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 Kandidatnr. : 5660
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I a) Multiple choice

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|------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. B | 6. A | 11. A | 16. A |
| 2. C | 7. B | 12. A | 17. A |
| 3. D | 8. C | 13. B | 18. A |
| 4. B | 9. B | 14. B | 19. A |
| 5. A | 10. A | 15. C | 20. D |

b) Short identifications

1. Financial perspective

The framework for the budget of the European Union, established by the European Council, for the next couple of years. On the basis of this perspective makes the European Commission a draft of the EU budget, which has to be approved by both the

2. Co-decision procedure

EU Council and the EU Parliament

The basic legislative procedure since the Treaty of Lisbon of 2009. It still establishes the right of initiation for the European Commission, but the decision right is equally distributed between the European Council and the European Parliament. It puts them on equal footing. This procedure is implemented and through the years more and more used to increase the power of the European Parliament and therefore increasing legitimacy within the European Union and decreasing the democratic deficit.

3. Council of Europe.

An international independent organization, established in 1949, that is not part of the European Union. It consists of 46 members and has 4 states that act as "superior" (eg. Japan). It is regarded as a forum for the ~~states~~ states to discuss international issues and as a watchdog on the world to safeguard humanitarian rights.



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I 4. Intergovernmental Conference (IGC)

Meeting with the heads of state or government to discuss issues and reach agreements. They are held every four years.

5. Functional Spill-over

A term from the neo-functional theory of European integration, from authors such as ~~Hayek~~^{Doornik}. Here, 'form follows function', or institutions are established and removed according to the role and functions they fulfill. Functional Spill-over is one of three spill-overs that can occur (the other two being political and cultivated spill-over). Sectors will integrate according to their functions and if integration will benefit the sector. This creates pressure on other sectors as they see the benefits of integration and will feel forced to follow. Hence, the amount of integration in other sectors will increase, or it will "spill-over".

6. Dependent variable

A statistical term, which is the opposite of an independent variable. In an experiment, the independent variable(s) will be kept constant, while dependent variables are tested. The changes in dependent variables are measured or noted and consequently, the effects of the independent variable(s) can be determined.

7. Cabinet

The workers of a minister, who aid him or her with the work. They take care of the administrative work. Within the cabinet, they have their own resources and cabinets of different ministers work together to formulate administrative outcomes.



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I 8. COREPER

The Committee of Permanent Representatives, consisting of COREPER I and COREPER II. COREPER I consists of the deputies of the ambassadors, while COREPER II consists of the actual ambassadors. Therefore, COREPER II is the more important body. COREPER prepare the meetings of the Council of Ministers, they gather information and overall facilitate the meetings of the Council of Ministers. COREPER also discusses some of the agenda points of the Council and tries to reach agreements for the Council, to decrease their workload.

9. Europeanisation

This term can apply to both impacts from the EU on its member states as the interaction between the EU and the world. It is the incremental logic that domestic policy will become EU policy in the long term. There is top-down and bottom-up Europeanisation. Top-down involves the downloading of EU regulations and bottom-up the uploading.

10. Positive integration

The opposite of negative integration (removal of internal barriers). It is the creation of rules or institutions to increase cooperation. Concretely, it is turning the four freedoms of the European Union into concrete policies (these four freedoms being freedom of capital, goods, services, labour).

11. Acquis communautaire

The complete body of EC law which new member states have to implement before accession. It is one of the four Copenhagen criteria established in 1993 (the other three being, a working market economy, a liberal democracy with respect for human rights and the EU has to be ready to enlarge). Through the screening process, the implementation of the acquis is checked before accession.



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I 12. Intervention price

The price at which agencies intervene to buy the commodities. It is one of the three prices in the price support of the Common Agricultural Policy (The other two being the target price and the external price). Together with the ~~price support~~ common market program, the price support make up market unity, which is the first principle of CAP.

13. Community preference

One of the three principles of the Common Agricultural Policy, established at the Serres Conference in 1958 (The other two being market unity and financial solidarity). It entails that commodities from within the EU get preference over external producers. This goal is reached through an external tariff established by CAP.

14. Conditionality

The principle that states will adapt to the EU for them to partake in the benefits brought by European unity. This also counts in the European Neighbourhood policy, on a voluntary basis although European membership is not a longterm goal here.

15. Democratic deficit

The discrepancy between the amount of policy transfers to the European level and the lack of accountability or legitimacy of European institutions or the lack of power for the European Parliament.



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II

Short answer

1. How important was the Marshall Plan in starting the process of European integration?

The Marshall Plan, established in 1947, is named after the then Foreign Minister of the United States of America. It was part of the Truman Doctrine (Truman: the then President of the USA) and provided more than \$13 billion to the European continent, which accounted for 10% of the US federal budget. The American aid was provided to protect the free people of Europe and for the reconstruction of the continent after the Second World War. There were two conditions for this American aid. Firstly, the internal barriers had to be decreased, causing negative integration. This for the purpose of unity the continent (mainly France and Germany) after the Second World War. Secondly, An intergovernmental institution had to be created for the monitoring and supervision of the American aid. Thus, in 1948 the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, was established (in 1961, this was renamed OECD). (OECC)

The Marshall Plan was imperative for reconstructing the European economies, ~~as~~ as it was followed by an economic boom in the early 1950s. It also required more cooperation between the European states, with a focus on France and Germany, as it made the first steps towards lowering the internal barriers. However, on May 9th, 1950, the Schuman Declaration was formulated by Robert Schuman. This day is since then known as "Europe day", which is a first signal of its significance. Schuman called for sectoral integration of coal and steel, making war not only unthinkable but also materially impossible. Consequently the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1951, establishing the ECSC. This was the first real step in European integration. Although the Marshall Plan was successful in recovering the European economies, it merely enabled the context where three years later true European integration could commence.



II 2. What are the main aspects of the liberal intergovernmentalist theory of European integration?

The liberal intergovernmentalist theory of European integration was formulated by Moravcsik. It is a derivative of the intergovernmentalist theory from authors such as Hoffmann. Intergovernmentalism does not believe in the establishment of international or supranational institutions. It believes that sovereignty is an indivisible concept that can only belong to the nation-state. It sees the world as an anarchic, self-help world, where nation-states only act out of self-interest. The liberal variant of Moravcsik follows the same principles, it only varies with the stands on inter-national institutions. His theory consists out of three main aspects.

- i) The national interest will prevail. Actors only act on the world stage according to their interests and the interests of the largest states will have the most power in shaping the inter-national institutions and framework.
- ii) The bargaining position: As in the standard intergovernmentalist theory, the bargaining position will determine the outcome of inter-governmentalist or inter-nationalist relations and interactions. This bargaining position is determined by the size of the state and its effectiveness in using allocated power.
- iii) Institutional choices: This aspect is what makes the theory mostly the liberal intergovernmentalist theory of European integration. Moravcsik argues that states are willing to partake in inter-national institutions if it benefits them. This is mainly based on the rational choice theory. Although it starts out of self-interest, states are willing to make credible commitments to the international stage. Therefore, this theory can account more for the willingness of European states to integrate into the European Union than its original variant of intergovernmentalism.



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III 3. Describe the organisation and main tasks of the European Commission (EC)

The European Commission is the administrative body of the European Union. ^{Legislative}

The EC fulfills five main tasks.

- i) It has the sole right of initiation: New policies are proposed by the EC and depending on the procedure, then it has to be approved by both the European Council and the European Parliament (co-decision procedure).
- ii) Implementation role: The EC has to make sure that all the member states download the new regulations and implement them in their national system.
- iii) The EC drafts the budget and proposes it to the EU Council ~~and the~~ and Parliament who have to approve it. The EC also manages the EU finances.
- iv) Since the Lisbon Treaty, the EC also fulfills the function of external representation. It thus plays a role on the international stage.
- v) The EC also acts as a mediator between the member states on the one hand and between the member states and the ~~council~~ ^{parliament or the other} (or EU Council).

The European Commission is organised mainly in the First Pillar of the Maastricht Treaty. The principle of comitology plays an important role in the EC, as commission monitor the implementation of EC acts.



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I 4. Why does the European Union have a Common Agricultural Policy?

Agriculture is one of the most important sectors in the European Union, and with the accession of new member states, who are mostly east European states where the citizens are even more dependent on ~~the~~ agriculture, the importance of this sector only increases. Also, through globalisation, the competition with other markets has increased, making the need for a CAP bigger to protect its own market.

The Common Agricultural Policy was established very early on in the European integration process and in 1958 the principles of the CAP have been established and formulated at the Strassburg Conference. The CAP is an example of sectoral integration and it follows the logic of neo-functionalism as the member states were willing to integrate in this sector as cooperation would benefit them. As the CAP would protect the agricultural sector in all member states, this was a policy where member states could easily agree upon. Following the Monnet method, the establishment of the CAP was one step in the incremental functionalism in the European Union. The CAP is also an example of the overall idea behind European unity. As one of the three principles of CAP is financial solidarity, the willingness to protect and cooperate with each other is reflected.

Although there are several downsides to the CAP, the benefits also explain the willingness of member states to partake in it. On the long term it increases the living standards of the European farmers and citizens and it creates opportunities to modernise the agricultural sector. It will foster stronger economies as trade within the EU increases and the EU can act as a united front towards the external markets. It eliminates competition within and it guarantees living conditions for most European farmers. Ultimately, it also acts a symbol of the European unity and cooperation that the EU strives for in all sectors.



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III 1. How did the most recent round of EU enlargement evolve from the early 1990s to 2004/7? Why is EU enlargement to encompass Turkey so difficult?

In 2004, 10 states became new members of the European Union. This was the largest enlargement ~~size~~ to date for the EU. In 2007 two more countries joined, namely Bulgaria and Romania. The accession talks began more than a decade ago as the preparation to join the EU is an extensive process. The most important ~~development~~ development in anticipation for this major enlargement was the establishment of the Copenhagen criteria in 1993 by the European Council. These ensured that the new member states would comply with the European Union in every aspect (political, economic, social, -) These criteria exist out of four main categories:

- i) The state should have a working market economy
- ii) A liberal democracy should be in place, with respect for law, human rights and social values. As the Treaty of Maastricht (1991) provided a first provision of European citizenship, new member states are expected to respect these social values enshrined in the treaty.
- iii) The state should have implemented and adhere to the *acquis communautaire*, i.e. the complete body of EC law. All *acquis* should be followed and prior to accession, member states are subjected to a screening to ensure all *acquis* are implemented.
- iv) The European Union must be ready to enlarge. The future member state may comply to all prerequisites and criteria, ultimately the European Union has the power to decide when the accession will actually take place. Also, unanimity is required from the European Council to finalize accession.



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Moreover, the prospective candidates had to go through many rounds of negotiations for them to be awarded the status of candidate country. These negotiations deal with 35 chapters, each having to be negotiated separately. When an agreement is reached on a chapter, this chapter is provisionally closed until all chapters are negotiated and can then be closed. Therefore, these negotiations can take many months which explains why so much time went into the process from starting accession talks to the actual accession in 2004/7.

The Maastricht Treaty also stated that new member states are required to implement the Euro on the long term. Only Denmark and the United Kingdom have an opt-out for this. Therefore all countries will eventually have to partake in the ERM system for at least two years to decrease the fluctuation of their respective currencies, to stabilize their markets and decrease government intervention, and ultimately fix their exchange rate before joining the Euro area.

Prior to the enlargement of 2004, there were many debates about the accession of so many new states at once. Therefore, the accession procedure was strict and required lots of discipline from the new states. However, since then the effects of the enlargement have played a role on the European Union, for example on the efficient decision-making capacity of institutions as it now has to deal with so many actors and opinions. Consequently, measures have been taken, such as EU Strategy 2020 to deal with the impact of the 2004/7 enlargement.



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The accession of Turkey has been a very controversial part of discussion. Turkey was one of the first countries to apply for accession as early as 1957/8. However, accession still has not happened although the cooperation between Turkey and the European Union has grown stronger since. In 2009 the negotiations talks with Turkey have been renewed as it was awarded the status of candidate country in 2005. ~~At the same time~~ Turkey has followed EU regulations and it fulfills the criteria of Copenhagen (except for the regards to human rights & respect for minorities). Nonetheless, many European member states and citizens are strongly opposed to Turkish accession. In 2009, a survey showed that less than 30% was in favour of Turkey joining the EU. Turkish accession would benefit the EU in many ways, such as increasing its market and global power drastically. But the protest remains nonetheless. A first argument against Turkish accession relates to the geographical boundary of the EU. Turkey lays only partly on the European continent, so discussions about whether or not it "belongs" to Europe play an important role. Also, the vast differences in cultures, makes Turkey ~~be~~ seem ~~more~~ "less European". With a population of 70 million where Islam is the dominant religion, Turkish accession will have massive impacts on the European culture, is believed by some. Connected to this immense population is the effect it will have on the European institutions. It will immediately make Turkey the second biggest member state and is expected to surpass Germany by 2015. Therefore, it will have the most power in the European Parliament. The economic situation in Turkey is also not so favourable. Although this will improve thanks to accession,



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European citizens seem not so willing as it will put a massive strain on the structural fund of the EU. In Turkey there is also a huge agricultural sector, which will influence the CAP greatly, as support for the farmers will be needed here to create market unity. In 2009, the GDP/capita in Turkey was only 28% of the EU average. Therefore, following the principle of ~~of~~ financial solidarity, lots of the EU money will be needed for Turkey.

Turkey is also considered to violate the human rights of its citizens and treats the minorities poorly.

The power of the military is also substantial in their politics, which violates the Copenhagen Criteria.

But probably the main difficulty to encompass Turkey in the EU is socially or culturally. The ^{EU} 'citizens' unwillingness determines the stances of some governments and the cultural differences between the EU and Turkey might be a bridge too far.

However, according to theories such as the entrapment theory and the ideology behind European integration, the EU should be inclusive for all applicants who fit the accession criteria. And saying 'no' to Turkey might be a dangerous precedent.