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COMMENT OBTENIR D’AUTRES PUBLICATIONS DE LA BIBLIOTHEQUE:

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 -
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

* This list contains material received as of April 23rd, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 23 avril 2004.
Beyond Enlargement: The New Members and New Frontiers of the Enlarged European Union - Barcelona: Universitat Autonoma 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.
3. Universitat Autonoma 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

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

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

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:
ID number: 80019138
Year: 2003
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.'
qu'une telle politique puisse porter atteinte a l'OTAN - ils l'acceptent et s'y engagent plus directement. Cette évolution peut s'expliquer par les deux processus parallèles que les auteurs définissent très clairement. Le seul aspect que les trois candidats d'Europe centrale n'ont eu de cesse de critiquer a été leur inclusion initiale dans la catégorie générique de pays 'tiers', avec d'autres candidats non alliés et même des 'non-candidats' comme l'Ukraine et la Russie. Leur constante quête de reconnaissance officielle en tant qu'allies européens a été partiellement reconnue par les Quinze, mais ils sont mecontents de demeurer plus que jamais des 'pays tiers'. Le 11 septembre leur a également fait davantage prendre conscience du besoin d'une approche plus globale de la sécurité, comprenant également la justice et les affaires intérieures ainsi que la politique à l'égard des nouveaux voisins de l'Est : les trois pays préféreraient adopter une approche flexible combinant des frontières plus faciles à utiliser avec des controles de police plus stricts. Enfin, le débat interne de l'UE sur l'avenir de l'Europe a, dans un premier temps, soulevé un réel intérêt parmi les élites d'Europe centrale et la Convention européenne a tenté spécifiquement d'impliquer les gouvernements et les parlements de tous les candidats. Les premiers stades du débat ont révélé des tensions au sein de leurs délégations entre, d'une part, une approche plus communautaire mettant l'accent sur l'identité européenne commune et les intérêts communs, et, de l'autre, un réflexe plus intergouvernemental ayant pour but d'exercer un maximum d'influence sur la politique et les institutions. Ces tensions sont également tangibles entre les chapitres de ce Cahier et à l'intérieur des trois analyses.'

ID number: 80018448
Year: 2002

441 /00098

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
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

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:
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

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

431.2 /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:
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
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:
'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

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
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.
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
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-ShengenPolicy.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: 800176685
Year: 2001
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 separe 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

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. Piazolo, 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
291 p.; 23 cm.
(Constitution for Europe; 3)
ISBN: 1903403081
Subject(s):
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

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:
'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

xii, 195 p.; 22 cm.
ISBN: 1840144882
Subject(s):
1. EU--Enlargement
Added entry(s):
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
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 exclave 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.
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

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

ISBN: 1857288866
Subject(s):
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE
Added entry(s):
Notes:
'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

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 triangle.'

ID number: 80017053
Year: 1999

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)
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.'
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

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):
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:  
'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
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

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:
'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

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
Subject(s):
1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CFSP
3. EU--ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION
4. EU--IGC, 1996
Added entry(s):
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

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

v, 77 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 26)

Author(s):
1. Dunay, Pal
2. Pavliuk, Oleksandr
3. Żajaczkowski, Wojciech

Subject(s):
1. CEE--FOREIGN RELATIONS
2. NATO--ENLARGEMENT
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Notes:
'Ce cahier tente d'évaluer les incidences des processus d'élargissement des organisations européennes 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 aura d'autres vagues d'adhésion et, dans l'affirmative, combien. Mais certains candidats doivent néanmoins se faire à l'idée que leur espoir de rejoindre les organisations euro-atlantiques ne se concrétisent pas. D'autres pays qui n'ont aucun espoir d'adhérer prochainement, sont également préoccupés par les effets d'un élargissement sélectif - à savoir les conséquences politiques qu'impliquera l'adhésion de quelques uns seulement. Beaucoup ont exprimé leur inquiétude que cela ne provoque une nouvelle division de l'Europe, ce qui aurait un impact négatif non seulement sur leur propre sécurité, mais aussi sur la stabilite de l'ensemble du continent européen. Ce cahier s'articule autour de trois études de cas sur les relations bilatérales : Pologne/Ukraine, Pologne/Lithuanie, Hongrie/Roumanie. Elles ont pour thème les relations entre les nouveaux membres présumes (les 'haves') et leurs voisins immédiats dont l'adhésion aux organisations euro-atlantiques semble aujourd'hui moins certaine pour différentes raisons (les éventuels 'have-nots').'

ID number: 80017588
Year: 1997
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:
ID number: 80013901
Year: 1997

1996

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

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
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
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 reinsertion 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
- Boudewijn, Rob
  Keulen, Mendeltje van
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.
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.
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.
http://www.swetswise.com
After swallowing 10 countries, the European Union is sure to suffer
indigestion. The new members' pain will be worse.

** This list contains material received as of April 23rd, 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.
  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, multiculturism,
  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.
  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.
  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.
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.

- Baun, Michael
  The Implications of EU Enlargement for the United States.

- Agh, Attila
  Smaller and Bigger States in the EU25: The Eastern Enlargement and Decision-Making in the EU.

- Heimerl, Daniela
  UE-Balkans occidentaux : après le sommet de Thessalonique de juin 2003.
  COURRIER DES PAYS DE L'EST, no. 1039, octobre 2003, p. 31-39.

- Browning, Christopher S.
  Joenniemi, Pertti
  The European Union's Two Dimensions: The Eastern and the Northern.
  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.
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 ?
Cuando la quinta ampliacion se haya realizado, la Union Europea contara con veinticinco 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.
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'.

Page 33
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' élargissement de l' Union européenne 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 stabilité. 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 intresequement 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?
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.
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 née, mais il ne semble pas que les aspects
economiques et financiers qu'entrainent 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.
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.
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.
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.

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.

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.
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.

- Tank, Pinar
'Re-solving' the Cyprus Problem : Changing Perceptions of State and Societal Security.
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.
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
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
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?
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.
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?
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.
  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.
  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.
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.
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 Kalingrad and minorities, deepened socio-economic divide, short-term hinders for economic co-operation, negative perceptions).

- Pyrozhkov, Serhiy

- Rizzotti, Ludovica
The Potential Macroeconomic Impact of EU Enlargement.
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.
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-européenne en Europe centrale.
Dans les pays d'Europe centrale, et notamment en Hongrie, en Pologne et en République tchèque, la question de l'adhésion à l'Union européenne cristallise les enjeux partisans sur les différentes scènes politiques. L'arrivée d'acteurs pronant le repli sur soi et le retour à une identité nationale revivifiée concurrence le discours, plutôt favorable à l'élargissement, des anciens dissidents ou des ex-communistes au pouvoir. Ces nouveaux acteurs nourrissent des sentiments antidémocratiques et manient les symboles de l'histoire nationale à des fins de radicalisation anti-européenne (question des Sudètes, Maison des expulsés, spectre d'une colonisation occidentale à travers l'Union). Par ailleurs, le calendrier actuel de la construction européenne (liberté de circulation des travailleurs et des capitaux, questions financières ...) n'exerce pas une très grande force d'attraction auprès des populations : on peut se demander si les sondages effectués quant à l'adhésion, qui restent pour l'instant favorables, rendent compte justement de l'état des opinions.

Riedel, Sabine
Minorités nationales en Europe et protection des droits de l'homme : un enjeu pour l'élargissement.
Au nom des droits de l'homme, les diverses institutions de l'Europe ont pose comme critère d'adhésion à l'Union le respect des minorités, sans pour autant en donner une définition claire. Face à ce vide sémantique et juridique, la mise en pratique de cette protection des minorités a évolué et est passée, de 1992 à 1998, de la promotion de l'intégration à celle de la ségrégation linguistique, pronant les droits collectifs et favorisant l'avenement de modèles d'État ethniques (Hongrie, Roumanie, Turquie) censes pouvoir prévenir les conflits entre les diverses communautés de ces pays. L'introduction effective de droits collectifs (Bulgarie, République de Macédoine), en faisant notamment coexister plusieurs systèmes d'éducation à l'intérieur d'un même pays, regénère les nationalismes, profite aux économies parallèles et s'avère aller à l'encontre du multiculturalisme, base de la démocratie et de l'État de droit. Il est donc urgent d'évaluer la politique européenne et de définir, à ce niveau, un concept global de protection des minorités.

Brusis, Martin
Emmanouilidis, Janis A.
Candidates Too Help Shape the EU's Future.
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.
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.
http://www.swetswise.com
This article aims to make a three-fold contribution to the study of Euroscepticism in the wider 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.
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 ?
L'elargissement de l'Europe vers l'Est ne resultera 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 geopolitiques 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.
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.

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?

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.

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 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. 
http://www.swetswise.com

- Folch-Vidal, Xavier 
La Europa que viene: retos políticos y económicos. 
Las actuales prioridades exteriores han ensombrecido el objetivo inmediato de la UE: la ampliación al Este. Conviene recapitular sobre los costes que tendría la no ampliación para Europa.

- Kuus, Marje 
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.
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 combating 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 desafío de la ampliación.
  Entre los miembros de la UE y los países candidatos sigue abierta la polémica sobre la ampliación. Los distintos modelos de adhesión, las fechas en que se producirá cada nueva entrada, así como los requisitos de los diez países de Europa central y oriental que aspiran estar en la Unión a lo largo de esta década 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?
  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.
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 ?
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.
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.
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 interes 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.
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 depuis le 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 pret 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'intégration 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 pré-adhesion au sein de l'administration hongroise,
  l'auteur analyse ici les situations très diverses des candidats à
  l'intégration en fonction de critères qui restent aleatoires pour établir
  de véritables comparaisons, comme la population active dans l'agriculture
  ou les services. Tous les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale ont connu a
  des degrés divers des phases de recession entre 1990 et 1993 puis on
  retrouve une certaine croissance. Mais si l'on raisonne en termes de
  'rattrapage', apparaissent alors de profonds retards de développement,
  meme si les pays limitrophes de l'UE sont plus favorisées que les autres.
  Le scenario de convergence n'est donc pas le meme pour tous, d'ou
  l'importance du ciblage des aides européennes qui doit être différent
  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
  disparités et que certains pays restent pour longtemps en marge, avec
  toutes les conséquences que cela implique. Une annexe sur la Hongrie
  revele les profondes distorsions économiques et sociales apparues depuis
  dix ans dans ce pays comme dans d'autres, et etablit que malgré 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 zurück : Besinnung auf gemeinsame
  transatlantische Werte.
  Der estnische Ausserminister 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
  Stabilität 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 uneingeschrankter Gewinn fur beide
  Seiten.
  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 Beitrittslander als Partner und Markt fur
  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.
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.
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 fledging 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 Europaische Union a 27.

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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.
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.

- 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 ?

- Calleya, Stephen C.
EU Enlargement : The Case of Malta.
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.

- Eralp, Atila
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 désormais 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 evidentes, 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.

La decision prise par l'UE lors du Sommet d'Helsinki de decembre 1999 de mener désormais 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'adviendrait-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.

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.
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.

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.

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.

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.
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.
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 ?
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.
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.

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.

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 concrtes 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.

- Moscovici, Pierre
Demain l' Europe a trente ?
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.
Fur die meisten der Staaten Mittel- und Osteuropas ist ein EU-Beitritt gleichsam eine Ruckkehr nach Europa. Die Autoren erstellen anhand einer Befragung fur fünf 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.

- 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 maîtrise 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 concernées et que ce serait sans doute une erreur de se donner une echéance trop précise. L'UE de demain devra déterminer les limites de son elargissement par un choix politique, se doter d'une dimension de securite et de defense propre, améliorer sa capacité a prendre des decisions en refootant 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.
  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.
  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 frontieres, 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'analogue. 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.
  Damit die Innere Sicherheit auch in einer erweiterten Europaischen Union
  gewahreist bleiben kann, bleibt fuer die EU und die Beitrittskanditaten
  in Mittel- und Osteuropa, trotz der vielfach bereits engen
  Zusammenarbeit, noch viel zu tun. Eine Voraussetzung dafuer 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
colition, 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.
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-Beitrittsanwarter ('Pre-Ins').
In grundlicher Analyse der Wirtschaftsdaten Bulgariens, Lettlands,
Litauens, Rumaniens und des Aussenseiters Slowakei kommt Hotschi zum
Schluss, dass die Europaische 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.
Die grosste Herausforderung der EU ist die geplante Osterweiterung, die
die fruhere Unvollstandigkeit der europaischen 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.
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.
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'.

- Severin, Adrian
Towards a New Foreign Policy Strategy?

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, décembre 1997, p. 3-16.

En dehors de toute référence à une adhésion des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale à l'Union européenne, une intégration régionale s'est déjà mise en place au fil de la croissance des échanges commerciaux et des investissements directs étrangers. Aujourd'hui, si le choix politique de l'élargissement est acquis, en premier lieu pour la Pologne, la Hongrie, la République tchèque, la Slovénie et l'Estonie, il reste à en définir les modalités précises dans le cadre d'une stratégie de pré-adhésion et dans l'Union élargie. Les implications économiques 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 échanges, les risques de desequilibres, notamment en matière 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 abordées ici par l'auteur.
- Bailes, Alyson J. K.
  Die noch offenen Fragen der EU-Erweiterung.
  Die bevorstehende Erweiterung der EU bringt für die Sicherheit des
  Kontinents eine Vielzahl von Problemen mit sich. Die Autorin plädiert für
  eine Erweiterungsstrategie, die den Sicherheitsbedürfnissen derjenigen
  'drinnen' ebenso entsprechen sollte wie derjenige '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'évoluer vers des structures d'exclusion. Une
  definition cohérente et coordonnée 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 européen.

- Janning, Josef
  Giering, Claus
  Mythos der Erweiterungsfähigkeit : die EU vor ihrer ersten
  Osterweiterung.
  Die allgemeinen Freudausserungen 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 ausgeblichen.

- Borzeda, Artur
  Pologne, Republique tcheque : deux cheminements vers l' Union
  europeenne.
  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.
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.

- Lucas, Hans-Dieter
The Baltic States in Europe : Problems and Prospects.
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.
Les mesures complexes de préparation à l'adhésion, de transformation et de stabilisation des économies sont étroitement liées. Les critères d'adhésion de Copenhague reflètent cette corrélation. La Hongrie, grâce à l'établissement des structures et institutions fondamentales d'une économie de marché (autonomie des agents économiques, libéralisation des prix, législation sur la concurrence, deregulation, introduction d'une taxation conforme aux lois du marché, réduction des subventions, convertibilité de la monnaie nationale, etc.), répond aux conditions d'une 'économie de marché en fonctionnement', même si cette charpente doit encore être consolidée. Le processus de privatisation sera terminé vers la fin de l'année 1997. Il y a une dualité dans le fait de répondre aux 'pressions de la concurrence' : d'un côté, de larges secteurs de compagnies recemment fondues ou privatisées doivent faire face au syndrome d'une industrie naissante, alors que des entreprises transnationales qui investissent dans le pays profitent d'avantages compétitifs importants sur les couts salariaux. Ces dernières fournissent environ 70 % des exportations industrielles hongroises. La Hongrie ne satisfera pas les critères de Maastricht à son entrée mais devrait pouvoir les remplir à la fin de la période de transition vers 2010.

La volonté d'adhérer aux organisations européennes et atlantique conditionne, pour une large part, les choix économiques et politiques opérés par les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale depuis la disparition du rideau de fer. L'adhésion à ces organisations est en effet apparue, au moment où disparaissait le joug ancien, comme l'élément structurant de la transition politique et économique de 'l'Autre Europe'. Il convient donc de rappeler les grands moments du processus et les principaux enjeux de l'élargissement.

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.

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.

- Ruggie, John Gerard
  Consolidating the European Pillar: The Key to NATO's Future.
  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-à-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.
  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.

1996

- Round Table in Eastwards Enlargement of the EU.
  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.
  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 differenti.ee.
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,
el’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
differenti.ee 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 axe
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.
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 privileger un maintien de
l’engagement americain dans le cadre de la securite europeenne.

- Flockhart, Trine
The Dynamics of Expansion : NATO, WEU and EU.
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.

- Miles, Lee
Redmond, John
Enlarging the European Union : The Erosion of Federalism ?
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 ?

- Cameron, Fraser
The European Union and the Challenge of Enlargement.
The author makes here an almost complete review of the EU agenda. He considers that the EU faces a number of formidable challenges over the next years. No doubt, the Intergovernmental Conference has to meet these challenges and to find out solutions not to lose the great opportunity all the European countries have had since the end of the Cold War. The impatience of the associated countries to speed up their accession to the Union is understandable. However, a pre-accession strategy and timetable for enlargement are equally necessary. Both are largely dependent on a successful outcome of the ICG. This would be the first sign that the EU could punch its true weight not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in the whole world.

- Andriessen, F.
Naar een Continentale Europese Unie.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 50, nr. 6, juni 1996, p. 294-300.
The author deals with the enlargement of the European Union with the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. A Continental European Union of some thirty Member States will inevitably involve some form of differentiation. The author advocates the establishment of three (or possibly four) different policy zones, in which countries that qualify for such a zone can participate.

1995

- Welfens, Paul J. J.
The EU and Eastern Central European Countries : Problems and Options of Integration.
With respect to the eastern Central European countries in the Nineties the European Union (EU) finds itself facing the challenge of integration in the field of external trade and direct investments.
Are the developed industrial nations of the West willing to welcome in their midst the countries which have fallen behind on account of many years of subjugation to the system of the USSR and are now seeking transformation to democracy and a market economy? This requires a departure from their previous protectionist behaviour and conventional mechanisms of integration, moves which will be painful for some interest groups but would be beneficial for all—including the Western Europeans themselves.

- Moisi, Dominique
Mertes, Michael
Europe's Map, Compass, and Horizon.

1994

- Granell, Francesc
La ampliacion de la Union Europea.

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