

Index

- Abdelal, Rawi, 117
 Abélès, Marc, 488
 abortion law, 277–8, 669
 accession, 135–6, 416–17
 big-bang enlargement, 19, 153–6, 164, 165–73
 competing narratives, 137–42, 627
 German reunification, 53, 71, 72–3, 74, 76
 illiberal democracies, 161, 178
 image of wholeness and freedom, 156–8
 impact on environmental policy, 427–9
 pre-2004 enlargements, 142–53, 250, 357,
 596–7, 647
 Acheson, Dean, 42, 319–20
acquis communautaire, 144, 255
 Act of Chapultepec (1945), 38
 Action Committee for a United States of
 Europe (ACUSE), 3, 502–3
 actorness, 290–3, 356–7, 499
 Adenauer, Konrad, 41, 51, 57, 318, 319, 321, 326,
 328, 372, 642, 643–4, 666
 Adorno, Theodor W., 557
 Afghanistan, 402, 403, 407
 African development policy, 78, 408–9
 France and Treaty of Rome, 80–5
 independent countries and development
 regime, 85–7
 negotiating Lomé, 94–8
 new era of 1970s, 91–4
 Yaoundé Conventions (1963, 1969), 87–91
 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states,
 94, 95–103, 361
 agricultural market, 60, 63, 88, 95, 97, 99,
 100–1, 110, 148, 151, 226
 Airey, Terence, 511
 Albright, Madeleine, 340
 Algerian War (1954–62), 81, 88
 All-African People's Conference (1958), 47
 American Committee on United Europe
 (ACUE), 502
 Americanisation, 10–11, 13, 51, 196, 582
 Angell, Norman, 554
 apartheid, 362
 Arab League, 38
 archival sources, 25–7, 180, 235–6, 310
 Archives of European Integration, 26
 Armand, Louis, 376
 Arndt, Ernst Moritz, 569
 Aron, Raymond, 31, 633
 Aron, Robert, 546
 Arusha Agreement (1968), 91–2
 Associated African and Malagasy States, 89
 Association of Southeast Asian Nations
 (ASEAN), 353, 415
 Atlantic Community concept, 10–11
 Atlantic Institute (AI), 512–13
 Atlanticists, 647
 Atomic Energy Act (1954), 372
 Attlee, Clement, 311, 639
 Aubourg, Valerie, 504
 Audland, Christopher, 386
 Australia, 385
 Austria, 137, 142, 143, 145, 250, 274, 339, 388, 428
 Azeglio, Massimo d', 162, 172
 Bahr, Egon, 52
 Baisnée, Olivier, 483
 Baker, James, 334
 balance of power ideal, 570–2
 Bandung Conference (1955), 46
 Bank of International Settlements, 225
 banking regulation, 116
 Barber, Anthony, 228
 Barraclough, Geoffrey, 32, 50
 Barre, Raymond, 112, 218
 Bartholomew, Reginald, 336
 Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, 116
 Basic Law (1949), 72–3
 Basic Treaty (1972), 62–3, 65, 68

Index

- battle of ideas, 2, 5, 15
 Belgium, 313, 322, 504
 European security, 328, 335, 337, 342
 market integration, 83, 242
 nuclear energy, 380, 385, 390
 Bellamy, Richard, 262–3
 Belt and Road Initiative, 128
 Benedetti, Vincent, 572
 Berlin Agreement (1951), 58
 Berlin crises (1948–62), 39
 Berlin Wall, 32, 39, 69, 135, 137, 140, 157
 Berlusconi, Silvio, 182
 Bernhard, Prince of the Netherlands, 509–11
 Beveridge Report (1942), 192, 195
 Bevin, Ernest, 314, 315, 322
 Bidault, Georges, 146, 311, 318–19, 324, 640, 642, 643
 Biden, Joe, 343
 Bieber, Florian, 599
 bilateral trade negotiations, 296–7, 302, 305, 401
 Bilderberg meetings, 495, 503–4, 509–11
 Birkelbach, Willy, 147
 Blair, Tony, 155
 Blue Book, 481
 Blum, Léon, 639
 Bobkowski, Andrzej, 36
 Bohlen, Charles E., 312
 Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 537, 549
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 569
 Boomgaarden, Hajo, 518–19, 523
 border controls, 257–8
 Borges, Jorge Luis, 52
 Borrell, Joseph, 348
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, 339, 341, 414
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 491
 Bourguès-Maunoury, Maurice, 375
 Bourget, Paul, 543–4
 Bradford, Anu, 108
 Brandt, Willy, 64, 65, 66, 219, 221–2, 230, 231
 Bretton Woods system, 209–12
 crisis and collapse, 93, 112, 189, 216–23
 flaws and seeking solutions, 212–16
 responding to crisis, 223–8
 response to failed reform, 228–32
 Brexit, 18, 20, 128–9, 159, 177, 183, 282, 429, 529–32, 624, 661
 Brezhnev, Leonid, 51, 66, 400
 Briand, Aristide, 7, 577
 Britain, 114, 118–19, 177, 211, 242, 351, 648
 Brexit, 18, 20, 128–9, 159, 177, 183, 282, 429, 529–32, 624, 661
 development policy, 88, 92, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99–100
 environmental policy, 429
 European reunification, 142, 143, 145, 148, 149–50, 151, 638–9
 European security, 311, 312–15
 Cold War's end (1988–92), 335
 Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (1950–4), 320–2
 post-Cold War world, 337, 339–40, 342
 revival of European cooperation (1969–87), 331–2
 West German rearmament and Korean War (1949–50), 317–18, 319–20
 Western European Union and German rearmament (1954–5), 324–6
 freedoms of movement, 266, 280, 282
 ideas of Europe, 538–9, 549
 market forces, 242, 249
 monetary reform, 216, 220, 223, 228
 nuclear energy, 369–70, 374, 377, 379–80, 382–3, 387–8
 wartime, 37, 56, 192
 Brittan, Samuel, 220
 Brossolette, Claude-Pierre, 230
 Brugmans, Henri, 508
 Brundtland Report (1987), 102
 Brussels effect, 297
 Brussels Pact (1948), 39, 41
 Brussels Treaty Organization (BTO), 314–16, 318, 325
 Bulganin, Nikolai, 45
 Bulgaria, 171, 413, 627
 Burden Sharing Agreement (1998), 433
 Burke, Edmund, 569
 Burns, Arthur, 224, 232–3
 Burns, Charlotte, 423
 Bush, George H. W., 156, 246, 333–4, 335
 Buttiglione, Rocco, 666
 Cacciari, Massimo, 138
 Calamandrei, Piero, 554
 Calligaro, Oriane, 596–7
 Cambrensis, Giraldus, 566
 Camdessus, Michel, 117
 Cameron, David, 178
 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 46
 Canada, 314, 316, 385
 capital movements, 117–19, 214, 230, 254
 Carolingian Europe, 641–3, 652–3
 Carpenter case (2002), 271
 Carr, E. H., 636–7
 Carter, Jimmy, 384, 402

Index

- Cassin, René, 577, 582
Cassis de Dijon case, 238
 Catholic narrative, 632–4
 anti-nationalism and liberal democracy, 636–40
 Christian Democrat adoption of, 643–5
 Cold War and new internationalism, 640–3
 decline and death of, 648–56
 ideological convergence with European institutions, 646–8
 literature and theory review, 634–5
 Cattaneo, Carlo, 584–5
 Cecchini Report (1988), 246–7
 Central America development policy, 409–10
 Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, 26
 Chaban-Délmas, Jacques, 376
 Chabod, Federico, 559, 587
 Challand, Benoît, 662–3
 Charter of Economic rights and Duties of States, 360
 Charter of Fundamental Rights, 269, 273
 Chavranski, Henri, 117
 Checkel, Jeffrey, 473
 Chernobyl disaster (1986), 385–6
 Cheysson, Claude, 94
 China, 40, 49, 50, 121, 127–8, 300, 306
 Chirac, Jacques, 333, 340, 651
 Christian Democracy, 16, 42, 181, 498, 581, 583, 666, 667. *See also* Catholic narrative
 Churches, 659–62
 beginning of European integration, 16, 665–8
 Catholic narrative, 632–4
 anti-nationalism and liberal democracy, 636–40
 Christian Democrat adoption of, 643–5
 Cold War and new internationalism, 640–3
 decline and death of, 648–56
 ideological convergence with European institutions, 646–8
 literature and theory review, 634–5
 identity formation, 670–2
 level of influence, 672–5
 practical cooperation with EU, 675–80
 role as non-state actors, 668–9
 scholarly approaches, 662–5
 Churchill, Winston, 32, 35, 36, 311, 320, 325, 502, 581
 Citizens, Equality, Rights and Values programme (CERV), 609
 citizenship, 263, 268–73
 Clémenceau, Georges, 577
 climate change, 130–1, 427, 432–6, 629–30
 broadening policy instruments, 436–7
 integrated approach to policy, 437–9
 Club of Rome, 190
 Cockfield, Arthur, 237
 Cold War, 13, 32, 33, 35, 39–40, 51, 58
 African development policy, 78–9
 Catholic narrative, 634, 640–3
 détente, 396, 398–9, 403–4
 end of, 121, 137, 157, 295
 European security, 310–12, 333–7
 nuclear energy, 386–7
 United Nations (UN), 356–7
 collective memory. *See* memory politics
 Collège d'Europe, 508, 586
 Colombo, Emilio, 331
 colonial history, 609–10, 628
 Comecon (CMEA), 43, 57, 65–7, 68, 71, 250, 357, 360–1, 362–3, 398, 401, 408, 410–11
 Cominform, 41, 43, 642
 Comité International de Défense de la Civilisation Chrétienne (CIDCC), 509
 Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union (COMECE), 647, 678–9
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), 47, 95, 99, 148, 205, 206, 226, 245, 401, 439, 502
 Common Commercial Policy (CCP), 398, 401, 407
 Common External Tariff (CET), 84, 88, 90–1
 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 287, 292–3, 301, 335, 338, 340, 387–9, 411
 Common Market (CM), 4–5, 49, 118, 198–9, 251, 609
 development policy, 82–3, 85, 87, 95, 99
 establishment of, 44, 47–8, 205–6, 646
 German access to, 59, 61, 64, 74
 Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), 309, 342
 Commonwealth, 91–2, 143
 Commonwealth Sugar Agreement (1951), 92
 Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), 305
 concert system, 571–3
 Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (CGIL), 204
 Confederazione Italiana Sindacati dei Lavoratori, 204
 Conference of European Churches (CEC), 678–9, 681

Index

- Conference of Independent African States (1958), 47
- Conference on Disarmament in Europe (CDE), 406
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 38, 67, 350, 398, 399–400, 402, 405–6, 411
- Connally, John, 222, 224, 225–6
- Constant, Benjamin, 263
- Constitution for Europe (2004), 599–600
- Contact Group (1971–2), 116
- Convention on the Future of Europe (2002–3), 651–2
- Copenhagen Criteria, 581
- Copenhagen European Summit (1973), 397, 594
- Copernicus earth observation, 444, 451, 453, 463–4
- Coppola, Francesco, 546
- Coppolaro, Lucia, 111
- cosmopolitanism, 490, 606
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard, 502, 506, 539–40, 578, 581–3
- Council of Europe, 32, 41, 582–3, 596
- Court of Justice of the European Union, 265–8, 269–81, 291, 422
- Covid-19 pandemic, 24–5, 107, 132, 257–8, 346, 347, 625–6, 630
- Craxi, Bettino, 240, 243, 410
- Creative Europe, 624, 630
- crisis management, 164–5, 173–9
- Cromer, Rowland Baring, Earl of, 223, 224
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962), 39
- culture, 561–2, 612–14. *See also* ideas of Europe
 added value of policy, 622–6
 digitalisation and narrative engineering, 620–2
 future outlook, 626–31
 policies between solutionism and governmentality, 617–26
 scholarly literature and trends, 614–17
- Culture Action Europe, 626
- Czech Republic, 156, 524–6
- Czechoslovakia, 41, 43, 56, 65, 314
- Damro, Chad, 297
- Dandieu, Arnaud, 546
- Daviet, Jean-Pierre, 368
- Davignon Report (1970), 397, 398
- Daws, Sam, 354
- De Búrca, Gráinne, 277
- De Gasperi, Alcide, 322, 644–5, 666
- de Gaulle, Charles, 46, 49–50, 149–50, 213–14, 215, 327–9, 377, 396, 502, 633, 638–9, 646
- de Launoit, Paul, 509–10
- de Maizière, Lothar, 73
- De Michelis, Gianni, 338
- de Reynold, Gonzague, 556–7
- de Rougemont, Denis, 508, 511, 583–4, 586, 587
- de Vreese, Claes, 517, 519–20
- decarbonisation, 255, 260
- decolonisation, 45–6, 578–9
- de-democratisation, 177–9
- defence policy. *See* security policy
- Defferre, Gaston, 82
- Dehio, Ludwig, 557
- Delheux, Tom, 452
- Delors Commission, 250–3
- Delors Committee (1988–9), 249
- Delors, Jacques, 72, 74, 117, 153, 235, 237–8, 242, 243–4, 245, 248, 337–8, 477, 571, 664, 678
- democratic consolidation, 146–7, 411–15, 597
- democratic legitimacy, 300–2
- Deniau Memorandum (1973), 94–5
- Deniau, Jean, 94
- Denmark, 142, 231, 241, 242, 245, 249, 337, 523–6
- detached national experts (DNEs), 480–1
- Deutsch, Karl, 594
- development policy, 78–80, 287, 408–10
 coherence with trade policy, 299–300
 independent African countries and development regime, 85–7
 negotiating Lomé, 94–8
 new era of 1970s, 91–4
 Rome Treaties and France, 80–5
 Yaoundé Conventions (1963, 1969), 87–91
- DG Climate Action, 422
- DG DEVCO, 292
- DG Environment, 422, 431
- DG Trade, 292
- digital regulation, 131–2
- Dillon Round (1960–2), 111
- dispute resolutions, 296
- Dobbins, James, 336
- dollar gap, 211
- Donovan, William J., 502
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor, 552
- Drach, Alexis, 118
- Duhamel, Georges, 546–7, 558
- Dulles, Allen, 502
- Dulles, John Foster, 319, 324, 325, 375
- Dunant, Henri, 575
- Duroselle, Jean-Baptiste, 587–9
- easternisation threat, 165–73
- EC-9, 146
- Eco, Umberto, 612

Index

- eco-labels, 436
 Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), 19,
 70, 118, 120, 122–4, 126, 169–70, 254
 Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC),
 349, 359, 361
 Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), 87
 Economic Development Fund (EDF), 88, 90
 economic growth, 13, 619–20
 Economic League for European Cooperation
 (ELEC), 495
Economist, The, 245–6
 Ecumenical Commission on European
 Cooperation, 667
 Eden, Anthony, 322, 324
 Egypt, 45, 47
 Einaudi, Luigi, 539
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 37, 45, 321, 322, 375–6
 El Salvador, 405
 Eley, Geoff, 194
 elite socialisation. *See* network-based
 approach
 Elliott, John H., 137
 embedded liberalism, 4
 Emergency Economic Committee for Europe
 (EECE), 56–7
 emissions trading system (ETS), 422, 433, 434,
 436, 437
 Emminger, Otmar, 214, 222
 Empty Chair Crisis (1965), 17, 50, 646
 Enderlein, Henrik, 123–4
 Energy Union, 435
 enlargement, 135–6, 416–17
 big-bang enlargement, 19, 153–6, 164, 165–73
 competing narratives, 137–42, 627
 environmental policy, 427–9
 image of wholeness and freedom, 156–8
 memory politics, 601, 603
 pre-2004 enlargements, 142–53, 250, 596–7
 religious influence, 647, 649–50
 Environment Action Programme, 431, 438
 environmental policy
 African development plans, 100–1, 102
 broadening policy instruments, 436–7
 cultural preservation, 629–30
 expansion of environmental *acquis*, 420–2
 impact of enlargement, 427–9
 increasing level of ambition, 422–5
 integrated approach, 437–9
 links with economy, 425–7
 politics of climate change, 432–6
 Single European Act (SEA) (1986), 426,
 430–2, 438
 Enyedi, Zsolt, 661, 669
 Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, 584
 Erhard, Ludwig, 60, 644
 Ertel, Fritz, 376
 Estonia, 275, 607–8
 Eurafrikan free trade area, 83, 85, 88, 90
 Euratom (European Atomic Energy
 Community), 327, 367–9, 385, 391, 426
 birth of, 44, 57, 85, 373–7
 early difficulties (1958–63), 377–9
 new directions (1967–73), 379–83
 euro currency, 19, 121–4, 129–30
 Euro-African Association, 78–80
 independent African countries and
 development regime, 85–7
 negotiating Lomé, 94–8
 new era of 1970s, 91–4
 Rome Treaties and France, 80–5
 Yaoundé Conventions (1963, 1969), 87–91
 Eurobarometer, 518, 528, 612
 Eurocorps, 332
 Eurocrats
 background of, 478–82
 dynamics of Europeanisation, 471–5
 world of, 482–90
 Eurodif, 380, 383
 euromarkets, 113–14, 119
Europa (periodical), 568–9
 Europa Nostra, 625
 European Bank for Reconstruction and
 Development, 414
 European Capitals of Culture, 618, 622–3
 European Centre for Nuclear Research
 (CERN), 367, 371
 European Central Inland Transport
 Organisation (ECITO), 56–7
 European Centre for Culture, 508, 511
 European Coal and Steel Community
 (ECSC), 2, 4, 41–2, 57, 59, 139, 198–204,
 322, 374, 501, 609
 European Coal Organisation (ECO), 56–7
 European Convention on Human Rights
 (ECHR), 274
 European Council (EC), 115–16, 153–4,
 331, 600
 environmental policy, 431, 433, 434, 435, 438
 memory politics, 603
 monetary reform, 219–20
 political role, 404–5, 407–9, 412–13
 single market plan, 240, 245
 space policy, 450–1, 460–1, 462–3
 European Cultural Foundation (ECF), 510–11
 European Defence Community (EDC), 17,
 43–4, 320–6, 371–2, 503

Index

- European Defence Improvement Programme, 330
 European Development Fund (EDF), 84, 85–6, 89, 97, 99–100, 102, 103
 European Economic Area (EEA), 250
 European Environment Agency, 422, 424, 431
 European External Action Service (EEAS), 292
 European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 5, 48, 144, 145, 198, 249–50
 European Geostationary Navigation Overlay Service (EGNOS), 444, 458–9
 European Green Deal (EGD) (2019), 131, 424, 427, 435, 438, 439, 630
 European League for Economic Cooperation (ELEC), 506–7
 European Monetary System (EMS), 70, 118, 120, 206, 249, 254
 European Movement (EM), 507–8
 European Nuclear Energy Agency (ENEA), 377
 European Parliament (EP), 301–2, 398, 599, 661
 environmental policy, 431, 432
 memory politics, 595–6, 597–8, 601–3, 604–5, 606–8
 single market plan, 236, 241, 242, 243–4, 259
 space policy, 448–52, 455–6, 460, 462–3
 European Payments Union (EPU), 4, 111, 196, 211, 217
 European People's Party (EPP), 178, 182, 647
 European Political Cooperation (EPC), 67, 242, 331, 349, 364, 397, 398, 402–3, 411, 414–15
 European Productivity Agency, 197
 European relaunch, 206–7
 European Remembrance Day, 610
 European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT), 3, 251, 500
 European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), 309, 340–2, 388
 European Social Fund, 202
 European Space Agency (ESA), 443, 446, 449, 451, 455, 456, 465
 European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), 204
 Europeana, 621
 Europeanisation, 33, 51, 471–5, 549, 601–2
 Euroscepticism, 165, 183–4, 516, 517
 Eurospeak, 488–9
 Eurozone Crisis, 19, 20, 626, 654
 exchange rates, 209–10, 212, 213, 214–16, 219, 221, 226–7
 Fabre-Luce, Alfred, 558
 Ferguson, Niall, 127
 Ferrari-Aggradi, Mario, 224–5
 Ferrero, Guglielmo, 545–6
 Finet, Paul, 201
 Finland, 137, 142, 145, 250, 339, 385, 428
 Fiora, Federico, 542
 First World War (1914–18), 6–7, 15, 31, 537, 546, 576, 579
 Fischer, Joschka, 2, 651
fonctionnaires, 479–80, 488, 490, 492
 Food and Agriculture Organization, 349
 Foret, François, 662
 Fouchet Plan (1961), 50
 Four Power Agreement on Berlin (1971), 65
 Fourastié, Jean, 189–90
 Fox, Stuart, 661
 France, 43, 49–50, 197, 199–200, 266
 development policy, 80–5, 86, 87–9, 90, 94, 96, 97, 98
 European reunification, 139–40, 149–50, 638–40
 European security, 311, 312–13, 314–15
 Cold War's end (1988–92), 334–5
 de Gaulle's demands, 327–9
 Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (1950–4), 320–4
 post-Cold War world, 337, 339–40, 342
 revival of European cooperation (1969–87), 331–3
 West German rearmament and Korean War (1949–50), 317–20
 Western European Union and German rearmament (1954–5), 324–6
 liberalisation, 117, 118–19
 market forces, 241–2, 249
 monetary reform, 213–14, 215, 217, 219–20, 222, 225, 226–7, 231
 nuclear energy, 369–70, 372–5, 377–8, 379–80, 383, 386–9, 390
 public opinion, 523–6
 United Nations (UN), 351, 358–62
 Franco, Francisco, 146, 148
 Franco-Prussian War (1870–1), 573–4
 Frank, Paul, 64–5
 Frankfurt Agreement (1949), 58
 Frederick the Great, 570
 freedom of movement, 170, 202–3, 253
 alliance with European integration, 239–40, 264–8
 danger of disintegration, 277–82
 defence against fundamental rights, 274–7

Index

- subjective turn and European citizenship, 262–4
- Friedman, Milton, 215
- fundamental freedoms. *See* freedom of movement
- fundamental rights, 274–7
- G 10, 217, 225–7, 232
- G 24, 414
- G 7, 115–16, 413
- G 77, 48, 93, 97, 98
- Galileo system, 442, 444, 445, 451, 453, 458–63
- Gallagher, Paul, 667
- Ganev, Venelin, 158
- Gardiner, Robert, 93
- gender, 482, 486, 608–9
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 85, 87, 94, 96, 110–11, 121, 356, 364
- General Data Protection Regulation, 132
- Generalised Scheme of Preferences (GSP), 89–90, 96, 298, 300, 402, 412
- Geneva Conventions, 575
- Geneva Summit (1955), 45
- Genscher, Hans-Dietrich, 69, 331
- Gentz, Friedrich, 569, 570
- geopolitics, 145, 149, 305–6
- Georgakakis, Didier, 475
- Georgetown Agreement (1975), 94
- Germany, 35, 36–9, 41–2, 268
- Catholic narrative, 643–4, 647
- development policy, 88, 90, 92, 97, 98
- division of, 53–4
- beginnings of European cooperation, 56–8
- context of détente, 63–8
- research literature, 54–6
- trade, 58–63
- environmental policy, 422
- European reunification, 139, 161, 638–40
- European security, 311–14, 316, 328, 331–2, 333–4, 337, 342
- ideas of Europe, 542, 553–4
- market forces, 243, 249, 609
- monetary reform, 212, 214, 215–16, 217, 219, 220, 221–2, 225, 226, 229, 230–1
- nuclear energy, 369–70, 371–3, 375, 380, 381, 383, 386, 390
- public opinion, 524–6
- rearmament, 40, 43–4, 316–20
- Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (1950–4), 320–2
- Western European Union and NATO, 324–6
- reunification of, 53, 55, 68–74, 137–8, 142, 168–9
- Ghervas, Stella, 564
- Gijswijt, Thomas, 503, 511
- Gilpin, Robert, 199
- Giordani, Armando, 376
- Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry, 218, 225, 230, 331, 403
- Global Financial Crisis (2008–9), 124–6, 175, 423–4, 434
- globalisation, 46, 106–8, 285–6
- challenges to strategic autonomy, 128–33
- end of transatlantic cocoon (1970–90), 110–20
- market forces, 252, 260, 295–7
- monetary reform, 210, 212
- new hopes and crises (1991–2015), 120–8
- gold standard, 213–14
- Goldberg, Andreas, 519
- Goldschmidt, Bertrand, 367
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 68, 71, 333, 410–11
- Governmental Satellite Communication (GOVSATCOM), 444, 446
- Grand Coalition (1966–9), 60, 64
- Gravey, Viviane, 424
- Great Depression (1930s), 8, 56, 191, 505
- Greece, 144, 151, 609, 627
- accession, 137, 145, 146, 148
- European security, 335
- financial crisis, 124–5, 175
- public opinion, 523–6
- single market, 243, 245
- Grogan case (1991), 277–8
- gross domestic product (GDP), 108, 123, 258–9
- gross national product, 192
- Guillen, Pierre, 373–4
- Gulf War (1990–1), 337–8
- Guterres, António, 347
- Guth, James, 666
- Guzzetti, Luca, 378
- Gyllenhammar, Pehr, 500
- Haas, Ernst, 472–3, 496–7, 504, 594
- Habermas, Jürgen, 271
- Hague Congress (1948), 580, 581–3
- Haiti, 414
- Hallstein Doctrine (1955), 58, 63
- Havel, Václav, 140, 157
- Hay, Denys, 563, 566
- Hazard, Paul, 568
- Heath, Edward, 222, 228, 382–3
- Heeren, A. H., 569
- hegemonic democracy, 42

Index

- Hehir, Bryan, 666
 Heisenberg, Werner, 371
 Helleiner, Eric, 211
 Helsinki Final Act (1975), 399–400, 403, 405–6
 heritage. *See* culture; identity
 Herzfeld, Michael, 478
 Hesse, Hermann, 557
 Historical Archives of the EU, 26
 Holmes, Stephen, 167
 Holocaust, 597–8, 601, 603
 Horizon 2020 programme, 629
 Horkheimer, Max, 557
 House of European History (HEH), 604, 622, 628
 Howe, Geoffrey, 240
 Hugo, Victor, 572, 574, 575
 Huizinga, Johan, 546
 human rights, 99–100, 102, 103, 273, 300, 411–13, 579–81, 600, 653
 Hume, David, 570
 Hungary, 129, 156, 161, 172, 178, 408, 413, 523–6, 655–6, 672

 Iceland, 151, 250
 ideas of Europe, 536–8
 antiquity to eighteenth century, 565–8
 cultural and moral foundations, 585–9
 Hague Congress (1948), 581–3
 internationalism as moral mission, 573–81
 nineteenth-century concert system, 568–73
 personalism, 583–5
 post-1917 reverberations, 554–9
 Russia model
 European decadence and rebirth, 550–4
 political and ideological threats, 547–50
 US model
 cultural and ideological concerns, 542–7
 diplomatic, political and economic concerns, 538–42
 identity, 277–9, 594–600, 604, 613, 664–5, 670–2.
 See also Eurocrats
 IETM (international network for contemporary performing arts), 626
 illiberal democracies, 24, 129, 158, 161, 171–2, 177–9
 industrial market, 60, 63, 90–1, 99, 110, 251
 inflation, 122, 210, 214, 215–16, 222, 228–9, 230
 interest rates, 215, 221
 intergovernmental conference (IGC), 240–5, 335
 internal market. *See* single market

 International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 382, 389, 391
 international law, 62, 73, 394, 399, 575–6, 579
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 4, 40, 103, 117, 126, 213, 216
 International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE), 384
 internationalist morality, 573–81
 Invention of Tradition, 589
 Iran, 389
 Iraq invasion (2003), 342
 Ireland, 142, 143, 148, 243, 245, 277–8, 388, 661
 Islamic Conference, 407
 issue-linkages, 3–4, 15
 Italy, 36, 88, 139, 196, 269–70, 351
 European security, 315, 322–3, 325, 327, 328, 332, 334, 337, 339
 market integration, 242, 245
 migration, 609
 nuclear energy, 380, 381, 385
 politics of productivity, 197
 social dialogue, 202–3, 204

 Jacobsson, Bengt, 488
 Jansen, Thomas, 668
 Japan, 35, 50, 306
 Jaspers, Karl, 554, 644
 Jean Monnet Foundation, 26
 Jenkins, Keith, 663
 Jenkins, Roy, 113
 Johnson, Lyndon B., 329
 Jospin, Lionel, 651
 Judt, Tony, 139
 Juncker, Jean-Claude, 130, 438
 Just Transition Fund, 429

 Kaiser, Wolfram, 498, 500, 502, 604, 623
 Kashlev, Yuri, 400
 Katzenstein, Peter, 117
 Kautsky, Karl, 542
 Kehoe, R. B., 368
 Kelemen, R. Daniel, 129
 Kemmerer, Edwin, 505
 Kennan, George F., 311, 312
 Kennedy Round (1964–7), 110–11
 Kennedy, John F., 39, 51, 328, 379
 Keynesianism, 194–5, 198–9
 Keyserling, Hermann Graf von, 578
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 39, 45, 51
 Kim Il-sung, 40
 Kindleberger, Charles, 210–11
 Kinnock, Neil, 459
 Kipling, Rudyard, 543

Index

- Kissinger, Henry, 217, 226, 231–2, 233, 330, 396, 399–400
 Klasen, Klaus, 221, 229
 Klee, Paul, 8
 Kohl, Helmut, 69–70, 74, 332, 334, 335–6
 Kolpinskaya, Ekaterina, 661
 Korean War (1950–3), 40, 319, 321
 Krastev, Ivan, 167
 Krige, John, 367–8, 371, 461
 Kristeva, Julia, 613
 Kukovec, Damjan, 281–2
 Kundera, Milan, 141
 Kurchatov, Igor, 36
 Kyoto Protocol (1997), 433, 435
- labour markets, 170, 202–3, 619
 labour productivity, 192–3
 Lagos Agreement (1968), 91–2
 Laloux, Thomas, 452
 Lancaster House Treaties (2010), 388
 Laniel, Joseph, 325
 Latvia, 171
 Laval case (2008), 275–6
 Lawrie-Blum case (1986), 268
 Le Bon, Gustave, 544
Le Monde, 317
 Le Pen, Jean-Marie, 597–8
 League of Arab States (LAS), 353
 League of Nations, 7, 12, 356, 576–8
 least developed countries (LDC), 96, 98
 Lecourt, Robert, 265
 Lemaignen, Robert, 85
 lend-lease programme, 4, 36
 Leroy-Beaulieu, Henri Jean Baptiste Anatole, 549–50
 Leustean, Lucian, 663–4, 665–6, 667–8, 674, 675
 liberal intergovernmentalism, 17, 18
 liberalisation, 116–19
 Library Group, 116
 Libya, 342
 Liechtenstein, 250
 Limited Test Ban (1963), 49
 Lindemann, Beate, 362
 Lippmann, Walter, 8
 Lithuania, 171
 Littoz-Monnet, Annabelle, 619
 Lodge Jr., Henry Cabot, 513
 Loi-Cadre Defferre, 81
 Lomé Convention (1975), 79, 94–103
 Lomé 2 (1979), 99–100
 Lomé 3 (1983–4), 101–2
 Lomé 4 (1989), 102–3
 Ludlow, Piers, 145
- Lukacs, John, 45–6
 Luns–Westerterp Procedure (1964, 1974), 301
 Lustiger, Jean-Marie, 650
 Luxembourg, 242, 322, 335
 Lyons, F. S. L., 574
- Macmillan, Harold, 46, 193
 Macron, Emmanuel, 106, 628
 Madariaga, Salvador de, 578, 581
 Madeley, John, 667
 Madlovics, Bálint, 167
 Maduro, Miguel Poiares, 270–1
 Magyar, Bálint, 167
 Malawi, 415
 Malfatti, Franco Maria, 398
 Mälksoo, Maria, 606
 Mallard, Grégoire, 368–9
 Malraux, André, 47
 Mandry, Christof, 669
 Mann, Thomas, 558
 Manners, Ian, 614
 Mansfield, Mike, 330
 Manuel, Paul Christopher, 146
 Mao Zedong, 46, 49
 Maritain, Jacques, 638
 Marshall Plan (1948–52), 4, 8, 41, 57, 195–8, 501, 639
 Marshall, George C., 311, 320
 May, Theresa, 177
 Mayne, Richard, 42
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 574
 McCloy, John, 319
 McCrea, Roman, 663, 679
 McMahon Act (1946), 370, 378
 McMillan, Margaret, 7
 McNamara, Robert, 328, 329
 Meade, James, 246
 Meadows Report (*The Limits to Growth*) (1972), 190
 media coverage, 520–6, 524, 525
 membership (EU), 135–6, 416–17
 adoption of national positions, 488
 big-bang enlargement, 19, 153–6, 164, 165–73
 competing narratives, 137–42, 627
 German reunification, 53, 71, 72–3, 74, 76
 illiberal democracies, 161, 178
 image of wholeness and freedom, 156–8
 impact on environmental policy, 427–9
 pre-2004 enlargements, 142–53, 250, 357, 596–7, 647
 public opinion, 158, 516–18
 multidimensionality of attitudes to EU, 518–20

Index

- membership (EU) (cont.)
 Netherlands case study, 528–32
 ten-nations case study, 520–8
 religious influence, 647, 649–50
 unsuccessful applications, 88, 139–40, 143,
 150–1, 328–9, 660
- memory politics, 591–3
 consensus on history, 599–603
 future without past burdens, 593–8
 memory wars, 603–8
 selectivity and amnesia, 608–10
- Mendès France, Pierre, 325, 373
- Merkel, Angela, 106, 176, 183
- meso-theories, 18
- Messina Conference (1955), 374
- Michel, Charles, 106, 348
- Michnik, Adam, 141
- migration, 170–1, 202–3, 609
 migrant crisis (2015), 175–6,
 529–32, 655
- Milward, Alan, 13, 139, 200
- mining sector, 100
- Mitrany, David, 9–10
- Mittleuropa* concept, 540–2, 556
- Mitterrand, François, 69, 243, 331–2, 334,
 335–6, 388
- Modrow, Hans, 72
- Moeller van der Bruck, Arthur, 552–3
- monetary dimension, 19, 111–14, 241–2. *See also*
 Bretton Woods system
- Monnet, Jean, 3, 43–4, 150, 373, 374, 375,
 502–3, 562
- Montesquieu, 568
- Moore, Brendan, 424
- moral foundations, 585–9
- Moro, Aldo, 67, 400, 403
- Mörth, Ulrika, 488
- Mounk, Yascha, 182
- Moussa, Pierre, 84
- Moyn, Samuel, 581, 584
- Müller, Adam, 570
- Müller, Wolfgang, 66
- multilateral nuclear force (MLF), 378, 381
- multi-stakeholder governance, 616
- Mundell, Robert, 120
- Mussolini, Benito, 36
- mutual recognition principle, 238–9
- Myanmar, 415
- narrative turn, 613–16, 621–2, 626–9, 634–5.
See also Catholic narrative
- National Indicative Programmes, 100, 101
- national sovereignty, 505, 508
- nationalism, 541, 591–2, 604, 636–40, 642, 645,
 650, 654–6
- nation-states, 10, 34–5, 45, 50, 497–8, 500, 540,
 561, 592, 600, 633, 641, 650
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization),
 40, 43–4, 49, 141, 156, 309–10, 318–19,
 329, 332, 397
- détente, 406
- European security cooperation (1988–92),
 333–7
- integration of Western European Union,
 324–7
- nuclear energy, 378–9, 381, 387, 388
- Pleven Plan (1950), 320, 322
- post-Cold War defence, 337–43
- Naumann, Friedrich, 542
- Nelsen, Brent, 666
- neo-colonialism, 16
- neo-functionalism, 17, 265, 295, 453–4, 467–8,
 472–3, 496–7
- neo-institutionalism, 473–4
- Netherlands, 242, 322, 422, 523–32
 development policy, 86, 88, 90, 92, 98
 European security, 328, 335, 337
 nuclear energy, 380, 385
- network-based approach, 494–6
 analysing networks, 496–500
 role of Paul van Zeeland, 504–13
- transcending Europe, 501–4
- Neumayer, Laure, 600
- New Delhi Conference, 407
- New European Agenda for Culture, 618, 619
- New International Economic Order (NIEO),
 98, 360
- New York Times*, *The*, 338
- Next Generation EU, 132
- Nicaragua, 404
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 550–2
- Nigeria, 362, 415
- Nightingale, Florence, 575
- Nitze, Paul, 318
- Nixon, Richard, 127, 216, 224, 226–8, 230, 231–2,
 330, 396, 400
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 46, 49, 87
- Noël, Octave, 542
- Non-Aligned Movement, 43, 46
- Normative Power Europe, 614
- North Atlantic Council (NAC), 319, 324, 387
- North Atlantic Treaty (1949), 39, 40, 316, 317
- North Macedonia, 627
- Norway, 144, 150, 231, 250, 314
- Nouvelles Équipes Internationales (NEI), 642
- Novalis, 569

Index

- nuclear dimension
 birth of Euratom, 373–7
 Cold War's end (1979–91), 386–7
 early Euratom difficulties (1958–63), 377–9
 early years (1945–54), 370–3
 Europe as civilian nuclear superpower (1970s–80s), 383–6
 literature review, 367–70
 new directions (1967–73), 379–83
 post-Maastricht dilemmas, 387–91, 390
 Nuclear Non-proliferation Act (1978), 384
 Nuclear Planning Group, 329, 381
 Nye, Joseph S., 394
 Nys, Ernest, 576
- Obama, Barack, 342
 Ohlin Report (1956), 200
 oil-price shock (1973), 79, 93, 96, 97, 98, 114–15, 189
 Omega case (2004), 274
 open method of coordination, 437
 open regionalism, 117
 Orbán, Viktor, 129, 178, 183, 628, 655
 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 117
 Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), 4, 41, 57, 196–7, 373, 374, 377
 Organisation of African Unity (OAU), 47, 94, 353, 355
 Organisation of German Savings Banks, 221
 Organization of American States (OAS), 40
 Orientalism, 565, 580
 Ortega y Gasset, José, 557–8
 Ortoli, François-Xavier, 112–13
- Pact of Bogotá (1948), 40
 Padoa-Schioppa, Tommaso, 119, 120
 Palestine Liberation Organization, 360
 Pan-American Union, 353
 Panpandreou, George, 124
 Paris Agreement (2015), 434–5
 Paris Charter on New Europe (1990), 411
 Paris Peace Conference (1919–20), 6–7
 Parsons, Craig, 501
 Passy, Frédéric, 575
 Patel, Kiran Klaus, 185
 path-dependences, 3–4, 15
 Patočka, Jan, 584
 Pavlov, Ivan, 40
 personalism, 583–5
 Petersberg Declaration (1992), 337, 339
 Peterson, John, 293
 Peterson, Peter, 224
 Pflimlin, Pierre, 244
 Philip, Andre, 668
 Philpott, Daniel, 666
 Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica* (1937), 7
 Pijpers, Alfred, 403
 Pineau, Christian, 83
 Pirotte, Olivier, 368
 Pisani, Edgar, 101
 planning and policy movement, 11–13
 Pleven Plan (1950), 320–2
 Pleven, René, 43, 320
 Pöhl, Karl Otto, 225
 Poland, 36, 56, 156, 161, 413
 climate policy, 429
 illiberal politics, 129, 172, 178
 martial law, 402, 404, 407–8
 public opinion, 158, 523–6
 role of religion, 655–6, 660–1
 polarisation, 165, 184, 305
 policy dialogue, 101
 political role, 393–5
 consolidation and boldness (1975–85), 402–10
 early initiatives (mid 1960s–1975), 395–402
 embracing conditionality (1985 to mid 1990s), 410–15
 politicisation, 165, 180–4, 305
 politics of productivity, 197–8
 Pomaret, Charles, 555
 Pompidou, Georges, 217, 219, 225, 226–8, 229, 231
 Poos, Jacques, 338
 Pope Benedict XVI, 634, 648–9, 652, 654
 Pope Francis, 656
 Pope John Paul II, 634, 648–50
 Pope Paul VI, 646
 Pope Pius II, 566
 Pope Pius XII, 633–4, 635, 636, 637, 640–3, 645
 population figures, 109
 populism, 158, 172, 182–4
 Portugal, 137, 142, 144, 146, 148–9, 151–2, 243, 337
 postfunctionalism, 18
 Potsdam Conference (1945), 37
 Pöttering, Hans-Gert, 604
 Potthoff, Heinz, 201
 Poujadist movement, 44
 Powell, Colin, 341
 Prager, Max, 543
 Prague Coup (1948), 43, 639
 private investment, 102
 Prodi, Romano, 155, 461–2
 protectionism, 294–5

Index

- public opinion, 516–18, 612, 617–18
 Church influence on, 669
 multidimensionality of EU attitudes, 518–20
 Netherlands case study, 528–32
 ten-nations case study, 520–8
 Putin, Vladimir, 172, 607
- racial divisions, 45–6
 Ramadier, Paul, 581
 Rathenau, Walter, 542
 Ratzel, Friedrich, 540–1
 Ratzinger, Joseph, 652–4
 Rawls, John, 279
 Readaptation Fund, 202
 Reagan, Ronald, 116, 332, 402, 404–5, 406, 410
 Reclus, Élisée, 547–9
 Reconciliation of European Histories (REH), 602
 Recovery Fund, 132, 133
 Red Cross, 575
 refugeeism, 175–6, 655–6
 Reith, John, 341
 religion. *See* Christian Democracy; Churches
 Renan, Ernest, 576
 Retinger, Joseph, 506, 509
 reunification, European, 135–6
 big-bang enlargement, 153–6, 164, 165–73
 competing narratives, 137–42
 image of wholeness and freedom, 156–8
 pre-2004 enlargements, 142–53
 Reuss, Henry, 222
 Rhodes, R. A. W., 498
 Ricœur, Paul, 635
 Riezler, Kurt, 50
 Rijkens, Paul, 510, 512
 Rio Pact (1947), 40
 Ripamonti, Camillo, 448
 Risse, Thomas, 497
 Risso, Linda, 667
 Romania, 171, 402, 408, 413
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 32, 35, 36
 Rotgans, Lukas, 570
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 568
 Rowell, Jay, 475
 Royo, Sebastián, 146, 148–9
 Rueff, Jacques, 213
 Ruggie, John, 4
 rule of law, 158, 164–5, 178, 412, 414
 rural decline, 204–5
 Rusk, Dean, 329
 Russia, 35, 36–7, 39, 114, 172, 360–1
 Cold War's end, 68, 333
 détente, 396, 400, 402, 403–4, 407–8, 410–11
 divisions in Germany, 65–7
 early Cold War years, 41, 42–3, 314, 316, 640–1
 ideas of Europe, 536–8
 European decadence and rebirth, 550–4
 political and ideological threats, 547–50
 post-1917 reverberations, 556–9
 memory politics, 607–8
 partnership and cooperation
 agreement, 414
 split with China, 42–3
 Russia–Ukraine War (2022–), 24–5
 Rütte, Matthias, 459
 Ryan, Lorraine, 606
- Salvini, Matteo, 655
 Scheinman, Lawrence, 368
 Schengen Convention (1990), 249
 Schiller, Karl, 216, 221, 225, 229, 230
 Schimmelfennig, Frank, 156
 Schinas, Margaritis, 176
 Schlegel, Friedrich, 568–9
 Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur M., 35
 Schlögel, Karl, 167
 Schmidberger case (2003), 274
 Schmidt, Helmut, 229–31, 403
 Schmitt, Carl, 556
 Schmoller, Gustav, 541
 Schönberger, Christoph, 272
 Schubart, Walter, 553
 Schularick, Moritz, 127
 Schumacher, Kurt, 639, 644
 Schuman Plan (1950), 41–2, 139, 201, 638, 645
 Schuman, Robert, 311, 318–19, 320, 666–7
 Schwartzman, Helen, 485
 Second Vatican Council (1962–5), 646
 Second World War (1939–45), 6, 8, 10, 31–2, 35–7, 56, 579, 593, 610, 636–8
 securitisation, 125
 security policy, 287
 Cold War's end (1988–92), 333–7
 first steps (1947–9), 312–16
 origins during Cold War, 310–12
 Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (1950–4), 320–4
 post-Cold War world, 337–43
 revival of European cooperation (1969–87), 330–3
 role of NATO and United States, 309–10
 transatlantic fictions and de Gaulle's challenge (1956–68), 326–30
 West German rearmament and Korean War (1949–50), 316–20

Index

- Western European Union and German
 rearmament (1954–5), 324–6
- Seeley, John Robert, 538–40
- Segers, Mathieu, 150
- Sékou Touré, Ahmed, 87
- Sen, Amartya, 262, 267
- Serbia, 624
- Seveso disaster (1976), 421
- Shah, Timothy Samuel, 666
- Sharpston, Eleanor, 271
- shield and sword politics, 296
- Shore, Cris, 562
- Shultz, George, 224, 227, 229, 231, 232–3
- Siegfried, André, 558–9
- Silvestri, Sara, 670
- Sinatra Doctrine, 410–11
- Singapore, 50
- Single European Act (SEA) (1986), 235, 240–5,
 250, 253, 291, 298, 351, 411–12
 environmental policy, 421, 426, 430–2, 438
 security policy, 332
 space policy, 452
- single market, 119–20, 235–6, 291, 295, 431
 appraisal of (1985–92), 253–4
 factors of 1985 revival, 250–3
 post-1992 developments, 255–9
 stages of 1985 revival, 237–50
- Skogmar, Gunnar, 398
- Smith, Karen E., 395
- Smyser, W. R., 39
- social constructivism, 497, 664–5
- social democracy, 42, 181, 583, 667
- social dialogue, 194, 198, 200–4
- social inclusion, 618, 627–8
- social security, 193
- social tourism, 282
- Södersten, Anna, 369, 391
- Solana, Javier, 341, 389
- Solemn Declaration (1983), 140
- Soul for Europe project, 664
- South Korea, 50
- sovereign authority, 165, 176–7
- Sovereign Military Order of Malta, 674
- Spaak Committee (1955–6), 78, 81
- Spaak Report (1956), 265, 374
- Spaak, Paul-Henri, 83, 313, 373
- space policy of EU (EUSP)
 birth of Galileo system, 458–63
 evolutionary process (1987–2007), 452–66
 existence of, 444–7
 neo-functional approach, 453–4
 origins of, 447–52
 strategic goals, 464–6
- Space Situational Awareness (SSA), 444, 445
- Spain, 144, 151, 243, 609
 accession, 137, 142, 146, 148–9, 597
 European security, 335, 337
 nuclear energy, 380, 385
 public opinion, 523–6
- Spanish Civil War (1936–9), 31
- spatial inequality, 173
- special drawing rights (SDRs), 213, 216, 226
- Spengler, Oswald, 549, 653
- Spinelli, Altiero, 50, 138, 244, 556
- STABEX (Système de Stabilisation des Recettes
 d'Exportation), 96–7, 100, 101, 414
- Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), 122
- stagiaires*, 481–2, 489
- Stalin, Joseph, 32, 36, 40, 41, 45, 323
- Steed, W. T., 543
- Steven, Martin, 662
- strategic autonomy, 106–7, 128–33, 259, 306, 375
- Strategy Against the Proliferation of
 Weapons of Mass Destruction, 389
- Strauss, Franz-Josef, 375, 376
- Stresa Conference (1958), 205
- Stresemann, Gustav, 7
- striking rights, 275–6
- Stuttgart Declaration (1983), 301
- subsidies, 171
- Sudan, 414
- Suez crisis (1956), 45, 327, 375
- sugar market, 97
- surprix* system, 81, 85, 88–9
- Sveinsson, Gunnar Bragi, 151
- Sweden, 275–5, 339, 428
 accession, 138, 145, 250
 nuclear energy, 370, 380, 390
 public opinion, 523–6
- Switzerland, 150–1, 250, 355
- symbols, 599–600
- Syria, 47
- SYSMIN, 100
- Taiwan, 50
- Tarnoff, Peter, 338
- Taviani, Paolo Emilio, 376
- technological progress, 260
- Teixeira, Nuno Severiano, 147
- Thatcher, Margaret, 69, 116, 177, 248, 331, 332,
 334, 387, 648
- Ther, Philipp, 172
- Third World internationalism, 93
- Time Machine, 621
- Tito, Josip Broz, 43
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 536

Index

- Togo, 414
 Tokyo Round (1973–9), 111
 Tooze, Adam, 125, 127
 totalitarianism, 546, 579–80, 602–3, 605–8
 Toynbee, Arnold, 653
 trade, 66, 121, 196, 287–8
 coherence with other EU action, 298–300
 democratic legitimacy, 300–2
 development policy, 87, 88–9, 90–1
 East and West Germany, 58–63
 establishing global presence, 110–11, 290–3
 forcing market access and regulatory power, 293–7
 socialist countries, 401, 408
 trade unions, 41, 197, 201, 204, 275, 276
 Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), 305
 trans-European networks (TENs), 457
 transnational lobbies, 3, 14
 transnational policy communities, 497
 Transparency Register, 674
 transposition of directives, 256–7
 Trausch, Gilbert, 150
 Treaty of Almelo (1970), 380
 Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), 485
 Treaty of Dunkirk (1947), 312–14, 639
 Treaty of Lisbon (2007), 174–5, 291–2, 298–9, 301–2, 342
 Churches, 661, 677–8
 space policy, 446, 465–6
 United Nations (UN), 350, 351–2
 Treaty of Maastricht (1992), 1–2, 19, 154, 268, 291–2, 298, 351, 411–12, 431, 477, 599
 Churches, 664, 672–3, 678
 cultural policy, 561, 584, 613, 618
 Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), 122, 249, 254
 European security, 336–7
 German unification, 20, 74
 space policy, 457
 Treaty of Moscow (1970), 66
 Treaty of Nice (2001), 340
 Treaty of Paris (1951), 139, 582, 666
 Treaty of Porto (1992), 250
 Treaty of Rome (1957), 44, 45, 111, 140, 199–200, 666
 Churches, 678, 680
 development policy, 78, 80–5
 enlargement of EU, 143
 environmental policy, 426
 freedoms of movement, 118, 119, 265–6
 nuclear energy, 376
 trade, 250–1, 290, 293–4
 Treaty of Versailles (1919), 7
 Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (1990), 15
 Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) (1968), 381–3, 388
Trente Glorieuses, 189–91
 golden-age growth and reform, 191–5
 Marshall Plan's role, 195–8
 role of European communities, 198–205
 Triffin, Robert, 212–13, 218
 Troika, 126
 Trondal, Jahl, 474
 Truman Doctrine (1947), 40
 Truman, Harry S., 40, 310, 316, 318, 319
 Trump, Donald, 130, 306, 656
 Tsoukalis, Loukas, 146, 149
 Turkey, 143, 176, 609, 660
 Two-Plus-Four Agreement (1990), 71
 Uganda, 408–9
 unconditional surrender policy, 35
 unemployment, 124, 202, 210, 252
 Unione Italiana del Lavoro, 204
 United Nations (UN), 38, 40, 67–8, 370, 407
 challenges in 2020, 346–8
 Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 89, 93, 95, 98, 349, 359, 361
 Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), 57
 Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 625
 environmental policy, 421, 434
 EU's observer status, 354–64
 history of EU–UN relations, 348–54
 Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 37
 Security Council (UNSC), 351, 353
 United States, 35, 37, 39, 40–1, 48, 56, 196, 272–3
 Catholic narrative, 634, 640–1
 détente, 396, 402, 404–5, 406–7
 European internal market, 246
 European security, 309–10
 Cold War's end (1988–92), 333–7
 first steps (1945–9), 312–16, 638
 origins during Cold War, 310–12
 Pleven Plan and European Defence Community (1950–4), 320–4
 post-Cold War world, 337–43
 revival of European cooperation (1969–87), 330–3
 transatlantic fictions and de Gaulle's challenge (1956–68), 326–30

Index

- West German rearmament and Korean War (1949–50), 316–20
 Western European Union and German rearmament (1954–5), 324–6
 ideas of Europe, 536–8
 cultural and ideological concerns, 542–7
 diplomatic, political and economic concerns, 538–42
 post-1917 reverberations, 555–9
 monetary system, 129–30, 211, 212–15, 216–17, 221–8, 230–2
 nuclear energy, 367–8, 370, 372, 375–6, 378–9, 380–1, 384, 386–7
 political networks, 501–3
 relations with China, 127–8
 space policy, 458
 United Nations (UN), 363, 364
 Van Zeeland's interactions with, 506, 509
 Urenco, 383
 Uruguay Round (1986–94), 111, 121, 296
- Valéry, Paul, 557, 577, 671
 Van Cauwelaert, Frans, 313
 Van den Broek, Hans, 338
Van Duyn case (1974), 266
 Van Elsas, Erika, 519
Van Gend en Loos case, 47, 264
 Van Huis, Iris, 628
 Van Middelaar, Luuk, 161, 164
 Van Spanje, Joost, 519
 Van Zeeland, Paul, 313, 495–6, 504–13, 581
 Vandenberg, Arthur, 316
 Veil, Simone, 597
 Ventotene Manifesto (1941), 195
 Verdun, Amy, 123–4
 Vietnam War (1954–75), 330
Viking case (2007), 275, 276
 Viner, Jacob, 246
 Volcker, Paul, 216–17, 222, 223–4, 225, 228, 229–30
 von der Leyen, Ursula, 438
 von Jagow, Gottlieb, 553
 von Maltitz, Gotthilf August, 536
 von Peez, Alexander, 541
 Vredeling, Henk, 60–1
- Warlouzet, Laurent, 119
 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising (1943), 36
 Warsaw Pact (1955), 39, 40, 72, 396, 398
 Washington Consensus, 295
 Water Framework Directive (2000), 436–7
 Weber, Max, 33, 285, 478
 Weiss, Thomas G., 354
 welfare state, 42, 193–4, 198, 199–200, 207, 210
 Wells, H. G., 6
 Werner Report (1970), 219–21
 Werner, Pierre, 219
 Western European Union (WEU), 325–7, 330, 332–3, 334–7, 338–41, 342, 372, 386
 White Paper (1985), 118, 239–40, 244, 253–4
 William III, king of England, 570
 Williams, Raymond, 492
 Wilson, Harold, 329
 Wilson, Woodrow, 6–7, 577
 Wilton, Gary, 666–7
 Wolf, Julius, 541
 Wolff, Jean-Marc, 368
 World Bank, 40, 103
 World Trade Center Attack (2001), 341, 478
 World Trade Organization (WTO), 111, 121, 288, 292, 296
- Yalta Conference (1945), 35
 Yalta order, 35–41
 Yaoundé Conventions (1963, 1969), 79, 87–91, 94
 Yom Kippur War (1973), 359, 362
 Young, Alasdair R., 293
 youth policy, 596
 Yugoslavia, 43, 138, 337–9, 606, 609
- Zaire, 415
 Zhdanov, Andrei, 41

Index

- Abbé de Saint-Pierre, 29
 Abelshausen, Werner, 544
 Abs, Herman Josef, 271–2
 accession, 19, 94, 351, 411–12, 506
 big bang enlargement, 379–80, 413, 443
 conditions for eastward expansion, 105–7,
 114–15, 124–5, 139, 420–32
 European state conditionality, 413–19
 post-enlargement fears, 145, 147–8
 pre-2004 enlargements, 71–2, 78–81, 112–15
 procedure and ratification, 432–53
 prosperity narrative, 562–3
 respect for EU values, 420–1
 unsuccessful applications, 65, 68, 81, 188,
 414–18, 432–3, 440–5
 Acheson, Dean, 263, 517, 523
acquis communautaire, 356, 435–7, 446–7
 Action Committee for the United States of
 Europe (ACUSE), 3, 63, 87, 518–19
 Adenauer, Konrad, 44, 48–9, 366–7, 379, 490,
 492, 500–1, 509, 523, 525–7, 556
 Adonnino Report (1985), 620
 Afghanistan, 76
 African colonialism. *See* Eurafrica
 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states,
 373, 607–8
 Ageron, Charles-Robert, 464
 agricultural market, 63, 68, 371–2, 581–2.
 See also Common Agricultural
 Policy (CAP)
 Ahern, Bertie, 197
 air transportation liberalisation, 254–5
 Airbus, 578, 580, 583
 Åland Islands, 438
 Albania, 435, 440, 446
 Albert, Michel, 251
 All Saints' Day Manifesto (1975), 293
 Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft, 580
 Alpbach Forum, 36
 Alphand, Hervé, 39, 55, 222, 224, 226, 228
 Amato, Giuliano, 149
 Americanisation, 10, 545
 Amery, Leopold, 467
 Amsterdam–Rotterdam Bank, 275, 276, 281
 Anderson, Perry, 572
 Andorra, 450–1
 Andreotti, Giulio, 109, 378
 Ankara Agreement (1963), 415–18, 425, 440
 Ansiaux, Hubert, 222, 227, 228, 230
 Archibugi, Franco, 247–8
 archival sources, 25–6, 61
 Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ),
 143, 154–5, 164, 168
 Armand, Louis, 525
 Association of European Chambers of
 Commerce and Industry, 377
 Atlantic Charter, 221, 222
 Atlantic Community concept, 10, 35
 Atlantic Treaty Association, 531
 Attlee, Clement, 33
 Auriol, Vincent, 57
 Australia, 565, 590, 592
 Austria, 113, 363, 381, 516, 566, 567, 591, 597
 Bailey, Christian, 463
 Bainville, Jacques, 485
 Ballardur, Édouard, 114
 Banca Commerciale Italiana, 281
 Banco Hispano-Americano, 278
 Bank for International Settlements (BIS), 216,
 218, 227, 264, 265, 274, 299
 Bank of America, 272
 Bank of England, 596
 banking industry, 267–70, 577–8, 583, 589
 American challenge and monetary
 turbulence, 273–81
 European Advisory Committee (EAC),
 270–3

Index

- Banque Européenne de Crédit à Moyen Terme, 277
- Barber Protocol (1990), 356
- Barclays Bank, 272
- Barnier, Michel, 187
- Barre, Raymond, 249, 266–7, 289
- Barroso, José Manuel, 174, 540, 683, 684, 697
- Basic Law (1949), 172–3, 366, 527
- Battilossi, Stefano, 268
- battle of ideas, 2, 15
- Bauer, Hans, 37
- Bearce, David, 305
- Beckert, Sven, 469, 473
- Belgium, 31, 46, 48, 86, 114, 133, 530, 553, 566
 economic growth, 593, 596
 migration, 363, 364, 638
 monetary reform, 110, 220, 222, 223, 266, 272, 276, 287, 305
 trade, 217, 474, 589
- Belke, Angsar, 261
- Beneš, Edvard, 215, 219
- Berlin Wall, 93, 110, 300, 325, 378, 526, 527
- Bernstein, Edward, 227
- Bertrand, Raymond, 227
- Beveridge Report (1942), 220
- Beveridge, William, 220, 591
- Bevin, Ernest, 40, 187, 463
- Beyen, Johan Willem (Wim), 56, 209–10, 212, 222
- Bidault, Georges, 45, 47–8, 56, 57–8, 364
- Biddle, Jr, Anthony J. Drexel, 221
- bilateral trade, 225, 229, 230, 423–4
- Bissell Plan (1949), 230–1
- Bissell, Richard, 230
- Bitsch, Marie-Thérèse, 465
- Black International, 511
- Blair & Coy Bank, 517
- Blair, Tony, 127–8, 146, 159, 165, 166, 197, 302
- Blankenhorn, Herbert, 525
- Blum, Léon, 31, 39, 41, 46
- BNP Paribas, 578
- Bolkestein Directive (2004), 638
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 485
- Bonnet, Henri, 40
- border controls, 85–6, 380
- Bosch* case (1962), 353
- Bosman ruling (1995), 196
- Bosnia and Herzegovina, 440, 595
- Bossuat, Gérard, 465
- Boussac, 253–4
- Brandt, Willy, 68, 74, 285–6, 290
- Bretton Woods system, 68, 75, 209, 213, 224, 227, 251, 262, 266, 274, 281, 286, 290, 544, 547, 571
- Brexit, 18, 20, 181, 199, 202, 204–6, 258, 322–3, 382–3, 595–7, 617, 669–70
- Brey* case (2013), 642
- Briand, Aristide, 7, 215, 459, 462, 472, 515, 548
- Britain, 82–3, 114, 127–8, 302, 353, 467–9, 553, 557
 accession, 68, 71–2, 188–9, 351
 Brexit, 18, 20, 181, 199, 202, 204–6, 258, 322–3, 382–3, 595–7, 617, 669–70
 Constitution Project, 138–9, 144, 159, 160, 165, 169, 171
 economic growth, 571, 574, 582, 595
 European discomfort and awkwardness, 187–93
 European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 64–5
 European reunification, 32, 33, 34–5, 40–3, 45–6, 48, 55, 59
 literature on integration, 183–7
 migration, 364, 372–3, 375–6, 380, 382–3
 monetary reform, 101, 110–11, 229–30, 231–2, 263, 270–3, 274, 284, 285, 290–1, 295–6, 303, 334, 335
 planning and competition, 244, 250, 257
 positives of EU membership, 193–8
 pre-Brexit contingencies, 199–202
 ratification of Maastricht Treaty, 123–4, 138–9
 rejecting exceptionalism, 203–5
 war and interwar years, 217, 221, 566, 591
- British Long-Term Plan, 41
- British Supply Council, 517
- Brittan, Leon, 253, 255–6
- Brookings Institution, 572
- Brugmans, Hendrik, 37, 521
- Brussels Pact (1948), 40, 45–6
- Bruton, John, 197
- budget (EU), 679–80
- Bulgaria, 115, 169, 380, 422, 426, 434, 594, 595, 596
- Bull SAS, 580
- Bulletin of the European Communities, 125
- Bundesbank, 279–80, 288, 289, 290, 293, 294–5, 296, 299, 300, 303, 327, 334
- bureaucratic legitimacy, 659–62
- Buschak, Willy, 464
- cabinet duration, 335–6
- Caillaux, Joseph, 477
- Cameron, David, 190, 200, 202, 205, 382–3, 694
- Campagnolo, Umberto, 37

Index

- Canada, 274, 565, 590
 Capital Markets Union, 320
 capital movements, 89, 311, 328, 577
 car emissions, 252
 Carolingian Empire, 494
 Carrefour Group, 579
 Carter, Bryan, 640
 Carter, Jimmy, 83, 250
 Cecchini Report (1988), 89, 561
 centralisation, 389–95
 Centre for European Policy Studies, 648
 Chaban-Delmas, Jacques, 536
 Chabot, Jean-Luc, 463
 Charlemagne Prize, 509, 514, 518, 524, 528–9,
 530, 532–3, 535
 Charter of Fundamental Rights, 135, 153, 167–9,
 174, 402, 405–6, 607, 614
 Chase Manhattan Bank, 272
 Chile, 592
 China, 75, 306, 573, 585–6
 Chirac, Jacques, 132–3, 138, 145–6, 147, 159, 163
 Christian Democracy, 15, 36, 45, 77, 522, 529
 Churches, 15–16, 36, 509–10, 524–5
 Churchill, Winston, 32, 35–6, 44–5, 49, 520–2,
 550, 591
 Citizen's Agenda (2006), 688
 citizenship, 104–5, 612–14, 620, 642–3
 civilisation ideas, 475–7
 Clark, Kenneth, 200
 Clayton, William, 32, 39, 263
 Clémentel, Étienne, 516
 climate change, 170, 619–20, 650
 Club des Céliataires (Bachelors' Club),
 268, 270
 Cockfield, Arthur, 87, 194
 cohesion policy, 256–7, 311, 328, 607, 646, 647
 Cold War, 232, 517, 542, 594
 early years, 520, 522, 525, 568
 end of, 15, 111, 302, 380
 European security, 76, 90
 European unity, 30, 38, 50
 Cole, Alistair, 498
 Colijn, Hendrik, 470
 Collège d'Europe, 521
 Colombo, Emilio, 82
 colonialism, 460–1
 civilisation and race, 475–7
 Eurafrica, 464–6, 477–9
 literature review, 464–6
 Comecon (CMEA), 423–4
 Commercial Bank of Australia, 280
 Commerzbank, 281
 Commission size, 129–30, 132–3, 134, 154,
 157, 171
Commission v. United Kingdom case (2016),
 642–3
 Committee for Studies and Action for the
 Socialist United States of Europe, 37
 Committee of Governors (CoG), 85, 265–6,
 270, 288, 297
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), 63, 66,
 67, 69, 70–1, 83, 114, 189, 240, 267, 285,
 311, 343, 344, 345–6, 371, 498, 548, 559,
 643–4
 Common Commercial Policy, 155
 Common Foreign and Security Policy
 (CFSP), 94, 104, 109, 111–12, 126, 130–1,
 141, 155, 164, 169, 356, 378–9, 437
 common good concept, 660–2
 Common Market, 4–5, 70, 86, 202, 273, 291,
 518, 545, 558, 569
 completion of, 297, 375–6, 377
 establishment of, 59, 63, 240, 341, 630–3, 645
 impact on living standards, 555, 557
 Common Security and Defence Policy
 (CSDP), 155, 168
 Common Support Framework, 81
 competition, 234–6, 547, 610
 failed competition offensive (1960s), 240–3
 pre-Rome Treaty, 236–40
 rise and extension of policy (1980s–1990s),
 251–6
Comprendre (magazine), 38
 Confédération générale du travail, 370–1
 Conference of European Affairs
 Committees, 693
 Conference on Security and Co-operation in
 Europe (CSCE), 75, 76
 Conference on the Future of Europe (2021–2),
 177–8, 672, 687, 689–90
 Congo, 478
 Congress for Cultural Freedom, 38
 constitutional dimension
 Constitution Project, 143–4
 democratic legitimacy, 677
 future of Europe debate, 147–52, 690–1
 Treaty Establishing a Constitution for
 Europe (TECE) (2004), 158–66, 385,
 387, 442–3, 673–4
 Treaty of Nice leftovers, 144–7
 democratisation, 395–402
 federalist centralisation, 389–95
 strengthening rule of law, 402–8
 constructivism, 326

Index

- consumerism, 570
 Convention on the Future of Europe (2002–3),
 121, 148–52, 532–3, 606, 673
 Cooper, Frederick, 465
 Copenhagen Criteria, 106, 112, 114–15, 120,
 124–5, 139–40, 404, 420–2, 426–30, 447
 Corbyn, Jeremy, 200
 COREPER, 344–5, 377
Costa v. E.N.E.L. case (1964), 343, 353, 390, 406
 Cotonou Partnership Agreement (2000),
 607–8
 Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard, 215, 459, 462,
 466–72, 468, 476–7, 512–14, 520, 549, 552
 Council of Economic and Finance Ministers
 (ECOFIN), 85
 Council of Europe, 29, 32, 46, 47–8, 51, 52, 56,
 418, 479, 554–5
 Court of Justice of the European Union
 (CJEU), 135, 196, 343, 352, 402, 405–8,
 437, 642–3
 constitutional dimension of EU, 409–10
 federalist centralisation, 389–95
 migration, 372, 638–9
 solidarity narrative, 608, 612–13, 627,
 633–4, 635
 Couve de Murville, Maurice, 348
 Covid-19 pandemic, 24, 256, 258, 308–9, 323,
 503, 597–8, 607, 615–17, 618–19, 643,
 649, 698
 Cowen, Brian, 171
 Cox, Pat, 158
 Craxi, Bettino, 88
 Crédit Lyonnais, 271, 274, 276, 281
 Creditanstalt-Bankverein, 278, 280
 Cripps, Stafford, 42
 crisis management, 316, 617, 649
 Croatia, 380, 422, 426, 432, 443, 595
 currency reform. *See* monetary reform
 Cyprus, 112–13, 158, 319, 385, 413, 419, 426,
 441–2, 443, 444, 594
 Czech Republic, 115, 159, 160, 173–4, 426, 588,
 594, 596
 Czechoslovakia, 219, 380, 423

 Dahlberg, Kenneth A., 360–1
 Davignon, Étienne, 69, 575
 Davis, Muriam, 465
 De Gasperi, Alcide, 48, 56, 509–10, 527–9
 De Gasperi, Maria Romana, 529
 de Gaulle, Charles, 33–4, 36, 64, 65, 66–8, 188,
 243–4, 246, 271, 345–9, 452, 490, 492,
 500–1, 517, 518, 525–6
 De Grauwe, Paul, 648

 de Jong, Piet, 69
 De Michelis, Gianni, 108
 de Rougemont, Denis, 45
 de Valera, Éamon, 48
 de Witte, Bruno, 118, 120–1
 Debate Europe Programme (2008), 688
 Debré, Michel, 55, 56, 57
 decarbonisation, 619
 Declaration of the European Resistance
 Movements (1944), 31
 Declaration on the Future of Europe (2002–3),
 135–6, 175
 Defrance, Corine, 493
 de-globalisation, 6
 Dehaene, Jean-Luc, 149
 Dehousse Report (1960), 675
 Deighton, Anne, 463
 Dekker, Wisse, 575
 Delaisi, Francis, 462, 470, 473, 474
 Delori, Matthias, 494
 Delors Commission, 355–6, 536–7, 627
 Delors Committee (1988–9), 89–90, 103,
 298–300, 311, 355
 Delors, Jacques, 85, 87, 89, 98, 100, 116, 140,
 247–8, 255, 298–9, 311, 355–6, 519, 536–7,
 561, 576, 650
 Delpérée, Albert, 631
 democratic legitimacy, 107–9, 395–402
 bringing in member states, 692–8
 bureaucratic legitimacy and common
 good, 659–62
 connecting with citizens, 154, 664–6,
 687–92
 elections and politicisation strategies (1960–
 1970s), 662–4
 institutional balance of power, 674–80
 party politics, 680–7
 popular sovereignty, 669–70
 post-Maastricht democracy crusade, 666–9
 silence in early integration years, 656–8
 Denmark, 47, 101, 114, 131, 139, 158, 159, 217,
 438–9
 accession, 71, 351
 economic growth, 593, 595, 596
 European unification, 31, 49
 monetary reform, 110–11
 ratification of Maastricht Treaty, 97, 105,
 122–3, 138–9, 302
 Deschamps, Étienne, 464
 Deshormes, Philippe, 59
 Destrée, Jules, 478
 Deutsche Bank, 272, 276, 577
 devaluation, 335

Index

- development policy, 607–8
Die Hilfe (magazine), 514
 Dimier, Véronique, 465
 Dini, Lamberto, 690
 Diogo, Maria Paula, 465
 discrimination, 633–4, 635
 dollar gap, 264
 Dolman, Dirk, 248
 Dominions, 467
 Donat-Cattin, Carlo, 73
 Dooge, James, 83, 100
 Double-Track Decision (1979–82), 533
 Draft Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (2003), 152–9
 Draft Treaty Establishing the European Union (1984), 82, 100, 108
 Draghi, Mario, 308, 320
 Dublin Convention (1990), 377
 Duchenne, Geneviève, 462
 Duhamel, George, 460
 Dulles, John Foster, 517, 526, 551
 Dullien, Sebastian, 648
 Dyson, Kenneth, 98, 306
- Early Warning System (EWS), 693–4
 Economic and Financial Organisation, 210
 Economic and Monetary Union (EMU),
 18–19, 73–4, 80, 235, 257, 258, 299, 301,
 307, 317, 534, 616
 aftermath of Eurozone Crisis, 320–3
 establishment of, 109–11, 143, 309–13, 646
 historiography of causes, 323–37
 negotiations about, 89–90, 93–4, 98, 102–4,
 116, 531–2
 prosperity narrative, 560
 solidarity narrative, 647
- economic dimension. *See also* monetary
 reform; prosperity narrative
 catching up of less-developed nations, 583–5
 competition, 234–6, 547, 610
 failed competition offensive (1960s),
 240–3
 pre-Rome Treaty, 236–40
 rise and extension of policy (1980s–
 1990s), 251–6
 fiscal sharing, 643–50
 globalisation's impact, 571–4
 ideas of European integration, 472–5
 impact of Brexit and Covid-19, 595–8
 integration's impact, 588–90
 modern European revival, 585–8
 modernised structure and Europeanised
 industry, 581–3
- planning, 234–6, 546
 failed locomotive attempt (1978), 249–51
 French-inspired planning (1960s), 243–6,
 474–5
 persistence in present-day EU, 256–9
 pre-locomotive attempt (1970s), 247–9
 pre-Rome Treaty, 236–40
 post-war reconstruction, 567–70
 pre-integration history, 565–7
 regionalisation, 572, 575–81
 social dimension and income distribution,
 590–5
- educational services, 591, 592
 Eichengreen, Barry, 544, 587
 Einaudi, Luigi, 529, 549
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 54
 election–responsibility relation, 400–1
 electoral democracy, 662–4
 Ely, Paul, 57
 Élysée Treaty (1963), 65–6, 481, 490–5, 526
 embedded bilateralism, 496
 embedded liberalism, 4, 237
 Emergency Economic Committee for
 Europe, 225
 Empty Chair Crisis (1965), 16, 70, 346–8
 energy systems, 570
 enlargement, 19, 94, 351, 411–12, 506
 accession procedure and ratification, 432–53
 big bang enlargement, 379–80, 413, 443
 conditions for eastward expansion, 105–7,
 114–15, 124–5, 139, 420–32
 European state conditionality, 413–19
 post-enlargement fears, 145, 147–8
 pre-2004 enlargements, 71–2, 78–81, 112–15
 prosperity narrative, 562–3
 respect for EU values, 420–1
 unsuccessful applications, 65, 68, 81, 188,
 414–18, 432–3, 440–5
- environmental policy, 170, 252, 562, 619–20, 650
 Erasmus Culture Prize, 524
 Erasmus programme, 377–8, 622
 Erhard, Ludwig, 238, 246, 366, 546, 556, 557, 558
 Estonia, 115, 158, 162, 426
 Etzel, Franz, 525
 Eucken, Walter, 246
 Eurafrika, 464–6, 477–9
 Euratom. *See* European Atomic Energy
 Community
 euro currency, 104, 141, 143, 306–7, 534, 580–1,
 586, 588, 646
 Eurobarometer, 161
 Eurodollar market, 273–5, 278, 279
 Eurogroup, 680

Index

- Euro-Pacific Finance Corporation, 280
 Europartners, 281
 European Advisory Committee (EAC), 270–3, 274–7
 European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF), 70
 European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), 59, 62–3, 67, 389, 411, 497, 525
 European Central Bank (ECB), 104, 299, 308–9, 311, 314–15, 318, 319–20, 394, 578–9, 580–1, 598, 617
 European Citizens' Consultations (ECCs), 688–9
 European Citizens' Initiative (ECI), 690–2
 European Citizens' Panels, 177, 689
 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 4, 51–2, 56, 61–3, 67, 367, 497, 528, 530
 establishment of, 2, 239, 365, 388, 521
 EU enlargement, 411
 legal culture, 340–1, 343
 Monnet's influence, 516, 517–18
 prosperity narrative, 545, 553–5
 European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), 404–5, 407
 European Currency Unit (ECU), 84, 310, 579–80
 European Defence Community (EDC), 16, 30, 53, 54, 55–6, 57–8, 341, 488, 498, 518, 523, 528, 529, 555
 European Economic Area (EEA), 113–14, 450
 European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF), 176, 318, 319
 European Financial Stability Mechanism, 176, 318
 European Free Trade Association (EFTA), 5, 64–5, 113
 European Fund for Strategic Investments, 646
 European Institute of Public Administration, 96
 European Investment Bank (EIB), 43, 51, 63–4, 81, 194, 239, 645
 European Monetary Cooperation Fund (EMCF), 281, 288, 291, 295
 European Monetary System (EMS), 83–5, 116, 267, 294–8, 297, 311, 536
 Britain's absence, 184, 189
 crisis of 1992–93, 123, 303–4
 establishment of, 102, 110, 497
 German leadership, 327, 533
 European Movement (EM), 351, 549–53
 European Parliament (EP), 62, 77, 82, 100–1, 116, 329, 523, 532
 Constitution Project, 154, 156–7
 democratic legitimacy, 104, 108, 396, 401, 662–3, 690, 695, 696
 inter-institutional balance of power, 674–80
 party politics, 681–7
 EU enlargement, 451
 federalist ideology, 342, 348
 Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), 129
 Treaty of Lisbon (2007), 175–6
 Treaty of Nice (2001), 134–5, 140, 145
 European Parliamentarians' Union, 514
 European Payments Union (EPU), 4, 42–4, 52, 209–11, 214, 218, 226, 231–3, 263–4, 568
 European People's Party (EPP), 77, 683–6
 European Political Authority (EPA), 30
 European Political Community (EPC), 53, 56–9, 341, 528
 European Political Cooperation (EPC), 69–70, 76, 82, 101, 560
 European Recovery Programme (ERP), 39, 41, 227
 European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), 81, 564, 645
 European Round Table of Industrialists (ERT), 3, 86, 575
 European Security and Defence Policy, 141
 European Security Strategy (2003), 112
 European Social Fund, 239, 556, 630, 645–6
 European Society of Culture, 38
 European Solidarity Corps, 622
 European Stability Mechanism (ESM), 318, 320, 680
 European Strategic Programme for Research and Development (ESPRIT), 579–80
 European System of Central Banks (ESCB), 312
 European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), 246, 248, 250, 639
 European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation (Europol), 534
 European University Institute, 525
 European Youth Campaign, 58–9
 Europeanisation, 86–7, 578–80, 581–3, 589, 641
 EuropeNow, 465
 Europol. *See* European Union Agency for Law Enforcement Cooperation
 Euroscepticism, 123, 127, 159, 190–1, 199–200, 670, 682
 Euroclerosis, 72–8, 560
 Eurostat, 578, 594–5

Index

- Eurozone Crisis, 176–7, 181, 200, 256, 257, 261, 296, 316–20, 670
 aftermath of, 320–3
 historiography of, 323–37
 solidarity narrative, 616, 618, 619, 643, 647
 Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), 83–5, 295, 299, 303, 311
 exchange rates, 102, 273, 281, 284, 289, 296, 299, 303, 311, 328, 333–4, 336–7
 Eyskens, Gaston, 69
 faction theory, 397
 Farage, Nigel, 201, 383
 Fazio, Antonio, 307
 Featherstone, Kevin, 98, 306
 federalism, 341–3, 350–1, 389–95, 521–2, 528–9, 537–8, 551–2
 FIAT, 578
 Figgures, Frank, 229, 230, 231
 Fimmen, Edo, 462
 Final Act, 452
Financial Times, 163, 320
 Finet, Paul, 627
 Finland, 113, 158, 593, 595
 First National City Bank, 272
 First World War (1914–18), 6, 14–15, 214, 460, 474, 493, 516
 fiscal sharing, 643–50
 Fischer, Joschka, 2, 145, 147, 180
 Five Presidents' Report (2015), 321
 Flandre, Hilaire, 372
fonctionnaires, 194
 football, 196
 foreign direct investment (FDI), 578, 587
 Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 434, 435
 Fouchet Plans (1961–2), 69, 345, 518
 Fouques-Duparc, Jacques, 56
 Four Presidents' Report (2012), 320–1
 Fourcade Plan (1975), 293
 France, 63, 90, 132–3, 138, 302, 553. *See also*
 Franco-German relations
 Constitution Project, 160–1, 169, 171
 economic growth, 570, 574, 582, 593, 595, 596, 597
 EU enlargement, 114, 446–7, 452–3, 506
 European reunification, 32–7, 40–4, 45–8
 launch of Schuman Plan (1950), 49–59
 institutional culture, 345–9, 356
 legal culture, 353
 migration, 363–4, 368, 370–3, 375–6, 380, 638
 monetary reform, 84, 102, 110, 224–5, 229–30, 265–6, 284, 285, 286–7, 288, 297, 301, 303, 305, 313, 332–3, 334–5
 banking industry, 270–1, 275, 276
 Snake system, 291, 293
 planning and competition, 237, 240, 243–6, 250, 251, 257, 258, 259
 war and inter-war years, 217, 566–7
 Franco, Francisco, 79
 Franco-German relations, 481–3
 Élysée Treaty (1963), 65–6, 481, 490–5, 526
 engine of integration narrative, 495–506, 499, 504
 enmity and reconciliation, 485–90, 486, 487, 489, 490
 literature review, 483–4
 Schuman's role, 522–3
 Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), 485
 Frankel, Jeffrey, 331
 freedoms of movement, 105, 201–2, 437, 549, 555, 600, 612–13, 637–41. *See also* capital movements; migration
 French Committee of National Liberation, 517
 French Long-Term Plan, 41
 Frieden, Jeffrey, 333–4
 Friedman, Milton, 547, 571
 Fritalux, 230
 Fuji Bank, 280
 fundamental rights, 405–7
 G7. *See* Group of 7
 Galley, Robert, 372
 Garavini, Giuliano, 465
 Garton Ash, Timothy, 541
 Gauck, Joachim, 492
 Gaudet, Michel, 347
 gender equality, 633–4, 637
 General Affairs Council, 137
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 34, 344, 544
 General Motors, 273
 Geneva Circle, 525
 Geneva International Meetings, 36
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich, 82, 108, 298, 374
 Gentiloni, Paolo, 597
 Georgia, 448–50
 Gérard, Francis, 549
 Gerbet, Pierre, 47
 Germany, 65–6, 90, 108–9, 133, 224–5, 315, 318, 589. *See also* Franco-German relations
 Constitution Project, 157, 172–3, 176

Index

- Germany (cont.)
 division and reunification, 19, 50, 103, 302–3,
 325, 366, 502, 526–7, 535–6
 economic growth, 570, 574, 582, 591, 595,
 596, 597
 EU enlargement, 114, 506
 European unification, 30–1, 48–9, 52, 106–7,
 424–5
 legal culture, 353, 394–5
 migration, 362–76, 378, 638
 monetary reform, 68, 84, 103, 110, 232–3,
 266, 272, 284–93, 296, 299–300, 301,
 303–5, 312, 313, 327–8, 332–3, 334–5
 banking industry, 276, 278–80
 planning and competition, 240, 244–6,
 249–50, 256
 ratification of Maastricht Treaty, 123–4
 rearmament, 53–6, 487–8
 war and inter-war years, 214–15, 566–7
- Gillingham, John, 272, 629
- Gilpin, Robert, 324
- Gini index, 593–5
- Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry, 74, 78, 83, 149,
 150–2, 170, 247, 251, 292, 293, 294, 352,
 502, 532–3, 677
- Global Financial Crisis (2008–9), 172,
 314–16, 647
- globalisation, 325–6, 540–1, 560, 571–4, 646
- Goedings, Simone Alberdina Wilhelmina, 362
- Gonzales Márquez, Felipe, 80
- Goodhart, Charles, 315
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 90, 422, 425
- 'Göttingen' (song), 481
- Great Depression (1930s), 8, 215–16, 237,
 274, 517
- Greater Benelux option, 34–5
- Greece, 100, 101, 176, 417, 434, 441, 444, 594, 597
 accession, 78–9, 351
 Eurozone Crisis, 200, 258, 296, 316–19, 616
 migration, 363, 369, 373, 376
- Green Deal, 624, 650
- Greenland, 412
- Greiner, Florian, 463
- Grieco, Joseph, 98
- Gros, André, 56–7
- gross domestic product (GDP), 89, 295, 304,
 311, 313, 316, 567–8, 582, 583–5, 586, 590,
 593, 596, 597–8
- Group of 7 (G7), 355, 423, 532
- Growth and Stability Pact (1997), 257
- 'Growth, Competitiveness, and Employment'
 (White Paper) (1993), 562
- Grundig–Consten case (1966), 242
- Guigou, Élisabeth, 376
- Guindey, Guillaume, 43
- Hague Congress (1948), 37, 42, 44–5, 521, 552–3
- Hague Summit (1969), 68–9, 70
- Hallstein, Walter, 44, 66, 67, 81, 246, 273, 340,
 341–2, 343, 346, 349, 350, 367, 370, 416–17,
 525, 537, 658
- Hansen, Peo, 465
- Hardt, Jürgen, 598
- Harriman, Averell, 39
- Hayek, Friedrich, 571
- Healey, Denis, 295–6
- Heath, Edward, 190, 290
- Heile, Wilhelm, 514–16
- hereditary enemy narrative, 485–7, 486, 487
- Herriot, Édouard, 46, 515
- Heseltine, Michael, 191, 200
- Hirschfeld, Hans, 213, 226–7
- Hitler, Adolf, 219, 486
- Hoffman, Paul, 42–3, 229
- Holl, Karl, 462
- Holland, Stuart, 247–8, 250
- Hollande, François, 492
- Holocaust, 487
- homogeneous demos, 397–8
- homosexuality, 168
- Höpner, Martin, 298, 306
- Howe, Geoffrey, 191
- Hugo, Victor, 29, 510, 512
- Human Development Index (HDI), 591–2
- human rights, 402, 420, 427
- Hume, John, 197
- Hungary, 171, 380, 403, 423, 567, 594
 accession, 115, 423, 426, 432
 democratic legitimacy, 695, 696, 698
- Iceland, 433, 439, 585, 592
- ideas of European integration, 459–61, 512–16
 civilisation and race, 475–7
 economics, 472–5, 542–8
 geopolitics, 467–72, 468
 historiography, 461–6
 nineteenth-century idealists, 510–12
- identity, 399–400
- immigration. *See* migration
- IN.CO.GE.'90 case (1998), 391
- income distribution, 593–5
- India, 471
- indicative planning. *See* planning
- Industrial Revolution, 565
- inflation, 224, 230, 231, 247, 250, 288, 291, 292,
 293, 295, 299, 312, 326, 335, 559–60

Index

- institutional culture
 origins of, 340–3
 rise of intergovernmentalism, 343–54
 SEA and Maastricht Treaty, 354–7
- interest rates, 304, 311, 313
- intergovernmental conference (IGC), 61–2,
 88, 90, 93, 100, 103, 108–9, 119–21,
 126–30, 132–5, 139–40, 145, 155–9, 166–7,
 299, 530
- Interinstitutional Agreement on Better Law-
 Making (2016), 680
- internal market. *See* single market
- International Clearing Union, 222
- International Labour Organization (ILO),
 631, 636
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 4, 81,
 209, 224, 227, 250, 318, 572, 596
- International Ruhr Authority (IRA), 50
- International Steel Cartel, 474
- Internationale Handelsgesellschaft* case (1970),
 390–1
- Intra-European Payments Scheme (IEPS), 228
- Ireland, 47, 48, 101, 158, 159, 176, 197–8, 303,
 315, 380
 accession, 71, 351, 548
 economic growth, 583, 584, 587, 596, 597
 Eurozone Crisis, 258, 318
 ratification of treaties, 122, 131, 135–6, 171–2
- Israel, 385
- issue-linkages, 3–4, 14, 328
- Italy, 47, 108–9, 114, 127, 156, 169, 318, 566, 605
 Covid-19 pandemic, 323, 615
 economic growth, 569, 595, 596, 597
 European unification, 40, 48, 528
 legal culture, 353, 394
 migration, 362, 367, 370–1, 373, 376
 monetary reform, 84, 110, 266, 274, 285, 287,
 288, 291, 295, 297, 303, 305, 307, 334, 335
 planning and competition, 244, 250, 256, 257
- Jánossy, Ferenc, 567–8
- Japan, 99, 116, 250, 274, 289, 470, 573–4,
 585–6, 592
- Jaspar, Marcel-Henri, 66, 220
- Jaspers, Karl, 524
- Jenkins, Roy, 83, 194, 294
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 519
- Jonsson, Stefan, 465
- Jourová, Věra, 698
- Juin, Alphonse, 57
- Juncker, Jean-Claude, 160, 166, 401, 546, 620,
 639, 685
- Just Transition Fund, 650
- Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) Council, 104,
 112, 356, 437
- Justice Scoreboard, 696
- Kaczyński, Jarosław, 165, 174
- Kaczyński, Lech, 171
- Kaiser, Wolfram, 464
- Kalntenthaler, Karl, 333
- Kangaroo Group, 87
- Karamanlis, Konstantinos, 78
- Karsten, Christian F., 275, 276, 281
- Keesing, F. A. G., 228
- Kennedy, John F., 272
- Kerr, John, 151
- Kerstens, Pieter, 48
- Kervyn de Lettenhove, Albert, 248
- Keynes, John Maynard, 209, 214, 222
- Keynesianism, 99, 238, 245, 547, 629
- Klaus, Václav, 159, 173–4
- Klee, Paul, *Europa* (1933), 7
- Klein, Ronald Stanley, 361
- Kohl, Helmut, 80, 85, 90, 103, 107, 109, 110, 298,
 299, 301, 305, 375, 378–9, 426–7, 492, 502,
 534–5
- Kohnstamm, Max, 86, 519, 525
- Korean War (1950–3), 53, 54, 274, 487
- Kosovo, 141, 440
- Kottos, Laura, 464, 479
- Koutzine, Victor, 525
- Krotz, Ulrich, 496
- Kuhn, Loeb & Co., 271
- Kupchan, Charles, 488
- Kuznetz, Simon, 594
- La Stampa*, 509
- Laeken Declaration on the Future of the
 European Union (2001), 147–50, 673,
 677, 686
- Lagarde, Christine, 308, 598
- Legendijk, Vincent, 463
- laissez-faire* liberalism, 237, 547
- Lamers, Karl, 305
- Lamoureux, François, 254
- Langer, Wolfram, 246
- Latin America, 469–70
- Latvia, 115, 392–3, 426
- Laursen, Finn, 96
- Le Monde*, 34
- League of Nations, 7, 12, 210, 211, 215, 459, 464,
 471–2, 515, 516, 548
- Leboutte, René, 629

Index

- Lecourt, Robert, 353
 leftwing movements, 464
 legal culture, 135, 343, 352–7
 federalist centralisation, 389–95
 rule of law, 402–8, 427, 446, 695–8
 solidarity narrative, 608–9
 Leikam, Ferdinand, 464
 Lend-Lease, 4
 Lenz, Otto, 525
 Leontief, Wassily, 251
L'Europe Nouvelle, 476, 477
L'Humanité, 631
 liberal intergovernmentalism, 18, 97, 119
 liberalisation, 228–30, 231, 254–6, 264
 Liechtenstein, 450–1
 Lippens, Walter, 461, 471
 Lippmann, Walter, 7
 Lisbon Strategy (2000), 647
 Lithuania, 115, 426, 594
 living standards, 213, 224, 540, 557, 570
 Lloyds Bank, 272
 Lomé 3 Convention (1983–4), 373
The London Telegraph, 511
 Loucheur, Louis, 215
 Lückner, Hans August, 524
 Ludlow, N. Piers, 379
 Luns, Joseph, 56
 Luxembourg, 86, 160, 217, 474, 531, 553
 Luxembourg Compromise (1966), 67, 348–9, 351

 MacDougall Report (1977), 309
 Mackay, Charles, 511
 Macmillan, Harold, 65, 188
 Macron, Emmanuel, 177, 178, 503, 504, 639, 687, 689
 Madariaga, Salvador de, 45
 Madison, James, 397
 Maier, Charles, 212
 Major, John, 111, 123, 127–8, 138–9, 185, 189, 192, 197
 Maldague Report (1976), 247
 Maldague, Robert, 247
 Malta, 112, 115, 158, 426, 438, 439, 451
 Mandate System, 478
 Mann, Thomas, 31
 manufacturing industry, 578–9, 582–3
Marbury v. Madison case (1803), 406
 Marcinelle mining disaster (1956), 632–3, 636
 Marjolin Memorandum (1962), 265, 270
 Marjolin, Robert, 40–1, 213–14, 215–16, 222, 226, 228–9, 230, 232, 245–6, 248, 265, 291, 558–9

 Markman, Heinz, 248
 Markoff, John, 401
 Marshall Plan (1948–52), 4, 8, 38–44, 52, 210, 226, 228, 229, 237, 364, 528, 544, 552, 553, 568
 Marshall, George C., 218, 226, 263
 Massé, Pierre, 243
 Massigli, René, 40
 maternity leave regulation, 635
 Matuschka-Greifenclo, Richard, 368
 Mayer, René, 57, 59
 Mayrisch, Émile, 29
 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 510–11
 McCloy, John, 517
 McCreevy, Charley, 171
 McMillan, Margaret, 7
 Mearsheimer, John, 98
 membership (EU), 19, 94, 351, 411–12, 506
 accession procedure and ratification, 432–53
 big bang enlargement, 379–80, 413, 443
 conditions for eastward expansion, 105–7, 114–15, 124–5, 139, 420–32
 European state conditionality, 413–19
 positives of Britain's membership, 193–8
 post-enlargement fears, 145, 147–8
 pre-2004 enlargements, 71–2, 78–81, 112–15
 prosperity narrative, 562–3
 respect for EU values, 420–1
 unsuccessful applications, 65, 68, 81, 188, 414–18, 432–3, 440–5
 Mendès France, Pierre, 34, 58
 Méndez de Vigo, Íñigo, 151
 Merger Treaty (1965), 67
 Merkel, Angela, 163, 164, 165, 176, 317, 503, 504, 618, 649
 meso-theories, 17–18
 Messina Conference (1955), 61, 64, 362, 367, 530, 555
 Mestmäcker, Ernst-Joachim, 242
 Metro AG, 579
 Mexico, 362, 592
 Meyer, Jürgen, 692
 Midland Bank, 270–3
 Migani, Guai, 464
 migration, 201–2, 580, 645
 challenges and German strategy (1947–55), 363–7
 French reluctance to allow free movement, 370–2
 liberal deepening (mid 1980s–1992), 374–9
 literature review, 360–3
 magnetic attraction and eastwards enlargement, 379–80

Index

- migrant crisis (2015), 181, 381–2, 617
 post-1973 downturn, 372–4
 posted workers, 637–41
 post-Rome Treaty, 367–9
 Milan Summit (1985), 88, 100
 Milliband, Ed, 200
 Milward, Alan, 13, 46, 180, 287, 509, 630
 minimum wages regulation, 635, 636
 mining industry, 632–3
 minorities protection, 420–1, 427
 Mitchell, George, 197
 Mitrany, David, 9–10
Mitteleuropa concept, 514
 Mitterrand, François, 66, 83, 85, 90, 103, 114,
 122–3, 251, 297, 299, 302, 375, 378–9, 414,
 423, 426, 492, 502, 519, 535–6, 646
 Moch, Jules, 54, 55
 Molden, Otto, 36
 Moldova, 448–50
 Mollet, Guy, 48, 51–2, 63, 631
 Monaco, 450–1
 monetary reform, 68, 83–5, 110–11, 209–11, 535.
See also Economic and Monetary
 Union (EMU)
 creation of OEEC and EPU, 226–32
 EMS crisis and Stability and Growth Pact,
 303–5
 euro currency, 104, 141, 143, 306–7, 534,
 580–1, 586, 588, 646
 integration (1940s–1960s)
 American challenge and monetary
 turbulences, 273–81
 bankers as agents of integration, 267–70
 European Advisory Committee (EAC),
 270–3
 literature review, 262–7
 inter-war years, 213–18
 monetary union membership questions,
 305–7
 post-war (1945–7), 224–6
 recent scholarship, 212–13
 rise and fall of EMS, 294–8, 297
 Second World War years, 219–24
 Snake system, 289–93
 towards a common currency, 298–303
 Monnet, Jean, 32–3, 39, 41, 50–1, 52, 53–4, 56, 58,
 63, 133, 239, 245, 340, 341, 471, 516–20,
 523, 525, 547, 549–50, 656, 658
 Monroe Doctrine (1823), 469, 471
 Montarolo, Yves, 464
 Montenegro, 435, 440
 Moravcsik, Andrew, 97, 119, 301, 332
 Moreau, Jean-Charles, 59
 Morgan Guaranty Trust, 272
 Morocco, 112, 414–15
 Moscovici, Pierre, 648
 Moser, Thomas, 465
 Movement of Supporters of Peace, 38
 Müller, Jan-Werner, 404
 Müller-Armack, Alfred, 245, 556
 Multi-annual Financial Framework, 679, 698
 Multilateral Monetary Compensation
 Agreement (1947), 227
 multinational companies, 277, 571
 Mundell, Robert, 300
 Mussolini, Benito, 527
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 569
 Narjes, Karl-Heinz, 349
 national parliaments, 692–4
 National Provincial, 272
 national sovereignty, 46, 144, 173, 201–2,
 332, 349
 nationalism, 9–10, 404, 485–6, 609–10
 nation-states, 10, 46–7, 53–7, 349, 398, 465, 485,
 550, 555, 609
 NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty
 Organization
 Naumann, Friedrich, 515
 neo-colonialism, 15
 neo-corporatism, 546, 627
 neo-functionalism, 3, 16, 97–8, 328
 neoliberalism, 234, 548, 556, 571–2, 610, 618, 646
 neomercantilism, 234, 240, 252, 547
 neo-realism, 98
 Netherlands, 48, 86, 133, 137–8, 217, 250, 319,
 356, 553
 Constitution Project, 160–1, 169, 171
 economic growth, 569, 582, 595, 596
 ideas of European integration, 467, 473–4
 monetary reform, 110, 222, 223, 225, 266,
 272, 276, 287
 wartime, 566–7
 network-based approach, 464
 New Deal (1933), 215–16, 547
 New Narrative for Europe, 688
 New York Stock Exchange, 571
 New Zealand, 565, 590
 NextGenerationEU, 616, 618, 624, 643, 698
 Nixon, Richard, 75, 289, 290, 571
 Nobel Peace Prize, 192
 non-governmental organisations (NGOs), 330
 North Atlantic Council, 54
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),
 52, 55, 75–6, 111, 188, 417, 430, 448, 488,
 505, 528, 531, 533

Index

- North Macedonia, 440, 446
 Northern Ireland, 197–8
 Norway, 31, 47, 49, 71, 113, 217, 293, 433, 452, 585
 Notre Europe, 537
 Nouvelles Équipes Internationales (NEI), 36
 nuclear weapons, 38
 Nutting, Antony, 185
- Ohlin, Bertil, 631
 oil-price shock (1973), 72–3, 247, 326, 547, 645
 Oliver, Craig, 187
 Olivetti, 580
 one-worldism, 6
 Open Network Provision on Voice
 Telephony, 676
 Ophüls, Carl Friedrich, 340, 525
 optimal/optimum currency area (OCA)
 theory, 300, 330–1
 orange-card procedure, 170
 ordoliberalism, 238, 241, 246, 546–7, 556, 557–8,
 610, 632
 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and
 Development (OECD), 239, 250
 Organisation for European Economic Co-
 operation (OEEC), 4, 42–4, 48, 51, 53,
 64, 210–11, 228–9, 232–3, 544
 establishment of, 39, 41–2, 213, 226, 568
 migration, 364, 366, 369
 planning, 238–9
 prosperity narrative, 552, 553, 557–8
 Orientalism, 475
 O'Rourke, Kevin, 187
 Osborne, George, 202
 Oslo Convention (1930), 217
 Ouchy Convention (1932), 217
 outright monetary transactions, 320
 Özal, Turgut, 81
- Padoan, Pier Carlo, 648
 Paisley, Ian, 197
 Pandemic Emergency Purchase
 Programme, 309
 Paneuropa Union, 466, 467, 468, 472, 513–14,
 515, 549
 Paoli, Simone, 363
 Papandreou, Andreas, 88
 Papandreou, George, 316
 Paris Conference on the European Army
 (1951), 55
 Paris Peace Conference (1919–20), 6–7
 Party of European Socialists (PES), 77, 683–4
 Patel, Kiran Klaus, 212, 465, 632
 path-dependences, 3–4, 14, 214
- Pattberg, Herbert, 375
 Patten, Chris, 194
 peace narrative, 541–2, 553, 660
 Peel, Quentin, 163
 Pegg, Carl H., 463
 Peters, Anne, 400
 Petitpierre, Max, 49
 Petsche, Maurice, 42, 229–30
 Pflimlin, Pierre, 52
 PHARE. *See* Poland–Hungary Action for
 Reform
 Philips Corporation, 575, 580
 Phillips Petroleum, 273
 Phoebus Lightbulb Cartel, 474
 Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica* (1937), 7
 Pierlot, Hubert, 221
 Piketty, Thomas, 594, 647
 Pillar of Social Rights Action Plan, 614, 635–6
 Piris, Jean-Claude, 167
 Pitkin, Hannah, 663
 Plan D for Democracy, Dialogue and Debate,
 163, 688
 Plan G, 557
 planning, 234–6, 546
 failed locomotive attempt (1978), 249–51
 French-inspired planning (1960s), 243–6,
 474–5
 persistence in present-day EU, 256–9
 pre-locomotive attempt (1970s), 247–9
 pre-Rome Treaty, 236–40
 planning and policy movement, 11–12
 Pleven Plan (1950), 53–6
 Pleven, René, 51, 53–4, 523
 Pöhl, Karl-Otto, 303
 Poland, 76, 156, 158, 403, 424, 595, 650
 accession, 115, 423, 426, 432
 Constitution Project, 165–6, 168–9, 171, 174
 democratic legitimacy, 695, 696, 697–8
 economic growth, 588, 589, 594, 597
 wartime, 219–20, 566, 567
 Poland–Hungary Action for Reform
 (PHARE), 423
 Political Union (PU), 103–4, 108–9, 110
 Pompidou, Georges, 68, 74, 352, 453
 popular sovereignty, 397, 657, 669–70
 Portugal, 80–1, 100, 303, 318, 363, 373, 376, 566,
 597, 616
 posted workers, 637–41
 postfunctionalism, 18
 poverty, 594–5, 608, 621
 Prague Coup (1948), 48
 pre-accession strategy, 430–2
 presidential rotation, 137–9, 152

Index

- Preuves* (journal), 38
 prosperity narrative, 540–2, 660
 creation of ECSC, EEC, and alternatives, 553–8
 origins pre-1945, 548–53
 post-Rome Treaty, 558–63
 role of economic integration, 542–8
 protectionism, 237
 Provan, John, 568
 PSPP case (2020), 394–5
 public opinion, 105, 119, 122–3, 136, 160, 161–2, 191–3, 302, 476
- qualified majority voting (QMV), 97, 101, 104, 109, 129, 133–4, 152, 154, 156, 157–8, 165–6, 168–9, 348–50
- race, 475–7. *See also* colonialism
 Ramadier, Paul, 45
 Rand Corporation, 590, 596
 ratification challenges, 119–20, 121–4, 135–6, 159–62, 170–4, 302
Razzouk and Beydoun case (1984), 633
 re-adaptation policies, 630–1
 Reagan, Ronald, 90, 571
 Recovery and Resilience Facility (RRF), 616, 618–19, 649
 Reding, Viviane, 406
 Rees, Hugh Ellis, 230
 Reflection Group (1995), 126–7
 regionalisation, 572, 575–81
 regionalism, 224–5
 Renard, André, 627
 REScEU project, 621
 research and development (R&D), 574, 579–80
 retail services, 579, 583
 Retinger, Joseph, 220, 221–2, 223
Revue des Vivants (magazine), 467, 473
 Rey, Jean, 67
 Reynaud, Paul, 51
 Reynolds, Albert, 197
Rimšēvičs case (2019), 392
 Riou, Gaston, 476
 Roemer, Karl, 242
 Roman law, 605
 Romania, 115, 380, 403, 422, 426, 594, 596
 Romero, Federico, 361–2
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 215–16, 514
 Rosanvallon, Pierre, 671
 Rose, Andrew, 331
 Rosoux, Valérie-Barbara, 493
 Ross, Duncan M., 268
 Rossi, Ernesto, 31
- Ruggie, John, 4
 rule of law, 343, 402–8, 427, 446, 695–8
 Rumor, Mariano, 69
Rush Portuguesa case (1990), 638
 Russia, 76, 103, 106, 243, 378, 422, 424, 526
 early Cold War years, 38–9, 238
 EU enlargement, 430, 454
 ideas of European integration, 469, 513
 wartime, 221, 566
- Sadeh, Tal, 336
 saints of European integration, 508–10
 builders of EU (1980–1990s), 534–7
 fathers of European communities, 520–31
 inter-war to post-war years, 512–16
 Jean Monnet, 516–20
 nineteenth-century idealists, 510–12
 second generation of founders (1970s), 531–4
 Sala, Roberto, 362
 Salazar, António de Oliveira, 80
 Samuelson, Paul, 569
 San Marino, 450–1
 Sandholtz, Wayne, 98
 Sandys, Duncan, 45, 550–1
 Santander, 577
 Santer Commission, 77
 Sarkozy, Nicolas, 165, 166, 171, 176, 503, 504
 Sarraut, Albert, 469, 470, 475, 476, 477, 478
 Schäfer, Armin, 306
 Schengen Agreement (1985), 363, 375–6
 Schengen Area, 131
 Schengen Convention (1990), 376, 380–1
 Scheuble, Julius, 365
 Schild, Joachim, 496
 Schiller, Karl, 245, 278, 288, 289
 Schimmelfennig, Frank, 115
 Schlüter, Poul, 88
 Schmidt, Helmut, 83, 250, 289, 290, 292–3, 294, 352, 502, 533–4
 Scholz, Olaf, 649
 Schröder, Gerhard, 66, 133, 347–8, 349
 Schumacher, Kurt, 48
 Schuman Plan (1950), 29, 44, 49–59, 188, 340, 491, 515, 631
 Franco-German relations, 517–18, 523
 prosperity narrative, 540, 549, 553–5
 solidarity narrative, 605
 Schuman, Robert, 49, 50, 53–4, 340, 509–10, 522–5, 549
 Schüssel, Wolfgang, 690
 Second World War (1939–45), 8, 210, 214, 219, 459, 514, 549, 566–7, 645

Index

- security policy, 90, 101–2, 111–12, 130–1, 141, 168, 505–6. *See also* Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
- Segers, Mathieu, 212
- Senghor, Léopold, 479
- Serbia, 435, 440
- Serres, Thomas, 465
- Servan-Schreiber, Jean-Jacques, 574
- Services Directive (2004), 638
- Seydoux, Jacques, 462
- Sforza, Carlo, 48, 528
- Sharpston, Eleanor, 609
- Shipman, Tim, 186
- Shonfield, Andrew, 244, 251
- Siemens, 580
- Sikorski, Wladyslaw, 219, 221–2, 223
- Simmenthal II* case (1978), 391
- Single Banking Licence, 577–8
- Single European Act (SEA) (1986), 62, 77, 83, 88–9, 93, 100–1, 102, 251–2, 354–5, 377, 497, 548, 560–1, 646
- democratic legitimacy, 108–9
- EU enlargement, 451
- literature review, 94–9
- monetary reform, 267, 298, 329, 375–6
- solidarity narrative, 607
- single market, 74, 85–9, 93, 108–9, 113, 354–5, 450, 537, 560–2, 646, 647
- Britain's impact on, 189, 194
- completion of, 99–102, 251–2, 576–7
- economic growth, 588, 589–90
- foreign direct investment (FDI), 587–8
- free movement and national solidarity, 637–41
- literature review, 94–9
- monetary reform, 298, 310, 328
- Single Resolution Fund, 680
- Slobodian, Quinn, 242, 572
- Slovakia, 115, 156, 319, 426, 589, 594
- Slovenia, 115, 141, 319, 426, 427, 638
- Smithsonian Agreement (1971), 289
- Smoot Hawley tariff, 473
- Snake system, 289–93, 498
- Snoy et d'Oppuers, Jean-Charles, 228
- Soames, Christopher, 75, 194
- Soares, Mário Alberto, 80
- social dialogue, 634–5
- social dimension, 590–5, 609–14
- inclusion, 562, 621
- posted workers, 637–41
- social security, 640, 641
- welfare, 237, 243, 547, 591–3, 600, 620–2, 626, 641–3
- social market economy, 546–8, 610–11, 614, 626
- socialism, 37, 77, 216, 404
- Socialist International, 535
- Société Générale, 271, 276, 280, 281, 578
- Solange* case (1974), 353
- Solemn Declaration on European Union (1983), 100
- solidarity narrative, 600–1, 626–8
- elusive social harmonisation (1950s–1960s), 629–33
- EU's heritage, 605–9
- fiscal sharing, 643–50
- literature review, 602–5
- national solidarity, 608, 611, 612, 636–43
- political versus social solidarity, 614–23
- regulation of pan-European labour market, 633–6
- social turn, 609–14
- SOLIDUS project, 620
- Solvay, Jacques, 575
- A Soul for Europe, 537
- sound money theory, 326
- Soutou, George-Henri, 500
- Spaak Report (1956), 62, 630
- Spaak, Paul-Henri, 34, 47–8, 58, 61–2, 66, 220, 341, 530–1
- Spain, 100, 156, 160, 319, 566, 597
- accession, 79–80, 548
- migration, 373, 376
- monetary reform, 110, 303
- Special Committee for Agriculture, 344
- Spielau, Alexander, 298
- Spinelli Group, 537
- Spinelli, Altiero, 31, 82, 100, 538
- Spitzenkandidaten system, 683–6
- Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), 304–5, 312–13, 317, 336
- Stalin, Joseph, 49, 219
- state aid, 253–4, 258, 616, 633
- Stauder* case (1969), 402
- Stavenhagen, Lutz, 376
- Stephens, Philip, 187
- Stockholm Appeal (1950), 38
- Stockholm Convention (1959), 64
- Stockholms Enskilda Bank, 271
- Stoppani, Pietro, 215, 217, 227, 228
- Storch, Anton, 366
- Strategic Defence Initiative, 90
- Strauss, Franz Josef, 278, 279, 525
- Stresa Conference (1958), 643
- Stresemann, Gustav, 7, 215

Index

- structural funds, 114
 structured dialogue initiative, 431
 subsidiarity, 104, 170, 667, 693, 694
 Suez Crisis (1956), 558
 Support to Mitigate Unemployment Risks in an Emergency (SURE), 649
 Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe, 54
 Sutherland, Peter, 253–5
 Sweden, 113, 158, 217, 270, 293, 591
 economic growth, 595
 European unification, 47, 49
 migration, 363, 639
 Swiss Bank Corporation, 270, 271
 Switzerland, 49, 113–14, 270, 274, 432–3, 585, 592
 symbolism, 180, 387, 492–4, 496, 501, 663–4
- tariff walls, 473–4
 technological growth, 571, 572–4
 telecommunications liberalisation, 254–5
 terrorism, 143
 TESS project, 621
 Thatcher, Margaret, 83, 88, 102, 185, 189–90, 191–2, 194, 199, 255, 375, 571, 646
 Ther, Philipp, 257
 Thomson Corporation, 580
 Three-Power Conference (1950), 39
 Thyssen, Marianne, 648
 Tietmeyer, Hans, 305
 Timmermans, Frans, 650
 Tindemans Report (1975), 293
 Tindemans, Leo, 74–5
 totalitarianism, 38, 656, 662
 town partnerships, 489
 trade, 68, 155, 374–5, 473–4, 569–70
 bilateral trade, 71–2, 225
 economic growth, 588, 589
 liberalisation of, 43–4, 228–30, 231, 240
 monetary reform, 328, 330
 prosperity narrative, 545–6, 555–8
 wartime discussions, 222
 trade unions, 73, 334–5, 557, 627, 632–3
 transnational lists, 686–7
 transnational lobbies, 3, 86–7
 transparency discourse, 667
 TransSol project, 620
 Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (2004), 158–66, 385, 387, 442–3, 669, 673
 Treaty of Aachen (2019), 493
 Treaty of Accession, 452–3
 Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), 62, 112, 120, 126–31, 144, 497, 610, 634
 democratic legitimacy, 673, 676–7, 678, 683, 690, 693, 695
 EU enlargement, 380, 420
 presidential rotation, 137–9
 Treaty of Brussels (1948), 553
 Treaty of Dunkirk (1947), 35
 Treaty of Lisbon (2007), 166–79, 386, 393, 693
 democratic legitimacy, 674, 677, 691
 EU enlargement, 411, 420, 433
 solidarity narrative, 606, 610
 Treaty of Maastricht (1992), 1–2, 18, 62, 77, 90, 93–4, 102–5, 106, 111, 118, 199, 438–9, 497
 democratic legitimacy, 108–9, 666–9, 673, 675, 678, 681, 683, 687, 690, 693
 EU enlargement, 420
 institutional culture, 356
 literature review, 94–9
 migration, 377–9
 monetary reform, 257, 300–2, 312, 332
 presidential rotation, 137–9
 ratification challenges, 119, 121–4
 solidarity narrative, 634
 Treaty of Nice (2001), 120, 132–6, 673, 677, 681
 leftovers from, 144–7
 presidential rotation, 137–9
 Treaty of Paris (1951), 388
 Treaty of Rome (1957), 62, 63, 101, 239–40, 241, 530, 658
 EU enlargement, 411
 institutional culture, 341, 348, 389, 391
 migration, 367–9
 monetary reform, 264
 prosperity narrative, 555–6
 solidarity narrative, 605, 609, 633
 Treaty of Versailles (1919), 7
 Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (2012), 177, 258, 321
 Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany (1990), 15
Trente Glorieuses (post-war growth), 543, 567–70
 Triffin, Robert, 209, 214, 227, 228, 230, 245, 325
 trilogues, 676
 Tripartite Council (1945), 34, 224–5
 Truman, Harry S., 49
 Trump, Donald, 323, 503, 572
 Turkey, 362, 363, 435, 592
 accession application, 81, 415–18, 440–5
 migration, 369, 373–4, 382
- Ukraine, 448–50
 invasion by Russia (2022–), 24

Index

- ultra vires* concept, 394–5
 unemployment, 72–3, 222, 227, 231, 249, 326, 364, 365, 366, 374, 559, 561, 646, 648
 ‘Unemployment: Structural Problems and Policy Implications’ (1977), 248–9
 UniCredit, 578
 Unilever, 576
 Union Douanière Européenne, 474
 Union Européenne des Fédéralistes (UEF), 521
 Union of Industrial and Employers’ Confederation of Europe, 575
 United California Bank International, 280
 United European Movement, 36
 United Nations (UN), 38, 373, 392, 459
 United States, 99, 221, 243, 324–5, 545, 552–3
 economic growth, 565, 568, 571–4, 585–7, 590, 592–3
 European security, 187
 European unification, 47, 49, 55
 ideas of European integration, 469–70, 512–13
 migration, 365, 369
 monetary reform, 232, 262–3, 272–8, 284, 289
 Western European Union (WEU), 39–41
 United States of Europe slogan, 510–12, 513–14, 520
 Uri, Pierre, 51, 231, 554

Van Gend en Loos case (1963), 343, 353, 389–90
 Van Laak, Dirk, 465
 Van Rompuy, Herman, 175
 Van Vassenhove, Léo, 37
 Van Zeeland, Paul, 45, 209, 216–18, 222, 223, 226, 233, 554–5
 Vanhoonacker, Sophie, 96
 Verheyen, Florian, 261
 Verhofstadt, Guy, 146, 164
 verLoren van Themaat, Pieter, 242
 Vestager, Margrethe, 256
 Vietnam War, 75

 Visegrád Group, 639
 Visser ‘t Hooft, Willem, 31
 Volkswagen Group, 578, 582
 von der Groeben, Hans, 63, 241–2, 246
 von der Leyen, Ursula, 178, 258, 396, 626, 636, 649, 686, 687, 689, 696
 von Treitschke, Heinrich, 485
 voting weights, 129, 132–3, 154, 156, 158

 Wagner, Florian, 465
 Waigel, Theo, 304
 Wall Street Crash (1929), 215, 237
 Wall, Stephen, 185
 Wallenberg, Marcus, 271
 Wallström, Margot, 681
 Waltz, Kenneth, 98
 Warner, Edward Redston, 369
 Warsaw Pact (1955), 106
 Weber, Manfred, 685
 Weiler, Joseph, 124, 358
 welfare state, 237, 243, 591–3, 600, 626, 641–3
 Wells, H. G., 6
 Werner Plan (1970), 73–4, 110, 249, 257, 267, 280–1, 284–9, 531–2, 560
 Werner, Pierre, 69, 73–4, 287, 531–2
 Western European Union (WEU), 39–41, 101–2, 112, 488
 Westminster Bank, 272
 White Paper (1985), 87–8, 93, 100
 White, Harry D., 209
 Wilder, Gary, 465
 Wilson, Woodrow, 6–7, 469
 working time regulation, 635

 Yom Kippur War (1973), 70
 YouGov, 621–2
 Yugoslavia, 111, 141, 421, 566, 567

 Zhdanov Declaration (1948), 39
 Zweig, Stefan, 29
 Zysman, John, 98