects in terms of RI and CTR results. In cases where financial incentives on the regional level did prove to be successful, the EU has moved to bilateralism.
- **Social learning** has also shown an overall rather limited effectiveness. It has worked mainly on the bureaucratic level ("socialisation pockets"). It has however recently become a focal point of the EU's efforts towards regions in the far abroad, such as Asia and Latin America.
- In contrast to the other two pathways, the effects of passive **model setting** have proven to be relevant throughout all cases. Interestingly, the financial crisis within the Eurozone has not undermined this pathway. The effects of model-setting in the cases are diverse and take the form of either mimicry, aspiration or explicit rejection of the EU model in the analysed regions. Even though the EU wishes to stay away from any direct imposition of its model on other regions, the idea of integration as a prerequisite for peace remains the motivation of the EU's approach towards other world regions and seems to continue prevailing among the regions analysed.

EU impact

The impact of the EU on regional integration and conflict transformation is mixed and shows decisive variation both within as well as between the cases analysed. Findings suggest that the EU could potentially have more impact than it has currently realized via the influence paths.

- The EU has **successfully i**nfluenced the security dimension of the African Union and has at least had some impact in sub-Saharan Africa. Rather positive can be seen the role of the EU in Honduras, even though violence persists, and with regards to the creation of the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea.
- **Failures** of influencing regional conflict transformation in a positive way have become visible with regard to the significant resistance towards integration efforts in South America. The EU approach has proven rather limited in Asia and quite ambiguous results have characterized the EU's role in the Western Sahara. In general, the EU lacks impact in conflicts where physical violence is present.

How has the EU influenced regional conflicts?

- Normally the promotion of integration was not the "origin" of conflict transformation. Rather, in cases where integration was already present, the EU was able to *reinforce* integration efforts within certain windows of opportunity and could thus work as a "model" of conflict transformation abroad.
- The cases analysed have proven that EU efforts take full effect in long-term conflict transformation, whereas short-term intervention and conflict management did not turn out to be one of the EU's strengths. Still, an institutional set-up aimed at conflict management may in the long run lead to conflict transformation, as the case of the African Union has shown.

Conditions for successful regional conflict transformation

- **Credibility** requires the commitment of the EU to being present in a conflict and focus on furthering integration, rather than pursuing the EU's or Member States' own economic interests. However, problems of historical legacies that are still associated with some EU states abroad, such

as colonialism, or Germany's Holocaust, can be detrimental to these efforts. Integration efforts should not be reduced to sole market integration of EU partners abroad. Bilateral agreements with individual EU members or strategic partnerships of the EU with single countries in a region have proven to be a problem undermining the credibility of the EU's commitment of addressing common challenges via regional integration.

- **Alignment**: in the past, especially the USA and China have had conflicting agendas regarding certain regional conflicts. This has rendered the EU's positioning between the interests of such important partners difficult and has complicated its regional conflict transformation approach. However, as the case of Honduras as shown, these conflicting agendas can also work in favour of EU efforts.
- **Localisation** needs to be considered by the EU with reference to local perceptions and traditions in the countries involved in the conflict. If taken into account, this factor will have a positive effect both in increasing the EU's legitimacy but also in factoring its interests.

Lessons for a future EU approach

Finally, our research has cast light on a "**reverse social learning"** process. Whereas the original theory model had focussed on the "targeted" regions which should learn from the EU experience, the project research has shown that also the EU needs to learn and is prone to do so, particularly with regard to increasing its credibility, and improving its policies. The findings suggest that the following lesson-drawing would improve the EU's performance on regional conflict transformation:

- Recognition of and adaptation to integration varieties and integration processes in different world regions.
- The overlapping processes of integration in other world regions ("spaghetti bowl") may actually pose a solution to the problem that, potentially, RI efforts may re-produce national frictions on a higher level ("Mitrany problem"), as has been the case with regard to Mercosur.
- Linkages between different levels of integration (global, sub-regional) within the world regions must be established.

3. EU's Perspective on Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation

In the aftermath of World War II, the promotion of regional integration (RI) served as a basis for European reconciliation and for the pursuit of regional peace and prosperity. In this vein, the EU used the promotion of the European RI model as a way to channel conflict transformation (CTR) in other world regions. The EU has been assisting and actively supporting a variety of (sub-) regional integration processes in Asia, Africa, the MENA and Asia. It has done so by financially or ideally supporting the development of regional organizations such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Mercosur, or the African Union (AU) and financing wide-ranging initiatives like the European Mediterranean Partnership or the Union for the Mediterranean.

To date, the overall impact of such RI efforts have been rather limited. Stagnating regional organizations have proven ineffective and have not been able to encourage their members to convey more effort into *political integration* in the way the EU had hoped.
As a result, the EU has adjusted its approach towards RI. From championing a full-scale regional integration, the EU has also begun to embrace softer RI strategies by also developing alternative CTR projects.

Main Findings

- Financial incentive-setting and the sharing of best practices used towards all world regions, e.g. via financing the African security architecture or experience-sharing in handling maritime border disputes in the South China Sea;
- Efforts of direct EU model setting for regional CTR have been abandoned. Reasons behind this are 1) EU's perceived *lack of leverage* as an important regional model, 2) *competition posed to the EU model* by other big players (such as China in the Asian and African cases) and 3) perceived (recent) *lack of interest* of regional partners in the EU model;
- In all four regions the paths of influence used by the EU reflect a certain level of adaptation in relation to RI and CTR strategies;
- The EU remains reluctant and cautious with regard to Latin American, Asian and African regional conflicts by choice;

But for different reasons:

Africa: EU is frustrated with lack of regional commitment of its partners;

Asia: EU is aware of particular ASEAN way of integration;

Latin America: EU sees no truly regional conflicts and therefore experiments with alternative approaches to pressing challenges (drugs, inequality);

MENA: EU does not believe in RI-CTR possibility, EU has internally not agreed on a regional CTR response which it could promote; external inhibiting factors (perceived rejection of regional CTR by Arab countries)

- The EU perception of its own role towards regional CTR now follows a new paradigm: 'more focused regional CTR efforts are potentially more suited to the current worldwide shape of regional integration'.

4. Regional Conflict Transformation in the Mediterranean

Supervisor and head of MENA project group:
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4.1. Israel-Palestine – One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict provides, in theory, good grounds for encouraging regional integration as a strategy for conflict transformation: the conflict is regional in nature and Europe's geographical proximity and past colonial involvement in the region make the EU a useful framework for the region to emulate. As the Palestinians' biggest donor and Israel's largest trading partner, the EU also enjoys a position of influence that, unlike the United States, remains relatively untarnished by accusations of bias. Moreover, instability in the region and the interests of key regional stakeholders in the conflict – including a large diaspora of Palestinian refugees – have also served to make regional integration a potentially useful conflict transformation approach. In reality, however, the EU has not pursued a tangible regional integration strategy to help transform the conflict. It has consistently demonstrated an unwillingness to match actions to its rhetoric of promoting regional integration in the Mediterranean on the one hand and calling for the adoption of a two state solution in accordance with international law, on the other. Nevertheless, the intentional and unintentional use of certain pathways of influence, indicate the EU's growing reliance on its neofunctionalist approach towards conflict transformation. This has included a rather subdued but consistent promotion of regional cooperation to foster understanding, dialogue and civil society cooperation between both the Israelis and Palestinians as well as other regional actors.

Main Findings

- EU rhetoric has strongly pushed a normative agenda since Oslo, but policy towards the southern neighbourhood has become increasingly reactive. EU involvement in the conflict has accordingly been downgraded to conflict management;
- While the EU has pursued closer relations with existing regional organizations (e.g. Arab League) and supports a regional solution to the conflict, this has not translated into conflict transformation because of the absence of Israel from all existing regional organisations;
- The EU's own regional integration initiatives have exhibited a strong bilateral shift. Though the UfM functions on an intergovernmental level and largely avoids high politics issues, however, initiatives like the Gaza water desalination project indicate a willingness to address conflict-related issues through a regional forum;
- Significant use is made of the compulsory pathway, although in largely bilateral terms. However, *compulsion* has not led to a positive transformation of the conflict;
- The *social learning* pathway has garnered more attention recently, especially by promoting civil society dialogue in the region, but this has yielded mixed results;
- Interest in the *model setting* pathway, as demonstrated by the 1994 Paris Protocol and Netanyahu's interest in pursuing 'economic peace', has been exclusively Israeli;
- The pathways are seen as enabling a changed context through integration, but not for the objective of peace. Palestinian actors accuse the EU (along with the Israelis and Americans) of pursuing

normalisation without peace and paying for Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories. Israel does not consider the EU a suitable replacement for the US as a primary mediator;

- The EU should condense its parallel policies into an intentional and coherent approach and establish reliable partners for peace in the region, most importantly in the civil society;

- In the absence of any regional integration initiatives representing both the Israelis and Palestinians, the EU remains the only regional actor with any influence over the conflict – despite the absence of any tangible EU promotion of the RI-CT framework and the many critiques of EU policy regarding the conflict in general.

4.2. The Maghreb – One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?

At the time the Maghreb unceremoniously commemorates the 20th anniversary of the closing of the borders between Algeria and Morocco, relations between the two Maghrebi pivotal states are plunged to rock bottom and the Western Mediterranean region sadly remains the least-integrated region in the world. This quasi-absence of regional integration demonstrates, beyond the North African countries' difficulty to cooperate, that the efforts Europe invested in the promotion of Maghrebi integration have so far not succeeded.

More than any other external actor, the EU has enjoyed an unrivalled relationship with its Southern Mediterranean neighbours due to the historical ties some European member states like France and Spain share with the region. However, this special relationship seems to be a double-edged sword for the EU. While it places Brussels in a unique position to understand its southern neighbours, the interests these member states still retain in the region prevent the EU from adopting a coherent approach. This has created a dichotomy between the EU declared goals and its actions therefore diminishing its influence in the region.

Strong advocate of multilateralism, Brussels has mainly implemented its Maghrebi policies bilaterally and on issue areas that were toping the EU agenda more than those of the local actors. Moreover, the EU official 'neutrality' and possible added value to the resolution of the Western Sahara conflict, which is considered as one of the major impediments to Maghrebi integration, is increasingly being challenged.

Main Findings

- The increasingly bilateral nature of the EU-Maghrebi relations has intensified with the European Neighbourhood Policy and created a hub-and-spoke trading system to the detriment of intra-regional trade;

- Eastern Mediterranean issues have monopolized the Euro-led regional initiatives' agenda, pushing the Maghreb sub-region in the background and leaving the local actors to think that they have never been the principal targets of these initiatives;

- The EU has not linked the promotion of Maghrebi integration to the transformation or the resolution of the Western Sahara conflict. Its non-involvement in the dispute is a commendable exception to the way the EU has generally dealt with territorial conflicts in its neighbourhood that can be explained by the influence France and Spain retain on the policies to be adopted in their former colonies;

- Brussels' policies in the Maghreb have been dominated by the security concerns of Southern European member states. The focus on migration has not only indirectly contributed to fomenting tensions between Morocco and Algeria but seems at odds with Europe's objectives to liberalize trade and develop infrastructures in the Maghreb;

- The EU has mainly relied on *compulsion* to implement its policies but its use has been selective and spread confusion among the local actors;
- *Social Learning* has had a positive impact on regional cooperation and demonstrates that the less institutionalized the initiatives in the Maghreb, the better they work. Hence, despite a strong emphasis on security issues and its smaller format, the 5+5 Dialogue is considered the most successful cooperative venture ever launched between the European and the Maghrebi partners;
- The neutrality of the EU in the Western Sahara conflict has been called into doubt by the Algerians and the Sahrawis, especially after the Sahel Crisis and the 2013 Fisheries Partnership Agreement concluded between the EU and Morocco. Similarly, the Moroccans now consider that the EU has become closer to the Moroccan position on the conflict.

5. Regional Conflict Transformation in the Sub-Saharan Africa

Supervisor and head of Africa project group:
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Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn)

5.1. The EU and Regional Integration in West Africa: what Effects on Conflict Resolution and Transformation?

Since the '90s, West Africa has been confronted with numerous security crises. While these challenges initially took the form of major insurgencies, such as those experienced by Sierra Leone and Liberia, more recently the region has seen a rise of non-conventional security threats, including Islamic terrorism. Major crises are ongoing in Northern Nigeria (Boko Haram insurgency) and Northern Mali (Tuareg insurgency).

West Africa is relatively advanced when it comes to regional cooperation. The main regional institutions are the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA).

Both ECOWAS and UEMOA have promoted the liberalization of intra-regional trade and the free circulation of people across the region. ECOWAS has invested itself in several conflict management and resolution initiatives, including conflict prevention, mediation and peace support operations. In spite of this, ECOWAS has been unable to intervene effectively in Mali and Nigeria, because of the insistence of national authorities of treating the crisis as internal matters and the mismatch between the political region and the regional conflict complex.

The EU is a major partner to ECOWAS and UEMOA. The main framework for cooperation with the region is the Cotonou Agreement of 2000. The EU aims at promoting regional integration in West Africa through:

- Development aid for regional cooperation negotiated as part of the Cotonou Agreement;
- The recently concluded Economic Partnership Agreement;
- Political dialogue with ECOWAS;
- Aid specifically aiming at supporting regional peace and security initiatives, including the African Peace Facility.

Main Findings

- In spite of existing initiatives, economic integration is weak for structural reasons and has limited impact on conflict transformation;
- ECOWAS conflict management policies have contributed to curbing violence, but the organization is relatively unprepared to face unconventional security threats;
- The EU exercises its influence on West Africa to a large extent through compulsion (provision of incentives and sanctions). Regional institutions in West Africa have also mimicked the EU model in many respects;
- Several issues have however reduced the influence of the EU on the region:
    - → Inconsistencies by the part of the EU itself, driven among others by the post-colonial relationships of member states with the region;

→ A neoliberal understanding of regional integration, particularly with respect to the Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations;

→ The mismatch between the EU model and West Africa's structural conditions, resulting in a gap between the formal embracement of EU-inspired norms and practices and the actual functioning of West Africa cooperation. EU capacity building aid seems to have had little impact in narrowing this gap.

5.2. The Great Lakes and the EU: A Regional Approach to Conflict Transformation?

The Great Lakes region in Africa has been plagued by an intractable conflict for approximately two decades. Countries in this region have suffered regular conflicts often sparked or fuelled by processes that cross state borders, including interference by neighbouring states, refugee flows and the illicit trade of natural goods. The origins of the conflict are the 1994 Rwandan genocide, which spilled over to the neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo, whose eastern regions remain in conflict today. As such, it has become increasingly clear that a regional approach is necessary to address this conflict. In light of this several regional bodies have taken a greater interest in the region. More specifically, the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) was inaugurated in 2007 (with the support of both global and continental bodies) as a forum through which the root causes of the conflict would be addressed. It was thus through the ICGLR that negotiations on the recent M23 crisis were able to take place. Other regional bodies such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the African Union (AU) have also seemed to address the conflict through various means, including peacekeeping and mediation. Nevertheless, while some states in the region are moving towards a more stable political and economic situation (particularly those that form part of Eastern Africa), others remain fragile and underdeveloped, and a more coherent regional policy that addresses the complexities of the region is necessary.

Main Findings

- While the AU, ICGLR and SADC have had steady success in short-term conflict resolution, attempts at finding long-term solutions have struggled to get off the ground;
- Regional decisions often have limited impact on the population, due to constraints of political will, capacity and weak institutions;
- Informal regional processes (including social and economic networks) often bear more legitimacy in the eyes of the population and may contradict formal efforts at conflict resolution;
- An over-reliance on external funds constrains African regional organisations and fuels distrust between African and European officials;
- The primarily pathways through which the EU has influenced the region are through compulsion and model-setting;
- While the European Union has rhetorically highlighted the need for a regional approach to the conflict, policy needs to be more comprehensive to ensure coherence amongst various EU delegations and with Brussels Headquarters.

6. Regional Conflict Transformation in Latin America

Supervisor and head of Latin America project group:

Prof. Kai Lehmann
University of São Paulo
Institute of International Relations

6.1. The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for a Global Challenge? – Honduras Case Summary

After decades of interstate and civil conflicts, today, Central America is a region without major wars, marked by territorial stability and, at times, robust economic growth. However, the region suffers from often severe political and social instability as well as high rates of poverty and endemic levels of violent crime. Within this context, Honduras stands out as being the most violent country on earth outside war zones whilst also being plagued by endemic levels of corruption. Significant parts of its territory are in the grip of gangs linked to the drugs trade. The military coup of 2009 against the democratically elected president Manuel Zelaya was merely the most obvious illustration of this instability.

There is, then, a broad problem of constructing viable, democratic states in the aftermath of long-lasting conflicts. This problem is reflected by the difficulty in constructing effective regional institutions for tackling the considerable common problems the region faces. To this end, the European Union has been very active in promoting institution building within the context of the Central American Integration System (SICA) with which the EU has a comprehensive Association Agreement.

However, the EU has been criticized from several sides for not doing enough to engage civil society actors, concentrating its efforts, instead, on reforming state – and regional structures that have, according to some, no interest in being reformed and are of no relevance to large parts of the population. Equally the EU has been accused of not following a coherent approach to the region, at times seeking to promote Human Rights and democracy and, at times, focusing merely on the maintenance of 'stability'. The factors that sustain the patterns outlined above have not been addressed.

Main Findings

- The EU had an important and much appreciated role as a peace actor during 1980s which has been key in maintaining territorial stability;
- The region, as a whole, has struggled to construct viable states in the post-conflict scenario, facing endemic corruption, the corrosive influence of gangs and the drugs trade and, as such, the inability to establish an effective presence across all of the respective national territories;
- The EU has sought to promote both national and regional institution building, as well as the rule of law, respect for Human Rights, democracy and sustainable development;
- This effort is particularly pronounced in Honduras after the 2009 military coup and the EU has attested 'significant progress' on the part of the government in re-establishing a democratic system;
- These conclusions have been vehemently disputed by several civil society actors and analysts, which have accused the European Union of sustaining an illegitimate government and political system through its projects and financial support;
- The EU should do more to engage with actors at 'mesa' level, i.e. those that have contacts both downwards into areas without effective authority and upwards to the state.

6.2. The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for a Global Challenge? – Colombia Case Summary

The conflict in Colombia is the longest running civil conflict in the world. Its origins can be traced to the 19th century and a complex set of interrelated factors, of which the political culture of violence, the weakness of the Colombian state, limited political participation and unequal access to land and resources have been identified as crucial.

The main Colombian Rebel group – The Revolutionary Forces of Colombia (FARC) – can be traced to protest movements of peasants and indigenous groups during the 1930s, evolving into a formidable organization which, in 1964, declared its aim to overthrow the government. The ensuing civil war intensified during the 1990s with significant regional implications, straining political relations between Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, causing a refugee crisis, especially on the Ecuadorian – Colombian border whilst also turning Colombia into a key location for the international drugs trade.

The role of regional organizations has been limited by, first, the geopolitical realities of the Cold War; second, a clear sense that the conflict is an internal affair for the Colombian people and, third, by difficulties to build regional consensus about political and security matters. Only during the 1990s did the EU – and organizations such as the OAS – become more actively involved, leading to local 'peace building initiatives', such as the EU-sponsored 'Peace Labs' and humanitarian work, especially with refugees. Yet, regional organizations have been largely absent from the current peace negotiations between the government and FARC in Cuba.

Main Findings

- EU is seen as an important actor, but mainly on trade, rather than security or 'peace matters';
- Key actions of the EU are taking place on a bi-lateral, rather than a regional, basis. Regionalism is not seen as an instrument of peace;
- One key result of this bilateral approach has been the recent Trade Agreement between EU and Colombia (as well as Peru), including clauses on issues directly linked to the root-causes of the conflict, but doubts have been raised about the effectiveness of enforcement of these clauses;
- Within the context of this bilateral approach, EU influence is, at best, variable with even EU diplomats describing Venezuela as 'difficult';
- EU has been criticized for not understanding – and not being willing or able to adapt to – the local circumstances within which it is acting, especially on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border in its support for Colombian refugees;
- Key demand from local actors: Make learning a *mutual* process, become more flexible;
- Overall conclusion: EU important, but mainly in issues of trade. Needs to be aware of the limits of its own power;
- Great unknown: Possible EU role in any post-conflict scenario in the event of a peace deal?

7. Regional Conflict Transformation in Asia

Supervisor and head of Asian project group:
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7.1. Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts – The Case of North Korean Nuclear Crisis

When the North Korean nuclear issue constitutes a grave source of regional insecurity, the EU has endorsed a policy of regional cooperation and integration aiming at conflict transformation. Notwithstanding some evidence of positive contributions with regard to short-term compulsory impact and long-term model-setting implications, this case study shows that the EU's endeavours have been undermined for three reasons. The ontological-security seeking activity is the first and foremost impediment. The persistent preference of global actors, such as the US, has also been argued as problematic. Last but not least, the EU's oscillation between multilateralism and bilateralism due to its lack of will and power has also generated some self-contradictory effects.

Main Findings

Nature of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis:
- A consequence of the ontological security-seeking activity of North Korea;
- The fear and anxiety of North Korea's self-identity by security actions of external forces;
- The nuclear crisis has regional repercussions.

Regional frameworks dealing with the North Korean nuclear crisis in which the EU's presence is either direct or indirect:
- EU as an executive member of the KEDO, but its impact is marginal;
- EU presence within the frameworks ARF, ASEM, APT, but their impact is also indirect.

Compulsory pathway
- EU's impact is implicit or marginal (in spite of its membership in KEDO; or ARF; ASEM);
- In Track 1.5 diplomacies, there are efforts for spill-over effects, but marginal.

Social learning impact
- There are moves to reduce the degree of objecting others, but it is a simple learning;
- The EU's role in inducing social learning among conflict parties is minimal;
- Reverse social learning: the EU admits the importance of accompanying both bilateral and multilateral efforts in the region;
- There are limits of transforming conflictive contexts into cooperative ones.

Model-setting effect
- EU is seen as a reference point: From Gorbachev to Park Geun Hae
- There are efforts for regional cooperation/integration based on a mix of both functionalism (EU model) and intergovernmntalism (OSCE);
- The EU has not been seen as model to emulate, but its norm is worthwhile to pay attention.

Conclusion
- EU's impact is minimal;

- Impact of other global actors is obvious;
- Rigid routines of North Korea continue for some time to come;
- But it is still hard to ignore long-term implications: the EU as a reference point.

7.2. Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts – The Case of the South China Sea Disputes

The EU's attempt to embed the territorial dispute regarding the South China Sea within an institutional framework is related to its strategic interest to ensure unrestricted navigation of Asia's waterways. Against this backdrop, the EU has a strong interest in deeper regional integration – in particular in continuing to support current processes of ASEAN integration – and the consolidation of habits of political cooperation among the region's major players. Supporting evidence can be found in its participation in the major regional fora through its dialogue and cooperation with ASEAN, its participation in the regular EU-ASEAN ministerial meetings, ARF, ASEM process, and its accession to TAC. The present study investigates the process of the EU's influence inside and outside of the regional cooperation and integration, and analyses the impacts (compulsion, social learning and model-setting) of regional integration and conflict transformation.

Main Findings

Compulsion:
- The degree and nature of compulsory effects has not been noticeable;
- China has opposed to largely discuss the South China Sea territorial issue within the multilateral frameworks;
- ASEAN members quite welcome the EU involvement, but they do not expect much from the role of the EU because of its limited leverage;
- The EU cannot ignore both internal and external challenges caused by pushing ahead with conditional sanctions/incentives within regional integration frameworks in Asia.

Social Learning:
- Social learning effects apparently happen in the region;
- China and ASEAN claimants acknowledged the importance of dialogue and interaction to mitigate regional conflicts;
- The EU has played a certain role in inducing the change of local actors' perceptions toward regionalism, especially, through track-two diplomacy;
- The EU has encouraged ASEAN and China to build give their cooperation an enhanced foundation through the agreement of the Code of Conduct (COC);
- But the consultation on COC as a new formal rule will take a considerable time, because China still prefers to bring up the issue bilaterally than in multinational forums.

Model Setting:
- The *model setting effects* encompassing hard-security issues such as the South China Sea territorial disputes are still questionable;
- China hesitates to embed this issue within the regional framework as it is perceived as a "western-dominated" system;

- ASEAN has approached regionalism with different premises from the EU model and this is true as long as the organization upholds its so-called ASEAN way;
- Nevertheless, the EU's impact as a model has also been identified, exporting its norms of peaceful resolution of conflicts or preventive diplomacy mechanisms through inter-regional meetings.

II. Organisational Report

1. Internal Project Organization

RegioConf started its work with the employment of Research Fellows in Tübingen and Rome on 1 January 2013. Regional case study fellows started in summer 2013. The overall duration of the project was 24 months, with an end date of 31 December 2014. With a research team spread over five continents, regular personal meetings were rare but much appreciated occasions of interchanging ideas among the project members. Two internal workshops gave the RegioConf team the occasion to meet and discuss pressing issues for the project organization as well as to exchange views and ideas on content-related issues and to plan further research steps. In addition, regular organizational and research-related updates were sent around to all project members via the mailing list. Finally, skype group calls have been a further means of communication among the project members, although technological problems made us use this means of communication less frequently than we had envisaged. All these activities helped to not only exchange ideas and research experience among project members, they have also formed the basis of a certain team spirit, which over the time brought researchers together, even beyond the mere book purpose. This has resulted in a number of project-related publications, conference activities and future research ideas. The particular activities of the project team are listed below.

1.1. Internal workshops

RegioConf Kick-off Workshop Tuebingen, February 2014

The RegioConf Kick-off workshop was held at the University of Tübingen from 8 to 9 February 2013. The workshop provided the project team with the chance to meet each other personally and to further the conceptual framing of the project. During this process, the participants worked on the theoretical approaches as well as on the methodology of the research project. Furthermore, the research partners presented the chosen case studies for the first time and thus gave an initial introduction to the regional conflicts to be analysed. The results of this meeting also contributed to a first theory paper of the RegioConf project that was subsequently published online on the project's website.

Internal Workshop Rome, October 2014

The internal project workshop hosted by the Institute Affari Internazionali (IAI) on 10 October 2014 in Rome provided an overview over the current drafts of each researcher and further gave everyone the opportunity for a final feedback and for eventual last revisions, before engaging in the concluding step of the RegioConf book drafting. One of the most important questions of the workshop was how to combine the individual findings to identify a broader trend assessing the EU's effectiveness in terms of RI and CTR promotion. Throughout the workshop, possible linkages and cross references between the individual chapters were discussed and worked upon. The workshop also had the aim to sort out what was eventually still missing and what could be improved for the final book draft. The one-day workshop was composed of five Panel sessions each dedicated to one of the regions analysed by the project, namely Europe, the Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia.

1.2. Project Communication (Internal)

The project team was organized on the basis of a Consortium Agreement that governs the relationship between the partners. The offices in Tübingen (Germany) and Rome (Italy) have been responsible for the administrative and coordination work such as the overall budgeting and the organisation of project meetings. The internal communication worked through different channels: Apart from an e-mail

distribution list, skype conferences facilitated the project communication. During these conferences, we discussed issues of general interest and addressed open questions. In addition, we used bilateral communication via skype or e-mail whenever appropriate.

Other than that, meetings in person were exceptional but much appreciated opportunities to get in touch with each other and to communicate on a more direct face-to-face level. Joint participations in conferences, two internal project meetings and the case-study workshops (see below) have been opportunities of this kind.

1.3. Deviations from Project Proposal

As agreed in the final contract with the Compagnia di San Paolo, two partners who were part of the project team at the time of submitting the original proposal had to be replaced before the start of the project. In the case of the University of Algiers, political developments meant that the University refused to sign the Consortium Agreement as it would not have been in full control of its budget. Algiers was replaced by the AUC. In the case of the University of Tsukaba, the responsible lead researcher became pregnant and took maternity leave, while the University was not able to replace her and therefore also did not sign the Consortium Agreement. Tsukaba was replaced by Myongji University. Because it became clear that we would significantly underspend, we also added another internal project workshop (October 2014). In addition, project partners moved some parts of the budget between budget lines after previous Compagnia agreement.

1.4. Current Affiliations of Project Partners

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Yeikyoung Kim yeikyoung@hanmail.net	National Assembly Research Service of Korea, Seoul, South Korea

2. Public Events

The RegioConf team organised several workshops to facilitate exchanges with colleagues, and held a number of panels at international conferences.

2.1. Case Study Workshops

The mid-term workshop in Rome, hosted from 30 to 31 January 2014 by the Institute Affari Internationali (IAI), was aimed at providing the project team with a primary feedback on the results and the outputs of their fieldwork.

The workshop was organised along the following panels:

- **European Conflict Resolution Policy**

Chair: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Speaker: Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Discussants: Nathalie Tocci (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Lorenzo Fioramonti (University of Pretoria)

- **The Mediterranean**

Chair: Silvia Colombo (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Speakers: Marco Pinfari (American University Cairo), Justine Louis (American University Cairo), Herah Azhar (American University Cairo), Discussants: Daniela Huber (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Lorenzo Kamel (University of Bologna)

- **Sub-Saharan Africa**

Chair: Lorenzo Fioramonti (University of Pretoria), Speakers: Sonja Theron (University of Pretoria), Giulia Piccolino (German Institute of Global and Area Studies), Discussants: Nicoletta Pirozzi (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Andrew Sherriff (European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM))

- **Latin America**

Chair: Eleonora Poli (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Speaker: Kai Lehmann (University of São Paulo), Discussants: Erwan Fouéré (The Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)), Karl-Hermann Buck (General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union)

- **Asia**

Chair: Lorenzo Fioramonti (University of Pretoria), Speakers: Moosung Lee (Myongji University Seoul), Yeikyoung Kim (National Assembly Research Service of Korea), Discussant: Nicola Casarini (European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS))

The first regional project workshop hosted by the Institute of International Relations of the University of **Sao Paulo** on 13 and 14 March 2014, brought together project partners as well as Latin American, European, Northern American researchers and practitioners in order to discuss the role of the EU in the process of regional integration and conflict resolution in Latin America.

The workshop was organized along the following panels:

- **Presentation of the Conceptual Framework of the RegioConf Project**

Speakers: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Kai Lehmann (University of São Paulo), Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Marcial Suarez (Fluminense Federal University)

- **Mutual misunderstanding? Perceptions of the European Union, regional conflicts and the role of regionalism in Latin America**

Speakers: Francisco Fontano Pardo (EU Delegation in Brasília), Clemente Baena Soares (Brazilian Foreign Ministry), Miriam Saraiva (State University Rio de Janeiro)

- **Honduras and Central America**

Speakers: Octávio Forti Neto (University of São Paulo), Alex Main (Centre for Economic and Policy Research Washington, D.C.), Jaime Güell Bográn (Ambassador of Honduras to Brazil)

- **Columbia, Venezuela, Ecuador**

Speakers: Cinthia Haddad (University of São Paulo), Rafael Duarte Vila (University of São Paulo), Patrício Salazar Benítez (Commercial Consul for Ecuador in São Paulo)

The second regional workshop for the RegioConf project was hosted by the American University in **Cairo** (AUC) on 29 April 2014 to provide a forum for the discussion of regional integration and conflict resolution in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Along with project partners, the workshop also brought together academic experts and practitioners on the Western Sahara and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts from Europe, North America and the MENA region.

The workshop was organized along the following panels:

- **Presentation of the RegioConf project**

Chair: Marco Pinfari (American University Cairo), Speakers: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Nathalie Tocci (Istituto Affari Internazionali)

- **Keynote address: "The EU Approach to Conflict Management: Idealism, Bureaucracy and Securitisation"**

Chair: Marco Pinfari (American University Cairo), Speaker: Rosemary Hollis (City University, London)

- **Israel-Palestine**

Chair: Nathalie Tocci (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Speaker: Herah Azhar (American University Cairo), Discussants: Muriel Asseburg (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP)), Michael Emerson (Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS)), Dimitris Bouris (College of Europe)

- **Western Sahara**

Chair: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Speaker: Justine Louis (American University Cairo), Discussants: Yahia Zoubir (School of Management Marseille), Jacob Mundy (Colgate University), Fouad Abdelmoumni (Farah Développement), Mohamed Sidati (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic Minister for the European Union) Carlos Ruiz Miguel (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela), Irene Fernandez (College of Europe)

- **Conclusion: The Future of Europe's Regional Conflict Resolution (Roundtable Discussion)**

Chair: Marco Pinfari (American University Cairo)

The third regional workshop for the RegioConf project took place on 3 June 2014 and was hosted by the Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation (GovInn) of the University of **Pretoria**. The workshop took

place within the context of the Governance Innovation Week Conference and was attended by many researchers from all over the world. Within this broader conference, the one-day RegioConf workshop brought together practitioners, scholars and students in the fields of regionalism, conflict studies and Africa-European Union (EU) relations aiming to discuss the findings of the African case studies of the project.

The workshop day began with a keynote address of Johan Galtung, TRANSCEND, Geneva (Switzerland), on "Good governance: creative conflict transformation at all levels".

The subsequent RegioConf workshop was organized along the following panels:

- **Transforming Conflict through Integration: Presenting the RegioConf project and the European Experience**

Chair: Luk van Langenhove (UN University), Speakers: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Nathalie Tocci (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Discussants: Sonia Lucarelli (University of Bologna), Michael Schulz (University of Gothenburg)

- **Transforming Conflict through Integration: Regional integration and conflict transformation in West Africa**

Chair: Luk van Langenhove (UN University), Speakers: Stephanie Minou (University of Pretoria), Giulia Piccolino (German Institute of Global and Area Studies), Discussants: David Zounmenou (Institute of Security Studies Benin), Laurie Nathan (University of Pretoria, Centre for Mediation)

- **Peace and Conflict in Africa: Regional integration and conflict transformation in the Great Lakes**

Chair: Hannes Spies (SA Ambassador to Mauritania), Speakers: Sonja Theron (University of Pretoria), Edgar Cizero Ntasano (GovInn Burundi), Discussants: Michael Schulz (University of Gothenburg), Laurie Nathan (University of Pretoria, Centre for Mediation)

- **Peace and Conflict in Africa: A new scramble for Africa? Old and new powers and Africa's position in the world**

Chair: Hannes Spies (SA Ambassador to Mauritania), Speaker: Tim Murithi (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation), Discussants: Henning Melber (Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation), David Zounmenou (Institute of Security Studies Benin), John Kotsopoulos (GovInn Malawi), Antonio Fiori (University of Bologna)

- **Keynote address: The Future of Regionalism**

Speaker: Peter Katzenstein (Cornell and Harvard Universities)

The **fourth regional workshop** took place in **Seoul** on 26 June 2014 and was organized by the Center for International Affairs, Myongji University, Seoul, Korea, co-organized by Kida, Hanyang University, HUFS.

The one-day workshop brought together leading international experts from Asia, USA and Europe in order to discuss the relevant issues of RegioConf for the Asian region. The event included deep discussions on the regional conflict challenges in the Asian context and the role of the EU and proved to be a valuable experience for all participants.

The workshop was organized along the following panels:

- **Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts: Theoretical frameworks and methodology**

Chair: Jin-Woo Choi (Hanyang University Korea), Speaker: Thomas Diez (University of Tübingen), Discussants: Sanyi Yang (National ChunHsiung University Taiwan), Nam-Kook Kim (Korea University), Jung-Min Suh (Yonsei University Korea)

- **The EU's Asia Policy: Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts**

Chair: Si-Hong Kim (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Korea), Speaker: Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Discussants: Higashino Atsuko (University of Tsukuba, Japan), Sung-Won Yoon (Suwon University, Korea), Bong-Chul Kim (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea)

- **Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts: North Korean Nuclear Crisis**

Chair: Woosang Kim (Yonsei University Seoul), Speaker: Moosung Lee (Myongji University Seoul), Discussants: Jin-Ah Kim (Korea Institute of Defense Analyses), Poupeau Vincent-Guillaum (Delegation of the EU to the RoK), Suk-hee Han (Yonsei University Korea), Patrick McEachern (US Embassy), Jae-Hui Kim (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Korea), Pyeong Eak An (Teagu University Korea)

- **South China Sea Territorial Disputes: Regional Cooperation and Regional Conflicts**

Chair: Yeo Lay Hwee (EU Centre in Singapore, Singapore), Speaker: Yeikyoung Kim (National Assembly Research Service of Korea), Discussants: Pang Zhongying (Renmin University of China), Nguyen Hung Son (Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam), Cheng Chwee Kuik (National University of Malaysia), Gyu-Kang Lee (Korea Institute For Defence Analyses), Chin Kai (Deajin University Korea)

2.2. Common Panels

RegioConf organised its first panel, entitled "Model Europe? The European Union, Conflict Transformation and the Diffusion of Regionalism" at the annual **International Studies Association (ISA)** Convention in **San Francisco**, USA, from 3 to 6 April 2013. The following papers were presented: "The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Integration: Setting the Framework of Analysis" (Thomas Diez, Nathalie Tocci, Eva Scherwitz, Giovanni Faleg), "The bumper sticker: why Africa is not following the European model of integration" (Lorenzo Fioramonti), "Adjusting to changing political and economic dynamics: The European Union and its efforts to promote regional integration in the Americas" (Kai Lehmann), and "Fill Commitment or Indifference?" (Moosung Lee).

Another RegioConf panel, entitled "Regional conflicts as security challenge for global governance. Can the EU approach of regional integration serve regional demands?" took place at the **British International Studies Association (BISA)** in **Dublin** from 18 June until 20 June 2014. Regional conflicts can be interpreted as a main challenge to global governance. They threaten international peace, affect global actors' strategic interests and alter their normative claims. Five papers were presented by the following RegioConf project partners: "Transforming conflicts through regional integration: has the EU lost its narrative?" (Eva Scherwitz, Giovanni Faleg), "The EU, Regional Co-operation and Conflict Transformation in Africa" (Sonja Theron, Guilia Piccolino), "Learning with experience? The evolving approach of the European Union to the promotion of Regionalism as a tool for conflict resolution in Latin America" (Kai Lehmann, Octávio Forti Neto, Cinthia Pestana Haddad), "Squaring the circle? The EU, Regional Cooperation and Conflict Transformation in the Middle East and North Africa" (Herah Azhar, Justine Louis), and "The prospects for regional conflict resolution in Asia: the case of North Korea and the South China Sea dispute" (Moosung Lee).

The RegioConf panel "Linking the Promotion of Regional Integration and Conflict Transformation within Different World Regions: Another EUtopia?" took place at the **FLACSO-ISA Joint Conference** in **Buenos Aires** from 23 to 25 July 2014. The presentation of several articles at the International FLACSO/ISA conference at the School of Economics of the University of Buenos Aires was closely linked to the project, thus the participation at the conference was a very fruitful experience for the participating project members Marco Pinfari, Kai Lehmann and Eva Scherwitz, who convened and chaired the panel. The presented papers were discussed by Dr. Juan Pablo Prada Lallande, Academia de Relaciones Internacionales at the Facultad de Derecho y Ciencies Sociales of Univeresidad Autónoma de Peubla in México. The following papers were presented and discussed: "Conflict transformation via regional integration: An adapted EU approach towards Asia and Latin America" (Eva Scherwitz), "Regional Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Mediterranean Neighborhood: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?" (Marco Pinfari, Herah Azhar and Justine Louis), "The European Union and the promotion of

regional integration as a way to resolve regional conflicts in Latin America – still a viable option?" (Kai Lehmann, Octávio Forti Neto and Cinthia Pestana Haddad).

2.3. Final Conference

The Final Conference on "The EU, Regional Integration and Conflict Resolution" took place in the building of the European Parliament in Brussels on 14 of November 2014, which gave the researchers the opportunity to present their findings to the public. The one-day conference was composed of five Panel sessions each dedicated to the regions Europe, the Mediterranean, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Asia. During the day, the international team had the unique opportunity to inform, discuss and share its ideas with the audience after two years of in-depth research of the EU's political strategies for deepening regional integration in the four regions. Participants of the final conference included over 60 leading researchers from each of the five world regions in question as well as Brussels-based diplomats, think tankers and officials.

After the welcoming address of Nathalie Tocci, the first panel of the conference was devoted to the European Regional Conflict Transformation Policy. The team called attention to the EU's recent strategy of regional integration and its aim for the regional transformation of conflicts around the world. Eva Scherwitz and Giovanni Faleg discussed that overall, the European Union's efforts of fostering regional integration have not been successful enough in the EU's eyes in the respective four world regions. Furthermore, direct model setting does not represent a strategy adapted to current regional demands and challenges. Recently, the EU therefore seems to have followed an adaptation strategy and has adopted a rather reluctant approach in terms of fostering direct regional conflict transformation. The panel agreed on the EU's need for policy changes, greater credibility and a more coordinated approach in the future.

The second panel "Regional Conflict Transformation in the Mediterranean" discussed the EU's regional integration efforts in the Mediterranean. In the Maghreb region, the EU's overall regional integration initiatives were not producing the desired effects in the region. There is also an absence of regional organizations. Although the EU enjoys a special privilege, mainly as a result of its historical ties and the proximity, the EU has still failed to represent an active model for the Mediterranean. In the Israel-Palestine conflict, the EU has given mixed responses in terms of its actions within the conflict, there have been no regional organizations that bring both sides together.

Panel 3 discussed the "Regional Conflict Transformation in the Subsaharan Africa". With regard to the Great Lakes region of Africa, Giulia Piccolino argued that the EU exercises its influence through incentives and sanctions. Indeed, there is some model setting on how RI is structured, although slightly superficial and limited. The EU has failed to find a coherent regional approach. There have been some successes in short time conflict management, but no long-term solutions are foreseeable. According to Stephanie Minou who presented the West African region, the EU's contribution to conflict transformation through RI is visible. There is however a lack of political will. The EU's model is not perfectly adoptable by African institutions because the background dynamics between Europe and Africa are so different.

The next group, Panel 4, presenting "Regional Conflict Transformation in Latin America", concluded that the EU should work on improving structural problems in Central America. Although the EU has experienced constant success as a respected model for the region, the EU has to change its approach on Latin America and focus more on strengthening cooperation and economic links to foster RI. In terms of the Colombian crisis and Latin America, the EU has to enhance its effectiveness by becoming more flexible and by gaining a deeper understanding of economic, cultural and historical differences in question. Finally, Europe is an important partner for the continent and needs to be aware of its limitations in trade.

In the final group, Panel 5, "Regional Conflict Transformation in Asia", Yeikyong Kim explained that the EU has strengthened its efforts in regional integration, by joining different regional Asian forums. The EU is gradually recognized as an increasingly relevant political partner in the region, it nevertheless has a less significant role than, for instance, the United States. All panellists agreed that the EU has recently been facing a number of obstacles in the region. China already perceives the EU's level of interference in the region as too high regarding the South China Sea issue. The EU may have begun to participate in regional conferences, it is however less certain that its involvement will affect in any way the policies. Moosung Lee further explained that in North East Asia and the North Korean nuclear issue, the EU has fallen short to its expectations and its impact has remained minimal.

After the five panels and the discussion rounds of each panel concluded, project manager Thomas Diez successfully brought the main issues together, providing a final and sharp picture of the EU's efforts for RI. Taking into account the findings of the different papers that presented at the conference, he primarily focused in this context on the definition of regional integration and the EU's promotion of it in the respective regions.

The conference was organized along the following panels and included high-ranking chairs and discussants from each project region:

- **European Regional Conflict Transformation Policy**

Chair: Eleonora Poli (Istituto Affari Internazionali), Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Giovanni Faleg (The World Bank), Discussants: Richard Whitman (University of Kent), Gerrard Quille (European Parliament), Luk van Langenhove (United Nations University)

- **Regional Conflict Transformation in the Mediterranean**

Chair: Federica Bicchi (London School of Economics), Justine Louis (American University Cairo), Herah Azhar (American University Cairo), Discussants: Angela Liberatore (European Commission), Yahia Zoubir (School of Management Marseille), Amnon Aran (City University London), Rosemary Hollis (City University London)

- **Regional Conflict Transformation in the Subsaharan Africa**

Chair: Giovanni Faleg (The World Bank), Giulia Piccolino (GIGA Insitute Hamburg), Stephanie Minou (King's College London), Discussants: Toni Haastrup (University of Kent), Yahia Zoubir (School of Management Marseille), Gianmarco Scuppa (European External Action Service), Donatella Rostagno (European Network for Central Africa)

- **Regional Conflict Transformation in Latin America**

Chair: Eva Scherwitz (University of Tübingen), Kai Lehmann (University of São Paulo), Octavio Forti Neto (University of São Paulo), Cinthia Haddad (University of São Paulo), Discussants: Gian Luca Gardini (University of Erlangen), Andrés Malamud (University of Lisbon), Fernando Iglesias (World Federalist Movement)

- **Regional Conflict Transformation in Asia**

Chair: Cheng Chwee Kuik (University of Oxford), Moosung Lee (Myongji University), Yeikyong Kim (Myongji University), Discussants: Si-Hong Kim (Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), Jin-Woo Choi (Hanyang University), David Capie (Victoria University of Wellington)

3. Other forms of dissemination

Apart from the project publications, common panels and workshops, the main dissemination instrument has been the RegioConf website www.regioconf.eu, hosted by the University of Tübingen (as defined in milestone for month 2 in the project proposal). The website presents an outline of RegioConf and serves

as a platform to connect the web domains of all research partners within the project. Furthermore, it contains all working papers of the project and informs about events held in the context of the project. News as well as different types of publications were regularly updated. Hence, the website provides the audience with comprehensive information on all project activities.

New working papers were also advertised via professional mailing lists once they have been published on the website.

For the purpose of the final conference, an official press release has been sent out to leading Brussels-based journalists. The event has also been announced on an official diplomatic mailing list in Brussels and has been spread throughout Brussels institutions.

Further dissemination activities are planned for 2015 for the purpose of the book disseminations. This will include the promotion of the book at international conferences and on the RegioConf website.

4. Publications

4.1. Working Paper Series

All RegioConf working papers are available on our website www.regioconf.eu. Their consistent common design is meant to enhance their visibility and recognition.

In the first working paper, "The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Integration: Setting The Framework of Analysis" (milestone month 5 in proposal) which is a revised version of the draft presented at the ISA conference, Thomas Diez, Nathalie Tocci, Eva Scherwitz, and Giovanni Faleg elaborate the theoretical framework of RegioConf. The authors put strong emphasis on the interplay of policies generally affecting regional integration processes on the one hand and targeted EU conflict transformation measures on the other hand. They further define three forms of the promotion of regional integration: direct intentional, direct unintentional, and indirect. This distinction then leads to a typology of pathways of influence of the EU in promoting regional integration: compulsion, social learning, changing context through integration, and model setting. This conceptualization has since then served as a guideline for the evaluation of empirical data gathered during the fieldwork.

In the second working paper, "The EU approach towards regional integration in Latin America – state of the art", Eva Scherwitz gives an overview of how different authors see and evaluate the EU`s promotion of regional integration in Latin America. Besides the state of the art on this matter, the paper also names problems and challenges for this approach and presents possible further steps.

The third working paper, "The EU approach towards regional integration in Asia – state of the art", also written by Eva Scherwitz, outlines the current insights in the academic literature on the EU's relation with Asia.

The fourth working paper in the series by Moosung Lee deals with "The Impact of Regional Cooperation on Regional Conflicts: The Cases of North Korean Nuclear Crisis and the South China Sea Territorial Dispute". This paper examines how and to what extent EU-promoted regional integration policy affects the actual process of transforming the very nature of conflicts in Asia; to this end, it has also delved into the underlying reasons behind the success and failure of this policy approach.

In the fifth working paper, "The EU and regional integration in West Africa: what effects on conflict resolution and transformation?", authors Giulia Piccolino and Stephanie Minou focus on West Africa and examine the role of the European Union in the promotion of regional integration in the region as well as

its co-operation efforts with the two main regional organisations; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA).

The sixth working paper, "Regional Integration and Conflict Resolution in the Mediterranean Neighborhood: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back?" by Herah Azhar and Justine Louis, deals with two conflicts in the Mediterranean, namely the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well as the conflict in Western Sahara and analyses the impact of the EU on them.

In the seventh working paper of the series, Sonja Theron and Edgar Cizero Ntasano analyse "The EU, Regional Co-operation and Conflict in the Great Lakes Region" in Eastern Africa. The key processes identified and analysed are trade, the movement of people, social ties, the management or exploitation of natural resources and political conflict resolution.

The eighth working paper "The EU, Regional Conflicts and the Promotion of Regional Cooperation: A Successful Strategy for a Global Challenge?" by Kai Lehmann, Octávio Forti Neto and Cinthia Pestana Haddad focusses on Latin America and the EU's efforts in this region.

The ninth working paper "The Impact of Regional Cooperation on Regional Conflicts: The Cases of the North Korean Nuclear Crisis and the South China Sea Territorial Dispute" by Moosung Lee and Yeikyoung Kim is providing detailed insights into regional conflicts in the Asian context.

4.2. Other papers and publications

Azhar, Herah (2014): "No spring here: The EU, Regional Cooperation and Conflict Transformation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict", *ISA Human Rights Joint Conference* June 16-18 2014, Istanbul, Turkey.

Diez, Thomas; Scherwitz, Eva (2014): "Regional Solutions for Regional Conflicts? The EU, the Neighbourhood and China", http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~susyd/EUSC/documents/EUSC_Regional_Policy_Diez-Scherwitz.pdf (December 2, 2014).

Lehmann, Kai (2013): "The crisis of the European Union and its impact on Regionalism in Latin America", *Contexto Internacional* 35(2): 415–42.

Lehmann, Kai; Octávio Forti Neto and Cinthia Pestana Haddad (2014): "Regional tensions in Latin America – Is the promotion of regionalism still a viable option for the creation and maintenance of peace and security?" (Frankfurt, Germany).

Minou, Stephanie (2014): "Regional Integration in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): Effects on regional conflict transformation", Master Thesis, London, King's College London.

Piccolino, Giulia (2013): "The European Union and the promotion of regional integration: a viable approach to the resolution of regional conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa?" (Lisbon, Portugal).

Poli, Eleonora (2014): "Integrazione regionale e guerre evitabili", November 18 2014 http://www.euractiv.it/it/news/regioni/10323-integrazione-regionale-e-guerre-evitabili.html (December 2, 2014).

Poli, Eleonora (2014): "Is the European Model Relevant for ASEAN?", November 10, 2014 http://www.iai.it/content.asp?langid=2&contentid=1203 (December 2, 2014).

Scherwitz, Eva (2014): "Conflict transformation via regional integration: Assessing the EU's approach towards Asia and Latin America", Panel: The EU and World Regionalism: Sponsoring Potemkin's Villages and Boosting Regimes II (EUIA conference, Brussels, Belgium).

4.3. Further publications in preparation

Book

We sent an initial book proposal to Cambridge University Press on 2 February 2015. John Haslam, the responsible editor at CUP, gave his green light for submission of a full typescript for review on 12 March 2015. We will now produce this typescript by June 2015 based on the present draft chapters.

Special Issue for Asia –Europe Journal (2015, in preparation): "Integration for Peace: The EU, Regional integration and Conflict Resolution in East Asia"

Planned contributions (Four by RegioConf project partners and two by external contributors)

> Diez, Thomas; Lee, Moosung; Tocci, Nathalie (2015): "Introduction, Theoretical Framework and Comparative Perspective".

> Scherwitz, Eva (2015): "The EU and Asian Policy: Regional cooperation and regional conflicts".

> Lee, Moosung (2015): "The EU, Regional Cooperation and North Korean Nuclear issue: Efforts for Desecuritization".

> Kim, Yeikyoung (2015) The EU, Regional Cooperation and South China Sea territorial Dispute: Multilateralism versus Bilateralism

Other forthcoming articles

Diez, Thomas; Scherwitz, Eva; Tang, See Seng (2015): "Regional Security and Relations with the 'Neighbourhood'", in Kirchner, Emil; Christiansen, Thomas; Dorussen, Hans (eds) *Security Relations between the European Union and China: From Convergence to Cooperation?,* typescript under review

Ahrens, Bettina; Diez, Thomas (2015): "Solidarisation and Its Limits: The EU and the Transformation of International Society", *Global Discourse*, forthcoming (paper accepted; contains section on The EU and the Promotion of Regionalisation"

Panel at DVPW Conference 2015, GIGA, Hamburg

Contributions

> Fioramonti, Lorenzo (with Mattheis, Frank) (2015): "Is Africa following the European model? Conceptual lessons for comparative regionalism", presented at the DVPW Comparative Politiics Conference, February 2015, GIGA Hamburg.

> Piccolino, Giulia (2015): "Building regions or diffusing failure? Regional integration in West Africa and the EU model", presented at the DVPW Comparative Politiics Conference, February 2015, GIGA, Hamburg.

> Poli, Eleonora (2015): "Is the European Model Relevant for ASEAN?", presented at the DVPW Comparative Politiics Conference, February 2015, GIGA, Hamburg.