Normative Change and Security Community Disintegration

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Undoing Peace

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To Nancy

Whose wisdom and warmth has been a continuous source of inspiration

PREFACE

A community rests on the commitment of its members to intuitively follow and reproduce the social norms that are constitutive to its formation. In this sense, I agree with Heidegger (1969) who claims that the shared understanding that constitutes a community is, more often than not, ‘ready-to-hand’ (*zuhanden*) instead of simply ‘present-at-hand’ (*vorhanden*). As Bauman (2001, p. 11) notes, ‘we hardly ever notice the air we breathe, unless it is the foul and malodorous air of a stuffy room that we happen to inhale.’ As long as this system of tacitly respected ‘settled’ norms is internalized by all members, the community will probably outlive almost any ‘unsettling’ changes in its external or domestic environment. Once members begin to question the shared meaning of their social relationship, and its underlying norms, and stop caring for each other’s well-being, however, the ‘air will turn foul’ and the community may subsequently head down the road to disintegration.

The investigation of normative change is becoming increasingly popular in international relations (IR). Most studies, however, focus on its progressive connotation. The possibility of a weakening or even disappearance of an established peaceful normative order, by contrast, tends to be often either neglected or implicitly assumed. This book develops a theoretical and empirical argument about the disintegration of security communities and the subsequent breakdown of stable peace among nations through a process of norm degeneration. A security community is considered to be ‘a group which has become integrated, where integration is defined as the attainment of a sense of community, accompanied by formal or informal institutions or practices, sufficiently strong and widespread to assure

peaceful change among members of a group with “reasonable” certainty over a “long” period of time’ (Deutsch et al. 1957).

The reasons for writing this book are twofold. First, I seek to address a theoretical problem: How can we analytically conceptualize regressive and disintegrative processes in international politics? How do these processes differ from processes of peaceful integration? Coming from a Constructivist background, I—like many of my colleagues—encountered what I have described in this book as a ‘progressivist bias’ in much of research on the social construction of norms and security communities. The second reason for writing this book concerns an empirical problem. I was intrigued by the upsurge of disintegrative dynamics and tendencies within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) during and after the war in Iraq and, more recently, the European Union (EU), following the Euro crisis and the refugee crisis, respectively. These phenomena presented me with the empirical puzzle for this book: Why and how might people and states give up on their prior achievements in terms of peaceful integration? What keeps such security communities together and, more importantly, what drives them apart?

To address these questions, this book draws together two key bodies of contemporary IR literature—norms and security communities—and brings their combined insights to bear on the empirical phenomenon of disintegration. The book advances the contemporary body of research on the important role of norms and ideas by analytically extending recent Constructivist arguments about international norm degeneration to the regional level and by applying them to a particular type of regional order (a security community) in order to explain the latter’s demise. In contrast to widespread beliefs in both academia and policy circles that the process of peaceful regional integration is (more or less) linear and irreversible, the empirical observations presented in this book show that the members of a security community can themselves easily undo peace among them.

This book is the result of a long journey, both literally and metaphorically speaking, and I am grateful to a great number of people who offered their guidance, encouragement, and company in developing this project. When I first started thinking about the idea for this book right after completing my PhD, I was fortunate enough to work as a visiting lecturer at the John F. Kennedy Institute at the Freie Universität Berlin. I am pleased to have the opportunity to acknowledge the help and goodwill of a splendid group of scholars whom I was privileged to have worked with there.

A first draft of the theory chapter and the introduction were written while I was a Fritz Thyssen Fellow at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (WCFIA) at Harvard University. Beth Simmons, then the director of the Center, and Karl Kaiser, then the director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations, were truly caring academic supporters during my stay at the WCFIA, and so have been many others, including Stephen Walt, Alastair Iain Johnston, Felix Heiduk, Ulrich Krotz, Ronja Kempin, Steven Bloomfield, Michelle Eureka, Megan Margulies, Thomas Murphy, and Ann Townes. Max Büge, with whom I was lucky enough to share an office at the WCFIA, was the best office mate one could imagine, and I trust that he knows how much so. Spending the whole year writing is a great luxury, and I gratefully acknowledge the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung's financial support to enable me to focus on my research in such an inspiring and highly welcoming academic environment.

At the Friedrich Alexander University (FAU) at Erlangen-Nürnberg, I developed my case studies and wrote the conclusion of the book. For four years, the FAU provided me with an academic home (and a stunning view from my office, overlooking the castle and the old town). Here, I was able to work with an equally inspiring and cordial crowd of people. Andreas Falke, then my boss and mentor, provided me with generous free space to develop new ideas and to continue writing. I feel lucky and honored to have been able to work under his chairmanship during these years. Sarah Beringer was my colleague and 'partner in crime' at the chair, and I am grateful for her wisdom and cheerful laughs. Also, I would like to thank my dear colleague and running mate, Gian Luca Gardini, as well as Christina Stolte, who have both been a constant source of support and sympathy. Special thanks go to Sören Brinkmann, Wolfgang Ramsteck, Matthias Fifka, Günther Ammon, Nelia Miguel Müller, Rüdiger Zoller, Walther Bernecker, Dirk Holtbrügge, and Christoph Schumann. Even though they have not read or directly commented on this manuscript, I feel that a series of frequently spirited discussions over the past years has greatly helped to sharpen and strengthen the project. Finally, I have to thank my students at the FAU for their enduring enthusiasm and curiosity.

This book is also my *Habilitationsschrift*. Hence, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the University of Potsdam, where I submitted my *Habilitation*, as well as to my board of reviewers, Andrea Liese, Anja Jetschke, and Heinz Kleger. More than anyone else, Kleger, who was also my *Doktorvater*, taught me to think beyond disciplinary boundaries. He is

a model of scholarly integrity and open-mindedness and I could not have wished for a better teacher.

Ironically, this book's journey ends where it began. As I am writing these lines, I have returned to the Freie Universität Berlin, this time joining the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science as a visiting professor. I feel very privileged and honored to be working with such a superb group of scholars here, and I am pleased to thank Tanja Börzel and Thomas Risse for granting me this valuable opportunity.

Beyond those names above, a heterogeneous collection of friends and colleagues, in one way or another, contributed to this book, commenting on parts of the manuscript, offering their own knowledge and expertise, or helping in a variety of other ways. My parents, Wolfgang and Ursula Koschut, as well as my brother David, have been a neverending source of encouragement and so have been my 'American parents', Cathy and David Annas. Sarah Roughley, my editor at Palgrave, deserves praise and respect for her friendly patience and professional support. Lucile Eznack, Regina Heller, Stephan Stetter, Stephen Aris, Andreas Wenger, Simon Hollis, Matthias Dembinski, and Andrea Oelsner as well as the anonymous reviewers have pushed me to think harder and provided valuable comments that helped to prepare the final draft.

My greatest debt is to my family: my children Enja and Elio, and most importantly Nancy. Her continuing generosity and emotional support in challenging times and during my frequent absences from home deserve my unconditional love and gratitude. This book is dedicated to her.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfD	Alternative für Deutschland/Alternative for Germany
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AWACS	Airborne Early Warning and Control System
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EC	European Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity
EU	European Union
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs/Freedom Party of Austria
ICC	International Criminal Court
IFF	Identification Friend or Foe
KFOR	Kosovo Force
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
MERCOSUR	Mercado Común del Sur/Southern Common Market
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSA	National Security Agency
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDD	Presidential Decision Directive
PfP	Partnership for Peace
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander Europe
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
UN	United Nations
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
USA	United States of America
VOPP	Vance–Owen Peace Plan
WEU	Western European Union

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