

Appendix

I. The Council's legislative activity from 1999–2007

Year	Presidency	Directive	Regulation	Decision	Recommendation	Common Strategy/Joint Action	Other	Total
1999	Germany	22	117	162	2	5	16	324
	Finland	16	80	135	2	11	38	282
1999 Total		38	197	297	4	16	54	606
2000	Portugal	19	80	130	4	5	13	251
	France	32	115	133	1	8	16	305
2000 Total		51	195	263	5	13	29	556
2001	Sweden	19	77	152	8		16	272
	Belgium	24	85	122	2	12	15	260
2001 Total		43	162	274	10	12	31	532
2002	Spain	36	80	153	7	8	29	313
	Denmark	26	80	128	1	8	18	261
2002 Total		62	160	281	8	16	47	574
2003	Greece	29	77	131	7	12	14	270
	Italy	34	115	156	5	10	10	330
2003 Total		63	192	287	12	22	24	600
2004	Ireland	47	129	120	1	5	16	318
	Netherlands	11	97	168	1	17	10	304
2004 Total		58	226	288	2	22	26	622

(Continued)

Year	Presidency	Directive	Regulation	Decision	Recommendation	Common Strategy/Joint Action	Other	Total
2005	Luxembourg	10	58	143	5	12	16	244
	United Kingdom	27	84	152	8	26	9	306
2005 Total		37	142	295	13	38	25	550
2006	Austria	22	71	109	6	20	18	246
	Finland	43	139	194	3	12	10	401
2006 Total		65	210	303	9	32	28	647
2007	Germany	5	63	103	1	21	15	208
	Portugal	16	82	163	1	22	16	300
2007 Total		21	145	266	2	43	31	508
1999–2007 Total		438	1629	2554	65	214	295	5195
(A) Average per 6 month term (1999–2003)		25.7	90.6	140.2	3.9	7.9	18.5	286.8
(B) Average per 6 month term (2004–2007)		23.6	91.6	141.3	3.6	16.1	13.4	289.6
(C) = (B) – (A)		-2.13	0.97	1.09	-0.33	8.24	-5.07	2.77
(D) Average/Smalls (1999–2003)		22.17	79.83	133.00	4.00	8.00	19.00	266.00
(E) Average/Smalls (2004–2007)		26.60	98.80	146.80	3.20	13.20	14.00	302.60

(F) = (E) – (D)	4.43	18.97	13.80	-0.80	5.20	-5.00	36.60
(G) Average/Biggs (1999–2003)	31	106.75	151.00	3.75	7.75	17.75	318.00
(H) Average/Biggs (2004–2007)	16	73.50	127.50	4.50	23.50	12.00	257.00
(I) = (H) – (G)	-15.00	-33.25	-23.50	0.75	15.75	-5.75	-61.00
(A) – (D)	3.53	-26.92	-18.00	0.25	0.25	1.25	-52.00
(B) – (E)	-3.03	25.30	19.30	-1.30	-10.30	2.00	45.60
(A) – (G)	-5.30	-16.15	-10.80	0.15	0.15	0.75	-31.20
(B) – (H)	7.57	18.07	13.79	-0.93	-7.36	1.43	32.57
(D) – (G)	-8.83	-26.92	-18.00	0.25	0.25	1.25	-52.00
(E) – (H)	10.60	25.30	19.30	-1.30	-10.30	2.00	45.60

Note: The category entitled 'Other' includes: Addendums, Budget decisions, Common Positions, Final Acts, Joint Declarations, Joint Positions, Joint Statements and Council Statements, Memorandums, Staff Regulations, Rules of Procedure, Implementing Rules, Declarations, Agreed Minutes. The total number of EU Legislation published in the Official Journal of the European Communities from 1999 to 2007 and revised to elaborate this table is 34,638. König et al. (2006)'s dataset using CELEX and EUR-Lex supports the overall results. However, the precise numbers of adopted acts they record are much lower. Such discrepancies can be explained by various factors: (a) differences in the search queries; (b) as König et al. (2006) find, the Celex data were integrated into the EUR-Lex framework in January 2005. Accordingly, these two sources may not be viewed as entirely independent; (c) the above numbers include binding and non-binding legislation that may or may not be in force any longer; and (d) binding legislation may occasionally involve both multiple Commission initiatives and/or multiple final adopted acts.

Source: Self-Elaboration based on Official Journal of the European Communities (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/JOIndex.do?ihmlang=en>).

Notes

1. Flash Eurobarometer No. 245, 18 June 2008.
2. Magonette and Nicolaïdis (2003).
3. Westlake (1995), p. 37.
4. Dewost (1984), p. 31; Wallace (1985), in O'Nuallain (1985), p. 10.
5. Schout (1998).
6. O'Nuallain (1985); De Bassompierre (1988); Kirchner (1992); Elgström (2003); Tallberg (2006).
7. Bulmer and Wessels (1987); Troy Johnston (1994); Dinan (1994, 1999); Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997); Westlake (1995); Nugent (1995); Hix (1999); Peterson and Bomberg (1999); Sherrington (2000).
8. Kirchner and Tsagkari (1993); Garel-Jones (1993); Höll (1998); Ludlow (1998); Henderson (1998a, 1998b); Duke (1998); Anderson (1999); Luther (1999); Maurer (2000); Stubb (2000a); Tiilikainen (2000); Bjurulf (2001); Edwards and Wiessala (2001); Lequesne (2001); Vos and Bailleul (2002); Martínez Sierra (2002); Van Keulen (2004); Bunse (2004); Whitman and Thomas (2005); Quaglia and Moxon-Browne (2006); Quaglia, Hough, and Mayhew (2007).
9. See also Elgström (2003).
10. Other comparative works include Kirchner (1992, 1993); Elgström (ed.) (2003).
11. Wallace, in O'Nuallain (1985), p. 271.
12. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1995), p. 146.
13. Westlake (1995), p. 45; Dewost (1984); Wallace (1985a).
14. Nugent (1995), p. 128; Hix (1999), pp. 28–30, 63–66; Bulmer and Wessels (1987).
15. De Bassompierre (1988); Verbeke and Van de Voorde (1994); Nugent (1995).
16. Verbeke and Van de Voorde (1994), p. 35.
17. Tallberg (2002a), p. 3.
18. Ibid.
19. See also Mazzucelli (2003).
20. See also Schmidt (2001).
21. Underdahl (1994), in Metcalfe (1998), p. 426. *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Science* (1991), p. 321.
22. Beach (2005), p. 18.
23. Bachrach and Baratz (1962); Schattschneider (1960).
24. Peters (1998).
25. Jones (1984); Peters (1994b). For functionalist theories see Almond and Coleman (1960); Almond and Powell (1966).
26. King, Keohane, and Verba (1994).
27. Thelen and Steinmo (1992), p. 9; Wessels et al. (2003); Bulmer (1994).

28. Pollack (1996), pp. 431–442.
29. Thelen and Steinmo (1992), p. 2.
30. Peters (1996b), p. 206.
31. Other types include sociological and historical institutionalism. See Hall and Taylor (1996); Immergut (1998); Peters (2005).
32. North (1990); Peters (2005), p. 49.
33. Weingast (1996), p. 168.
34. See Garret and Weingast (1993); Tsebelis (1994, 1995); Garrett and Tsebelis (1996); Pollack (1996, 2003) for rational choice approaches to the EU and Bulmer and Armstrong (1998) or Pierson (1998) for historical institutionalism.
35. Haas (1958, 1964, 1975); Lindberg (1963); Lindberg and Scheingold (1970, 1971); Sandholtz and Zysman (1989); Transholm-Mikkelsen (1991).
36. Hoffmann (1966); Keohane and Hoffmann (1991); Garrett (1992); Moravcsik (1993, 1998).
37. Pollack (1996), p. 430.
38. Moe (1990), p. 213; Puchala (1999), p. 318.
39. Moravcsik (1997).
40. Wozniak Boyle (2006), p. 23.
41. King, Keohane, and Verba (1994) call these systematic and non-systematic differences.
42. Bachrach and Baratz (1963); Beach (2005).
43. For quantitative research on the presidency, see Thomson (2008).
44. Kelstrup (1993).
45. For other definitions, see Rothstein (1968); Keohane (1969); Thorhallson (2000).
46. Dinan (1999), p. 231. See also Bengtsson (2003), p. 56.
47. Mill (1846); Przeworski and Teune (1970); Lijphart (1971); Meckstroth (1975); King et al. (1994); Peters (1998).
48. Elgström (ed.) (2003).
49. Stubb (2000a), p. 52. The EU's three pillar design was introduced in 1992 by the Maastricht Treaty.
50. Enhancing the EU's relations with the Western Balkans under the Greek Presidency included putting them on enlargement track. Enlargement, in turn, is a more comprehensive template than merely foreign policy. It combines elements of the EU's external and internal policies.
51. Whitehead (2002), pp. 186–212.
52. Other challenges include the numerous definitions of institutions, leadership, and influence. Peters (1996b).
53. In December 2005 the Council decided to publish initial discussions and final votes on EU legislation that falls under the co-decision procedure. But the discussions in between, when compromises are being brokered, will remain secret. EU Observer 22 December 2005.
54. See also Bunse (2000); Tallberg (2003).
55. Wallace and Wallace (2000), p. 38.
56. See Laffan (1997b); Hix (1994), p. 1; Sbragia (1992), p. 257; Risse-Kappen (1996), p. 56.

57. Wallace and Wallace (2000), p. 3 and 5.
58. Elazar (2001), p. 49.
59. Majone (1994).
60. Hix (1999); Schuppert (1994).
61. Nicolaïdis and Howse (2001). See also Sandholtz and Stone Sweet (1998), p. 1; Olsen (2002), p. 584.
62. Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003).
63. Strictly speaking the EC remains a separate entity (Pillar I) within the EU. Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003); Kohnstamm and Durand (2003).
64. Treaty of Paris Art. 9; Treaty of Rome Art. 157.
65. Simmenthal v. Commission (Case 92/78). Stein (1981); Burley and Mattli (1993).
66. George (1991), p. 3.
67. Nugent (1995), p. 112.
68. Kohnstamm and Durand (2003), p. 4.
69. For a study of Commission-small state relations, see Bunse, Magnette, and Nicolaïdis (2005b).
70. Kohnstamm and Durand (2003), p. 3.
71. QMV was rarely used until the latter half of the 1980s.
72. For detailed discussions, see Moravcsik and Nicolaïdis (1999); Peterson and Bomberg (1999); Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003).
73. Nice Treaty, Protocol on EU enlargement, Article 3(i) and (ii).
74. Baldwin and Widgrén (2003); Baldwin, Berglof, Giavazzi, and Widgrén (2001); Raunio and Wiberg (1998).
75. If after 12 months no agreement is forthcoming, the countries supporting the proposal may move ahead by themselves.
76. See also Baldwin and Widgrén (2004).
77. Ahern, in Brown (2004).
78. Art 157, EC.
79. EU Observer, 13.1.2004.
80. EU Observer, 9.7.2004.
81. Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003), p. 6.
82. Geurts (1998), p. 56.
83. Nice Treaty, Protocol on enlargement, Art. 4, Provisions concerning the Commission.
84. Interview, Finnish PermRep, 2.3.2005.
85. Bunse, Magnette, and Nicolaïdis (2005b).
86. Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003), p. 7.
87. Wallace (1985b), p. 2; Westlake (1995), p. 37.
88. *Financial Times (FT)*, 4.12.2000.
89. Raili Seppnen, in *Sunday Business*, 27.6.1999.
90. Tiilikainen, *Convention*, 21.1.2003.
91. Dick Roche, *Convention*, 21.1.2003.
92. Gijs de Vries, *Convention*, 21.1.2003.
93. See Balazs and Maij-Weggen, *Convention*, 20–21.1.2003; Rupel and Kelam, *Convention*, 15.5.2003; Interview, Commission, 7.3.2003.
94. Coussens and Crum (2003); Kollman (2003); Tallberg (2003).
95. Coussens and Crum (2003), p. 21.

96. Ferrero-Waldner, *BBC News*, 16.1.2003.
97. Costa Neves, *BBC News*, 16.1.2003.
98. Aznar, in Martinez Sierra (2002), p. 15.
99. Magonette and Nicolaïdis (2004).
100. James Madison, Federal Convention, 9.6.1787. See also debate on 11.6.1787 (<http://www.constitution.org/dfc/dfc-1787.txt>).
101. Nicolaïdis and Howse (2001), p. 4.
102. ECSC, Art. 27.
103. EEC, Art. 146, Euratom, Art. 116. The 1965 Merger Treaty adopted the six-month period for all three Communities.
104. Wallace and Edwards (1976), p. 536.
105. Edwards and Wallace (1977), p. 1.
106. Wallace, in O'Nuallain (1985), p. 3.
107. Maastricht Treaty, Art. 4.
108. Ludlow (2002a), p. 5–15.
109. Interview, Commission, 7.3.2003.
110. Kirchner (1992), p. 73.
111. The European Council was not formally institutionalised until 1986 and the presidency was not officially charged to chair it until 1992.
112. Kirchner (1992), p. 72. See also Bulmer and Wessels (1987), pp. 103–109; Dinan (1994), pp. 231–239; Westlake (1995), pp. 37–49; Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997), pp. 134–157.
113. If the Conciliation Committee fails to deliver a result acceptable to both EP and Council, the proposal falls.
114. See also Westlake (1995), p. 37; Ludlow (1994), p. 146.
115. Title III, Art. 40 10. (b).
116. Title III, Art. 40 10. (g).
117. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997), p. 175.
118. Beyers and Dierickx (1998), p. 290; Sloot and Verschuren (1990), pp. 64–65.
119. Annex I and II, Council of the European Communities (2002c).
120. Kirchner (1992), p. 71.
121. Westlake (1995), p. 37.
122. Council (2002b).
123. Kirchner (1992); Westlake (1995); Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997); Sherrington (2000).
124. Esbøll, in O'Nuallain (1985), p. ix.
125. See also Kirchner (1992); Westlake (1995); Wurzel (1996a, b); Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997); Sherrington (2000).
126. Lautso (1997), p. 4.
127. Schout (1998), p. 1.
128. Wallace (1985b), p. 16.
129. Moravcsik (1999a), p. 271. Puchala (1999).
130. Kingdon (1995), p. 179.
131. Moravcsik (1999a), p. 272.
132. Young (1991), in Young (1999), p. 806.
133. Beach (2005), pp. 18–19.
134. Kingdon (1984, 1995).

135. Peters (1994a).
136. Kingdon (1995), p. 3.
137. Ibid. (1995).
138. Peters (1996a), p. 62.
139. Peters (1994a), p. 11.
140. Sandholtz and Zysman (1989); Cram (1997); Pollack (1998); Jones and Clark (1998); Wendon (1998); Jabko (1999); Krause (2003); Wozniak (2006).
141. Schmidt (2001) is an exception.
142. Moravcsik (1999a), p. 270.
143. Ibid., p. 273.
144. Wallace and Edwards (1976), p. 536.
145. Council (1996a).
146. Bainbridge and Teasdale (1997), p. 372.
147. Metcalfe (1998), p. 419.
148. McCubbins and Schwartz (1984); McCubbins and Page (1987); McCubbins, Noll, and Weingast (1987, 1989); Moe (1987); Pollack (1997, 1998).
149. Whitman (1998), p. 15, in Tallberg (2003), p. 4.
150. Bengtsson, Elgström, and Tallberg (2004), p. 315. See also Amstrup (1976); Lindell and Persson (1986); Handel (1990).
151. The Lisbon Treaty changes this. See Chapter 7.
152. Schmidt (2001), p. 126.
153. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
154. Ungerer (1988), p. 101.
155. Whitman (2006), p. 3.
156. Voss and Bailleul (2002), p. 6.
157. Bulmer and Wessels (1987), p. 138.
158. Vos and Bailleul (2002), p. 7.
159. Verbeke and Van de Voorde (1994), p. 35.
160. Interviews, Finnish Ministry of Finance, 27.8.2003; Finnish EU Presidency Secretariat, 21.6.1999.
161. *EU Observer*, 12.1.2004. Irish Independent 12.1.2004.
162. Wallace and Edwards (1976), p. 538.
163. Wallace (1985a), pp. 272–273.
164. Olsen (2002), p. 597. See also Pollack (1997, 1998).
165. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997), p. 145; Bunse (2000), p. 29.
166. Wallace (1985a), p. 272.
167. See European Information Service (EIS), 29.1.2003.
168. Kerr, EP Plenary, 18.2.1998.
169. While visiting Israel's Premier Ariel Sharon, for example, he did not meet the then leader of the Palestinian Authority, Yasser Arafat. *EU Observer*, 30.12.2003.
170. Mazzucelli (2003).
171. *European Voice (EV)*, 14–20.12.2000.
172. Gray and Stubb (2001), p. 11.
173. Luif (1999).
174. Wallace (1986), p. 586.
175. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 22.6.1999.
176. Bunse (2000). Tallberg (2003) labels these three forms of agenda influence 'agenda-exclusion', 'agenda-structuring', and 'agenda-setting'.

177. Peters (1994a), p. 9.
178. Schattschneider (1960), p. 69.
179. Hix (1999), p. 66.
180. Wallace and Edwards (1976), p. 536.
181. *EU Observer*, 20.10.2005 and 3.12.2005.
182. Interview, UK PermRep, 5.3.2003.
183. Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963).
184. Examples include the 1982 Belgian Presidency who set the annual farm prizes by vote and the 1985 Italian Presidency who 'forced through' the convening of an IGC by vote. Bulmer and Armstrong (1998), p. 14.
185. Interview, UK PermRep, 5.3.2003.
186. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), 29.8.2003. In the latter case, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder ordered the chairman of the environment Council, Jürgen Trittin, to delay decision-making and change the directive to protect the interests of the German car industry. *The Guardian*, 5.7.1999, *EV*, 24.-30.6.1999.
187. *Deutsche Welle*, 30.12.2003.
188. Interview, UK PermRep, 5.3.2003.
189. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 29.8.2003.
190. Kollman (2003), pp. 56–57.
191. Hix (1999), p. 66.
192. Wurzel (1996a), p. 281.
193. Westlake (1995), p. 116.
194. *Ibid.*
195. Given the Seville Council decision to reduce the number of sectoral Councils to nine, this strategy is unlikely to be pursued in the future. However, the broader focus of the new Councils may make it easier to include new issues than the former narrow sectoral Councils.
196. See ministerial meetings under the 1988 Greek Presidency, the 1992 Portuguese Presidency, or the Italian Presidencies in 1990 and 1996.
197. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997), p. 141.
198. Tallberg (2003).
199. Senior official, UACES Presidency Conference, 21.3.2003.
200. Tallberg (2003).
201. Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias on the Programme of the Greek Presidency 5.7.1988.
202. Interview, then Finnish PermRep, 7.3.2003.
203. Review of Council's Work (1989, 1995, 2002).
204. The Barcelona Process, launched in 1995, is a framework of political, economic and social relations between the EU and ten Mediterranean states.
205. Non-papers are frequently presented ahead of informal Councils.
206. This conclusion was reached after consulting presidency websites, the public register of Commission and Council documents and interviews at the Commission, Permanent Representations, and Council Secretariat. Westlake (1995) supports this finding. A comprehensive list of all papers and non-papers does not exist.
207. Crenson (1971), p. 30.
208. Interview, UK PermRep, 5.3.2003.

209. Interview, Greek Embassy, Washington DC, 13.2.2003.
210. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 29.8.2003.
211. Interview, Greek PermRep, 27.4.2004.
212. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
213. Westlake (1995), p. 115.
214. Gray and Stubb (2001), p. 13.
215. Schout (1998), p. 4.
216. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallace (1997), p. 145.
217. Endo (1999), p. 84.
218. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
219. *Irish Times* 12.12.1996, in Lautso (1997), p. 31.
220. Sarkozy (2008), EP plenary, 21 October 2008.
221. Bengtsson (2003), p. 60.
222. Interview, Greek PermRep, 26.4.2004.
223. See also König and Bräuniger (2004); Hosli (1999). For an assessment of the impact of enlargement on EU legislative decision-making, see Thomson (2007).
224. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade, 27.8.2003.
225. The initiatives of the direct election of the EP, the EMS, and the IM are examples.
226. Simonian (1985).
227. Werts (1992), pp. 91–95.
228. France and Germany also submitted numerous joint contributions to the Convention. See Dehousse, Maurer, Nestor, Quermonne, and Schild (2003); Bunse, Magnette, and Nicolaïdis (2007).
229. *Le Figaro*, 14.1.2004; *FT*, 15.1.2004 and 21.1.2004; *EU Observer*, 15.1.2004 and 21.1.2004; *Economist*, 31.1.2004–6.2.2004.
230. See, for example, the trilateral Summit held on 18.2.2004 in Berlin.
231. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
232. Interview, then Finnish PermRep, 27.8.2003.
233. Interview, Finnish PermRep, 9.3.2005.
234. Interview, Finnish PermRep, 16.3.2005.
235. Bunse, Magnette, and Nicolaïdis (2005b).
236. Pollack (1997), p. 102. Schmidt (2001), pp. 126–127.
237. Kirchner (1992), p. 5.
238. *Agence Europe (AE)*, 2.7.1996 and 15.1.1997. See also Gillespie (1996), in the *Irish Times*, 12.12.1996.
239. Edwards and Lund (1993), p. 65.
240. *EU Observer*, 22.12.2003.
241. Duke (1998), p. 1.
242. Bretherton and Vogler (1999), in Bengtsson (2003), p. 61.
243. Cameron (2002).
244. Tsebelis (1994), p. 128.
245. See also Lautso (1997), p. 20.
246. Bonvicini and Regelsberger (1987), p. 161.
247. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 21.6.1999.
248. Kirchner (1992), p. 110; Menon (2003), p. 6; Vos and Bailleul (2002).
249. Interview, Greek Embassy, Washington DC, 13.2.2003.
250. *AE*, 15–16.12.1997.

251. See, for example, *Le Monde*, 12.12.2000; *EV*, 14–20.12.2000; Gray and Stubb (2001).
252. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 22.6.2003.
253. *AE*, 7.1.1998.
254. For a detailed analysis, see Kassim, Peters, and Wright (2000).
255. *EV*, 24–30.6.1999.
256. Whitman and Thomas (2005).
257. Westlake (1995), p. 293.
258. Westlake (1995).
259. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 29.8.2003. Schout (1998), p. 5; Wallace and Edwards (1976), p. 23.
260. Bulmer and Wessels (1987), p. 54.
261. Endo (1999), p. 87.
262. Neustadt (1990), p. 40.
263. *EU Observer*, 27.11.2003.
264. Watson, EP Plenary, 16.12.2003.
265. Interview, Commission, 7.3.2003.
266. Wallace (1986), p. 584.
267. Blair, 5.12.1997.
268. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade, 26.8.2003.
269. Interview, then Danish PermRep, 21.3.2003.
270. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade, 27.8.2003.
271. Puchala (1999), p. 318.
272. Interview 1, then Finnish PermRep, 29.8.2003.
273. Interview 2, then Finnish PermRep, 29.8.2003.
274. For a detailed discussion on Council coalition building, see Spence (1995).
275. Westlake (1995), p. 326.
276. Sherrington (2000), pp. 49–52.
277. Esbøll (1992), in Westlake (1995), p. 322.
278. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
279. Wise Men Report (1979).
280. General Secretariat's Staff Regulations (1993).
281. Esbøll (1992), in Westlake (1995), p. 327.
282. Edwards and Wallace (1977), p. 25.
283. Wise Men Report (1979).
284. Interview, Commission, 7.3.2003.
285. Interview, EP, then Finnish PM's Office, 3.3.2003.
286. See Tallberg (2002a).
287. Kirchner (1992), p. 91.
288. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Finance, 27.8.2003.
289. George (1991) p. 230. See also Rosenthal (1975).
290. Paavo Lipponen, in *FT*, 1.7.1999.
291. 'Mainstream' is defined here as a country with no policy opt-outs.
292. Halonen (1998b).
293. Tiilikainen (2003), p. 104.
294. Linden, in *Billboard Bulletin* 3.7.1999.
295. Finnish MFA (1999a).
296. Commission of the European Communities (1998a).
297. Commission (2000c).

298. Evans (2003).
299. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
300. Corley (2002).
301. Verrue 20.1.1999.
302. *EIS*, 24.7.1999.
303. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 21.6.1999.
304. Catellani (2001), p. 65.
305. Commission (1998b), in Ojanen (1999). See also Council (2000e).
306. Council (1999h).
307. Wellman (1998), p. 9.
308. Lipponen (1997).
309. Catellani (2001), p. 64.
310. Finnish MFA (1999a).
311. Heininen (2001), p. 23.
312. Besides the Social Democrats (SDP), the Rainbow Coalition comprised the conservative National Coalition Party (KOK), the ex-Communist Left Wing Alliance (VAS), the Green Party and the Swedish People's Party (SFP).
313. *EV*, 6.–11.5.1999.
314. *EIS*, 8.12.1999.
315. *FT*, 6.12.1999.
316. *AE*, 3.12.1999 and 1.12.1999.
317. *EIS*, 4.12.1999.
318. *EIS*, 19.6.1999.
319. Commission (1999d).
320. *EIS*, 26.4.2000.
321. *EIS*, 26.4.2000.
322. *FT*, 1.7.1999.
323. Catellani (2001), p. 71; Arter (2000).
324. Haukkala (2001), p. 107.
325. Commission (1998b).
326. Arter (2000), p. 687; Novak (2001).
327. Slava Hodko, in VF 6.4.1999.
328. Arter (2000), p. 693.
329. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 22.6.1999.
330. *Ibid.*
331. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 29.8.2003.
332. *Ibid.*, 27.8.2003.
333. Kingdon (1995), p. 165.
334. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 22.6.1999.
335. Interview, Finnish MFA, 3.3.2000.
336. Commission (1998b).
337. *Ibid.*
338. Heininen (2001), p. 30.
339. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 9.10.2002.
340. See seminars/lectures at the Academy for Social and National Development of Uzbekistan (8.1.1999), the Finnish Embassy in Washington DC (13.1.1999) and the Baltic Sea Institute (Tampere, 22.2.1999). ND Workshops took place in London (5.2.1999), Manchester (26.2.1999) and the London School of Economics (4.5.1999). Conferences and international

- fora on the ND included the Conference on Baltic Sea Security and Co-operation (Stockholm, 19.11.1998), the meeting of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (22.–23.1.1999), the joint meeting of the Nordic Council and the Assembly of the Baltic States (Helsinki, 8.–9.2.1999), the EU-Russia Summit (Moscow, 18.2.1999) and the second Co-operation Council between the EU and Russia (Brussels, 17.5.1999).
341. Interviews, Finnish MFA, 3.3.2000 and Finnish PM's Office, 9.10.2002. Ahtisaari raised the ND in his October 1998 visit to Moscow, Finnish Ambassador Stenlund discussed it with German officials in December 1998, and Lipponen in his talks with then Russian PM Primakov in St Petersburg in February 1999.
 342. Baldersheim and Stålberg (1999).
 343. Halonen, Ahtisaari, and Lipponen met Aznar on various occasions in February and March 1999.
 344. *Helsingin Sanomat* 1.11 and 4.11.1997.
 345. See *FT*, 4.3.1999.
 346. Ilves, in *FT*, 19.5.2000.
 347. Haukkala (2001), pp. 111–112.
 348. See Ojanen (1999), p. 17.
 349. Ojanen (1999), p. 17.
 350. Interviews Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003; Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
 351. Interview, Finnish MFA, 3.3.2000.
 352. *Ibid.*
 353. Council (1999b).
 354. Arter (2000), p. 685.
 355. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 21.6.1999.
 356. Harle (2000), p. 11.
 357. Tuomioja (1999); Finnish MFA (1999d); *AE*, 5.7.1999.
 358. COREPER on 20.10.1999.
 359. See, Working Group on Economic Questions (information society services), 4.10.1999; 7.10.1999; 29.10.1999; 4.11.1999; 11.–12.11.1999; and 23.11.1999.
 360. COREPER I on 17.11.1999; 19.11.1999; and 1.12.1999.
 361. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
 362. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 27.8.2003.
 363. *AE*, 3.12.1999.
 364. *EIS*, 8.12.1999.
 365. Council (1999i).
 366. Belgium remained concerned about the inclusion of financial services in the directive.
 367. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
 368. The directive was adopted after the EP's second reading on 4.5.2000.
 369. See Working Party on Intellectual Property (copyright) on 14.7.1999; 2.–3.9.1999; 13.9.1999; 27.9.1999; 5.10.1999; 20.–21.10.1999; 3.–4.11.1999; and 1.12.1999.
 370. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade, 27.8.2003.
 371. *Hufvudstadsbladet* 6, in *VF*, 9.2.1999.
 372. Finnish MFA (1999e).

373. The expert seminar on Northern Europe's Forest Sector was held in Petrozavodsk, Russia on 12–13.10.1999, while the working group on gas of the CBSS met in Berlin on 9–10.9.1999. The conferences on the ND included the Barents conference (15.7.1999), the conference of the Chairmen of the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Parliaments of the EU Member States, the applicant countries and the EP in Helsinki (20.–21.7.1999) and the Ripon Educational Fund's 1999 transatlantic conference in Stockholm (19.8.1999). Euro-Arctic co-operation within the framework of the ND in the youth fields was discussed at a conference organised by the Finnish Education Ministry in conjunction with the Commission and the Centre for International Mobility in Rovaniemi on 10–12.9.1999.
374. Van Ham and Trenin (2000).
375. *Ibid.*, p. 58.
376. Commission (1999f).
377. Patten (1999).
378. Council (2000e).
379. Patten (1999).
380. Ivanov 12.11.1999, in Leshukov (2001), pp. 137–138.
381. Council (1999f).
382. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 9.10.2002.
383. *FT*, 13.11.1999; *EIS*, 17.11.1999.
384. Former Danish Foreign Minister, 8.3.2000.
385. Stubb (2000a), p. 52.
386. See, for example, Lipponen, in *FT*, 13.11.1999. See also *EIS*, 1.12.1999.
387. *EIS*, 22.12.1999.
388. *EIS*, 20.11.1999.
389. Katiforis, EP plenary, 21.7.1999.
390. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
391. Nordic Business Report, 22.2.1999. *Sunday Business*, 27.6.1999.
392. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 29.8.2003.
393. *Irish Times*, 11.12.1999. Interview, former Danish Foreign Minister, 8.3.2000. Schröder, in *AE*, 13.12.1999.
394. Rehn (2003), p. 17. See also Kassim, Peters, and Wright (2000).
395. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
396. *Ibid.*, 22.6.1999.
397. Interview, then Finnish PM's Office, 3.3.2003.
398. Interview, EU Secretariat for the Finnish Presidency, 21.6.1999.
399. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 27.8.2003.
400. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Defence, 10.10.2002.
401. Rehn (2003). See also EV 29.7–4.8.1999.
402. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
403. Kassim (2000); Wright (1996).
404. Palacio Vallersundi, EP plenary, 21.7.1999. *Die Welt* 8.2.1999. See also *FT*, 13.12.1999.
405. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
406. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), 13.8.1999.
407. Industry (2–3.7), Culture (18–19.7), Education (14–15.9), and Housing (17–18.9).
408. Lipponen, in *Helsingin Sanomat*, VF, 16.8.1999.

409. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
410. Interview, Council Secretariat, 6.4.2004.
411. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 9.10.2002.
412. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 26.8.2003.
413. Interview, Council Secretariat, 3.5.2004.
414. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 27.8.2003.
415. Interview, Council Secretariat, 3.5.2004.
416. See, for example, Thors and Swoboda, EP plenary, 21.7.1999.
417. Halonen on 27.8.1999, 31.8.1999, 15.9.1999, 24.11.1999, and 1.12.1999; Lipponen on 27.10.1999 and 14.12.1999; Niinistö on 3.11.1999 and 7.12.1999; Sasi on 6.10.1999 and 17.11.1999; Hassi on 21–22.9.1999 and 6.10.1999; Perho on 14.10.1999; Heinonen on 23.9.1999 and 12.10.1999; Tuomioja on 21.9.1999; Biaudet on 21.9.1999; and Håkämies and Koskinen on 2.9.1999.
418. Arter (2000), p. 687.
419. Harbour, EP plenary, 21.7.1999.
420. Matikainen-Kallström; Myller; Hautala; Väyrynen, EP plenary, 21.7.1999.
421. Halonen, EP plenary, 31.8.1999.
422. Posselt, EP plenary, 14.12.1999.
423. See, for example, Halonen (1998b).
424. Rehn (2003), p. 12.
425. Commission (2000d).
426. See Patten (1999).
427. Interview, Finnish Ministry of Trade and Industry, 27.8.2003.
428. Interview, Commission, 6.5.2004.
429. Interview, Finnish PermRep, 2.3.2005.
430. Bunse, Magnette, and Nicolaïdis (2005b).
431. Council (1999c).
432. Interview, Commission, 6.5.2004.
433. *Ibid.*,
434. Interview, Finnish MFA, 29.8.2003.
435. Commission (1999b).
436. After the Finnish Presidency term, Finland complained that the Commission's commitment in the energy sector dropped leading to disappointing implementation records.
437. Interview, Finnish PM's Office, 10.10.2002.
438. Interview, Finnish MFA, 11.10.2002.
439. Ojanen (2001), p. 14. See also Kononenko (2000).
440. Haukkala (2001), p. 107.
441. Interview, Finnish MFA, 11.10.2002.
442. Patten (1999).
443. European Parliament (1999a, 1999b).
444. MEP Wallis (2003).
445. *Ibid.* (2003).
446. Interview, Finnish MFA, 9.10.2002.
447. Haukkala (2001), p. 113.
448. Leshukov (2001), p. 131.
449. Interview, then Finnish PM's Office, 3.3.2003.
450. Charles Picqué (2001).

451. De Winter and Türsan (2001), p. 11.
452. Commission (1997b).
453. Geradin and Humpe (2002).
454. Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and International Cooperation (2001a).
455. Verhofstadt, EP plenary, 4.7.2001.
456. Interview, Belgian PermRep, 28.2.2005.
457. Ludlow (2002a), p. 49.
458. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
459. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
460. Van Bellinghen (2001).
461. Holland (2002).
462. *Ibid.*, pp. 208–209.
463. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
464. Africa–Europe Summit (2000a).
465. Michel (2003a).
466. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
467. Belgian MFA (2001a).
468. *Ibid.*
469. Verhofstadt, EP plenary, 4.7.2001. See also AE 2.7.2001 and 4.7.2001. Van Daele, in AE 22.6.2001.
470. Michel (2003a).
471. Commission (2002e).
472. *Eurostat*, 18.6.2001.
473. His 'blue-red-green' coalition consisted of the VLD, the francophone liberals *Parti Reformateur Liberal* (PRL), *Front Democratique des Francophones* (FDF) and the *Mouvement des Citoyens pour le Changement* (MCC), and the Flemish and Francophone Socialist and Green parties including the *Socialistische Partij*, *Parti Socialiste* (PS), *Anders Gaan Leven* (Agalev), and Ecolo.
474. These included the Dutroux paedophile case and a crisis over dioxin-contaminated food.
475. Verhofstadt, EP plenary, 4.7.2001. See also AE, 5.7.2001 and *The Independent*, 29.6.2001.
476. See Vos and Bailleul (2002); Ludlow (2002a).
477. *EIS*, 7.12.2000.
478. Of the 47 EP amendments the Commission rejected 36.
479. *EIS*, 3.1.2001.
480. *EIS*, 5.10.2001.
481. Weber Shandwick (2001).
482. *The Guardian*, 7.11.2001.
483. *BBC News*, 8.7.2002. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
484. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
485. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
486. Fiedler (2004).
487. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 21.3.2005.
488. Lister (1997).
489. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
490. Krause (2002).
491. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.

492. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
493. Interview, then Belgian PermRep, 8.9.2005.
494. Ibid.
495. See, for example, the Conference on Postal Services on 19.6.2001 bringing together government and Commission officials, representatives of the Universal Postal Union (UPU), MEPs, etc.
496. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
497. Interview, Belgian PermRep, 17.2.2005.
498. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
499. Ibid.
500. Ibid.
501. Commission of the European Communities (2001d).
502. Council (2001q). See also Council (1997b).
503. Council (2001h).
504. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
505. Vervaeke (2003).
506. Verhofstadt, in UN Office for the Co-ordination of Humanitarian Affairs (IRIN-CEA), 30.6.2001–6.7.2001.
507. Verhofstadt, in Info Congo-Kinshasa, April–June 2001, Issue 168–169.
508. Poettering, EP plenary, 4.7.2001. See also Baron Crespo and Ducarme.
509. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
510. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
511. De Winter and Türsan (2001), p. 4.
512. See Earl of Stockton and Wurtz, EP plenary, 4.7.2001.
513. See working group meetings on 20.6.2001, 10.9.2001 and COREPERs on 19.9.2001, 3.10.2001, 10.10.2001.
514. Interview, then PermRep, 8.9.2005.
515. Council (2001t).
516. Interview, then Belgian PermRep, 8.9.2005.
517. Douglas Alexander, British Minister of Trade and Industry, in *The Independent*, 16.10.2001.
518. See GACs on 16.7.2001; 8–9.10.2001; 29–30.10.2001; 9–10.11.2001; 10.12.2001.
519. See Council (2001k).
520. See GAC 8–9.10.2001.
521. Council (2001).
522. Council (2001o).
523. Presidency Press Release, 19.12.2001.
524. Presidency Press Release, 10.10.2001.
525. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
526. Second EU–ECOWAS ministerial meeting: final press release, 12.10.2001.
527. Presidency Press Release, 9.9.2001.
528. Council (2001r).
529. Africa–Europe Ministerial Conference (2001).
530. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
531. Michel, 1.9.2001.
532. UN (2001).
533. Others argued that the US walked out over the issue of reparations for slavery and colonialism. International Action Centre (2001).

534. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2001.
535. Kerremans and Drieskens (2003), p. 158.
536. Ludlow (2002a), p. 38.
537. *The Economist*, 7.7.2001.
538. As per the 1994 Co-operation Agreement.
539. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
540. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.
541. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 21.3.2005.
542. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
543. Interview, former senior Belgian official, 2.3.2005.
544. Grosch, EP plenary, 4.7. 2001.
545. Thyssen, EP plenary, 4.7.2001.
546. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
547. Interview, former senior Belgian official, 2.3.2005.
548. Kerremans (2000), p. 183.
549. Kerremans and Beyers (2001), p. 202.
550. Only General Affairs, Defence, Economy and Finance, the Budget, JHA, Telecommunications, Consumer Protection, Development co-operation, Civil protection, and Fisheries are under exclusive federal competence. Culture, Education, Tourism, Youth, Housing, Industry, and Research are either entirely or mainly within the jurisdiction of the Communities and the Regions. Agriculture, IM, health, energy, environmental policy, social affairs, and transport fall mainly within federal jurisdiction but with some implications for Regions or Communities competencies. Coolsaet and Voet (2002), p. 67 and Belgian MFA (2001b).
551. Kerremans (2000).
552. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
553. Kerremans (2000), p. 191.
554. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
555. De Winter and Türsan (2001), p. 14.
556. Kerremans and Beyers (2001), p. 200.
557. Interview, former senior Belgian official, 2.3.2005.
558. Ludlow (2002a), p. 37.
559. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
560. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
561. Kerremans (2000), p. 185.
562. Ludlow (2002a), p. 36.
563. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
564. Kassim (2000); Wright (1996).
565. Ludlow (2002a).
566. Interview, the Belgian PermRep, 8.9.2005.
567. Ludlow (2002a), p. 39.
568. Vervaeke (2003).
569. Ludlow (2002a), p. 37.
570. Kerremans and Beyers (2001), p. 195.
571. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
572. Interview, Belgian PermRep, 28.2.2005.
573. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
574. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.

575. Ibid.
576. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
577. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
578. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2005.
579. Ibid.
580. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
581. See, Laeken Council, 14–15.12.2001. Gama, in AE 16.7.2001.
582. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2005.
583. APPG (2001).
584. See *Congo-Kinshasa News*, November 2001.
585. Interview, then Belgian PM's Office, 25.2.2005.
586. *The Independent*, 23.12.2000.
587. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
588. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2005.
589. Interview, Belgian PermRep, 18.2.2005.
590. Interview, Belgian MFA, 24.2.2005.
591. *AE*, 6.7.2001.
592. EP (2001a).
593. Interview, then Belgian PermRep, 8.9.2005.
594. *EIS*, 19.1.2001.
595. Council (2001v).
596. Council (2001u).
597. This supports Thomson's (2008) analysis which shows that a legislative proposal is not more likely to be adopted the larger the political distance between the current and preceding president's positions. Instead, whether or not an agreement is achieved depends on other factors, including the level of polarisation.
598. Interview, then Belgian PermRep, 8.9.2005.
599. Commission official, Brussels, 14.3.2005.
600. See texts adopted by the EP on 13.3.2002.
601. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 21.3.2005.
602. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2005.
603. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
604. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 21.3.2005.
605. Council Secretariat (2005a).
606. Interview, Council Secretariat, 21.3.2005.
607. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
608. Interview, then Belgian MFA, 21.3.2005.
609. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
610. Krause (2003).
611. Commission (1996b, 1999e)
612. Krause (2003), p. 225.
613. Commission (2001e).
614. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
615. *AE*, 12.7.2001.
616. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
617. *AE*, 18.9.2001.
618. Michel (2003a).
619. Interview, Council Secretariat, 1.3.2005.

620. Vervaeke (2003).
621. Interview, Commission, 22.3.2005.
622. Verhofstadt, in *The Guardian*, 3.5.2001.
623. Costas Simitis (<http://www.greece.gr/POLITICS/EuropeanUnion/Greece-saims.stm>).
624. Tsoukalis (2003).
625. Mavris (2004).
626. The 1983 Greek Presidency blocked the EU from condemning the USSR's shooting down of a South-Korean airliner and in 1994 the Greek Presidency unilaterally imposed an embargo on Macedonia.
627. Dokos (2003), p. 64.
628. Tsoukalis (2003), p. 328.
629. *Ibid.*, pp. 324–325; Mavris (2004), pp. 133–134.
630. Commission (2000b).
631. Hellenic MFA (2002).
632. *Ibid.*
633. See Agathocles or Christodoulakis, in *AE*, 16–17.12.2002 and 14.1.2003 respectively.
634. The 1988 Greek Presidency had opposed key aspects of the 1992 IM project. Similarly, in 1994 it was hesitant to push the EU's liberalisation agenda. Dimitrakopoulos and Passas (2004).
635. Hellenic Organisation of SMEs (www.eommex.gr). The EU average is 70%. This figure predates enlargement and includes Norway, Iceland, Lichtenstein, and Switzerland. European Observatory for SMEs (2003).
636. The target was a 40% cost reduction.
637. Interviews, Commission, 11.5.2004, Council Secretariat, 3.5.2004.
638. Simitis (2003), EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
639. Interview, Council Secretariat, 3.5.2004.
640. Serbia-Montenegro is the same legal entity as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) and includes Kosovo.
641. Hellenic MFA (2003d). Papandreou (2003a).
642. Bechev (2003).
643. The GAERC of 21.10.2002 had invited the Commission to begin SAA talks with Albania.
644. Hellenic MFA (2003d).
645. Interview, Greek PermRep, 28.2.2003.
646. Tziampiris (2003), p. 137; Tsoukalis (2003), p. 326.
647. Including Romania and Bulgaria.
648. Simitis, in *EV*, 19.12.2003–8.1.2004.
649. Interview, EP, 26.4.2004.
650. Hellenic MFA (2002).
651. *AE*, 20.3.2003.
652. *EV*, 19.12.–8.1.2003.
653. Couloumbis (2003), p. 39.
654. *Athens News Agency* (ANA) 1.3.2003 and 6.4.2003.
655. *The Economist*, 4.1.2003.
656. Council (2002e).
657. *EIS*, 4.3.2003.
658. *AE*, 5.9.2002 and 13.11.2002.

659. *EIS*, 2.11.2001.
660. *Ibid.*, 15.5.2001.
661. *AE*, 7.11.2002
662. *Ibid.*, 15.11.2002.
663. Lenoir, in *AE*, 14.11.2002.
664. Euractiv, 16.04.2002.
665. UK, Italy, Spain, Denmark, and the Netherlands.
666. EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
667. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic (CR), Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania.
668. *EV*, 20–26.2.2003.
669. Giannitsis, in Kathimerini 5.1.2003. *EV*, 19.12.2002–8.1.2003. *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* 18.2.2003.
670. Commission (2003f, 2003g, 2003h).
671. Council (2002g, 2002h).
672. Interview, UK PermRep, 11.3.2003. Hellenic MFA (2003e).
673. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
674. Interview, UK PermRep, 11.3.2003.
675. Interview, Commission, 7.5.2004.
676. *FT*, 26.5.2003; *EIS*, 14.1.2003.
677. Poettering, EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
678. *The Independent*, 12.1.2003.
679. *New York Times*, 11.1.2003.
680. The Greek MFA mentions two-year presidency preparations. All interviewees coincided that preparations started one year before.
681. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
682. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
683. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
684. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
685. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004. Guggenbühl (forthcoming) calls this process ‘intelligence management.’
686. Interview, Greek PermRep, 28.2.2003.
687. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
688. Interview, Greek PermRep, 28.2.2003.
689. Commission (2002d), p. 13.
690. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
691. Interview, Greek PermRep, 28.2.2003.
692. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
693. Interview, Commission, 7.5.2004.
694. Council (2002i).
695. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
696. European Stability Initiative (ESI) (2002); Van Meurs and Yannis (2002); International Crisis Groups (ICG) (2002).
697. See also, Brussels Conference on investment in SEE, 7.11.2002; SEE Poverty Reduction Strategies Forum, 29.10.2002–1.11.2002; Ljubljana Social Cohesion Conference, 4–5.11.2002.
698. Centre for European Policy Studies (2002).
699. Interview, Council Secretariat, 6.4.2004.
700. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.

701. The ESI made this proposal (2002).
702. Van Meurs and Yannis (2002).
703. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
704. *Ibid.*, 28.2.2003.
705. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
706. Boris Trajkovski, President of FYROM, 3.12.2002. *EIS*, 3.12.2003.
707. Mimica (2002).
708. Council (2002d).
709. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
710. *Ibid.*
711. Karamanou, EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
712. Folias, EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
713. Prodi, EP plenary, 14.1.2003.
714. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
715. Interview, Commission, 7.5.2004.
716. Commission (2003i).
717. Hellenic MFA (2003a).
718. See *Legal Week Global* 12.8.2003; Council (2003c); Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
719. Hellenic Ministry for Development (2003b).
720. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
721. Schattschneider (1988), p. 60.
722. Prodi (2003).
723. *AE*, 18.2.2003.
724. Council (2003a).
725. Papandreou, in *EIS*, 14.1.2003.
726. Solana, in *EIS*, 17.1.2003.
727. *EIS*, 17.1.2003.
728. Hellenic MFA (2003c).
729. See GAERCs on 24.2.2003, 18.3.2003, 14.4.2003, 19.5.2003, 16.6.2003. JHA on 27.2.2003, 28.–29.3.2003, 8.5.2003, 5–6.6.2003; Environment 4.3.2003, 13.6.2003; Energy 27–28.3, 14.5.2003, 5.6.2003; Informal Councils on JHA 28–29.3.2003, Defence on 14–15.3.2003. Spring summit on 20–21.3.2003. Seminars on Balkan routes of Heroin Trafficking 10–12.2.2003, on organised crime in the Balkans in April, on conflict prevention and the lessons learned from the Balkans, 4–7.5.2003; Ministerial Conference for the promotion of co-operation in Research and Technological Development between the EU and the Balkan countries, 26–27.6.2003; Conference for the promotion of the 6th Framework Program to candidate and third countries, 17–19.2.2003; Preparatory Meeting for the promotion of the Scientific and Technological Development co-operation between the EU and the Balkans, 20–22.2.2003.
730. Hellenic MFA (2003b).
731. *EIS*, 15.2.2003.
732. Michael Steiner, in *EIS*, 11.6.2003.
733. Papandreou, Hellenic MFA (2003f).
734. Council (2003c).
735. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
736. Council (2003e).
737. Council (2003d).

738. See the ministerial meeting with the Western Balkans on 3.3.2003 and the special troika on 22.4.2003.
739. See JHA Council open debate, 27.2.2003.
740. Council (2003g).
741. It was adopted on 12 July 2004.
742. The latter was organised jointly with the World Bank.
743. Council (2003c).
744. The recommendations of the Athens WEF which focused on SEE's European prospect were also fed into the Summit.
745. Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
746. *Ibid.*, 28.3.2003.
747. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
748. Bechev (2003).
749. See JHA ministerial meeting 28.11.2003 and foreign ministers' meeting 9.12.2003.
750. Bechev (2003).
751. Simits, EP plenary, 1.7.2003.
752. Patten, in *Athens News Agency*, 17.6.2003.
753. For a detailed discussion, see Ludlow (2003a).
754. Ludlow (2003b); *AE*, 23.3.2003.
755. Papandreou (2003a).
756. Interview, Greek PermRep, 28.2.2003.
757. See also Bechev (2003).
758. Tsoukalis (2003), p. 322.
759. *Le Monde*, 5.3.2004.
760. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.; *EV*, 19.12.2002–8.1.2003 and 16–22.1.2003.
761. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
762. Interview, EP, 26.4.2004.
763. Papandreou, in *NYT*, 11.1.2003. Giannitsis, in *E!Sharp* January 2003, p. 32.
764. EKEME (2002), pp. 203–212.
765. Interview, EP, 6.4.2004.
766. The EU General Directorate of the MFA has four directorates (External Affairs; European Integration and Economic and Monetary Policy; IM, Agriculture, and New Community Policies; and JHA) and an EP Bureau.
767. Galatsinou (1996); Minakaki (1992); Spanou (2000).
768. Spanou (2000), p. 165; Dimitrakopoulos and Passas (2004), p. 4; Passas and Stephanou (1997).
769. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
770. Spanou (2000).
771. Interview, Greek PermRep, 27.4.2004.
772. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
773. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
774. *Ibid.*, 30.4.2004.
775. Interview, Council Secretariat, 3.4.2004.
776. *Ibid.*, 3.5.2004.
777. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
778. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004; Greek Embassy (Brussels), 3.5.2004; Commission, 6.5.2004.
779. Interview, Council Secretariat, 3.5.2004.

780. Interview, Greek PermRep, 27.4.2004.
781. Interview, Council Secretariat, 6.5.2004.
782. *Ibid.*
783. *Ibid.*, 6.5.2003.
784. *EV*, 13.–19.2.2003.
785. *FT*, 1.1.2003.
786. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
787. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
788. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
789. Interview, Greek Embassy in Brussels, 3.5.2004. See also Interview, Greek PermRep, 4.5.2004.
790. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
791. Interview, Greek PermRep, 30.4.2004.
792. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
793. Patten, Press Conference, 20.6.2003 (<http://www.eu2003.gr/en/articles/2003/6/20/3118/>).
794. Interview, *EP*, 26.4.2003.
795. Council (2001b).
796. Interview, Commission, 11.5.2004.
797. *Ibid.*
798. Interview, Commission, 6.5.2004.
799. *Ibid.*, 11.5.2004.
800. Interview, Greek PermRep, 27.4.2004.
801. Interviews, Commission, 18.3.2005 and 14.3.2005.
802. *Ibid.*, 11.5.2004.
803. A prominent example is the take-over directive which sought to establish common principles for cross-border take-over bids, create a level playing field for shareholders, and establish disclosure obligations throughout the EU. Articles 9 (ensuring shareholders can vote on defensive measures after a bid has been publicised) and 11 (neutralising measures that could be interpreted as pre-bid defences) were particularly contentious. Despite strong Commission opposition, the 2003 Italian Presidency compromise made articles 9 and 11 optional.
804. *EP* (1997a, 1997b, 2002a, 2002c).
805. *Ibid.*, 2002d.
806. Swoboda, *EP* plenary, 14.1.2003.
807. *EIS*, 12.3.2002.
808. RFE/RL Newslines, Vol. 7, No. 13, Part II, 22.1.2003.
809. Interview, Council Secretariat, 6.5.2004.
810. Interview, UK PermRep, 11.3.2003.
811. Interview, *EP*, 6.4.2004.
812. Busek (2003).
813. Interview, UK PermRep, 11.3.2003.
814. *Ibid.*, 4.5.2004.
815. *Ibid.*
816. *Ibid.*
817. *EP* (2003a).
818. Hellenic MFA (2003c); *EP* (2003a).
819. Interview, Finnish PermRep, 2.3.2005.

820. Dokos (2003), p. 52.
821. Patten (2003).
822. Spanou (2000), p. 179.
823. Interview, Greek PermRep, 27.4.2004.
824. Schout (1998).
825. Hayes-Renshaw and Wallance (1997), p. 147. See also De Bassompierre (1988); Ludlow (1993); Kirchner and Tsagkari (1993); Coombes (1998); Corbett (1998).
826. Interview, EP, 26.4.2004.
827. Tallberg (2003).
828. Haukkala (2001), pp. 111–112.
829. Moravcsik (1999a), p. 272.
830. For example, Wozniak Boyle (2006).
831. Interview, Commission, 14.3.2005. See also, Interview, Commission, 18.3.2005.
832. Schattschneider (1960, 1988 edition), p. 60.
833. See also Bunse (2000) and Tallberg (2006).
834. Ungerer (1993), p. 82.
835. Peters (2005).
836. Magnette and Nicolaïdis (2003).
837. See debates in the Constitutional Convention, as cited by Hamilton, 19 June, 1787 (<http://www.san.beck.org/WASH8-Constitution.html>).
838. O’Nuallain (1985).
839. Menon (2003), p. 6.
840. Jacques Santer, in *AE*, 10.1.1998.
841. Magnette and Nicoalidis (2003), p. 32.
842. Thomson (2007), p. 18.
843. Lewis (1998), p. 484.
844. Ojanen (1999), p. 13.
845. Crum (2007).
846. See Balazs and Majj-Weggen, Convention Plenary 20–21.1.2003; Rupel and Kelam, Convention Plenary 15.5.2003; Interview, Commission, 7.3.2003.

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