CSGR 3rd Annual Conference

AFTER THE GLOBAL CRISES: WHAT NEXT FOR REGIONALISM?

Scarman House, University of Warwick
16–18 September 1999

Theories of integration meet the 1995 EU enlargement: the case for a new approach

DR. ANDREAS BIELER
Selwyn College

Dr. Andreas Bieler,
Selwyn College,
Cambridge CB3 9DQ,
E-mail: ab307@cam.ac.uk

15 August 1999

Theories of integration meet the 1995 EU enlargement: the case for a new approach.

(Paper to be presented at the third annual conference "After the Global Crises: What Next for Regionalism?" at the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, University of Warwick; 16 – 18 September 1999.)

Abstract:

This paper argues that neo-functionalist and intergovernmental theories of integration are unable to account for Austria's and Sweden's accession to the European Union (EU) due to their inability to take into account globalisation and their determinism. A neo-Gramscian approach is suggested as an alternative. Its focus on social forces as the main actors and on open-ended class struggle as the driving force of history allows for the incorporation of structural change and avoids any notion of inevitable historical developments.

The neo-Gramscian perspective reveals that the Austrian Federation of Industries formulated a pro-EU hegemonic project, which was based on economic neo-liberalism and the idea that neutrality was compatible with membership. By contrast in Sweden, the transnational production structure allowed capital to participate in the Internal Market of the EU via the transfer of investment and production units. A political strategy to counter the initial anti-EU membership course of the Social Democrats had not been necessary.

1. Introduction:

On 1 January 1995, Sweden and Austria acceded to the European Union (EU). Historically, membership had been rejected in both countries for mainly two reasons. Firstly, a majority of forces in both countries agreed that the neutral status excluded the possibility of membership in a supranational economic organisation such as the EU. It would imply a loss of national sovereignty and possible participation in measures such as one-sided embargoes of weapon exports and, thus, undermine the neutrality (Huldt: 1994, p.111; Neuhold: 1992, p.89). Secondly, the domination of the EU by Christian Democratic Parties and big capital appeared to imply a threat to the social democratic achievements in both countries. The majority of Austria's heavy industry had been nationalised after World War Two, mainly in order to protect it against the reparation demands by the occupying allies. For a large part of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (SPÖ), however, it was also a precondition for the achievement of full employment and the maintenance of state authority over the economy. "Rightly, the Socialists argued that the contribution of the state-owned sector in economic stabilization, full employment, and regional development would be menaced if Austria were forced to accept supranational direction from Christian Democratic governments" (Kurzer: 1993, p.207). Similarly in Sweden, in particular the left wing of the Social Democratic Party (SAP) and the Communist Party (since 1990 known as the Left Party) argued that "Swedish involvement in the political integration of the [EU] would harm rather than sustain her capacity to pursue a welfare programme based on the principles of equal rights and advanced state-intervention" (Jerneck: 1993, p.26). Why, then, did Austria and Sweden join the EU at a moment, when it had moved towards positions, which even further contributed to the dangers outlined above? The Internal Market programme of 1985 and the plans for Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) in the Treaty of Maastricht of 1991 signified a combination of liberalisation, deregulation and further supranational policy co-ordination and, therefore, threatened to undermine national policy autonomy even further. Moreover, the Treaty of Maastricht established first steps towards a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which at least potentially could imply sovereignty pooling in this area in the future and thus threaten Austria's and Sweden's neutral status.

In this paper, it is argued that the 1995 enlargement of the EU has to be analysed against the background of the structural changes since the early 1970s, often

referred to as globalisation. Briefly, globalisation can be defined as the transnationalisation of production and finance at the material level, expressed in the rise in size and numbers of transnational corporations (TNCs) and a world-wide deregulation of national financial markets, and a change from Keynesian ideas to neo-liberalism at the ideological level (Cox: 1993, pp.259/260, 266/267). The established theories of integration are unable to explain and understand the puzzle of Austria's and Sweden's sudden accession to the EU. Most importantly, they are unable to account for the structural change of globalisation due to their deterministic assumptions (section 2). In section 3, neo-Gramscianism is suggested as an alternative. It is applied to Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU in section 4 to demonstrate its usefulness. The conclusion sums up the results of the paper.

2. The established theories of integration and their shortcomings:

Neo-functionalist and intergovernmentalist approaches have dominated the explanation of European integration. The former assume that integration starts when it is realised that certain economic problems yield higher welfare gains, if they are dealt with at the supranational level. The notion of spill-over is crucial for the neo-functionalist explanation of the process of integration. It can be divided into three different processes (Tranholm-Mikkelsen: 1991, pp.4-6). Firstly, functional spill-over occurs in the economic sphere. Because of the interdependence between industrial sectors, the integration of one sector makes the integration of another necessary to reap the full welfare benefits of the first integration. This is accompanied by political spill-over. Interest groups of an integrated sector are expected to shift their focus to the new decision-making centre in order to influence the decisions important to them and to press for further integration of related sectors. Finally, cultivated spill-over refers to the independent capacity of the supranational institutions to push for further integration. Overall, the "main thesis was that sectoral integration was inherently expansive …" (Tranholm-Mikkelsen: 1991, p.6), leading to an automatic process of integration once started (Haas: 1958, p.297; Lindberg: 1963, p.294).

Some studies of Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU incorporate one or the other aspect of neo-functionalism in an eclectic way. Jerneck, for example, touches upon the notion of political spill-over as a force towards further integration by highlighting the increasing involvement of Swedish transnational actors in Brussels (Jerneck: 1993, p.42). There are also examples, where the important role of central

institutions such as the Commission is outlined. Gstöhl, for example, highlights the Commission's and here especially Delors' role in starting the European Economic Area (EEA) process in January 1989 (Gstöhl: 1996, p.55). Pedersen utilises all three versions of spill-over in his explanation of the move from the EEA to membership. The attempt to establish an Internal Market comprising all EU and EFTA members created functional spill-over, which led to an expansion of the negotiation agenda. This pressure was intensified by political spill-over of EFTA interest groups, which shifted their loyalty to the EU. Eventually, not to lose involvement in decision-making in too many areas, EFTA governments opted for membership, which gave them co-decision making power. An explanation along the line of cultivated spill-over focuses on directed change and political leadership. "One may thus interpret the apparent failure of the EEA as a success in disguise, as part of an incrementalist strategy aimed at integrating EFTA in the [EU]" (Pedersen: 1994, p.16).

Overall, these studies employ neo-functionalist concepts only as partial explanations. A neo-functionalist explanation of the entire process leading towards membership is neither attempted nor deemed to be possible. In general, there are two major shortcomings. Firstly, the notion of spill-over implies an inevitable, teleological process of further integration along an objective economic rationality. The discussion below, however, demonstrates that there were strong forces in Austria and Sweden, which opposed EU membership. A closer economic relationship short of full membership was debated as an alternative and eventual accession was not the result of structural necessity, but the outcome of an open-ended struggle. Membership was anything but inevitable. Secondly, neo-functionalism explains European integration through an emphasis on the internal dynamics of European politics. The wider structure, within which European integration is situated, is completely neglected. It is, therefore, impossible to take into account structural changes such as globalisation and the end of the Cold War.

In contrast to neo-functionalism, which emphasises the importance of non-governmental interest groups in the process of European integration, intergovernmentalism, closely related to neo-realism in International Relations, considers the international structure to be an anarchic system, in which states, being the only significant actors, pursue rationalist policies of power maximisation and security enhancement in order to ensure their survival. The most important

explanatory variable is the distribution of capabilities between states. Changes in this distribution lead to actions by states to counter possible losses (Waltz: 1979).

With reference to European integration, Hoffmann concludes that a convergence of national preferences is the precondition for European integration. Europe "has to wait until the separate states decide that their peoples are close enough to justify the setting up of a European state ..." (Hoffmann: 1966, p.910). Thus, states are seen as "gate-keepers" between their people and Europe. They carefully guard their sovereignty, which is ensured by the principle of unanimity voting in the Council of Ministers.

There are some explanations of Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU along intergovernmentalist lines. Koch, for example, argues that Austria responded to the pressure of economic necessity. Its close economic links with the EU and its bad economic performance in comparison to other Western European countries from the early 1980s onwards left no other option than membership (Koch: 1994). Similarly, Miles points to economic imperatives, which drove Sweden towards membership. The end of the Cold War and the concomitant changes in the international structure facilitated this move in that it "removed the shackles of keeping a rigid neutrality policy" (Miles: 1994, p.83). In short, both countries joined the EU in response to changes in the distribution of economic and military resources between states.

Unlike neo-functionalism, intergovernmentalism takes the international setting of integration into account. Nevertheless, its exclusive focus on states in the international arena limits changes to changes in the state structure. Structural changes such as globalisation, which go beyond the state structure, cannot be accounted for. By the same token, the explanation is still deterministic, since states as the main actors can only adapt to structural change. Austrian and Swedish EU membership again appears as a natural inevitability. Thus, intergovernmentalism cannot explain the particular choice made by Austria and Sweden to drop their post-war Keynesian economic policy and adopt neo-liberalism represented by the EU.

The criticism of intergovernmentalism for taking states as unitary actors led to the proposal of complementing it with a domestic perspective (Bulmer: 1983). The analysis of domestic politics explains the construction of national interests, the strategies adopted by states, and it shows when national ratification of international agreements is possible (Milner: 1992). Putnam combines the domestic perspective with intergovernmentalism by suggesting that "the politics of many international

negotiations can usefully be conceived as a two-level game" (Putnam: 1988, p.434). Level I refers to agreements between states at the international level, whereas Level II looks at the ratification process at the domestic level. Putnam's hypothesis is that a government only concludes an international agreement, for which it expects to be able to construct a majority coalition between societal groups at the domestic level.

The convergence of national interests around a neo-liberal, deregulatory programme with the focus on low inflation was a precondition for the revival of European integration in the mid-1980s. In relation to the EU and the neo-liberal Internal Market programme, Cameron points to the changes in the partisan composition of national governments in the early 1980s to explain the shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism. Most notably, Mrs. Thatcher took office in Britain in 1979, but changes also took place in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Germany and they "shared one feature in common: they all represented a shift toward a more conservative position" (Cameron: 1992, p.57). Transferred to the cases of Austria and Sweden, however, this explanation based on domestic politics shows deficiencies. In Sweden, the turn to neo-liberalism occurred under a Social Democratic government, while in Austria it was not only the inclusion of the conservative ÖVP into a coalition government in 1987, but also the internal change of the SPÖ, the stronger party in government, which led to the adoption of neo-liberal policies. The European left changed during the 1980s and this cannot be explained by pointing to structural and domestic events alone. Instead, the impact of neo-liberalism as a set of economic ideas has to be investigated to explain the general turn to neo-liberalism by parties of the right and the left.

This approach is further limited, because lobbying by interest groups can only be considered to take place within countries' domestic realm. Thereby, the significance of transnational actors, as for example transnational corporations (TNCs), is neglected. Their level of action is European if not world-wide, maintaining production sites in several countries at the same time. This allows them, firstly, to develop initiatives with the Commission and to lobby several governments at the same time. Secondly, they can put pressure on national governments by either threatening to transfer production units to other countries or by actually carrying out this threat, if certain conditions are not met. State-centric approaches can only account for TNCs by regarding them as several, unconnected actors in their individual

domestic sphere, not as transnational actors transgressing the line of separation between international and domestic politics.

TNCs were especially crucial in Sweden's accession to the EU. They transferred production units to the EU prior to the SAP's decision to apply for membership and they threatened further cutbacks of their activities in Sweden during the referendum campaign, should the Swedish population decide against membership (Fioretos: 1997). Considering that some TNCs even transferred their headquarters to the EU and, thereby, gave up their distinctive Swedish identity, this inadequacy becomes apparent.

In order to tackle these shortcomings, Moravcsik developed the so far most sophisticated state-centric approach, which he labelled "liberal intergovernmentalism" (LI). He, firstly, connects a liberal theory of national preference formation, i.e. "domestic politics", with an intergovernmentalist analysis of inter-state negotiations in a two-level game, and then adds a regime theory component. States as rational decision-makers, firstly, use EU institutions and are prepared to transfer parts of their sovereignty to increase the efficiency of inter-state co-operation. Secondly, they accept the restriction of their external sovereignty, because these "institutions strengthen the autonomy of national political leaders vis-à-vis particularistic social groups within their domestic polity" (Moravcsik: 1993, p.507).

Nonetheless, even LI shows severe deficiencies. It provides no insight into how the independent role of ideas is to be investigated or how transnational actors can be accounted for. TNCs' behaviour such as the investment boom of the 1980s in the EU are interpreted as rational adaptations to credible intergovernmental commitments, while policy ideas are merely viewed as the result of intergovernmental demands, but not as an independent force (Moravcsik: 1995, p.618). In short, this predominant emphasis on states as main actors in international relations prevents all types of intergovernmentalism from dealing with ideas and transnational actors as independent forces behind integration.

Finally, the exclusive state-centric focus makes all varieties of intergovernmentalism concentrate on inter-state negotiations as the crucial event of further integration. Wincott, however, points out that instances of integration are not so much the result of intergovernmental negotiations, but emerge from the "everyday grind of the Community" (Wincott: 1995). In other words, the process leading to negotiations and setting the agenda should be seen as more important than the

negotiations themselves, as should the sites of social struggle related to the ratification of negotiation agreements. It is argued below that although not without importance, the Austrian and Swedish accession negotiations are only a link between the original decision to apply and the final decision in the referendum to accept the terms of membership.

In order to overcome the shortcomings of the neo-functionalist and intergovernmental integration theories, several scholars suggest combining intergovernmentalism with neo-functionalism as a remedy in respect of EU enlargement (e.g. Pedersen: 1994, Miles/Redmond/Schwok: 1995). Nevertheless, this is misleading. As Puchala had already observed in 1972, "attempts to juxtapose or combine the conventional frameworks for analytical purposes by and large yield no more than artificial, untidy results" (Puchala: 1972, pp.276/277). Neo-functionalist approaches cannot be combined with state-centric approaches, as their basic assumptions diametrically oppose each other. While the former speak about the supersession of states, the latter consider sovereignty to be unchangeable. Hence, an alternative approach is suggested in the next section.

3. Neo-Gramscianism: an alternative approach to European integration.

In two seminal articles in the 1980s, Cox developed a neo-Gramscian perspective as 'critical' theory, based on the work of the Italian Communist Antonio Gramsci (Cox: 1986, first published in 1981, and 1983). In the wake of Cox's work, a whole range of different studies along neo-Gramscian lines were published, which had mainly the task of understanding hegemony at the international level as well as the structural change of world order (e.g. Cox: 1987; Gill: 1990 and 1993; Overbeek: 1993; Rupert: 1995). As a result, there has been a tendency to identify a cohesive neo-Gramscian school. According to Morton, however, a 'school' formation of this type should be resisted, since this entails the danger of simplifying internal contradictions and transforming neo-Gramscian research into an orthodoxy, which could imply the loss of its original 'critical' intentions. Here, Morton's suggestion of labelling these studies *neo-Gramscian perspectives* is adopted. The emphasis on the plural form is crucial. 'It immediately accepts the diversity of contributions within the perspectives whilst also permitting the flexibility to realise commonalities and overlaps' (Morton: 1998, p.8). It is in this sense, that this paper suggests a neo-Gramscian perspective which

constitutes an analytical framework, capable of understanding the processes behind Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU against the background of globalisation.

Most importantly, a neo-Gramscian perspective focuses on social forces, engendered by the production process, as the most important collective actors. Consequently, the various fractions of labour and capital can be identified by relating them to their place in the production system. This makes structural changes such as globalisation accessible, since the emergence of new social forces engendered by the transnationalisation of production and finance can be incorporated. These forces are located in the wider structure of the social relations of production, which do not determine but shape their interests and identity. A basic distinction can be drawn between national social forces of capital and labour stemming from national production sectors and transnational capital and labour, engendered by those production sectors, which are organised on a transnational scale. The first group can further be subdivided into nationally-oriented capital and labour, which stem from domestic production sectors which produce for the national market, and internationally-oriented capital and labour, engendered by domestic production sectors, which produce for the international market.

Secondly, this neo-Gramscian perspective 'rejects the notion of objective laws of history and focuses upon class struggle ... [be they intra-class or inter-class] ... as the heuristic model for the understanding of structural change' (Cox: 1986, p. 248). It is, thus, realised that there are no inevitable developments in history. Instances of European integration are as much the outcome of an open-ended struggle as are other political developments.

Thirdly, while the state is still considered to be an important analytical category, it is regarded as a structure within which and through which social forces operate rather than as an actor in its own right. There are several forms of states and the national interest, the 'raison d'état', cannot be separated from society, as it depends on the configuration of social forces at the state level.

Finally, the independent role of ideas is taken into account. On the one hand, they are considered to be a part of the overall structure in the form of "intersubjective meanings". Hence, ideas establish the wider frameworks of thought, "which condition the way individuals and groups are able to understand their social situation, and the possibilities of social change" (Gill/Law: 1988, p.74). On the other hand, ideas may be used by actors as "weapons" in order to legitimise particular policies and are

important in that they form a part of a hegemonic project by “organic intellectuals” (see below) (Bieler: 1998, pp.72-80). This treatment of ideas allows neo-Gramscian perspectives to take into account changes such as the shift from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism.

Various social forces may attempt to form an historical bloc in order to establish an order preferable to them at the national and/or international level. ‘The historical bloc is the term applied to the particular configuration of social classes and ideology that gives content to a historical state’ (Cox: 1987, p.409) and, thus, consists of structure and superstructure. It forms a complex, politically contestable and dynamic ensemble of social relations, which includes economic, political and cultural aspects. The relationship between structure and superstructure is reciprocal. “Superstructures of ideology and political organisation shape the development of both aspects of production ... [i.e. the social relations and the physical means of production] ... and are shaped by them” (Cox: 1983, p.168).

Another important neo-Gramscian concept is hegemony. Unlike the neo-realist notion of hegemony, in which a hegemonic state controls and dominates other states and the international order thanks to its superior amount of economic and military capabilities (Gilpin: 1981, p.29; Keohane: 1984, pp.32/33), it describes a type of rule, which predominantly relies on consent, not on coercion. Additionally, it is argued that an historical bloc does not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of a state. Hegemony “is based on a coherent conjunction or fit between a configuration of material power, the prevalent collective image of ... order ... and a set of institutions which administer the order with a certain semblance of universality” (Cox: 1986, p.223).

“Organic intellectuals” play a crucial role in achieving hegemony. According to Gramsci,

> every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields (Gramsci: 1971, p.5).

They do not simply produce ideas, but it is their task to organise the social forces they stem from and to develop a "hegemonic project" which is able to transcend the particular interests of this group so that other social forces outside the historical bloc are able to give their consent. Such a hegemonic project must be based on "organic" ideas, which stem from the economic sphere. It must, however, also go beyond economics into the political and social sphere, incorporating "organic" ideas related to issues such as social reform or moral regeneration, to result in a stable hegemonic political system. It "brings the interests of the leading class into harmony with those of subordinate classes and incorporates these other interests into an ideology expressed in universal terms" (Cox: 1983, p.168).

b) The application of neo-Gramscianism to Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU:

Since neo-Gramscianism's starting-point is an analysis of social forces as the main actors, these social forces have to be identified in the Austrian and Swedish case through an examination of the two countries' production structure.

Austria's post-war production structure has been predominantly characterised by small-scale industry. In 1992, out of the 2.19 million working population, 55 per cent were employed in small-sized companies with less than 100 employees and 28 per cent in medium-sized companies with less than 1000 employees. This is a relatively high percentage in an international comparison. In general, these companies contribute only between one and two-thirds to the overall national employment (Breit/Rössl: 1992, p.191). Importantly, about 50 per cent of Austrian domestic production were completely sheltered against international competition with regulated supply and production quota (Luif: 1994, p.26).

Siegel identified 21 Austrian TNCs, but only one of them, Austrian Industries, dissolved in 1993, lived up to international standards in 1990 (Siegel: 1992). The 21 TNCs were mainly concentrated on Austria in their production structure, employing only 20 per cent of their workforce abroad (Siegel: 1992, p.167). The low number of TNCs and their focus on Austria signals a low degree of transnationalisation of production.

As a consequence, the main line of division is likely to be between nationally-oriented capital and labour and internationally-oriented capital and labour. While the former may reject EU membership since this implies the end of their protection

against international competition, the latter most likely support accession to the EU since this guarantees primary access to their export markets. The few transnational social forces can be expected to join forces with internationally-oriented capital and labour, as they too rely on international free trade and liberalisation.

Unlike Austria, Sweden's production structure has always been characterised by TNCs. The degree of transnationalisation, however, increased dramatically in the second half of the 1980s, when there was a drastic upturn in outward FDI. While inward FDI had only risen from US$ 396 million in 1985 to US$ 2328 million in 1990, outward FDI increased from US$ 1783 million to US$ 14136 million during the same period (Luif: 1996, pp.208). This is even more dramatic, if one takes into account that "in 1989 for the first time ever, Sweden invested more abroad than at home" (Kurzer: 1993, p.133). The transnationalisation of Swedish production is also expressed in the change in the Swedish and foreign share of TNCs' employees and production. In 1965, TNCs employed 33.9 per cent of their employees abroad, where they achieved 25.9 per cent of their turnover. By 1990, the situation had drastically changed. 60.6 per cent of the workforce was employed in the production abroad, accounting for 51.4 per cent of the turnover. This increased emphasis on production abroad was especially apparent between 1986 and 1990. The percentage of employees abroad rose by 11.4 per cent, i.e. 42.7 per cent of the overall increase between 1965 and 1990, and the percentage of turnover abroad by 9.1 per cent, i.e. 35.7 per cent of the overall increase between 1965 and 1990 (Braunerhjelm et al: 1996, p.10; own calculations). In some instances, this even included the transfer of headquarters. Asea Brown Boveri moved to Zürich/Switzerland and Tetra Pak and IKEA to locations in the EU. As a result, the main line of division in Sweden is likely to be between national capital and labour on the one hand, and transnational capital and labour on the other. Internationally-oriented social forces are less important and can be considered to be allies of transnational forces and their quest for EU membership and full participation in the internal market.

The emphasis on social forces as main actors does not imply that political parties and interest associations are considered to be unimportant. Nevertheless, in contrast to pluralist, corporatist and policy networks approaches (e.g. Lehmbruch/Schmitter: 1982; Marsh/Rhodes: 1992), they are not considered to be rationalistic, unitary actors. Rather, they are regarded as institutional frameworks within and through which different class fractions of capital and labour attempt to

establish their particular interests and ideas as those generally accepted. A neo-Gramscian analysis, therefore, also has to determine which social forces gained the upper hand in the various Austrian and Swedish parties and interest organisations.

Finally, it is also important to remember that the focus on social forces instead of states as the main actors implies a shift away from the concentration on the inter-state negotiations of Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU. Instead, the following examples are drawn from the process in both countries, which led to alliances in favour of application and from the struggle in the run-up to the referenda, which decided whether the negotiation results were actually enacted. In other words, the negotiation agenda included those demands, which various class fractions of the alliance had made their preconditions for support, and the negotiators had to achieve satisfactory results in those areas, which the population considered to be the most crucial ones. Otherwise, a pro-membership result in the referendum would have been very unlikely. Hence, the negotiations are only the link between the original decision to apply and the final decision in the referendum whether or not to accept the negotiation results. They do not play the role, envisaged by intergovernmental approaches.

4. Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU:

a) Austria: the successful pro-membership hegemonic project by the Austrian Federation of Industrialists:

The main actor to start the debate was the Austrian Federation of Industrialists (VÖI). Representing the export sector of the Austrian economy and foreign TNCs, it was deeply concerned about the possible barriers implied by the EU Internal Market project. After careful considerations, it published a statement on 14 May 1987 and asked the government "to do everything possible for Austria to become a full member of the EU as soon as possible" [translation by the author] (VÖI: 1987a, p.42). The argument went along neo-liberal economic lines. Only membership would guarantee full participation in the dynamic process of European integration and the required dismantling of Austria's sheltered sector would bring about restructuring and increased competitiveness. Nevertheless, the VÖI realised that the main obstacle to membership could be Austria's status of neutrality. It, consequently, commissioned a study by two experts of international law, which concluded that membership was compatible with neutrality (Hummer/Schweitzer: 1987). Two more publications

dealing with the economic and constitutional aspects of membership followed soon (Breuss/Stankovsky: 1988, Öhlinger: 1988). The goal of these publications was to establish a basis for discussion on membership, which had not existed before (Interview No.2, Vienna, 22/05/1995). The VÖI's strategy did not lead directly to membership. Nonetheless, it provided a coherent hegemonic project around which various fractions of social forces could rally.

It was, firstly, supported by internationally-oriented social forces of capital. In particular the textile industry declared membership a vital issue for its economic survival. Some textile employers even threatened to transfer production units to the EU in case of non-membership (Interview, No.4; Vienna, 24/04/1996). They gained the upper hand in the Chamber of Commerce, which demanded membership at its annual general conference on 9 December 1987 (BWK: 1987, pp.457-459).

The trade unions found it more difficult to support accession to the EU. Eventually, labour of the internationally-oriented sectors determined the support for application by the Chamber of Labour and the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, the two peak organisations of labour. Their conditions were, however, that neutrality was not compromised and the economic gains were used to improve the income, employment and welfare of the general population. They further demanded a commitment to full employment as the priority of the economic and social policy (AK: 1989, ÖGB: 1988). In talks with the employer associations, high-ranking trade union officials had realised that they were unable to suggest an alternative to membership, which would offer the same kind of economic benefits. Therefore, they supported membership, but made it dependent on a fair distribution of the gains (Interview No.1; Vienna, 12/05/1995).

Internationally-oriented capital and labour had a similar success in the two main parties, the SPÖ and the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), which formed a coalition government from January 1987 onwards. The latter decided in January 1988 to push for membership (ÖVP: 1988). It had already adopted a neo-liberal strategy in 1982, when it demanded budgetary cuts, tax reform flexibility, deregulation and privatisation (Meth-Cohn/Müller: 1994, pp.162/163). Membership appeared to be a logical step along these lines. Nevertheless, it had to overcome strong internal opposition of its agricultural wing, which was also organised in the Chamber of Agriculture. Apart from some limited exports to the EU in the area of cattle, agriculture was a totally nationally-oriented sector. Austrian production prices were

higher than in the EU partly due to a different agricultural structure based on small and middle-sized farms with a strong emphasis on ecological factors in contrast to large-scale agricultural production in the EU focusing on efficiency (Kunnert: 1993, pp.82/83). The Chamber's participation in the pro-EU historical bloc could only be assured through financial restructuring help.

Although slightly later than the ÖVP, the SPÖ also accepted neo-liberal ideas against the background of economic recession. In the government's economic report to parliament in 1985, Chancellor Fred Sinowatz (SPÖ) described Keynesianism as a policy of "diving-through", which could only be used in the short term. A departure from the budget deficit spending of the 1970s was indicated (Seidel: 1993, p.146). From early 1988 onwards, the economic wing around the then Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Finance Minister Lacina was convinced that membership was necessary to ensure full participation in the Internal Market and some even followed the argument that this would bring about the urgent restructuring of the sheltered sector. Opposition grew, however, within the party, mainly around the issue of neutrality. It was suggested that Austria should at least wait until it was clear whether the EU would proceed towards a CFSP, which undermined Austrian neutrality (Interview No.5, Vienna, 08/05/1996). In view of this opposition, Vranitzky waited until the official report by the international law office in the Foreign Ministry in November 1988 had declared that membership and neutrality were compatible (Völkerrechtsbüro: 1988), before he clearly spoke out in favour of membership. On 3 April 1989, the national committee of the SPÖ voted in favour of application with a majority of 50 to 4. The road to application was clear, which followed on 1 July 1989.

There had been opposition to membership. Both labour and capital related to the sheltered production sectors opposed membership. This included mainly the food processing industry, customs' officials, transport companies and the agricultural sector, where not everybody followed the direction of the political elite of the Chamber of Agriculture. Some of the employers and employees in these sectors worked together in individual instances and tried to influence their respective Chamber. They raised their voices of opposition whenever they could, but were eventually outnumbered (Interview No.3; Vienna, 23/05/1995).

In 1988, first publications appeared, which criticised the argument that membership was a natural necessity and pointed to alternative strategies. Althaler et al, for example, regretted the one-sided orientation towards EU membership and

pointed to a range of different options such as a further development of the 1972 free trade agreements between Austrian and the EU or association with the EU instead of membership, which would promise similar economic gains (Althaler et al: 1988, pp.44/45). Overall, however, neither the criticism of the neo-liberal economics of EU membership nor the alternatives to accession were accepted by a wider audience. They seemed to lack "common sense" in an ideological environment, in which neo-liberalism had become a part of the overall structure. In the end, the yes-group won in the referendum on EU membership on 12 June 1994 with a clear majority of 66.6 per cent to 33.4 per cent.

b) Sweden: the delayed struggle about membership.

In contrast to Austria, the main struggle between social forces about membership took place after the decision of the SAP government in October 1990 to apply to the EU. Although a new approach was developed to ensure Swedish participation in the Internal market, the SAP government had repeatedly made it clear that membership was not an option. "The Government's position, as in the past, is that membership is not compatible with our policy of neutrality" (Gradin: 1987, p.301). The SAP's hegemonic position within the Swedish system, based on its electoral strength of 40 per cent or more since the 1930s except for 1991 (Petersson: 1994, p.226) and, more importantly, its organisational strength due to its close links with trade unions and other mass organisations, its long tradition of programmatic renewal and the capacity to interpret ad hoc measures of the past as parts of a grand strategy (Heclo/Madsen: 1987, pp.23-45), implied that the SAP had to give the start signal.

Although capital did not pursue a political strategy towards membership, it did not remain inactive either. Swedish TNCs realised that they must be part of the Internal Market due to possible discriminations and in order to be geographically closer to the consumers of their products. As outlined above, there had been a drastic increase in outward FDI between 1985 and 1990. This increase went predominantly to the EU. "Whereas in 1985, only 21.4 percent of all Swedish direct investments abroad went to the [EU] countries, in 1989 the share was 50.1 percent and in 1990 it even attained 70.4 percent" (Luif: 1994, p.209). The increased investment abroad did not complement but substitute expansion at home and, therefore, indicated a shift of production units to the EU (Andersson et al: 1996, pp.126-135). While there were other factors for the increased Swedish FDI in the EU, there is a strong indication that

“a major cause for this shift was uncertainty about a future Swedish Union membership and a fear of Fortress Europe ...” (Braunerhjelm/Oxelheim: 1996, p.114).

The transfer of production units had a significant impact on the SAP government. The exact timing of the announcement in parliament on 26 October 1996 was due to renewed pressure on the SKr and the rumours about an imminent currency devaluation in mid-October (Interview No.8; Stockholm, 15/11/1996; Interview No.11; Stockholm, 26/11/1996). The longer-term reasons for application were, however, the ongoing capital flight of Swedish TNCs to the EU, rising unemployment and the government’s concomitant loss of economic credibility (Interview No.7; Stockholm, 12/11/1996). Nevertheless, the SAP as a party was not united on the question of EU membership. While transnational social forces supported the government’s position, national social forces continued to regard the EU as a threat to Social Democratic achievements and aligned themselves with national labour (see below) in the no-camp during the referendum campaign.

Trade unions had generally been surprised by the SAP decision. After the announcement in parliament, a union internal discussion started. Against the background of globalisation, the peak organisations LO, the blue-collar workers union, and the TCO, the white-collar workers union, supported the quest for membership. They argued that Sweden had to deregulate its economy in any case due to globalisation. Co-operation at the European level offered a way to regain some control over capital lost at the national level (Interview No.6; Stockholm, 11/11/1996; Interview No.9; Stockholm, 21/11/1996). Within the unions, however, there was a split between transnational, industrial unions and unions in export-oriented sectors in favour of membership on the one hand, and national unions opposing it on the other. In particular the LO-affiliates, the Paper Workers’ Union and the Metal Workers’ Union, supported EU membership. Both sectors were heavily export dependent, the paper sector exports about 80 per cent of its products, the engineering sector more than 50 per cent, and the engineering sector is also characterised by some of Sweden’s most important TNCs such as Volvo, Ericsson and Electrolux. Thus, considering that the Swedish TNCs had already established themselves on the Internal Market, it was economically impossible to remain outside the EU (Interview No.12; Stockholm, 29/11/1996). On the other hand, national sector unions such as the LO-affiliates the Municipal Workers’ Union and the Commercial Workers’ Union spoke out against membership. The jobs, in particular in the public sector, did not depend on exports or

transnational production and the pressures of globalisation hardly played a role. Rather, it was feared that future decisions taken in Brussels would undermine important Swedish policies. For example the possible harmonisation of tax systems within the EU could lead to cut-backs in the public sector and, therefore, job losses. In short, the Swedish system with its generous welfare provisions and policy of full employment was regarded as being endangered by accession to the neo-liberal EU (Interview No.10; Stockholm, 26/11/1996) (Bieler 1999).

The referendum result on 13 November 1994 was very close. 52.7 per cent voted "yes" versus 47.3 per cent "no", after the no-side had led from spring 92 to shortly before the referendum (Luif: 1996, p.214). There are several reasons for the success of the yes-side. Firstly, the material capabilities of the yes-side based on industrial sources were significantly larger than the ones of the no-side. An academic investigation found out that the ratio was about 20 to 1 in favour of the yes-side (Interview No.13; Stockholm, 04/12/1996). The material superiority was underlined by the direct threat of transnational capital to transfer production units to the EU in case of non-membership (Fioretos: 1997, p.315). Secondly, the no-side was predominantly united by their rejection of membership. Nevertheless, the reasons behind the rejection differed. While national labour and the Green and Left Parties opposed the neo-liberal economic policies of the EU, the no-group of the Centre Party considered the neo-liberal convergence criteria of EMU and their focus on inflation instead of unemployment to be the necessary basis for a sound Swedish economy. This ideological difference precluded the formation of a historical bloc with a successful hegemonic project against membership.

5. Conclusion:

In Austria, a historical bloc in favour of application and membership was firmly established by June 1989. The hegemonic project, devised by organic intellectuals of internationally-oriented capital located in the VÖI, was based on economic neo-liberalism and the idea that neutrality was compatible with membership. It provided the basis for an alliance of internationally-oriented capital and labour, which gained control of the two governing parties and the social partners. Similarly, in Sweden, transnational social forces of capital and labour demanded a closer relationship with the EU and Internal Market initiative. Nevertheless, it was the SAP's decision that membership was incompatible with neutrality, which prevented any debate on

membership between 1987 and 1990. This hegemony was expressed in the SAP's predominant position in parliament, its leading role in defining the public discourse, but also in the acceptance by the opposition parties and employers' associations that it was the SAP, which ultimately determined whether membership was possible. When the SAP eventually decided on application in October 1990, there had been neither time nor effort to form an alliance of social forces. Of course, the representatives of transnational capital immediately supported the move, but there had been no discussions within the labour. The real struggle was still to come.

Another significant difference was the lack of an institution in Sweden, similar to the Austrian VÖI, which provided the platform for "organic intellectuals" to form a pro-membership bloc. The reason, here too, must at least partly be sought in the SAP's hegemonic position. It was difficult to mount a challenge to the predominant view that membership was incompatible with neutrality. Nevertheless, this does not suffice as an explanation. The Swedish production structure provides an additional explanation. In contrast to Austria, dominated by small- and medium-sized firms, Sweden had been characterised by large TNCs. The structural pressures of globalisation were, consequently, much stronger in Sweden. The TNCs simply did not have to bother with mounting a political challenge to the SAP's anti-membership course. They had the structural option to transfer investment and production units to the EU and, thereby, counter possible threats of exclusion. Eventually, this was one of the major reasons why the SAP decided on application. The flight of capital was no longer sustainable. Austrian internationally-oriented capital, on the other hand, did not have this option at its disposal due to its domestic production structure. A carefully prepared and carried out political strategy was, therefore, the only possibility to achieve application.

Overall, this short analysis of the processes leading to Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU demonstrates how neo-Gramscianism can remedy the shortcomings of the traditional approaches of European integration. Firstly, the emphasis on class struggle avoids any notion of historically inevitable developments. Accession was at no point a foregone, structurally determined conclusion. Secondly, by identifying the main actors through an analysis of the production structure, the impact of globalisation can be accounted for. The much higher degree of transnationalisation of production in Sweden was responsible for a different approach by capital, relying more on its structural than lobbying power. By the same token,

TNCs and their role at the international level could be accounted for. Their possibility to transfer production units and, thus, to force governments towards its own policies was in particular apparent in Sweden. Finally, it was shown how neo-Gramscianism could account for the independent role of ideas. The fact that the VÖI's hegemonic project reflected the neo-liberal intersubjective meanings of the structure made it almost impossible for opposing forces to formulate an alternative with a chance of a wider acceptance. Overall, while neo-Gramscianism may not be the only possible alternative to traditional approaches of European integration, it does represent a viable one.

It is, however, important to note that, as a critical theory, neo-Gramscianism "does not envisage any general or universally valid laws which can be explained by the development of appropriate general applicable theories" (Cox: 1986, p.243). Consequently, the particular results of this paper in relation to Austria's and Sweden's accession to the EU cannot be transferred to other instances of enlargement. It is only the method of how to analyse a case of European integration in general and of EU enlargement in particular, which can be transferred. There are some studies, which attempt to analyse aspects of European integration with a neo-Gramscian perspective. Holman investigates the general integration of Spain into the Western European capitalist system (Holman: 1996), while other studies employ neo-Gramscian concepts for the explanation of the role of the European Round Table of Industrialists in the process leading to the Internal Market (Appeldoorn/Holman: 1994; Holman/van der Pijl: 1996). A more comprehensive attempt at explaining an instance of European integration is Apeldoorn's analysis of the possible developments of a future European model of capitalism (Apeldoorn: 1996). Further case studies are also contained in Holman, Overbeek and Ryner (1998). It is clear from these studies that not only enlargement but also other instances of European integration can be usefully analysed from a neo-Gramscian perspective. The application of such a perspective to other instances of regionalisation alone can show whether the use of it could be extended even further beyond the EU and European integration.

Bibliography:

AK (1989) Europa Stellungnahme des Österreichischen Arbeiterkammertages; Januar. Wien: AK.

Althaler, Karl S. et al (1988) AUSWEG - EUROPA? Wirschaftspolitische Optionen für Österreich. Wien: Falter Verlag.

Andersson, Thomas/Fredriksson, Torbjörn/Svensson, Roger (1996) Multinational Restructuring, Internationalization and Small Economies: The Swedish Case. London/New York: Routledge.

Apeldoorn, Bastiaan van (1996) "The Political Economy of Conflicting Capitalisms in the European Integration Process: A Transnational Perspective", RIES: Research Paper, No.31 (November).

Apeldoorn, Bastiaan van/Holman, Otto (1994) Transnational class strategy and the relaunching of European integration: the role of the European Round Table of Industrialists. Paper presented at the 35th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association. Washington, D.C., 28 March - 1 April.

Bieler, Andreas (1998a) Austria's and Sweden's accession to the European Community: a comparative neo-Gramscian case study of European integration. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick/UK.

Bieler, Andreas (1998b) "Austria's application to the European Community: a neo-Gramscian case study of European integration", New Political Economy, Vol.3/1, pp.27-43.

Bieler, Andreas (1999) "Globalisation, Swedish trade unions and European integration: from Europhobia to conditional support", Cooperation and Conflict, Vol.34/1, pp.21-46.

Braunerhjelm, Pontus/Ekholm, Karolina/Grundberg, Lennart/Karpaty, Patrik (1996) "Swedish Multinational Corporations: Recent Trends in Foreign Activities", The Industrial Institute for Economic and Social Research: Working Paper, No.462.

Braunerhjelm, Pontus/Oxelheim, Lars (1996) Structural Implications of the Investment Response by Swedish Multinational Firms to the EC 1992 Program. In: Hirsch, Seev/Almor, Tamor (eds.): Outsiders' Response to European Integration. Copenhagen: Handelshøjskolens Forlag. PP.99-118.

Breit, Johann/Rössl, Dietmar (1992) Internationalisierung der Klein- und Mittelbetriebe. In: Clement, Werner (ed.): Neue Entwicklungen - neue Formen - neue Herausforderungen. Internationalisierung Band VI. Wien: Signum Verlag. PP.191-222.

Breuss, Fritz/Stankovsky, Jan (1988) Österreich und der EG-Binnenmarkt. Wien: Signum Verlag.

Bulmer, Simon (1983) "Domestic Politics and European Community Policy-Making", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.21/4, pp.349-363.

BWK (1987) Stellungnahme der Bundeswirtschaftskammer zur Europäischen Integration; 09.12.1987 (Auszug). In: Kunnert, Gerhard (1992): Spurensicherung auf dem österreichischen Weg nach Brüssel. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei. PP.457-459.

Cameron, David R. (1992) The 1992 Initiative: Causes and Consequences. In: Sbragia, Alberta M. (ed.): Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. PP.23-74.

Cox, Robert W. (1983) "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay on Method", Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Vol.12/2, pp.162-175.

Cox, Robert W. (1986) Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory. In: Keohane, Robert O. (ed.): Neorealism And its Critics. New York: Columbia University Press. PP.204-254.

Cox, Robert W. (1987) Production, Power And World Order: Social Forces in the Making of History. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cox, Robert W. (1993) Structural issues of global governance: implications for Europe. In: Gill, Stephen (ed.): Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press. PP.259-289.

Fioretos, Karl-Orfeo (1997) "The anatomy of autonomy: interdependence, domestic balances of power, and European integration", Review of International Studies, Vol.23/3, pp.293-320.

Gill, Stephen (1990) American hegemony and the Trilateral Commission. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.

Gill, Stephen (ed.) (1993) Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.

Gill, Stephen/Law, David (1988) The Global Political Economy: Perspectives, Problems and Policies. London et al: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.

Gilpin, Robert (1981) War and Change in World Politics. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.

Gradin, Anita (1987) Speech by the Minister for Foreign Trade, Ms. Anita Gradin, in the Riksdag debate on Europe; 12 November. In: Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1990) Documents on Swedish Foreign Policy 1987. Stockholm. PP.300-304.

Gramsci, Antonio (1971) Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gstöhl, Sieglinde (1996) The Nordic countries and the European Economic Area (EEA). In: Miles, Lee (ed.): The European Union and the Nordic Countries. London/New York: Routledge. PP.47-62.

Haas, Ernst B. (1958) The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957. London: Stevens & Sons.

Heclo, Hugh/Madsen, Henrik (1987) Policy and Politics in Sweden: Principled Pragmatism. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Hoffmann, Stanley (1966) "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe", Daedalus, Vol.95/3, pp.862-915.

Holman, Otto (1996) Integrating Southern Europe: EC Expansion and the Transnationalization of Spain. London/New York: Routledge.

Holman, Otto/Pijl, Kees van der (1996) The Capitalist Class in The European Union. In: Kourvetaris, George A./Moschonas, Andreas (eds.): The Impact of European Integration: Political, Sociological, and Economic Changes. Westport, Connecticut/London: Praeger: PP.55-74.

Holman, Otto/Overbeek, Henk/Ryner, Magnus (eds.) (1998) 'Neoliberal Hegemony and the Political Economy of European Restructuring (I), special issues', International Journal of Political Economy, 28(1 and 2).

Huldt, Bo (1994) Sweden and European Community-building 1945 - 92. In: Harden, Sheila (ed.): Neutral States And The European Community. London: Brassey's. PP.104-143.

Hummer, Waldemar/Schweitzer, Michael (1987) Österreich und die EWG: Neutralitätsrechtliche Beurteilung der Möglichkeiten der Dynamisierung des Verhältnisses zur EWG. Wien: Signum Verlag.

Jerneck, Magnus (1993) Sweden - the reluctant European? In: Tiilikainen, Teija/Petersen, Ib Damgaard (eds.): The Nordic Countries and the EC. Copenhagen: Copenhagen Political Studies Press. PP.23-42.

Koch, Karl (1994) Austria: The Economic Logic of Accession. In: Redmond, John (ed.): Prospective Europeans: New Members for the European Union. New York/London et al: Harvester-Wheatsheaf. PP.40-58.

Kunnert, Gerhard (1993) Österreichs Weg in die Europäische Union: Ein Kleinstaat ringt um eine aktive Rolle im europäischen Integrationsprozess. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei.

Kurzer, Paulette (1993) Business and Banking: Political Change And Economic Integration In Western Europe. Ithaka/London: Cornell University Press.

Lehmbruch, Gerhard/Schmitter, Philippe C. (eds.) (1982) Patterns Of Corporatist Policy-Making. London/Beverly Hills: SAGE Publications, 1982

Lindberg, Leon N. (1963) The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.

Luif, Paul (1994) "Die Beitrittswerber: Grundlegendes zu den Verhandlungen der EFTA-Staaten um Mitgliedschaft bei der EG/EU", Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, Vol.23/1, pp.21-36.

Luif, Paul (1996) On The Road To Brussels: The Political Dimension of Austria's, Finland's and Sweden's Accession to the European Union. Wien: Braumüller.

Meth-Cohn, Delia/Müller, Wolfgang C. (1994) Looking Reality in the Eye: the Politics of Privatization in Austria. In: Wright, Vincent (ed.): Privatization In Western Europe: Pressures, Problems And Paradoxes. London: Pinter Publishers. PP.160-179.

Miles, Lee (1994) Sweden and Finland: From EFTA Neutrals to EU Members. In: Redmond, John (ed.): Prospective Europeans: New Members for the European Union. New York/London et al: Harvester-Wheatsheaf. PP.59-85.

Miles, Lee/Redmond, John/Schwok, René (1995) Integration Theory and the Enlargement of the European Union. In: Rhodes, Carolyn/Mazey, Sonia (eds.): The State of the European Union, Vol.3: Building a European Polity? Boulder, Co./Burnt Mill, Harlow: Lynne Rienner/Longman. PP.177-194.

Milner, Helen (1992) "International Theories of Cooperation Among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses", World Politics, Vol.44/3, pp.466-496.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1993) "Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.31/4, pp.473-524.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1995) "Liberal Intergovernmentalism and Integration: A Rejoinder", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.33/4, pp.611-628.

Morton, Adam (1998) Labels On Lapels: why there is no neo-Gramscian 'school' in IPE and why it matters. Paper presented at the 23rd annual conference of the British International Studies Association; University of Susses; Brighton/UK; 14-16 December 1998.

Neuhold, Hanspeter (1992) Die dauernde Neutralität Österreichs in einem sich wandelnden internationalen System. In: Neuhold, Hanspeter/Luif, Paul (eds.): Das Aussenpolitische Bewusstsein Der Österreicher: Aktuelle internationale Probleme im Spiegel der Meinungsforschung. Wien: Braumüller. PP.87-108.

ÖGB (1988) Europa Memorandum; Dezember. Wien: ÖGB.

Öhlinger, Hans (1988) Verfassungsrechtliche Aspekte Eines Beitritt Österreichs Zu Den EG. Wien: Signum Verlag.
Overbeek, Henk (ed.) (1993) Restructuring Hegemony in the Global Political Economy: the rise of transnational neo-liberalism in the 1980s. London/New York: Routledge.

ÖVP (1988) Maria Plainer Beschluss des erweiterten ÖVP-Bundesparteivorstandes vom 08.01.1988 zur österreichischen Europapolitik. In: Kunnert, Gerhard (1992): Spurensicherung auf dem österreichischen Weg nach Brüssel. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei. P.245.

Pedersen, Thomas (1994) European Union and the EFTA Countries: Enlargement and Integration. London/New York: Pinter Publishers.
Pelinka, Anton/Plasser, Fritz (eds.) (1989) The Austrian Party System. Boulder/San Francisco/London: Westview Press.

Petersson, Olof (1994) Swedish Government and Politics. Stockholm: Publica-Fritzes.

Puchala, Donald (1972) "Of Blind Men, Elephants and International Integration", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.10/3, pp.267-284.

Putnam, Robert D. (1988) "Diplomacy and domestic politics: the logic of two-level games", International Organization, Vol.42/3, pp.427-460.

Rupert, Mark (1995) Producing hegemony: the politics of mass production and American global power. Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press.

Seidel, Hans (1993) Austro-Keynesianismus - revisited. In: Weber, Fritz/Venus, Theodor (eds.): Austro-Keynesianismus in Theorie und Praxis. Wien: Dachs-Verlag. PP.145-149.

Siegel, Dieter (1992) Die Bedeutung österreichischer multinationaler Konzerne für die Internationalisierung. In: Clement, Werner (ed.): Neue Entwicklungen - neue Formen - neue Herausforderungen. Internationalisierung Band VI. Wien: Signum Verlag. PP.165-189.

Tranholm-Mikkelsen, Jeppe (1991) "Neo-functionalism: Obstinate or obsolete? A Reappraisal in the Light of the New Dynamism of the EC", Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Vol.20/1, pp.1-22.

VÖI (1987) Europa - Unsere Zukunft. Eine Stellungnahme der Vereinigung österreichischer Industrieller zur Europäischen Integration. Wien: Schreiftenreihe der Vereinigung österreichischer Industrieller.

Völkerrechtsbüro (1988) Mitgliedschaft Österreichs in den Europäischen Gemeinschaften und immerwährende Neutralität; 22.11.1988. In: Kunnert, Gerhard (1992): Spurensicherung auf dem österreichischen Weg nach Brüssel. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei. PP.34-40.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979) Theory of International Politics. Reading, Mass. et al: Addison-Wesley.
Wincott, Daniel (1995) "Institutional Interaction and European Integration: Towards an Everyday Critique of Liberal Intergovernmentalism", Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol.33/4, pp.597-609.

Interviews:

1. Section for National Economy, Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund (Austrian Federation of Trade Unions, ÖGB); Vienna, 4.30 p.m., 12/05/1995.

2. Director of the Europe Information Service, Vereinigung Österreichischer Industrieller (Federation of Austrian Industrialists, VÖI); Vienna, 9 a.m., 22/05/1995.

3. Board of Directors, AgrarMarkt Austria (regulatory institution for the agricultural market, 1993-1995), Director of the Economic-Political Section of the Arbeiterkammer (Chamber of Labour, AK) (1985-1993); Vienna, 9 a.m., 23/05/1995.

4. Section International Trade and Environment, Association of the Austrian Textile Industry; Vienna, 3 p.m., 24/04/1996.

5. State-Secretary for Integration and Development Co-operation in the Chancellor's Office, responsible together with Dr. Mock for the accession negotiations (1993 - 1994), State-Secretary for European Affairs in the Chancellor's Office (1994 - 1995), Managing-Director of the SPÖ (since 1995); Vienna, 1 p.m., 08/05/1996.

6. International Secretary, Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation (Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees, TCO); Stockholm, 11 a.m., 11/11/1996.

7. Europe - Co-ordinator, Socialdemokratiska Arbetarepartiet (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP); Stockholm, 11 a.m., 12/11/1996.

8. Political Advisor, Prime Minister's Office (since 1995), Journalist for the Swedish National Broadcasting 1981-94, based in Brussels 1989-93, Political Advisor to Mats Hellström, Minister for Foreign Trade and European Affairs (1995/96); Stockholm, 1 p.m., 15/11/1996.

9. International Department, Landsorganisationen i Sverige (Swedish Trade Union Confederation, LO); Stockholm, 10 a.m., 21/11/1996.

10. International Secretary, Kommunalarbetare Förbundet (Municipal Workers' Union, LO affiliate), member of the LO Committee on the EC; Stockholm, 1 p.m., 26/11/1996.

11. President of the Swedish Trade Council, high civil servant under SAP government (1987-91), Chief Negotiator of EEA (1989-92), Chief Negotiator of EC accession treaty (1993/94), Minister for Trade and European Affairs (1991-94); Stockholm, 5 p.m., 26/11/1996.

12. EU - Co-ordinator, Research Department, Metallindustriarbetareförbundet (Metal Workers' Union, LO affiliate); Stockholm, 9 a.m., 29/11/1996.

13. Political Scientist, Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm; Stockholm, 4 p.m., 04/12/1996.