



# An unexpected spillover? EU-Russia relations and implications for neo-functionalism

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24. Oktober 2017

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## Reference

- The following slides are based on a draft paper titled 'An unexpected spillover? EU-Russia relations and implications for neo-functionalism' presented at the first Ghent Russia Colloquium 'EU-Russia Relations: How to get out of the 'midlife' crisis?', Ghent, 22 September 2017
- Please do not cite without permission by the author.
- Any comments are welcome under [Anne.Wetzel@mzes.uni-mannheim.de](mailto:Anne.Wetzel@mzes.uni-mannheim.de)

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# Research Question

- How could the European integration project, which was meant to foster peace and stability, result in conflict and war at its rim?

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# Overview of the Argument

- EU's Neighbourhood Policy/Eastern Partnership, which have widely been named as the root of the EU-Russia crisis can be understood as an instance of EU integration
- As such, it can be analysed with theories of integration
- ENP corresponds to neofunctionalist premises
- However, neofunctionalism would expect a different result: peace and stability

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## Overview of the Argument II

- Neofunctionalism has not paid enough attention to external factors of integration and external environment of integrating regions
- Neofunctionalism has not adequately addressed potential negative consequences of integration
- Future research/theory development

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# ENP as an Instance of EU Integration

- EU speaks of high level of integration
- Modelled on enlargement policy
- Significant extension of EU acquis

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# Neofunctionalism and ENP

- Focus on process (instead of finalité)
- Incremental progress (instead of grand design)
- Special role for experts and technocracy
- Spill-overs: geographical; cultivated (prominent role of the supranational actors/Commission)

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# Neofunctionalism: Peace and Security

- Optimistic vision
- e.g. Haas: “progress of unity in Europe” and its diffusion around the world would “contribute to world peace by creating ever-expanding islands of practical cooperation, eventually spilling over into the controversy-laden fields which threaten us directly with thermonuclear destruction” (1961: 366)
-  Current situation

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# Neofunctionalism and External Factors of Integration

■ Impact that external context/ actors have on regional integration

■ Positive

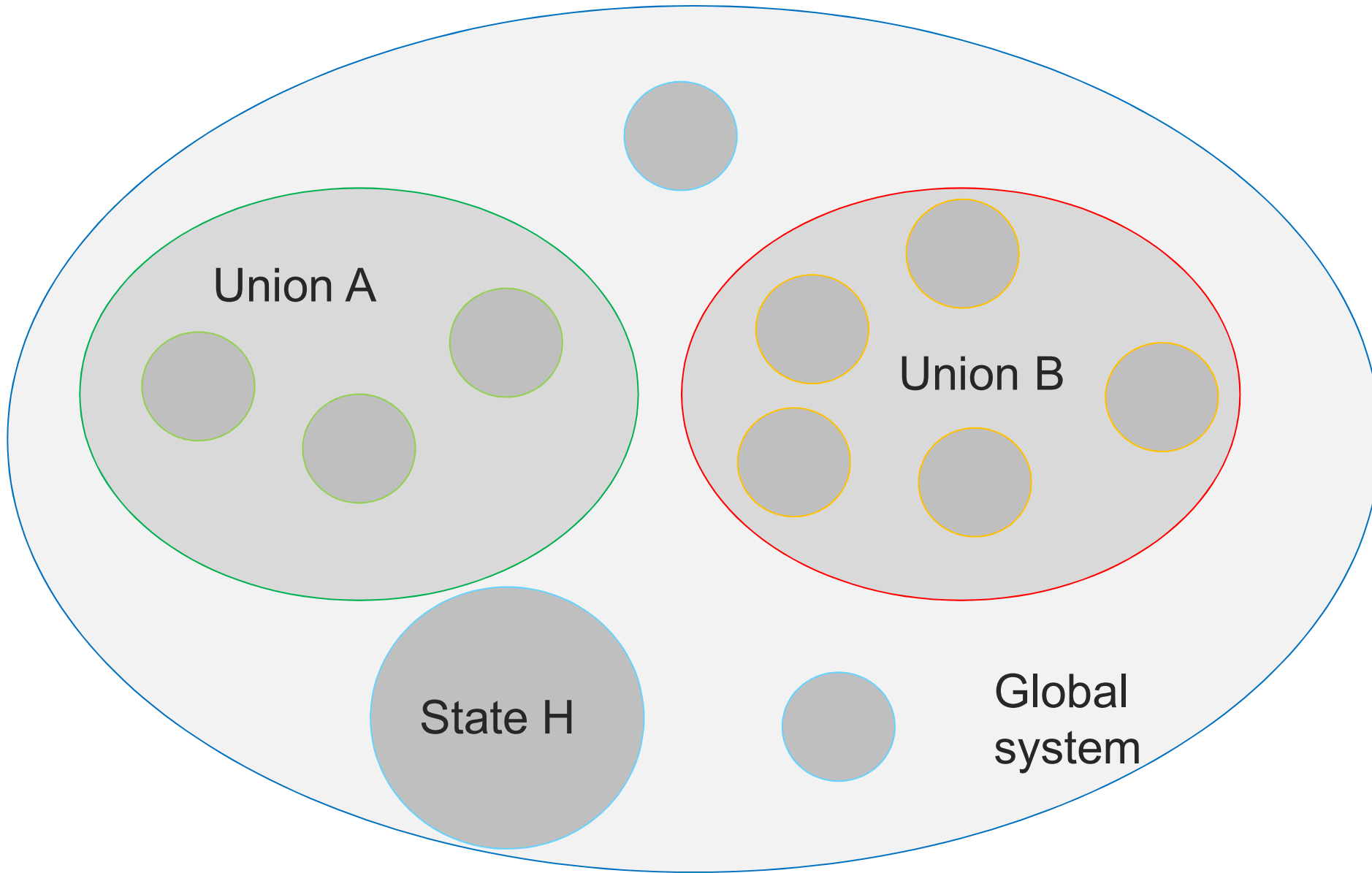
■ Negative

■ Impact that integrating region has on its environment

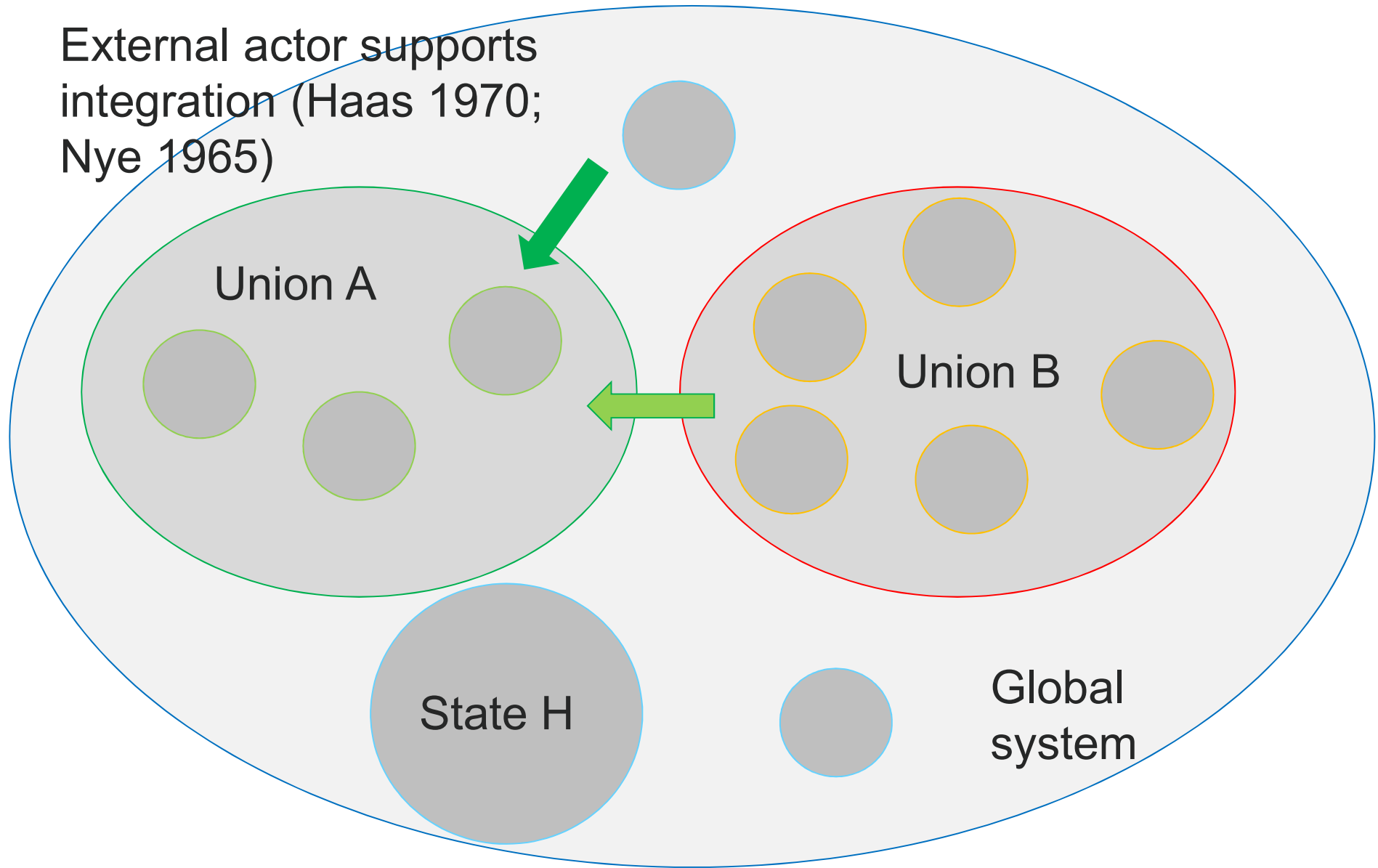
■ Neutral

■ Negative

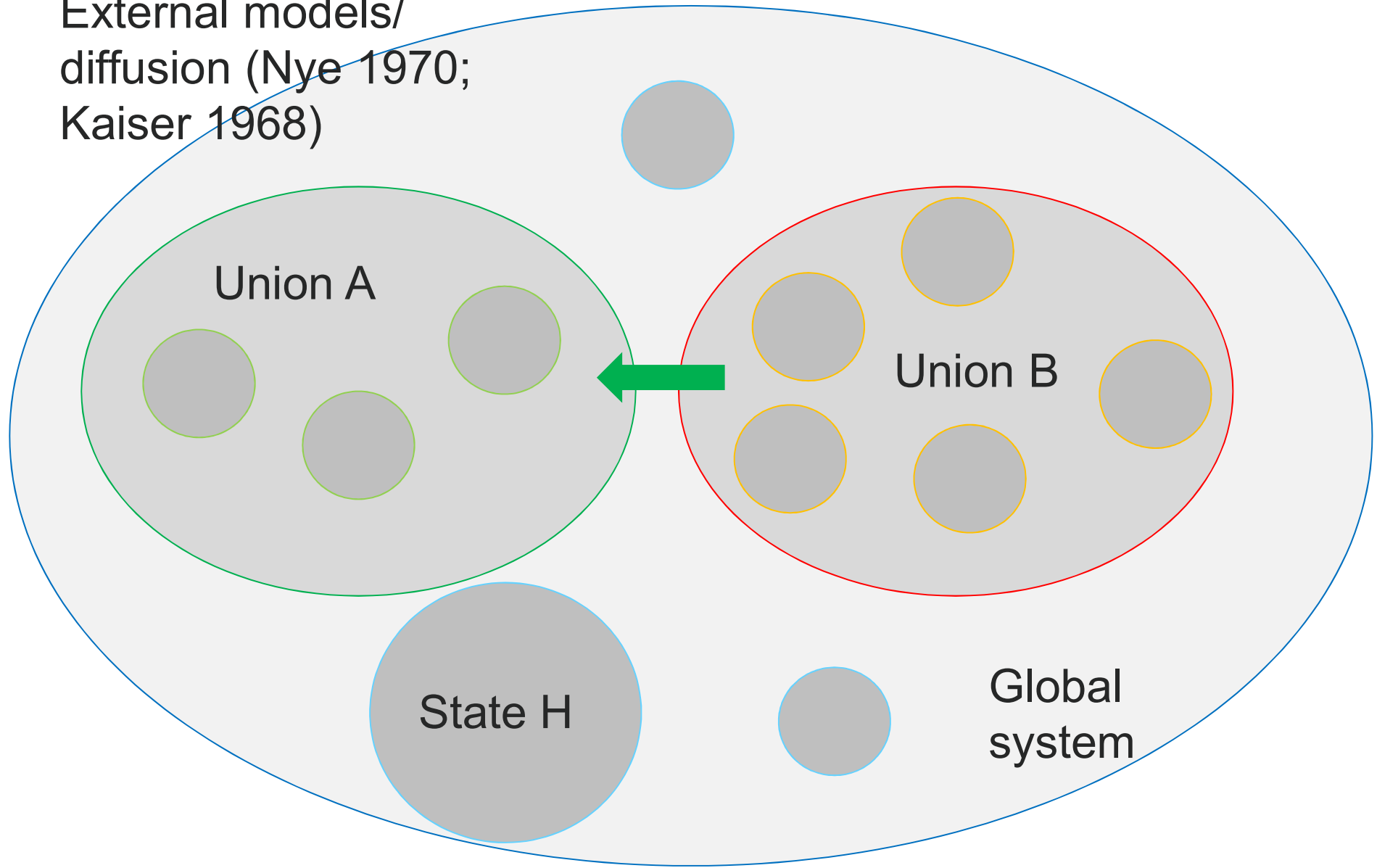
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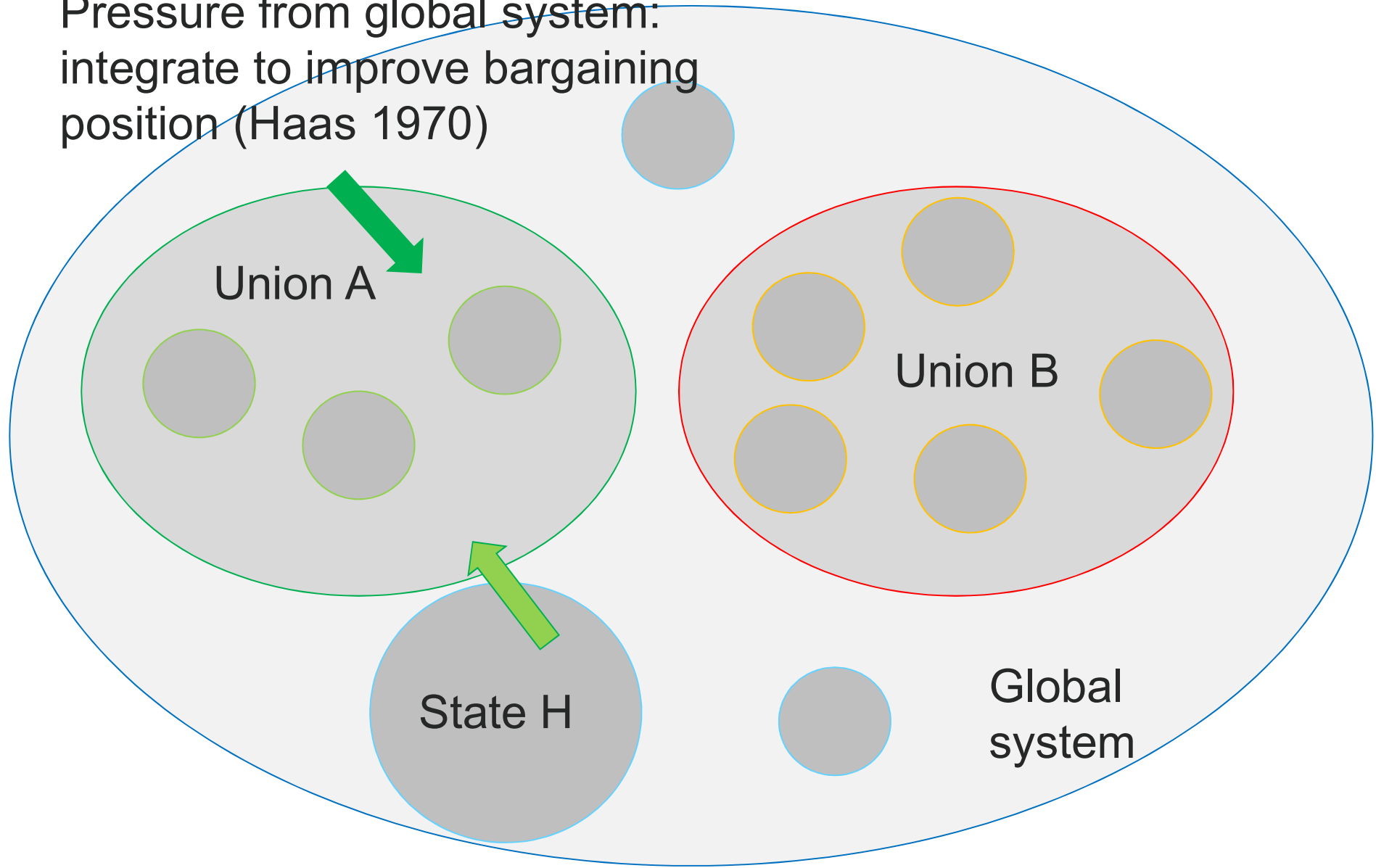
External actor supports  
integration (Haas 1970;  
Nye 1965)



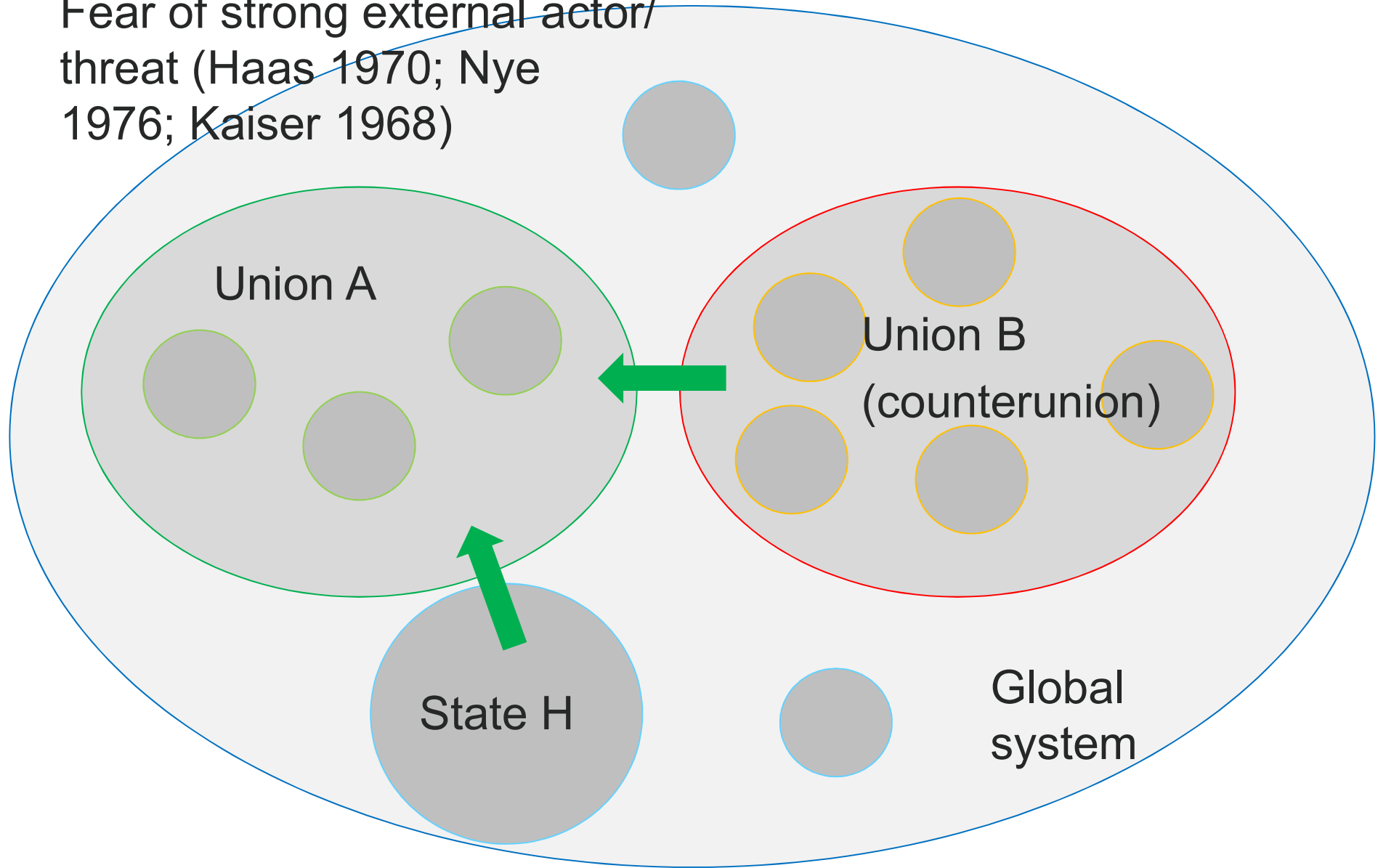
External models/  
diffusion (Nye 1970;  
Kaiser 1968)



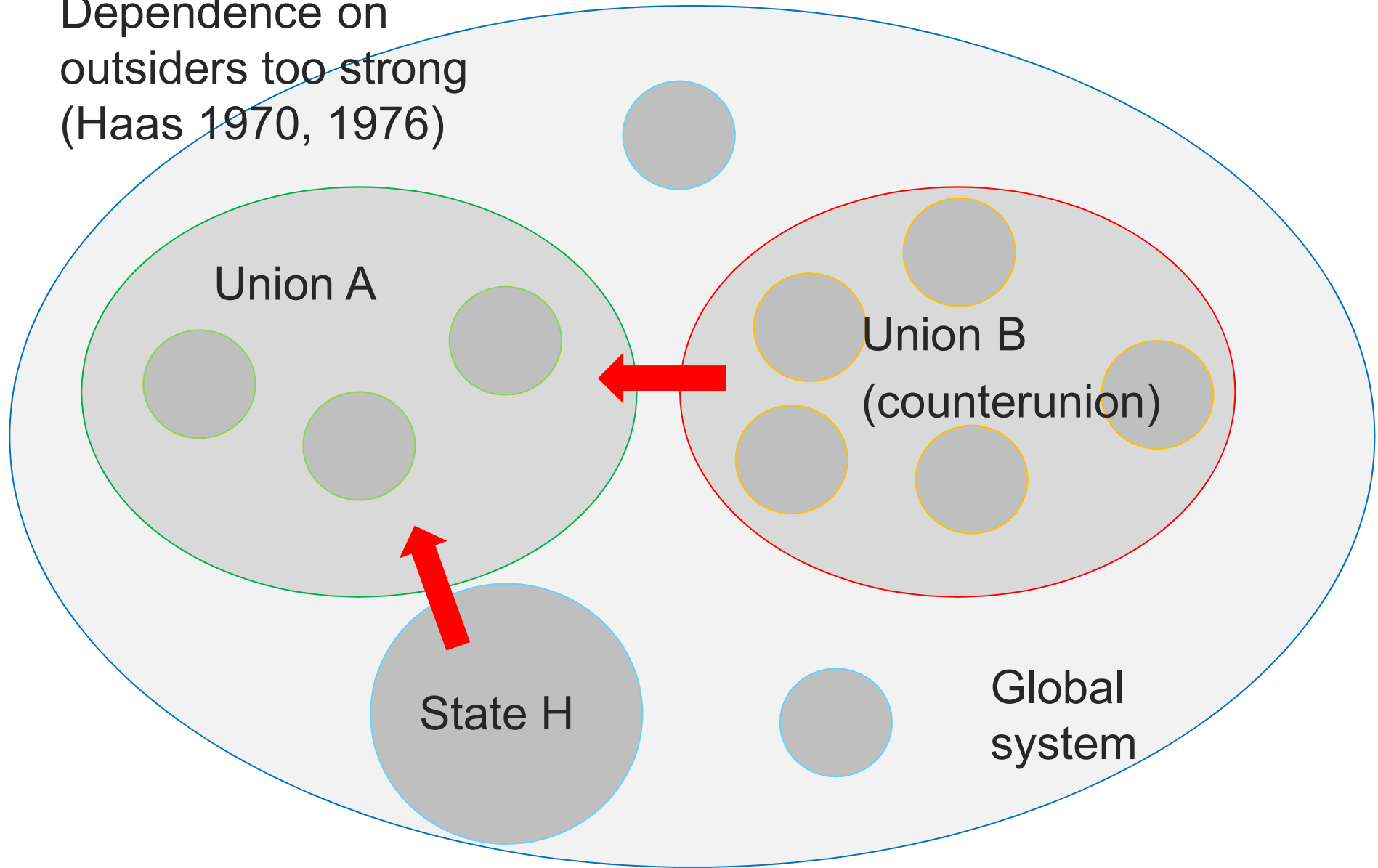
Pressure from global system:  
integrate to improve bargaining  
position (Haas 1970)



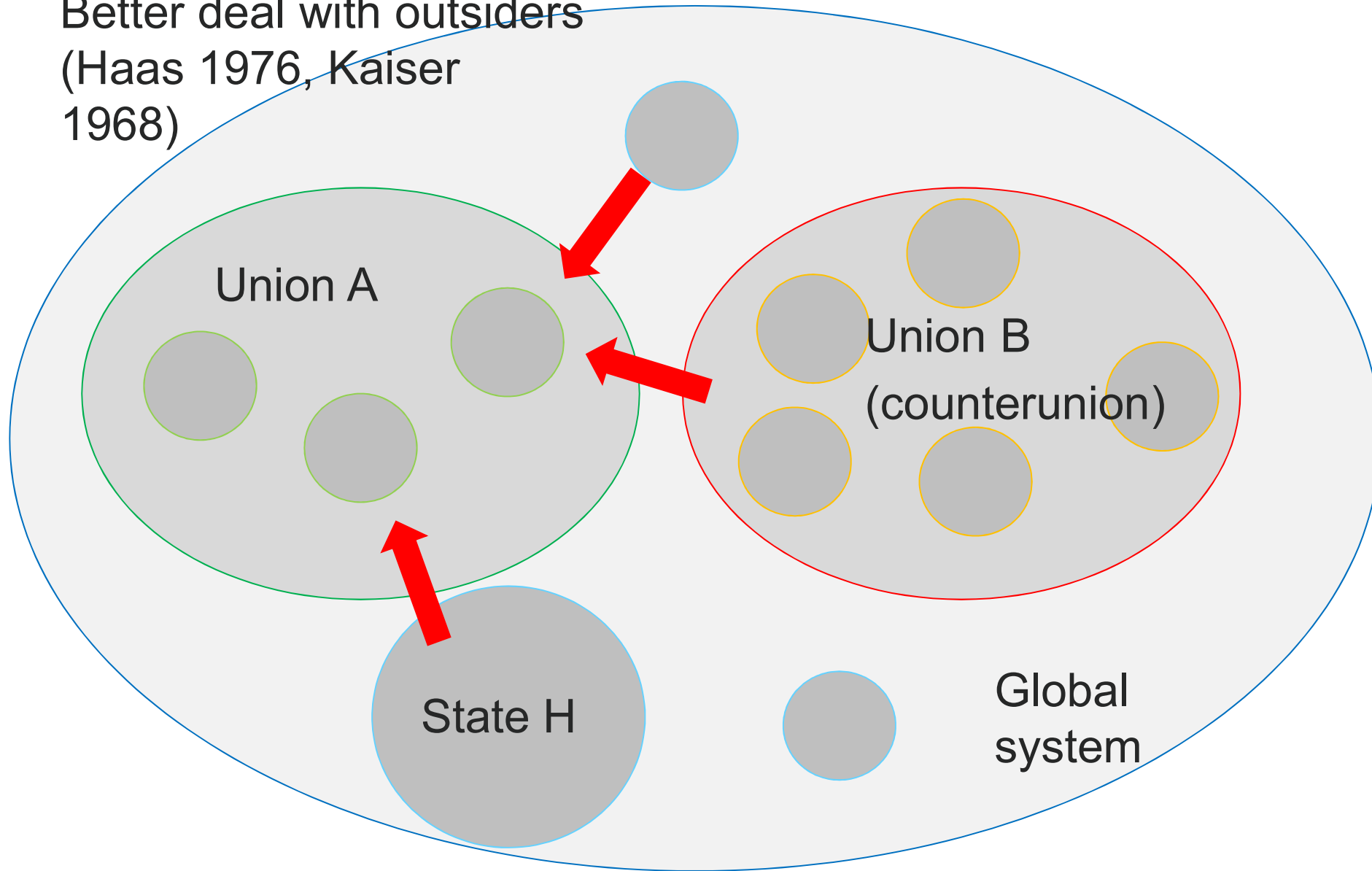
Fear of strong external actor/  
threat (Haas 1970; Nye  
1976; Kaiser 1968)



Dependence on outsiders too strong  
(Haas 1970, 1976)

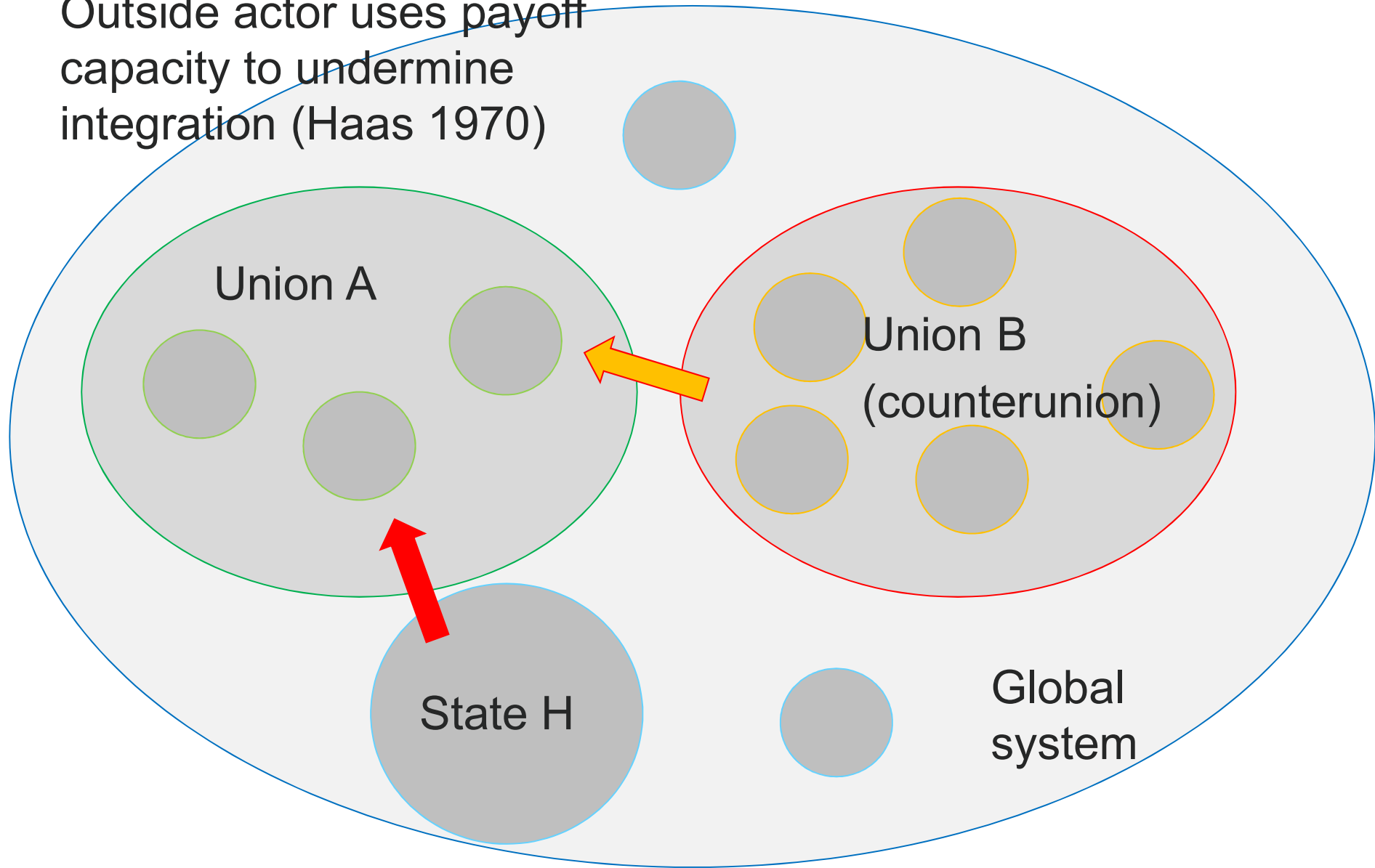


Better deal with outsiders  
(Haas 1976, Kaiser  
1968)

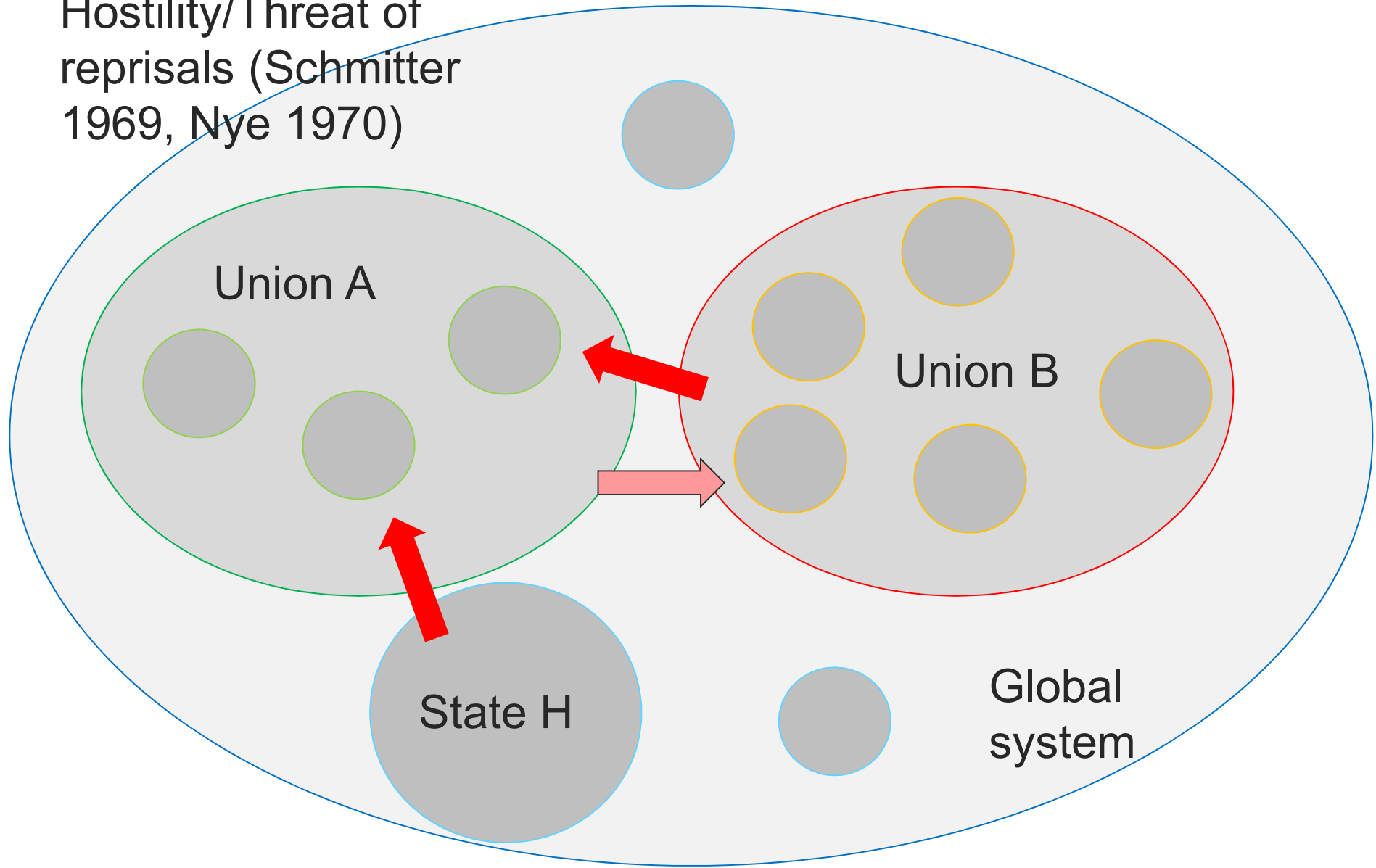




Outside actor uses payoff capacity to undermine integration (Haas 1970)



Hostility/Threat of reprisals (Schmitter 1969, Nye 1970)



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## Relevance for EU-Russia Crisis

- Dual dependence of ENP countries
- Attempts to use payoff capacity (energy deals)
- Open hostility/ threat/ aggression
  
- BUT:
  - Lack of proper conceptualisation
  - Lack of conditions

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Thank you for your attention.

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