

# Annexes

## A.1 Gross value added from agriculture and fishing in per cent of GDP

|             | <i>France</i> | <i>Germany</i> | <i>United Kingdom</i> |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>1997</i> | 3.2           | 1.3            | 1.4                   |
| <i>1998</i> | 3.2           | 1.2            | 1.2                   |
| <i>1999</i> | 3.0           | 1.2            | 1.1                   |
| <i>2000</i> | 2.8           | 1.3            | 1.0                   |
| <i>2001</i> | 2.9           | 1.4            | 0.9                   |
| <i>2002</i> | 2.7           | 1.1            | 0.9                   |
| <i>2003</i> | 2.5           | 1.0            | 1.0                   |
| <i>2004</i> | 2.5           | 1.1            | 1.0                   |
| <i>2005</i> | 2.3           | 0.9            | 0.7                   |
| <i>2006</i> | 2.1           | 0.8            | 0.7                   |
| <i>2007</i> | 2.2           | 1.0            | 0.7                   |
| <i>2008</i> | 2.1           | 0.9            | 0.8                   |

Eurostat, Economic and financial data, Annual national accounts, data available to be downloaded at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/themes>, extracted on 19.6.2011

**A.2 Agriculture in per cent of total employment**

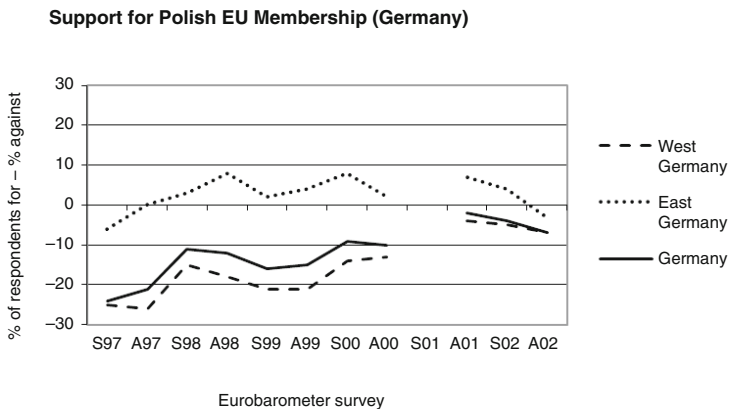
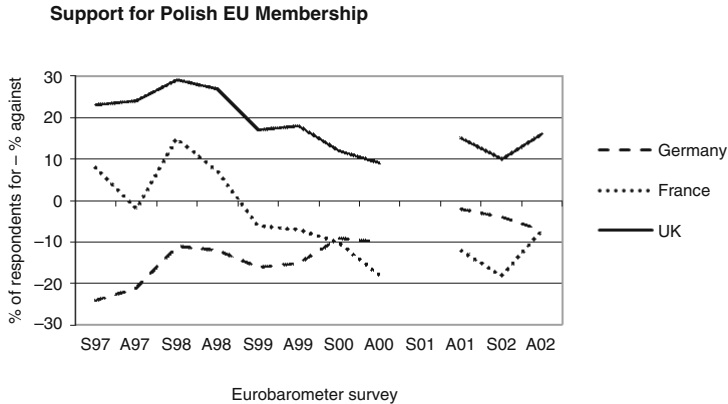
|             | <i>France</i> | <i>Germany</i> | <i>United Kingdom</i> |
|-------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>1997</i> | 4.2           | 2.1            | 1.7                   |
| <i>1998</i> | 4.1           | 2.1            | 1.6                   |
| <i>1999</i> | 4.0           | 2.0            | 1.5                   |
| <i>2000</i> | 3.8           | 2.0            | 1.4                   |
| <i>2001</i> | 3.7           | 1.9            | 1.3                   |
| <i>2002</i> | 3.6           | 1.9            | 1.3                   |
| <i>2003</i> | 3.5           | 1.9            | 1.3                   |
| <i>2004</i> | 3.5           | 1.9            | 1.4                   |
| <i>2005</i> | 3.5           | 1.9            | 1.4                   |
| <i>2006</i> | 3.4           | 1.8            | 1.4                   |
| <i>2007</i> | 3.3           | 1.8            | 1.4                   |
| <i>2008</i> | 3.2           | 1.8            | 1.5                   |

Eurostat, Population and social conditions, Labour market, Employment and Unemployment, Employment, Employment growth and activity branches, data available to be downloaded at <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/themes>, extracted on 19.6.2011

### A.3 Public support for Polish EU membership

In the 1990s, respondents were regularly asked, in respect of each candidate state, whether they were in favour or not of it becoming part of the European Union in the future. The following takes Poland, as the largest and one of the best-known candidates, as an example to provide an indication of attitudes towards the enlargement.

*Question asked: 'For each of the following countries, are you in favour or not of it becoming part of the European Union in the future? Poland.'*



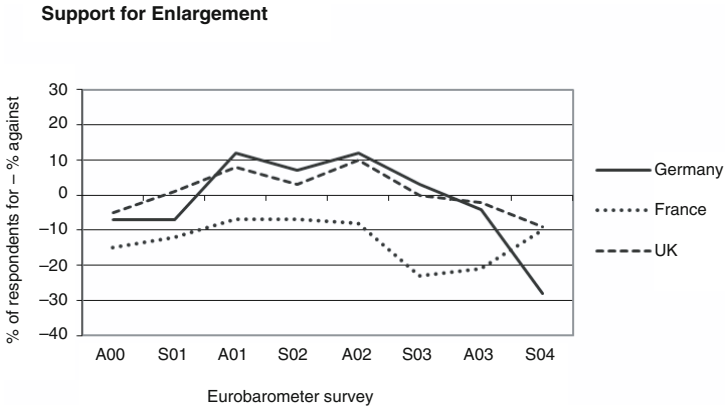
No data available for 2001

European Commission, *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 47, Spring 1997*, November 1997 – *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 58, Autumn 2002*, March 2003, available at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard_en.htm)

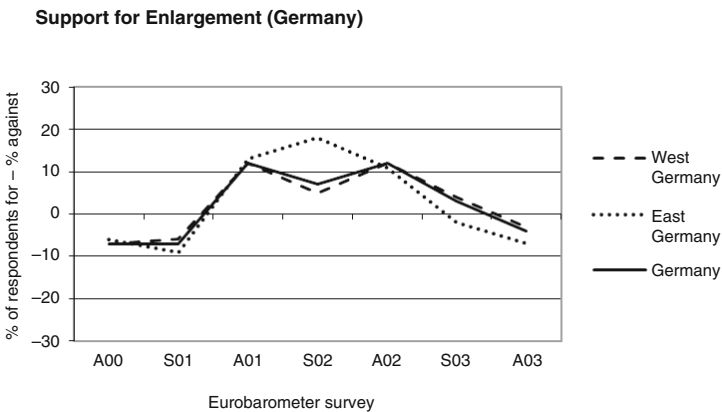
### A.4 Public support for EU enlargement

Question asked: 'What is your opinion on the following statement? Please tell me whether you are for it or against it: The European Union should be enlarged and include new countries.'

In Spring 2004 the proposed statement was: 'The enlargement of the European Union to include ten new countries this May.'



European Commission, *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 54, Autumn 2000*, April 2001 – *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 61, Spring 2004*, July 2004, available at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard_en.htm)



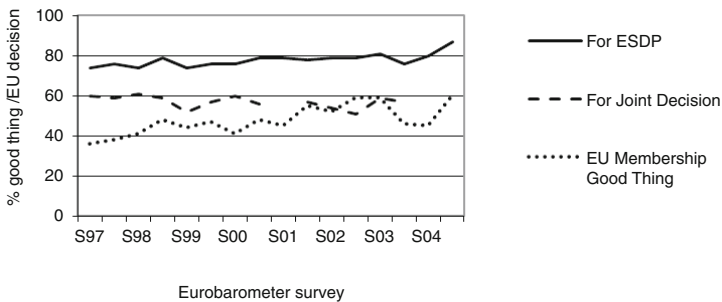
## A.5 Attitudes towards ESDP

**Support for ESDP:** 'What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal, whether you are for it or against it – The European Union Member States should have one common defence and security policy.'

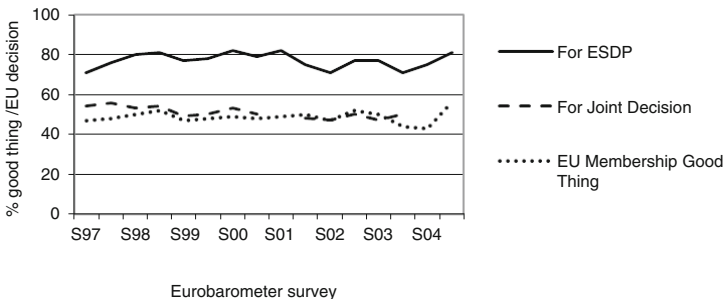
**Decision-making on ESDP:** 'Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the (NATIONAL) government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Union. Which of the following areas of policy do you think should be decided by (NATIONAL) government, and which should be decided jointly within the European Union? – Defence'.

**Support for EU membership:** 'Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY'S) membership of the European Union is: a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad.'

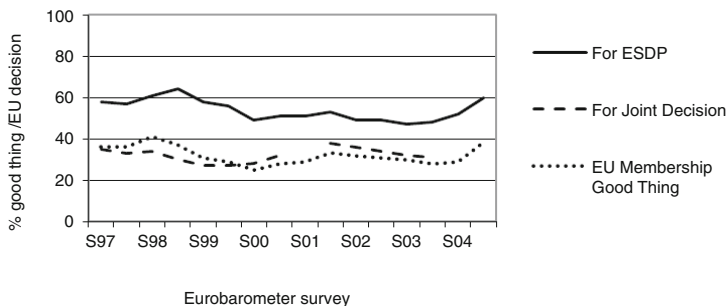
Attitudes towards ESDP (Germany)



Attitudes towards ESDP (France)



**Attitudes towards ESDP (UK)**



In Spring 2001 and from Spring 2004, the question about joint decision-making proposed an additional response, NATO, as well as the EU and the national government. Therefore results are no longer comparable.

European Commission, *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 47, Spring 1997*, November 1997 – *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 62, Autumn 2004*, May 2005, available at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard_en.htm)

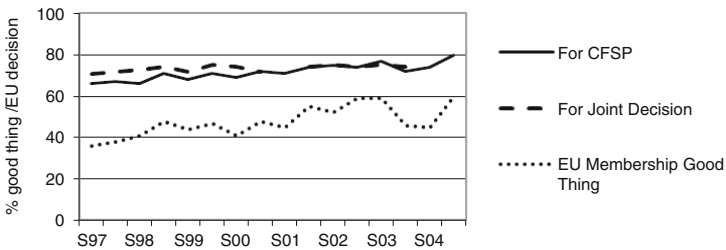
## A.6 Attitudes towards CFSP

**Support for ESDP:** 'What is your opinion on each of the following proposals? Please tell me for each proposal, whether you are for it or against it – The Member States of the European Union should have one common foreign policy towards countries outside the European Union.'

**Decision-making on ESDP:** 'Some people believe that certain areas of policy should be decided by the (NATIONAL) government, while other areas of policy should be decided jointly within the European Union. Which of the following areas of policy do you think should be decided by (NATIONAL) government, and which should be decided jointly within the European Union? – Foreign policy towards countries outside the Union.'

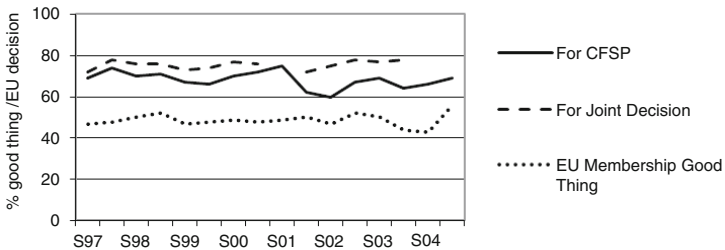
**Support for EU membership:** 'Generally speaking, do you think that (OUR COUNTRY'S) membership of the European Union is: a good thing, a bad thing, neither good nor bad.'

### Attitudes towards CFSP (Germany)

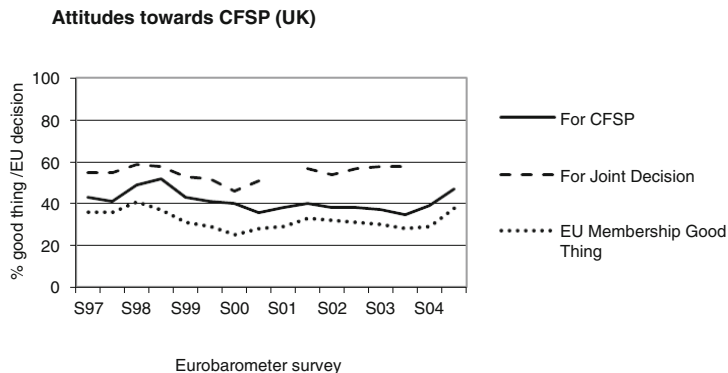


Eurobarometer survey

### Attitudes towards CFSP (France)



Eurobarometer survey



In the Spring of 2001 and from Spring 2004, the question about joint decision-making proposed an additional response, NATO, as well as the EU and the national government. Therefore results are no longer comparable.

European Commission, *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 47, Spring 1997*, November 1997 – *Standard Eurobarometer Survey 62, Autumn 2004*, May 2005, available at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/public-opinion/standard_en.htm)



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- Villepin, London – International Institute for Strategic Studies, 27.03.2003, International Institute of Strategic Studies, available at <http://www.iiss.org/conferences/alastair-buchan/the-alastair-buchan-lecture-2003>
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# Notes

## Chapter 1 Introduction

- 1 Torreblanca, J., 'Accommodating Interests and Principles in the European Union: The Case of Eastern Enlargement', in Sjørnsen, H. (ed.), *Enlargement and the Finality of the EU*, Oslo, ARENA Report No 7, 2002, p. 20.
- 2 To quote but a few examples, Jean-Louis Quermonne, a professor of political science and founding member of *Notre Europe*, a think tank established under the impulsion of Jacques Delors to promote closer Union between the people of Europe, complained that the European Council increasingly resembled a diplomatic conference confronting the member states' 'national interests' (Quermonne, J.-L., *L'Europe en quête de légitimité*, Paris, Presses de Science Po, 2001, p. 61); Luxembourg's long-standing Prime Minister, Jean-Claude Juncker, observed following the Brussels European Council meeting of December 2003 which failed to agree on the Draft Constitutional Treaty that 'the national interest seems more important than the European interest' ('L'Europe empêtrée dans les crises', Bruxelles, *Agence France Presse*, 26.12.2003); Henri de Bresson, *Le Monde's* Europe correspondent, wrote in June 2003 that Germany's and France's post-Nice reconciliation 'conveyed the feeling that the two countries were trying to align their power political interests rather than to propose a true project for the future of the European Union open to as many as possible' (de Bresson, H., 'Commentaire: Un défi pour Paris et Berlin', *Le Monde*, 6.6.2003, p. 6); to quote a last example, *The Economist*, also in June 2003, derided 'what could be more Anglo-chauvinist than a prime minister who constantly frames his vision of Euro membership and European integration in terms of Britain's "winning argument"?' ('Britain and the Euro, Can They be serious?', *The Economist*, 14.6.2003).
- 3 For Joschka Fischer's references to Germany's 'national interests' see for example Fischer, Bundestag, 8.3.2001, or Fischer, Bundestag, 26.6.2003. On Fischer's attitude towards European politics see Schwarz, H.-P., 'Die Zentralmacht Europas auf Kontinuitätskurs, Deutschland stabilisiert den Kontinent', *Internationale Politik*, Vol. 11, November 1999, p. 3.
- 4 It must be noted that such narratives understate the significance notions of 'national interest' took on in Cold War European politics. Thus ideas according to which Chancellor Kohl never used the term 'national interest' are the product of a myth (see for example Kohl, München – Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik, 3.2.1996; Kohl, Katholische Universität Löwen, 2.2.1996; or Kohl, Bundestag – Aussprache über den Bundeshaushalt 1999, 3.9.1998).
- 5 Statements by political leaders were translated for the author by Gidon Mead. Many thanks to him for this substantial work. In order to save space, only the name of the speaker(s), the location of statements, and their date are indicated in the notes. A list of all speeches quoted in the text including references to the databases from which they were extracted is available in the bibliography.



- 6 See for example Schröder, Bundestag, 28.11.2000; Blair, Brown, London – Downing Street Press Conference on the Euro, 9.6.2003.
- 7 See for example Chirac, Brussels – Point de Presse, 13.12.2003; Blair, Brussels – Press Conference, 17.12.2005; Schröder, *Arte* – Interview, 20.1.2003.
- 8 For an analysis of the normative implications of Morgenthau's ideas on 'national interest' see Good, R. C., 'The National Interest and Political Realism: Niebuhr's "Debate" with Morgenthau and Kennan', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22(4), November 1960, pp. 597–619.
- 9 For Morgenthau, the 'national interest (...) is not defined by the whim of a man or the partisanship of party but imposes itself as an objective datum upon all men applying their rational faculties to the conduct of foreign policy' (Morgenthau, H. J., 'Comment', *The New Republic*, 22.1.1977, p. 9, quoted in Burchill, S., *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 36). Morgenthau was slightly less categorical in 1952, when he wrote that arguments presenting a policy to be a necessary national interest 'must be subjected to rational scrutiny which will determine, however tentatively, their approximate place in the scale of national values' (Morgenthau, H. J., 'Another "Great Debate": The National Interest of the United States', in McLellan, D. S., Olson, W. C., Sondermann, F. A. (eds), *The Theory and Practice of International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1960 [1952], p. 185).
- 10 Beard, C., *The Idea of National Interest, An Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy*, New York, Macmillan, 1934; Beard, C., *The Open Door at Home*, New York, Macmillan, 1934, pp. 155–8.
- 11 Burchill, S., *The National Interest in International Relations Theory*, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 211.
- 12 See for example Aspinwall, M., *Rethinking Britain and Europe, Plurality Elections, Party Management and British Policy on European Integration*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004, pp. 33–4.
- 13 Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle thus write that 'the historian's duty is not to determine an *objective* national interest, but to show what *subjective* notions of it statesmen have evolved' (Renouvin, P., Duroselle, J.-B., *Introduction to the History of International Relations*, London, Pall Mall Press, 1968, p. 266, italics in original text).
- 14 To avoid the proliferation of inverted commas, I do not apply them where the term national interest is described explicitly as a concept, a notion, or a discourse. The notions of the 'national' and the 'European', too, should be understood as concepts and are placed in inverted commas when they appear as the subject of a sentence.
- 15 Weldes, J., 'Constructing National Interests', *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 2(3), 1996, p. 279.
- 16 Wendt, A., 'Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization*, Vol. 46(2), 1992, p. 401.
- 17 Weldes, J., 'Constructing National Interests', *op. cit.*, pp. 275–7.
- 18 Hollis, M., Smith, S., *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 166, quoted in Weldes, J., 'Constructing National Interests', *op. cit.*, p. 276.
- 19 Finnemore, M., *National Interests in International Society*, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1996.

- 20 See for example Moravcsik, A., 'Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interest and Conventional Statecraft in the EC', *International Organisation*, Vol. 45(1), 1991, pp. 19–56; or Moravcsik, A., Vachudova, M. A., 'National Interest, State Power and EU Enlargement', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 17(1), p. 43.
- 21 Sedelmeier, who advocates a constructivist approach that takes interests to be endogenous writes that 'not only policy-makers from member states that have a material interest in enlargement referred to the EU's role-identity when talking about why the EU should enlarge' (Sedelmeier, U., *Constructing the Path to Eastern Enlargement, the Uneven Policy Impact of EU Identity*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2005, p. 38, emphasis added, see also pp. 6, 26–7). Also, Adrian Hyde-Price, who emphasises that interests are not objectively determined and pre-given but defined on the basis of a range of subjective, normative considerations, as well as objective and material factors, nonetheless a few lines further down writes that 'Germany also has a strong national interest in multilateral integration in a pan-European cooperation' (Hyde-Price, A., *Germany and European Order*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000, pp. 11, 29).
- 22 Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis, France, Britain and Europe*, London, Routledge, 1997, pp. 7–8, 187, 190.
- 23 Jervis, R., *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1976, p. 132, quoted in Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 24 See in particular Sandholtz, W., Stone Sweet, A. (eds), *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998; Moravcsik, A., *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power From Messina to Maastricht*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1998.
- 25 See for example Mazey, S., 'European Integration, Unfinished Journey or Journey Without End?', in Richardson, J. (eds), *European Union, Power and Policy-making*, London, Routledge, 2001.
- 26 Quermonne, J.-L., *L'Europe en quête de légitimité*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 27 Laffan, B., O'Donnell, R., Smith, M., *Europe's Experimental Union, Rethinking Integration*, London, Routledge, 2000, pp. 74–8.
- 28 Wessels, W., 'Administrative Interaction', in Wallace, W. (ed.), *The Dynamics of European Integration*, London, Pinter, 1992, pp. 230, 236–8.
- 29 Moreau Defarges, P., *Les institutions européennes*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2001, p. 103.
- 30 Peters, G. P., Wright, V., 'The National-Coordination of European Policy-Making, Negotiating the Quagmire', in Richardson, J. (eds), *European Union, Power and Policy-making*, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
- 31 Wessels, W., 'Administrative Interaction', *op. cit.* pp. 235–6.
- 32 Christiansen, T., 'The Council of Ministers, The Politics of Institutionalised Intergovernmentalism', in Richardson, J. (eds), *European Union, Power and Policy-making*, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–8.
- 33 Wessels, W., 'The EC Council: The Community's Decision-Making Center', in Keohane, R.O., Hoffmann, S. (eds), *The New European Community: Decisionmaking and Institutional Change*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1991, pp. 135, 137; Christiansen, T., 'The Council of Ministers, The Politics of Institutionalised Intergovernmentalism', *op. cit.*, p. 149.

- 34 Although Wessel's work includes writings on the Council of Ministers and the European Council (Wessels, W., 'The EC Council: The Community's Decision-Making Center', *op. cit.*; Hohscheid, J. M., Wessels, W. (eds), *The European Council, 1974–1986: Evaluation and Prospects*, Maastricht, European Institute of Public Administration, 1988; Bulmer, S., Wessels, W., *The European Council: Decision-Making in European Politics*, London, Macmillan, 1987), his main emphasis is on the administrative layers of European governance.
- 35 Christiansen, T., 'The Council of Ministers, The Politics of Institutionalised Intergovernmentalism', *op. cit.*, p. 149; Checkel, T. J. 'Social Construction and European Integration', in Christiansen, T., Jørgensen, K. E., Wiener, A. (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe*, London, Sage, 2001, p. 54.
- 36 Quermonne, J-L., *L'Europe en quête de légitimité*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 55, 61–4; Duverger, M., *L'Europe dans tous ses Etats*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1995, p. 77; Moreau Defarges, P., *Les institutions européennes*, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–3.
- 37 Hayes-Renshaw, F., Wallace, H., *The Council of Ministers*, London, Macmillan, 1997, p. 23.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 278–9.
- 40 Christiansen, T., 'The Council of Ministers, The Politics of Institutionalised Intergovernmentalism', *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 152.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 43 See the first part of this introduction, Analysing 'National Interests', and in particular Weldes, J., 'Constructing National Interests', *op. cit.*, pp. 275–318.
- 44 Foucault, M., *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, London, Tavistock, 1972, p. 80.
- 45 This understanding of discourse, following the second possibility opened up by Foucault's definition, is mostly likely furthest from Foucault's broader understanding of discourse as it appears from the sum of his work, which did not focus on 'text and textual analysis', that is on 'real instances of people doing or saying or writing things', but on the rules underlying actual discursive practice (Fairclough, N., *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1992, pp. 56–7).
- 46 Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 13–14, 25–7; Diez, T., 'Speaking "Europe": The Politics of Integration Discourse', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6(4), 1999, p. 611, p. 612, note 2.
- 47 Hansen, L. 'Introduction', in Hansen, L., Waever, O. (eds), *European Integration and National Identity, the Challenge of the Nordic States*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 4; Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–7; Hansen, L., 'Introduction', *op. cit.*, p. 5; Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', in Wiener, A., Diez, T. (eds), *European Integration Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 206–7.
- 48 Waever, O., 'Explaining Europe by Decoding Discourses', in Wivel, A. (ed.), *Explaining European Integration*, Copenhagen Political Studies Press, 1998, p. 116; Waever, O., 'Identity, Communities and Foreign Policy, Discourse Analysis as Foreign Policy Theory', in Hansen, L., Waever, O. (eds), *European Integration and National Identity, the Challenge of the Nordic States*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp. 26–7; Haahr, J. H., "'Our Danish Democracy": Community, People and Democracy in the Danish Debate on the Common Currency', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 38(1), 2003, pp. 28–9.

- 49 Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 205.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 206.
- 51 Hansen, L., 'Introduction', *op. cit.*, p. 2; Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 206; Haahr, J. H., "'Our Danish Democracy": Community, People and Democracy in the Danish Debate on the Common Currency', *op. cit.*, pp. 40–1; Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- 52 Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 198.
- 53 Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground, Discourse Analysis and European Integration Studies', *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 36(1), pp. 25–36.
- 54 Diez, T., 'Speaking "Europe": The Politics of Integration Discourse', *op. cit.*, pp. 599, 602–6.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 607.
- 56 Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground, Discourse Analysis and European Integration Studies', *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 18, 21, 24.
- 57 This is not to say that either the authors of the Copenhagen School or Diez reject the existence of non-discursive reality (Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 198; Diez, T., 'Speaking "Europe": The Politics of Integration Discourse', *op. cit.*, p. 604) even if Diez envisages a purely discursive history of European integration when he writes that 'the whole history of European integration can be understood as a history of speech acts' (*ibid.*, p. 601).
- 58 Wodak, R., *Disorders of Discourse*, London, Longman, p. 15.
- 59 Fairclough, N., Wodak, R., 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in Van Dijk, T. A. (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction, Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Volume 2*, London, Sage Publications, 1997, p. 258.
- 60 See for example Fairclough, N., *New Labour, New Language?*, London, Routledge, 2000.
- 61 See for example Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 199; Sjørnsen, H., 'Why Expand? The Question of Legitimacy and Justification in the EU's Enlargement Policy', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40(3), p. 496.
- 62 Chilton, P. Schäffner, C., 'Discourse and Politics', in Van Dijk, T. A. (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction, Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction, Volume 2*, London, Sage Publications, 1997, p. 226.
- 63 Ole Waever, too, points out that most studies of political discourses reveal that political language is surprisingly coherent and systematic (Waever, O., 'Discursive Approaches', *op. cit.*, p. 200).
- 64 Hayes-Renshaw, F., Wallace, H., *The Council of Ministers*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
- 65 Christiansen, T., 'The Council of Ministers, The Politics of Institutionalised Intergovernmentalism', *op. cit.*, pp. 145–6.
- 66 Hayes-Renshaw and H. Wallace point out that the Council is the focus of a large multinational press corps including 800 correspondents in Brussels through which the ministers address their domestic publics (Hayes-Renshaw, F., Wallace, H., *The Council of Ministers*, *op. cit.*, p. 1).
- 67 A CD-rom for the years 1996–2004 can be ordered from <http://www.bundesregierung.de>.
- 68 Under 'Reden/Interviews' at [www.bundesregierung.de](http://www.bundesregierung.de); the complete collection of Schröder's interventions was downloaded during his time in office. Currently, a selection of statements is available from the government's electronic archive at <http://archiv.bundesregierung.de/index.jsp>, last consulted on 7 July 2011.

- 69 Available at <http://basedoc.diplomatie.gouv.fr>, last consulted on 7 July 2011.
- 70 A complete collection of Chirac's interventions was downloaded during his time in office.
- 71 At <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/webarchive>, last consulted on 7 July 2011; a collection of Tony Blair's statements was constituted during his time in office.
- 72 At <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmhansrd.htm>.
- 73 In relation to agricultural policy, and for the English texts of UK leaders, statements were searched for words starting with 'agri', 'farm', 'rural' or 'CAP' in English; 'landwirt', 'agr' or 'bauer' in Germany; and 'agri', 'agra', 'agro', 'paysa', 'rural' or 'PAC' in French. On relations with eastern European countries, statements in English were searched for 'enlarge', 'east', 'unif', 'applic', 'candidate', 'membership', 'accession' and '25'; statements in German for 'erweit', 'ost', 'beitri', 'beitre', and 25; and French statements, for 'élargi', 'l'est', 'candidat' and 'adh'. Lastly, for discourses on security and defence policy, statements in English were searched for 'security', 'defence', 'army', 'military', 'force', or 'safety'; German statements for 'Sicherheit', 'Verteidigung', 'milit', 'Armee' or 'Bundeswehr'; and French statements for 'sécurité' or 'défense'. References that did clearly not touch on any of the issue areas under consideration were not considered.
- 74 See for example Larsen, H., *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis*, *op. cit.*, p. 29; or Diez, T., 'Europe as a Discursive Battleground, Discourse Analysis and European Integration Studies', *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14.
- 75 For example Lamassoure, A., *Histoire secrète de la convention européenne*, Paris, Albin Michel, 2004; or Scott, D., *Off Whitehall: A View from Downing Street by Tony Blair's Adviser*, London, I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- 76 Especially Schröder, G., *Entscheidungen, Mein Leben in der Politik*, Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 2006; Blair, T., *A Journey*, Random House, London 2011; Chirac, J., Barré, J.-L., *Le temps présidentiel: Mémoires, tome 2*, Editions Nil, Paris, 2011.
- 77 For example Peter Ludlow or Peter Norman have since 2001/2002 prepared regular briefings and a number of monographs about the activities of the European Council, drawing on insider knowledge to provide detailed accounts of the progression of negotiations on key issues and of the lead-up to many of the major European Council meetings (Ludlow, *The Making of the New Europe, The European Councils in Brussels and Copenhagen 2002*, Brussels, EuroComment, 2004; or Peter Norman, *The Accidental Constitution, The Making of Europe's Constitutional Treaty*, Brussels, EuroComment, 2005).
- 78 Chirac, Elysée – Remise de la galette des rois par la Confédération nationale de la boulangerie, 10.1.2000; Schröder, Leipzig – Grundsteinlegung des Werks Leibzig der BMW AG, 7.5.2002.
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## Chapter 2 The Common Agricultural Policy: A European Agricultural Model Between Sectoral and 'National' Interests?

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### Chapter 3 The Eastern Enlargement: Ideals, Interests and Integration

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- 160 Schröder, *Tagesspiegel* – Interview, 14.7.2002.
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- 162 Chirac, Sevilla – Press Conference, 22.6.2002.
- 163 Blair, Birmingham – European Research Institute, 23.11.2001.
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- 202 Chirac, Ouverture de la Conférence intergouvernementale sur le futur de l’Europe, 4.10.2003.
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## Chapter 4 The European Security and Defence Policy from ‘National’ to ‘European’ Interests?

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- 2 Schröder, Bundestag, 18.10.2001; Chirac, Paris – Allocution aux armées, 14.7.1999; see also Milzow, K., 'Le discours politique et la sécurité en Europe: Blair, Chirac et Schröder et la politique européenne de sécurité et de défense (1993–2003)', *Relations Internationales*, No 125, 2006, pp. 87–90.
- 3 Morgenthau first expanded on his notion of national interest in his *Politics Among Nations* (Morgenthau, H. J., *Politics Among Nations*, New York, Knopf, 1985). Amongst those who responded to Morgenthau's work see for example Niebuhr, R., *Christian Realism and Political Problems*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953; Niebuhr, R., *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1950 [1944]; Good, R. C., 'The National Interest and Political Realism: Niebuhr's "Debate" with Morgenthau and Kennan', *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 22(4), November 1960, pp. 597–619; Cook, T. I., Moos, M., 'The American Idea of International Interest', in Jacobson, H. K., *America's Foreign Policy*, New York, Random House, 1960 [1953], pp. 135–56; Wolfers, A., 'National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol', in McLellan, D. S., Olson, W. C., Sondermann, F. A. (eds), *The Theory and Practice of International Relations*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1960 [1952], pp. 186–92.
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- 5 See Schröder, Bundestag, 18.10.2001; Chirac, Paris – Allocution aux armées, 14.7.1999; or Milzow, K., 'Le discours politique et la sécurité en Europe', *op. cit.*, pp. 87–90.
- 6 Hoffmann, S., 'Obstinate or Obsolete?', *op. cit.*, pp. 76–84.
- 7 The member states in 1961 decided to set up an intergovernmental commission, headed by Christian Fouchet, to present a proposal for political cooperation. In November 1961, Fouchet presented a first project, proposing cooperation on foreign policy, defence, science, culture, and the protection of human rights at the margins of the Community's institutions. France's partners opposed such focus on cooperation between member states, fearing amongst others French domination. In response to criticism of the first Fouchet Plan, de Gaulle, through Fouchet, in January 1962 proposed a second Plan Fouchet, which was oriented still more on the mere cooperation between European states. This set an end to the Fouchet project.
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- 10 See for example Yves Buchet de Neuilly on difficulties in enforcing sanctions against Serbia in response to the crisis in Kosovo (Buchet de Neuilly, Y., 'European External Relations Fields: The Multi-Pillar Issue of Economic Sanctions Against Serbia', in Knodt, M., Princen, S., *Understanding the European Union's External Relations*, London, Routledge, 2003).
- 11 Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, France, 3–4 December 1998, §1, in Rutten, M., *De Saint-Malo à Nice: Les textes fondateurs de la défense européenne*, *Cahiers de Chaillot* 47, pp. 8–10.
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- 13 In an introduction to a collective work published in 1997, Anand Menon thus wrote rather cautiously that 'it may well be, for instance, that policy makers will assume future moves towards defence integration from ambitious declarations such as those contained within the Maastricht Treaty' (Menon, A., 'Introduction', in Howorth, J., Menon, A. (eds), *The European Union and National Defence Policy*, London, Routledge, 1997, p. 4).
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- 15 Blair, Amsterdam – Press Conference, 17.6.1997.
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- 18 Blair, Paris – French National Assembly, 24.3.1998.
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- 23 Chirac, Elysée – Présentation des vœux du Corps diplomatique, 7.1.1998.
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- 26 Chirac, Paris – Conférence des Ambassadeurs, 26.8.1998.
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- 33 Chirac, Paris – Toast à l'occasion du déjeuner offert par le Président de la République pour la venue de Sa Majesté Elizabeth II, 11.11.1998.
- 34 Jopp, M., *European Defence Policy: The Debate on the Institutional Aspects*, Institut für Europäische Politik, June/July 1999, p. 4.
- 35 Chirac, Jospin, Schröder, Gemeinsame Erklärung des französischen Staatspräsidenten, des französischen Premierministers und des Bundeskanzlers zum Abschluß der 72. Deutsch- Französische Konsultationen, 1.12.1998; Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, *op. cit.*, §5.
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- Deutsch-Französischen Konsultationen, 1.12.1998, Potsdam; Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, *op. cit.*, § 3).
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- 38 The *Cahiers Chaillot's* introduction to its publication of Blair's Pörtschach declaration, for example, states that 'the revolution in European defence currently underway is due to the radical change of direction of the United Kingdom vis-à-vis the European Union in this area' (Rutten, M., De Saint-Malo à Nice: Les textes fondateurs de la défense européenne, *op. cit.*, p. 1). In addition, Blair's Pörtschach declaration is the first of the Cahiers Chaillot's collection of texts on ESDP.
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- 40 Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, *op. cit.*, § 1, 2 and 4.
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- 49 Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, *op. cit.*, § 3; Chirac, Schröder, Gemeinsamer Brief des Bundeskanzlers und des französischen Staatspräsidenten an den Vorsitzenden des Europäischen Rates, 8.12.1998.
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- 51 Schröder, Berlin – Parlamentarische Versammlung der NATO, 21.11.2000.
- 52 Joint Declaration Issued at the British-French Summit, St. Malo, *op. cit.*, § 1; Blair, Chirac, Jospin, St. Malo – Conférence de presse conjointe, 4.12.1998; Blair, NATO 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference 8.3.1999; Schröder, Bonn – Jahresempfang für das Diplomatische Corps, 23.11.1998; Fischer, Strasbourg – European Parliament, 12.1.1999.
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## Chapter 5 Conclusion: Discourse and Politics of 'National Interest' in a Changing European Union

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- 6 Collection of interventions available on the website of the *Elysée* at [www.elysee.fr](http://www.elysee.fr) during Chirac's time in office.
- 7 Available at <http://dip.bundestag.de/>.
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