

# **The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union**

**John O'Brennan**

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# The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union

In May 2004, eight former Communist states in Central and Eastern Europe acceded to the European Union. The negotiation process took fifteen years and was arguably the most contentious in EU history.

This comprehensive volume examines the eastern expansion of the EU through a tripartite structure, developing an empirical, conceptual and institutional analysis to provide a rounded and substantive account of the largest and most challenging enlargement in EU history. Beginning with a foreword written by Pat Cox, who was President of the European Parliament during the final enlargement negotiations of 2002, John O'Brennan's new book explores and analyses:

- why the EU decided to expand its membership and the factors that drove this process forward;
- the key roles played by individual EU institutions, such as the Council, Commission and European Parliament, in the enlargement process;
- the relative importance of geopolitical, economic and normative factors in the EU's enlargement decisions.

This important volume will be of great interest to students and scholars of European politics and European Union studies.

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# **The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union**

**John O'Brennan**

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# Foreword

Ours is an old continent but for the first time in history we have come together on a truly continental scale, not at the point of a sword nor through the barrel of an imperial nor ideological gun but by the free will of free and sovereign governments and peoples. Europe has reinvented itself successfully since the dark days of the Second World War. It has equipped itself with institutions and capacities that have proved enduring yet capable of change. Successive enlargements and Treaties, testament to the vitality of the idea and ideals of Europe, have widened and deepened the territorial and policy remit of the Union. Last year, 2004, was a high-water mark with the accession to full membership of ten new member states – Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta – and the signing of the Constitutional Treaty in Rome.

I firmly believe that our continent, divided for decades by the Cold War, the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall, and faced by the Soviet threat, has taken a dramatic turn for the better. Whatever challenges the new order poses they are as nothing compared to the cost in human, economic and political terms of what went before. This coming together is not, however, simply an event but is, rather, a complex process of transformation, already long since engaged and set to continue. It is a story that deserves to be told, to be analysed, and to be understood. This text fulfils an important part of that mission and I congratulate its author Dr John O'Brennan and the publishers for their endeavours.

Particularly pleasing for someone like myself who has served as a Member of the European Parliament is the recognition in this book of the role played by the Parliament in the enlargement process. Too often, both in the academic and, more particularly, in the media communities this is the Cinderella of the European institutions. Its role, functions and influence have changed dramatically in recent years. First directly elected in 1979 it had a mandate but was in search of a mission.

The Parliament has become today a significant European legislator. During the last five years – 1999–2004 – 403 co-decision procedures have been concluded, establishing the European Parliament as a mature and reliable legislative partner with the Council of Ministers and the Commission on behalf of European citizens. This is an increase of 250 per cent over the previous five-year mandate and reflects the impact of successive treaty changes.

A respected MEP can lead Parliament in the adoption of amendments to

continental-scale legislation that in their ultimate effect equal the sum of amendments of all the member states. Yet extraordinarily one still frequently hears and reads, during elections and at other times, dated and ignorant commentaries that it has no legislative powers and it is just a talking shop. Informed academic discourse can contribute to reversing this prejudice.

The Parliament is an important arm of the budgetary authority of the European Union. It is also an authorizing environment for executive action. I can think of no national parliament in recent years on the issue of budgetary accountability of the Executive that comes close to the decisive role played in 1999 by the European Parliament in the unprecedented resignation of an entire European Commission.

As a tribune of the people, the Parliament and its members have increasingly fulfilled a role as a focal point for the expression of concerns held by ordinary citizens across a wide range of policy areas including the environment, consumer protection, transport, financial and other services, not to mention wider issues of war and peace such as Iraq or the Middle East.

It is the Parliament's power of assent, a vote by a qualified majority to accept or reject agreements with third countries such as the accession of new member states, which introduces its role in the current text. Correctly the author has chosen to look beyond the formal to the informal in appraising Parliament's influence on the enlargement process. Preparing for EU membership is an arduous task for candidate states. They must adopt their legal base to accommodate the *acquis communautaire*, the entire body of EU law.

In engaging at all levels with national parliaments and parliamentarians in the candidate states the European Parliament animated this grinding but indispensable process. We were a voice talking a common parliamentary and political language, talking about a Europe of values and not just an arid Europe of directives to be transposed. We were a bridge offering two-way advocacy for the EU and for our interlocutors. We showed that when the Commission and the Parliament act together in common European cause that the synergies can be powerful and influential. We pre-integrated nominated observer MPs from the accession states in the work of the Parliament after the signature of the Accession Treaty, as earnest of our determination to underpin the irreversibility of the process.

Before the vital Copenhagen Summit in December 2002 to decide the outstanding terms of settlement for the candidate states, together with the Commission and the Council, led respectively by President Romano Prodi and Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen of Denmark, we hosted an unprecedented plenary debate on the future of an enlarged Europe involving speakers from the European Parliament and the parliaments of the candidate states. Our message to Europe's hold-outs on budgetary matters could not have been clearer, that this was not the time nor the occasion for backsliding.

Inside the European Parliament we drove our systems to prepare for this new dawn. As the only directly elected European institution we had a special responsibility to prepare for and to respect Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity. This was not simply the discharge of a duty to new MEPs but more fundamentally the

discharge of a duty to the citizens of new member states on whose behalf we would act as their European legislature.

And we learned about each other, sharing not just a journey but developing a narrative. Let me share one such story. I made a new Lithuanian friend, Vytenis Andriukaitis. He served as the Chairman of the European Affairs Committee of the Seimas (parliament) in Lithuania. I last met him in Greece on 16 April 2003, on the day of signing of the Accession Treaty by the ten new member states of the European Union. We were in the ancient Agora at the foot of the hill of the Acropolis in the shadow of the Parthenon but it was new and not ancient history which touched me on that day. He was overcome with emotion. 'What's wrong?' I asked. 'I have just been talking with my 95-year-old mother on my mobile phone,' he answered, 'about my journey to Athens.'

In 1940 the Soviet Union brutally cast aside the young independence of the three Baltic States under a dirty and self-serving deal between Hitler and Stalin. Mr Andriukaitis Sr was a young married man, an engineer and a part-time municipal councillor in his home city of Kaunas. For this he was suspect in the eyes of their new masters and so he and his young bride were sent to the Gulag. They were placed on a godforsaken island in the Arctic circle that alternated between constant nights and constant days but never altered in terms of its oppressive isolation. My friend Vytenis was born on that prison island. Years later they were allowed to return to Kaunas. He was speaking to his mother about his family's journey from the Gulag to freedom.

As a Member of the European Parliament from the collapse of the Berlin Wall through to the reunification, perhaps the first unification, of our continent based on common values and the exercise of free and sovereign engagement, I had a privileged view from the inside of this special moment and process. I am pleased that scholarship too, through this text, is staking its claim.

Pat Cox, Cork

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Finally, I owe the greatest debt to my parents, Mary and John, for years of unstinting support.

# Abbreviations

AP	Association Partnership
BDI	Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Area
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CoE	Council of Europe
Coreper	Committee of Permanent Representatives
COSAC	Conference of Standing Committees of National Parliaments
DG	Directorate General
EA	Europe Agreement
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
EIB	European Investment Bank
ELDR	European Liberal Party (European Parliament)
EMU	European Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EPP-PD	European People's Party (European Parliament)
ERT	European Roundtable of Industrialists
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
EUI	European University Institute
EUISS	EU Institute for Security Studies
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany

GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNI	Gross National Income
GNP	Gross National Product
IFI	International Financial Institution
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IIA	Inter-Institutional Agreement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	International Political Economy
IR	International Relations
ISPA	Instrument for Structural Policies for Pre-Accession
JHA	Justice and Home Affairs
JPC	Joint Parliamentary Committee
LI	Liberal Intergovernmentalist
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPAA	National Programme for the Adoption of the <i>Acquis</i>
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PES	Party of European Socialists (European Parliament)
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring Economies
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SAPARD	Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development
SEA	Single European Act
SEM	Single European Market
TEU	Treaty on European Union
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization





# 1 Introduction

On 1 May 2004 at a historic, if understated, signing ceremony in Dublin the European Union (EU) formally recognized the accession to the Union of ten new states.<sup>1</sup> These were Cyprus, Malta, and eight Central and Eastern European (CEE) states – the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia – which, for more than forty years, had been cut off from the European integration process by virtue of their geopolitical imprisonment behind the Iron Curtain. The history of European integration had been one of successive and successful enlargement rounds. Indeed, there is some evidence that there existed among the founding fathers an ambition to enlarge to continental scale. For more than three decades after World War Two, the Cold War stood in the way of the realization of that ambition. But with the demise of the Soviet Union and the loosening of its post-war grip on its Central and Eastern European satellite states in the wake of 1989's so-called 'geopolitical earthquake', Jean Monnet's ambition of a European construction stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals suddenly seemed possible. Thereafter, enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe gradually made its way to the top of the European Union's political agenda. On 1 May 2004 the ambition was finally realized.

Although most commentators describe the eastern enlargement as the fifth EU enlargement, it would be more correct to describe it as the fourth such expansion. In the process of expanding eastwards the EU has completed a geographic sweep that first embraced western Europe, then the south and north in succession. The first (western) enlargement came in 1973 with the accessions of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom. This was followed by the second (southern or Mediterranean) expansion that saw the accessions of Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986. Although most commentators treat these as separate it is more correct to consider them as part of a single process underpinned by the same structural dynamics. The third (northern or EFTA) enlargement occurred in 1995, with the accessions of Austria, Finland and Sweden. Thus eastern enlargement should be considered the fourth such round of EU expansion and not the fifth.<sup>2</sup>

The eastern enlargement has frequently been depicted as the culmination of a series of processes that has reunified Europe. This judgement is one that derives from an understanding of Cold War Europe as one of artificial geopolitical division of a previously indivisible civilizational unit, imposed by the strategic competition

of the Cold War. It overlooks the fact that previous to the Second World War there existed many different 'Europes'. At no time could one identify a genuine collective governed by common rules and legal norms. Where particular forms of political unity had emerged that was usually as a result of coercion and territorial aggression and acquisition. In addition, as William Wallace attests, one of the defining characteristics of earlier 'European projects' was that, although most started in Western Europe, they usually spread only some way eastwards. This was as true of Immanuel Kant's perpetual peace plan as it was of the Duc de Sully's proposals for a European federation in the early sixteenth century. In the nineteenth century Prince Metternich famously proclaimed that 'Asia begins at the Landstrasse'.<sup>3</sup> The idea of a European collectivity binding together western and eastern Europe was not taken seriously, partly because of the divisive structural environment emanating from Great Power rivalries but also because of western perceptions of the east as exotic, inferior and 'oriental'.

The 2004 accessions are much better understood as part of an ongoing contemporary process, which has created the foundations of a genuinely trans-European political community, built on shared values, reciprocal obligation and institutionalized rule-following. In that sense eastern enlargement constitutes one of the key building blocks of the post-Cold War European integration process. But if in time eastern enlargement is viewed as a critical advance in moving the EU towards genuine political unity, the emerging Europe is a very different entity to those which emerged from previous efforts of European unification. There are four reasons for this.

First, the decisions made by sovereign governments to accede to the EU were voluntary and not coerced. These governments made their decisions on the basis of national interests and perceptions of common or European values, which linked them solidly to each other and to the collective. The decisions of those sovereign governments were then given formal popular sanction through the accession referendums held in each accession state in 2003. Second, the European Union which the CEE states joined is a political community with defined supranational, national, and regional competences and autonomous institutions, which are delegated responsibility by the member states in a range of policy areas deemed to be of common interest. For all of the focus on the putative loss of sovereignty that accompanies entry into the club, member states retain a formidable capacity for independent action.<sup>4</sup> Third, the EU is also supported by a loose but nevertheless identifiable socioeconomic system, which is highly regulated through supranational legislation and the Union-wide writ of the European Court of Justice (ECJ). Finally, the enlarged EU is developing a collective approach to foreign and security policy that increasingly seeks to give expression to the values that underpin the European integration process. Thus the Europe of the early twenty-first century can manifestly be understood as the first voluntarily enacted transnational political community in the history of international politics. And eastern enlargement, facilitating as it has the transfer of EU norms on everything from human rights to environmental legislation, has contributed as much to that process of European unification as any constitutional or political project that preceded it. If a further

enlargement to the Balkans helps to embed democracy in modern Europe's most conflict-prone region then the process of enlargement will in the future stand as the most significant contribution to the pacification and transformation of Europe.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the eastern enlargement was its scale and magnitude, and the transformative effect it has had on the shape of the European Union. From a membership of six countries and 185 million people in the late 1950s, the EU expanded gradually to 15 member states and a population of 375 million people after the 1995 EFTA enlargement. With eastern enlargement the Union expands to 25 member states with a combined population of 450 million.<sup>5</sup> Nor does this represent the culmination of even the eastern enlargement process. In the latter part of 2004 Bulgaria and Romania completed negotiations for membership and are expected to become members of the EU on 1 January 2007. Croatia is expected to be next to open negotiations with the EU and, although in the course of 2005 there arose significant difficulties that temporarily postponed the opening of negotiations, that country is still widely expected to accede with Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 or soon after.<sup>6</sup> EU strategy on southeastern Europe has been closely modelled on eastern enlargement and seeks to gradually integrate all of the states of former Yugoslavia including Serbia, for long Europe's pariah state. The Brussels European Council of December 2004 formally committed the EU to the opening of accession negotiations with Turkey. And with the 'roses revolution' in Georgia in 2003 and the 'orange revolution' in Ukraine in 2004, the prospect of those countries moving closer to and seeking membership of the EU appeared much closer. So it is clear that the 2004 enlargement, although of great significance for both the EU and the accession states, may end up constituting but the first important part of a much larger process of expansion to eastern and south-eastern Europe.

In developing arguments about the nature and content of the eastern enlargement process the book draws upon a variegated literature that expanded in tandem with the political process it sought to depict. In the first place there are the general texts that describe and analyse the main features of and important challenges thrown up by eastern enlargement. Two types of approach in particular stand out. The first includes empirical work that sought to describe the evolution of the enlargement process and the development of EU relations with the CEE states. This literature also includes the contributions of EU insiders such as Graham Avery, Fraser Cameron, and Peter Ludlow.<sup>7</sup> These books contain valuable accounts of the internal EU deliberation on enlargement and especially the inter-institutional context in which enlargement politics were played out. A second type of general text presented comprehensive studies of important parts of the EU policy process and the likely impact which eastern enlargement would have in specific policy domains.<sup>8</sup> The number and diversity of these studies increased steadily as the negotiations on eastern enlargement moved toward conclusion.

A second stream of literature analysed eastern enlargement from the perspective of country studies, especially of the candidate states in Central and Eastern Europe. These included consideration of negotiation strategies, domestic enlargement debates, the impact of 'Europe' on domestic institutions and institutional choice,

and studies of public opinion.<sup>9</sup> Where some of these studies provided important information and analysis of developments in the candidate countries, increasingly also they sought to engage with ongoing debates in EU studies in different subdisciplines of political science, cultural studies, sociology and economics. On the EU side there were a smaller number of studies, which analysed the implications of enlargement for specific member states, some of a general nature, others focused on specific areas of public policy, élite contestation and public attitudes to enlargement. The question of domestic institutional adaptation and policy choice featured strongly in these studies, especially in those countries where enlargement threatened the privileges of important interest groups.<sup>10</sup>

A third important stream of analysis flowed from scholars of economic integration. These studies included a range of macroeconomic analyses of the different ways in which eastern enlargement would impact on key EU policies such as agriculture and structural funding, and others which analysed such issues as investment flows into Central and Eastern Europe and the transnational restructuring of European industry which developed in parallel with the enlargement process. Perhaps the most influential of these contributions was that of Alan Mayhew, whose *Recreating Europe* analysed the political economy of eastern enlargement and bridged the divide between academic analysis and policy-making.<sup>11</sup>

A fourth stream of literature examined the constituent elements of EU enlargement policy, highlighting the importance of various capacity-building programmes and compliance strategies employed by the EU in its efforts to transfer its policy-making apparatus and institutional culture to the candidate states. As the enlargement process developed, and measurement of EU 'successes' and 'failures' became possible, a growing number of scholars sought to analyse the use of various types of conditionality, and especially political conditionality, by the EU. In this respect studies of the application of the Copenhagen criteria within the enlargement process were increasingly foregrounded as scholars sought to determine the extent to which Central and Eastern Europe was becoming (alternatively) 'Europeanized', 'modernized', and 'democratized' through the enlargement process.<sup>12</sup>

Finally, somewhat belatedly a theoretical literature began to develop, which drew on two juxtaposed bodies of thought from the subdiscipline of International Relations (IR), and conceptualized eastern enlargement from those perspectives. In the first place, a rationalist literature grew up around the study of the constitutional and institutional dimensions of the enlargement process. The study of national decision-making and supranational bargaining that accompanied specific aspects of the eastern enlargement framework drew attention to a part of the process which was at least as important as the inside-outside bargaining between the EU and the candidate states.<sup>13</sup> In addition, scholars sought to determine the likely impact of enlargement on EU decision-making by focusing on changes to the rules governing the use of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) within the Council and the general costs of institutional adaptation. Perhaps the most important theoretical template for analysing enlargement from a rationalist perspective was Andrew Moravcsik's *The Choice for Europe*, which offered a view of the European integration process as one characterized by intergovernmental bargaining and

dominated by the powerful economic interests of the larger member states. *The Choice for Europe* had very little to say about eastern enlargement (or indeed any previous enlargement of the EU), but in other contributions Moravcsik applied his liberal intergovernmentalist framework to argue that enlargement did not fundamentally re-order any of the important features of the integration process and that the EU bargaining which accompanied the enlargement process resulted in typical compromises which protected the structural interests of the larger member states whilst buying off potential losers with compensatory 'side payments'.<sup>14</sup>

The second strand of theoretical literature developed around the importance of identity, norms, and social interaction within the eastern enlargement process. This literature, although itself increasingly diverse, sought to highlight the normative importance of different features of the process, and especially the transposition of EU values and identity on to Central and Eastern Europe. One school of thought focused on EU motivations deriving from a sense of historical obligation, such as 'uniting Europe', or 'undoing the historical injury wrought on the CEE states at Yalta'.<sup>15</sup> Another approach analysed eastern enlargement from different identity perspectives.<sup>16</sup> A final stream focused on the content and role of norms and normative transposition within the enlargement process.<sup>17</sup> Where rationalist scholars highlighted so-called 'logics of consequentiality' which allegedly governed enlargement decision-making, sociologically-grounded scholars instead argued for 'logics of appropriateness' as the key cognitive templates which informed and guided the behaviour of decision-makers. This disciplinary clash was both a product of and contributed significantly to the rationalist/constructivist divide which had come to define a large part of the academic conversation on EU public policy-making.

This book contributes to that debate in a number of ways. First it embeds the evolution of the eastern enlargement process in both conceptual and institutional analysis. The focus is exclusively on the internal EU dimension, on the deliberation and decision-making process, and how enlargement unfolded from the new dawn of 1989 through to accession day on 1 May 2004. Second, the narrative that runs through the book is a normative one. Its main claim is that normative and ideational factors rooted in issues of identity, norms and values drove the eastern enlargement process forward and proved decisive in determining its content and form. The EU used the eastern enlargement process as the main instrument supporting its efforts to 'democratize' and 'Europeanize' Central and Eastern Europe and transform the geopolitics of Europe. Notwithstanding the criticisms of those who point to the flawed fabric of democratic practice in many of the existing member states, and those on the CEE side who rightly point out that the democratic revolutions in CEE were local and spontaneous, it is clear that a successful transition to EU democratic norms, involving the entire reconstitution of political life in the candidate states, was the major objective of EU policy. This is of a pattern in that democracy promotion has 'gone mainstream' not just in EU practice but on a global level, over the past two decades, with the UN, the OSCE, innumerable NGOs and even the World Bank and IMF vigorously promoting best democratic practice in their activities.<sup>18</sup> It is in and through the EU, however, that the most

explicit forms of democracy promotion are pursued. And nowhere more than in the eastern enlargement process has that desire to effect positive and society-enhancing democratization been as vigorously championed as by the European Union.

The norms which the book focuses on as decisive in shaping the eastern enlargement are not all exclusive to the European Union. Indeed, many are universal in their scope. But the European integration process has encouraged the development of a specific norm set that has seen the salience of these norms increase in the member states over time. The norms of reciprocity, multilateralism, respect for fundamental freedoms and minority rights, and transparency of administrative, judicial, and political institutions are now firmly rooted in both the domestic legal systems of the member states and the cognitive templates that guide decision-makers. In fact these norms are so deeply embedded that they have a 'taken for granted' quality about them. And although one of the most important debates occupying scholars of EU studies in the current period is that which focuses on the diffusion, interpretation, penetration and resonance of these norms within individual member states, it seems clear that the EU sought to use as many and as varied a range of instruments as possible within the framework of its eastern enlargement process so as to ensure the successful transposition of these norms in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe.

The EU's attachment to its political norms was highlighted again and again in the course of the eastern enlargement process. Indeed it seems clear now that while the Union was prepared to overlook deficiencies in the economic preparedness of candidate states it would not do so with respect to the political criteria for membership. This was especially evident in the case of negotiations with Bulgaria and Romania and even more so in the decision to open negotiations with Turkey. The norms of transparency of democratic institutions and fundamental freedoms for all took precedence over those of market capitalism in every case. That is because these norms most cogently represent what the European Union *is* in the international political system – a transnational pluralistic security community, founded on the principles of peaceable interstate relations, and dedicated to institutionalizing both market relations and political problem-solving among its member states.

In outlining how the eastern enlargement came on to the EU agenda, and thereafter how the contours of EU policy developed, the book does three things. First, it examines the evolution and unfolding of the eastern enlargement process, beginning with the heady days of peaceful revolution in 1989 and ending with the historic signing ceremony at Aras an Úachtaraan in Dublin on 1 May 2004. In future years historians will no doubt provide a large range of narratives, which will, of course, much more fully and satisfactorily explain the events, people and processes at the heart of the enlargement story. The political scientist, at too close a juncture to actual events, can only hope to produce a narrative that captures the essential elements of the picture. That is what part I of the book seeks to do. It describes how the EU relationship with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe developed after the dramatic events of the *annus mirabilis* of 1989, the important features of the early EU approach to enlargement, and the crucial

foundations of the enlargement process which were gradually introduced as EU relations with Central and Eastern Europe deepened. It examines both the important intergovernmental summit meetings from which important enlargement decisions emerged and the supranational institutional processes that helped shape those European Council gatherings. It analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the various capacity-building instruments employed by the EU in Central and Eastern Europe and how these linked to the macro-objectives of EU policy. Finally, part I also traces the complex and contentious accession negotiations, which were officially instituted in early 1998 and completed in late 2002.

Part II of the book presents an analysis of the intra-EU institutional politics which accompanied and in many senses shaped the eastern enlargement process. This has been perhaps the most neglected area of academic analysis of enlargement and thus where the book's main contribution to our understanding of enlargement lies. The enlargement of such a complex and multifaceted international entity as the EU entails an important institutional dimension. Enlargement both arises out of specific forms of institutionalized cooperation and subsequently produces a reconfiguration of the norms and practices which structure that cooperation. Thus any substantive analysis of an enlargement process necessitates an understanding of the institutional dimension of the process. The three chapters in part II analyse the different roles played by the three principal institutions of the EU – the Council, Commission and Parliament – in the accession process, focusing on both the formal treaty-based division of labour which governs enlargement decision-making and the informal practices which have grown up around the enlargement process over the years. The chapters are concerned principally with the following questions: What were the formal treaty-based responsibilities of each of the three EU institutions with respect to enlargement decisions, and how did each institution seek to assert its influence on the process? How and through what instruments did each of the institutions engage with the candidate states during the enlargement process? To what extent did each institution act as a unified actor vis-à-vis the candidate states? Where there existed fragmentation within an individual institution how did this manifest itself and with what effect on the enlargement process? To what extent did each of the institutions act as European 'institution builders' and/or 'identity builders' within the structures of the enlargement process? And, finally, which of the institutions proved most important to enlargement decisions?

Although the *formal* decision rules laid down in Article 49 TEU suggest that it is the Council, and thus the member states, which makes the key decisions on enlargement, a more substantive contextual analysis of Article 49, informed also by knowledge of how the EU system operates in practice, reveals a more complicated picture of the decision-making process. Indeed enlargement can now only be understood as a process governed both by the formal/legal rules laid down in the treaties and the customary enlargement practice which has developed over the years.<sup>19</sup> The very absence of formal institutional instructions regarding the management of enlargement encouraged the development of a set of informal practices which eastern enlargement further developed and entrenched. The



European Commission, for example, although legally mandated only to deliver its opinion on membership applications to the Council, effectively acts as principal conduit with the candidate states and has an important influence on both the content and shape of the process as it develops. The treaty articles also bestow an important role on the European Parliament. No accession decision can be taken without the Parliament's assent. And, in the final instance, the outcome of the process rests on the ratification procedures in both the acceding states and the member states. All of this suggests that it is quite wrong to identify the Council as the *only* EU actor that counts in the process. The chapters on the Commission and Parliament thus outline the important ways those institutions contribute to enlargement decision-making.

Part III of the book contributes to the developing literature on the conceptualization of EU enlargement by analysing eastern enlargement from different conceptual standpoints. The chapter on geopolitical perspectives analyses enlargement, and particularly EU motivations for enlargement, from the standpoint of security, statecraft and international diplomacy. It utilizes realist theory to conceptualize important geopolitical issues such as the EU relationship with Russia, interstate relations in Central and Eastern Europe, and the location and ubiquity of power within the enlargement process. Although the central arguments of the book are those which highlight the normative importance of eastern enlargement for the EU, geopolitical issues also matter, and no serious examination of the subject can avoid engaging with the geopolitics of the new Europe. The chapter on economic perspectives focuses on EU economic motivations for enlargement and the main economic issues which enlargement brought to the fore. It employs Andrew Moravcsik's Liberal Intergovernmental framework in analysing the input into enlargement decisions by important EU producer groups and the preferences of transnational capital. In so doing it also highlights the extent to which domestically-generated enlargement preferences, especially in the larger, more powerful member states impacted on the enlargement process. The nature of both internal EU bargaining and the EU-candidate state negotiating relationship is also examined against Moravcsik's explicit and parsimonious framework. The final chapter in this section examines the normative dimension to eastern enlargement and employs social constructivist approaches to international relations to assess the importance of identity and norms within the enlargement process. It tests the proposition that the eastern enlargement process was governed in the main by 'logics of appropriateness', which helped define both member state preferences and EU modes of action. It argues that although the enlargement process was contested to different degrees and by a range of different actors within the EU, the logic which won out was the normative one which stressed the centrality of EU values and the importance of securing those values in Central and Eastern Europe. The norms that the EU sought to transpose through the enlargement process were exactly those that gave meaning to the existing process of European integration and rendered legitimate the structures of institutionalized cooperation and decision-making that supported that process.

The arguments presented in the book are constructed around a recognizable

methodological approach. Although the political scientist is constrained in some important respects by his or her proximity to events, especially by the absence of memoirs, biographies and official documentation that are crucial to the process of historical reconstruction, there is nevertheless a greater range and diversity of sources relating to the European integration process available now than ever before. The EU institutions publish most of their documentation quickly and this is disseminated widely via the worldwide web. These documents constitute the crucial primary sources for this book. National documentation, although much more scarce, is also increasingly accessible to scholars and makes a contribution here throughout. The speeches and wider public discourse of national and EU representatives are also a vital source of information and frequently go beyond official papers in presenting public policy and the ideas that inform it. Secondary material consisting of traditional sources such as monographs and peer reviewed journal articles also constitute an important resource, especially in the effort to interpret EU motivations for eastern enlargement. In addition the worldwide web has facilitated the development of another type of secondary source – analysis and opinion provided by dedicated think-tanks such as the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), the Centre for European Reform (CER), the European Policy Centre (EPC), and many others which focus on more specific parts of the integration process. The analysis of these groups features prominently throughout the book. In addition newspapers and magazines with established reputations in covering EU politics such as *The Economist*, the *Financial Times* and others are utilized throughout. Finally, interviews with policy-makers contribute to the analysis, especially in part II of the book, which focuses on the internal EU management of eastern enlargement.

Enlargement, as Desmond Dinan reminds us ‘has been a central and quasi-permanent element in the EU’s history’.<sup>20</sup> The first set of new members (the UK, Denmark and Ireland) had hardly been assimilated when the second set (Greece, Spain and Portugal) applied to join. Similarly, the Community was still assimilating the second set when the third set of ultimately successful applicants (Austria, Finland, and Sweden) requested accession. There followed the absorption of the old GDR, and, in the aftermath of the 1989 revolutions, the tabling of accession requests by the CEE states, Turkey, Cyprus and Malta. So from the beginning of the process of integration, enlargement has always hovered over internal and external EU activity. EU Intergovernmental Conferences (IGCs), as well as day-to-day activity, have, over the years, been influenced in important ways by enlargement issues.<sup>21</sup> The main reason for the convening of an IGC in 1996 was to revisit the Treaty on European Union (TEU). But, as Sedelmeier and Wallace point out, the link was made early on between the constitutional conclave and eastern enlargement. Both the Reflection Group – representatives of heads of government, charged with preparing for the IGC – and the Commission presented eastern enlargement as the main rationale for the IGC. Similarly, the IGC that concluded with the Nice Treaty in December 2000 was very much an enlargement IGC, with the treaty changes eventually agreed considered at least a minimum step toward ensuring the continued functioning of an enlarged Union.<sup>22</sup> The Convention on