

INDEX

- accountability 32–3, 78, 169, 188
 by results 44, 111, 169
 deficit 175–8
 Ackerman, B. 69
 Adenauer, Konrad 17, 49–51
 advertising, tobacco 184–5
 Africa 79
 agency mode: delegation of powers 180
 Albania 189
 Algeria 172
 Allen, D. 149
 American National Standards Institute (ANSI) 231
 Amsterdam Treaty (1997) 17, 59, 134, 141, 142, 153, 184, 194, 212–13, 214
 antitrust policy *see* competition policy/
 rules
 Armenia 172
 Arrest Warrant, European (EAW) 218–19
 atomic energy research 17, 74
 Austria 8, 19, 40, 111
 Azerbaijan 172

 Balassa, B. 82
 Baldwin, R. 146
 Balkan countries 7, 40, 171, 172, 189, 199, 201
 Balkan wars 15, 88, 200–1
 Balkenende, Jan 41
 Baltic states 29, 113, 125–6, 203
 banking 117, 119–20
Barber case 141–2
 Barcelona Process (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership) 171–2, 198–9
 Barnett, R. J. 53
 Barnier, Michel 7

 Bartlett, R. 228
 Beef Hormones case 90
 Belarus 172
 Belgium 35, 48, 58, 141, 147, 206
 coal industry 17–18
 division: Flemish and Walloons 89
 foreign and defence policy 232, 233
 labour costs 139
 neo-federalism 60
 Benda, Julien 14, 226
 Benelux 206, 233
 Berman, H. J. 227
 Bernstein, Eduard 73
 Berschens, R. 87
 Beste, R. 6
 Beyerle, H. 116
 Bhagwati, J. N. 186, 219
Bilka case 141
 Bismarck, Otto von 17, 24, 26
 Blair, Tony 15, 125, 147, 211, 212, 232
 Bolkestein draft Directive *see* services
 sector
 Bosnia-Herzegovina 172, 189, 200, 201
 civil war in Bosnia 15, 88, 200
 Brenner, M. J. 56, 65, 88
 Breton, A. 85, 181, 223
 Bretton Woods system 108
 Brodie, B. 64
 Brok, Elmar 6
 Brown, Gordon 6, 94
 Buchanan, J. M. 159, 219
 budget 55, 92, 115, 124, 145
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)
 19, 27, 97, 148
 financial framework (2007–13) 41–2
 net contributors, limit set by 55, 139–40
 Bulgaria 55, 113, 200

- Canada 206, 230
 Carr, E. H. 2, 7, 75, 233
 Casella, A. 219, 220, 230–1
Cassis de Dijon case 85, 117
 Castle, S. 7, 146
 category mistake 158
 Central and East European Countries
 (CEEC) 40, 55–6, 113–14, 124,
 208, 232
see also individual countries
 Chad 201
 Charter of Fundamental Rights 40,
 212, 217
 China 109, 196
 Chirac, Jacques 15, 41, 64, 125, 232
 Choper, J. H. 168
 Christiansen, T. 41
 Churchill, Winston 53, 87
 Cingolani, S. 39
 Clinton, Bill 15, 88
 clubs, economic theory of 20, 219–22,
 224, 230–1
 co-decision procedure 153, 160, 184
 Coase, R. H. 181
 Cohen, R. 7, 67
 Cohesion Fund and Structural Funds 5,
 23, 147–9
 Central and East European
 Countries (CEEC) 55
 re-nationalization 149–50
 Spain 42, 147
 comitology system 180
 Commission 21, 40, 43–4, 47–8, 54,
 76, 104
 accountability deficit 177–8
 analogical fallacy 157, 158
 Charter of Fundamental Rights 212
 Common Agricultural Policy
 (CAP) 146
 Common Foreign and Security
 Policy (CFSP) 58, 194
 decrease in role of 192–3
 Directorate General for
 Competition 25
 distinctive institutional competence
 166–7, 169
 energy policy 76, 95
 enhanced cooperation 214
 enlargement of EU 124, 127, 218
 EP: dismissal/censure of 33, 152,
 153, 169, 175, 177
 European Neighbourhood Policy
 171–2
 fisheries 29
 institutional balance 186–8
 legislative and policy initiative *see*
 Community Method
 monetary union 39, 108–9, 194
 Stability and Growth Pact 194, 197
 mutual recognition 117–18
 political weakness 192
 port services 94–5
 Precautionary Principle (PP) 79–80
 social policy 131, 132, 133, 134, 135
 standardization 80, 226, 231
 Committee of Permanent
 Representatives 219
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 5,
 23, 42, 44, 97–8
 budget 19, 27, 97, 148
 Central and East European
 Countries (CEEC) 55
 de Gaulle 17
 international problems 90
 monetary policy 107, 108
 objectives 97, 132
 re-nationalization 55, 150
 regressive nature of 19, 98, 146–7, 148
 Social Europe 146–7
 Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) 28–9,
 77, 106, 176
 Common Foreign and Security Policy
 (CFSP) 6, 58, 65, 194–5
 limits of soft power 14–15, 172–3,
 197–204
 opt-out 212
 Community Method 1, 13, 30–3, 151,
 158–61, 165
 accountability 169
 agenda-setting 160–1, 165, 179
 enhanced cooperation 59
 European Parliament (EP) 34,
 156, 160
 institutional balance 160, 186–8
 intergovernmental cooperation 62,
 189–90

- Monnet method 74
- OMC 158–9, 210
- pillar structure 58
- restriction in scope of 188–93
- separation of powers 157
- strengthening sought 165, 214
- time-inconsistency problem 181
- competition policy/rules 24–5, 96, 97, 98, 105, 190–1, 222
 - effect of weakening 129–30
- competition with cooperation 222–4
- confederate arrangements 59
- Constitutional Treaty, draft 4, 37–8, 60, 170
 - enhanced cooperation 213, 214
 - national parliaments 157
 - reasons for rejection of 60, 111, 123, 128, 171, 173
- consumer protection 104–5, 133, 184
- cost–benefit ratio 3, 11–12, 34–5, 186, 218
- Council of Economic and Financial Affairs (Ecofin) 197
- Council of Europe 205–6
- Council of Ministers 53–4, 133, 157, 158, 166, 193, 196
 - co-decision procedure 153, 160, 184
 - Commission 31, 157, 160, 161, 192
 - Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) 194
 - democratic legitimacy 70
 - institutional balance 160, 186–8
 - Stability and Growth Pact 94, 196, 197
 - time-inconsistency problem 181
 - voting rules 40, 133, 153, 159–60, 209
- courts 167–8
 - ECJ *see* European Court of Justice
- Cowen, Brian 8
- Craig, G. A. 24
- Craig, P. 59, 210
- Croatia 40, 172, 189, 200
- cryptofederalism 2, 72–4, 216
 - eurocentricity, perils of 79–81, 90, 226
 - goal displacement 28–9, 76–9, 106
 - Monnet method 1–2, 11, 13, 71, 73, 74–6, 80, 106, 176–7, 216
 - myths of
 - economic prosperity 81–7
 - peace and stability 87–90, 199
 - neo-liberalism 90–9, 128–30
 - unintended consequences
 - hubris 124–7
 - monetary union 102–3, 105, 107–12, 113–15, 232
 - mutual recognition: theory and practice 117–20
 - mutual recognition after enlargement 120–4
 - purposive action and 100–3
 - synergistic effects 112–17
- culture/cultural actions 23, 184
- Curtin, D. 58
- Cyprus 16, 120, 124, 126, 200
- Czech Republic 6, 33, 37–8, 40, 139
- Dahl, R. A. 65
- Dahrendorf, R. 215–16, 217
- Dashwood, A. 166–7, 182, 185
- de Gasperi, Alcide 49–50
- de Gaulle, Charles 17, 41, 75
- De Grauwe, P. 114, 115
- decentralization *see* differentiated integration
- Defrenne II* case 141
- Dehousse, R. 25
- delegation of powers 179–83
- Delors, Jacques 18, 102, 108, 109, 132, 135, 139, 150, 194, 225
- democracy 187
 - costs of positive rights 142
 - deficit 10, 12–13, 70–1, 175, 191
 - analogical fallacy 155–8
 - Art. 308 EC (former Art. 235) 166–7
 - distinctive institutional competence 165–9
 - mismatch: commitments and resources 170–3
 - standard-setting and standard-using 151–2
 - standards, different evaluative 151–5
 - trade-off: democracy and integration 158–65

- democracy (cont.)
 integration before 1, 12–13, 30–5,
 158–65
 Community Method *see*
 Community Method
 as merit good 173–5
 rational ignorance 9–10
- Denmark 38, 48, 121, 147, 206, 208
 labour costs 139
 opt-outs 212
 monetary union 54, 112, 211
 referendums 5, 37, 171
- Derthick, M. 230
- differentiated integration 16–21, 208,
 215–22
 economic theory of clubs 20, 219–22,
 224, 230–1
 Manifest Destiny, doctrine of
 53–9
 opt-outs *see* opt-outs
- discrimination
 equal pay 131, 132, 140–3
- Dohmen, F. 60
- Dougan, M. 3, 207
- Douste-Blazy 60
- Downs, A. 9
- Duchêne, F. 14, 198
- EC Treaty *see* Rome/EC Treaty
- ECB (European Central Bank) *see*
 under Economic and Monetary
 Union
- ECJ *see* European Court of Justice
- Economic and Monetary Union
 (EMU) 2, 11–12, 13, 18, 34, 39,
 171, 226
 differentiated integration 215, 221–2
 early projects 97, 107–8
 economic and fiscal policies 54,
 86–7, 92
 economic performance 38, 43, 83,
 84, 109
 European Central Bank (ECB) 2,
 13, 39
 democratic deficit 13, 34, 157–8,
 162–5
 distinctive institutional
 competence 168–9
 monetary policy 2, 13, 114–15,
 163, 164, 194–5
 visibility and impact of decisions
 of 11, 44, 105, 111
 high-risk project 77–8, 124
 international role of euro 109–10
 Italy 38–9, 93
 opt-outs 54, 112, 211–12, 216–17
 political rationale 18, 92–4,
 108–9, 129
 splitting of EU 54, 102–3, 112
 Stability and Growth Pact 16, 94,
 103, 105, 194, 196–7
 synergistic effects: enlargement,
 Single Market and 112–17
 trade, intra-EU 109
 transgovernmentalism 194–5, 196–7
 unintended consequences 102–3,
 105, 107–12, 232
- economic performance 10–12, 43–5,
 49, 78, 81–7, 105, 109, 111,
 139, 192
 referendums, impact on 27, 38, 111
 economic theory of clubs 20, 219–22,
 224, 230–1
- Economist* 88, 93
- ECSC (European Coal and Steel
 Community) 4, 17–18, 50–1,
 95–6, 186
- education 184
- efficiency 106
 legitimacy and 10–12, 26–30, 42–5
- Egypt 172
- Ehlermann, C.-D. 211, 212
- Eichengreen, J. 92
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. 24, 26, 47, 75
- elections 12, 30, 33–4, 70, 153–4,
 156, 173
- electricity industry 25
- elitist project 53
 desertion of elites 39–42
 failed Europeanization of masses 22–5
 integration versus democracy 30–5
 legitimacy, efficiency and systemic
 stability 42–5
 permissive consensus and its end 7,
 19, 35–9, 111
 suboptimal policies 26–30

- Ellis, E. 141, 143
 employment
 Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs
 43, 78, 84, 86–7, 103, 122, 134,
 195–6
 minimum wage 121, 123, 135
 EMU *see* Economic and Monetary
 Union
 energy policy 76, 95, 126, 139
 Engel, C. 80
 enhanced cooperation 17, 59, 62, 65,
 212–15, 217, 233
 enlargement 171, 188–9, 208
 Balkan countries 7, 40, 171, 189
 eastern 11–12, 38, 44, 54–6, 105, 107,
 111, 124–7, 170, 218
 synergistic effects: EMU, Single
 Market and 112–17
 Manifest Destiny, doctrine of 53–9
 environmental policy 24, 104–5, 133,
 142, 147, 174–5
 optimal regulatory area 230
 EP *see* European Parliament
 equal pay 131, 132, 140–3
 Estonia 125, 126
 Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
 171–2, 198–9
 euro-zone *see* Economic and Monetary
 Union
 eurocentricity, perils of 79–81, 90, 226
 Europe à la carte 215–16, 217, 221
 European Arrest Warrant (EAW) 218–19
 European Atomic Energy Community
 (Euratom) 4, 74, 96
 European Central Bank *see under*
 Economic and Monetary Union
 European Coal and Steel Community
 (ECSC) 4, 17–18, 50–1, 95–6, 186
 European Commission *see*
 Commission
 European Convention on Human
 Rights (ECHR) 205–6
 European Council *see* summits
 European Court of Justice (ECJ) 21, 29,
 54, 166, 193
 Charter of Fundamental Rights 212
 Common Agricultural Policy
 (CAP) 97
 Common Foreign and Security
 Policy (CFSP) 194
 distinctive institutional
 competence 168
 harmonization 185, 208, 209
 institutional balance 160, 186
 negative integration 141–3,
 190–1
 non-discrimination 141–3
 Open Method of Coordination
 (OMC) 210
 Stability and Growth Pact 197
 tobacco advertising 184–5
 European Defence Agency 6, 16
 European Defence Community (EDC)
 51, 52, 72, 104
 European Food Safety Agency (EFSA)
 177–8
 European Medicines Agency (EMA)
 177, 178
 European Parliament (EP) 12, 23, 30,
 58, 193
 analogical fallacy 155–7, 158
 co-decision procedure 153, 160, 184
 Commission
 dismissal/censure of 33, 152, 153,
 169, 175, 177
 legislative initiative of 34, 156, 160
 Common Foreign and Security
 Policy (CFSP) 194
 distinctive institutional
 competence 168
 draft treaty (1984) 51, 52
 institutional balance 160, 186–8
 legitimacy 70, 152–3, 161
 monetary policy 13, 162
 Open Method of Coordination
 (OMC) 210
 powers 12, 33, 152, 153
 Precautionary Principle (PP) 80
 re-nationalization 156
 voter turnout 12, 33–4, 70, 153,
 156, 173
 European Political Community (EPC)
 51–2, 161
 European Security and Defence Policy
 (ESDP) 65, 201
 European Security Strategy 15, 201

- fait accompli strategy 1–2, 71, 75–6, 165, 234
 Faymann, Werner 8
 federalism
 federalist deficit 67–71
 ‘federate or perish’ 46–9
 founding fathers, vision of 49–51
 Manifest Destiny, doctrine of 53–9
 neo- 60–2
 revisionism *see* cryptofederalism
 teleology 62–7, 73–4
 window of opportunity closes 51–3
 Feldstein, M. 93–4, 108
 Ferguson, Adam 100
 Ferrera, M. 137
 fiduciary mode: delegation of powers 180–1
 Finland 41, 139, 173, 206
 Fischer, Joschka 61–2, 63, 64, 189–90, 216, 217
 fisheries 28–9, 77, 106, 176
 food safety 79, 90
 foreign and security/defence policy
 13–16, 63–5, 66, 145
 clubs, theory of 231–3
 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) 6, 58, 65, 194–5
 limits of soft power 14–15, 172–3, 197–204
 opt-out 212
 failure of EU–Russia summit (2006) 125–6
 ‘self-government’ by member states 194–5
 France 4, 6, 17, 30–1, 41, 48, 89, 215, 229
 agriculture 17, 98
 atomic energy research 17, 74
 EDC Treaty 52
 enlargement of EU 7, 125
 equal pay 132
 foreign and defence policy 64–5, 232, 233
 G-5 221–2
 instrumental use of ‘Europe’ 17, 18
 Kosovo 200
 labour costs 135, 139
 Lisbon Strategy 78, 87
 minimum wage 123
 monetary union 92, 108, 109
 Stability and Growth Pact 196, 197
 neo-federalism 60
 referendums 4, 5, 27, 37, 38, 52, 67, 111, 128, 173
 Turkey’s accession 68
 Schuman Plan: coal and steel 50
 social harmonization 138
 working hours 86
 Frankenberger, K.-D. 171
 freedom to provide services *see* services sector
 Friedman, Alan 67

 G-5 221–2
 Gall, L. 17
 Gay, P. 73
 GDP, EU 11, 83, 84, 123–4
 Cohesion Fund 147
 Georgia 64, 125, 126, 171, 172, 189, 200
 Germany 6, 23, 24–5, 31, 36, 40
 atomic energy research 74
 budget, EU 41, 42
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 146–7
 economy 78, 86, 87
 enlargement of EU 7, 56, 218
 equal pay 141
 foreign and defence policy 64, 232, 233
 G-5 221–2
 Hamiltonian federalism 47, 72
 history 23, 24–5, 31, 49, 77, 91, 233–4
 medieval urban law 227–8
 post-war reconstruction 50–1
 instrumental use of ‘Europe’ 17–18
 internal regional differences 115, 116
 labour costs 139
 legal scholars 53–4
 monetary union 93, 94, 162, 163, 164
 Stability and Growth Pact 196–7
 public opinion 23, 36, 38, 170
 referendum: Turkey’s accession 68
 temporary workers from east 120–1
 voter turnout 33
 Gillingham, J. 50, 82, 216, 225
 goal displacement 28–9, 76–9, 106

- Gordon, P. H. 88, 232
 Gormley, L. 162
 Goyder, D. G. 25
 Grant, R. W. 176
 Greece 16, 113, 147, 200
 Greider, W. 164
 Guéhenno, J.-M. 51, 191, 208
- Haas, E. B. 26, 75, 103–4
 Haberler, Gottfried 82
 Habermas, J. 91, 94, 128, 130
 Hallstein, Walter 98–9
 harmonization 116–17, 218, 227, 230
 economic theory of clubs 219–22, 230–1
 mutual recognition *see* mutual recognition
 rise and decline of 183–6, 208–9, 218
 social standards 115–16, 130, 131, 132–3, 134–8
 negative and positive integration 131, 138–43
- Hartley, T. C. 166
 Hatzopoulos, V. 210
 Hayek, F. A. 66, 97, 100, 223
 Hayes-Renshaw, F. 19
 health and safety, occupational 133–4
 Henning, C. R. 2, 110
 Hillgruber, A. 49
 Hirschman, A. O. 87, 89
 Hoffmann, S. 202
Hofmann v. Barmer Ersatzkasse case 142–3
 Holmberg, A. 14, 226
 Holmes, S. 227
 Hoover Europe 135
 Hrbek, R. 36
 Hufbauer, G. 118
 Hume, David 100
 Hungary 139
 Hyde-Price, A. 199
- Iceland 29, 35, 195, 206
 Idema, T. 159
 identity, European 70
 income inequality 113, 116, 147–8, 171, 207
 re-nationalization of regional policy and CAP 149–50
- incomplete contracts 182–3
 industrial policy 98, 184
 information, level of available 192–3
 institutional balance 160, 186–8
 instrumental use of ‘Europe’ 2, 17–19
 integration 12–13
 by stealth *see* cryptofederalism
 democracy and 1, 12–13, 30–5
 trade-off 158–65
 differentiated 16–21, 208, 215–22
 economic theory of clubs 20, 219–22, 224, 230–1
 Manifest Destiny, doctrine of 53–9
 opt-outs *see* opt-outs
 federalism *see* federalism
 foreign and defence policy *see* foreign and security/defence policy
 negative and positive 131, 138–43, 190–1
 obsolescence of traditional methods of
 Community Method 188–93
 delegation of powers 179–83
 harmonization 183–6, 208–9, 218
 institutional balance 186–8
 intergovernmentalism 190, 193–7, 202–3
 unity in diversity 19–21
 beyond straight-line evolution 205–7
 competition with cooperation 222–4
 differentiated integration 16–21, 208, 215–22
 flexibility 207–11
 post-modern empire 231–4
 selective exit option 35, 211–15
 tenacity of flawed paradigm 224–31
- inter/transgovernmentalism 62, 190, 193–7, 202–3, 221–2, 225
- Ipsen, H. P. 54
 Iraq war 64, 125, 203, 231–2, 233
 Ireland 139, 147, 208, 212
 referendums 4–7, 8–9, 27, 37, 40–1, 52, 67, 111, 170, 173
 mandatory 68

- Israel 172, 202
- Italy 8, 48, 78, 139, 221–2, 232
- Hamiltonian federalism 47, 72
 - internal regional differences 115–16
 - monetary union 18, 38–9, 93, 112, 196
- Jacqué, J. P. 188
- Jaeger, W. 127
- Japan 43, 84
- Jenkins, Roy 194
- Joerges, C. 80
- Johnson, H. G. 185–6
- Jones, E. L. 206, 207, 228
- Jospin, Lionel 64
- Jouyet, Jean-Pierre 86–7
- Judge, D. 153
- Juncker, Jean-Claude 38
- Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) 32, 58, 165, 172, 218
- European Arrest Warrant (EAW) 218–19
- Kaczynski, Jaroslaw 203
- Kahler, M. 179, 186, 192–3
- Kennedy, P. 83, 187, 202
- Keohane, R. O. 193
- Ketcham, R. 14
- Kettle, D. F. 164
- Klabbers, J. 35
- Klaus, Vaclav 6
- Knudsen, J. S. 156
- Kohnstamm, M. 73
- Kok, Wim 102, 109, 232
- Kolakowski, L. 73
- Kosovo 15, 16, 64, 88, 103, 125, 189, 199, 200, 232
- Kostoris Padoa Schioppa, F. 121
- labour costs 39, 135, 139
- Ladeur, K.-H. 130
- Lamy, Pascal 2, 26, 172
- Laqueur, W. 48–9
- Latvia 113, 125
- Lavenex, S. 219, 221
- Lebanon 172
- legitimacy 70–1, 106, 161–2
- distinctive institutional competence 165–9
 - efficiency and 10–12, 26–30, 42–5
- European Parliament (EP) 70, 152–3, 161
- social policy 131, 143–5, 154–5
- Leibenstein, H. 82, 84
- Leibfried, S. 134
- Leinen, Jo 6
- Lenaerts, K. 170, 206
- Lijphart, A. 65
- Lippmann, W. 69, 171
- Lipset, S. M. 10, 27, 44–5
- Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Jobs 43, 78, 84, 86–7, 103, 122, 134, 195–6
- Lisbon Treaty 5–7, 8–9, 40–1, 170, 173, 184, 213
- Charter of Fundamental Rights 212, 217
 - narrow scope of implied powers 182
 - national parliaments 157
- Lithuania 125–6
- Lucas, N. J. D. 74, 76
- Luxembourg 38, 139, 147, 206, 233
- Maastricht Treaty/TEU (1992) 5, 133–4, 153, 217
- monetary union 13, 77–8, 109, 162
 - pensions 141–2
 - pillar structure 58–9, 210
 - subsidiarity/limits on powers 165–6, 182, 184
- MacCormick, N. 206, 226
- McCreevy, Charlie 8
- McCubbins, M. D. 31
- Macedonia 189
- Madison, James 14, 22, 68–9
- Magnette, P. 48, 156
- Maillet, P. 221
- Mair, P. 36, 156
- Majone, G. 29, 31, 32, 65, 79, 106, 133, 137, 142, 145, 151, 152, 156, 158, 159, 174, 178, 179, 187, 191, 195, 221
- Malta 120, 124
- Manifest Destiny, doctrine of 53–9
- Manners, I. 201
- Marc, A. 75
- Marshall, T. H. 130

- Marxist revisionism 72–3
 Mayne, R. 73
 Menon, A. 88, 198
 Mer, Francis 196
 merit goods 173–5
 Merk, F. 56, 57
 Merkel, Angela 40, 42, 44, 81, 200
Meroni v. High Authority case 186
 Merton, R. K. 100
 Meunier, S. 89
 Michels, R. 77
 Micossi, S. 27, 127, 167
 Microsoft 191
 Milgrom, J. 183
 military capacity 15, 65, 103
 Milward, A. S. 17, 18, 50, 73–4, 75, 82–3, 98
 minimum wage 121, 123, 135
 Mishan, E. J. 83
 mixed government 156, 158, 187–8
 Moldova 172, 189
 Monaco 172
 monetary union *see* Economic and Monetary Union
 Monnet, Jean 73, 74, 107, 162
 integration method 1–2, 11, 13, 71, 73, 74–6, 80, 106, 176–7, 216
 Montenegro 172, 189
 Monti, Mario 109
 Moravcsik, A. 4, 26, 104
 Morgan, E. S. 22
 Morgan, G. 66
 Morocco 172
 Mosse, G. L. 23
 most-favoured-nation principle 96
 Mueller, H. 94, 112
 Muenchau, W. 86
 multi-speed Europe 215, 216–17, 221–2
 multilateralism 96–7, 202
 multinational corporations 138
 Murray Brown, J. 8–9
 mutual recognition 85–6, 116–17, 185, 193, 223
 after enlargement 117, 120–4, 186, 218
 European Arrest Warrant (EAW) 218–19
 theory and practice 117–20
 Napoleonic wars 48
 nation states 12, 48–51, 61, 157
 European Parliament (EP) 156–7
 financial framework (2007–13) 41–2
 flawed paradigm, tenacity of 224–31
 instrumental use of ‘Europe’ 17, 18
 national policies 104–5
 social policy 143–5
 NATO 64, 65, 126, 199, 201, 203, 232
 neo-federalism 60–2
 neo-liberalism 90–9, 128–30
 neofunctionalism 26–7, 74–5, 103–6, 225
 Nestlé 135
 Netherlands 4, 48, 58, 80, 147, 226, 229
 Benelux 206, 233
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 146
 EP elections: voter turnout 173
 EU budget 41
 Hamiltonian federalism 47, 72
 Iraq war 233
 labour costs 139
 referendum 4, 27, 35, 37, 38, 52, 67, 111, 128, 171, 173
 Nice Treaty (2000) 5, 37, 59, 65, 153, 184, 213, 214, 233
 Nicolaïdis, K. 121, 122, 123
 non-discrimination *see* discrimination
 non-majoritarian institutions
 delegation of powers to 32, 106, 161, 167–9
 Nordic Council 206
 Norman, P. 35, 167, 212
 Northern Ireland 89
 Norway 29, 34, 35, 48, 195, 206
 Obinger, H. 144, 145
 O’Neill, Iarhlaith 8–9
 Open Method of Coordination (OMC) 158–9, 209–10, 222, 224
 opt-outs 5, 35, 40, 58, 209, 210–12, 217
 monetary union 54, 112, 211–12, 216–17
 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 81, 123, 231
 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) 206

- Ortega y Gasset, J. 13, 22, 38, 39, 226
 Ostner, I. 142
 O'Sullivan, John L. 56
- Padover, S. K. 70
 Palestinians 202
 Paolini, E. 46
 peace and stability 87–90, 199
 Pelkmans, J. 122
 pensions 141–2
 Peterson, P. E. 148
 Philips 35
 Pilz, F. 31
 Poehl, K. O. 93
 Poland 6, 29, 38, 40, 48, 55, 123
 labour costs 139
 opt-out 212, 217
 Russia 125–6
 Pollack, M. A. 180
 Pond, E. 125, 202, 232
 Poos, Jacques 88
 Popper, K. R. 100–1, 102
 port services 94–5
 Portugal 18, 112, 113, 137, 147, 196
 foreign and defence policy 232
 posted workers 120–1, 123
 Precautionary Principle (PP) 79–80, 90
 prisoners' dilemma 136
 Prodi, Romano 47–8, 56, 67, 214
 productivity growth 78, 84, 195
 professions, regulated 119
 proportionality 143
 public goods 65–6, 219–20, 230, 231
 public health 184
 Pufendorf, Samuel von 233–4
 Putin, Vladimir 126
- Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) 133,
 153, 159–60, 209
- race-to-the-bottom argument 136–8
 Rapid Reaction Force 103, 201
 Rasmussen, H. 37
 rational ignorance 9–10
 referendums 4–10, 30, 35, 37–8, 40–1,
 52, 165, 170
 contests for or against EU 8, 156
 federalist deficit 67–71
 opt-outs 35
 voter concerns 7, 27, 38, 60, 111, 128,
 171, 173
 regional policy/funds 5, 12, 23, 55, 98,
 115, 147–50
 Spain 42, 147
 regulation, economic/sectorial 25, 105,
 177–8
 eurocentricity, perils of 79–81, 90, 226
 relational contracts 183
 Revesz, R. L. 136, 137
 risk assessment and management 178
 Roepke, Wilhelm 96
 Roessler, F. 97
 Rogoff, K. 94, 110, 112
 Romania 16, 55, 200
 Rome/EC Treaty 31, 74, 223
 Art. 308 EC (former Art. 235) 166–7,
 182, 183
 ECB 163–4
 education 184
 equal pay 131, 132, 140–1, 142
 incomplete and relational contract
 182–3
 institutional balance 188
 interventionist features 97–8
 negative and positive integration
 140, 190
 opt-outs 209
 public health 184
 regional groupings 206
 social policy 131–2, 133, 136, 138,
 140–1, 142, 146
 subsidiarity 165–6, 225
 Rosenthal, D. E. 32, 179
 Ross, G. 2, 26
 Rostow, W. W. 53
 Russia 51, 64, 125–6, 172, 200, 202,
 203, 208
 Ryle, G. 158
- Sapir, A. 11, 43, 83, 106, 115, 132, 135,
 138, 139, 148–9
 Sarkozy, Nicolas 7, 40, 125, 129,
 163, 172
 Scharpf, F. W. 97, 98
 Schengen Agreement 7, 62, 195, 206,
 212, 221–2

- Scherer, F. M. 98
 Schilling, H. 234
 Schlamp, H.-J. 125
 Schmitter, P. C. 26, 104
 Schneider, L. 100, 102
 Schuetze, R. 208
 Schuman, Robert 50, 161
 Schwarz, H.-P. 50, 51
 Scitovsky, Tibor 82
 secessionism in Europe 89, 199–201
 Sedelmeier, U. 55, 127
 Selznick, P. 101, 102
 separation of powers 31, 157, 168
 Serbia 16, 88, 189, 199–200
 services sector, liberalization of 20, 54, 86, 95, 116–17, 120–4, 139, 170, 186, 218
 Shackleton, M. 10, 43
 Shore, C. 23
 Single European Act (SEA) 32, 36, 106, 133, 149, 161, 166, 209, 210
 Single Market 43, 54, 83, 84, 85, 107, 129, 135, 209
 monetary union and 102, 107, 108, 109
 services sector *see* services sector
 synergistic effects: enlargement, services and 116–17
 Sjursen, H. 198
 Sked, A. 48, 87
 Slovakia 16, 33, 139, 200
 Slovenia 33
 small countries 17, 114, 159, 215
 Smith, Adam 100, 102
 social dumping 122, 131, 132, 134–8
 Social Europe 12, 65, 115–16, 171, 226
 ambiguity, conceptual 131–2
 Amsterdam Treaty 134
 bits and pieces 146, 150
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 146–7, 148
 regional policy 147–50
 democratic deficit 154–5, 162
 justifications 128–31
 legitimacy 131, 143–5, 154–5
 negative and positive integration 131, 138–43
 social dumping/race to the bottom 131, 132, 134–8
 Maastricht Treaty 133–4
 Rome Treaty 131–2, 133, 138, 140–1, 142
 Single European Act 133
 standard of living 138
 social-security regime 120, 131–2, 143
 soft-law methods 209–10, 218
 soft power 13–16, 64
 limits of 14–15, 172–3, 197–204
 Solana, Javier 201
 Soviet Union 48
 former 206
 see also individual countries
 Spaak, Paul-Henri 71, 73–4, 216
 Spain 41–2, 89, 113, 139, 221–2, 229, 232
 Kosovo 16, 200
 Spinelli, Altiero 46, 47, 48, 52, 68
 Spruyt, H. 229, 230
 stability and peace 87–90, 199
 standardization 79–81, 226, 230–1
 states' rights, protection of 25, 57
 Stewart, Dugald 100, 102
 Stiglitz, J. E. 174, 224
 Strauss-Kahn, Dominique 163
 Structural Funds and Cohesion Fund 5, 23, 147–9
 Central and East European Countries (CEEC) 55
 re-nationalization 149–50
 Spain 42, 147
 subsidiarity 143, 166, 168, 169, 193, 225–6
 race-to-the-bottom argument 138
 summits/European Council 70, 80, 127, 193, 213
 1988 June: Hanover 150
 1991 December: Maastricht 107
 1995 December: Madrid 134
 1997 June: Amsterdam 196
 1999 October: Tampere 218
 2000 March: Lisbon 27, 78, 84, 122, 195
 2001 December: Laeken 122
 2003 December: Brussels 201
 2005 March: Brussels 78
 2005 June: Brussels 40, 41–2, 111–12
 2006 June: Brussels 40

- summits/European Council (cont.)
 2007 March: Brussels 86, 195
 2007 June: Brussels 40
 2007 December: Brussels 16, 206
 Sweden 41, 121, 139, 206
 opt-out: monetary union 54, 112,
 211–12
 Switzerland 34–5, 195, 206
 Symes, D. 28
 Syria 172
 Szymszcak, E. 3, 207
- Takeover Directive 156
 taxation 24, 143, 196
 Taylor, A. J. P. 13
 telecommunications 80, 104–5
 TEU *see* Maastricht Treaty
 Thatcher, Margaret 41, 147
 Tiebout hypothesis 224
 Tilly, C. 51
 Tindemans, L. 215, 216
 tobacco advertising 184–5
 Trachtman, J. P. 219
 trade, intra-EU 109
 trade policy, international 89–90
 trans/intergovernmentalism 62, 190,
 193–7, 202–3, 221–2, 225
 transportation 94–5, 147
 Trechsel, A. H. 8, 67, 68
 Trevor-Roper, H. R. 229
 Triffin, Robert 107
 Trubek, D. M. 210
 Tsoukalis, L. 74, 78, 108, 194
 Tunisia 172
 Turkey 7, 38, 51, 68, 126, 171,
 172, 189
- Ukraine 126, 171, 172, 189
 unanimity 70, 133, 159–60, 209
 unemployment 117, 121, 134, 139
 Union for the Mediterranean 172
 United Kingdom 41, 53, 83, 208, 215,
 221–2
 Bank of England 162
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)
 146–7
 Constitutional Treaty, draft 5, 37, 38
 foreign and defence policy 65, 125, 232
 free-market philosophy 223
 history 14, 53, 83, 87, 187, 229
 labour costs 135, 139
 Lisbon Treaty 6, 40
 monetary union 94, 102–3, 125
 opt-outs
 Charter of Fundamental
 Freedoms 212, 217
 monetary union 54, 112, 211,
 216–17
 social chapter 211
 welfare state 48, 130
 United Nations 64, 202
 United States 22, 43, 53, 68–9, 143,
 199, 200
 Bosnia 15, 88
 East–West strategy 202, 203
 environment 175, 230
 euro 109–10
 Federal Reserve 162, 164
 interstate commerce 118
 Kosovo 15, 88, 200
 Manifest Destiny, doctrine of
 56–7
 Marshall Plan 50
 military technology 232
 monetary stability 108
 ‘new Europe’ 125
 OSCE 206
 Precautionary Principle (PP) 80
 productivity growth 78
 separation of powers 31
 soft power 14–15
 standardization system 231
 Supreme Court 167–8
 Uzbekistan 88
 welfare assistance 148
 Uri, P. 107
 Urmson, J. O. 151
 Uzbekistan 88–9
- variable geometry 60, 221–2
 Verheugen, Guenther 67, 127, 171
 Verhofstadt, Guy 60, 91, 128, 233
 Vernet, D. 60
 veto power *see* unanimity
 Volkery, C. 7
 von der Groeben, H. 76, 96, 99

- voting
 Council of Ministers 40, 133, 153,
 159–60, 209
 elections for EP 12, 30, 33–4, 70,
 153–4, 156, 173
 referendums *see* referendums
- Wallace, H. 189, 193, 216
 Wallace, W. 16, 88, 201, 202
 Weatherill, S. 185, 209, 222–3
 Weiler, J. H. H. 184
 welfare state 48, 143–5
 European 65–6, 128, 130, 134, 144,
 150, 155
 national variants 144
 Williams, S. 175
- Winkler, H. A. 15, 56, 126
 Wolfe, C. 168
 working hours 86, 141
 World Bank 79
 World Trade Organization 29, 80, 90,
 96, 97
- X-inefficiency 84–5
- Yugoslavia, former 15, 48, 64, 88, 89,
 199–201
 Yushchenko, Viktor 126
- Zapatero, José Luis Rodríguez 42
 Zimmermann, H. 102, 109,
 110, 232