BOOKS AND ARTICLES

- Ackrill, Robert W. (2000) CAP Reform 1999: A Crisis in the Making? Journal of Common Market Studies 38(2): 343–353.
- Antrim, Lance N. and James K. Sebenius (1992) Formal Individual Mediation and the Negotiators' Dilemma: Tommy Koh at the Law of the Sea Conference, in *Mediation in International Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management*, Jacob Bercovitch and Jeffrey Z. Rubin (eds.), 97–130. Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Arrow, Kenneth J. (1985) The Economics of Agency, in *Principals and Agents:* The Structure of Business, John W. Pratt and Richard J. Zeckhauser (eds.), 37–51. Boston, Mass.: Harvard Business School Press.
- Arter, David (2000) Small State Influence Within the EU: The Case of Finland's "Northern Dimension Initiative." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38(5): 677–697.
- Aspinwall, Mark and Gerald Schneider (2000) Same Menu, Separate Tables: The Institutionalist Turn in Political Science and the Study of European Integration. *European Journal of Political Research* 38(1): 1–36.
- Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz (1962) Two Faces of Power. American Political Science Review 56: 947–952.
- Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz (1963) Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework. *American Political Science Review* 57: 632–642.
- Bakker, Edwin (2002) International Challenge for the Netherlands: The OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office in 2003. *Helsinki Monitor* 13(2): 216–220.
- Baron, David P. (1994) A Sequential Choice Theory Perspective on Legislative Organization. Legislative Studies Quarterly 19(2): 267-296.
- Bassompierre, Guy de (1988) Changing the Guard in Brussels: An Insider's View of the Presidency. New York, N.Y.: Praeger.
- Beach, Derek (2004) The Unseen Hand in Treaty Reform Negotiations: The Role and Influence of the Council Secretariat. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11(3): 408–439.
 - (2005) The Dynamics of European Integration: Why and When EU Institutions Matter. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benedick, Richard Elliot (1991) Ozone Diplomacy. New Directions in Safeguarding the Planet. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- (1993) Perspectives of a Negotiation Practitioner, in *International Environmental Negotiation*, Gunnar Sjöstedt (ed.), 219–243. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Bengtsson, Rikard (2004) Historisk brytpunkt i Europa EU:s utvidgning. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Bengtsson, Rikard, Ole Elgström, and Jonas Tallberg (2004) Silencer or Amplifier? The European Union Presidency and the Nordic Countries. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27(3): 311–334.
- Bercovitch, Jacob (1992) The Structure and Diversity of Mediation in International Relations, in *Mediation in International Relations*, Jacob Bercovitch and Jeffrey Z. Rubin (eds.), 1–29. Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Bercovitch, Jacob (ed.) (1996) Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bercovitch, Jacob and Jeffrey Z. Rubin (eds.) (1992) Mediation in International Relations. Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Best, Edward, Mark Gray, and Alexander Stubb (2000) Rethinking the European Union: IGC 2000 and Beyond. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Administration.
- Bjurulf, Bo (2001) Öppenheten framgång bakom lyckta dörrar, in *När Europa kom till Sverige: Ordförandeskapet i EU 2001*, Jonas Tallberg (ed.), 119–134. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Bjurulf, Bo and Ole Elgström (2004) Negotiating Transparency: The Role of Institutions. Journal of Common Market Studies 42(2): 249–269.
- Bloed, Arie (1997) The OSCE Main Political Bodies and Their Role in Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management, in *The OSCE in the Maintenance of Peace and Security: Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management, and Peaceful Settlement of Disputes*, Michael Bothe, Natalino Ronzitti, and Allan Rosas (eds.), 35–52. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
 - (2001) Romania the New Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE. *Helsinki Monitor* 12(1): 48–54.
- Bodansky, Daniel (1994) Prologue to the Climate Change Convention, in Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention, Irving M. Mintzer and J. A. Leonard (eds.), 45–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - (2001) The History of the Global Climate Change Regime, in *International Relations and Global Climate Change*, Urs Luterbacher and Detlef F. Spinz (eds.), 23–40. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Bonvicini, Gianni (1988) Mechanisms and Procedures of EPC: More than Traditional Diplomacy? in *European Political Cooperation in the 1980s: A Common Foreign Policy for Western Europe?* Alfred Pijpers, Elfriede Regelsberger, and Wolfgang Wessels (eds.), 49–70. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Borione, Delphine and Jean Ripert (1994) Exercising Common but Differentiated Responsibility, in *Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention*, Irving M. Mintzer and J. A. Leonard (eds.), 77–96. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.
- Brunsson, Nils (1989) The Organization of Hypocrisy: Talk, Decisions, and Actions in Organizations. Chichester: Wiley.

Bulmer, Simon and Wolfgang Wessels (1987) The European Council: Decision-Making in European Politics. Houndmills: Macmillan.

- Bunse, Simone (2000) The Presidency of the Council of Ministers as a Policy Entrepreneur? A Case Study of the "Northern Dimension" Initiative under the Finnish Presidency (1 July–31 December 1999). MPhil thesis, University of Oxford.
- Carnevale, Peter J. and Sharon Arad (1996) Bias and Impartiality in International Mediation, in *Resolving International Conflicts: The Theory and Practice of Mediation*, Jacob Bercovitch (ed.), 39–53. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Catellani, Nicola (2001) Short and Long-term Dynamics in the EU's Northern Dimension. COPRI Working Paper 41.
 - (2003) The EU's Northern Dimension: Testing a New Approach to Neighbourhood Relations. Research report 35. Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Affairs.
- Checkel, Jeffrey T. (2001) Why Comply? Social Learning and European Identity Change. *International Organization* 55(3): 553–588.
- Coase, Ronald H. (1937) The Nature of the Firm. Economica 4: 386-405.
- Cockfield, Lord (1994) The European Union: Creating the Single Market. Chichester: Wiley.
- Condorcet, Marquis de (1785) Essai sur l'application de l'analyse à la probabilité des décisions rendues à la pluralité des voix. Paris.
- Cooperation and Conflict (2003) Symposium on the Danish EU Council Presidency. Cooperation and Conflict 38(3).
- Corbett, Richard (1998) The Council Presidency as Seen from the European Parliament. Paper presented at the conference The Presidency of the European Union, Belfast, 15–16 October 1998.
- Costa, Olivier, Anne Couvidat, and Jean-Pascal Daloz (2003) The French Presidency of 2000: An Arrogant Leader?, in *European Union Council Presidencies: A Comparative Analysis*, Ole Elgström (ed.), 120–137. London: Routledge.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins (2004) Setting the Agenda: Responsible Party Government in the US House of Representatives. Unpublished book manuscript.
- Crombez, Christophe (1996) Legislative Procedures in the European Community. British Journal of Political Science 26: 119–228.
- Crum, Ben (2006) The EU Presidency: Comparing the Italian and Irish Presidencies of the 2003–2004 Intergovernmental Conference, in *Leadership in the "Big Bangs" of European Integration*, Derek Beach and Colette Mazzucelli (eds.). Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Cutcher-Gershenfeld, Joel and Michael Watkins (1999) Toward a Theory of Representation in Negotiation, in Negotiating on Behalf of Others: Advice to Lawyers, Business Executives, Sports Agents, Diplomats, Politicians, and Everybody Else, Robert H. Mnookin and Lawrence E. Susskind (eds.), 23–51. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Danish Television (2003) Documentary about the Danish Presidency and the Enlargement Negotiations.

- Davignon, Etienne (1986) Preface in *La Coopération Politique Européenne*, by Philippe de Schoutheete. 2nd edn. Brussels: Labor.
- Dewost, Jean-Louis (1984) La Présidence dans le Cadre Institutionnel des Communautés Européennes. Revue du Marché Commun 273: 31–34.
- DiMaggio, Paul J. and Walter W. Powell (1983) The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review* 48: 147–160.
- Dinan, Desmond and Sophie Vanhoonacker (2000a) IGC 2000 Watch (Part 1): Origin and Preparation. ECSA Review 13(2).
 - (2000b) IGC 2000 Watch (Part 2): The Opening Round. ECSA Review 13(3). (2000c) IGC 2000 Watch (Part 3): Pre- and Post-Nice. ECSA Review 13(4).
- Djoghlaf, Ahmed (1994) The Beginnings of an International Climate Law, in Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention, Irving M. Mintzer and J. A. Leonard (eds.), 97–111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dowdeswell, Elisabeth and Richard J. Kinley (1994) Constructive Damage to the Status Quo in *Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention*, Irving M. Mintzer and J. A. Leonard (eds.), 113–128. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dupont, Christophe (1994) Coalition Theory: Using Power to Build Cooperation, in *International Multilateral Negotiations*, I. William Zartman (ed.), 148–177. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Dür, Andreas and Gemma Mateo (2004) Treaty-Making in the European Union: Bargaining, Issue Linkages, and Efficiency. European Integration Online Papers 8: 18.
- Edwards, Geoffrey and Alfred Pijpers (eds.) (1997) The Politics of European Treaty Reform: The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference and Beyond. London: Pinter.
- Edwards, Geoffrey and Helen Wallace (1977) The Council of Ministers of the European Community and the President in Office. London: Federal Trust for Education and Research.
- Elgström, Ole (2003a) "The Honest Broker"? The Council Presidency as a Mediator, in European Union Council Presidencies: A Comparative Analysis, Ole Elgström (ed.), 38–54. London: Routledge.
 - (ed.) (2003b) European Union Council Presidencies: A Comparative Analysis. London: Routledge.
- Elgström, Ole and Jonas Tallberg (2003) Conclusion: Rationalist and Sociological Perspectives on the Council Presidency, in *European Union Council Presidencies:* A Comparative Analysis, Ole Elgström (ed.), 191–205. London: Routledge.
- Eliasson, Nils (1993) The Future of the CSCE Secretariat, in *The CSCE in the* 1990s: Constructing European Security and Cooperation, Michael R. Lucas (ed.), 223–226. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.
- Epstein, David and Sharyn O'Halloran (1999) Delegating Powers: A Transaction Cost Politics Approach to Policy Making under Separate Powers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, Peter B., Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam (eds.) (1993) Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Farrell, Henry and Adrienne Héritier (2003a) The Invisible Transformation of Codecision: Problems of Democratic Legitimacy. Report 2003: 7. Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies.

- (2003b) Formal and Informal Institutions under Codecision: Continuous Constitution-Building in Europe. *Governance* 16(4): 577–600.
- Fearon, James D. (1991) Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science. World Politics 43: 169–195.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) International Norm Dynamics and Political Change. *International Organization* 52(4): 887–917.
- Fiorina, Morris P. and Kenneth A. Shepsle (1989) Formal Theories of Leader-ship: Agents, Agenda Setters, and Entrepreneurs, in *Leadership and Politics:* New Perspectives in Political Science, Bryan D. Jones (ed.), 17–40. Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas.
- Forsberg, Tuomas and Ojanen, Hanna (2000) Finland's New Policy: Using the EU for Stability in the North, in *The Northern EU: National Views on the Emerging Security Dimension*, Gianni Bonvicini, Tapani Vaahtoranta, and Wolfgang Wessels (eds.), 115–129. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs.
- Friis, Lykke (2003) An "Emperor Without Clothes"? Cooperation and Conflict 38(3): 283–290.
- Frohlich, Norman, Joe A. Oppenheimer, and Oran R. Young (1971) *Political Leadership and Collective Goods*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Galloway, David (1999a) Agenda 2000 Packaging the Deal. Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review 37: 9–35.
 - (1999b) Common Foreign and Security Policy: Intergovernmentalism Donning the Mantle of the Community Method, in *The Council of the European Union*, by Martin Westlake, 211–233. London: John Harper.
 - (2001) The Treaty of Nice and Beyond: Realities and Illusions of Power in the EU. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Garrett, Geoffrey (1992) International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market. *International Organization* 46(2): 533–560.
- Garrett, Geoffrey and Barry R. Weingast (1993) Ideas, Interests, and Institutions: Constructing the European Community's Internal Market, in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change*, Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane (eds.), 173–206. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennett (2005) Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- George, Alexander L. and Timothy J. McKeown (1985) Case Studies and Theories of Organizational Decision Making. *Advances in Information Processing in Organizations* 2: 21–58.
- Ghebali, Victor-Yves (1989) La Diplomatie de la Détente: La CSCE, d'Helsinki à Vienne (1973–1989). Bruxelles: Bruylant.
 - (2001) Is the OSCE Chairmanship Still a Relevant Institution? *Helsinki Monitor* 13(3): 201–203.
- Golub, Jonathan (1999) In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community. *International Organization* 53(4): 733–764.

- Grant, Charles (1994) Delors: Inside the House that Jacques Built. London: Nicholas Brealey.
- Gray, Mark (2004) The Convention's Internal Dynamic: Leadership, Alliances and Lessons to be Learned, in *The Political Dynamics of Constitutional Reform: Reflections on the Convention on the Future of Europe*, Anna Michalski (ed.), 39–59. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.
- Gray, Mark and Alexander Stubb (2001) The Treaty of Nice Negotiating a Poisoned Chalice? Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review 39: 5–23.
- Haglund, Anne (2002) Nordic Presidencies and the European Union's Northern Dimension Initiative. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Swedish Political Science Association, Växjö, 6–8 October 2002.
- Hall, Peter A. and Rosemary C. R. Taylor (1996) Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44: 936–957.
- Hall, Rodney Bruce (1997) Moral Authority as a Power Resource. *International Organization* 51(4): 591–622.
- Hamlet, Lawrence (2002) Resolving Collective Action Problems and Preventing Agency Losses: How States Design the Secretariats of International Organizations. Paper prepared for the Workshop on World Politics, University of Michigan, 19 April 2002.
- Hampson, Fen Osler with Michael Hart (1995) Multilateral Negotiations. Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Haukkala, Hiski (2001) Comment: National Interests Versus Solidarity Towards Common Policies, in *The Northern Dimension: Fuel for the EU?* Hanna Ojanen (ed.), 107–115. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs.
- Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona and Helen Wallace (1997) The Council of Ministers. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
 - (2006) The Council of Ministers. 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hayes-Renshaw, Fiona, Wim van Aken, and Helen Wallace (2005) When and Why the Council of Ministers of the EU Votes Explicitly. Paper presented at the Ninth Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association, Austin, 31 March–2 April 2005.
- Heininen, Lassi (2001) Ideas and Outcomes: Finding a Concrete Form for the Northern Dimension Initiative, in *The Northern Dimension: Fuel for the EU?* Hanna Ojanen (ed.), 20–53. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs.
- Heraclides, Alexis (1993a) Security and Co-operation in Europe: The Human Dimension 1972–1992. London: Frank Cass.
 - (1993b) Helsinki-II and Its Aftermath: The Making of the CSCE into an International Organization. London: Pinter.
- Héritier, Adrienne (1995) "Leaders" and "Laggards" in European Clean Air Policy, in *Internationalization and Economic Policy: Convergence or Diversity?* Brigitte Unger and Frans Van Waarden (eds.), 278–305. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Hermann, Margaret G., Thomas Preston, Baghat Korany, and Timothy M. Shaw (2001) Who Leads Matters: The Effects of Powerful Individuals. *International Studies Review* 3(2): 83–131.

Hoekman, Bernard M. and Michel M. Kostecki (2001) The Political Economy of the World Trading System. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Höll, Otmar (1987) The CSCE Process: Basic Facts, in CSCE: N + N Perspectives. The Process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe from the Viewpoint of the Neutral and Non-Aligned Participating States, Hanspeter Neuhold (ed.), 9–21, Laxenburg: Austrian Institute for International Affairs.
- Holmström, Bengt (1979) Moral Hazard and Observability. The Bell Journal of Economics 10(1): 74–91.
- Hopmann, P. Terrence (1996) The Negotiation Process and the Resolution of International Conflicts. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press.
- Immergut, Ellen M. (1996) The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalisms. *Politics and Society* 26(1): 5–34.
- Institut für Europäische Politik (ed.) (2003) Enlargement/Agenda 2000–Watch No. 6/2003. Berlin: Institut für Europäische Politik.
- Jacobs, Francis B. (2001) Institutional Dynamics after Nice: Views from the European Parliament. Are the EU Institutions Becoming More Open and Transparent? Unpublished paper, May 2001.
- Joenniemi, Pertti (2002) Racing to Regionalise? The EU's Northern Dimension Initiative. Paper presented at the International Studies Association conference, New Orleans, 24–27 March 2002.
- Jönsson, Christer (2002) Diplomacy, Bargaining and Negotiation, in *Handbook of International Relations*, Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), 212–234. London: Sage.
- Jonsson, Håkan and Hans Hegeland (2003) Konventet bakom kulisserna: om arbetsmetoden och förhandlingsspelet i Europeiska konventet. SIEPSs utredningar 2003: 2u. Stockholm: Svenska institutet för europapolitiska studier.
- Keohane, Robert O. (1984) After Hegemony. Princeton, N.Y.: Princeton University Press.
- Kiewiet, D. Roderick and Mathew D. McCubbins (1991) The Logic of Delegation: Congressional Parties and the Appropriations Process. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba (1994) Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Interference in Qualitative Research. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Kingdon, John W. (1984) Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown.
- Kirchner, Emil (1992) Decision-Making in the European Community: The Council Presidency and European Integration. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kirchner, Emil J. and Anastassia Tsagkari (1993) The EC Council Presidency: The Dutch and Luxembourg Presidencies. London: UACES.
- Kleiboer, Marieke (1998) The Multiple Realities of International Mediation. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Koh, Tommy T. B. and Shanmugam Jayakumar (1985) The Negotiating Process of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, in *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea 1982: A Commentary. Vol. 1*, Myron H. Nordquist (ed.), 29–134. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

- Kollman, Ken (2003) The Rotating Presidency of the European Council as a Search for Good Policies. *European Union Politics* 4(1): 51–74.
- Krasner, Stephen D. (1991) Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier. *World Politics* 43(3): 336–366.
- Kremenyuk, Victor A. (ed.) (2002) International Negotiation: Analysis, Approaches, Issues. 2nd edn. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Laffan, Brigid (1999) The Berlin Summit: Process and Outcome of the Agenda 2000 Budgetary Proposals. ECSA Review 12(4).
 - (2000) The Big Budgetary Bargains: From Negotiation to Authority. Journal of European Public Policy 7(5): 725–743.
- Lang, Winfried (1989) Multilateral Negotiations: The Role of Presiding Officers, in *Processes of International Negotiations*, Frances Mautner-Markhof (ed.), 23–42. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Lankowski, Carl (1999) Germany's 1999 EU Council Presidency. ECSA Review 12(4).
- Laursen, Finn (ed.) (2002) The Amsterdam Treaty: National Preference Formation, Interstate Bargaining and Outcome. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Laursen, Finn and Sophie Vanhoonacker (eds.) (1992) The Intergovernmental Conference on Political Union. Maastricht: European Institute of Public Policy.
- Lax, David A. and James K. Sebenius (1986) The Manager as Negotiator. New York, N.Y.: Free Press.
- Lehne, Stefan (1991) The Vienna Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1986–1989: A Turning Point in East-West Relations. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Lequesne, Christian (2001) The French Presidency: The Half Success of Nice. Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review 39: 47–50.
- Liefferink, Duncan and Mikael Skou Andersen (1998) Strategies of the "Green" Member States in EU Environmental Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy* 5(2): 254–270.
- Lindberg, Leon N. and Stuart A. Scheingold (1970) Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Luce, R. Duncan and Howard Raiffa (1957) Games and Decisions. New York, N.Y.: Wiley.
- Ludlow, Peter (1998) The 1998 UK Presidency: A View from Brussels. Journal of Common Market Studies 36(4): 573–583.
 - (2001) The Treaty of Nice: Neither Triumph nor Disaster. ECSA Review 14(2): 1-4.
 - (2002) The Seville Council. Brussels: EuroComment.
 - (2004) The Making of the New Europe: The European Councils in Brussels and Copenhagen 2002. Brussels: EuroComment.
- Luif, Paul (2003) EU Cohesion in the UN General Assembly. Occasional Papers, No. 49. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.
- Malnes, Raino (1995) "Leader" and "Entrepreneur" in International Negotiations: A Conceptual Analysis. *European Journal of International Relations* 1(1): 87–112.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen (1989) Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics. New York, N.Y.: Free Press.

- March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen (1998) The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders. *International Organization* 52(4): 943–969.
- Martikainen, Tuomu and Tiilikainen, Teija (eds.) (2000) Suomi EU:n Johdossa: Tutkimus Suomen Puheenjohtajuudesta 1999. Helsinki: Helsingin Yliopisto, Yleisen Valtioopin Laitos, Acta Politica 13.
- Martin, Lisa L. and Beth Simmons (1998) Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions. *International Organization* 52(4): 729–757.
- Maurer, Andreas (2000) The German Presidency of the Council: Continuity or Change in Germany's European Policy? *Journal of Common Market Studies* Annual Review 38: 43–47.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., Roger G. Noll, and Barry R. Weingast (1987) Administrative Procedures as Instruments of Political Control. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 3(2): 243–277.
- McCubbins, Mathew D. and Thomas Schwartz (1984) Congressional Oversight Overlooked: Police Patrols versus Fire Alarms. *American Journal of Political Science* 28(1) 165–179.
- McKelvey, Richard (1976) Intransitivities in Multidimensional Voting Models and Some Implications for Agenda Control. *Journal of Economic Theory* 12: 472–482.
- McNamara, Kathleen R. (2002) Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation. West European Politics 25(1): 47–76.
- Mesquita, Bruce Bueno de (1990) Multilateral Negotiations: A Spatial Analysis of the Arab-Israeli Dispute. *International Organization* 44(3): 317–340.
- Mesquita, Bruce Bueno de and Frans N. Stokman (eds.) (1994) European Community Decision-Making: Models, Applications and Comparisons. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Metcalfe, David (1998) Leadership in European Union Negotiations: The Presidency of the Council. *International Negotiation* 3(3): 413–434.
- Meunier, Sophie (2000) What Single Voice? European Institutions and EU–US Trade Negotiations. *International Organization* 54(1): 103–135.
- Meunier, Sophie and Kalypso Nicolaïdis (2001) Trade Competence in the Nice Treaty. ECSA Review 14(2): 7–8.
- Miles, Edward L., Arild Underdal, Steinar Andresen, Jørgen Wettestad, Jon Birger Skjærseth, and Elaine M. Carlin (2002) *Environmental Regime Effectiveness: Confronting Theory with Evidence*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Miller, Gary J. (1992) Managerial Dilemmas: The Political Economy of Hierarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mintzer, Irving M. and J. Amber Leonard (eds.) (1994) Negotiating Climate Change: The Inside Story of the Rio Convention. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mnookin, Robert H. and Susskind, Lawrence E. (eds.) (1999) Negotiating on Behalf of Others: Advice to Lawyers, Business Executives, Sports Agents, Diplomats, Politicians, and Everybody Else. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Moe, Terry M. (1990) The Politics of Structural Choice: Toward a Theory of Public Bureaucracy, in Organization Theory: From Chester Bernard to the

- Present and Beyond, Oliver E. Williamson (ed.), 116–153. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Moore, Mike (2003) A World Without Walls: Freedom, Development, Free Trade and Global Governance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1998) The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
 - (1999a) A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation. *International Organization* 53(2): 267–306.
 - (1999b) Theory and Method in the Study of International Negotiation: A Rejoinder to Oran Young. *International Organization* 53(4): 811–814.
- Moravcsik, Andrew and Kalypso Nicolaïdis (1999) Explaining the Amsterdam Treaty: Interests, Influence, Institutions. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 37(1): 59–85.
- Nash, John F. (1950) The Bargaining Problem. Econometrica 18: 155-162.
- Neligan, David (1998) Organising the Presidency: The Council Perspective. Paper presented at the conference The Presidency of the European Union, Belfast, 15–16 October 1998.
- Neuhold, Hanspeter (1987) The Group of the N + N Countries Within the CSCE Process, in CSCE: N + N Perspectives. The Process of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe from the Viewpoint of the Neutral and Non-Aligned Participating States, Hanspeter Neuhold (ed.), 23–35. Laxenburg: Austrian Institute for International Affairs.
- Nicolaïdis, Kalypso (1999) Minimizing Agency Costs in Two-Level Games: Lessons from the Trade Authority Controversies in the United States and the European Union in Negotiating on Behalf of Others: Advice to Lawyers, Business Executives, Sports Agents, Diplomats, Politicians, and Everybody Else, Robert M. Mnookin and Lawrence E. Susskind (eds.), 87–126. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Nicoll, William (1998) The Evolution of the Office of the Presidency. Paper presented at the conference The Presidency of the European Union, Belfast, 15–16 October 1998.
 - (1999) The Budget Council, in *The Council of the European Union*, by Martin Westlake, 179–190. 2nd edn. London: John Harper.
- Norman, Peter (2003) The Accidental Constitution: The Story of the European Convention. Brussels: EuroComment.
- Nugent, Neill (1995) The Government and Politics of the European Union. 3rd edn. Houndmills: Macmillan.
- Nuttall, Simon (1992) European Political Co-operation. Oxford: Clarendon. (2000) European Foreign Policy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oberthür, Sebastian and Thomas Gehring (2001) Conceptualising Interaction Between International and EU Environmental Institutions. Report, Ecologic, June 2001.
- Odell, John (2003) Making and Breaking Impasses in International Regimes: The WTO, Seattle, and Doha. Unpublished paper.
 - (2005) Chairing a WTO Negotiation. Journal of International Economic Law 8(2): 425-448.
- Ojanen, Hanna (1999) How to Customize Your Union: Finland and the "Northern Dimensions of the EU", in Northern Dimensions. The Yearbook of the

Finnish Institute of International Affairs 1999, 13–26. Helsinki: Finnish Institute of International Affairs.

- Olson, Mancur (1965) The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- O Nuallain, Colm (ed.) (1985) The Presidency of the European Council of Ministers. London: Croom Helm.
- Paemen, Hugo and Alexandra Bensch (1995) From the GATT to the WTO: The European Community in the Uruguay Round. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Peters, B. Guy (1999) Institutional Theory in Political Science. London: Pinter.
- Peterson, John and Helene Sjursen (eds.) (1998) A Common Foreign Policy for Europe? Competing Visions of the CFSP. London: Routledge.
- Petersson, Olof, Ulrika Mörth, Johan P. Olsen and Jonas Tallberg (2003) Demokrati i EU: Demokratirådets rapport 2003. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Pierson, Paul (1996) The Path to European Integration: A Historical-Institutionalist Analysis. Comparative Political Studies 29(2): 251–267.
 - (2000) The Limits of Design: Explaining Institutional Origins and Change. *Governance* 13(4): 475–499.
 - (2004) Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pollack, Mark A. (2003) The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the EU. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, Walter W. and Paul J. DiMaggio (eds.) (1991) The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- Preeg, Ernest H. (1970) Traders and Diplomats: An Analysis of the Kennedy Round of Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Putnam, Robert D. (1988) Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games. *International Organization* 42: 427–460.
- Raiffa, Howard (1982) The Art and Science of Negotiation. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Riker, William (1980) Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions. *American Political Science Review* 74: 432–446.
- Risse, Thomas (2000) "Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics. *International Organization* 54(1): 1–39.
- Ross, George (1995) Jacques Delors and European Integration. Cambridge: Polity Press.
 - (2001) France's European Tour of Duty, or Caution One Presidency May Hide Another. *ECSA Review* 14(2): 4–6.
- Rubin, Jeffrey Z. (1993) Third-Party Roles: Mediation in International Environmental Disputes, in *International Environmental Negotiation*, Gunnar Sjöstedt (ed.), 275–290. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Sanches da Costa Pereira, Pedro (1988) The Use of a Secretariat, in European Political Cooperation in the 1980s: A Common Foreign Policy for Western Europe? Alfred Pijpers, Elfriede Regelsberger, and Wolfgang Wessels (eds.), 85–103. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Sandholtz, Wayne and John Zysman (1989) 1992: Recasting the European Bargain. World Politics 42(1): 95–128.

- Saunders, Harold K. (1985) We Need a Larger Theory of Negotiation: The Importance of Pre-Negotiating Phases. *Negotiation Journal* 1(3): 249–262.
- Sbragia, Alberta (1996) Environmental Policy: The "Push-Pull" of Policy-Making in *Policy-Making in the European Union*, Helen Wallace and William Wallace (eds.), 235–255. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scharpf, Fritz W. (1988) The Joint-Decision Trap: Lessons from German Federalism and European Integration. *Public Administration* 66: 239–278.

(1997) Games Real Actors Play. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

- Schelling, Thomas C. (1960) *The Strategy of Conflict*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Schmidt, Susanne K. (2001) A Constrained Commission: Informal Practices of Agenda-Setting in the Council in *The Rules of Integration: Institutionalist Approaches to the Study of Europe*, Gerald Schneider and Mark Aspinwall (eds.), 125–146. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Schneider, Gerald and Mark Aspinwall (eds.) (2001) The Rules of Integration: Institutionalist Approaches to the Study of Europe. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Schott, Jeffrey J. and Jayashree Watal (2000) Decision Making in the WTO, in *The WTO after Seattle*, Jeffrey J. Schott (ed.), 283–292. Washington D.C.: Institute for International Economics.
- Schout, Adriaan (1998) The Presidency as Juggler: Managing Conflicting Expectations. *Eipascope* 1998(2): 2–10.
- Schout, Adriaan and Sophie Vanhoonacker (2001) The Presidency as Broker? Lessons from Nice. Paper presented at the Fourth Pan-European International Relations Conference, Canterbury, 8–10 September 2001.
- Schoutheete, Philippe de (1988) The Presidency and the Management of Political Cooperation, in *European Political Cooperation in the 1980s: A Common Foreign Policy for Western Europe?* Alfred Pijpers, Elfriede Regelsberger, and Wolfgang Wessels (eds.), 71–84. Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Schwaag Serger, Sylvia (2001) Negotiating CAP Reform in the European Union Agenda 2000. SLI Report 2001: 4. Lund: Swedish Institute for Food and Agricultural Economics.
- Scott, W. Richard, John W. Meyer, and associates (1994) Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism. London: Sage.
- Sebenius, James K. (1983) Negotiation Arithmetic: Adding and Subtracting Issues and Parties. *International Organization* 37: 281–316.
 - (1984) Negotiating the Law of the Sea. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
 - (1996) Sequencing to Build Coalitions: With Whom Should I Talk First?, in Wise Choices: Decisions, Games, and Negotiations, Richard J. Zeckhauser, Ralph L. Keeney, and James K. Sebenius (eds.), 324–328. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Shackleton, Michael (2000) The Politics of Codecision. Journal of Common Market Studies 38(2): 325–342.
- Shackleton, Michael and Tapio Raunio (2003) Codecision since Amsterdam: A Laboratory for Institutional Innovation and Change. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10(2): 171–187.

Shepsle, Kenneth A. (1979) Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multi-Dimensional Voting Models. *American Journal of Political Science* 23: 27–60.

- Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Barry R. Weingast (1984) Uncovered Sets and Sophisticated Voting Outcomes with Implications for Agenda Institutions. *American Journal of Political Science* 28: 49–74.
 - (1995) Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions, in *Positive Theories of Congressional Institutions*, Kenneth A. Shepsle and Barry R. Weingast (eds.), 5–35. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.
- Sherrington, Philippa (1998) The Presidency in Context. Paper presented at the conference The Presidency of the European Union, Dublin, 15–16 October 1998.
 - (2000) The Council of Ministers: Political Authority in the European Union. London: Pinter.
- Sizoo, Jan and Jurrjens, Rudolf (1984) CSCE Decision-Making: The Madrid Experience. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Sjöstedt, Gunnar (1994) Negotiating the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in *International Multilateral Negotiations*. *Approaches to the Management of Complexity*, I. William Zartman (ed.), 44–69. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
 - (1999) Leadership in Multilateral Negotiations: Crisis or Transition?, in *International Negotiation*, Peter Berton, Hiroshi Kimura, and I. William Zartman (eds.), 223–253. New York, N.Y.: St Martin's Press.
 - (2002) WTO som förhandlingsorganisation ett försummat perspektiv, in *Handelspolitik i förändring: Organisation och förhandling i Sverige, EU och WTO*, Joakim Reiter and Christer Jönsson (eds.), 140–165. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- Smith, Michael E. (2001) The Quest for Coherence: Institutional Dilemmas of External Action from Maastricht to Amsterdam, in *The Institutionalization of Europe*, Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein (eds.), 171–193. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - (2004) Europe's Foreign and Security Policy: The Institutionalization of Cooperation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Starkey, Brigid, Mark A. Boyer, and Jonathan Wilkenfeld (1999) Negotiating a Complex World: An Introduction to International Negotiation. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Stefan-Bastl, Jutta (2001) The Austrian OSCE Chairmanship. Assessment and Outlook. *Helsinki Monitor* 12(4): 257–271.
- Stein, Caroline (2000) What Is a Good Presidency and How Is It Achieved? Comparing and Evaluating the Austrian, German and Finnish Presidencies. Master's thesis, College of Europe, Natolin.
- Stein, Janice Gross (ed.) (1989) Getting to the Table: The Processes of International Prenegotiation. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Stenelo, Lars-Göran (1972) Mediation in International Negotiations. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Steunenberg, Bernard (1994) Decision Making under Different Institutional Arrangements: Legislation by the European Community. *Journal of Theoretical and Institutional Economics* 150: 642–669.

- Stirk, Peter M. R. and David Weigall (1999) The Origins and Development of European Integration: A Reader and Commentary. Pinter: London.
- Stokke, Olav Schram (2001a) The Interplay of International Regimes: Putting Effect-iveness Theory to Work. FNI Report 14/2001. Oslo: Fridtjof Nansen Institute.
 - (ed.) (2001b) Governing High Seas Fisheries: The Interplay of Global and Regional Regimes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stone Sweet, Alec and Wayne Sandholtz (1997) European Integration and Supranational Governance. *Journal of European Public Policy* 4(3): 297–317.
- Strömvik, Maria (1998) Fifteen Votes and One Voice? The CFSP and Changing Voting Alignments in the UN. Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift 101(2): 181–196.
 - (2005) To Act as a Union: Explaining the Development of the EU's Collective Foreign Policy. Ph.D. dissertation, Lund University.
- Stubb, Alexander (2000) The Finnish Presidency. Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review 38: 49–53.
 - (2002) Negotiating Flexibility in the European Union: Amsterdam, Nice and Beyond. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Svensson, Anna-Carin (2000) In the Service of the European Union: The Role of the Presidency in Negotiating the Amsterdam Treaty 1995–1997. Ph.D. dissertation, Uppsala University.
- Széll, Patrick (1993) Negotiations on the Ozone Layer in *International Environmental Negotiation*, Gunnar Sjöstedt (ed.), 31–48. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- Tallberg, Jonas (ed.) (2001) När Europa kom till Sverige: Ordförandeskapet i EU 2001. Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
 - (2002) Delegation to Supranational Institutions: Why, How, and with What Consequences? West European Politics 25(1): 23-46.
 - (2003a) The Agenda-Shaping Powers of the EU Council Presidency. Journal of European Public Policy 10(1): 1–19.
 - (2003b) European Governance and Supranational Institutions: Making States Comply. London: Routledge.
 - (2004) The Power of the Presidency: Brokerage, Efficiency, and Distribution in EU Negotiations. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42(5): 999–1022.
- Taulègne, Béatrice (1993) Le Conseil européen. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Tetlock, Philip E. and Aaron Belkin (eds.) (1996) Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspectives. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Thomson, Robert, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König (eds.) (2006) *The European Union Decides*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tiilikainen, Teija (2003) The Finnish Presidency of 1999: Pragmatism and the Promotion of Finland's Position in Europe, in *European Union Council Presidencies: A Comparative Analysis*, Ole Elgström (ed.), 104–119. London: Routledge.
- Tolba, Mostafa K. (1998) Global Environmental Diplomacy. Negotiating Environmental Agreements for the World 1973–1992. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Touval, Saadia (1989) Multilateral Negotiation: An Analytical Approach. Negotiation Journal 5(2): 159–173.

- Touval, Saadia and I. William Zartman (eds.) (1985) International Mediation in Theory and Practice. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Troy Johnston, Mary (1994) The European Council: Gatekeeper of the European Community. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Tsebelis, George (1990) Nested Games. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
 - (2002) Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Tsebelis, George and Geoffrey Garrett (2000) Legislative Politics in the European Union. *European Union Politics* 1(1): 9–36.
- Underdal, Arild (1994) Leadership Theory: Rediscovering the Arts of Management, in *International Multilateral Negotiations*, I. William Zartman (ed.), 178–197. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Vandamme, Jacques (1987) The Tindemans Report (1975–76), in *The Dynamics of European Union*, Roy Pryce (ed.), 149–173. London: Croom Helm.
- Wall, James A. and Ann Lynn (1993) Mediation: A Current Overview. Journal of Conflict Resolution 37(1): 160–194.
- Wallace, Helen (1985) The Presidency of the Council of Ministers of the European Community: Tasks and Evolution, in *The Presidency of the European Council of Ministers: Impacts and Implications for National Governments*, Colm O Nuallain (ed.), 1–22. London: Croom Helm.
 - (2002) The Council: An Institutional Chameleon? Governance 15(3): 325-344.
- Walton, Richard E. and Robert B. McKersie (1965) A Behavioral Theory of Labor Negotiations. New York, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill.
- Weingast, Barry R. (2002) Rational Choice Institutionalism, in *The State of the Discipline*, Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner (eds.), 660–692. New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton.
- Weingast, Barry R. and William J. Marshall (1988) The Industrial Organization of Congress: Or Why Legislatures, like Firms, are not Organized as Markets. *Journal of Political Economy* 96: 132–163.
- Werts, Jan (1992) The European Council. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- West European Politics (2002) The Politics of Delegation: Non-Majoritarian Institutions in Europe. Special issue of West European Politics 25(1).
- Westlake, Martin (1999) The Council of the European Union. 2nd edn. London: John Harper.
- Westlake, Martin and David Galloway with Toon Digneffe (2004) The Council of the European Union. 3rd edn. London: John Harper.
- Wettestad, Jørgen (2002) The Vienna Convention and Montreal Protocol on Ozone-Layer Depletion, in *Environmental Regime Effectiveness: Confronting Theory with Evidence*, Edward L. Miles, Arild Underdal, Steinar, Andresen, Jørgen Wettestad, Jon Birger Skjærseth, and Elaine M. Carlin (eds.), 149–170. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Whitman, Richard (1998) The Role of the Presidency in Promoting a CFSP. Paper presented at the conference The Presidency of the European Union, Belfast, 15–16 October 1998.

- Williamson, Oliver E. (1995) Transaction Cost Economics and Organizational Theory, in *Organization Theory: From Chester Bernard to the Present and Beyond*, Oliver E. Williamson (ed.), 207–256. New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press.
- Winham, Gilbert R. (1977) Negotiation as a Management Process. World Politics 30(1): 87–114.
 - (1979) The Mediation of Multilateral Negotiations. Journal of World Trade Law 13(3): 193–208.
 - (1986) International Trade and the Tokyo Round Negotiation. Princeton, N.Y.: Princeton University Press.
 - (1992) The Evolution of International Trade Agreements. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Wurzel, Rüdiger K. W. (1996) The Role of the Presidency in the Environmental Field: Does It Make a Difference Which Member State Runs the Presidency? *Journal of European Public Policy* 3(2): 272–291.
 - (2000) Flying into Unexpected Turbulence: The German EU Presidency in the Environmental Field. German Politics 9(3): 23-42.
 - (2001) The EU Presidency and the Integration Principle: An Anglo-German Comparison. European Environmental Law Review, January 2001: 8–15.
- Young, H. Peyton (ed.) (1991) Negotiation Analysis. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press.
- Young, Oran R. (1967) Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crises. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press.
 - (1991) Political Leadership and Regime Formation: On the Development of Institutions, in International Society. *International Organization* 45(3): 281–308.
 - (1999a) Comment on Andrew Moravcsik, 'A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation'. *International Organization* 53(4): 805–809.
 - (1999b) Governance in World Affairs. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
 - (2002) The Institutional Dimensions of Environmental Change: Fit, Interplay, and Scale. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Zartman, I. William (1994a) Two's Company and More's a Crowd: The Complexities of Multilateral Negotiation in *International Multilateral Negotiations*, I. William Zartman (ed.), 1–10. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
 - (ed.) (1994b) International Multilateral Negotiations. San Francisco, Calif.: Jossey-Bass.
- Zellner, Wolfgang (2002) The Ninth OSCE Ministerial in Bucharest 2001. Helsinki Monitor 13(1): 62–71.
- Zielonka, Jan (ed.) (1998) Paradoxes of European Foreign Policy. The Hague: Kluwer.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND SPEECHES

Blair, Tony (2002) A Clear Course for Europe. Speech in Cardiff, 28 November 2002.

Blair, Tony and Gerhard Schröder (2002) Reform of the European Council. Letter to Prime Minister Aznar of Spain. 25 February 2002.

- Chirac, Jacques (2002) Speech in Strasbourg, 6 March 2002.
- Council of the European Union (1993) Rules of Procedure. Reproduced in *The Council of the European Union*, by Martin Westlake, 137–144. London: John Harper.
- Council of the European Union (1999a) Press Release 6546/99, Environment Council 11/03/1999.
- Council of the European Union (1999b) Press Release 9406/99, Environment Council 24/06/1999.
- Council of the European Union (1999c) Common Position No. 39/1999 adopted by the Council on 29 July 1999 with a view to adopting Directive 1999/. . ./EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of . . . on end-of-life vehicles. *Official Journal* C 317, 4/11/1999: 19–33.
- Council of the European Union (1999d) Press Release 10390/99, General Affairs Council 29/07/1999.
- Council of the European Union (1999e) An Effective Council for an Enlarged Union. Guidelines for Reform and Operational Recommendations. 13863/99, 8 December 1999.
- Council of the European Union (2000a) Action Plan for the Northern Dimension in the External and Cross-Border Policies of the European Union 2000–2003. 9401/00 Limite, Brussels, 14 June 2000.
- Council of the European Union (2000b) Presidency Note: Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Regarding Public Access to European Parliament, Council and Commission Documents. 14938/00 Limite. 22 December 2000.
- Council of the European Union (2000c) Press Release 8828/00, Green Light for End-of-Life Vehicles Directive, Parliament-Council Conciliation Committee 23/05/2000.
- Council of the European Union (2002a) Measures to Prepare the Council for Enlargement. Report by the Presidency to the European Council. 9939/02, 13 June 2002.
- Council of the European Union (2002b) Council Decision of 22 July 2002 Adopting the Council's Rules of Procedure. Official Journal of the European Communities L 230, 28/8/2002: 7.
- Council of Ministers of the European Community (1979) Rules of Procedure. Reproduced in *The Council of the European Union*, by Martin Westlake, 133–136. London: John Harper.
- Council of Ministers of the European Economic Community (1958) The Rules of Procedure. Reproduced in *The Council of the European Union*, by Martin Westlake, 130–133. London: John Harper.
- Council Secretariat (1997) Council Guide. 1. Presidency Handbook. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Council Secretariat (1999) Rådets arbetssätt inför utvidgningen av unionen. SN 2139/99, 19 March 1999.
- Council Secretariat (2002) Preparing the Council for Enlargement. Report by the Secretary-General. SN 1636/2/02 REV 2, 11 March 2002.

- Danish Presidency (2002a) One Europe. Programme of the Danish Presidency of the EU. July to December 2002. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Danish Presidency (2002b) Results of the Danish EU Presidency. One Europe from Copenhagen to Copenhagen. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Danish Presidency (2002c) The European Council in Copenhagen. Letter of 11 December from Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen to his colleagues. Internet: www.eu2002dk, accessed 11 August 2003.
- Dutch Government (2003) The Netherlands OSCE Chairmanship. Ten Questions and Answers. Internet: www.osce.org/cio/Netherlands/documents/files/cio-priorities.pdf, accessed 30 May 2003.
- European Commission (1997a) Proposal for a Council Directive on End of Life Vehicles. COM (97) 358 Final. Official Journal C 337, 07/11/1997: 3.
- European Commission (1997b) Agenda 2000: For a Stronger and Wider Union. COM (97) 2000, 16 July 1997.
- European Commission (2000) Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Regarding Public Access to European Parliament, Council and Commission Documents. COM (2000) 30 final/2.
- European Commission (2003) Commission Working Document. The Second Northern Dimension Action Plan, 2004–2006. COM (2003) 343 Final, 10 June 2003.
- European Council (1974) Communiqué from Meeting of the Heads of Government of the Community, Paris 9–10 December 2004 (Paris communiqué).
- European Council (1977) Organizational Rules for European Council Meetings (London declaration).
- European Council (1983) Solemn Declaration on European Union. Stuttgart European Council, 19 June 1983.
- European Council (1997) Presidency Conclusions, Luxembourg European Council, 12–13 December 1997. SN 400/97.
- European Council (1998) Presidency Conclusions, Vienna European Council, 11–12 December 1998. SN 300/98.
- European Council (1999a) Presidency Conclusions, Cologne European Council, 3–4 June 1999. SN 150/99.
- European Council (1999b) Presidency Conclusions, Helsinki European Council, 10–11 December 1999. SN 300/99.
- European Council (2001) Presidency Conclusions, Göteborg European Council, 15–16 June 2001. SN 200/01.
- European Council (2002a) Presidency Conclusions, Seville European Council, 21–22 June 2002. SN 200/02.
- European Council (2002b) Presidency Conclusions. Brussels European Council, 24–25 October 2002. 14702/02.
- European Council (2002c) Presidency Conclusions. Copenhagen European Council, 12–13 December 2002. SN 400/02.
- European Parliament (2000) European Parliament legislative resolution on the common position adopted by the Council with a view to the adoption of a

European Parliament and Council Directive on end-of-life vehicles. Official Journal C 309, 27/10/2000: 62–70.

- European Parliament and Council of the European Union (2000) Directive 2000/53/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 September 2000 on End-of-Life Vehicles. *Official Journal* L 269, 21/10/2000: 34–42.
- European Parliament and Council of the European Union (2001) Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council Regarding Public Access to European Parliament, Council and Commission Documents. No. 1049/2001. 30 May 2001. Official Journal L 145/43.
- Finnish Presidency (1999) Programme for the Finnish Presidency of the European Union. SN 2940/2/99 Rev 2.
- Foreign Ministers of the European Community (1970) Report by the Foreign Ministers of the Member States on the Problems of Political Unification (Luxembourg report).
- Foreign Ministers of the European Community (1973) Second Report on European Political Cooperation on Foreign Policy (Copenhagen report).
- Foreign Ministers of the European Community (1981) Report on European Political Cooperation (London report).
- French Presidency (2000) Priorities of the French Presidency of the European Union. Paris 2000.
- German Presidency (1999) Objectives and Priorities of the German Presidency in the Council of the European Union. Internet: www.eupresidency.de/ausland/English/01/frameset.html.
- Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry (1984) Deux Français sur trios. Paris: Flammarion.
- Lipponen, Paavo (1997) The European Union Needs a Northern Dimension. Speech at the conference The Barents Region Today, Rovaniemi, 15 September 1997.
- OSCE (2000) OSCE Handbook. Vienna: Secretariat of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe.
- OSCE (2003) Chairmanship: Tasks. Internet: www.osce.org/pc/chairmanship, accessed 23 April 2003.
- OSCE Newsletter (2002) Porto Ministerial Council Sets Course for OSCE in Twenty-First Century. OSCE Newsletter 9(11): 1-4.
- Patten, Chris (1999) A Northern Dimension for the Policies of the Union: Current and Future Activities. Speech at the Foreign Ministers' Conference on the Northern Dimension, Helsinki, 12 November 1999.
- Persson, Göran (2002) Speech by Prime Minister Göran Persson at the seminar "The Future of the European Union and the Role of the Council," 25 April 2002.
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh (2003) Danish Foreign Policy after the Presidency. Speech at the Danish Institute of International Studies, 15 January 2003.
- Reflection Group (1995) Reflection Group's Report. Brussels, 5 December 1995.
- Swedish EU Committee (2001) Minutes from the Swedish EU Committee 2000/2001: 22, 15 March 2001.
- Swedish Presidency (2001) Programme of the Swedish EU Presidency. 1 January to 30 June 2001. Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

- Three Wise Men (1979) Report on European Institutions. Report presented by the Committee of the Three to the European Council, Brussels, October 1979.
- Tindemans, Leo (1976) European Union. Report by Mr. Leo Tindemans to the European Council. Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement 1/1976.
- Vollebæk, Knut (1998) The 1999 Norwegian OSCE Chairmanship. Oslo: The Norwegian Atlantic Committee, Security Policy Library No. 10/1998.