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**THE ENLARGEMENT OF THE EUROPEAN  
UNION  
L'ÉLARGISSEMENT DE L'UNION  
EUROPÉENNE**

*Bibliographies Thématiques*  
*No. 5/2004*

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# **PART I : BOOKS**

## **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

**2004**

441 /00101 REF

The Enlargement Address Book - Brussels : Enlargement Information Centre.  
195 p. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT--DIRECTORIES

Added entry(s):

1. Enlargement Information Centre (BE)

Notes:

'This publication provides a list of key people and organisations involved in the pre-accession strategy along with addresses, telephone, fax numbers, e-mail boxes and web-site addresses.'

ID number: 80019218

Year: 2004

**2003**

495.3 /00099

Ambivalent Neighbors : The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership -  
Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

x, 331 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0870031996

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Lieven, Anatol, ed.
2. Trenin, Dmitri, ed.
3. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)

Notes:

Includes index.

'A group of highly distinguished contributors from both East and West examines the complicated and multi-faceted process of NATO and EU enlargement in the context of the changed global situation since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.'

ID number: 80018507

Year: 2003

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\* This list contains material received as of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 23 avril 2004.

441 /00105

Beyond Enlargement : The New Members and New Frontiers of the Enlarged European Union - Barcelona : Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.  
309 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 8495201127

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--FOREIGN RELATIONS

Added entry(s):

1. Barbe, Esther, ed.
2. Johansson-Nogues, Elisabeth, ed.
3. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Institut Universitari d'Estudios Europeus (ES)

Notes:

'The accent of this work lies on the different opportunities and challenges which the Union's external action will have to face in its enlarged future, focusing especially on the EU-25 as a foreign policy actor and security provider. The objective behind the chapters composing the first part of this volume is to reflect on how the new member states will adapt to, and subsequently act to influence, four different EU areas with external impact (CFSP, ESDP, minority issues and asylum). The latter part of this publication explores the nature of the new 'frontiers' of EU-25. These frontiers are here referred to according to a dual logic. On the one hand the EU post-2004 will have to deal with issues just beyond its physical frontiers or borders, as new lines are inescapably drawn between the 'ins' and the 'outs' of Union membership. On the other hand the EU will have to discover its frontiers or limits, in terms of its capacity as a global actor, meeting the challenges brought about by an ever-increasingly globalised world. In this aspect, two different geographical regions and their respective EU policies are explored : the ACP countries (EC development cooperation policy) and the Mercosur (commercial relations).'

ID number: 80018608

Year: 2003

441 /00115

Partners and Neighbours : A CFSP for a Wider Europe - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.  
170 p. ; 24 cm.  
(Chaillot Papers ; 64)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--FOREIGN RELATIONS
3. EU--CFSP

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'The effects of the current enlargement process are already making themselves felt in not only the internal but also the external policies of the widening Union. New borders and neighbours are bringing new challenges while reconfiguring old ones. This new reality requires more than just additions to existing policies : the entire neighbourhood, or proximity, policy, of the enlarged EU will have to be reassessed and reformulated. First, enlargement itself may be reaching its geographical and functional limits. Second, those neighbours that are entirely excluded from the enlargement process demand no lesser engagement on the part of the EU. Third, all neighbourhood or proximity policies have to strike an effective balance between regional and individual approaches, i.e. between creating (or maintaining) a common regional framework for relations with the EU and more targeted programmes that take into account the peculiarities of each neighbour. Finally, such policies will be

effective only if their recipients (the various neighbours) receive clear messages and are presented with clear options by the Union and all its member states. Commitment and coherence should be shown in trade, aid, assistance, border policies and dialogue with societies, not just governments. Yet, they also have to guide the political will to act in accordance with values, norms and principles set out in advance. This has not always been the case - but should become common practice for the enlarged EU.'

ID number: 80018904

Year: 2003

495.3 /00109

The EU, NATO and the Integration of Europe : Rules and Rhetoric -  
Cambridge, UK : Cambridge University Press.

xiii, 323 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(Themes in European Governance)

ISBN: 0521535255

Author(s):

1. Schimmelfennig, Frank

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. EU--CEE

4. NATO--CEE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 290-308. Includes index.

'Why did Western European states agree to the enlargement of the EU and NATO ? The author analyzes the history of the enlargement process and develops a theoretical approach of 'rhetorical action' to explain why it occurred. While rationalist theory explains the willingness of East European states to join NATO and the EU, it does not explain why member states decided to admit them. Using original data, the author shows that expansion to the East can be understood in terms of liberal democratic community-building. Drawing on the works of Jon Elster and Erving Goffman, he demonstrates that the decision to expand was the result of rhetorical action. Candidates and their supporters used arguments based on collective identity, norms and values of the Western community to shame opponents into acquiescing to enlargement. This landmark book makes an enormous contribution to theory in international relations and to the study of European politics.'

ID number: 80019159

Year: 2003

441 /00118

De uitbreiding van de EU : impact op de ontwikkeling van het EVDB =  
L'elargissement de l'UE : impact sur le developpement de la PESD -  
Brussel : [s.n.].

42 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

2. EU--ESDP

Notes:

Proceedings, 19/11/2003.

ID number: 80019138

Year: 2003

441 /00096

Bigger EU, Wider CFSP, Stronger ESDP ? The View from Central Europe - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

68 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 34)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ESDP
3. EU--CFSP
4. EU--CENTRAL EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Missiroli, Antonio, ed.
2. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'In spring 2001, the research team of the then WEU Institute for Security Studies came up with the idea of carrying out a targeted screening of the prevailing (and evolving) views on CFSP and ESDP in the candidate countries. In order to preserve some homogeneity and comparability, the screening would be limited to the ten Central European applicants. In a way, however, the project was also intended to try and assess what such a 'return' might mean for CFSP/ESDP, and how the two processes would interact and dovetail. Accordingly, a grid with five main clusters of questions was handed out to the potential authors in order to structure their contributions, answer a series of topical questions and allow an overall as well as a comparative assessment.'

ID number: 80017946

Year: 2002

341.2 /00289

Russia and the EU : The Kaliningrad Dilemma - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

6 p.; 30 cm.

(CEPS Policy Brief ; 15)

Author(s):

1. Borko, Yuri

Subject(s):

1. EXCLAVES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceps.be/Pubs/2002/No15%20Borko.pdf>> accessed 20/09/02.

ID number: 80018180

Year: 2002

441 /00098

Elargissement et defense europeenne apres le 11 septembre - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

79 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 53)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ESDP
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne (FR)

Notes:

'Les trois candidats d'Europe centrale sont passes par un processus d'evolution (et d'apprentissage) a l'egard du developpement de la PESD : au depart, sceptiques et inquiets -

qu'une telle politique puisse porter atteinte a l'OTAN - ils l'acceptent et s'y engagent plus directement. Cette evolution peut s'expliquer par les deux processus paralleles que les auteurs definissent tres clairement. Le seul aspect que les trois candidats d'Europe centrale n'ont eu de cesse de critiquer a ete leur inclusion initiale dans la categorie generique de pays 'tiers', avec d'autres candidats non allies et meme des 'non-candidats' comme l'Ukraine et la Russie. Leur constante quete de reconnaissance officielle en tant qu'allies europeens a ete partiellement reconnue par les Quinze, mais ils sont mecontents de demeurer plus que jamais des 'pays tiers'. Le 11 septembre leur a egalement fait davantage prendre conscience du besoin d'une approche plus globale de la securite, comprenant egalement la justice et les affaires interieures ainsi que la politique a l'egard des nouveaux voisins de l'Est : les trois pays prefereraient adopter une approche flexible combinant des frontieres plus faciles a utiliser avec des controles de police plus stricts. Enfin, le debat interne de l'UE sur l'avenir de l'Europe a, dans un premier temps, souleve un reel interet parmi les elites d'Europe centrale et la Convention europeenne a tente specifiquement d'impliquer les gouvernements et les parlements de tous les candidats. Les premiers stades du debat ont revele des tensions au sein de leurs delegations entre, d'une part, une approche plus communautaire mettant l'accent sur l''identite' europeenne commune et les interets communs, et, de l'autre, un reflexe plus intergouvernemental ayant pour but d'exercer un maximum d'influence sur la politique et les institutions. Ces tensions sont egalement tangibles entre les chapitres de ce Cahier et a l'interieur des trois analyses.'

ID number: 80018448

Year: 2002

441 /00098

Enlargement and European Defence after 11 September - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

74 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 53)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ESDP
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'All three Central European candidates for EU membership have gone through an evolutionary (and learning) process as regards the development of ESDP : from scepticism and worry - that it could undermine NATO - to qualified acceptance and more direct involvement. This evolution can be explained through two parallel processes that the contributors spell out very clearly. The only aspect that the three Central European applicants have criticised throughout has been their initial inclusion in the generic category of 'third' countries, along with other non-Allied candidates and even such non-candidates as Ukraine or Russia. The quest for formal recognition as European allies has been constantly reiterated, and has eventually been partially acknowledged by the Fifteen, although some dissatisfaction with such enhanced 'third-ness' has remained. 11 September has also increased their awareness of the need for a more comprehensive approach to security, encompassing justice and home affairs and policy towards the new neighbours to the East : all three countries would prefer to adopt a flexible approach combining more 'user-friendly' borders with tighter police controls. Finally, the internal EU debate over the future of Europe initially raised keen interest

among the elites of Central Europe, and the European Convention has made a special effort to involve the governments and parliaments of all candidates. The early stages of the discussion have so far revealed a certain tension within their delegations between a more communautaire approach that emphasises the common European 'identity' and common interests, and a more intergovernmental reflex that aims at exerting maximum influence over policy and institutions. Such tension is also palpable between and within the contributions to this paper.'

ID number: 80018024

Year: 2002

441 /00107

Countdown to Copenhagen : Big Bang or Fizzle in the EU's Enlargement Process ? - Copenhagen : Danish Institute of International Affairs.

80 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

ISBN: 8790681525

Author(s):

1. Friis, Lykke
2. Jarosz-Friis, Anna

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Danish Institute of International Affairs (DK)

Notes:

Bibliography.

'The purpose of this pamphlet is to count down to the decisive European Summit in Copenhagen, December 2002. What are the chances that the 'From Copenhagen to Copenhagen' speech emerges from Prime Minister Rasmussen's pocket ? How will the negotiations pan out in practice ? And what are the factors one should keep an eye on in order to judge whether the enlargement negotiations will actually be finalised in Copenhagen ? Even though this pamphlet also presents indicators as to the results of the Copenhagen Summit, its main aim is to pinpoint the factors that will determine the outcome. It is still too early to predict the outcome of the enlargement process. The Irish 'no' to the Treaty of Nice and not least the World Trade Centre tragedy bear witness to how quickly events can take an unpredictable turn. The pamphlet first introduces the basic rules of the enlargement game and then takes stock of progress in the enlargement negotiations so far.'

ID number: 80018624

Year: 2002

341.2 /00282

A New European Union Policy for Kaliningrad - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

52 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 33)

Author(s):

1. Huisman, Sander

Subject(s):

1. EXCLAVES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 51-52.

'This paper addresses the policies that the EU and Russia are pursuing towards Kaliningrad. It analyses the conflicting or overlapping objectives of the external policies that Brussels has adopted, and examines the reasons for Moscow's inconsistent

and far from satisfactory approach. It also discusses the initiatives that Lithuania and Poland have developed and might have to be ended upon adoption of the *acquis communautaire*. Furthermore it investigates why Kaliningrad has not been able to achieve growth and stability, and how this might result in further isolation in an enlarged EU. Finally, the paper proposes policy options for the EU and Russia that they might consider to improve the prospects for Kaliningrad and for regional stability.'

ID number: 80017903

Year: 2002

341.2 /00290

The Schengen Challenge and Its Balkan Dimensions - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

8 p. ; 30 cm.

(CEPS Policy Brief ; 17)

Author(s):

1. Kovacs, Peter

Subject(s):

1. SCHENGEN AGREEMENTS

2. EUROPE--BOUNDARIES

3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceps.be/Pubs/2002/No17%20Kovacs.pdf>> accessed 20/09/02.

'The subject of this paper is undoubtedly of paramount importance for a number of Central and East European countries. The image of a 'Schengen Fortress' in statu nascendi is disappointing even for those who are enthusiastic about the accession of their countries to a unified Europe. There is a widespread fear - rational or not - that cross-border human contacts and travel possibilities from East to West will become more difficult than they were in the years following the fall of the Berlin Wall. The same feeling can be detected even in the Balkans, where certain countries also show symptoms of the 'Schengen Fortress'.

ID number: 80018183

Year: 2002

495.3 /00083

Romania - NATO : 2002 - Bucharest : Monitorul Oficial.

379 p. ; 18 cm.

ISBN: 973567355X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ROMANIA

2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

3. EU--ROMANIA

4. EU--ENLARGEMENT

5. ROMANIA--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

6. ROMANIA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Nastase, Adrian, ed.

Notes:

'Inviting the new European democracies to take part in NATO will further buttress up stability and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe. This enlargement will completely wipe off the former division at the time of the Cold War and will create a united and free Europe. The expansion of NATO will, likewise, consolidate the possibility of the Alliance to wage war on terrorism. As underlined by Lord Robertson, NATO Secretary-General, at the November 2001 Sofia Summit of NATO candidate countries, there is no better protection against

terrorism than NATO's enlargement by inviting in stable, multi-ethnic societies based on the rule of law and sharing the same values that bring North America and Europe together.'

ID number: 80017923

Year: 2002

341.2 /00285

The Kaliningrad Issue : The Sensation that Need Not Have Been - Moscow : Carnegie Moscow Center.

4 p.; 30 cm.

(Briefing Papers ; vol. 4, issue 5, May 2002)

Author(s):

1. Smirnyagin, Leonid

Subject(s):

1. EXCLAVES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

2. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)

3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Carnegie Moscow Center (SU)

Notes:

<<http://pubs.carnegie.ru/english/briefings/2002/issue02-05.asp>>

accessed 29/07/02.

ID number: 80018055

Year: 2002

441 /00100

From Candidate to Member State : Poland and the Future of the EU - Paris : European Union Institute for Security Studies.

38 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 37)

Author(s):

1. Trzaskowski, Rafal

Subject(s):

1. EU--POLAND

2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'This paper tries to show the evolution and the main features of the official position of the Polish government on different aspects of the institutional architecture of the future enlarged EU.'

ID number: 80018215

Year: 2002

495.3 /00081

The Politics of European Enlargement : NATO, the EU and the New US-European Relationship - Washington : Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

33 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Paper ; 67)

Author(s):

1. Wiarda, Howard J.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (US)

Notes:

<<http://wwics.si.edu/ees/papers/2002/wia67.pdf>> accessed 11/03/02.

'This paper focuses on the nature of the political criteria, what may be termed the politics of the 'end game' of EU and NATO expansion. Now that the technical criteria have been, for the most part satisfied, what comes next ? Who decides who gets

admitted, when, and on what basis ? Four major actors or sets of actors are discussed : the Eastern/Central European applicant countries, the EU and the European allies, Russia, and the United States. In each case the interests and the politics involved are examined and an attempt is made to reach some tentative conclusions as to how the process of enlargement will now proceed. A final substantive section, building on the earlier analysis, weighs both the technical and, increasingly, the political considerations operative as the enlargement process nears its decisive moment.'

ID number: 80017859

Year: 2002

2001

495.3 /00100

Baltic Security, NATO and the EU - Helsinki : Atlantic Council of Finland.

108 p.; 25 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 1)

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BALTIC STATES
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--BALTIC STATES
4. EU--ENLARGEMENT
5. BALTIC STATES--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Honkanen, Karoliina, ed
2. Ries, Tomas, ed.
3. Atlantic Council of Finland (FI)

Notes:

Contributions to the Seminar on 'Baltic Security, NATO and the EU' arranged by the Atlantic Council of Finland in Helsinki on 19-20 October 2001.

ID number: 80018625

Year: 2001

441 /00083

British and German Interests in EU Enlargement : Conflict and Cooperation - London : Royal Institute of International Affairs.

127 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

(Chatham House Papers)

ISBN: 0826450199

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--GERMANY
3. EU--GREAT BRITAIN

Added entry(s):

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)

Notes:

'Germany and Britain are among the keenest advocates of enlarging the European Union. Yet their interests in enlargement are very different. As a country bordering central Europe, Germany has strong positive interests in enlargement, both political and economic. But there are also German anxieties about the implications of enlargement for the functioning of the EU and further integration. Britain, by contrast, is more sanguine about the institutional implications, but has much smaller economic interests in the region. This book provides a guide to the range of interests in British and German enlargement policies. It analyses the shifts in both countries' policies on enlargement since 1989, in the context of their differing strategies for developing the EU. It examines in detail their economic involvement in central and eastern Europe, contrasting the major German role in regional trade and investment with the comparatively minor British one. There is a complex equation of

tensions and synergies between the two countries' approaches to adapting regional aid and the common agricultural policy for enlargement. The authors consider where Germany and Britain might cooperate in reforming the EU's budget, policies and institutions, and where conflict between their approaches will shape the politics of enlargement.'

ID number: 80017092

Year: 2001

449 /00036

The EU's Enlargement and Mediterranean Strategies : A Comparative Analysis - New York : Palgrave.

xx, 403 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333772814

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EMP
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Maresceau, Marc, ed.
2. Lannon, Erwan, 1968- , ed.
3. University of Ghent. European Institute (BE)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book analyses and compares the preferential relations between the EU and the countries on its eastern and southern peripheries. It presents a comprehensive study of the emerging pan-Euro-Mediterranean regional integration and analyses the economic, political and social strategies adopted by the EU, and will be an indispensable reference volume for those working on issues related to EU enlargement and Euro-Mediterranean partnership.'

ID number: 80017136

Year: 2001

341.2 /00277

Friendly Schengen Borderland Policy on the New Borders of an Enlarged EU and Its Neighbours - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

13 p. ; 30 cm.

(CEPS Policy Brief ; 7)

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--BOUNDARIES
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. SCHENGEN AGREEMENTS

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

<<http://www.ceps.be/Pubs/2001/N7-SchengenPolicy.PDF>> accessed 17/12/01.

'Enlargement of the European Union will create a new external EU border in the eastern part of the continent. For both practical and symbolic reasons, the management of this future border will have a profound impact on relations between the EU and the non-EU parts of Europe. It is very important for the EU to take all possible measures to facilitate the crossing of its borders by the citizens of states neighbouring the EU. The construction of a new wall at the eastern-most extremes of the EU is an anachronism in post-cold war era. The stability of the countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe that are outside the EU will be one of the crucial challenges for the enlarged European Union as a whole.'

ID number: 80017685

Year: 2001

441 /00091

Unifier la grande Europe - Bruxelles : Bruylant.

xiii, 369 p. : ill. ; 17 cm.

ISBN: 2802715291

Author(s):

1. Malosse, Henri
2. Huchet, Bernard

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 331-333.

'L'Union europeenne pourra-t-elle survivre a un elargissement a l'est, pourra-t-elle integrer dix, treize, une vingtaine de pays supplementaires, des peuples qui reviennent de si loin apres avoir vecu separees de nous par le rideau de fer ? A ces questions fondamentales pour le debat sur l'avenir de l'Europe, l'ouvrage donne des elements de reference, notamment sur les pays candidats, et ouvre des pistes de reflexion sur les defis qui attendent les citoyens de la Grande Europe.'

ID number: 80017681

Year: 2001

441 /00085

The Integration Process between Eastern and Western Europe - New York : Springer.

xvii, 178 p. : ill. ; 25 cm.

(Kiel Studies ; 310)

ISBN: 3540418970

Author(s):

1. Piazzolo, Daniel

Subject(s):

1. EU--CEE
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. CEE--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. CEE--COMMERCE

Notes:

Bibliography: p.157-175. Includes index.

'This study analyzes the track record of the CEECs with respect to economic transition and European integration. It investigates the extent of market-driven trade reorientation of Eastern Europe towards the EU, deducts the expected regional trade pattern of the advanced Eastern European countries after transition, and shows that their present trade pattern approximates already quite well the expected one. Benefits from a further integration into the EU could result in particular from the fact that full membership will increase the credibility of government policies in the accession countries. The study offers a quantification of this credibility effect of EU institutions for the advanced transition countries. A dynamic computable general equilibrium framework is used to estimate the potential income and welfare effects of economic integration into the EU for Poland, the largest transition country with EU candidate status. Additionally, the study offers a methodological extension to the application of computable general equilibrium models, which enables a better representation of the transformation shock within the model.'

ID number: 80017428

Year: 2001

420 /00171

The Treaty of Nice Explained : An Explanatory Guide - London : Federal Trust for Education and Research.

291 p.; 23 cm.

(Constitution for Europe ; 3)

ISBN: 1903403081

Subject(s):

1. TREATY OF NICE (2000)
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Feus, Kim, ed.
2. Federal Trust for Education and Research (GB)
3. Bond, Martyn, ed.

Notes:

'This book comprehensively analyses the Treaty, not just the specific meaning of the Articles but the broader context in which they are situated. It brings together contributions from the Commission, the existing Member States and the candidate or future members as well as from leading academics and politicians in the thick of the fray. It offers historical, political and legal assessments of the Treaty and outlines the essential contours of the debate around the Declaration of Laeken on the future of Europe.'

ID number: 80017621

Year: 2001

2000

327 /01024

European Security into the 21st Century : Beyond Traditional Theories of International Relations - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

vii, 258 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1840147520

Author(s):

1. Bronstone, Adam, 1969-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 247-255. Includes index.

'This book examines the twin enlargements of NATO and the European Union within the context of the utility of traditional theories of international relations and in relationship to those countries that are not going to become new members (Russia and Turkey) and the countries on the outside of both institutions.'

ID number: 80016726

Year: 2000

441 /00074

Enlarging the European Union : The Way Forward - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xii, 195 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1840144882

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Gower, Jackie, ed.
2. Redmond, John, 1953- , ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The editors provide a contemporary analysis of the issues raised by the forthcoming enlargement of the European Union. The book focuses on five principle areas. Two of these (pre-accession strategies and costs of enlargement) are extensively addressed and their inclusion is essential. Two

other issues addressed are small states and the wider Europe that are not well covered by existing literature. The final element of the book focuses on the European Commission Parliament perspective.'

ID number: 80016374

Year: 2000

341.2 /00279

The EU & Kaliningrad : Kaliningrad and the Impact of EU Enlargement -

London : Federal Trust for Education and Research.

288 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0901573183

Subject(s):

1. EXCLAVES--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
2. EU--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Baxendale, James, ed.
2. Dewar, Stephen, ed.
3. Gowan, David, ed.
4. Federal Trust for Education and Research (GB)

Notes:

'Kalingrad is an anomaly left by the collapse of the Soviet Union, an enclave with one million inhabitants ruled from Moscow but cut off from Russia proper and bordered by Poland and Lithuania. The region is threatened by economic isolation, pollution, organised crime, drug-trafficking and one of the highest concentrations of HIV in Europe. It is also the home of the Russian Baltic Fleet. The next stage of European Union enlargement will turn Kalingrad into a Russian enclave or 'island' within the Union, thereby turning these problems into EU issues as well. This authoritative and lively collection of papers, introduced by Chris Patten, asks how Russia and the European Union should handle this challenge. Does Kalingrad pose intractable problems for an enlarged EU, or can it become a 'pilot region' for co-operation?'

ID number: 80017832

Year: 2000

495.3 /00073

German and American Policies towards the Baltic States : The Perspectives of EU and NATO Enlargement - Baden-Baden : Nomos.

118 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 3789065757

Subject(s):

1. NATO--BALTIC STATES
2. EU--BALTIC STATES
3. GERMANY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
4. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
5. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GERMANY
6. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
7. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
8. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Arnswald, Sven, ed.
2. Wenig, Marcus, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The three Baltic states Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have come a long way in their rapprochement with the Euro-Atlantic community since they regained independence in 1991. Against the background of this positive development, the aim of this book is two-fold: first, to present a stock-taking of the achievements of the three Baltic republics on their way back to the Western European family; second, to identify and compare

German and American policies and views towards the three, since Germany and the United States have to be regarded as principal actors in the enlargement processes of the EU and NATO. For this purpose, this book brings together high-ranking officials from the three Baltic republics, Germany, NATO, and EU, as well as academic experts from these countries and Russia. The added value of this book lies in its character as a contemporary document. The contributions describe the state of affairs after various important events and decisions in the context of EU and NATO enlargement: the conclusion of the Agenda 2000 package on the occasion of the Berlin European Council in March 1999, the NATO Summit in Washington in April 1999 which adopted the New Strategic Concept and made important decisions on enlargement and, finally, the Cologne European Council in June 1999, which inter alia set the course for a deepened, more cooperative relationship with Russia and for a strengthened European security policy.'

ID number: 80017418

Year: 2000

341.2 /00276

The Sharp Edges of Europe : Security Implications of Extending EU Border Policies Eastwards - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.

iv, 30 p.; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 13)

Author(s):

1. Grabbe, Heather

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--BOUNDARIES

2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

3. INTERNAL SECURITY--EUROPE

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

Notes:

'This paper is about the potential consequences for European security of extending EU border policies to central and eastern Europe (CEE), a process currently taking place as the European Union moves towards eastward enlargement. Its central argument is that an inherent tension is growing between EU internal and external security policies in the region to its East. Put very simply, the EU's external security concerns have caused it to encourage regional integration at all levels in eastern Europe, but at the same time its emerging internal security policies are having contrary effects by reinforcing barriers between countries.'

ID number: 80017619

Year: 2000

441 /00073

Has the EU Enlargement Process Lost Its Way ? - Brussels : Philip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research.

94 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

(Discussion Paper ; 17)

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Philip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research (BE)

ID number: 80016334

Year: 2000

441 /00106

Preparing Yugoslavia for European Integration - Belgrade : European Movement in Serbia.

141 p.; 20 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--FRY
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. FRY--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. FRY--FOREIGN RELATIONS
5. FRY--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Lopandic, Dusko, ed.
2. Minic, Jelica, ed.
3. European Movement in Serbia (YU)

ID number: 80018620

Year: 2000

495.3 /00064

Building a Bigger Europe : EU and NATO Enlargement in Comparative Perspective - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xiii, 184 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1840144610

Author(s):

1. Smith, Martin A.
2. Timmins, Graham

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 176-182. Includes index.

'This fresh and original study of EU and NATO enlargement sets both in a comparative context and considers them against a backdrop of the evolution of a pan-European security community. Part one examines and discusses the EU and NATO enlargement processes and the 'incremental linkage' which has developed between them. Part two includes separate chapters on the post-Cold War evolution of the EU and NATO overall. These discussions focus on their strengths and limitations in contributing to the broader and more cooperative kind of European security which the end of the Cold War makes possible.'

ID number: 80016440

Year: 2000

1999

441 /00067

Back to Europe : Central and Eastern Europe and the European Union - London : UCL Press.

xix, : ill.; 307 p.

ISBN: 1857288866

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE

Added entry(s):

1. Henderson, Karen, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 285-295. Includes index.

'As the governments of the Member States of the European Union decided on enlargement and pondered on the institutional challenges that it would pose, the European Commission had set about tackling the practical issues of helping the new candidates surmount the formidable political, legal and administrative hurdles they needed to overcome in preparation for membership. For scholars of European integration, this presents a fascinating test of the Union's capacity to adapt

and enlarge. Within the new democracies of central and eastern Europe, the prospect of joining the EU symbolized the ultimate achievement of their goal of returning 'back to Europe', but initial excitement was tempered by the gradual realization that membership was far more than a symbol. It involved not only freedom, democracy and growing economic prosperity, but also demanding and painstaking work in harmonizing multifarious aspects of their everyday lives to the detailed regulations prescribed by the Union's existing members. For students of post-communism, this presents the most stringent test of the new democracies' capacity to master political, social and economic change of an intensity scarcely imaginable to those living in the stable polities of existing Member States. This book's primary goal has been to bring together both these perspectives : researchers whose major work is devoted to study of the European Union have combined forces with area specialists on central and eastern Europe to produce a comprehensive analysis of the many different issues involved in the process of enlarging the EU eastwards.'

ID number: 80015508

Year: 1999

441 /00082

A Balanced European Architecture : Enlargement of the European Union to Central Europe and the Mediterranean = Une architecture europeenne equilibree : l'ouverture de l'Union Europeenne vers l'Europe Centrale et la Mediterranee - Paris : Publisud.

223 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 286600616X

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE
3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Elsenhans, Hartmut, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 201-218.

'French, Polish and German specialists discuss possible synergies of an enlargement of the European Union to the Central and East Central European Countries and the countries of the Southern Shore of the Mediterranean. This cooperation could become a central element of maintaining a balanced European architecture which the enlargement of the European Union to the East may threaten because of the increased centrality of Germany. The contradictions, the requirements and the priorities to be observed with respect to these two options are discussed within the framework of the overall foreign policies of the three countries of the Weimar triange.'

ID number: 80017053

Year: 1999

382 /00279

Trade & Investment in Europe : The Impact of the Next Enlargement - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

117 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 9290792655

Author(s):

1. Brenton, Paul

Subject(s):

1. EU--COMMERCE--CEE
2. INVESTMENTS, FOREIGN--CEE
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 113-117.

'Trade and investment relations in Europe have been transformed since the countries of Central and Eastern Europe released the shackles of central planning at the end of the 1980s. With the EU now on the brink of enlarging to the East, this study analyses the current nature of trade and investment flows between the EU and the CEECs and assesses the potential impact of enlargement. In particular, it asks the question of whether such imports could be concentrated upon 'sensitive' sectors. Also, will investment be redirected away from existing EU countries towards the CEECs ? In addition, the study proposes a number of policy measures for the pre-accession period, such as accelerated adoption of the Common External Tariff and the careful redesign of the EU's external relations with those European countries that are not part of the accession process.'

ID number: 80015529

Year: 1999

441 /00071

The Enlargement of the European Union : Issues and Strategies - London :  
Routledge.

xix, 181 p.; 24 cm.

ISBN: 0415202922

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Curzon Price, Victoria, ed.
2. Landau, Alice, ed.
3. Whitman, Richard G., ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 169-175. Includes index.

'This volume looks at the process of enlargement which the European Union is currently undertaking, focusing on both the economic and political dimensions of the subject. The volume examines how enlargement has evolved and looks at the roles and relations of the different actors - Members States, applicant states and EU institutions. With contributors coming from different disciplinary backgrounds, the volume offers an unusually rich array of perspectives on one of the most significant political developments of recent years. Part I provides an overview of the formal enlargement process and the progress the applicant states have made on their economic transition. Part II analyses the completion of questionnaires by applicant states, a significant stage in the application process. The following part explores the Intergovernmental Conference that formally opened in 1996. Part IV looks at the geopolitical consequences of enlargement. A postscript details the method and the conditions of the enlargement negotiations at the present time.'

ID number: 80016258

Year: 1999

441 /00075

The Enlargement of Europe - Manchester : Manchester University Press.

xv, 188 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.

(Political Analyses)

ISBN: 07190497197

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. WEU
4. OSCE
5. COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book examines the debates surrounding the post-Cold War enlargement of the principal European organisations : the European Union, NATO, the Western European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. All were founded during the Cold War but since then have had to adjust to the dramatic changes that have taken place. They now face demands both to enlarge their functions and enlarge their membership to admit states from central, eastern and southern Europe. The extent and speed with which the process of enlargement will take place will be the most important factor in determining the future development of Europe. The book focuses on 3 main questions : (1) is there one or several visions guiding the enlargement process ? ( 2) have there been separate motives for enlargement between the different organisations ? (3) has there been a deliberate policy by Western governments to pursue a 'cost-free' expansion process ?'

ID number: 80016391

Year: 1999

441 /00092

The Enlargement of the European Union : Prospects and Problems - Athens :

Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy.

142 p. ; 21 cm.

ISBN: 9607061713

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Liargovas, Panagiotis, ed.
2. Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (GR)

Notes:

'This volume contains the main presentation and comments of the international conference 'The Enlargement of the European Union : Prospects and Problems', which was held in Athens from 6-7 November 1998. The conference addressed issues, which were tied to the priorities of the enlargement as well as Agenda 2000 negotiations.'

ID number: 80017698

Year: 1999

355.4 /01248

NATO and the European Union : Confronting the Challenges of European Security and Enlargement - Kent, OH : Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies.

157 p. ; 23 cm.

(Conference Papers ; 1)

ISBN: 1882160045

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--EUROPE
3. EU--CFSP
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
5. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Papacosma, S. Victor, ed.
2. Laurent, Pierre-Henri, ed.
3. Lyman L. Lemnitzer Center for NATO and European Union Studies (US)

Notes:

'The essays in this volume are designed to shed detailed light on and analyze the complex institutional, regional, and national dimensions of European security problems and the evolving roles of NATO and the European Union in confronting them.'

ID number: 80016138

Year: 1999

441 /00077

A New Croatia : Fast-Forward into Europe - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

ii, 62 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--CROATIA
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. CROATIA--ECONOMIC POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. Cucic, Ljubomir, ed.
2. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)
3. European Civic Initiative for a Democratic Alternative

Notes:

'The goal of the authors is to give European and international observers and Croatian decision-makers an insight into the potential of Croatia to cope with the challenges of fast integration into the EU. The authors believe that Croatia could be ready for full membership of the EU by 2006 provided that their suggestions are implemented in a disciplined and coordinated manner. Not only to comply with the standards for inclusion in the EU as the final goal, but also in order to establish a firm basis for complete parliamentary democracy and much quicker transition, major political and economic changes are indispensable. This book presents an assessment of the consequences and impacts of these changes and of the fast-track integration of Croatia into the EU.'

ID number: 80016423

Year: 1999

- 441 /00087  
A Pledge for an Early Opening of EU-Accession Negotiations - Bonn :  
Zentrum fur Europaische Integrationsforschung.  
57 p.; 21 cm.  
(Discussion Paper, 1435-3288 ; C 58)  
ISBN: 3933307589  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Wenig, Marcus, ed.  
2. Rheinischer Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitat. Zentrum fur  
Europaische Integrationsforschung (DE)  
ID number: 80017443  
Year: 1999
- 382 /00280  
The Role of CEFTA in the Process of EU Enlargement - Prague : Institute  
of International Relations.  
200 p. : ill.; 30 cm.  
ISBN: 8085864665  
Subject(s):  
1. CEFTA  
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Institute of International Relations (CS)  
2. Association for the Study of International Relations (CS)  
Notes:  
International Conference, Prague, May 28-29, 1999.  
'The proceedings contain papers presented by experts from twelve  
countries (Austria, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Denmark,  
Germany, Great Britain, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania,  
Slovakia and Ukraine) and one from the European Commission.  
They elaborate on the general theme of the Conference;  
topical issues pertaining to the economic and trade potential  
of the Central European Free Trade Agreement as a whole and its  
individual members; foreign direct investments (current  
situation and prospects) in the CEFTA countries; as well as  
their competitiveness.'  
ID number: 80015997  
Year: 1999
- 441 /00086  
Croatia's Course of Action to Achieve EU Membership - Bonn : Zentrum fur  
Europaische Integrationsforschung.  
28 p.; 21 cm.  
(Discussion Paper, 1435-3288 ; C 59)  
ISBN: 3933307597  
Author(s):  
1. Sanader, Ivo  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--CROATIA  
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Rheinischer Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universitat. Zentrum fur  
Europaische Integrationsforschung (DE)  
ID number: 80017442  
Year: 1999

495.3 /00050

The Two Enlargements and Transatlantic Relations - Roma : Centro Studi di  
Politica Internazionale.

xiii, 98 p.; 21 cm.

(Memoranda ; 10)

Subject(s):

1. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Centro Studi di Politica Internazionale (IT)

Notes:

The Fifth Castegandolfo Colloquium on Atlantic Affairs, Rome and  
Castelgandolfo, October 3-4, 1997.

'This book develops some of the central issues discussed during  
the 1997 Castelgandolfo Colloquium on Transatlantic Affairs,  
focusing - in the wake of the Madrid Summit - on the  
implications of NATO's enlargement for transatlantic  
relations. For several reasons, opening the membership of  
NATO to new applicants is proving to be easier than enlarging  
the EU. Moreover, enlarging NATO is proving easier than to  
substantially reform it. The first Western and European  
compact to shift eastward is the Atlantic Alliance; by the  
year 2000, the Euro-Atlantic Community will stretch further  
East than the European Union itself. The two enlargements,  
therefore, are likely to raise a crucial dilemma : should the  
EU's 'Europe' roughly coincide with NATO's 'Europe' ? Or should  
the EU eventually embrace a different, larger set of  
countries than NATO ? Either option - identity versus  
differentiation - has, of course, relevant implications in  
terms of European scenarios.'

ID number: 80015526

Year: 1998 ?

327 /00983

Bordering Russia : Theory and Prospects for Europe's Baltic Rim -  
Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.

xii, 322 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 185521959X

Subject(s):

1. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--BALTIC STATES
2. BALTIC STATES--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
3. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--FINLAND
4. FINLAND--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
5. RUSSIA (FEDERATION)--FOREIGN RELATIONS--POLAND
6. POLAND--FOREIGN RELATIONS--RUSSIA (FEDERATION)
7. EU--ENLARGEMENT
8. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
9. NATO--BALTIC STATES
10. EU--BALTIC STATES

Added entry(s):

1. Mouritzen, Hans, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 295-313. Includes index.

'A key dilemma in Western policy towards Russia in recent years is  
whether to admit into NATO and the EU all those countries who  
wish to join, or whether to respect Russian sensitivities and  
be more selective. The dilemma is at its peak for those  
countries bordering Russia : they are the ones who fear Russia  
the most, but whose integration into the West provokes Russia  
the most, a situation likely to strengthen Russian  
non-democratic forces. This is the dilemma that the present  
volume evolves around. Apart from stressing geopolitical  
fundamentals and the countries's historical experiences, the  
book is also future-orientated. Will Europe's Baltic rim become

an outpost of the West with an iron curtain to its East, will it become an extensive 'grey zone', or will the countries become Western bridge-builders eastwards ?'

ID number: 80015258

Year: 1998

441 /00069

Enlarging the EU Eastwards - London : Royal Institute of International Affairs.

130 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

(Chatham House Papers)

ISBN: 1855675250

Author(s):

1. Grabbe, Heather
2. Hughes, Kirsty

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE

Added entry(s):

1. Royal Institute of International Affairs (GB)

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 123-130.

'This comprehensive study examines in detail the political, economic and security implications of eastward enlargement for both East and West. The authors present new analyses of the policy issues, including the EU budget and pre-accession strategy, and of the economic integration likely before and after accession.'

ID number: 80016088

Year: 1998

43 /00045

Les entretiens europeens d'Epernay - Paris : Documentation Francaise.

155 p. ; 24 cm.

ISBN: 2110040386

Subject(s):

1. EU
2. EU--CFSP
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:

Actes du colloque organise le 25 octobre 1997 a Epernay par l'Institut de Relations Internationales et Strategiques (IRIS) et la Ville d'Epernay.

'Ces Entretiens reunissent 24 intervenants de tres haut niveau, venus de six pays membres de l'Union europeenne. Etudiant la mise en place de la Politique etrangere et de securite commune, ces echanges ont aborde le processus engage par le traite de Maastricht et le recent traite d'Amsterdam. La question de l'elargissement de l'Union europeenne aux pays d'Europe centrale et orientale a ensuite ete examinee avec la volonte de preserver les acquis de la construction europeenne. Les Entretiens ont egalement aborde le probleme de l'adhesion des citoyens a la construction europeenne et propose differents axes pour une meilleure comprehension du projet europeen. Enfin, un debat de cloture a aborde les questions les plus diverses : reforme des institutions europeennes, mise en place de l'euro, federalisme et avenir de la construction europeenne. Les Entretiens ont ainsi ete un veritable 'laboratoire de l'Europe' qui a vu se multiplier les debats et les propositions dans un esprit de dialogue a la fois serein et passionne.'

ID number: 80014905

Year: 1998

43 /00044  
The State of the European Union : Deepening and Widening - Boulder, CO :  
Lynne Rienner.  
x, 374 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
(The State of the European Union ; 4)  
ISBN: 1555877206  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
2. EU--CFSP  
3. EU--ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION  
4. EU--IGC, 1996  
Added entry(s):  
1. Laurent, Pierre-Henri, 1933- , ed.  
2. Maresceau, Marc, ed.  
Notes:  
Includes index.  
'The struggle between those who seek a more integrated and even a federal Europe and those proposing a looser confederation was once again highlighted at the 1996-1997 Intergovernmental Conference and reflected in the IGC's decisions. This fourth volume in the European Community Studies Association's biennial series examines the divisions within the EU in the key areas of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Monetary Union, enlargement, and structural reforms.'  
ID number: 80014683  
Year: 1998

441 /00066  
Enlarging the European Union : Risks and Benefits - London : RISCT.  
22 p. ; 25 cm.  
(Conflict studies, 0069-8792 ; 312)  
Author(s):  
1. Wright, J. B.  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
2. EU--CFSP  
3. EU--CEE  
Added entry(s):  
1. Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism (GB)  
Notes:  
'The European Union is currently processing no fewer than 11 applications for membership, while at the same time introducing the most audacious structural change of all : European Monetary Union. In this topical study the author assesses the real implications of enlargement. While suggested benefits include the creation of a wider area of peace and security; enlarged markets and increased prosperity and opportunity, even the European Commission admits that enlargement will 'change the EU's geopolitical situation and its proximity to critical zones in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe'. Many questions remain, including the attitude of Russia, increased immigration from the East, and the effect of enlargement on efforts to raise the profile of the Common Foreign and Defence policy. Can existing EU institutions stand the strain ?.'  
ID number: 80015198  
Year: 1998

495.3 /00077

Relations bilaterales en Europe centrale et orientale : impact de l'elargissement - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

v, 77 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 26)

Author(s):

1. Dunay, Pal
2. Pavliuk, Oleksandr
3. Zajaczkowski, Wojciech

Subject(s):

1. CEE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Wohlfeld, Monika, ed.
2. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

'Ce cahier tente d'evaluer les incidences des processus d'elargissement des organisations europeennes et transatlantiques (UE, UEO et OTAN) sur les perspectives de stabilite en Europe centrale et orientale. On ne sait pas encore de source officielle quels pays seront les nouveaux membres de l'OTAN/UE, ni s'il y a aura d'autres vagues d'adhesion et, dans l'affirmative, combien. Mais certains candidats doivent neanmoins se faire a l'idee que leur espoir de rejoindre les organisations euro-atlantiques ne se concretisent pas. D'autres pays qui n'ont aucun espoir d'adhérer prochainement, sont egalement preoccupes par les effets d'un elargissement selectif - a savoir les consequences politiques qu'impliquera l'adhesion de quelques uns seulement. Beaucoup ont exprime leur inquietude que cela ne provoque une nouvelle division de l'Europe, ce qui aurait un impact negatif non seulement sur leur propre securite, mais aussi sur la stabilite de l'ensemble du continent europeen. Ce cahier s'articule autour de trois etudes de cas sur les relations bilaterales : Pologne/Ukraine, Pologne/Lithuanie, Hongrie/Roumanie. Elles ont pour theme les relations entre les nouveaux membres presumes (les 'haves') et leurs voisins immediats dont l'adhesion aux organisations euro-atlantiques semble aujourd'hui moins certaine pour differentes raisons (les eventuels 'have-nots').'

ID number: 80017588

Year: 1997

355.4 /01193

Enlarged Security : The Security Problems Posed by the Enlargement of NATO and the European Institutions - Paris : Assembly of Western European Union.

79 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. WEU
4. OSCE
5. NATO--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Western European Union. Assembly

Notes:

Colloquy. Athens, 11-12 March 1997, Offical Record.

ID number: 80014109

Year: 1997

441 /00059

Europæisk stabilitet : EU's udvidelse med de central- og osteuropæiske lande - København : Dansk Udenrigspolitisk Institut.  
234 p. : ill. ; 24 cm.  
ISBN: 8760115076  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
2. EU--CEE  
Added entry(s):  
1. Dansk Udenrigspolitisk Institut (DK)  
Notes:  
Bibliography: p. 215-226. Includes index.  
ID number: 80013901  
Year: 1997

1996

495.3 /00044

Going East : The Enlargement of the EU with the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe - Paris : Cicero Foundation.  
65 p. ; 30 cm.  
(Cicero Paper ; 2/96)  
ISBN: 9075759029  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
2. EU--CEE  
3. NATO--ENLARGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Cicero Foundation (FR)  
Notes:  
Papers presented at the International Experts Seminar organised by the Cicero Foundation in Paris in the series 'Great Debates' on 13 and 14 June 1996.  
ID number: 80014632  
Year: 1996

1995

355.4 /01175

Europe in the Balance : Securing the Peace Won in the Cold War - Washington : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.  
viii, 110 p. ; 23 cm.  
ISBN: 087003068X  
Author(s):  
1. Bertram, Christoph, 1937-  
Subject(s):  
1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY  
2. NATO--TRANSITION  
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT  
4. NATO--ENLARGEMENT  
Added entry(s):  
1. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (US)  
Notes:  
'This essay examines the challenges and the opportunities that present themselves in the defining phase of the post-Cold War period, as Europe's future hangs in the balance. Chapter 1 looks at the special role that institutions, particularly NATO and the EU, will need to play in that context. Chapter 2 discusses the future of NATO as a military alliance. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the consequences of NATO's accepting a more political role in relation to Russia and Eastern Europe, respectively. Chapters 5 and 6 deal with the EU's prospects for overcoming its internal divisions and extending its framework of prosperity to Eastern Europe. Chapter 7 considers the interrelationship of NATO and the EU in the new Europe. Chapter 8 suggests ways to assure the continued involvement of the United States in the affairs of Europe. A concluding chapter

summarizes the major findings and proposals.'

ID number: 80013524

Year: 1995

441 /00058

Central and Eastern Europe on the Way into the European Union : Problems and Prospects of Integration - Gutersloh : Bertelsmann Foundation.

270 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

ISBN: 3892042160

Subject(s):

1. EU--CEE
2. EU--ENLARGEMENT
3. CEE--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. CEE--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Weidenfeld, Werner, ed.

Notes:

'In this annual report, the Bertelsmann Foundation and the Research Group on European Affairs at the University of Munich analyse the present state of integration capability of the associated countries.'

ID number: 80013885

Year: 1995

449 /00026

European Union New Member States - Bruxelles : Club de Bruxelles.

95 p. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--SWEDEN
3. EU--AUSTRIA
4. EU--FINLAND

Added entry(s):

1. Club de Bruxelles (BE)

Notes:

Proceedings of a conference organised by the Club de Bruxelles and KREAB Europe with the support of the European Commission, DGX, in Brussels, Palais des Congres, February 10, 1995.

ID number: 80012979

Year: 1995

449 /00027

The New Enlargement of the European Union - Bruxelles : Club de Bruxelles.

93, 39 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--AUSTRIA
3. EU--SWEDEN
4. EU--FINLAND
5. EU--NORWAY

Added entry(s):

1. Club de Bruxelles (BE)
2. Belaud, Jean-Francois, ed.

Notes:

Study written by the Club de Bruxelles for the conference organised by the Club de Bruxelles on 10 February 1995.

ID number: 80012980

Year: 1995

441 /00046

Ordnungsprobleme Europas : die Europäische Union zwischen Vertiefung und  
Erweiterung - Marburg : Marburger Gesellschaft für Ordnungsfragen der  
Wirtschaft.

vii, 151 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 3930834014

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--EUROPE, EASTERN

Added entry(s):

1. Leipold, Helmut, ed.
2. Marburger Gesellschaft für Ordnungsfragen der Wirtschaft (DE)

ID number: 80011040

Year: 1994

441 /00051

L'Union européenne : ouverture à l'Est? - Paris : Presses Universitaires  
de France.

183 p. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2130466222

Author(s):

1. Serre, Françoise de la
2. Lequesne, Christian
3. Rupnik, Jacques

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 185.

'Avec l'effondrement des régimes communistes, une ère nouvelle  
s'est ouverte en Europe depuis 1989. Aux structures figées par la guerre  
froide a succédé une situation mouvante. À la nécessité pour les  
pays d'Europe centrale et orientale de s'adapter en vue de rendre  
possible leur réinsertion dans la famille européenne correspond,  
pour les pays de l'Union européenne, le besoin de reformuler les  
objectifs et les méthodes de leur intégration dans la perspective  
d'un élargissement à l'Est.'

ID number: 80012115

Year: 1994

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

2004

- Boudewijn, Rob  
Keulen, Mendeltje van  
Roemenie : het te korte decennium tot 2007.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 58, nr. 3, maart 2004, p. 139-142.  
The authors assess Romania's ambitions to join the European Union by the year 2007 and conclude that this aspiration is somewhat far-fetched. While the Romanian population seems to be ready to join, the accession negotiations are proceeding at a particularly slow pace. The first reason for this stagnation is a combination of Romania's recent political history and the lasting influence of Ceausescu's communist regime. Unlike other East-European states, Romania's transformation into a more Western-orientated state took place fairly late (in 1996, when the Christen-Democrats won the elections) because up until then the neo-communists had forestalled most political reforms. A second reason for the drawn-out negotiations is of an economic nature : Romania's economy is far below EU average and is not even functioning as a proper market economy. Another factor that has prevented governmental reform and has therefore slowed down the process towards accession is the existence of widespread corruption. Moreover, the fact that Romanian law is not yet fully in accordance with the *acquis communautaire* severely complicates the negotiations. Finally, Romanian bureaucracy results in a lack of organisational transparency and in frequent miscommunication between policy-makers and those who execute policies. Romania would require at least another full decade of political and economic transformation before fully realizing the EU accession conditions.
  
- Bult, Jeroen  
Een klein land keert terug in de Europese familie : Estland op weg naar het EU-lidmaatschap.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 58, nr. 3, maart 2004, p. 133-138.  
The author gives an overview of the major political developments prior to Estonia's EU-membership. In the 1990s, Estonia made fast progress in fulfilling the Copenhagen-criteria and became the economic success-story of Eastern Europe. In its successive reports, the assessments of the European Commission were relatively positive. On 14 September 2003, the Estonians voted in favour of EU-accession. However, up to the present, Estonia's relationship with Brussels has frequently been overshadowed by serious tensions with its former colonizer, Russia.
  
- Eichengreen, Barry  
New Europe Meets the Euro.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 103, no. 671, March 2004, p. 127-134.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The only thing harder for Eastern Europe than converting quickly to the euro ? Not converting.
  
- Cameron, David R.  
The Tough Trials Ahead for the EU's Eastern Expansion.  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 103, no. 671, March 2004, p. 119-126.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
After swallowing 10 countries, the European Union is sure to suffer indigestion. The new members' pain will be worse.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 23 avril 2004.

- Yennari, Katerina  
 Building Bridges in Cyprus : The Role of the European Union in the Reconciliation of the Two Communities.  
 CYPRUS REVIEW, vol. 15, no. 2, Fall 2003, p. 81-101.  
 The origins of the interaction between the European Union and Cyprus are traced much earlier than the date Cyprus submitted its application for full membership. Europe, as a whole, but also individual European states, expressed their interest on the island even before 1974. Furthermore, for more than two decades since 1974, Europe has been involved in the Cyprus problem but, for various reasons, was not able to take the lead role in the negotiations for the solution of the problem. When Cyprus applied for full membership to the European Union this European interest grew even bigger since the reality of accepting a divided island accelerated the effort of the united European countries towards a solution of the problem. At the same time a whole new dynamic developed through the harmonisation process and the European ideals of peace, multiculturalism, coexistence, and human rights, which appealed to both communities who worked for a common goal : accession to the European Union.
  
- Kentas, Giorgos I.  
 A Realist Evaluation of Cyprus' Survival Dilemma as a Result of the Annan Plan.  
 CYPRUS REVIEW, vol. 15, no. 2, Fall 2003, p. 13-63.  
 This article elaborates on theories of international politics in order to evaluate the provisions of the Annan Plan in relation to Cyprus' survival dilemma in the aftermath of its accession to the EU. The author mainly estimates the survival concerns of Cyprus in the scenario that Cyprus accepts or denies the provisions of the Annan Plan. He assumes that should Cyprus join the EU, without a solution to its political problem on the basis of the Annan Plan, it will need to redefine its national strategy. The accession of Cyprus to the EU constitutes in itself a new framework of interaction between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and offers an alternative option for the settlement of the Cyprus issue on the basis of the founding principles of the EU, the Union's *acquis* and human rights. At the same time, Cyprus, as a member state of the EU, has to provide for its defence and ensure its survival in a world of anarchy. The EU is not an organisation of collective security and its preliminary security and defence mechanisms cannot offer military guarantees to its member states. As a member of the EU, Cyprus will remain outside regional security structures. Since international politics are without governance there is nobody to guarantee the survival of Cyprus. Until a solution is reached, Cyprus needs to continue basing its security on national defence and on its alliance with Greece.
  
- Ekman, Joakim  
 Linde, Jonas  
 Public Support for Democracy in the New EU Member States.  
 PERSPECTIVES, no. 21, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 39-54.  
 Eight countries of Central Europe are foreseen for full membership of the European Union in May 2004, and two South East European countries are slated for membership in 2007. If the enlargement process is to be successful, the new members of the EU will have to share the same values as the fifteen West European countries within the union. The EU would expect them to remain committed to free and fair elections, the rule of law and the development of an independent civil society. Drawing on the New Europe Barometer (NEB) and the Candidate Countries Eurobarometer (CCEB), this article analyses public support for democratic regime principles and performance within these ten post-communist countries. The article also includes an analysis of attitudes towards membership of the EU.

- Baun, Michael  
 The Implications of EU Enlargement for the United States.  
 PERSPECTIVES, no. 21, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 27-38.  
 This article focuses on three key areas in which enlargement will have an impact on US interests : economic relations, European security, and global affairs. It then examines the impact of enlargement on the EU's internal cohesion and external effectiveness. The author argues that enlargement is on balance a positive development for the US, although in certain areas it may also pose a challenge to US economic and political interests. Enlargement will increase the EU's internal diversity and complicate its decision-making, thereby making it a more difficult partner for the US. Although enlargement could lead to a more divided and less effective EU in the short term, the US should not seek to exploit this situation to its advantage, but should instead continue its traditional policy of support for European integration. In the final analysis, a strong and united Europe is the best foundation for a strong and productive transatlantic partnership.
  
- Agh, Attila  
 Smaller and Bigger States in the EU25 : The Eastern Enlargement and Decision-Making in the EU.  
 PERSPECTIVES, no. 21, Winter 2003 - 2004, p. 5-26.
  
- Heimerl, Daniela  
 UE-Balkans occidentaux : apres le sommet de Thessalonique de juin 2003.  
 COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1039, octobre 2003, p. 31-39.  
 Les evolutions dans les pays des Balkans occidentaux ainsi que les consequences de l'elargissement de l'UE a l'Est, demandent de repenser les strategies europeennes dans cette region, consideree comme instable et pour laquelle existe aussi une reelle perspective d'adhesion. Mais l'entree dans l'UE de huit pays post-communistes en mai 2004 ne risque-t-elle pas de retablir en quelque sorte la ligne de partage traditionnelle entre l'Europe et les Balkans ? Le Conseil europeen de Thessalonique, les 19 et 20 juin 2003, suivi le 21 du sommet UE-Balkans occidentaux, qualifie a la fois de retour a la realite et d'opportunitie manquee, n'ont pas reussi a mettre au point une strategie coherente pour leur integration. Par ailleurs, si la perspective europeenne est essentielle pour l'avenir de la region, elle ne resoudra pas tous les problemes. La politique mise en oeuvre en vue de l'elargissement aux huit pays de l'Europe du Centre-Est peut etre un modele, mais son succes n'est pas garanti dans le cas des Balkans occidentaux. Il necessite la mise en place d'instruments et de strategies qui accompagnent le Processus de stabilisation et d'association et prennent en compte les specificites de ces pays, ou la transition vers la democratie et vers une economie de marche se deroule dans la perspective de l'adhesion et ou les consequences du parallelisme entre ces deux evolutions seront sans doute lourdes.
  
- Browning, Christopher S.  
 Joenniemi, Pertti  
 The European Union's Two Dimensions : The Eastern and the Northern.  
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 4, December 2003, p. 463-478.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 In light of the forthcoming enlargement of the European Union, concerns over how the Union will deal with its new eastern neighbours have risen to some prominence. This article analyses Poland's current efforts to get to grips with the new challenges posed by enlargement as expressed in its policy initiative of the Eastern Dimension. In particular, the Eastern Dimension is compared with the EU's Northern Dimension, which has been on the scene for some time. The argument of this article is that, despite some similarities and despite the fact that the Eastern Dimension has clearly been influenced by its Northern counterpart, key conceptual differences exist between the two initiatives. While the Northern Dimension opens up for overlapping spaces of governance, for being

genuinely inclusive of outsiders and for emphasizing regionality in the construction of a new Europe, the Eastern Dimension remains more traditional in essence. Indeed, in some respects the Eastern Dimension, despite apparent intentions otherwise, will only contribute to re-bordering in Europe.

- Protsyk, Oleh

Domestic Political Institutions in Ukraine and Russia and their Responses to EU Enlargement.

COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES, vol. 36, no. 4, December 2003, p. 427-442.

This paper examines the role that key political institutions play in formulating Ukraine's and Russia's responses to European Union enlargement. It provides a structured comparison of how EU-related policies are designed in the two countries. It shows how the differences in institutional setting, mindset of political actors occupying these institutions, and the character of the party system affect the variation in presidential, cabinet, and parliamentary terms of involvement in EU-related matters. It demonstrates that the variation in these terms of involvement has a lasting effect on the nature of policy output in this specific policy area.

- Fuentes, Jorge

Los Balcanes occidentales : sexta ampliacion de la UE ?

POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 17, no. 96, noviembre - diciembre 2003, p. 137-148.

Cuando la quinta ampliacion se haya realizado, la Union Europea contara con veintiocho miembros. Con esta integracion del centro y el este del continente europeo, el proceso de adhesion estara avanzado pero incompleto. Diecinueve paises permaneceran todavia fuera de la Union.

- Oguzlu, H. Tarik

An Analysis of Turkey's Prospective Membership in the European Union from a 'Security' Perspective.

SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 3, September 2003, p. 285-299.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

This article argues that it is possible to explain the European Union's reluctant attitude towards Turkey's membership in the EU on the basis of the EU's international and security identity and Turkey's security culture and perception of Europe. The EU's final decision on Turkey's accession is dependent both on Turkey's performance in adopting the EU's distinctive security identity and on the continuation of the EU member-states' commitment to turning the EU into an international actor with vital security interests in Turkey's vicinity. On the basis of this reasoning, the article reaches two main conclusions. The first is that the prospects for Turkey's EU membership are better in the post-11 September era than they were in the 1990s. The second is that there is a close relationship between the way the EU accession process unfolds and the way Turkey and the EU see each other. The longer the accession process lasts and the more ambiguously the EU reacts towards Turkey's membership, the more likely Turkey and the EU will view each other as 'security threats' rather than 'security providers'.

- Husz, Dora  
Public Opinion : A Stumbling Block to Enlargement ? An Analysis of the Relationship Between Costs and Benefits of the EU-Enlargement and their Perception in Current EU Member-States.  
PERSPECTIVES, no. 20, Summer 2003, p. 5-39.  
EU accession has been on the minds and in the hearts of CEE politicians and the public since the collapse of Central and Eastern European communist regimes in 1989-1990, and the issue of eastern enlargement has also entered the official agenda of the EU since the 1993 Copenhagen European Council. More than a decade has gone by since the beginning of the process of transition and preparation for accession, but the date of enlargement (has not appeared to get closer ?) for most of this time. This paper investigates how one factor, the public perception of costs and benefits of enlargement in the current EU member states might have contributed to this delay. The core of the analysis is focused on the demonstration and explanation of discrepancies between the costs and benefits of eastern enlargement for the EU and their public perception in the current member states.
  
- Heimerl, Daniela  
L' Allemagne et l' elargissement de l' Union europeenne a l' Est.  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 51, automne 2003, p. 53-61.  
Les processus de transformation profonds que connaissent les pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale depuis 1990 ont change a la fois les objectifs et les instruments de la politique etrangere allemande, modifiant les fonctions des institutions internationales les plus importantes telles que l'Union europeenne. La preservation de la prosperite economique et la sauvegarde de la securite ont cede la place a l'exportation de la stabilite. Sur cette toile de fond, la refonte et l'extension de l'UE conjugent les interets les plus importants et les defis les plus grands qui se posent, a l'heure actuelle, a la politique etrangere allemande. L'elargissement de l'UE est ainsi intrinsequement lie a l'interrogation suivante : quel sera le futur role de l'Allemagne en Europe et comment definir les interets allemands en Europe centrale ?
  
- Meulen, J. W. van der  
Polens toetreding tot de EU : de wil van God of het verraad van Miller ?  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 9, september 2003, p. 430-434.  
The author sketches the context of the Polish referendum of June 2003 on the accession of Poland to the European Union. Although in this referendum the positive attitude towards accession was carried by a large majority (almost 77 per cent), it has to be noted that only just over 50 per cent of the Polish electorate turned up at the polls, and consequently the result was long in doubt. The initial hesitation among the Poles was understandable. The Miller-government has lost most of its popular support due to the high level of unemployment, the slow economic growth, as well as the emergence of a corruption scandal in the Polish media. Furthermore, it appeared that Polish EU membership would entail many disadvantages. Now that this membership is no longer in doubt, the author elaborates on what role Poland may play in the future European Union.
  
- Diedrichs, Udo  
Wessels, Wolfgang  
Will Widening Paralyze the EU ?  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 2003, p. 37-42.  
Enlargement will strain EU cohesiveness. Taking in ten new members with a wide spectrum of historical, cultural, political and economic differences next year will put Europe's institutions under considerable pressure. In reforming these institutions in the ongoing European constitutional convention, the EU must be careful not to adopt changes that would pull the Union apart centrifugally rather than preserve its commonality.

- Vachudova, Milada Anna  
Strategies for European Integration and Democratization in the Balkans. SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 92-105. Even though the EU has greater attraction than ever on the political and economic developments in the Balkans, in some states the problems are so daunting that the EU's determination to promote successful reform - that includes transparency and the rule of law - will have to be very great indeed. The paper is divided into three parts : first, the author explores the nature of political change in the Balkan states after 1989 and accounts for the EU's lack of influence. Second, she explores what strategies the EU adopted to replace extreme nationalists with Western reformers as the first step toward stabilizing the region. Finally, she examines how the EU's evolving Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) may combine with the EU's ongoing accession process to underpin a successful EU strategy for promoting the stabilization and economic revival of the Balkans.
  
- Dreyfus, Francois-Georges  
Quel elargissement pour quelle Europe ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 59e annee, no. 7, juillet 2003, p. 96-103.  
En avril dernier, a Athenes, les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de l'Union europeenne ont, en compagnie de leurs homologues des Etats candidats a l'Union, signe les traites d'adhesion. Pour beaucoup, l'Europe des 25 est nee, mais il ne semble pas que les aspects economiques et financiers qu'entraiment ces adhesions aient ete reellement pris en compte. Refusant d'augmenter le budget europeen (ce qui aurait permis la reglementation des ressources), on a , lors du Conseil de Berlin, decide une nouvelle clef de repartition. Surtout on n'a pas vu que - pendant une dizaine d'annees au moins - cet elargissement allait en realite appauvrir une Europe qui, depuis 1980, connait deja un fort ralentissement de la croissance du PIB, en raison de l'entree de la Grece, de l'Espagne et du Portugal, dans ce qui etait alors la CEE.
  
- Monar, Jorg  
The Area of Freedom, Security and Justice after the 2004 Enlargement. INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 1, January - March 2003, p. 33-50.  
The author emphasises the considerable differences existing between the current EU members and the prospective new ones in terms not only of structures and implementation capabilities, but also of policy approaches. He then discusses the possible impact of this diversity on the EU's performance in the various JHA areas and the possible ways and instruments to deal with it. The set of reform measures he proposes are aimed at maintaining and possibly improving the Union's current decision-making and implementation capacity, as well as reinforcing the mutual trust between EU current and future members in the JHA domain.
  
- Bort, Eberhard  
EU Enlargement : Policing the New Borders.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 1, January - March 2003, p. 51-68.  
This article focuses on the new problems that the Union will have to face in police coordination when it acquires a new eastern frontier as a result of enlargement. The author analyses the structural obstacles that have prevented more effective trans-frontier police cooperation so far, but also describes some of the many initiatives recently undertaken at the European level that demonstrate a growing willingness to build up common policy instruments. His general thesis is that, in shaping their future external frontier, the EU member countries should try to find an appropriate policy mix reconciling security and protection requirements with the need to promote communication and exchange with third countries.

- Asmus, Ronald D.  
Central and Eastern Europe in an Age of New Uncertainty.  
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 6-15.  
Most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will soon become members of the European Union and NATO. However, while the region has the historical triumph within its reach, the West it has worked so hard to join is increasingly divided over various issues. The foundations of major institutions that were to guarantee the future of Central and Eastern Europe are shaken. The author identifies and analyzes three main challenges that the region faces in the decade ahead - the first one lies across the Atlantic, the second one within Europe and the third one lies within the region itself.
  
- Le cinquieme elargissement de l' Union europeenne : l' arrivee en force de l' Europe centrale.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1031, janvier 2003, plusieurs articles, p. 3-56.  
Alors que plusieurs Etats membres, a commencer par l' Allemagne, attendent de cet elargissement un regain de croissance, cette arrivee en force de l'Europe centrale pose de facon plus generale la question du devenir de l'UE. Son identite, son architecture tout autant que ses modalites de fonctionnement et ses moyens d'action font ainsi l'objet de vives interrogations auxquelles les travaux de la Convention sur l'avenir de l'Europe, menes par les vingt-sept pays europeens, tentent pour partie de repondre.
  
- Teitelbaum, Michael S.  
Martin, Philip L.  
Is Turkey Ready for Europe ?  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, vol. 82, no. 3, May - June 2003, p. 97-111.  
Brussels has delayed a decision on whether to admit Turkey to the EU. This caution is wise : it may aggravate the Turks, but no one really knows what consequences accession would bring, and Turkey has yet to achieve Europe's economic standards. History suggests that open borders would bring a flood of Turks northward looking for better jobs - a negative development for all the countries involved.
  
- Serfaty, Simon  
Europe Enlarged, America Detached ?  
CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 102, no. 662, March 2003, p. 99-105.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
September 11 should be a catalyst for a renewal of the West as a community of action that is shaped by interests that are common even when they are not always equally shared. What the West needs, and must seek in and beyond the EU and NATO - the two central institutions that comprise it - is more, not less, integration.
  
- Ethier, Diane  
Is Democracy Promotion Effective ? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 10, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 99-120.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
Many studies suggest that conditionality is a more effective democracy promotion strategy (DPS) than incentives. This paper confirms the validity of this hypothesis by demonstrating that conditional pre-accession political reforms, required from the eastern and central European applicants by the European Union, have substantially progressed from 1998, while the impact of incentives democratic aid programmes carried out by donors since 1994 has proved to be either very modest or non-existent. Then it explains these unequal performances by synthesizing insights provided by the analysis of both DPS processes of implementation, interviews conducted with the European Union Eastern Enlargement negotiators, and literature devoted to democratic aid

programmes, international cooperation and compliance of states with international institutions norms and rules. On the whole, the study challenges the endogeneous theory of comparative politics according to which 'democracy is a domestic affair par excellence'.

- Broeders, Dennis  
Sie Dhian Ho, Monika  
Voorbij fort Europa ? Vrijheid, veiligheid en rechtvaardigheid in een Europabrede Unie.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 57, nr. 3, maart 2003, p. 133-138.  
The authors discuss the challenges and opportunities for the relatively young EU cooperation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) in the context of the coming Eastern enlargement of the EU. Specific characteristics of JHA make that the adoption and implementation of the *acquis* in this policy-area, as well as effective and legitimate governance after enlargement merit special attention. In their discussion of three sub-fields of JHA - external borders and visa policy, asylum policy and police and judicial cooperation - the authors indicate possible ways to enhance the effectiveness and legitimacy of these policies in an enlarged EU.

2002
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- Tank, Pinar  
'Re-solving' the Cyprus Problem : Changing Perceptions of State and Societal Security.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 3, Autumn 2002, p. 146-164.  
The Republic of Cyprus has been included in the next enlargement of the European Union (EU) to be announced at the European Council Summit in December 2002. The EU accepted Cyprus' membership even without a solution to the island's divided status. In the months preceding the summit, efforts to arrive at a solution intensified in the hopes of averting a crisis that could ensue, particularly between the EU and Turkey. Analysing the debate in Turkey and Northern Cyprus from the perspective of state and societal security, this article examines challenges to Turkey's Cyprus policy that may provide impetus towards a solution.
  
- Moravcsik, Andrew  
Vachudova, Milada Anna  
National Interests, State Power, and EU Enlargement.  
PERSPECTIVES, no. 19, Winter 2002 - 2003, p. 21-31.  
Eight post-communist states have concluded negotiations with the EU to enter as full members in 2004, and several more are poised to do so later. In this essay the authors seek to outline the most important structural forces of national interest and influence underlying the dynamics of enlargement itself and its future consequences for EU governance. By national interest, they mean the economic and geopolitical consequences of enlargement for European states and societies.
  
- Pridham, Geoffrey  
Slovakia's Relations with the European Union 1998-2002 : Political Conditionality, Its Effects and Its Limitations.  
SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 3, no. 2, Fall 2002, p. 75-89.  
This contribution seeks first to look briefly at the EU's formulation of democratic conditionality and Slovakia's pre-1998 relations with the EU before concentrating on the Dzurinda government during 1998-2002. How far is such change over the EU's political conditions simply a question of political will on the part of applicant governments driving democratic conditionality and, if so, is EU policy here essentially a dependent variable ? Or, alternatively, should one view the implementation of this conditionality as part of a complex dynamics with domestic constraints as well as European pressures interacting ?

- Duleba, Alexander  
 What Should the Eastern Policy of the European Union Be Like ? Few Questions Raised in Central Europe.  
 SLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY AFFAIRS, vol. 3, no. 2, Fall 2002, p. 65-74.  
 This contribution attempts to briefly summarize the most important issues related to the EU policy towards countries in Eastern Europe, covering its development after the Treaty of Amsterdam, as a background to the upcoming Visegrad countries (V4) EU accession. Several considerably new issues affecting the current relationship of V4 countries to their eastern neighbors have been brought up within the EU accession processes, and not all of them are in line with the interests of the Visegrad countries. The V4 countries have started a discussion on the Eastern Policy of the enlarged Union in order to analyze not only prospective contributions of new member states, but also the very concept of the EU policy towards its eastern neighbors.
  
- Pons, Françoise  
 A qui profitera l' élargissement ?  
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 98, hiver 2002 - 2003, p. 67-80.  
 The EU summit in Copenhagen confirmed that 10 new nations will join the 15 current members of the European Union on May 1, 2004. This enlargement, unprecedented in size, arouses both significant concerns and great hopes. Current members fear competition from countries with low labour costs and are worried that welcoming these poor nations into the large European family will require colossal financial efforts for years to come. The collective imagination is wracked by the spectre of companies shifting operations to other countries and massive population migrations. The candidate countries, however, view this expansion as an historic opportunity. The sacrifices they agreed to make to comply with Brussels requirements are beginning to bear fruit. Both sides, however, have only a partial vision of the actual situation. Expansion will lead to winners and losers on each side of the former Iron Curtain. But such is the price to pay to create an area of peace and prosperity with 450 million inhabitants.
  
- Oguzlu, H. Tarik  
 Perennial Conflict or Everlasting Peace : The European Union's Involvement in Cyprus.  
 PERCEPTIONS, vol. 7, no. 2, June - August 2002, p. 79-101.  
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/percept/default.htm>  
 It is contended in this paper that the European Union, through the dynamics of the membership accession process, has the potential to contribute to peace and security in and around the island of Cyprus, provided some conditions are met. However, unless the current approach of the EU is changed, the ongoing accession process between the EU and the Greek Cypriots on behalf of the whole of Cyprus will lead only to further securitisation in the region.
  
- Yesilada, Birol A.  
 Sozen, Ahmet  
 Negotiating a Resolution to the Cyprus Problem : Is Potential European Union Membership a Blessing or a Curse ?  
 INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION, vol. 7, no. 2, 2002, p. 261-285.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 This article provides a game theoretic analysis of how the candidacy of Cyprus for European Union membership presents an important challenge for both the Union's eastern enlargement plans and current international efforts aimed at resolving the Cyprus problem. The conclusions indicate that the Cypriot conflict has entered a very delicate period in its protracted and troublesome history characterized by a deadlock game. Strong domestic and international factors have created the conditions for each side to follow a non-cooperative strategy aimed at unilateral victory rather than a compromise. In this regard, the EU's promise to the Greek Cypriots of membership in the Union, regardless of the settlement

of the Cyprus problem, serves as a side payment that enforces non-cooperative strategy. Likewise, Turkey's overwhelming military superiority in the region and its unconditional support for the Turkish Cypriots strengthens the Turkish side's rigid position in the Cyprus negotiations. Under these circumstances, it is argued that an influential third party like the United States is needed to coordinate the efforts of the UN and EU to move the two parties away from a deadlock game. This effort requires a package approach to the issues surrounding the Cyprus problem, the island's membership in the EU, and EU-Turkey relations.

- Berg, Eiki

Meurs, Wim van

Borders and Orders in Europe : Limits of Nation- and State-Building in Estonia, Macedonia and Moldova.

JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 18, no. 4, December 2002, p. 51-74.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The breakdown of communist rule provided new opportunities for the restoration of statehood and for national self-determination. Estonia, Moldova and Macedonia have in common a 'minority' large enough potentially to claim a share in nation- and state-building rather than being granted minority rights. Numerous cases of ethnic strife within post-communist states and beyond their borders have demonstrated that domestic ethnicity can easily internationalize ethnic relations. In the 1990s, however, the EU has entered Rogers Brubaker's classic triangle (state-nation, minority and homeland) as a fourth variable rather than a constant. Evidently, a country's contractual relation with the EU and its location in a newly divided Europe are relevant for the effectiveness of the EU's expanding toolbox for conflict prevention. Moreover, a mode of EU enlargement strictly based on conditionality implies a separation of regions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' where different norms and strategies apply to minority issues.

- Redeker, Niels

Uitbreiding : een ander Unie vereist andere solidariteit : noodzaak van nieuw Europees structuur- en cohesiebeleid.

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 56, nr. 12, december 2002, p. 591-595.

The author advocates the much needed reform of European structural policy with a view to the enlargement of the European Union with 10 relatively poor new member states. An enlarged EU requires another form of solidarity. Existing objections (economic and efficiency orientated) will be reinforced. The current system amounts to pumping around great sums of money among rich countries. A reformed structural policy should set aside the regional focus and leave more flexibility to national governments. The subsidiarity principle should be applied to structural policy as well. A national eligibility criterion would make sure European funds will be spent in the relatively poorer member states. Moreover, a proper focus would make the structural funds financially sustainable for the future and would benefit the new member states.

- Zaborowski, Marcin

Power, Security and the Past : Polish-German Relations in the Context of EU and NATO Enlargements.

GERMAN POLITICS, vol. 11, no. 2, August 2002, p. 165-185.

<http://www.ingenta.com>

This article attempts to answer 'why' Poland and Germany pursued EU and NATO enlargement in the ways they did and why their strategic interests converged in support for enlargement. Two broad explanations are power maximisation, stressing rational notions of economic and security interests, and historical legacies, pointing to the importance of historical factors and national predispositions or political cultures in shaping German and Polish perspectives on enlargement and European integration. Germany's inbred attachments to multilateralism gelled with Poland's post 1989 desire to return to Europe, which resulted in a common

position on enlargements. However, this would not necessarily endure in the long run, as has been indicated more recently in Polish-German discord over the issue of European federalism and the future shape of integration.

- Carlsen, Per  
From the Baltic States to the Caucasus : Regional Cooperation after the Enlargements.  
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 1, 2002, p. 27-39.  
Mr. Per Carlsen argues that the Baltic States is a success story. However, successful Baltic States' Euro-Atlantic integration should not be reason for US and EU to pay less attention to the region. Co-operation and the experience if integration should be moved further to the Eurasian continent : "if prosperity is not moved to the east, Russia's problems will soon become the EU's problems". Stability of Caucasus and Central Asia is also vital to the European a security and stability, Baltic states have a good potential, as well as valuable experience and expertise to build bridges between the West and East, says the distinguished expert of Baltic Sea region.
  
- Moshes, Arkady  
Russian-Baltic Relations After the Double Enlargement : Re-thinking the Agenda.  
LITHUANIAN FOREIGN POLICY REVIEW, no. 1, 2002, p. 50-62.  
The prevailing trend in the Russian-Baltic relations on the eve of the EU and NATO enlargement in the Baltic Sea area can be defined as a search for pragmatic interaction. The author finds that Russian-Baltic relations are in the phase of pragmatism, and "economisation". The enlargements of NATO and EU present us with many opportunities for bilateral co-operation, However, double enlargements, if not handled right away, may bring negative effects in some fields (questions of Kaliningrad and minorities, deepened socio-economic divide, short-term hinders for economic co-operation, negative perceptions).
  
- PyrozHKov, Serhiy  
Report of the National Institute for International Security Problems.  
POLITICS AND THE TIMES, no. 3, 2002, p. 27-35.
  
- Rizzotti, Ludovica  
The Potential Macroeconomic Impact of EU Enlargement.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 2, April - June 2002, p. 65-77.  
The author underlines that the advantages of enlargement will be greater than previously estimated and probably ample enough to compensate the costs. However, she adds that benefits will be distributed unevenly among the current member states and that this will represent a complicating factor.
  
- Bini Smaghi, Lorenzo  
Why Enlarge the EU ? A Look at the Macroeconomic Implications.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 2, April - June 2002, p. 51-63.  
This article examines the likely impact of the Union's enlargement process on the economies of both current members and candidate countries. The author underlines that the overall effect on the former will be small, not least because the candidate countries' process of economic integration is already at an advanced stage, but given that their privatisation plans are coming to an end, some of them may face difficulties in financing their external debts.

- Mink, Georges  
Neumayer, Laure  
Contagion anti-europeenne en Europe centrale.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 665-681.  
Dans les pays d'Europe centrale, et notamment en Hongrie, en Pologne et en Republique tcheque, la question de l'adhesion a l'Union europeenne cristallise les enjeux partisans sur les differentes scenes politiques. L'arrivee d'acteurs pronant le repli sur soi et le retour a une identite nationale revivifiee concurrence le discours, plutot favorable a l'elargissement, des anciens dissidents ou des ex-communistes au pouvoir. Ces nouveaux acteurs nourrissent des sentiments antidemocratiques et manient les symboles de l'histoire nationale a des fins de radicalisation anti-europeenne (question des Sudetes, Maison des expulsés, spectre d'une colonisation occidentale a travers l'Union). Par ailleurs, le calendrier actuel de la construction europeenne (liberte de circulation des travailleurs et des capitaux, questions financieres ...) n'exerce pas une tres grande force d'attraction aupres des populations : on peut se demander si les sondages effectues quant a l'adhesion, qui restent pour l'instant favorables, rendent compte justement de l'etat des opinions.
  
- Riedel, Sabine  
Minorites nationales en Europe et protection des droits de l' homme : un enjeu pour l' elargissement.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 67e annee, no. 3, juillet - septembre 2002, p. 647-664.  
Au nom des droits de l'homme, les diverses institutions de l'Europe ont pose comme critere d'adhesion a l'Union le respect des minorites, sans pour autant en donner une definition claire. Face a ce vide semantique et juridique, la mise en pratique de cette protection des minorites a evolue et est passee, de 1992 a 1998, de la promotion de l'integration a celle de la segregation linguistique, pronant les droits collectifs et favorisant l'avenement de modeles d'Etat ethniques (Hongrie, Roumanie, Turquie) censes pouvoir prevenir les conflits entre les diverses communautes de ces pays. L'introduction effective de droits collectifs (Bulgarie, Republique de Macedoine), en faisant notamment coexister plusieurs systemes d'education a l'interieur d'un meme pays, regenere les nationalismes, profite aux economies paralleles et s'avere aller a l'encontre du multiculturalisme, base de la democratie et de l'Etat de droit. Il est donc urgent d'evaluer la politique europeenne et de definir, a ce niveau, un concept global de protection des minorites.
  
- Brusis, Martin  
Emmanouilidis, Janis A.  
Candidates Too Help Shape the EU's Future.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 3, 2002, p. 97-100.  
This time around, the ten candidates for the next admission of members to the club are taking part in the decisions about the EU's future evolution. Their delegates are present at the ongoing European constitutional convention. They, too, are seeking an EU Ostpolitik that will help their eastern neighbors, and thus ease unwanted pressures on themselves.
  
- Hughes, James  
Sasse, Gwendolyn  
Gordon, Claire  
Saying 'Maybe' for the 'Return of Europe' : Elites and the Political Space for Euroscepticism in Central and Eastern Europe.  
EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, September 2002, p. 327-355.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
A major challenge for EU enlargement is how to communicate the benefits of membership to electorates. Given the weak penetration of party systems in the Central and East European countries, subnational elites have an important role in shaping voter preferences. Attitudes among subnational

elites to EU enlargement are examined in three leading candidate countries in Central and Eastern Europe : Hungary, Slovenia, and Estonia. The results are based on large-scale elite interviews conducted in 1999-2000 in key regional cities. The research demonstrates that subnational elites are disengaged not only structurally from the European integration project, since the negotiations involve the Commission and national governments, but also in their opinions. The subnational elites tend to view EU membership as a national issue and irrelevant for their level, and are poorly informed about EU activities that benefit them. The article suggests that this disengagement of subnational elites constitutes a space for the mobilization of Euroscepticism from below.

- Kopecky, Petr  
Muddle, Cas

The Two Sides of Euroscepticism : Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe.  
EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, September 2002, p. 297-325.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>

This article aims to make a three-fold contribution to the study of Euroscepticism in the wiser Europe. First, it presents a two-dimensional conceptualization of party positions in European integration in general and of Euroscepticism in particular, distinguishing between diffuse and specific support for Europe (i.e. 'support for the ideas of European integration' and 'support for the EU'). Second, it analyses the location, type, and electoral strength of party based Euroscepticism in the four candidate countries of East Central Europe - the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, Third, it contributes to the ideology vs. strategy debate, showing that ideology is the dominant explanation for both types of support, although strategy at times plays a role in explaining specific support.

- Zagorski, Andrei

The OSCE in the Context of the Forthcoming EU and NATO Extensions.  
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 13, no. 3, 2002, p. 221-232.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>

This contribution analyzes the potential effect of the forthcoming EU and NATO extensions on the OSCE resulting from the increasing membership in the two institutions, and from their evolving mandates. In the second and third parts, it assesses the OSCE's comparative advantages and areas of excellence followed by conclusions with regard to the future profile of the Organization within the evolving European security system.

- Samary, Catherine

Des privatisations forcees a la democratie imposee : quels criteres d'adhesion a l' Union europeenne ?  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 47, automne 2002, p. 29-36.  
L'elargissement de l'Europe vers l'Est ne resulte pas d'un processus de cooperation, mais d'une demarche a sens unique selon laquelle les Etats candidats doivent s'aligner sur les exigences de l'Union europeenne. Une integration des pays par 'vagues' a, dans un premier temps, ete preconisee. Des criteres de selection devaient permettre de determiner les Etats qui formeraient la premiere vague. Or, en definitive, des considerations geostrategiques motiverent le choix de l'UE. Au printemps 1999, la necessite de stabiliser la situation dans les Balkans a conduit a l'abandon de la methode d'adhesion par 'vagues'. Le Conseil d'Helsinki, de decembre 1999, a decide d'engager des negociations avec l'ensemble des pays candidats et d'abandonner toute garantie concernant le calendrier de l'adhesion. Les pays de l'Europe de l'Est se sont engages sur la voie d'une ouverture a la concurrence de leurs marches afin de remplir les criteres d'adhesion. Or la faiblesse de leurs economies infirme l'efficacite supposee des preceptes liberaux. Neanmoins, l'UE continue a promouvoir ce modele assimilant a tort democratisation et privatisations.

- Region, State and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe.  
REGIONAL AND FEDERAL STUDIES, vol. 12, no. 2, Summer 2002, Whole Issue.  
<http://www.ingenta.com>
  
- Busek, Erhard  
Europa im Wandel - Sicherheit im Wandel : Sicherheitspolitische Dimension der EU-Osterweiterung.  
OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 40. Jg., Heft 4, Juli - August 2002, S. 395-404.  
The author is convinced that EU enlargement is an absolute necessity and that it will go hand in hand with a first-rate security-political challenge. Europe can only gain by the enlargement, for if it fails, instability and the inability to act, as the old continent new it, may well resurface.
  
- The Enlarged European Union : Diversity and Adaptation.  
WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS, vol. 25, no. 2, April 2002, Whole Issue.  
<http://www.ingenta.com>  
In view of the numerous structural differences between the current and prospective EU member states, it is difficult to expect there to be a major and durable alignment of their respective political preferences and behaviour after enlargement. The European Union is trying hard to reduce many of these structural differences before the accession date. But how much can possibly be accomplished in the relatively short time before the first round of enlargement ? Since pressure is mounting to speed up accession and at the same time to make it inclusive, it is highly unlikely that the Union will take in only the most unambiguously EU-compatible countries from the region. Hence by opening the doors and ushering in such a large degree of diversity, it is inevitable that some of the admission criteria are going to be compromised. But does this mean that the process of European integration will be slowed or even halted ? Will it have the effect of paralysing the EU institutions, leading to an escalation of the sort of disputes that may prevent any collective endeavours ?
  
- Inotai, Andras  
The Curious Art of Negotiating EU Entry.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, vol. 3, no. 2, 2002, p. 23-27.  
The art of negotiating EU membership is sui generis. The two partners of the EU and applicant countries do not start with differing positions and compromise somewhere in the middle. Instead, the EU club's rules are a given. The only thing to talk about is how long the grace period lasts before full compliance. Here the one thing to be avoided is any unequal treatment, as in the French proposal for an avant garde group of more integrated nations.
  
- Wood, Steve  
Apprehensive Partners : Germany, Poland, and EU Enlargement.  
GERMAN POLITICS, vol. 11, no. 1, April 2002, p. 97-124.  
<http://www.ingenta.com>  
As demands and tensions linked to the European Union's forthcoming enlargement intensify, Germany and Poland's communal interests and institutionalised obligations to cooperate do not guarantee solutions to historical and more recent contentions. While on balance the relationship is appraised as positive, this article also highlights areas of strain that governmental actors and academic commentary have tended to minimise. Even with continued state support for structural change, commercial endeavours and contacts among civil society, a deficiency of popular enthusiasm signals that bilateral difficulties will persist after Poland's EU entry.

- Sabic, Z.  
Brglez, M.  
The National Identity of Post-Communist Small States in the Process of Accession to the European Union : The Case of Slovenia.  
COMMUNIST AND POST-COMMUNIST STUDIES, vol. 35, no. 1, March 2002, p. 67-84.  
The article discusses, through conceptual elaboration and empirical investigation, the interplay between the perception of smallness and the concept of national identity in the case of Slovenia's integration into the European Union. Unlike the prevailing literature on Slovenia, the authors do not take Slovenia's smallness for granted. They argue that, in the particular case of Slovenian identity-building, smallness as an independent variable does not feature frequently at all. The research is based on methodological pluralism, with a special emphasis on political discourse, the mass media and public opinion in Slovenia.
  
- Vassiliou, George  
EU Enlargement : Implications for Europe, Cyprus, and the Eastern Mediterranean.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 1, Winter 2002, p. 12-20.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Folch-Vidal, Xavier  
La Europa que viene : retos politicos y economicos.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 16, no. 85, enero - febrero 2002, p. 94-110.  
Las actuales prioridades exteriores han ensombrecido el objetivo inmediato de la UE: la ampliacion al Este. Conviene recapitular sobre los costes que tendria la no ampliacion para Europa.
  
- Kuus, Marje  
European Integration in Identity Narratives in Estonia : A Quest for Security.  
JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH, vol. 39, no. 1, January 2002, p. 91-108.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
This article situates the Estonian discourse of national identity in the country's pursuits of EU and NATO membership. It first outlines the assumptions, concepts, and rhetorical devices through which the notion of national identity is constructed in discussions of international integration, and then highlights the policy ramifications of the identity discourse. The article concentrates on the three closely linked concepts - civilized conflict, national territorial sovereignty, and security - that together constitute a core of identity debates in Estonia. While national identity in Estonia has hitherto been examined in the context of ethnic relations between the Estonian and the non-Estonian populations, this article analyzes identity debates, including issues of ethnicity, in the context of the country's pursuits of international integration. As identity is a central concept in Estonia's foreign, security, citizenship, and minority rights policies, the article exposes the claims that underpin these policies. The Estonian identity discourse contains strong arguments in favor of EU membership, yet several of its fundamental premises discursively construct this membership as harmful to Estonia. Both pro- and contra-EU arguments pivot particularly on claims about geopolitical and cultural threats. On the one hand, international integration is constructed as a security measure against the Russian threat. On the other hand, insofar as supranational institutions pressure Estonia to naturalize its Russian-speaking residents, who are construed as representatives of the Russian threat, international integration is also depicted as dangerous to Estonian identity. Estonian identity narratives thereby contradict governmental rhetoric of ethnic and European integration.

- Dehousse, Franklin  
Coussens, wouter  
The Enlargement of the European Union : Opportunities and Threats.  
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 54, no. 4, 2001, whole issue.
  
- Elsuwege, Peter Van  
De Europese Unie, de baltische staten en Rusland : een complexe driehoeksrelatie.  
STUDIA DIPLOMATICA, vol. 54, no. 3, 2001, p. 103-116.
  
- Parzymies, Stanislaw  
European Union after Laeken.  
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 10, no. 4, Autumn 2001, p. 5-21.  
The European Council meeting held in Laeken at the end of the Belgian Presidency on 14 and 15 December 2001 abounded in unusually rich and diversified results. It paid special attention to preparations for the 2004 Intergovernmental Conference, which is to give a new design to the European Union. The Council made a fundamental decision to enlarge the EU to embrace ten new states. It also raised the question of combatting terrorism and discussed it in the context of a broader programme adopted by the Council in Tampere in 1999 with a view to transforming Europe into the area of freedom, security and justice. As regards the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the Council defined its position on the progress of implementing the Common European Security and Defence Policy and on the tense situation in some important regions. Finally, it commented on the launch of the euro as the common currency in twelve EU countries on 1 January 2002 and assessed the implementation of the Lisbon strategy on sustainable economic and social development.
  
- Morales, Eva Carrasco  
La UE y el desafio de la ampliacion.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 83, septiembre - octubre 2001, p. 112-129.  
Entre los miembros de la UE y los paises candidatos sigue abierta la polemica sobre la ampliacion. Los distintos modelos de adhesion, las fechas en que se producira cada nueva entrada, asi como los requisitos de los diez paises de Europa central y oriental que aspiran estar en la Union a lo largo de esta decada plantean el debate de mayor calado en la historia comunitaria.
  
- Straus, Ira  
Western Common Homes and Russian National Identities : How Far East Can the EU and NATO Go, and Where Does That Leave Russia ?  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 10, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 1-44.  
This article examines the dual problem of Russia's international identity and its integration with the West, looking at it from first the Eastern then the Western side. It argues that a Westernist state identity would be sustainable for Russia only if accompanied by integration with the Euro-Atlantic institutions, and that in some respects the prospects for this are not as bad as usually thought : Russia is in fact in the process of entering most of the minor institutions of the Atlantic system. However, NATO and the EU are the decisive institutions, and here Russia has fared poorly. Neither side conceptualizes NATO in a way that would lead to Russian entry. NATO affirms that Russia is eligible to join when it meets the conditions, but few people on either side believe it : the conditions were conceptualized for including only small countries, not Russia. The inertia of mutual counter-position remains strong. Many in NATO circles have raised a series of objections to ever including Russia, ranging from a visceral belief that NATO needs to have Russia as its external enemy to a more specific fear of a Russian veto power; and NATO

has yet to undertake to make its decision-making arrangements more flexible, as would be necessary in order to address the fear of vetoes. In theory the obstacles could be overcome in the present period; in practice this does not seem likely. Presently Russia is instead speaking mainly of uniting with the EU, yet this has even fewer prospects : the EU is too small to take in a large Russia. The failure to find a substantial Western institutional home for Russia has meant, and is likely to continue to mean, undermining the viability of the recurrent attempts at a Westernist identity for Russia.

- Meulen, J. W. van der

Centraal-Europa op weg naar de EU : regatta of doolhof ?

INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 12, december 2001, p. 597-601.

The author reviews the general political and economic situation of the pre-accession countries in Central Europe vis-a-vis the European Union and its acquis. Since the Goteborg EU Summit of mid-June 2001, the question marks over the precise date of accession have been replaced by the even more sensitive questions of which country or group(s) of countries will be first to get the green light for entry into the EU. In particular, the Republic of Czechia has criticised the way in which the EU monitors and evaluates economic performance of prospective member states. Actually, Poland is the only candidate that has seriously considered the option of hard and long negotiations. However, it has been acknowledged that extended negotiations would primarily amount to further stressing the role and importance of the *acquis communautaire*, so extra efforts in negotiations would not lead to better results. Meanwhile, it is feared that after completing negotiations the EU would still use the Copenhagen criteria in order to stall the entry of some candidate countries. Germany and Austria are most important to Central European countries. Slovenia and Czechia still have an agenda of unsolved problems with Vienna. On the other hand, Germany's main motive for not delaying EU enlargement is that it fears political instability in Central Europe.

- Monar, Jorg

The Justice and Home Affairs Dimension of EU Enlargement.

INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 3, July - September 2001, p.

37-46.

The author of this article analyses the policy implications for the next stage of the Union's enlargement and the rapid growth of the EU's justice and home affairs (JHA) dimension.

- Hall, John

Quaisser, Wolfgang

Europe's Eastern Enlargement : Who Benefits ?

CURRENT HISTORY, vol. 100, no. 649, November 2001, p. 389-393.

<http://www.currenthistory.com>

The European Union is preparing to take a quantum leap eastward. For the EU, previous rounds of enlargement meant adding tens of millions of West Europeans. In contrast, its current plans for enlargement mean adding between 100 million and 200 million new citizens from central, eastern, and southeastern Europe. Will such an unprecedented enlargement make the union that much more perfect? Or might the planned expansion generate such high levels of dissension between and among member countries that the future of this grand experiment in integration is threatened ?

- Verheugen, Gunter  
L'elargissement communautaire apres le sommet de Nice.  
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 66e annee, no. 2, avril - juin 2001, p. 301-310.  
This article looks at the current enlargement process of the European Union, unique in the history of European integration. The process consists of negotiations with ten candidate countries from Central and Eastern Europe as well as Cyprus and Malta. Turkey has been granted candidate status. What conditions do these countries have to fulfil and how do the negotiations proceed ? Answers to these questions and the benefits and challenges of the process are discussed. Finally, it is shown how the Nice Treaty has cleared the remaining institutional obstacles to enlargement for the Union such that it will be ready to admit new member states from the end of 2002.
  
- Proutat, Jean-Luc  
Agricultures et elargissement : les enjeux et les couts.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1014, avril 2001, p. 33-50.  
L'agriculture n'est pas le moindre des problemes qui se posent en matiere d'elargissement etant donne que ce secteur represente dans les PECO 7% du PIB et emploie 21,5% des actifs (respectivement 1,6% et 5% dans l'UE). Il est par ailleurs largement soutenu dans les pays membres. Se pose donc le probleme de la reforme de la Politique agricole commune face a l'elargissement dont l'examen est prevu en 2003, et notamment celui (crucial) des aides directes et des paiements compensatoires, parallelement a la prise en compte des interets des paysans des pays candidats : les cereales et la viande sont au coeur des enjeux, mais aussi d'autres productions comme le lait ou les fruits qui vont venir concurrencer de plein fouet celles de l'UE et accroitre les excedents, malgre la hausse de la demande interieure dans les PECO. Quel sera le cout de l'integration ? De multiples travaux ont ete effectues a ce sujet selon diverses methodes; il se situerait aux alentours de 10 milliards d'euros pour la Republique tcheque, la Pologne, la Hongrie et la Slovaquie. Mais cette approche comptable est peu compatible avec le dessein politique qui consiste a aider des pays a faible niveau de vie a se restructurer.
  
- Heimerl, Daniela  
Tenir le cap : les negociations d' adhesion a l' UE.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1014, avril 2001, p. 19-32.  
Apres la decision historique en 1997 du Conseil europeen de Luxembourg d'elargir l'UE a l'Est, les negociations d'adhesion ont ete officiellement lancees en mars 1998 avec cinq pays et concernent desormais au total dix pays de l'Europe centrale et orientale depuis fevrier 2000. Le concept de premiere et de deuxieme vague a ete abandonne lors du Conseil d'Helsinki en 1999, tous les pays etant traites a egalite, des lors qu'ils remplissent les criteres politiques et sont prêts a mettre en place les mesures necessaires pour remplir a terme les criteres economiques. Cette nouvelle tactique a ete bien percue dans les PECO meme si les veritables raisons sont peut-etre de prolonger les negociations, de donner a l'UE une plus grande marge de manoeuvre ou... financieres. Des progres impressionnants ont ete realises au vu du grand nombre de chapitres clos, meme si les plus delicats restent a aborder, alors que les Quinze sont toujours en desaccord, comme sur la libre circulation des personnes. Une 'feuille de route' a ete elaboree, qui degage les priorites des negociations jusqu'a la fin du premier semestre 2002. Mais l'incertitude reste entiere sur les dates d'adhesion entre partisans du 'big bang' et ceux qui preconisent des entrees progressives dans l'UE.

- Gaspard, Michel  
L' integration des PECO : scenario pour l' avenir.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1014, avril 2001, p. 4-18.  
Implique depuis dix ans dans la mise en oeuvre de projets finances par l'UE et conseiller pre-adhesion au sein de l'administration hongroise, l'auteur analyse ici les situations tres diverses des candidats a l'integration en fonction de criteres qui restent aleatoires pour etabli de veritables comparaisons, comme la population active dans l'agriculture ou les services. Tous les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale ont connu a des degres divers des phases de recession entre 1990 et 1993 puis ont retrouve une certaine croissance. Mais si l'on raisonne en termes de 'rattrapage', apparaissent alors de profonds retards de developpement, meme si les pays limitrophes de l'UE sont plus favorises que les autres. Le scenario de convergence n'est donc pas le meme pour tous, d'ou l'importance du ciblage des aides europeennes qui doit etre different selon qu'il s'agit de la Republique tcheque, de la Roumanie ou des pays Baltes. Sinon le risque existe que s'approfondissent encore les disparites et que certains pays restent pour longtemps en marge, avec toutes les consequences que cela implique. Une annexe sur la Hongrie revele les profondes distorsions economiques et sociales apparues depuis dix ans dans ce pays comme dans d'autres, et etablit que malgre le dynamisme et le savoir-faire de ce pays le PIB par habitant n'y rejoindrait la moyenne communautaire qu'en 2020.
  
- Ilves, Toomas Hendrik  
Europa kehrt nach Estland zuruck : Besinnung auf gemeinsame transatlantische Werte.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 2001, S. 25-27.  
Der estnische Aussenminister ist der Auffassung, dass Estland durch seine Mitgliedschaft in EU und NATO die 'Ruckkehr Europas nach Estland' institutionalisieren sollte. Die 'baltische Dimension' der NATO, die Stabilitat an den Grenzen Russlands, wurden Moskau die Chance bieten, sich endlich seinen wichtigen Herausforderungen im Innern und an seinen sudlichen Grenzen zu widmen.
  
- Avery, Graham  
Reunifying Europe.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 8-9, August - September 2001, p. 41-43.  
The enlargement of the European Union, which will almost double its membership of fifteen countries, is its most important project. The other tasks which the Union has in hand at the beginning of this century - the single currency, and the development of Europe's role in foreign policy, security and defence - are of crucial importance, touching as they do on key areas of economic and political activity. But enlargement is an existential project. Bringing in the countries of central and eastern Europe, with more than 100 million people, will literally change the shape and dimension of the Union.
  
- Kivikari, Urpo K.  
Die erweiterte EU und Russland : ein uneingeschränkter Gewinn für beide Seiten.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 5, Mai 2001, S. 49-52.  
Der finnische Wirtschaftswissenschaftler ist der Überzeugung, dass die wachsende Nähe der EU zu Russland im Zuge des Erweiterungsprozesses die Transaktionskosten zwischen Russland und seinem wichtigsten Absatzmarkt senken und auch die neuen Beitrittsländer als Partner und Markt für russische Unternehmen steigern wird. Eine vertiefte Integration der Kaliningrader und der Sankt-Petersburger Region in ihre Nachbarregionen sollte unbedingt integraler Bestandteil der Vorbereitungen auf die EU-Erweiterung sein.

- Burant, Stephen R.  
After NATO Enlargement : Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary, and the Problem of Further European Integration.  
PROBLEMS OF POST-COMMUNISM, vol. 48, no. 2, March - April 2001, p. 25-41.  
NATO's newest members are helping their neighbor countries to qualify for NATO and the European Union by building bilateral institutional links with them. Such cooperation may prevent a new division of Europe.
  
- Cecchini, Paolo  
Jones, Erik  
Lorentzen, Jochen  
Europe and the Concept of Enlargement.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 43, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 155-165.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The idealistic rationale of European enlargement has a deeply practical side to it. When the European commission took in Greece, Spain and Portugal in the early 1980s, the principal objective was to shore up the democracies that had emerged after the collapse of more authoritarian regimes. A similar objective lies behind the present enlargement. Specifically, the European Union's expansion to the east and south is an attempt at risk management : the major economic transformations underway in Eastern Europe have unleashed forces that - while not unfamiliar in most advanced industrial societies - could topple fledgling democracies. This challenge is different from that confronted in the case of Greece, Spain and Portugal, not only because of the greater disparities in economic capacity between the candidate countries and existing member states, but also given the difficulty of stabilising political regimes through the process of developing market economies.
  
- Wessels, Wolfgang  
Zukunftsfahig ? : die Europäische Union a 27.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 2001, S. 13-22.  
Auch nach den Gipfelbeschlüssen von Nizza liegt über den Fragen von Erweiterung und Vertiefung der Europäischen Union 'ein Schleier an Ungewissheit', so der an der Autor. Für ihn ist eine zentrale Voraussetzung für die Zukunftsfähigkeit einer Union mit 25 oder gar 30 Mitgliedern ein 'ausreichendes Grundvertrauen' in das System der EU; dieses Vertrauen müsse immer wieder erneuert und gestärkt werden.
  
- Bursens, Peter  
Nomden, Koen  
Het Verdrag van Nice : is de Europese Unie klaar voor de uitbreiding ?  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 3, maart 2001, p. 120-126.  
The authors assess whether the European Union is ready for enlargement after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nice. They deal with the leftovers of Amsterdam (the weighing of votes, the extension of voting by qualified majority and the size and composition of the Commission), as well as with other achievements of Nice such as enhanced co-operation and the reform of the European judicial system. The Treaty of Nice is assessed both in relation to the efficient functioning of the institutions following enlargement and in the light of the propositions that were put on the table by the Dutch and Belgian delegations. The authors conclude that after the ratification of the Treaty of Nice, the EU is ready for enlargement from a technical point of view, but that the post-Nice process (i.e., future institutional reform) will be fundamental for the functioning of the enlarged EU.

- Schimmelfennig, Frank

The Community Trap : Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, vol. 55, no. 1, Winter 2001, p. 47-80.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The decision of the European Union to expand to Central and Eastern Europe is a puzzle for rationalist intergovernmentalism. This approach to the study of European integration accounts for most of the preferences of the state actors and many characteristics of the intergovernmental bargaining process but fails to explain why it resulted in the opening of accession negotiations. The author introduces the mechanism of rhetorical action in order to show how the supporters of enlargement succeeded in overcoming the superior material bargaining power of their opponents. Through the strategic use of arguments based on the liberal norms of the European international community, the 'drivers' caught the 'brakemen' in the community trap and, step by step, shamed them into acquiescing in Eastern enlargement.

2000

- Kroning, Volker

Stabilising and Securing Europe : The EU's Contribution.

COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 21 p.

(491.6/24).

<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>

In this study, the rapporteur focuses on the non-military aspects of the EU's foreign and security policies. He does not address the military component of CESDP and its relationship with NATO. On the other hand, he goes beyond 'crisis management' proper and examines EU enlargement and outreach policies, as he is convinced that these policies should have a security- and stability-enhancing effect. It is indeed essential that the EU never loses sight of the fact that its primary purpose lays in the ideal of the founding fathers, i.e. preventing war among the countries of Europe. This must be the guiding principle of its enlargement policy, and also of the definition of its relations with peripheral countries that have not, or only a distant, prospect of becoming members.

- Hyde-Price, Adrian

The Antinomies of European Security : Dual Enlargement and the Reshaping of European Order.

CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 21, no. 3, December 2000, p. 139-167.

The reshaping of the European security order is primarily taking place through a process of phased institutional enlargement of NATO and the European Union. This article addresses a gap in the literature by focusing on the relationship between the two enlargement processes, and their combined impact on the reshaping of European order. The central argument advanced is that the dual enlargement process lacks a coherent comprehensive concept, and that the decoupling of NATO from EU enlargement threatens to undermine efforts to build a stable peace order in Europe. By analysing the paradoxes and dilemmas of the phased enlargement process, this paper seeks to expose some of the underlying antinomies of post-Cold War European security.

- Grabbe, Heather

The Sharp Edges of Europe : Extending Schengen Eastwards.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 519-536.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The EU's external security concerns have caused it to encourage regional integration at all levels in central and east Europe. However, its emerging internal security policies (contained in the newly integrated Schengen Convention, and in justice and home affairs cooperation) are having contrary effects by reinforcing barriers between countries in eastern Europe. The goals of regional integration and good-neighbourly relations between applicants and non-applicants are still present in the

Union's enlargement strategy, but border policies are also being developed that run counter of them. EU border policies are raising new barriers to the free movement of people and goods that inhibit trade and investments between candidates and their non-applicant neighbours. There is a risk that the EU could end up giving the central and east European (CEE) countries the benefits of westward integration with their richer neighbours at the high cost of cutting ties with their poorer neighbours in the east. This bargain is still acceptable overall to most political leaders in central Europe; however, acceptance of the EU's terms has been accompanied by great unease about its unintended consequences for intra-regional relations. Moreover, this is not just a problem for CEE countries : the overall security of Europe depends on preventing the isolation of countries left at the edges of an enlarged Union.

- Wallace, William

From the Atlantic to the Bug, from the Arctic to the Tigris ? : The Transformation of the EU and NATO.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 3, July 2000, p. 475-493.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

Both the European Union and NATO are not committed in principle to substantial enlargement. It remains doubtful, however, how far member governments are making a success of further enlargement, let alone thinking through its strategic implications. Yet the process of dual enlargement will define the future security, political and economic structures of the European region. During the past year west European governments have extended promises of eventual membership to the western Balkan states and to Turkey; while the future positions of Ukraine, Russia, the Caucasus states and the southern Mediterranean associates all raise delicate policy issues. Hard choices remain to be made about the adaptation of these organizations to eastern enlargement, and about the management of relations with the near neighbours who will remain outside.

- Vinas, Angel

The Enlargement of the European Union : Opportunities and Concerns for Spain.

MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 76-92.

The most important challenge for the European Union is enlargement. How does Spain view it ? This article provides a historical summary of the Spanish experience in the European Union in a number of areas. It argues that Spain has always been favourable to enlargement both for political and strategic reasons and that economic and commercial concerns have been exaggerated. The most significant Spanish preoccupations have already been taken care of. However, there are some specific concerns which must be addressed in the negotiations. In a completely new European Union, Spain will be required to make some painful adjustments.

- Cichowski, Rachel A.

Western Dreams, Eastern Realities : Support for the European Union in Central and Eastern Europe.

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL STUDIES, vol. 33, no. 10, December 2000, p. 1243-1278.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

This analysis examines public support for EU membership in the five applicant CEE countries recommended for the first phase of the next enlargement : the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia.

- Gubsky, Bogdan

The Enlargement of the European Union : Challenges and Prospects for Ukraine.

CHALLENGE EUROPE, 3rd October 2000, accessed 23/10/00.

<http://www.theepc.be>

- Bogdan, Radu  
Romanian Reflections.  
NATO REVIEW, vol. 48, Summer - Autumn 2000, p. 23-25.  
The author considers Romania's aspirations to join the European Union and NATO and the reform programme currently underway in his country.
  
- Roman, Petre  
Romania's Foreign Policy on the Threshold of its Integration into European and Euro-Atlantic Structures.  
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 6, no. 1-2 2000, p. 6-21.
  
- Jorritsma-Lebbink, A.  
De toetredingsroute voor uitbreiding van de EU : hoe snelheid en kwaliteit kunnen samengaan.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 9, september 2000, p. 430-432.  
The author states that speed and quality are both crucial to the enlargement of the European Union. They must in fact go hand in hand. This will require a new, creative way of looking at the accession process. We should mark out a clear route by which would-be member states can enter the Union. We can then match a timetable to that route to provide candidate countries with a guideline as to what they should be aiming for. The EU must take it clear to would-be member states what they absolutely must have in place before accession, and what they can do after they have joined. Not all the regulations will need to be fully implemented before accession. After all, the single market will encourage new members to adapt very quickly to the EU rules.
  
- Leska, Vladimir  
Will Slovakia Join the EU with Its Neighbours ?  
PERSPECTIVES, no. 14, Summer 2000, p. 71-90.
  
- Calleya, Stephen C.  
EU Enlargement : The Case of Malta.  
CHALLENGE EUROPE, 11th July 2000, accessed 11/09/00.  
<http://www.theepc.be>
  
- Kok, Wim  
De Europese Unie : samen verder met verdieping en verbreding.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 6, juni 2000, p. 283-288.  
The author states that European co-operation shows a positive development, if one looks at the results of decision-making on the level of the European Council in the past year. On the one hand may be noted the pursuit of further deepening of the integration process in all three so-called pillars. On the other the important enlargement of the integration process with major parts of Central and Eastern Europe increasingly takes shape. European integration is and will remain a dynamic process. The Union as a quasi-political framework will never be completed. But the Union we have set out for will be much different in character from the present Union. There is no objection to that, as long as we keep in mind that it is a safe, democratic, enduring, prosperous and undivided one we all strive for.
  
- Cayhan, Esra  
A Europe for All.  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 2, June - August 2000, p. 33-43.
  
- Eralp, Atila  
Turkey in the Enlargement Process : From Luxembourg to Helsinki.  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 2, June - August 2000, p. 17-32.

- Verheugen, Gunter  
The Enlargement Process : Shaping a New Europe.  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 2, June - August 2000, p. 11-16.
  
- Derisbourg, Jean-Pierre  
L'elargissement de l' Union europeenne apres le sommet d' Helsinki.  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 37, printemps 2000, p. 41-49.  
A defaut de veritablement se preciser, au moins les choses evoluent-elles en matiere d'elargissement de l'Union europeenne. Le sommet d'Helsinki de decembre 1999 en est un parfait exemple. Il est desormais acquis que les negociations d'adhesion seront globales, elles ne concerneront plus seulement les six Etats du premier groupe, mais s'etendront a l'ensemble des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale, ainsi qu'a Malte. De meme, une etape nouvelle est franchie concernant la Turquie qui obtient le statut de candidate officielle. Pour autant, si differents scenarios d'elargissement restent possible, certaines questions de fond se posent toujours. Un calendrier precis des prochaines adhesions n'a toujours pas ete strictement etabli. Si la reforme des institutions sera a l'ordre du jour de la prochaine conference intergouvernementale, rien n'est encore acquis. Malgre des avancees evidententes, les problemes economiques et financiers ne manqueront pas de constituer des obstacles a l'elargissement. Enfin, les limites geopolitiques de l'elargissement n'ont toujours pas fait l'objet de debat et restent donc en suspens.
  
- Bayou, Celine  
Les Etats baltes et l' Union europeenne : un nouveau depart.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 1001, janvier 2000, p. 64-71.  
La decision prise par l'UE lors du Sommet d'Helsinki de decembre 1999 de mener desormais des negociations avec l'ensemble des candidats, et non plus avec certains d'entre eux, a ete consideree par la Lettonie et le Lituanie comme reparant une injustice, depuis qu'en decembre 1997, l'Estonie avait ete la seule retenue pour s'engager immediatement dans le processus de pre-adhesion. Ce traitement differencie presentait le risque de creer un clivage entre des pays souvent solidaires face aux menaces exterieures et cooperant activement depuis le debut des annees 1990. De plus, des lors que l'un d'entre eux pouvait devenir membre de l'UE avant les autres, qu'advierait-il de la zone de libre-echange creee en 1993 ? Le changement de strategie europeenne est donc le bienvenu. Reste cependant a en convaincre des populations largement eurosceptiques.
  
- Light, Margot  
Lowenhardt, John  
White, Stephen  
A Wider Europe : the View from Moscow and Kiev.  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 76, no. 1, January 2000, p. 77-88.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The expansion of NATO and the enlargement of the EU will produce outside states in which perceptions and politics will be influenced by feelings of exclusion and isolation. Russia and Ukraine are two important examples. In Russia the sense of exclusion results from NATO expansion and it was exacerbated by the air strikes against Serbia. Although Ukraine also responded negatively to NATO's attack on Serbia, Ukrainian perceptions of exclusion are caused primarily by disappointment that EU membership is proving difficult to attain. Based on elite interviews, opinion surveys and the analysis of focus group discussions, this article compares and contrasts the attitudes towards NATO and the EU in the two countries.

- Weidenfeld, Werner  
Janning, Josef  
Central and Eastern Europe on the Way into the European Union.  
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 5, no. 2, 1999 - 2000, p. 94-107.  
Europe passes through a time of ambiguities. Processes of violent disintegration run parallel with progress toward a deeper integration. On the eve of the 21st century Europe is still struggling for unity and peace. Due to the present serious challenges, the EU has to come up with another - more comprehensive - reform package. However, the greatest challenge - enlargement of the EU to 20 and more member states - will not be manageable within the current political system. The main issue of the EU reform is that all policy areas should become subject to majority vote in order to increase efficiency and thus output legitimization.
  
- Blazyca, George  
Kolkiewicz, Marek  
Poland and the EU : Internal Disputes, Domestic Politics and Accession.  
JOURNAL OF COMMUNIST STUDIES AND TRANSITION POLITICS, vol. 15, no. 4, December 1999, p. 131-143.  
In 1998 "Europe" generated a noisy political debate within Poland, leading to the sacking of minister of Europe, Ryszard Czarnecki. EU affairs appeared to be becoming more contentious with potentially serious consequences for Poland's accession. Feuds within the governmental coalition and the loss of EU funding, arising from the development of a range of issues of contention between Warsaw and Brussels, seemed to undermine Poland's prospects for early membership of the Union. This was enhanced by an apparent cooling of public opinion towards the idea. The coming presidential and parliamentary elections (in 2000 and 2001 respectively) will show how far the country has shifted to "Eurosceptic" position. The goal of entry by 2003 may prove optimistic.
  
- Rood, J. Q. Th.  
Amsterdamse left-overs : uitbreiding en hervorming van de Europese Unie.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 12, december 1999, p. 635-639.  
The author looks ahead to the European Union Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) on enlargement and institutional reform which will begin early 2000. The European Council of Cologne (June 1999) opted for a limited agenda for this IGC, dealing only with the left-overs of the Amsterdam Summit, and designed for a quick fix, enabling the Union to admit the first group of six new members, mainly from Central Europe, and leaving much more complicated and sensitive matters for later elaboration. The author deals with this agenda and finds the enlargement does not warrant a drastic reform of the Union.
  
- Lowenhardt, John  
Light, Margot  
White, Stephen  
'Jullie geloven niet langer in ons en wij geloven niet langer in jullie' : Russia over het nieuwe Europa.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 53, nr. 12, december 1999, p. 672-677.  
The authors report on mass and elite attitudes in Russia concerning NATO and EU enlargement. Their contribution is based on survey results, 25 elite interviews and two focus group discussions, conducted in early September 1999 in Moscow and Dolgoprudnyi. They find a high degree of realism on Russia's current condition and international status, among both the elite and the public. The fact that Russia is no longer a great power is generally recognized - and deplored. The initial hesitation of the mass public concerning NATO expansion has turned into outright opposition both to NATO itself (seen as a military instrument of the United States) and to its expansion. Attitudes towards the EU, however, are distinctly positive. Few see its expansion to Central and Eastern

Europe as a threat to Russia. This may be related to a lack of awareness of how the EU operates; it may also be a reflection of increased anti-Americanism. The authors conclude that partnership with Russia will only work if NATO and EU continue a constructive dialogue with Russian elites and will explain their policies to the country's population.

- Dannreuther, Roland

Escaping the Enlargement Trap in NATO-Russian Relations.  
SURVIVAL, vol. 41, no. 4, Winter 1999 - 2000, p. 145-164.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

In 1999, the Atlantic Alliance asserted its absolute primacy in European security affairs, successfully reversing ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, admitting three new members from Central Europe and unveiling a New Strategic Doctrine. Yet the challenge of Russia's unremitting opposition to NATO remains. This situation is serious not so much because Russia can threaten Western interests directly, but because of the negative impact that continued confrontation with NATO has on Russia's domestic political evolution. For the West to construct a more cooperative and constructive political and security relationship with Russia, other organisations ought to assume greater prominence - most notably the European Union, but also the UN and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is also the UN and the West's nor in Russia's interests for NATO to enlarge further eastwards.

- Defarges, Philippe Moreau

Union europeenne : l'elargissement a reculons.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 11, novembre 1999, p. 54-60.

- Taibo, Carlos

La conflictiva ampliacion de la Union Europea.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 71, septiembre - octubre 1999, p. 67-77.

En los cinco candidatos a entrar en la UE llama la atencion la ausencia de debates nacionales sobre su incorporacion. Este hecho, que puede debilitar su posicion negociadora, explica tambien que el apoyo popular a la adhesion sea frio y superficial. Existe ademas el riesgo de que se acumulen los sacrificios derivados de las reformas economicas que tendran que acometer.

- Smith, Martin A.

Timmins, Graham

The European Union and NATO Enlargement Debates in Comparative Perspective : A Case of Incremental Linkage ?

WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS, vol. 22, no. 3, July 1999, p. 22-40.

The end of the Cold War has led to growing pressures on the European Union and NATO to open up membership to the emerging democracies of East-Central Europe. Following an initially cautious response to events in the region, both have developed enlargement policies, albeit in an ambiguous manner. Although there are no formal links between the two enlargement processes, it is argued in this article that 'incremental linkage' has occurred. Furthermore, although both institutions have formally commenced enlargement, there remain significant issues requiring attention.

- Cottey, Andrew  
 Central Europe Transformed : Security and Cooperation on NATO's New Frontier.  
 CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 20, no. 2, August 1999, p. 1-30.  
 With their accession to NATO in March 1999, and within the next decade likely also the EU, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary will have achieved their central strategic goal of integration with the West and overcome their historic position as vulnerable states located in the 'grey zone' between Europe's great powers. As they integrate with NATO and the EU, Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are intensifying efforts to build cooperation with their eastern and southern neighbours. Contrary to the warnings of critics, NATO and EU enlargement are helping to promote cooperation and the resolution of disputes between Central and Eastern European states, not creating new 'dividing lines'. EU enlargement, however, is more likely than NATO enlargement to create 'dividing lines'. There is a strong case for further enlargement of NATO and the EU, but more attention needs to be directed to managing the consequences of EU enlargement.
  
- Lhomel, Edith  
 L' agriculture des pays d' Europe centrale et orientale face a l' entree dans l' Union europeenne.  
 COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 441, juillet 1999, p. 3-25.  
 More than in the West, agriculture is a particular priority in Central and Eastern Europe. Handicaps, such as relatively inadequate farming, overemployment, surpluses, insufficient public support could be resolved, while running the risk of concealment, with access to CAP mechanisms. The stakes are high for these countries, in particular in those in which agriculture is a greater part of the GDP than in the EU, as well as for Community agricultural markets which have clearly benefited from the opening up of Eastern European countries. An analysis of the situation in each country in the first wave of candidatures (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia and Estonia) reveals the substantial requirements even if there is no initial intention to enable these countries to benefit from deficiency payments but simply from export restitutions and price support measures. To provide aid for the preliminary phase, pre-membership financial instruments have been set up : PHARE with the new procedure of ministerial partnerships, SAPARD aimed at rural development.
  
- Neumayer, Laure  
 Les opinions publiques face a l' integration europeenne en Pologne, Hongrie et Republique tcheque.  
 COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 440, juin 1999, p. 38-53.  
 L'analyse des enquetes de plusieurs instituts de sondage realisees en Hongrie, Pologne et Republique tcheque revele les craintes et les attentes des populations face a l'integration a l'Union europeenne. Tres contrastees selon les groupes sociaux, le niveau d'instruction ou le lieu de residence, les opinions varient aussi, a conditions egales, selon les pays. Les Polonais etant les plus confiants et les Tcheques les plus sceptiques. Les personnes interrogees montrent aussi qu'elles ont peu d'informations concretes sur ce sujet qui les mobilise peu. Dans la classe politique, il existe par contre un fort consensus, les divergences portant surtout sur les modalites des negociations et de la reprise de l'acquis communautaire.

- Heimerl, Daniela  
 Elargissement a l' Est de l' Union europeenne : procedures et enjeux des negociations.  
 COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 440, juin 1999, p. 3-24.  
 Allant au-dela des accords d'association signes entre l'Union europeenne et dix pays d'Europe centrale et orientale depuis 1991, le Conseil de Copenhague reconnaît en 1993 le principe de l'elargissement et lance alors un chantier sans precedent. Les criteres economiques et politiques de l'integration sont ensuite fixes et une strategie de pre-adhesion, a l'architecture tres complexe, mise en place pour aider les pays candidats a reprendre l'acquis communautaire. En mars 1998, le processus s'accelere pour cinq pays. Republique tcheque, Hongrie, Pologne, Slovenie, Estonie. L'auteur analyse ici l'etat, les procedures et les enjeux de ces negociations.
  
- Moscovici, Pierre  
 Demain l' Europe a trente ?  
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 83, printemps 1999, p. 33-41.  
 Europe has undergone deep changes since the Cold War came to an end ten years ago. The European Union, however, which was born in the shadow of the Iron Curtain, has maintained its original structure and procedures. This discrepancy is even more striking now that our Central and Eastern European neighbors are knocking at Brussels' door. Expanding to the East represents a historic opportunity that the EU must not fail to seize. But enlargement is also a challenge for current member states. How can common agricultural and structural policies be maintained when the combined membership of all candidates would cost 20 billion euros a year ? How can the European Union maintain operations and enhance efficiency if there are twice as many members ? These questions need to be addressed before EU's expansion to the East.
  
- Hughes, Kirsty  
 Grabbe, Heather  
 Smith, Edward  
 Lassen sich die MOE-Staaten einbinden ? : Integrationspositionen der EU-Anwarter.  
 INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 54. Jahr, Nr. 1, Januar 1999, S. 63-69.  
 Fur die meisten der Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas ist ein EU-Beitritt gleichsam eine Ruckkehr nach Europa. Die Autoren erstellen anhand einer Befragung fur funf der MOE-Staaten Bewerberprofile und werten die Einstellung der Bevolkerung zum Beitritt aus.
  
- Romer, Jean-Christophe  
 L' Europe centrale entre Russie, OTAN et UE : dix ans apres.  
 DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 4, avril 1999, p. 101-113.
  
- Moscovici, Pierre  
 Elargir l' Union europeenne : un choix politique : la France, la Hongrie et l' Europe.  
 REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 33, printemps 1999, p. 38-43.  
 La maitrise du processus d'elargissement de l'UE comporte trois volets : la Conference europeenne, les partenariats pour l'adhesion, et les negociations d'adhesion proprement dites. La candidature hongroise est en excellente position dans chacune de ces enceintes, et il convient de poursuivre les efforts sans oublier que l'elargissement est un processus global qui requiert l'assentiment des populations concernees et que ce serait sans doute une erreur de se donner une echeance trop precise. L'UE de demain devra determiner les limites de son elargissement par un choix politique, se doter d'une dimension de securite et de defense propre, ameliorer sa capacite a prendre des decisions en reformant ses institutions. C'est dans ce contexte que les relations bilaterales franco-hongroises, qui connaissent un dynamisme exceptionnel, pourront jouer un role determinant et les deux pays constituer un mole

d'integration, notamment grace aux mecanismes de cooperation renforcee.

- Ortega, Andres  
Vuelva usted manana.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 13, no. 67, enero - febrero 1999, p. 26-30.  
La Union Europea se embarca en una operacion historica - la ampliacion al Este y centro de Europa - sin que sus Estados miembros parezcan estar a al altura del desafio.

1998

- Zaborowski, Marcin  
Does Germany Support the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union ?  
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 7, no. 4, Autumn 1998, p. 77-92.  
Whilst this article does not dispute that Bonn's support for the eastern extension of the European Union has in fact diminished, it argues that although Germany is no longer the leader of EU eastern enlargement it remains its key political advocate. Also, and more importantly here, this article argues against the thesis that the sources of this downturn in the government's promotion of expanding the European Union eastwards are political or indeed that they are related to the outcome of the 1998 Federal elections.
- European Union Member States and Eastward Enlargement (9 Articles).  
POLISH QUARTERLY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 7, no. 2, Spring 1998, p. 5-92.
- Badre, Denis  
L' OTAN et l' Union europeenne.  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 32, hiver 1998 - 1999, p. 25-31.  
L'elargissement de l'OTAN et celui de l'Union europeenne vont de pair avec une redefinition des missions de ces organisations. Les deux mutations ne sont pas independantes : l'Union et l'Alliance ont en commun un caractere politique; mais la fixation de leur frontiere, la determination des interets respectifs des Europeens et des Americains et l'analyse de leur rapport au reste du monde montrent les limites de l'analogie. Il nous faut apprecier avec la plus grande clarte ce que nous attendons de l'une et de l'autre institutions - l'affirmation de l'identite europeenne au sein de l'OTAN passant par une existence politique de l'Union.
- Gimbal, Anke  
Schlusselfrage Innere Sicherheit : vorarbeiten zur EU-Erweiterung stehen erst am Anfang.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 12, Dezember 1998, S. 38-44.  
Damit die Innere Sicherheit auch in einer erweiterten Europaischen Union gewährleistet bleiben kann, bleibt fur die EU und die Beitrittskandidaten in Mittel- und Osteuropa, trotz der vielfach bereits engen Zusammenarbeit, noch viel zu tun. Eine Voraussetzung dafur ist nach Ansicht der Autorin vor allem die okonomische und soziale Integration der jeweiligen Staaten in die EU.

- Meulen, J. W. van der  
Poolse aarzelingen over 'Europa'.  
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 52, nr. 12, december 1998, p. 629-634.  
The author sketches the climate of opinion in the Polish political landscape vis-a-vis the prospects of membership of the European Union. Though opinion polls still reflect a substantial majority of those in favour, several political parties witness strong doubts. This is clearly demonstrated by attitudes within AWS, the senior partner in the ruling coalition, in particular in its Christian and nationalist elements. Response to recent cuts in PHARE subsidies of the EU proved that many politicians in favour of membership consider it to be a primarily financially motivated affair. Three areas of confrontation, i.e., the agricultural sector, administrative decentralization, and relations with Germany, indicate potential sources of resistance to membership. Such resistance may increase because of a growing awareness of the consequences of membership.
  
- Rose, Richard  
Two Cheers for Democracy.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 54, no. 10, October 1998, p. 253-255.  
The European Union is an open membership organisation; any country in Europe can join - provided it meets the membership standards. Post-Communist countries are keen to join, for doing so is integral to the 'return to Europe'. But do the ten post-communist countries seeking membership meet the standards of the Union, that is, are they committed to democracy, a market economy and the rule of law ?
  
- Holtschi, Rene  
Im Bummelzug nach Brussel ? : der wirtschaftliche und politische Stand der EU-Beitrittsanwärter ('Pre-Ins').  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 1998, S. 1-7.  
In grundleglicher Analyse der Wirtschaftsdaten Bulgariens, Lettlands, Litauens, Rumaniens und des Aussenseiters Slowakei kommt Hotschi zum Schluss, dass die Europäische Union primar eigene Interessen verfolgt hat, als sie einige Transformationslander in den Bummelzug statt in den Schnellzug nach Brussel verwiesen hat. Er fordert von der EU viel Geschick und Phantasie, damit die Fahrt der 'Pre-Ins' in die EU nicht auf einem Abstellgleis endet.
  
- Frankenberger, Klaus-Dieter  
Wo endet Europa ? : zur politischen und geographischen Identitat der Union.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 53. Jahr, Nr. 6, Juni 1998, S. 21-26.  
Die grosste Herausforderung der EU ist die geplante Osterweiterung, die die fruhere Unvollständigkeit der europäischen Einigung korrigiert. Sie setzt jedoch eine umfassende Reform der Institutionen sowie eine Vergewisserung politischer, kultureller und geographischer Grenzen voraus.
  
- Friis, Lykke  
... And Then They Were 15 : The EU's-EFTA-Enlargement Negotiations.  
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 33, no. 1, March 1998, p. 81-107.  
The starting point of this article is a dual paradox : despite the fact that enlargement has been a recurrent phenomenon which has had a great impact on the integration process, we are endowed with neither a theoretical conceptualization of enlargement nor an in-depth understanding of how accession deals are negotiated in practice. The goal of this article is to contribute to the process of removing this dual paradox, first of all by conceptualizing any enlargement as a negotiation. By focusing on negotiations the article equips us with the tools to comprehend how the EU negotiates and what determines the outcome of enlargement negotiations. In order to clarify whether the enlargement-negotiation model does indeed capture the key factors which

determine an enlargement negotiation, the article also ventures into the empirical field, analysing the EU's enlargement negotiations with the EFTA countries. On the basis of the theoretical model and the EFTA case, the article concludes that enlargement does not necessarily trigger more integration. Precisely because any enlargement is a negotiation, where the present member states have to leave the negotiation table 'satisfied', less integration (spillback) is just as likely.

- Freudenstein, Roland

Poland, Germany and the EU.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 74, no. 1, January 1998, p. 41-54.

<http://www.swetswise.com>

The eastward enlargement of the European Union may well be the biggest challenge in the history of European integration. It is, however, accompanied by profound internal and external crises highlighted by the EU's difficulties in coping with the effects of economic globalization, of which the most obvious are high unemployment and a growing scepticism with regard to integration. This article argues that the solutions to both these challenges are deeply interconnected : while enlargement is a strategic necessity in its own right, it is also the only factor galvanizing EU member states into action for the reforms which are inevitable if the integration project is to be kept afloat. As the new democracies of central and eastern Europe prepare for EU membership and the EU prepares for enlargement, Poland and Germany can reflect on the past eight years of a historically unprecedented improvement in their relationship. Bringing Poland into the EU (as well as into NATO) has become a key item in the Polish-German 'community of interest'.

1997

- Severin, Adrian

Towards a New Foreign Policy Strategy ?

CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 3, 1997 - 1998, p. 28-39.

This article takes up the latest developments related to the Romanian path toward EU membership from a perspective rather different from that usually employed. The author argues for an early negotiation start for Romania together with the other 5 East-Central European candidates already recommended, if not with all other applicants. The article poses this problem within the wider context of Romania's foreign policy strategy arguing for a 'logical incrementalist' approach toward the enlargement process. The article was written when Mr. Severin was still Minister of Foreign Affairs and then presents the points of a politician much convinced of the necessity that Romania should begin accession talks together with the other preferred EU candidates.

- Henriot, Alain

Les enjeux de l'elargissement de l' Union europeenne.

COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 425, decembre 1997, p. 3-16.

En dehors de toute reference a une adhesion des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale a l'Union europeenne, une integration regionale s'est deja mise en place au fil de la croissance des echanges commerciaux et des investissements directs etrangers. Aujourd'hui, si le choix politique de l'elargissement est acquis, en premier lieu pour la Pologne, la Hongrie, la Republique tcheque, la Slovenie et l'Estonie, il reste a en definir les modalites precises dans le cadre d'une strategie de pre-adhesion et dans l'Union elargie. Les implications economiques sont en effet importantes pour les anciens et les nouveaux adherents : quels seront les benefices et les couts, les effets sur la croissance et les echanges, les risques de disequilibres, notamment en matiere de politique monetaire ou de taux de change ? Quelle sera la nature des liens avec l'euro ? Comment elargir la Politique agricole commune ? Quels seront le montant et la nouvelle repartition des fonds structurels ? Autant de questions cruciales abordees ici par l'auteur.

- Bailes, Alyson J. K.  
Die noch offenen Fragen der EU-Erweiterung.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 12, Dezember 1997, S. 69-73.  
Die bevorstehende Erweiterung der EU bringt für die Sicherheit des Kontinents eine Vielzahl von Problemen mit sich. Die Autorin pladiert für eine Erweiterungsstrategie, die den Sicherheitsbedürfnissen derjenigen 'drinnen' ebenso entsprechen sollte wie derjenigen 'draussen'.
  
- Clement, Sophia  
L' Europe du Sud-Est apres les elargissements de l' Union europeenne et de l' OTAN.  
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 28, hiver 1997, p. 139-144.  
La definition d'un nouvel ordre de securite dans l'Europe de l'apres Guerre froide et l'elargissement selectif de l'Union europeenne et de l'OTAN comportent le risque, pour les pays du Sud-Est de l'Europe qui n'ont pas ete invites a faire partie d'un des deux processus d'elargissement, d'evoluer vers des structures d'exclusion. Une definition coherente et coordonnee de l'elargissement et le renforcement des cadres de cooperation renforcee inclus dans une approche d'ensemble de la region visant a son integration sur le long terme, seraient seuls susceptibles de pallier, dans une region en nette demande de securite, les lignes de fractures actuelles ou futures et les risques d'instabilite sur le continent europeen.
  
- Janning, Josef  
Giering, Claus  
Mythos der Erweiterungsfähigkeit : die EU vor ihrer ersten Osterweiterung.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 52. Jahr, Nr. 11, November 1997, S. 31-38.  
Die allgemeinen Freudenaussagen über die schliesslich erfolgte Einigung von Amsterdam verdeckt nach Meinung der Autoren nur die Tatsache, dass auch dort wieder Besitzstandwahrung am Werk war und auf Zeit gespielt wurde. Der Aufbruch zu neuen Ufern ist ausgeblieben.
  
- Borzeda, Artur  
Pologne, Republique tcheque : deux cheminements vers l' Union europeenne.  
COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 421, aout 1997, p. 20-37.  
Among the ten countries candidates for membership in the European Union, the author has chosen to compare two different approaches, that of Poland and that of the Czech Republic. Each with its own special history, with different economic human potentials, in particular since the partition of Czechoslovakia, these countries were, however, subjected to the same type of domination and to identical adverse effects of the 'socialist division of labor' as members of the CMEA. A return to the seven transition years (1989-1997) makes it possible to outline the special characteristics of the political and economic paths of these two countries through the bitter experience of what, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, has come to be their major preoccupation as well as final objective : membership in the European Union. If endeavors to assume a common strategy with a view to integration have come to naught, the grouping of the Visegrad countries and above all the Central European Free Trade Agreement, constitute no less than a tangible framework for cooperation. Eight years after the inception of these basic economic transformations, Poland and the Czech Republic find themselves at the same starting point.
  
- Balazs, Peter  
Quelques consequences de l' elargissement de l' Union europeenne dans le domaine des relations exterieures.  
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 7eme annee, no. 3, 1997, p. 268-276.

- Maresceau, Marc  
 EU-Central and Eastern Europe Relations at the Turning Point :  
 Comments and Introduction.  
 REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 7eme annee, no. 3, 1997, p. 263-267.
  
- Cunningham, George  
 EU and NATO Enlargement : How Public Opinion Is Shaping Up in Some  
 Candidate Countries.  
 NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 3, May - June 1997, p. 16-18.
  
- Fontaine, Andre  
 L' Europe d' un bout a l' autre.  
 POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 76, ete 1997, p. 419-427.  
 The signing of the 'Founding Act on Mutual Relations' between NATO and  
 Russia in Paris last May finally cleared the way for the expansion of the  
 Atlantic alliance to include central and eastern Europe. Countries in the  
 region are eager to join NATO for many compelling reasons, including  
 resurfacing anxieties about the potential threat from Russia, the desire  
 to form a collective front to meet the challenges of globalization, and  
 fear of a powerful Germany. However, at the risk of signing away its  
 future and that of its member states, Europe should beware of remaining  
 on the sidelines. France's view is that Europe must affirm its identity  
 within NATO in all areas, from the single currency to defense policies.  
 But above all it must welcome with open arms its sister countries in  
 Europe, and as rapidly as possible. These nations - separated from the  
 West for so long by a cruel and unjust fate - ask for nothing more than  
 their freedom and the chance of a better future.
  
- Trattnig, Gunther  
 Okonomische Integration als Motor fur ein europaisches  
 Sicherheitssystem : die Rolle Osterreichs, der EU und der NATO beim  
 europaischen Einigungsprozess.  
 OESTERREICHISCHE MILITAERISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT, 35. Jg., Heft 4, Juli -  
 August 1997, S. 407-412.
  
- Lucas, Hans-Dieter  
 The Baltic States in Europe : Problems and Prospects.  
 AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 48, no. 2, 1997, p. 127-136.  
 Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have a special position in the community of  
 states which have emerged from the ruins of the Soviet empire : together  
 with countries such as Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovenia  
 they have belonged from time immemorial to Central Europe, but, unlike  
 these countries, they were directly annexed by the USSR and,  
 consequently, now suffer from its burdensome political, social and  
 institutional legacy. This fact is compounded by an extremely vulnerable  
 situation in the field of external security. The aggregation of factors  
 explain why the Baltic States have a strong desire to belong to not only  
 the European Union (EU) but also to NATO. Western countries, however,  
 believe that they have to show special consideration for Russia with  
 respect to any integration into the Atlantic alliance by ruling out NATO  
 membership for certain former constituent regions of the Soviet Union.

- Palankai, Tibor  
 La Hongrie et les defis economiques de l' adhesion a l' Union  
 europeenne.  
 RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 26, ete 1997, p.  
 164-178.  
 Les mesures complexes de preparation a l'adhesion, de transformation et  
 de stabilisation des economies sont etroitement liees. Les criteres  
 d'adhesion de Copenhague refletent cette correlation. La Hongrie, grace a  
 l'etablissement des structures et institutions fondamentales d'une  
 economie de marche (autonomie des agents economiques, liberalisation des  
 prix, legislation sur la concurrence, deregulation, introduction d'une  
 taxation conforme aux lois du marche, reduction des subventions,  
 convertibilite de la monnaie nationale, etc.), repond aux conditions  
 d'une 'economie de marche en fonctionnement', meme si cette charpente  
 doit encore etre consolidee. Le processus de privatisation sera termine  
 vers la fin de l'annee 1997. Il y a une dualite dans le fait de repondre  
 aux 'pressions de la concurrence' : d'un cote, de larges secteurs de  
 compagnies recemment fondees ou privatisees doivent faire face au  
 syndrome d'une industrie naissante, alors que des entreprises  
 transnationales qui investissent dans le pays profitent d'avantages  
 competitifs importants sur les couts salariaux. Ces dernieres fournissent  
 a present environ 70 % des exportations industrielles hongroises. La  
 Hongrie ne satisfera pas les criteres de Maastricht a son entree mais  
 devrait pouvoir les remplir a la fin de la periode de transition vers  
 2010.
  
- Germanangue, Marc  
 L' adhesion aux organisations europeennes et atlantique, element  
 structurant de la transition des PECO.  
 RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES ET STRATEGIQUES, no. 26, ete 1997, p.  
 133-140.  
 La volonte d'adherer aux organisations europeennes et atlantique  
 conditionne, pour une large part, les choix economiques et politiques  
 operes par les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale depuis la disparition  
 du rideau de fer. L'adhesion a ces organisations est en effet apparue, au  
 moment ou disparaissait le joug ancien, comme l'element structurant de la  
 transition politique et economique de 'l'Autre Europe'. Il convient donc  
 de rappeler les grands moments du processus et les principaux enjeux de  
 l'elargissement.
  
- Wallace, William  
 On the Move : Destination Unknown.  
 WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 4, April 1997, p. 99-102.  
 Major enlargement, first of NATO and then of the European Union, is now  
 well under way. West European governments have been committed in  
 principle to both for some time. But none has paid much attention to the  
 implications, preoccupied as they have been with more immediate  
 priorities such as the progress of the Intergovernmental Conference,  
 schemes to promote a 'core' Europe or a more 'flexible' European Union,  
 and of course the intractable pressures of the single currency project.  
 Within months, however, decisions will have to be made : hard choices  
 which will shape the prosperity and security of Europe well into the next  
 century.
  
- Ham, Peter van  
 Central Europe and the EU's Intergovernmental Conference : The  
 Dialectics of Enlargement.  
 SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 28, no. 1, March 1997, p. 71-82.  
 This article examines the relationship between the future enlargement of  
 the EU (focusing on Central Europe) and the process of institutional  
 reform of the Union, looking in particular at the EU's Intergovernmental  
 Conference (IGC). It argues that major EU reform is a prerequisite for  
 enlargement and that the post-IGC Union is likely to be a more flexible  
 one with a number of 'coalitions of the able and willing' in which the

new Central European members might be more than willing, but not always able, to participate fully.

- Eekelen, Willem van  
Paradox and Practice in European Integration.  
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 3, no. 1, 1997, p. 11-17.
  
- Ruggie, John Gerard  
Consolidating the European Pillar : The Key to NATO's Future.  
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 20, no. 1, Winter 1997, p. 109-124.  
The author argues here that deepening the relationship between NATO and the EU is more critical to the long-term future of the transatlantic security community than immediate NATO expansion; that pushing ahead with current plans to admit new NATO members, far from sustaining the transatlantic security community, potentially undermines it; that current expansion plans permit EU members to postpone adjusting their own institutions and practices to accommodate their Eastern neighbors; that a European-led eastward expansion delivers greater promise, poses fewer risks and is more equitable vis-a-vis the United States; and that such an overall strategic package is closely in keeping with the initial plans for NATO that its US founders had in mind.
  
- Fischer, Klemens H.  
Die Europäische Union : zwischen Erweiterung und Vertiefung.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 46. Jg., Nr. 1, Januar 1997, S. 28-31.  
At the beginning of 1997, the European Union is not for the first time facing the problem whether its medium-term objective shall be the expansion or the consolidation. The challenges which will approach the government conference, commencement of negotiations with the associated nations of Central and Eastern Europe, economic and monetary union, judiciary and internal affairs, security policy - will be a crucial test for the Union. In the article, an attempt is made to outline an actual state of the Union as well as potential prospects, taking into account the aforementioned challenges.

<b>1996</b>
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- Round Table in Eastwards Enlargement of the EU.  
ECONOMICS OF TRANSITION, vol. 4, no. 2, October 1996, p. 497-520  
(PA/e).  
Various articles on issues surrounding EU enlargement.
  
- Redmond, John  
Pace, Roderick  
European Security in the 1990s and Beyond : The Implications of the Accession of Cyprus and Malta to the European Union.  
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 17, no. 3, December 1996, p. 430-450.  
The central concern of this article is the impact on the European Union of the accession of Cyprus and Malta and, more specifically, the security implications of this. When (and if) the two Mediterranean applicants eventually join the Union, it will almost certainly be in the company of some of the other nine or ten applicants from central and eastern Europe. They will be joining a Europe which has taken increasingly northern and central European characteristics, a Europe which will view the world through the prism of the main concerns of central and eastern Europe, primarily the place of Germany and relations with Russia. The Mediterranean, already low in the Union's concerns, will even be lower in priority. There is a broad consensus that the dangers and challenges which the Union faces in the Mediterranean region could destabilize Europe itself if left to run out of hand. Malta and Cyprus, being wholly Mediterranean states whose prosperity depends to a large degree on the maintenance of stability in the region will, to the extent that they will

be able to unmoor themselves from particular issues and move to more general and far reaching ones, partly redress the imbalance of focus in the enlarged European Union of over twenty members.

- Janning, Josef

Weidenfeld, Werner

La nouvelle Europe : strategies d' integration differenciee.

POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 3, automne 1996, p. 521-535.

Le succes de l'elargissement a l'Est de l'Union europeenne est le defi principal auquel les Quinze sont actuellement confrontes. Or, le cadre institutionnel de l'UE, qui s'inspire encore largement de celui de l'Europe des Six, n'est pas en mesure de garantir la transparence, l'efficacite et le fonctionnement democratique d'une 'grande' Union a 27 Etats-membres, dont le systeme politique reste a definir. Sans une reforme profonde de ses structures et procedures internes, l'UE sera en effet ingouvernable. L'Europe a donc besoin d'un concept d'integration differenciee permettant de poursuivre parallelement une politique d'approfondissement des institutions europeennes et une strategie d'ouverture vis-a-vis des PECO qui aspirent a y adherer. D'ou l'importance d'une restructuration de l'ensemble communautaire axee autour de plusieurs noyaux dans les domaines de la defense et de la politique economique et monetaire.

- Schmidt, Peter

Defis et perspectives de la politique de securite europeenne de l'Allemagne.

POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 61e annee, no. 3, automne 1996, p. 569-581.

La politique de securite allemande vise avant tout a favoriser la stabilite en Europe centrale et orientale. Or, celle-ci depend d'un elargissement a l'Est et d'une reforme de l'UE et de l'OTAN. Cette politique a cependant quelques difficultes a voir le jour en raison de la contradiction entre reforme et elargissement. Neanmoins, d'ici la fin du siecle, Bonn devra maintenir la credibilite de l'elargissement tout en favorisant une acceleration des processus de reforme (en ce qui concerne l'Union, ceci inclut les dossiers sensibles des politiques structurelles et d'aide regionale, de la PAC et de sa contribution au budget). Ces contradictions inciteront l'Allemagne a privilegier un maintien de l'engagement americain dans le cadre de la securite europeenne.

- Flockhart, Trine

The Dynamics of Expansion : NATO, WEU and EU.

EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1996, p. 196-218.

The issue of enlarging Europe's security IGOs is an extremely important question, which has important implications for European security, and is bound to be one of the major foreign policy tasks for the rest of the decade. Depending on how the expansion process is handled it could stabilize a new European security order by consolidating and expanding the integration process, or it could contribute to the unravelling of the whole integration process and the start of a new antagonistic relationship with Russia. Hence it is a complex area where the stakes are high. The need to avoid a security vacuum in this important region is one of the most frequently used arguments for anchoring the CEE countries into the 'tried and tested' security organizations of the former Western Europe. However, before diving straight into the unknown territory of large scale enlargement of Europe's core security organizations, it is important to understand the processes and dynamics involved in order to be able to assess the situation correctly. Here it seems that the expansion processes of NATO, WEU and EU have up to a point followed rather similar tracks, and that all three processes can be explained in terms of the same theoretical framework.

- Romania and the European Union.  
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 4, 1996, Special Issue.
  
- Miles, Lee  
Redmond, John  
Enlarging the European Union : The Erosion of Federalism ?  
COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 31, no. 3, September 1996, p. 285-309.  
The objective of this article is to assess the impact of past and future enlargements of the European Union on the development of federalism within the EU in its historical, current and likely future context. After briefly considering the problems of defining federalism and establishing a number of key criteria on which the impact of various accessions on the popularity of federalism can be judged, the article then applies these criteria to past and future enlargement phases. The final section summarizes the evidence and argues that, in practice, enlarging the EU has incorporated a majority of 'dissident' members who are resistant to the development of a federal EU and that, to some extent, intergovernmental tendencies have been reinforced. Its general conclusion is that a multi-speed EU, with a hard core essentially based around the original six (and more federal inclined) founding members is looking an increasingly likely scenario for the future.
  
- Wiberg, Hakan  
Relating to the EU : Who Does What ?  
ROMANIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 1-2, 1996, p. 28-49.
  
- Cameron, Fraser  
The European Union and the Challenge of Enlargement.  
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ISSUES, vol. 2, no. 1, Spring 1996, p. 46-59.  
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