



EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Volume VI, No. 2 Spring/Summer 1993

ECSA
NEWSLETTER

EDITORIAL

ALBERTA SBRAGIA
ECSA Chair, University of Pittsburgh

As the new Chair of ECSA, I am delighted to report that the Third Biennial International Conference of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) was a great success. More than 300 ECSA members attended the Conference, held May 27-29, 1993 at the Omni Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. Forty-one panels, two plenary sessions, and several distinguished banquet speakers contributed to the Conference theme of "European Integration after 1992 and Maastricht: Uniting Empirical and Policy Research with Revitalized Theory."

Funding for the Conference was provided by the Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities (Washington, D.C.), the German Marshall Fund, and the Ford Foundation. We are grateful to them for providing the funds so critical to ECSA's intellectual

work. I also send special thanks to Donald Puchala and Sallie Buice for their magnificent job in organizing the Conference. Furthermore, I am grateful to Leon Lindberg as Chair of the Program Committee, and the other Program Committee members, Lily Gardner Feldman, Andrew Moravcsik, Stephen Overturf, Wolfgang Streeck, and Joseph Weiler, for the quality of the program itself.

A booklet of Conference Abstracts will be produced and distributed later this summer as a courtesy to all ECSA members. The booklet will allow members to order papers delivered at the Conference. In addition, Catherine Kelleher delivered the revised version of her US-EC Relations Project monograph, "The Search for a New Security Order: The United States and the European Community in the 1990s." ECSA will publish

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW ECSA HEADQUARTERS

ECSA is happy to announce that it has established an Administrative Office at the University of Pittsburgh. This office will centralize many of the duties formerly undertaken by the Executive Committee and provide better administrative services to ECSA members.

ECSA has long sought the establishment of a more permanent administrative home, and we are grateful to the German Marshall Fund for providing the resources to realize this goal. ECSA also thanks the University of Pittsburgh, and in particular the University Center for International Studies, for its cooperation in this effort.

All correspondence regarding Association activities, membership, etc. should now be directed to ECSA's Administrative Director at ECSA's new headquarters at the University of Pittsburgh:

Please contact Bill Burros, the Administrative Director, if you have any questions or suggestions concerning the new Administrative Office, at the following address:

Mr. William G. Burros, Jr.
Administrative Director
European Community Studies Association
405 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Tel.: (412) 648-7635; Fax: (412) 648-1168

RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (JUNE 1, 1993-MAY 31, 1995 TERM)

The following seven individuals were elected by the Association's membership to the Executive Committee (June 1, 1993-May 31, 1995 term):

Alan Cafruny (Department of Government, Hamilton College, Clinton, NY 13323)
James Caporaso (Department of Political Science, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195)

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This publication was made possible by generous grants from the Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities, Office of Press and Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. and the Ford Foundation.

EDITORIAL (continued)

Dr. Kelleher's monograph this summer, with very welcome support from DG1 of the Commission of the European Communities, the Ford Foundation, and the German Marshall Fund.

The Third Biennial International Conference richly demonstrates that ECSA's great strength is the interest and participation of its members. Your ideas are crucial to ECSA's continued growth as an organization of intellectual and professional development. Writing on behalf of the Executive Committee, I ask for your comments and suggestions in furthering ECSA's mission to promote public awareness and specialized knowledge of the European Community.

The success of the Conference also demonstrates that ECSA has grown rapidly since its creation in 1987. ECSA's genesis and development are due largely to the dedication of the five retiring members of the Executive Committee, who have completed their constitutionally prescribed two terms of service. Roy Ginsberg, Leon Hurwitz, Donald Puchala, Glenda Rosenthal, and Pierre-Henri Laurent, my immediate predecessor as Chair of ECSA, deserve our sincere thanks and appreciation for their guidance as ECSA has matured. I can only hope that the new Executive Committee will follow their example and build upon their work.

Happily, two Executive Committee members will continue in a second two-year term. Lily Gardner-Feldman and Beverly Springer were reelected. They will serve with new members Alan Cafruny, James Caporaso, Carl Lankowski, Carolyn Rhodes, and myself. The new Executive Committee asked Leon Hurwitz to continue as treasurer of ECSA, and he graciously agreed. This action

is consistent with the recently adopted constitutional amendment concerning the position of Treasurer.

ECSA has also progressed administratively. As Pierre-Henri Laurent indicated in the Winter issue of the *Newsletter*, the previous Executive Committee pursued negotiations with the University of Pittsburgh to "establish a more permanent home for ECSA." These negotiations were successful. ECSA has therefore hired Bill Burros as Administrative Director. Bill combines a strong academic background, including graduate work in international affairs and several years as a university instructor, with administrative experience in the nonprofit sector. ECSA is grateful to the German Marshall Fund for the resources to make these developments possible.

The new Administrative Office will centralize and improve services to ECSA members as well as coordinate and assist in the planning of new ECSA projects. Please address all correspondence concerning member services and benefits, including receipt of the *Newsletter* and Conference Abstracts, to Bill Burros, European Community Studies Association, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; telephone (412) 648-7635, fax (412) 648-1168. Executive Committee correspondence should also be sent to that address.

In closing, let me ask again for your continued participation in ECSA. ECSA's growing reputation as the preeminent organization for the study of the European Community in North America depends upon the commitment and contributions of its members. I hope that my tenure as Chair serves to strengthen the Association and to stimulate your interest in the study of the European Community. ○

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS (continued)

Lily Gardner-Feldman (American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, Washington, DC 20036)
Carl Lankowski (Department of Comparative Studies, American University, Washington, DC 20008)
Carolyn Rhodes (Department of Political Science, Utah State University 84322)
Alberta Sbragia (West European Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260)
Beverly Springer (Department of International Studies, American Graduate School of International Management, Phoenix, AZ 85306)

RESULTS OF THE VOTE ON THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT REGARDING THE ASSOCIATION TREASURER

By a vote of 155 in favor, 5 opposed, and 9 abstentions, the membership approved the proposed constitutional amendment regarding the Association Treasurer. Article IV, Section 1 of the Association's Constitution now reads as follows:

"The Executive Committee shall elect from its members the Chairperson and the Secretary. The Executive Committee shall also appoint the Treasurer who, if not an elected member of the Executive Committee, shall be an ex officio member of the Executive Committee."

NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE CHOOSES ASSOCIATION OFFICERS

At a brief organizational meeting on May 28, 1993, during ECSA's Third International Conference in Washington,

D.C., the newly elected Executive Committee made the following appointments:

Chair of the Executive Committee—Alberta Sbragia
Association Secretary—To be determined
Association Treasurer—Leon Hurwitz

CALL FOR PAPERS

Council for European Studies
Ninth International Conference of Europeanists
The Palmer House Hilton, Chicago
March 25-27, 1994

Proposal Deadline: October 15, 1993

For more information and forms, contact:
The Council for European Studies
Box 44 Schermerhorn
Columbia University, New York, NY 10027
(212) 854-4172

JCMS REDUCED RATE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO ECSA INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

Blackwell Publishers and the *Journal of Common Market Studies* wishes to offer a 25 percent discount—from \$102 to \$75—on subscriptions to the *Journal* for individual members of ECSA-USA. We would propose that such discounts take effect from 1994 (the first issue of Volume 32), as we are unfortunately unable to backdate 'reduced rate' subscriptions, and by now, some of your members will doubtless already have renewed for the 1993 volume.

For information contact:
Angela Thomas, Managing Editor
Journals Marketing
Blackwell Publishers
108 Cowley Road
OXFORD OX4 1JF
UK

or in the United States:

Angela Thomas, Managing Editor
Journals Marketing (JCMS)
Blackwell Publishers
238 Main St.
Cambridge, MA 02142

ECSA Newsletter

The *Newsletter* is issued three times a year in the winter, spring, and fall. The coeditors earnestly solicit information in any of the *Newsletter's* categories for inclusion in future issues. We particularly encourage reviewers for

the "Review Essays" section to make themselves known to Carolyn Rhodes.

Please send information to:

Carolyn Rhodes
Department of Political Science
Utah State University
Logan, UT 84322
(801) 750-1306

or to

Joseph Rallo
Department of Management
Ferris State University
Big Rapids, MI 49307-2284
Tel.: (616) 592-2427; Fax: (616) 592-3521

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Many of you have experienced delays in the receipt of your *Newsletter*. The primary reason for this problem has been our practice of mailing the *Newsletter* to U.S. addresses at the third class rate. Not only did this delay receipt of the *Newsletter* but postal regulations did not permit forwarding to new addresses when sent at the third class rate.

To solve this problem, we will now mail the *Newsletter* to ECSA members at the first class rate. It is hoped that this will eliminate most, if not all, of the problems we have experienced in the past. To help us serve you better, please ensure that your address is current in our records; a convenient form to update your address is included on the last page of this *Newsletter*.

E C S A **NEWSLETTER**

CO-EDITORS

CAROLYN RHODES
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Utah State University
Logan, UT 84322

JOSEPH RALLO
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Ferris State University
Big Rapids, MI 49307

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Amy V. Ait-Bella
Donna M. Eaton

ECSA PROGRAMS

ECSA CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT GRANTS

The ECSA Committee on Curriculum Development is pleased to announce this year's grant recipients:

1. Department of Modern Foreign Languages and Classical Studies, St. John's University, Queens, New York, to be taught by Dr. Zoi Petropoulou.
2. Department of Political Science, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, to be taught by Dr. Frank L. Wilson.
3. Gund Foundation International Law Center, School of Law; Case Western University; Cleveland, Ohio.

PROGRAMS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE EC

The European Community's Visitors Program. The European Community's Visitors Program (ECVP), jointly sponsored by the Commission of the European Communities and the European Parliament, invites young leaders from countries outside the European Community to gain a first-hand appreciation of the EC's goals, policies, and differing cultures. A further aim is to increase mutual understanding between young professionals from non-EC countries and their EC counterparts.

Eligible to participate are government officials (local, state, and federal), electronic and print media, trade unionists, academics, and other professionals in their late-20s to late-30s who have a career-related interest in the European Community. An ECVP 'grant' consists of a 14-day, individually tailored program enabling the recip-

ient to visit the EC institutions in Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg. In addition, grantees may also visit one other EC country.

For an application package, contact:
ECVP Coordinator
EC Delegation
2100 M St., N.W., 7th Floor
Washington, DC 20037

TEAM '92

The European Community has established a network of more than 60 professionals throughout the United States who are available to address the growing number of regional audiences interested in learning more about the EC, especially the single market.

Team '92 members are available to speak at conferences and seminars, providing individual insight on the EC and how the single market and other changes will affect a particular sector or region. Similar programs have also been implemented in the 12 member states of the EC and Japan.

Participants speak entirely on their own behalf and are not official representatives of the EC Commission.

For information on Team '92 members, write:
Elizabeth Winters, Outreach Coordinator
EC Commission Delegation
Office of Press and Public Affairs
2100 M St., N.W., Suite 700
Washington, DC 20037
Tel.: (202) 862-9500; Fax: (202) 429-1766

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

ESRC/SEM COST A7 CONFERENCE

September 8-11, 1994 London

The Single European Market Programme of the European Social Research Council will be holding the first of its two main conferences at the University of Exeter September 8-11, 1994. This will form the UK's main contribution to the COST A7 program. The theme will be "The Evolution of Rules for a Single European Market."

All are welcome and preliminary invitations to attend will be issued soon. The intention of the conference is to publish selected proceedings and to present the main

results of the research. Offers of papers on the general theme of integration are actively solicited. Further details are available from Sarah Leeming, (44)(0)71-222-7665; fax (44)(0)71-222-1435.

For general information about the Single European Market Programme, please contact:
Professor David Mayes, Programme Coordinator
The National Institute of Economic and Social Research
2 Dean Trench St.
London SW1P3HE
UK
Tel.: (44)(0)71-222-7665; Fax: (44)(0)71-222-1435

RESEARCH CENTERS AND INSTITUTES

EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY INSTITUTE (EPPI)

University of Warwick, UK

EPPI was set up in January 1992 as a multidisciplinary research institute. The aim of the Institute is to conduct research into aspects of the policy process throughout Europe, with special emphasis on the EC policy process.

Current projects include Lobbying in the EC; Information and Communication Technology Policy in Europe; EC Social Policy; Security Policy in the EC; Subsidiarity in the EC; Policy Instruments in the EC; EC Environmental Policy.

In addition to conducting research projects, the Institute also supervises doctoral students in the field of European public policy. The Institute is also setting up a new journal—*The Journal of European Public Policy* and a book series of the same title, both published by Routledge.

For information contact:
Professor J. J. Richardson, Director
European Public Policy Institute
University of Warwick
Coventry, CV4 7AL
UK
Tel.: 0203-524141; Fax: 0203-524221

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

FULBRIGHT RESEARCH AWARDS IN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

Up to four awards are available for research on European Community affairs. Preference will be given to projects focusing on the organization of the EC, particularly on the process of institution building.

Projects may be based at EC headquarters in Brussels or at an appropriate academic institution within the EC. Grantees will have full access to EC resources and individuals in Brussels, as well as to libraries in academic institutions within the EC.

Grants may range in length from three to ten months during the 1994-1995 academic year.

Eligibility:

Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the time of application and should have the PhD or equivalent professional qualifications.

Grant Benefits:

Approximately 640,000 to 800,000 Belgian francs for ten months (1/93 exchange rate is U.S. \$1=33.24 Belgian francs), depending on the number of accompanying dependents. Applicants may request funding for shorter periods, as long as the minimum stay abroad will be three months. International travel is provided for grantee only. Research travel within Europe will be funded on a case-by-case basis.

Application Deadline: August 1, 1993

Write or call:
Jean McPeck or Jane Mangan
Council for International Exchange of Scholars

3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M
Washington, D.C. 20008-3009
Tel.: (202) 686-6241 or (202) 686-6242

FULBRIGHT EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SCHOLAR-IN-RESIDENCE PROGRAM

Call for Proposals:

Institutions are invited to submit proposals to host a European Community (EC) official as a resident fellow for one or both terms of the 1994-1995 academic year. Under an arrangement with the EC, up to four grants will be available to bring an EC official to an American campus for the purpose of strengthening expertise in European Community affairs.

Application and Review:

The awards are made available under the auspices of the Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence Program.

Funding and Cost Sharing:

The EC resident fellow will receive salary and other benefits from the European Community. The United States Information Agency (USIA) through the Fulbright Scholar Program provides partial maintenance support here in the United States, health insurance, and international travel expenses. The host institution is expected to engage in cost sharing and would contribute to the support of the visiting official by providing a salary supplement and/or other services, in the form of housing, use of a car, office space, supplies, research and secretarial assistance, computer time, free use of campus and community facilities, travel expenses and fees for professional meetings, or any combination of the above.

Application Deadline: November 1, 1993

Write or call:

Jean McPeck or Jane Mangan
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M
Washington, D.C. 20008-3009
Tel.: (202) 686-6241 or (202) 686-6242

**1994-1995 FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR PROGRAM
AWARDS FOR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
AFFAIRS RESEARCH IN FRANCE AND SPAIN**

France:

One award is available to conduct research on European Community Affairs with a focus on the Council of Europe or the EC Parliament in Strasbourg. Applications are welcome from recent PhD's as well as from established scholars. Applicants must be U.S. citizens. The award length is flexible, but it must be for a minimum of three months and a maximum of nine months during the 1994-1995 academic year.

Grant benefits include round-trip international travel for the grantee only plus a monthly maintenance allowance of approximately 15,700 francs per month for a grantee with one accompanying dependent, plus an allowance for books and incidentals of 7,200 francs.

Spain:

Two awards are available for research on the consequences of Spain's entry into the European Community. Applicants must be U.S. citizens, possess a doctorate or equivalent professional qualifications, and have competence in oral and written Spanish as necessary for the project. Applicants must submit documentation demonstrating access to archives or institutions and individuals to be interviewed, including affiliations for collaboration with Spanish colleagues. Award length is for three to six months, beginning between October 1994 and March 1995.

Grant benefits include round-trip international travel for the grantee and spouse who accompanies grantee throughout the award period, a monthly maintenance allowance of approximately 365,000 pesetas, plus 25,000 pesetas per month for spouse who accompanies grantee throughout the award period.

Application Deadline: August 1, 1993

For further information and application forms, please contact:

CIES
3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M
Washington, DC 20008-3009
Tel.: (202) 686-6241 or (202) 686-6244 (France)
Tel.: (202) 686-6243 or (202) 686-6242 (Spain)

**FULBRIGHT FELLOWSHIP IN EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY LAW
1994-1995 PROGRAM WITH THE
UNITED KINGDOM**

The United Kingdom Fulbright Commission, in association with Allen and Overy, a leading U.K. and international law firm, has announced the availability of a new professional fellowship in European Community Law for 1994-1995. The grant period is for four months. The grantee will be provided the opportunity to pursue three months of study and work experience in London and one month of work experience in Brussels.

- Applicants must hold U.S. citizenship.
- Applicants must hold law degrees and be qualified and practicing U.S. lawyers.
- The award is designed for U.S. lawyers who have been qualified lawyers for between three and six years and who can demonstrate some experience of, or interest in, aspects of EC law.
- The candidate's employer is expected to provide appropriate leave during the four months of the fellowship, and the candidate is expected to continue employment in the U.S. with the existing employer at the end of the fellowship.
- The U.K. Fulbright Commission grant is for \$1,000 per month for the four months in addition to roundtrip travel.
- The fellowship period is from the beginning of October 1994 until the end of January 1995.
- The grantee will spend three months in London as a nondegree student at the University College London and will take up to four LLM courses. These will be principally in EC law, but there will be flexibility to follow other LLM courses in law selected by the candidate. Tuition costs are covered by Allen and Overy.
- Approximately 60 percent of the time in London will be spent on LLM course work with the other 40 percent of the time spent at the law firm of Allen and Overy.
- The grantee will spend one month in Brussels at the Allen and Overy office there. The cost of travel between London and Brussels will be provided by Allen and Overy.
- Allen and Overy will provide assistance in finding housing, but costs for accommodations will be covered by the grantee.

Application Deadline: Applications will be due August 1, 1993. A completed application form, five page statement, resume, and four letters of reference are required.

Call (202) 686-7878 to leave a message requesting application materials.

If you have questions about the application procedure on the U.S. side, contact Dr. Karen Adams (202) 686-6245 or Ms. Thitaya Rivera (202) 686-6239, or write to the following address:

U.K. Fulbright Fellowship in European Community Law
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M, Box L-F
Washington, DC 20008-3009

**1994-1995 FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR PROGRAM
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE
REGIONAL RESEARCH PROGRAM**

One award is available for an established scholar to conduct research for up to ten months during the 1994-1995 academic year on a project that thematically reflects the goals of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Preference will be given to proposals requiring work in two or more countries. The grantee will be required to participate in at least one CSCE related conference, seminar, or workshop at CSCE offices in Warsaw or Vienna. Proposals should focus on topics directly related to the development and activities of the CSCE. Preferred areas of focus include:

- The peaceful management of change in Europe, including the political, economic, and cultural roots of change, mechanisms and dynamics of handling a major historical transition period and the CSCE's role in it.
- Migration issues.
- The role of the free press in promoting stability.

- The mechanics of free market forces and their role in the promotion of long-term stability.
- The preservation of European cultural heritage, preservation and restoration of endangered works of art, the crisis in art theft from Eastern Europe, the rationalization of legal standards on cultural patrimony.
- The role of preventive diplomacy and crisis management in maintaining stability.

Eligibility:

Applicants should have a PhD or equivalent professional status and be U.S. citizens at the time of application. Language skills required to pursue the proposed project without translation assistance are expected. The program is intended for established scholars.

Benefits:

A stipend of approximately \$4,500 per month prorated for periods involving parts of a month, plus an allowance of \$5,000 to cover items such as international travel, excess baggage, settling in, books, and services.

Application Deadline: August 1, 1993

For more information and application forms, contact:

Dr. Richard Pettit
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5M
Washington, D.C. 20008-3009
(202) 686-6240

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS UPDATE

MA IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN STUDIES
Sussex European Institute

The MA in Contemporary European Studies is a one year course offered in two semesters of 14 weeks. Students take a compulsory core course in the first semester and three options in the second semester. Students are also required to complete a 20,000 word dissertation. The Sussex European Institute's program is distinctive in its explicit coverage of Western and Eastern Europe in an integrated manner.

For information contact:
Postgraduate Admissions Office
Sussex House
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RH
UK

MSc IN EUROPEAN SOCIAL POLICY
The London School of Economics and Political Science

The MSc in European Social Policy is a one year, full-time course undertaken within the Department of Social

Science and Administration, which is primarily intended for candidates in the early stages of, or looking toward, careers as practitioners, planners, and administrators of public services whose interest lies at the European level. The program is multidisciplinary, and cross-national comparative study is its integrative feature. Students gain a grounding in the comparative analysis of the institutional arrangements of European welfare states.

For information contact:
Professor John M. Ashworth
The London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street
London, WC2
UK
Tel.: 071-405-7686; Fax: 071-242-0392

**MPhil AND DPhil DEGREES IN
CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN STUDIES**
Sussex European Institute

The Sussex European Institute offers opportunities for research degrees either at MPhil or at DPhil levels. The institute also offers links at postgraduate level with uni-

versities elsewhere in Europe and draws upon the expertise of both resident and visiting faculty whose research ranges from challenges of governance in East and West Europe to informal politics of the European Community. MPhil students must complete a 40,000 word dissertation, and DPhil students are expected to complete an 80,000 word dissertation.

For more information contact:
Postgraduate Admissions Office
Sussex House
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RH
UK

**NEW APPOINTMENTS IN
EUROPEAN STUDIES**
Oxford University European Studies Centre

A new University European Studies Institute has been launched at Oxford University, which aims to pull together the various research and teaching activities under way in different Oxford colleges. The director is Professor Jack Hayward. He has also been joined by Anand Menon, who will teach European Integration and European International Politics; Anne Gauthier, who will teach European Social Policy and Public Policy; and James Forder, who will teach the Economics of European integration.

For more information contact:
William Wallace
St. Anthony's College
European Studies Center
Oxford, OX2 6JF
UK
Tel.: 0865-274470; Fax: 0865-274478

REVIEW ESSAYS

Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community. Alberta Sbragia (Ed). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1992. 303 pages.

The European Community: Structure & Process. Clive Archer and Fiona Butler. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. 200 pages.

In the volume *Euro-Politics*, editor Alberta Sbragia brings together a number of individual essays that introduce the institutions and policymaking process of the Community to students new to EC studies. She then constructs an analytical framework within which the emerging institutional arrangements in the Community can be better understood. Taking a distinctly political-institutional approach, Sbragia immediately dismisses the misconception often predominant in the American cognizance, particularly after Maastricht, that the Community is evolving into a "United States of Europe." Such a view, Sbragia points out, mistakenly implies that the Community is characterized by "centralized decision-making, a cohesive and uniform policy process, and especially, institutional independence from the collective will of the member state-governments." Instead, Sbragia emphasizes that member-states retain significant influence in Community decisionmaking, particularly in the external body of the European Council and in the internal body of the Council of Ministers. Outcomes of the policy process, therefore, result from a complex mesh of national and Community politics. Although Sbragia effectively delineates the scope and focus of this volume, some of the essays adhere more closely to it than others.

In David Cameron's historical prelude to the 1992 Initiative, the author adeptly identifies key economic, institutional, and political factors that contributed to the Initiative's formation and acceptance. This study, which lends keen insights into the dynamic interaction between integrationist and intergovernmental forces, examines how the combination of the two shaped the Initiative. Cameron gives greatest weight to the impact of intergovernmental forces in shaping the Initiative, particularly those embodied in the European Council. From this analysis, the author predicts "it will be the states, acting through the European Council, rather than the supranational organizations of the Community, that will by and large define, shape and control policy, at least in the realm of economic, monetary, and political union."

The two following essays illustrate the roles of Community institutions in building the European polity. B. Guy Peters's essay provides those unfamiliar with Community politics with a brief introduction to key EC institutions, namely the Council of Ministers, the EC Commission, and the European Parliament. Although Peters acknowledges the primacy of member-states in Community decisionmaking, he submits that "much of what happens depends on less glamorous bureaucratic interaction and bargaining" between Community institutions and states. Martin Shapiro's detailed yet intriguing analysis focuses upon the role of the European Court of Justice in "constitution-building," as well as in furthering the internal market. Shapiro convincingly demonstrates the Court's crucial role in shaping the EC through using binding Community treaties as a foundation for a new constitutional regime. Although the Court's constitution-building role has been reduced, the present-day Court still maintains significant policymaking power in admin-

istrative and technical decisions. Holding to Sbragia's framework, the author shows that the European Court does not act as a solitary, supranational legal entity but instead relies heavily upon the incorporation and cooperation of national courts in the judicial process.

John T. Wooley's chapter reveals the sophisticated logic associated with the development of policy credibility in the institutions of the European Monetary System. Wooley links the credibility of EMS institutions to the demonstrated willingness of member-states to bear the demanding political and economic costs. In return, these institutions create a number of financial benefits to member-states, such as mechanisms that stabilize the exchange rate, thereby raising the costs of any broken commitments and reinforcing the policy credibility of EMS institutions. Wooley submits that successful instillation of policy credibility in EMS institutions allowed serious discussion of a European central bank (EuroFed) and of a common currency (EMU) at Maastricht. Yet, like the EMS, these proposed institutions must first win domestic political battles to obtain member-state commitments and must provide reciprocal benefits before policy credibility in these new institutions can be established.

Structural and social integration are the foci of the final two contributing chapters. Funding and distribution of Community Structural Funds form the crux of Gary Marks's study. Reforms in structural funding made by the European Council in 1988 have resulted in substantial increases in funding devoted to regional integration, accounting for nearly 25 percent of the total Community budget by 1993. Reforms have also allowed increased autonomy for the EC Commission and funding administrations in the allocation of the funds and for an enhanced role for regional interests, increasingly tied directly to the Community center. Although Marks promotes the conceptual emergence of a "Europe of the regions," he also recognizes that member-states, which are not oblivious to these "outflanking" maneuvers, have attempted to constrain subnational governments and Community regional intervention by "channeling contacts through central ministries."

Peter Lange addresses the calls for a "social Europe" alongside the development of a "market Europe." Lange does not foresee any conflict in the social dimension between "neorealist" and "social-protectionist" forces at the Community level. He bases his reasoning upon the fragmented nature of domestic labor and business interests; the unwillingness of European union or employer organizations, such as EUTA and UNICE, to impose a European-wide social agenda; and the unanimity decision rule regarding Community social policymaking. Although Lange anticipates greater potential for Community intervention in the social policy realm after Maastricht, his expectation is that such actions are "likely to bring to the surface differences in interests that will prompt a patchwork of policies, some at the EC level, others at the national level, and still others at the regional

level or decided through collective bargaining." Thus, as Sbragia posited, policy outcomes will emerge as a complex mesh of Community, national, and even regional, politics.

Overall, Sbragia has compiled a compelling array of essays centered on the role of Community institutions and on the impact of member-states upon policymaking. In this developing European polity, Sbragia reasserts that "governments continue to be central actors." Moreover, Sbragia contends that the emerging European political federation may be better understood, although not perfectly, when compared to the German federalist system. The basic premise is that the German system "allows for direct participation by constituent governments in the policymaking carried on at the center." Despite the volume's emphasis upon the institutionalized representation of governments, however, incongruencies exist between essays that pay more or less attention to the subject. Although this may derail some readers, the essays, when taken individually, render key insights to Community institutions and to the policymaking process and prove valuable complementary resources for students new to European Community studies as it moves beyond 1992.

In *The European Community*, authors Clive Archer and Fiona Butler offer a concisely written and substantively rich overview of all aspects of the Community, both past and present, with an eye to future prospects for the emerging European Union. The authors carefully present the material, which is intended to be introductory text to the study of the EC, in an organized fashion, and are aware of the pitfalls of "overloading" students new to Community studies with complex information not properly prefaced. Although the text ambitiously tackles a broad spectrum of topics including the historical evolution of European cooperation, the creation and development of the Community, its institutions and major policy areas, the Community's interactions with external actors, and the emerging prospects of political union in the aftermath of the Maastricht Treaty, the authors neither hope nor pretend that the text is all inclusive. Rather, they aim to give students an insightful glimpse of the monumental forces at work behind European economic and political integration.

Archer and Butler trace the origins of European cooperation as manifested by their institutional forms from the post-World War II era to the present. Their analysis suggests that the evolutionary pathway of institution-building, from such institutions as the ECSC and the EEC into the present-day European Community and emerging European Union, has been strewn with both setbacks and successes. The authors attribute this to the varying nature of intergovernmental relations and to the impact of external events at successive stages of European development. In order to step forward into the next evolutionary phase, that of a European Union as partially envisaged at Maastricht, this new authority must be a "cooperative effort created by the governments and peoples of the former sovereign states."

The authors devote several chapters to introducing the institutional framework and reviewing major policy areas of the Community. They emphasize that the institutions of the Community have been strengthened significantly since the Maastricht Treaty, particularly the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, both having received "improved and increased influence over a greater number of policy competencies—the Council acting by qualified majority if it so decides, in relation to foreign policy activities, and the EP's de facto veto and co-decisionmaking power." In their review of major policy areas, the authors reason that increasing Community intervention into the realms of social, environmental, and regional policy are part of the "EC's search for political legitimacy and authority." Broadening the scope of Community responsibilities will give impetus to anticipations of deeper integration for an eventual European Union, creating a tumult of future political expectations for the EC.

Archer and Butler foresee implementation of a common foreign and security policy as the primary stumbling block, although not a permanent barrier, in the road toward a complete European Union. Common external

policies also open the possibility for a common defense policy, most likely embodied in the apparatus of the Western European Union (WEU), although they acknowledge that this may prove difficult for neutral states to accept for EC-Union membership. Despite some implied reluctance to forecast too precisely the future of European integration or the nature of the Community as it takes on the additional mantle of political responsibility, the authors have successfully managed to distill volumes of facts and details about the EC and to present those deemed meaningful in a coherent text. Most certainly, this text will take its place as an essential read for students new to the study of the European Community. ○

—Peter J. Waite
Utah State University

Editorial Note: The editors of the ECSA Newsletter encourage reviewers for the "Review Essay" section. Please submit typed, double-spaced reviews or essays along with accompanying disk to: Carolyn Rhodes, Department of Political Science, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322.

ECSA NEWS

GRANTS RECEIVED

Commission of the European Community (Brussels), Directorate-General I (External Relations), Unit for Relations with the USA: ECU 4,500 for ECSA's Project on United States-European Community Relations.

Commission of the European Community (Brussels), Directorate-General I (External Relations), Unit for Relations with the USA ECU 4,000 for *The State of the European Community, Volume II*.

Delegation of the Commission of the European Community (Washington, DC), Office of Press and Public

Affairs: \$30,500 for the ECSA Newsletter, 1993 Conference Abstracts, and administrative infrastructure.

1993 MEMBERSHIP

The Executive Committee has reaffirmed its decision that ECSA membership shall be on a calendar year basis. As such, membership, whenever taken out, will expire at the end of the year. Annual dues remain \$50 for institutions, \$20 for individuals, and \$10 for students. The Executive Committee appreciates your past support and invites your 1993 membership in ECSA. Please use the form included on the last page of this Newsletter to become a new member or to renew your existing membership.

THE STATE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

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