Index

absolute winners and losers, see enlargement
accession negotiations, 9, 19–20, 51, 53, 155, 183, 185
accession process, see enlargement
Accession Treaty, see Treaty of Accession
acquis chapters, see acquis communautaire
acquis communautaire, 7, 12, 14, 16, 18–19, 23, 39, 73, 81, 104, 187
chapters, 18, 19, 52, 77
implementation, 20–24, 46, 52, 71, 77
permanent derogations, 7, 20, 23, 69, 73, 75, 187
transitional periods, 20–23, 27
agricultural sector, 47, 48, 60, 66, 71, 72, 105, 108–110, 114, 122, 124, 130, 138, 161
agricultural subsidies, see European agriculture guidance funds
agriculture, see Common Agricultural Policies
Albania, 14
approaches
constructivism, 3, 37, 43, 49–50, 182
federalism, 35
functionalism, 35–36
institutional intergovernmentalism, 37
institutionalism, 8, 37–38
intergovernmentalism, 8, 36–39
rational choice, 3, 47, 50–52, 57, 182
transactionalism, 35
asymmetric interdependence, 37, 51, 81, 133
atlanticism, 1, 13
Austria, 2, 13, 21, 24–30, 48, 49, 68, 73, 80, 81, 83, 166, 169, 170, 172, 173
autonomy, see policy autonomy
bargaining, 3, 4, 7, 12, 36, 50, 51, 55, 56, 68, 81, 183, 185
Belgium, 49, 57, 67, 72, 166
benefits, see enlargement
Berlin summit, see Council of Ministers
black box, see enlargement
Bosnia and Herzegovina, 14
brakemen of enlargement, see enlargement
Britain, see United Kingdom
British accession, see enlargement
British rebate, 66
Brussels summit, see Council of Ministers
budget ceiling, 142
budget contributions, see EU budget contributions
budgetary ceiling, 48, 67, 122, 125, 148–150, 160
Bulgaria, 14, 18, 33, 69, 80, 90, 187
CAP, see Common Agricultural Policies
Central and Eastern EU member states, 2, 28, 46, 48, 50, 52, 64, 80, 122, 161, 162, 165, 172, 175, 177, 182, 183
Central and Eastern European states, 62, 70
club goods, 60–61, 139
complementarity, 60
neutrality, 60
rivalry, 61

© Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org
co-operation in the field of justice and home affairs, see justice and home affairs
cohesion funds, 166–168, 170, 171
Cold War, 49
collective action, 59
commitee of permanent representatives, 19, 39
common acquis, see acquis communautaire
Common Agricultural Policies, 1, 22, 55, 60, 67–68, 72, 75, 104–108, 184
predicted impact on EU members, 105–107
Common Environmental Policies, 60
common EU budget, 24, 48, 64, 65, 67, 120, 162, 166, 171, 172, 176, 178–179
budget provisions 2007-13, 59, 158, 177, 179
common EU position, 4, 12, 18, 24, 27, 29, 39, 46, 160
Common Fisheries Policies, 7–8, 57, 68, 75, 81
second Mediterranean enlargement, 6–7
Common Foreign and Security Policy, 18, 59
Common Organization of Agricultural Markets, 104
Common Structural Policies, 28, 67, 120–121, 158, 162–179
puzzle, 160–162
second Mediterranean enlargement, 8
Commonwealth, 1
company law, 21
compensation, see intra-Union redistribution
complementary, see club goods
concessions, see intra-Union redistribution
conditional effects, see predicted probabilities
conditional enlargement, see discriminatory membership
congestion, 61
constructivism, see approaches
contributions, see EU budget
Copenhagen criteria, 16–18, 52
Copenhagen summit, see Council of Ministers
COREPER, see Committee of Permanent Representatives
costs, see enlargement
council, see Council of Ministers
Council of Ministers, 16, 39, 40, 59, 64, 82
Berlin summit, 48, 67, 165, 166, 177
Brussels summit, 164
Copenhagen summit, 16, 52
Dublin summit, 163, 164
Fountainebleau summit, 163
Göteborg summit, 29
Stuttgart summit, 163
Council of the European Union, see Council of Ministers
Court of Justice, see European Court of Justice
Croatia, 3, 14
cultural approaches, see approaches
Cyprus, 14, 18, 21, 29, 64, 80, 87, 113, 161
Czech Republic, 14, 18, 22, 71, 88, 161
Danish Presidency, 171
De Gaulle, Charles, 2, 13
deepening, see EU integration
delaying strategies, 6, 19, 28, 52, 77, 163, 167–168, 172, 183
Delors, Jacques, 40
demand for discrimination, see discriminatory membership
democracy, 16, 43, 58, 89, 110, 122, 125, 161
Denmark, 13, 20, 23, 48, 72, 83, 95, 126, 140, 165, 170, 175
differentiated integration, 23, 186
multi-speed, 186
Union-à-la-carte, 186
variable-speed, 186
differentiated membership, see discriminatory membership
direct payments, see European Agriculture Guidance Funds
discounting, 7, 57, 70, 73
Index

discriminatory membership, 7, 21–24, 51, 54, 55, 66, 68, 139, 140, 150–184
definition, 23–24
demand for, 81–83, 108, 144
extent, 186–187
outcome, 138, 140
transitional nature, 69–73
distributional conflicts, see enlargement
Dublin summit, see Council of Ministers
duration of enlargement talks, see enlargement
Dyad, 80, 95, 140

EAGGF, see European Agriculture Guidance Funds
Eastern enlargement, see enlargement
EC, see European Union
EC Treaty, 85–86, 104, 121
Economic and Social Committee, 167
economic integration, see market integration
economic safeguard clause, 22
economic stability, see stability
ECSC, see European Coal and Steel Community
EEA, see European Economic Area
EFTA, see European Free Trade Association
EMU, see European Monetary Union
enlargement, 38
absolute winners and losers, 5
benefits and costs, 3, 41–47, 55, 57–60, 62, 183
economic gains, 41–42
political costs, 44–46
political gains, 42–44
black box, 4, 12, 34, 185
distributional conflicts, 1, 5–6, 46–47, 55, 60–65, 141, 155, 162, 183
duration, 14, 162
Eastern enlargement, 14, 18, 21, 24, 33, 47, 61, 64, 68, 158, 163–172
first Mediterranean enlargement, 13, 33, 40, 72, 75, 186

first Northern enlargement, 1, 13, 33, 57
formal enlargement process, 9, 16–19
future enlargement rounds, 3, 14, 187
history, 5, 13–14, 62–185
ins, 18
outcomes, 4, 6–8, 14, 33, 51, 53, 55, 68, 69, 138–139
political conflicts, 59, 61, 63, 80
pre-ins, 18
puzzle of enlargement, 3, 33, 47–49, 53, 57, 182
rational explanation, 5–8, 33–34, 50–52, 183, 185
relative winners and losers, 5–7, 12, 24, 49, 52, 55, 62, 64, 74, 80, 173, 184, 185
second Mediterranean enlargement, 6, 7, 13, 33, 55, 62, 158, 162–165
second Northern enlargement, 13, 33, 68, 161, 173
enlargement benefits, see enlargement
enlargement costs, see enlargement
enlargement gains, see enlargement
enlargement losses, see enlargement
enlargement outcomes, see enlargement
enlargement process, see enlargement
enlargement puzzle, see enlargement
enlargement rounds, see enlargement
enlargement skeptics, see enlargement
enlargement talks, see accession negotiations
ERDF, see European Reconstruction and Development Funds
ERDF Objectives, 121–122, 166, 173
ESF, see European Social Funds
Estonia, 14, 18, 22, 126
EU, see European Union
EU Accession Process, see Enlargement
EU budget contributions, 89, 109, 110, 118, 122, 124, 130, 160, 163, 165, 170, 171, 173, 177, 185
EU budgetary ceiling, 165, 166, 175
EU budgetary Vade-Mekum, 89
EU Commission, see European Commission
EU Council, see Council of Ministers
EU Court of Justice, see European Court of Justice
EU deepening, see EU integration
EU enlargement, see enlargement
EU expansion, see enlargement
EU integration, 14, 34–38, 182, 185
EU net contributors, see EU budget contributions
EU Parliament, see European Parliament
EU social agenda, 71
EU widening, see enlargement
EUROCORPS, 23
EUROFOR, 23
European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Funds, 104
European Agriculture Guidance Funds, 5, 47, 63, 66, 68, 70, 104, 105, 107–110, 112, 125, 175
European Coal and Steel Community, 14
European Commission, 3, 16, 19–21, 24, 26, 29, 35, 71, 82, 86, 122, 168, 169, 171
European Community, see European Union, 75
European Court of Justice, 18, 35, 38, 40
European Defense Community, 59
European Economic Area, 171
European Free Trade Association, 1, 75
European integration, see EU integration
European Monetary Union, 23
European Parliament, 19, 38, 40, 81
European Reconstruction and Development Funds, 5, 47, 64, 122, 124, 158, 163, 164, 166, 169–171, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179
European social agenda, see EU Social Agenda
European Social Funds, 122
European Union, 1, 3, 14, 15, 19–21, 34, 43, 67, 138, 162, 183, 187
expansion, see enlargement
extent of discrimination, see discriminatory membership externalsities, 42, 43, 61
Federal Republic of Germany, see Germany federalism, see approaches
Finland, 13, 14, 48, 68, 72, 161, 166, 169, 173
first Mediterranean enlargement, see enlargement
first Northern enlargement, see enlargement
Fischer, Joschka, 166, 167
FitzGerald, Garret, 163
formal accession process, see enlargement
Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 3, 14
Fontainebleau summit, see Council of Ministers
France, 1, 6–8, 20, 49, 55, 57, 60, 67, 70, 72, 75, 88, 91, 95, 107, 120, 125, 126, 132, 163–165, 167, 170–172, 177, 183, 187
free movement of workers, see enlargement
free riding, 59
functionalism, see approaches
future enlargement rounds, see enlargement
Göteborg summit, see Council of Ministers
gains, see enlargement
Gama, Jaime, 168
geopolitics, 3
German-Spanish debate, 28
Germany, 2, 8, 11, 21, 24–30, 42, 48, 52, 64, 66–68, 73, 80, 83, 88, 89, 91, 107, 113, 128, 132, 150, 163–165, 167, 169–172, 175, 176
Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, see Luxembourg
Great Britain, see United Kingdom
Greece, 3, 8, 11, 13, 40, 49, 57, 60, 65, 67, 71, 72, 75, 83, 122, 126,
Index

128, 132, 158, 160–162, 164–166, 169, 170, 172, 175, 177–179, 186

Greenland, 13
gross domestic product, 48, 58, 67, 71, 87, 100, 110, 121, 124, 161, 167
gross national product, 67
gross value added, 105, 108, 109
GVA, see gross value added

harmonization, 58, 59, 63, 182
Hellenic Republic, see Greece
historical enlargement, see enlargement
horizontal institutionalization, 34
Hungary, 14, 18, 22, 71, 120
hypothesis, 74, 75

Iberian enlargement, see enlargement
IMF, see International Monetary Fund
impact of enlargement on new members, see enlargement
implementation, see acquis
IMPs, see Integrated Mediterranean Programs
industrial sector, 88, 93, 122, 124, 129
institutionalism, see approaches
institutionalist intergovernmentalism, see approaches
institutions, 5, 37, 38
EU Commission, 38–40
integrated Mediterranean programs, 8, 40, 62, 163, 164, 175, 179
integration, see EU integration
interest groups, 1, 2, 24, 29, 43
intergovernmentalism, see approaches, 37
internal market, 173
international cooperation, 34, 57–59
International Monetary Fund, 143
international organization, 35, 41, 58
intra-Union redistribution, 7, 8, 50, 51, 56, 59, 65, 68, 73, 75, 142–143, 159, 184–185
Ireland, 6–8, 13, 27, 49, 57, 58, 75, 82, 105, 122, 132, 140, 161, 164–166, 169, 170, 172
issue-linkage, 160, 172, 176, 177, 179

Italy, 27, 49, 55, 57, 67, 72, 107, 120, 128, 163–166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 177, 183
justice and home affairs, 18, 22
Kant, Immanuel, 41, 58
Kingdom of Belgium, see Belgium
Kingdom of Denmark, see Denmark
Kingdom of Norway, see Norway
Kingdom of Spain, see Spain
Kingdom of Sweden, see Sweden
Kosovo, 14
labor migration, see migration
Latvia, 14, 18, 22, 126, 161
Lexis-Nexis, 82
limited membership rights, see discriminatory membership
Lithuania, 14, 18, 22
logrolling, 46
losses, see enlargement
Luxembourg, 49, 57, 62, 67, 72, 73, 83, 88, 91, 95, 105, 120, 161, 163
Macedonia, see Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Malta, 14, 21, 29, 64, 80
market integration, 3, 41, 62
membership conditions, see Copenhagen criteria
Mazzoli, 168
migration, 2, 25, 28, 42, 62, 67, 86
forecasts, 87
Mitterand, Francois, 163
model specification, 83, 143
Monnet, Jean, 1
Morocco, 14
multi-speed integration, see differentiated integration
multilateral negotiations, 4, 9, 24, 30, 53, 151, 185
multivariate probit, see seemingly unrelated regression
NATO, see North Atlantic Treaty Organization
neo-functionalism, see approaches
Netherlands, 49, 57, 67, 72, 105, 166, 170
neutrality, see club goods

© Cambridge University Press
www.cambridge.org
new institutionalism, see approaches
Nice Treaty, see Treaty of Nice
non-cooperative game theory, 57
normative approaches, see approaches
norms and values, 4, 43, 50
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 49, 50
Norway, 69, 75, 80
Nyköping, 168
objectives, see ERDF objectives
OLS, see Ordinary Least Squares
Ordinary Least Squares, 105
outcomes of enlargement, see
enlargement
outside options, 57, 68, 142, 150
Papandreou, Andreas, 164
Pareto-efficiency, 7, 33, 47, 50, 51, 53,
57, 65, 66, 68
Pareto-optimality, see Pareto-efficiency
PASOK, 163
permanent derogations, see acquis
communautaire
Persson, Göran, 27
phase-in of membership rights, see
discriminatory membership
Piqué, Josep, 167
Poland, 14, 18, 22, 71, 91, 95, 113,
120, 161
policy autonomy, 3, 35, 44, 45, 47, 148
political conflicts, see enlargement
political stability, see stability
Pompidou, Georges, 13
Portugal, 3, 8, 11, 13, 49, 57, 60, 62,
65–67, 72, 73, 83, 88, 105, 108,
121, 122, 126, 128, 132, 150,
156, 158–163, 165, 166,
168–173, 175, 177, 179, 184
pre-conditions, see Copenhagen
criteria
predicted probabilities, 140–141, 144,
146, 151
Common Agricultural Policies,
113–120
Common Structural Policies, 126–131
distributional conflicts, 152–155
Free Movement of Labor, 94–103
prisoners’ dilemma, 59
probit analysis, 83, 94, 110, 143
Prodi, Romano, 168
public goods, 60
public opinion, 2, 25, 27, 28, 56, 57,
69, 72, 93, 187
puzzle, see enlargement
ratification, 19
rational choice, see approaches
rational explanation, see enlargement
rationality, 56
redistribution, 6, 12, 53, 58, 65, 139
reform, 21, 24, 26, 45, 48, 67, 70, 72,
73, 166
regime type, see democracy
regional integration, 35
regional policy and coordination of
structural instruments, 22
regional programs, see ERDF
objectives
Republic of Austria, see Austria
Republic of Bulgaria, see Bulgaria
Republic of Cyprus, see Cyprus
Republic of Estonia, see Estonia
Republic of Finland, see Finland
Republic of Hungary, see Hungary
Republic of Ireland, see Ireland
Republic of Latvia, see Latvia
Republic of Lithuania, see Lithuania
Republic of Poland, see Poland
Republic of Slovenia, see Slovenia
rhetorical action, 4, 33, 49–50, 52,
133
rivalry, see club goods
Romania, 14, 18, 33, 44, 69, 80, 90,
187
sanctioning, 59
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 20
Schroeder, Gerhard, 25, 27
second Mediterranean enlargement, see
enlargement
second Northern enlargement, see
enlargement
seemingly unrelated regression, 84, 93,
94, 113, 126, 134
Serbia and Montenegro, 14
side payments, see intra-Union
redistribution
Sinn, Hans-Werner, 27
Slovak Republic, 14, 18, 22
Slovenia, 14, 18, 65, 87, 95
social agenda, see EU social agenda
sociological approaches, see approaches
Spain, 3, 6–8, 11, 13, 14, 28, 29, 49, 50, 55, 57, 60, 62, 65–67, 72, 73, 80, 83, 87, 88, 108, 121, 122, 128, 132, 150, 156, 158–163, 165–170, 172, 173, 175–177, 179, 184
spillover effects, see externalities
stability, 3, 41, 42, 58, 62
state autonomy, see policy autonomy
state-centrism, 36
structural adjustments, see reform
structural transfers, see European Reconstruction and Development Funds
Stuttgart summit, see Council of Ministers
summit, see Council of Ministers
supranational institutions, see institutions
SURE, see Seemingly Unrelated Regression
Sweden, 13, 20, 28, 48, 68, 113, 166, 170, 173
Swiss Confederation, see Switzerland
Switzerland, 69, 80
Thatcher, Margaret, 164
The Netherlands, see Netherlands
transaction costs, 39, 41, 58, 61, 125
transactionalims, see approaches
transitional nature of discrimination, see discriminatory membership
transitional periods, see acquis communautaire
transport policies, 22, 81
Treaty of Accession, 19, 20, 52, 67, 75, 140
Treaty of Nice, 171
Treaty on European Union, 16, 58, 59
Tremonti, Giulio, 168
triangulation, 9
tripartite negotiations, see multilateral negotiations
Tumpel, Herbert, 26
Turkey, 3, 14, 73, 187
unanimity, 5, 53, 55, 57, 64, 65
Union ‘à la carte’, see differentiated integration
United Kingdom, 1, 13, 23, 27, 36, 48, 50, 60, 66, 67, 80, 82, 87, 91, 128, 132, 140, 161, 164, 167, 170, 172
United Nations, 3
United Nations Security Council, 3
values, see norms and values
variable geometry, see differentiated integration
variable speed integration, see differentiated integration
Verheugen, Günther, 169
vertical institutionalization, 34, 38
veto power, see unanimity
Wald test, 91, 110, 123
Western European Union, 23
WEU, see Western European Union