

ABSTRACTS

Wolfgang Wessels and Anne Faber

From the European Convention back to the ‘Monnet Method’? Developing a ‘Road Map’ for the EU Reform Treaty during the German Presidency

The article introduces the intergovernmental conferences, the EU Convention Method, and the so-called Monnet Method as the three most important processes in the development of the political system of the European Union; it sheds light on their particular characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses from a political angle as well as from the perspective of integration theory. Accordingly, the adoption of the road map under the EU Presidency of Angela Merkel can be debated as the result of the interplay of all three methods. In the future we may also expect that not one process but rather a mix of the three supplementary strategies will present the most promising prospect for the further constructive development of the European Union.

Jürgen Neyer

Which Type of Integration Theory Does the European Union Need?

Not only the European Union, but integration theory in general is facing a crisis. The majority of integration theory approaches applied today ignore the key roles that democracy and the public play in explaining European integration. Deliberative integration theory provides an answer to these deficits. Taking the deliberative approach and motives into account, progress on the road to integration can be seen as shifts of political power which require justification. Greater integration always requires a larger degree of justification. Where such justification is missing or implausible, mistrust and, finally, political resistance grow.

Wolfgang Schmale

The Future of the European Union or the Future of the Paradigm of Unity

Since the Middle Ages, the paradigm of unity has been a central European political paradigm. It is now in a crisis: on the level of the individual and of society, at the national level, as well as within education, science, economy, culture, and religion things become more complex, more plural. Due to this global development, the historic paradigm of unity is coming to its limits. In order to envisage the ‘historic future of Europe’, it seems suitable to advance from the paradigm of unity to the paradigm of networking. The new paradigm becomes important when considering states, such as Russia, which cannot or do not wish to become full members of the Union. The status of a networking-actor could be a viable alternative for certain regions or cities, depending on their constitutional rights within their state. In analogy to the federal states among European states, the autonomy of regions could be reinforced, at least their constitutional rights, to become networking-partners of the EU.

Peter-Christian Müller-Graff

Judicial Steps on the Way to a Transnational Polity

The process of European integration has generated a transnational polity (Gemeinwesen) which differs significantly from the classical law of international organisations. Steps on this way were the creation and enhancement of supranational law by the Treaties establishing the European Communities, and the establishment of the doctrine of direct applicability of Community law and its primacy of application over national law by the European Court of Justice. Further steps on the way to a transnational polity were the creation of the own resources mechanism, the direct

election of the European Parliament, as well as the creation of a set of common objectives and values and of a single institutional framework for the EU. Today, the projected Reform Treaty continues the concept of the transnational polity; in retrospect, the Reform Treaty might look like a new qualitative step towards turning the EU into a legally condensed, politically acting union.

Barbara Lippert

Same Procedure as Every Few Years – Dynamics and Attempts to Steer EU Enlargement

The author examines two aspects of the ongoing enlargement process of the European Union. Firstly, the dynamics of the enlargement process over six rounds are explained by identifying as driving factors the (geo-)political sequencing and formation of groups, the accession motives, and the Community's constant formation of its own political identity. Secondly, the article explores the EU's attempts to steer this development, which so far has been successful in terms of stability of the EU system. This was mostly due to a quickly emerging enlargement doctrine which ensured that accession candidates would adopt the *acquis communautaire* completely before accession. Additionally, the European Union has tried to complement each round of enlargement with steps to deepen the EU or to instrumentalise these steps to this end – with dwindling success, however. Overall, it is apparent that motives, expectations and strategies of the EC/EU actors have resurfaced from one round of enlargement to the next at a new level of integration. It is assumed that the enlargement process will continue at slower speed, while the adaptation capacities and stability of the EU system will remain uncertain.

Werner Link

The Influence of World Politics on the Process of European Integration

The effects of world politics on European integration can be clearly identified when looking at the junctures of integration before and after 1990/1. European states have responded – and are still responding – to the common structural and procedural challenges of the international system by advancing the project of European integration in terms of European self-assertion and in order to become a cooperative factor of equilibrium in world politics. External actors and international processes both hindered and promoted and – often unintentionally – accelerated European integration. This variety is due to respective structural elements of the system and the positions of different EC/EU member states in the international system. The tendency for 'differentiated integration' within the enlarged, heterogeneous EU is also – and not in the least – due to the international system.

Alfred Pijpers

New Sobriety and a Critical Public – the Netherlands and European Integration

Viewed against the backdrop of the Dutch veto of the proposed EU Constitutional Treaty, this paper argues that the Dutch position towards European integration has undergone fundamental changes in recent years: where there used to be a general 'permissive' consensus, today scepticism prevails. A clear divide between citizens and politics prevents the Dutch democracy from functioning at its best within the European Union. In addition, there are new challenges such as the strong influx of immigrants and the negative side effects of globalisation; most people believe that the nation-state is still the most likely actor to solve these problems. In this light, the author addresses the question of how this change of attitude has affected the Netherlands' European policy and which consequences can be expected in the long run (in terms of shaping the further integration process) and in the short term (with regard to ratifying the Reform Treaty).

William E. Paterson

A Category of its Own – the United Kingdom and European Integration

It is argued in this article that Britain as a member of the EU is in a category of its own. It joined the Community on almost exclusively economic reasons. Prime Ministers from Heath to Thatcher to Blair failed to create or attempt to create consensus on UK membership and anchor Britain in the EU which has weakened both the UK as well as the EU. The author argues that identity formation and the role of memory are important to understand these attitudes. He concludes that the UK reserve about the EU is all the more surprising if one considers the changes that the EU has undergone through successive enlargements and the impact of globalization that turn it into a forum which should be more acceptable for the UK.

Vladimir Handl

From Enmity to a More Differentiated Understanding of Europe? The Czech Republic, East Central Europe and European Integration

The accession of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe has been a success both economically and politically. Although EU issues are seen to some extent through eyes accustomed to eastern bloc propaganda, they are debated in a new context. The public's image of the EU is predominately positive; however, members of the political elite, particularly in the Czech Republic and Poland, are divided. In light of a limited consensus with regard to European politics, it is difficult to formulate and implement a coherent and effective European policy.

Julia Lieb

Good Practice Disrupts Formal Resistance: Opportunities for Developing the European Security and Defence College

After meeting with some initial resistance, the European Security and Defence College (ESDC) was established in 2005. The low degree of public awareness of the existence of the College may be a result of its institutional and financial limitations. However, the parties involved exhibit increasing interest in further expanding the training structures in the field of European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and recognise the great potential of the College to this end. The talks that commenced under the 2007 Portuguese Presidency of the EU regarding a revision to the joint action to set up the ESDC offer an opportunity for reform. The further positive development of the College could serve as an example for the entire field of foreign and security policy. Developments could show how direct collaboration in a political field which is still shaped by reservations regarding sovereignty may produce results that strengthen the consistency of European foreign policy internally and stabilise it externally.

Günter Glosner

European Neighbourhood Policy after the German EU Presidency – Review and Prospects

One of the priorities of the German EU Presidency in the first half of 2007 was the strengthening of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). The ENP, which started with the eastern enlargement of the EU, is aimed at avoiding new dividing lines at European borders and minimizing the dichotomy between accession and neighbouring the EU. Consequently, it has become one of the cornerstones of the relations of the European Union with its neighbours. It is now to focus on the transformation of the resolved policy into concrete measures. Strengthening economic integration as well as cooperation in the field of migration and energy are important areas for advanced progress. Furthermore, regional cooperation is indispensable for stability and economic growth. The German EU Presidency has therefore intensified EU policy measures with regard to the Black Sea region considerably.

Klaus Hänsch

All's Well That Ends Well? Comments on the Reform Treaty

Despite the fact that converting the Constitutional Treaty into a treaty amending existing treaties presented the only chance to save the spirit of the document, the scratches, cuts, and injuries it suffered as a result are deeper than one might notice at first sight. Some changes such as the rehabilitation of the terms 'regulation' and 'directive' for legal instruments of the EU are simply an expression of political cowardice since a number of governments intend to hide political and legal realities from their citizenry. In light of the difficult development of the Treaty, it is foreseeable that it will not undergo any further reform in the near future. For the time being, the EU needs to successfully bring the ratification process to a close; however, the success of this venture is by no means certain.

Sylvie Goulard

European Paradoxes – a Commentary on the Situation of the EU

The consensus on the Reform Treaty reached at the European Council in June 2007 cannot hide the fact that the European Union remains entangled in three paradoxes: firstly, with regard to its institutions; secondly, in terms of its objectives; and thirdly, in view of its borders. To meet these global challenges, it is essential that the citizens of the EU become conscious of these paradoxes which limit the ability of the EU to act successfully.

Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen von Janina Gatzky und Barbara Schumacher.

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