The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe

Why did Western European states agree to the enlargement of the EU and NATO? Frank Schimmelfennig analyzes the history of the enlargement process and develops a theoretical approach of ‘rhetorical action’ to explain why it occurred. While rationalist theory explains the willingness of East European states to join NATO and the EU, it does not explain why member states decided to admit them. Using original data, Schimmelfennig shows that expansion to the East can be understood in terms of liberal democratic community-building, but attempts to take sociological institutional theory a step further. Drawing on the works of Jon Elster and Erving Goffman, he demonstrates that the decision to expand was the result of rhetorical action. Candidates and their supporters among member states used arguments based on collective identity, norms and values of the Western community to shame opponents into acquiescing to enlargement. This landmark book makes an enormous contribution to theory in international relations, and to the study of European politics.
The evolving European systems of governance, in particular the European Union, challenge and transform the state, the most important locus of governance and political identity and loyalty over the past 200 years. The series *Themes in European Governance* aims to publish the best theoretical and analytical scholarship on the impact of European governance on the core institutions, policies and identities of nation states. It focuses upon the implications for issues such as citizenship, welfare, political decision-making, and economic, monetary and fiscal policies. An initiative of Cambridge University Press and the Programme on Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State (ARENA), Norway, the series includes contributions in the social sciences, humanities and law. The series aims to provide theoretically informed studies analysing key issues at the European level and within European states. Volumes in the series will be of interest to scholars and students of Europe both within Europe and worldwide. They will be of particular relevance to those interested in the development of sovereignty and governance of European states and in the issues raised by multi-level governance and multi-national integration throughout the world.

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*Rules and Rhetoric*

Frank Schimmelfennig
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This book was originally written as a German Habilitationsschrift. The obsolescent Habilitation has the doubtful reputation of being an anachronistic initiation rite to the higher ranks of academia, which forces scholars to work on oversized and widely unread manuscripts in personal dependence on a university professor for a period of five years and more, during which they “tend to ‘disappear’ from the surface of the earth” (Jørgensen 2000: 31).

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Abbreviations

ASEAN  Association of South-East Asian Nations
CAP    Common Agricultural Policy
CBO    Congressional Budget Office
CEE    Central and Eastern Europe(an)
CEEC   Central and Eastern European Country
CIA    Central Intelligence Agency
CIS    Community of Independent States
CMEA   Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CoE    Council of Europe
CSCE   Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
C3I    Command, Control, Communication, and Intelligence
EAPC   Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EBRD   European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC     European Community
ECSC   European Coal and Steel Community
ECU    European Currency Unit
ECE    European Economic Community
EFTA   European Free Trade Association
EHA    Event History Analysis
EMU    European Monetary Union
EP     European Parliament
EU     European Union
FAZ    Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
FBIS   Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FT     Financial Times
GDP    Gross Domestic Product
GDR    German Democratic Republic
GNP    Gross National Product
IHT    International Herald Tribune
IPE    International Political Economy
IPP    Individual Partnership Program
IR     International Relations
List of abbreviations

MAP Membership Action Plan
MDF Hungarian Democratic Forum
NACC North Atlantic Cooperation Council
NAFTA North American Free Trade Association
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NERO NATO Enlargement Ratification Office
NGO Non-governmental Organization
NSC National Security Council
NYT New York Times
OAU Organization for African Unity
OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECD Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OSCE Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PACE Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
PARP Planning and Review Process
PiP Partnership for Peace
SAA Stabilization and Association Agreement
SEA Single European Act
SZ Süddeutsche Zeitung
TEU Treaty on European Union
UK United Kingdom
UN ECE United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
US United States
USCEN United States Committee to Expand NATO
WEU West European Union
WTO World Trade Organization