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Short identifications I (rest p. 8)

2. Co-decision procedure

The co-decision procedure is a newly introduced procedure in the legislation process. It enlarges the European Parliament's competencies. There will be an initiative made by the Commission which has to be adopted both by the Council & the European Parliament.

3. Council of Europe

The Council of Europe is an international organization with 47 members whose aim it is to create wealth & prosperity among its members. After a reform it mainly focuses on the granting of human rights, democracy & ~~etc~~

4. Intergovernmental Conference

Intergovernmental Conferences are conferences held by the head of states in order to decide on very important issues like the enlargement of the EU. They always take place in different locations.

5. Functional spill-over

A functional spill-over is part of the neo-functional theory. Its main proposition is G. Haas. That is that the cooperation in one policy area requires cooperation in another policy area. It is one explanation for the European integration more precise how this integration took place & why it took place.



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6. Dependent Variable

A dependent variable in a causal sentence is the part which ~~is~~ is explained by the independent variable. For example: "Because of the exam, I am very nervous." "I am very nervous" is the dependent variable occurring because of the independent variable.

7. Cabinet

The French pronounced word, "Cabinet" stands for a special sort of secretariat of which helps every Commissioner. It consists of 6-7 members in general and is obliged to consist of at least of 3 nationalities. 3 of its members must be taken out of the Commission services in order to be guided by an European instead of national interests. They assist the Commissioner and represent ~~the~~ replace him in case of illness.

10. Positive Integration

Positive integration is the opposite of negative integration and is a term used to describe European policies which create new things instead of abolish existing laws/habits etc. One example for negative integration is the abandonment of tariffs within the European Single market. On the contrary the introduction of a common currency the €, is an example of positive integration.

11. Acquis Communautaire

It is the sum of all existing laws, treaties, orders, agreements, decisions of the Courts and so forth which has been agreed on in the European Union since ~~the~~ the foundation of the ECSC. New member states are obliged to adopt it as a whole in order to become a



members. There is a special EEA acquis specially of Norway, Iceland & Liechtenstein which contains only of laws, agreements, etc. which concern the single market. The acquis communautaire can be divided in primary law, secondary law & supplementary law.

14. Conditionality

This term is used in the context of neighbouring states and applicant states for example. It signifies that the EU is supporting countries financially but as condition demand political reforms like the enhanced protection of minorities.

15. Democratic Deficit

Several scholars claim that there is a huge democratic deficit within the EU. For example the executive on a national level is a legislative ~~form~~ institution on the European level (national governments -> Council of the EU).

II Short answers

(1) Marshall plan

The Marshall plan was a proposal/policy of the US government which was launched only few years after the end of World War II. It aimed at restructure the European economies after the war in order to find customers for American products and after the rejection of all the Eastern European countries to create a strong enough Europe as a counterpart of the Russia. In my view the Marshall plan played an important role in starting the process of European integration because



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it asked to European countries to cooperation in order to get the financial support. Especially the UK & France were not very cooperative after the second world war and were rather focused on rebuilding their own economy fearing that they could lose their sovereignty by cooperating. The Marshall plan forced them to cooperate.

Besides its huge budget of € 13 billion and the leverage effect had a real impact on economic growth in Western Europe. The latter was crucial for the Economic integration process. If the peoples of Europe did not see any economical improvements in the years following the ~~ESC~~, the support of the European idea would have been much less.

On the other hand, there has been intellectualists supporting the European idea since centuries. The Schuman-Plan was not invented because of the Marshall Plan. Jean Monnet stated that the European must define new cleavages because the old one, the geographical borders, failed to establish a peaceful system.

Besides there were other external influences which created the need of cooperation. The rising power of Russia and the division of Germany, the establishment of a planned economies in Eastern Europe created the fear of Communism.

In total I believe that the Marshall plan was important in the starting process & functioned as a catalyst.



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(3) European Commission

The European Commission the most supranational institutions of the European institutional triangle.

It consists of 27 commissioners and out of them one president which is currently Manuel Barroso.

The European Commission is the successor of the High Authority of the European Steel & Coal Community.

The first president of the Commission was Walter Hallstein. Starting with few Commissioners, the European Commission

expanded over time. Today every member state sends one Commissioner. First the member states agree on one

president of the Commission. Then they propose 3 persons as Commissioners. The President decides which Commissioners to take and which DG they are allocated to.

The sum of Commissioners is called College. All decisions were taken together.

The Commission has an executive and an administrative wing. In general, each Commissioner is responsible for one DG (directores general). Each DG covers one policy area like agriculture, education and so forth.

Each Commissioner ~~is~~ is equipped with its own cabinet, which helps him during his daily work.

The Commission does not represent member state interests but the Community interest. It is a unique institution.

It always pushes the European integration further.

The Commission has few main tasks:

1. Drafting legislation: In many policy area the Commission possesses the exclusive right to draft legislation.
2. Implementing legislation: After being approved by the European Parliament & the Council, the Commission is observing & controlling if the laws are implemented by the member states.



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3. External representation: More and more the European Commission is the representing institution of the EU.

It has ~~some~~ representations all over the world.

4. Mediator - The Commission acts as an mediator in case of controversies between the Parliament & the Council.

(2) Liberal Intergovernmentalism

One theory of the European Integration is the intergovernmentalism. It assumes that the national states are still the dominant actors in international politics. They are always guided by self-interest. Their main interests are the maintenance of power.

The intergovernmentalism admits that national states cooperate in low politics if it is necessary to maintain power. They agree on cooperating in reducing toll fees for example because it enhances trade and creates prosperity.

But national states will never cooperate in high politics such as security policy or fiscal policy.

The liberal intergovernmentalism explains why the EU is not able to tax its citizens directly and why there is no major qualified majority voting concerning the security & defence policy.

That means that national states are regarded as rational individuals which only cooperate in low politics if the generated output is bigger than the input and if their sovereignty is not in danger. The main proponent of this theory is S. Hoffmann.



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(5) Macro-regional strategies

Before describing the main drivers of those strategies it is necessary to describe define a macro-region.

A macro-region is an area which normally encompasses more than one country but at least several administrations, which share one problem so that it makes sense to use one single & common approach of this problem.

Until now, the EU has two macro-regions: The Baltic Sea & the Danube region.

The main driver for this sort of cooperation is a functional need. That is that there are global or at least regional problems that cross borders. The protection of the environment for example cannot be solved by only one country. Taking the Baltic Sea as an example: It does not make sense if Estonia introduces a high amount of measures in order to protect the Baltic sea if all the other countries that share a common Baltic Sea border does not participate. Consequently Estonia would to protecting the sea and it would come to a raise-to-the-bottom of environment standards. But it is the interest of all national states with a Baltic sea border to protect the sea. Thus there is a need for a common approach. Only by acting in common environmental standards can be maintained.

In order to achieve this EU member states as well as non-EU-members participate in those macro-strategies. The fact that the amount of regional & global problems increase due to increasing globalisation lead to the fact that macro-regional strategies will be expanded in future.



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I. Multiple Choice Questions

- | | | |
|---------------------|----|--------------------|
| 1. B 1948 | 11 | A 8 |
| 2. D 1954 | 12 | A Estonia |
| 3. D United Kingdom | 13 | B Denmark |
| 4. B 1943 | 14 | B Strasbourg |
| 5. AL. Hooghe | 15 | C College |
| 6. A E. Haas | 16 | A Martin Schulz |
| 7. B Werner | 17 | A Catherine Ashton |
| 8. D Iceland | 18 | A 734 |
| 9. B 1963 | 19 | A ENP |
| 10. A 10 | 20 | D Seint-Malo |

b) Short identifications I

1. Financial perspective

Financial perspective is a term to describe the financial forecast of a member state. It is an forecast of the future budget deficit.

2. COREPER

The COREPER is part of the European Commission. It is The COREPER is working for the Commissioners.

3. Europeanization

There is no agreed definition of Europeanization. One explanation is that the EU is becoming more present in the daily life of its citizen by overwhelming cultural, geographical, etc. borders. It is used to describe to ongoing European integration which reaches nowadays a very high level of integration.



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12. Intervention Price

It is a term from the Common Agricultural Policy. If the price for dairy products for example falls under a certain level (Intervention Price), the EU begins to pay subsidies to the farmers in order to guarantee their economic survival.

13. Community preference

It is a term used to describe the attitude of the European Court of Justice which judges in favour of the Union.

III Essay - 1

The enlargement process started with the end of the cold war in 1989. The former member states of the USSR became sovereign countries and the majority of them started to introduce a market reform aiming at introducing free market instruments.

Some countries like Poland & Hungary quickly showed interest in joining the EU and applied for official membership.

According to the EU law, both the Commission & the Council must approve a candidate in order to recognize it officially as an applicant country.

Due to the huge amount of applications, the heads of states of the EU member states met in 1993 in order to discuss criteria which must be fulfilled in order to become a member. Later, those criteria were called the Copenhagen criteria.

The latter can be divided into political, economical and legal criteria.



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Democratic criteria are the existence of a democracy, the grant of human rights and the rule of law.

Economic criteria were a well established market economy (instead of a planned economy) and the possibility to survive the European competition.

Besides new member states must adopt the *acquis communautaire*, the sum of European law (primary, secondary & supplementary law).

Due to the huge amount of changes necessary, the EU introduces the programme PHARE which was originally only for Poland & Hungary but later on for all applicant CEEC and Malta & Cyprus. This programme consists of financial aid for the applicants in order to change the institutional structure, rebuild the administration and introduce new laws of the *acquis communautaire*. 15

Generally all European countries have the right to apply for EU membership as long as they share the same values & beliefs.

Besides the programme PHARE there was another programme called TAIEX (Technical Assistance & Informational Exchange) which delivered technical expertise on EU issues for the officials of applicant countries.

On the one hand EU officials were sent to the candidates in order to help creating institutions & introducing new European law. On the other hand there were workshops & seminars offered to transmit expert knowledge. All these measures were taken to prepare the applicant countries bearing in mind that the *acquis* is highly technical & complex.



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On the same time there was a so called screening process taking place. That is that all existing laws in every single applicant country were compared and with existing EU law and a list of all necessary changes in every sector was prepared.

Then there was a special negotiation committee which controls all changes and alignments made. They were able to open a new negotiation chapter. Only if all requirements in every sector is fulfilled they close the negotiation period.

The eastern-europe enlargement of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Malta, Cyprus, Bulgaria & Romania meant a significant change for the existing union. The population nearly doubled, the economic structure changed, the amount of languages nearly doubled and so on.

In order to cope with this challenge there was a need to reform the EU's institutional framework. Mainly the Treaty of Amsterdam (1992) and the Treaty of Nice (2000) made very important institutional changes: The amount of members of the parliament increased, the amount of Commissioners increased, the use of QMV (qualified majority voting) expanded, etc.

In spite of the programmes PHARE and TAIEX Bulgaria and Romania did not achieve to join the Union like the other CEE states in 2004. The lack of legal alignment lead to a delay of 3 years.



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From the beginning of the negotiations with the Central and East European Countries there have been the fears that the opening of the single market with its freedom of ~~persons~~^{labour} would lead to immense labour force movement from East to West.

The main proponents of this fear were Germany and Austria that share a common border with these countries. The huge income difference would create a strong incentive for East European workers to migrate to Germany ^{eg} in order to earn more money. Other countries like the ~~the~~ United Kingdom for example ~~to~~ tried to mitigate that fear and were in favour of a sudden integration of the ^{east & central} European countries including the freedom of person mobility.

After rounds of negotiations there was a consensus (2+3+2) saying that some countries can voluntarily control the immigration of East ~~and~~ Central European workers for a certain period of time. But ~~this~~ control must be reduced in several steps within ~~at~~ maximum 7 years.

On the opposite, the applying Central & Eastern European Countries feared the freedom of capital transactions. They believed that if this freedom exists, rich Western Europeans would buy the cheap farmland and as a consequence will ~~possess~~ the whole countryside.

In 2004, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Malta & Cyprus joined the EU. Three years later, Bulgaria & Romania joined.



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Concerning Turkey, there is a long history of negotiations. In 1963 the European Community and Turkey signed an association agreement. In 1989 Turkey applied for EU membership which was later on rejected. Some years later the application was renegotiated. The screening process took place and a huge amount of changes have taken place. The protection of minorities for example has been approved. Nevertheless several chapters has been suspended in 2005. The long history of negotiations indicates the difficulty of the EU accession of Turkey.

The question is: Why is the accession so difficult and why does it takes so long?

The short answer is that the ~~European Council~~ head of states must vote with unanimity. and This fact combined that several countries within the Union are opposed to such an accession explaining it technically. Besides, the majority of European citizens is against an accession of Turkey.

The reasons for this opposition are diverse.

First of all, the European Union especially Germany and Austria fear an immense immigration from Turkey. Since the immigration of millions of Turkish workers in the 1960s there is a tie link between Turkey and Germany/Austria. The Turkish workers asked their families to join them and a Turkish community within Germany/Austria evolved.



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Thus there are no cultural or linguistic obstacles for Turkish workers to overcome if they are moving west. Bearing in mind the huge size of Turkey and the enormous migration within the country (1 million workers from the East of Turkey migrate to the West) the Germans and Austrians are even more concerned than they have been during the CEE-enlargement. They fear that they need to pay their social insurances which would be very costly.

Besides these are claims that Turkey does not share the same values as the citizens of Europe. The majority of Turkish citizens is muslim and share another culture. The most often named example is the role of women. Whereas Europe always emphasizes the equal status of women, in Turkey it is often the man who decides over the woman. The share of the same values was apart from the geographical position on the European continent the main argument.

Another point is the *acquis communautaire* which has been largely adopted but unfortunately not implemented. Officially there is a protection of minorities, but in reality only minorities which are regarded as such are protected. Several organisations fighting for the protection of minorities were forbidden.

The high financial burden of the Turkish accession is another argument against its accession. The Turkish infrastructure is very old and needed to be renewed. The EU does not possess of enough money to renew it and if so there would be no money left for other countries



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like Portugal, Spain and the East European country. Even if the Turkish economy developed very well since 2001, 25% of the Turkish population still lives below the poverty line. The average living standard of the EU would decrease significantly if Turkey would join.

The Turkish agriculture differs a lot from the agriculture of the rest of Europe. Most farmers live on subsistence with very small farms.

The geostrategical position of Turkey poses new challenges on the European Union. Turkey shares a common border with Syria for example.

Finally there are high local disparities between the rich Western part of the country and the poor Eastern part.

All in all, it can be said that there are cultural differences, financial challenges and a lot of legal alignment & implementation to do which makes the Turkish accession to the EU so difficult.