## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

1.1 Definitions and Framework  1.2 The Structure of the Book  2. Conflict Prevention in Contemporary Perspective  2.1 Introduction  2.2 Conflict Prevention during the Cold War  1. The prevention of superpower conflict  2. Conflict prevention and the United Nations  2.3 Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era  1. Conflict after the Cold War  2. Problems with prevention: terminological confusion  3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success  4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions  5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention  2.4 Conclusion  3. The External Relations of the European Union  3.1 Introduction  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations  1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)  2. The origins of development policy  3. European Political Cooperation (EPC)  4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations  Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  3. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations	List of Figures and Tables Abbreviations		10 11
in Contemporary Perspective  2.1 Introduction  2.2 Conflict Prevention during the Cold War  1. The prevention of superpower conflict  2. Conflict prevention and the United Nations  2.3 Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era  1. Conflict after the Cold War  2. Problems with prevention: terminological confusion  3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success  4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions  5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention  2.4 Conclusion  3. The External Relations of the European Union  3.1 Introduction  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations  1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)  2. The origins of development policy  3. European Political Cooperation (EPC)  4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations  Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations	1.1	Definitions and Framework	13 13 16
2.1 Introduction  2.2 Conflict Prevention during the Cold War  1. The prevention of superpower conflict  2. Conflict prevention and the United Nations  2.3 Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era  1. Conflict after the Cold War  2. Problems with prevention: terminological confusion  3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success  4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions  5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention  2.4 Conclusion  3. The External Relations of the European Union  3.1 Introduction  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations  1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)  2. The origins of development policy  3. European Political Cooperation (EPC)  4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations  Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations	2.	**************************************	18
<ul> <li>2.2 Conflict Prevention during the Cold War  1. The prevention of superpower conflict 2. Conflict prevention and the United Nations 23</li> <li>2.3 Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era 1. Conflict after the Cold War 2. Problems with prevention: terminological confusion 3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success 4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions 5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention 2.4 Conclusion 3. The External Relations of the European Union 3.1 Introduction 3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations</li> </ul>	2.1		
2.3 Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era 1. Conflict after the Cold War 2. Problems with prevention: terminological confusion 3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success 4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions 5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention 2.4 Conclusion 3.6  3. The External Relations of the European Union 3.1 Introduction 3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations		Conflict Prevention during the Cold War  1. The prevention of superpower conflict	19 19
3. Problems with prevention: prediction, motivation and proving policy success 4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions 5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention 36 2.4 Conclusion 39 3. The External Relations of the European Union 41 3.1 Introduction 41 3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 41 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations 4. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations	2.3	Conflict Prevention and the Post-Cold War Era  1. Conflict after the Cold War	26 26
proving policy success 4. Problems with prevention: competing assumptions 5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention 36 2.4 Conclusion 39 3. The External Relations of the European Union 41 3.1 Introduction 41 3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations 4. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations			29
5. Problems with prevention: the ethics of intervention  2.4 Conclusion  39  3. The External Relations of the European Union  41  3.1 Introduction  41  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations  1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)  2. The origins of development policy  3. European Political Cooperation (EPC)  4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations  Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations		proving policy success	32
2.4 Conclusion  3. The External Relations of the European Union  3.1 Introduction  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations  1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)  2. The origins of development policy  3. European Political Cooperation (EPC)  4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations			
3.1 Introduction  3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations	2.4	•	39
3.2 The Origins of EU External Relations 1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations	3.	The External Relations of the European Union	41
1. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) 2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations	3.1	Introduction	41
2. The origins of development policy 3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations	3.2	The Origins of EU External Relations	41
3. European Political Cooperation (EPC) 4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy? 4. The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations 62			
4. EPC: An aptitude for preventive diplomacy?  3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations  3. The European Parliament and external relations  4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy  5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)  6. Coherence in EU external relations  45  45  47  48  48  48  48  48  48  48  48  48			
3.3 The Post-Cold War European Union: External Relations Procedures and Institutions  1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP  2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations  3. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations			
Procedures and Institutions 1. Treaty reforms: from EPC to CFSP 2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations 62	<b>२</b>	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
2. The European Commission's role in external relations 3. The European Parliament and external relations 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations 62	3.3		48
3. The European Parliament and external relations 54 4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 55 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 57 6. Coherence in EU external relations 62			
4. The role of the Council of the EU in foreign policy 5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) 6. Coherence in EU external relations 62			
<ul><li>5. The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)</li><li>6. Coherence in EU external relations</li><li>62</li></ul>			
6. Coherence in EU external relations 62			
	3.4		63

4.	Post-Cold War European Security and Conflict Prevention	65	
4.1	Introduction	65	
	The Post-Cold War European Security Environment	66	
7.2	European security transformed	67	
	2. States, sovereignty and intervention	69	
	3. The EU as a new security actor	72	
	4. Civilian and military power EU?	74	
	5. Conflict prevention: a new EU norm?	77	
4.3	Conflict Prevention and International Organisations		
	in the Post-Cold War Period	80	
	1. Institutional complexity	80	
	2. Conflict prevention as a shared priority	84	
	3. The problem of policy coordination	87	
4.4	Conclusion	90	
5.	The European Union's Conflict Prevention Policy	92	
5.1	Introduction	92	
5.2	The Emergence of EU Conflict Prevention Discourse	93	
5.3	Structural Conflict Prevention: The Commission's Domain	100	
	1. Development cooperation	101	
	2. The objectives of development: where does conflict prevention come in?	102	
	3. Country Strategy Papers, Conflict Assessments and		
	Check List for Root Causes of Conflict	109	
	4. Humanitarian aid	112	
	5. Defining conflict prevention: from structural to operational?	113	
5 4	Early Warning and Analysis Mechanisms:	113	
٦.٦	Commission and Council	115	
	1. EU institutions and early warning	115	
	2. An inventory of EU capacities	116	
	3. Coherence in early warning and analysis	118	
5.5	Operational Conflict Prevention: The Council's Prerogative	120	
	1. Preventive diplomacy	120	
	2. EU crisis management concept and procedures	121	
	3. Civilian crisis management	122	
	<ol> <li>Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management (CIVICOM)</li> </ol>	124	
	5. Other civilian crisis management capabilities	124	
	6. Civilian setbacks	126	
	7. Military crisis management: developments and		
	divergences	127	

5.6	Institutional Competition or Coherence?  1. The complexity of EU structures:	129
	implications for coordination	129
	Competing crisis management visions?	133
5.7	Conclusion	136
6.	The EU and the UN:	
	Building a Partnership for Peace?	138
6.1	Introduction	138
6.2	Setting the Context: from Global to Regional Conflict Prevention?	141
6.3	Understanding EU-UN Relations in the Post-Cold War	
	Period	145
	1. The complexity of inter-organisational dialogue	145 148
	2. Modalities for EU-UN cooperation	
6.4	Coordinating Structural Conflict Prevention Policy  1. The UN and structural conflict prevention:	149
	development aid	149
	2. EU-UN coordination in structural conflict prevention	151
6.5	Coordinating Early Warning and Analysis	155 155
	1. The UN early warning system	157
	2. EU-UN coordination in early warning and analysis	
6.6	Coordinating Operational Conflict Prevention  1. UN operations: from peacekeeping to peacebuilding	159
	and peace enforcement	159
	2. EU-UN coordination in operational conflict prevention	160
6.7	Internal EU coordination problems:	
0.7	Implications for coordination with the UN	163
	1. The pillar structure	164
	2. Inter-institutional problems	165
	3. Internal institutional problems	166
6.8	Conclusion	167
7.	The EU and the OSCE:	
••	Pan-European Coordination for Conflict Prevention?	169
7.1	Introduction	169
7.2	Setting the Context: The OSCE and Organisational	
	Cooperation	171
7.3	Understanding EU-OSCE Relations in the	
	Post-Cold War Period	179
	1. OSCE structure: strengths and weaknesses	175
	2 OSCE-Ell cooperation: crossing competences?	179

7.4	Coordinating Structural Conflict Prevention Policy	182
	1. OSCE structural conflict prevention	182
	2. EU-OSCE coordination in structural conflict prevention	183
7.5	Coordinating Early Warning and Analysis	186
	1. OSCE early warning and analysis	186
	2. EU-OSCE coordination in early warning	188
7.6	Coordinating Operational Conflict Prevention	189
	OSCE operational conflict prevention     SULOSCE goodination in apprecianal conflict	189
	EU-OSCE coordination in operational conflict prevention	191
7.7	·	
7.7	Implications for Coordination with the OSCE	195
	1. The pillar structure	196
	2. Inter-institutional problems	198
	3. Internal Institutional problems	198
7.8	Conclusion	199
8.	The EU and NATO:	202
_	A Strategic Partnership for Conflict Prevention?	202
8.1	Introduction	202
8.2	Setting the Context: NATO after the Cold War	205
	The reform of NATO strategy and structure	207
	2. NATO and conflict prevention:	200
	a difficult linkage?	209
8.3	Understanding EU-NATO Relations in the Post-Cold War Period	211
8.4	Coordinating Structural Conflict Prevention Policy	214
	NATO and structural conflict prevention     EU-NATO coordination in structural	214
	conflict prevention	215
25	Coordinating Early Warning and Analysis	216
0.5	1. NATO early warning	216
	2. EU-NATO coordination in early warning	217
8.6	Coordinating Operational Conflict Prevention	218
0.0	NATO crisis management	218
	2. EU-NATO coordination in crisis management	220
8.7	Internal EU Coordination:	
• • •	Implications for Coordination with NATO	224
	1. The pillar structure	225
	2. Inter-institutional problems	226
	3. Internal institutional problems	226
8.8	Conclusion	228

9.	Conclusions: The Evolution of	
Э.	European Union Conflict Prevention Policy	230
9.1	Introduction	230
9.2	Cold War and Post-Cold War Conflict Prevention	231
9.3	European Union Conflict Prevention	234
	EU structures and conflict prevention: a challenge for coordination	236
	2. Peace project or martial union?	239
	3. The impact of Constitutional Treaty reforms	240
9.4	EU External Cooperation in Conflict Prevention	241
	1. General conclusions	241
	2. EU-UN coordination in conflict prevention	242
	3. EU-OSCE coordination in conflict prevention	243
	4. EU-NATO coordination in conflict prevention 5. Links between EU internal and external policy	244
	coordination	245
9.5	Definition and Theory	247
٥.5	Defining conflict prevention	247
	2. Theoretical implications of findings	248
	3. Researching the EU	249
9.6	The Future of Conflict Prevention in Europe and Beyond	250
References		252
115	T OF FIGURES AND TABLES	
_		
Figu	ire 3.1: European Commission: External Relations Directorates-General 1999-2004	53
Figu	re 3.2: Council Crisis Management Structures	60
Figu	re 4.1: Overlapping Institutional Memberships	82
Figu	re 4.2: Overlapping Organisational Competences	86
Figu	re 5.1: Conflict Prevention Bar Chart (1)	99
Figu	re 5.2: Conflict Prevention Bar Chart (2)	99
_	re 6.1: The United Nations System	146
Figure 6.2: The UN Department of Political Affairs		157
Figure 7.1: OSCE Operational Structure		176
_	re 8.1: NATO's Civil and Military Structures	206
	le 5.1: Conflict Prevention Discourse (1)	94
Tab	le 5.2: Conflict Prevention Discourse (2)	104