

ON THE ROAD TO BRUSSELS

**The Political Dimension of Austria's,
Finland's and Sweden's Accession
to the European Union**

Paul Luif

Braumüller
Vienna



**Austrian Institute for International Affairs (AIIA)
Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik (ÖIIP)
A-2361 Laxenburg, Austria**

Contents

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	xiii
Abbreviations	xvi
Preface	xxi
1. Introduction	1
2. Integration Theory	7
2.1. Realism and Idealism as Two Basic Views of International Relations	8
2.2. Functionalism	12
2.3. The “Transaction” Approach	14
2.4. Neofunctionalism	14
2.5. A Realist Critique	16
2.6. Modified Neofunctionalism	17
2.7. Provisional Conclusion	17
3. The Historical Development and the Structure of the European Union’s Foreign and Security Policy	22
3.1. European Political Cooperation in Retrospect	22
3.2. The Structure of the Common Foreign and Security Policy	37
3.2.1. The Modifications Introduced by the Maastricht Treaty	37
3.2.2. The Decision-Making Structure of the CFSP	45
3.3. The Actions of the CFSP: Declaratory Statements, Common Positions and Joint Actions	57
3.3.1. Declaratory Statements	59
3.3.2. Common Positions	65
3.3.3. Joint Actions	67
3.4. The Structure of WEU and Its Relations with the EU	74
3.5. Concluding Remarks	82
4. Theoretical Explanations of EPC/CFSP	85
5. The Political-Economic Background to the Membership Applications of the EFTA Countries	94
5.1. Theories of Corporatism	94
5.2. Empirical Data on the EFTA States’ Economies	102

6. Neutrality	124
7. The European Economic Area as a "Detour" on the Way to the Fourth Enlargement of the EU	148
7.1. The History of EFTA-EC Relations	148
7.2. The Fact-Finding Phase of the EEA Negotiations	152
7.3. The Exploratory Phase	155
7.4. The Formal Negotiations	160
8. The EC/EU's Point of View on the Second Northern Enlargement	169
9. The Reasons for the EFTA Countries' Applications for EC/EU Membership	180
9.1. Trade Figures as Background Variables	180
9.2. The Reasons for Membership Application	185
9.2.1. Austria	185
9.2.2. Sweden	200
9.2.3. Finland	217
9.2.4. Switzerland and Norway	231
9.3. Concluding Remarks	233
10. The Attitudes of the EFTA Neutrals Toward a Common Foreign and Security Policy	237
10.1. Austria	238
10.2. Sweden	244
10.3. Finland	251
11. International Crises and the Reactions of EU and EFTA Countries	254
11.1. Basic Aspects and Early Experiences	254
11.2. Sanctions in the 1980s	258
11.3. The Kuwait Crisis and the Breakup of Yugoslavia	265
12. Voting Behavior in the UN General Assembly	273
12.1. Introductory Remarks	273
12.2. The Consensus among the EC/EU Countries in the General Assembly and the EFTA Countries	277
12.3. The "Distance" of the Applicant Countries from the EC/EU	281
12.3.1. Technical Explanation of UN Voting and Index Calculation	281
12.3.2. The Distance from the EC/EU Consensus	283
12.3.3. The Distance from the EC/EU Majority	286
13. The Membership Negotiations, the Referenda and Legal Adjustments to EU Membership	303

13.1. The Membership Negotiations	303
13.2. The Referenda in Austria, Finland and Sweden	315
13.3. Legal Adjustments to EU Membership	330
13.3.1. Austria	331
13.3.2. Finland	335
13.3.3. Sweden	340
13.3.4. Concluding Remarks on the Practice of the National Parliaments' Participation in EU Decision-Making	343
14. The New Members: Economy and Public Opinion	347
14.1. The Economy and the Maastricht Criteria	349
14.2. Public Opinion in the New Member States	358
15. Conclusions	367
Index	377