

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
--------------	---

Part One Theory

1 Theories of European integration	5
Introduction	5
The intellectual background	6
International relations theories of European integration	9
Conclusion	15
2 Theories of EU governance	19
Introduction	20
The study of the EU as comparative politics	20
The study of the EU as public policy analysis	23
Multilevel governance	25
Supranational governance	26
Conclusion	28
3 Beyond EU studies	32
Introduction	33
Hegemony	33
Globalization	38
Conclusion	41

Part Two History

4 Europe after the war	45
Introduction	46
The end of the war, federalism, and the Hague Congress	47
The Cold War	49
Conclusion	53
5 The Schuman Plan for coal and steel	56
Introduction	57
National positions and the origins of the ECSC	57
From the Schuman Plan to the Treaty of Paris	62
Conclusion	63

6	The European Defence Community, the European Political Community, and the road to the Rome Treaties	67
	Introduction	68
	The Pleven Plan	69
	Messina	72
	The road to the Rome Treaties	74
	Conclusion	75
7	The ECSC and Euratom	79
	Introduction	80
	The European Coal and Steel Community	80
	Euratom	83
	Conclusion	84
8	The EEC 1958–67	87
	Introduction	88
	The early years: 1958–1963	88
	The 1963 crisis	90
	The 1965 crisis	92
	Conclusion	93
9	After Luxembourg: the ‘Dark Ages’ of European integration?	96
	Introduction	97
	The Hague Summit	98
	The European Council	102
	Conclusion	102
10	The European Community into the 1980s	105
	Introduction	106
	The Jenkins Commission	106
	The European Monetary System	107
	The Mediterranean enlargements	108
	The British budget rebate	108
	Leadership changes	110
	Moves to revive the EC	110
	Conclusion	111
11	The Single European Act	114
	Introduction	115
	1985: a watershed year	116
	The Single European Act	117
	Conclusion	119

12	Maastricht and beyond	122
	<i>Introduction</i>	123
	<i>Towards Maastricht</i>	123
	<i>After Maastricht</i>	124
	<i>Conclusion</i>	126
13	The EU after 1995	129
	<i>Introduction</i>	130
	<i>Monetary union</i>	130
	<i>Changes of government</i>	131
	<i>Flexible integration</i>	132
	<i>Enlargement</i>	133
	<i>The 1996 IGC</i>	134
	<i>The Treaty of Amsterdam</i>	136
	<i>Conclusion</i>	137

Part Three The Member States

14	Germany	147
	<i>Introduction</i>	148
	<i>Germany and European integration</i>	148
	<i>Cultural factors</i>	149
	<i>Constitutional and institutional factors</i>	150
	<i>Public opinion</i>	151
	<i>Economic structure</i>	152
	<i>Political developments</i>	154
	<i>Germany under Schmidt</i>	156
	<i>The Kohl chancellorship</i>	157
	<i>The Schröder government</i>	160
	<i>Conclusion</i>	161
15	France	165
	<i>Introduction</i>	166
	<i>France and European integration</i>	166
	<i>Cultural factors</i>	166
	<i>Constitutional and institutional factors</i>	168
	<i>Public opinion on European integration</i>	170
	<i>Economic structure</i>	170
	<i>Political developments</i>	172
	<i>Conclusion</i>	175

16 Britain	180
Introduction	181
Britain and European integration	181
Cultural factors	182
Constitutional and institutional factors	183
Public opinion on European integration	184
Economic structure	185
Political developments	188
The Blair government 1997–	193
Conclusion	194
17 Other member states	198
Introduction	199
The original member states	199
The 1973 entrants	202
The 1980s entrants	203
The 1995 entrants	205
Conclusion	208

Part Four Institutions

18 The institutional architecture	213
Introduction	214
The Treaties	216
The decision-making institutions	217
Decision-making procedures	220
Implementation	226
<i>The intergovernmental pillars of the EU</i>	228
Conclusion	229
19 The European Commission	233
Introduction	234
The policy-making process	236
Implementation	238
Implementing through decentralization	240
Conclusion	243
20 The Council	246
Introduction	247
The European Council	248
The Council of Ministers	251

	COREPER and the technical committees	252
	The Council presidency	254
	Conclusion	255
21	The European Parliament	259
	Introduction	260
	The struggle for power	261
	Effective influence	263
	The quality and independence of MEPs	265
	Party groups	266
	Direct elections	268
	The democratic deficit	269
	Conclusion	271
22	The European Court of Justice	274
	Introduction	275
	ECJ rulings on the powers of the institutions	276
	ECJ rulings on the nature of EC law	279
	The European Court and the national courts	282
	Political reactions to the radical jurisprudence of the ECJ	284
	<i>Conclusion</i>	285
23	Organized interests	288
	Introduction	289
	The growth of interest group activity	289
	Types of interest group and forms of interest representation	290
	Resources, strategies, and tactics	293
	Organized interests and the institutional actors	295
	Conclusion	298

Part Five Policies

24	Agriculture	305
	Introduction	306
	The peculiarities of agriculture	307
	The price-support system	309
	Restructuring agriculture: the Mansholt Plan	310
	Agriculture in the 1970s	312
	The CAP in the 1980s	314
	The CAP in the 1990s	316
	Conclusion	320

25	The single market	324
	Introduction	325
	The common market: the original decision	325
	Towards completion of the internal market	327
	Explaining the 1992 Programme	330
	National actors and the single market programme	331
	Beyond 1992	333
	Conclusion	337
26	Economic and Monetary Union	341
	Introduction	342
	The first attempts	343
	The EMS: origins	344
	The EMS in the 1980s	346
	The single market programme and monetary union	347
	Monetary union in the 1990s	348
	Explanations of EMU	353
	Conclusion	356
27	Regional and structural policies	361
	Introduction	362
	Early moves	363
	The creation of European regional policy	364
	The 1988 reform of the structural funds	368
	The 1993 reform of the structural funds	371
	Implementing the structural funds 1988–1998	374
	The 1999 reform of the structural funds	376
	Conclusion	379
28	External relations	385
	Introduction	386
	Relations with the African, Caribbean, and Pacific states	387
	The common commercial policy	392
	External political relations	395
	Conclusion	402
29	Enlargement	407
	Introduction	408
	The first enlargement	408
	The Mediterranean enlargement	409
	The EFTA enlargement	411
	Future enlargement	412
	Preparing the EU for enlargement	415

The Nice European Council	416
Analysing recent enlargement decisions	417
Conclusion	419