

Contents

List of Illustrations

xi

Preface

xiii

Introduction

1

The Interwar Experience 2

Toward European Union 5

Purpose and Organization of the Book 9

1 What Kind of Union?

13

From World War to Cold War 14

The European Movement 22

Prospects for Economic Integration 25

Tackling the German Question 28

The Schuman Declaration 37

2 Europe of the Communities

45

The European Coal and Steel Community 46

The European Defense Community and the
European Political Community 57

The European Economic Community and the
European Atomic Energy Community 64

3 Constructing the European Community

83

Setting Up Shop 84

Implementing the Customs Union and Fending Off the Free Trade Area	89
The Common Agricultural Policy	94
The CAP, British Accession, and Grand Designs	97
The Empty Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Compromise	104
A Decade of European Community Integration	108

4 Reversal

125

The Spirit of The Hague	126
From Six to Nine	135
Surviving the Storm	145
Prospects for European Union	161

5 Recovery

167

Fair Winds	168
In the Doldrums	175
Picking Up Speed	185

6 Transformation

205

The Single European Act	206
The Single Market Program	216
Solidarity Through Cohesion and Social Policy	225

7 Achieving European Union

233

Economic and Monetary Union	234
The Changing Political Context	241
The Maastricht Treaty	245

8 The Challenges of European Union

265

The Challenge of Enlargement	266
Institutional and Political Challenges	283
Policy Challenges	298

9 Conclusion 321

National Interests and Supranational Solutions	321
Individuals, Institutions, and Ideas	323
Europe Recast	325

<i>Appendix 1: List of Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	327
<i>Appendix 2: The Ever-Wider EU, 1957–2004</i>	329
<i>Appendix 3: Major Treaty Changes</i>	331
<i>Appendix 4: Chronology</i>	333

<i>Bibliography</i>	345
<i>Index</i>	359
<i>About the Book</i>	373

<i>The Ruhr</i>	33
<i>The Six Original Member States</i>	48
<i>The Saar</i>	53
<i>The Six Member States and the EFTA Seven</i>	92
<i>The Nine Member States</i>	146
<i>The Ten Member States</i>	172
<i>The Twelve Member States</i>	191
<i>The European Economic Area</i>	224
<i>The Fifteen Member States</i>	270
<i>The Candidate Countries</i>	278
<i>Cyprus, Malta, Turkey: The Mediterranean Candidate Countries</i>	282

<i>Photographs</i>	
<i>Signing of the Rome Treaty, 1957</i>	75
<i>The Hallstein Commission, 1964</i>	85
<i>Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer, 1958</i>	103
<i>Edward Heath Signing Britain into the Common Market, 1972</i>	138
<i>Jacques Delors, European Commission President, 1985–1995</i>	206