



**EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
STUDIES ASSOCIATION**  
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# **ECSA REVIEW**

## **From the Chair**

**GARY MARKS**

### **Ballots and Votes**

ACCOMPANYING THIS ISSUE of the *Review* is a ballot for the election of the ECSA's 1999-2001 Executive Committee. This Committee, elected by the membership, is the final decision making body of ECSA with authority over the range of our activities, including the Biennial Conference, ECSA's publications, grants, and new programs. The new Committee will take office at ECSA's Biennial International Conference in Pittsburgh in June. We have ten excellent candidates for the seven-person Committee. Please vote!

### **Two New Initiatives**

At its January 1999 meeting the Executive Committee undertook two initiatives in response to the results of our Tenth Anniversary Member Survey of last year. We are pleased to report that in response to your feedback, we will increase the number of issues of the *ECSA Review* from three to four annually, beginning immediately. Henceforth each volume will have four numbers which will be the Winter, Spring, Summer and Fall issues in every calendar year.

Also, we are pursuing an initiative that is supported by more than 80 percent of those who responded to our survey—ECSA interest sections. As in other academic associations, interest sections must reflect the diverse interests and energies of the membership if they are to work. ECSA will consider proposals for the establishment of interest sections from groups or individuals who have brief letters of support from 15 or more current ECSA members who are prepared to join the section. Membership fees for sections (which will be a surcharge added to the annual ECSA membership fee) may range from \$6 to \$10. I envisage interest sections participating actively in the life of ECSA. They will be featured on ECSA's membership form; they may publicize their activities in the *ECSA Review*; and, potentially, they may organize panels at ECSA's Biennial Conference. Possible topics for interest sections are thematic (e.g., environmental policy, governance, modern history, law); policy-specific (e.g., environmental policy, cohesion/regional policy); and country- or region-specific (e.g., Germany, France, the UK). (You may be interested to know that respondents to the 1998 Member Survey ranked as their top preferred interest sections: 1) political economy; 2) policy making; and 3) governance.) Please visit the ECSA Web site for instructions on how to submit a proposal for an ECSA interest section.

### **1999 US-EU Relations Project**

Organized by ECSA's Vice-Chair, Pierre-Henri Laurent, our Biennial US-EU Relations Project began in Washington, DC on January 14, 1999. ECSA has convened two internationally respected scholars, C. Randall Henning of the University of Rome and Pier Carlo Padoan of the University of Rome, who delivered papers on EMU and the launch of the *euro* at an invited workshop of EU experts. Professors Henning and Padoan will also present their papers at an invited workshop in Brussels in February 1999. The US-EU Relations Project will culminate at our International Conference in June with a keynote address by both scholars. For the first time, ECSA organized this project transnationally, with scholars from each side of the Atlantic, in collaboration with the TransEuropean Policy Studies Association in Brussels. We intend to publish both papers as a joint monograph which will be sent to all ECSA members as a benefit of their Association membership.

### **Biennial Conference**

Plans for ECSA's Sixth Biennial International Conference are well underway. The Conference Provisional Program is included in this issue of the *ECSA Review* and is posted on our Web site. In response to your feedback we have limited the number of panels as well as the duration of the conference (cutting back from four days to three and from 90 panels to 77). You told us to emphasize quality over quantity and we have tried to do just this. Two innovations at this year's conference are the Poster Session to take place on June 2nd and a celebratory dinner to honor the founders of ECSA and kick off the ECSA Grants and Scholarships Fund. (See pp.11-12 for details about the Conference and conference activities.) Early registration deadline is April 30. If you have not already made plans to attend the Conference, you may still do so.

Finally, I would like to draw your attention to the Forum in this issue on the Makins report, "The Study of Europe in the United States," with short responses by Donald Hancock and Glenda G. Rosenthal. The Makins report provides a major evaluation of the field of European studies in the United States and will set the scene for funding decisions over the next several years. In the next issue of the *Review* we will hold space for readers' comments on the Makins report, or on any other issue that ECSA members wish to raise.

—GARY MARKS

*University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

***Coordinator of the Network of European Union Centers***

### The Study of Europe in the United States: The Makins Report

Christopher J. Makins

THE REPORT The Study of Europe in the United States was primarily concerned with the programs of its two sponsors: the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the Delegation of the European Commission to the United States. The report's recommendations were therefore not directly, nor principally, addressed to practitioners of the study of the European Union or to the membership of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA). But, not surprisingly, the analysis in the report contained several important implications for practitioners. I will try to identify the most important of these.

While recognizing the absence of reliable and comprehensive data, the report paints a picture of a field that is in better health than many might think or than some recent trends might lead one to suppose. Despite clear evidence that some sources of funding for the study of Europe have been declining, there remains a high level (and high quality) of activity in the field at all stages of the academic cycle and, if anything, the study of European integration broadly understood may be prospering more than the field as a whole. The impressive growth of ECSA and the vitality of its conferences are good testimony to these impressions.

This situation is, admittedly, in some contrast with that of the mid- to late 1980s and no doubt owes much to the increased interest in European developments following the end of the Cold War and the re-launching of progress towards European integration. Since what goes up can turn and go down, it would be wrong to derive too much satisfaction from this trend. But with the advent of both the Economic and Monetary Union and the enlargement of the European Union to the east, there seems no reason to suppose that the number of questions of importance and interest to researchers and policy makers alike relating to European integration is going to diminish any time soon.

There are no doubt clouds on the horizon. My report to the GMF and the Delegation described these in some detail as they concern the decline of language learning in this country, the continuing divisions within the academy on Cold War lines, developments within the disciplines traditionally most associated with "European studies," and a tendency in some quarters to define European Union studies in too narrow, and Brussels-centered, a way. And even with the welcome infusion of money represented by the EU's initiative to designate ten European Union Centers at universities and colleges around the country, there are no doubt still unsatisfied and compelling needs for additional financial support for the field.

Against this background, what are the lessons of my study, and the challenges implicit in it, for practitioners? Five in particular come to mind.

First, practitioners of European integration studies need to make their contribution to breaking down some of the barriers to the field's healthy development that exist within the academy. The most obvious are those that remain from the Cold War and that distinguish between Western European and Central, Eastern European and Russian studies. With the next enlargement of the EU well on this side of the horizon and the enlargement of NATO already begun, there is no good reason, although there may be much compelling bureaucratic logic, for these divisions to continue. But there is also a case for taking a broader view of what is included under the term "European integration." There are already moves afoot among some scholars to broaden the definition of the institutional and political processes that come within the purview of European Union studies by focusing less exclusively on the Union's institutions and directing greater attention to the interactions among national (and indeed regional) and supranational institutions, communities and policies. These changes need to be encouraged both by responsible faculty and administrators within universities and colleges and by external funders.

Second, there is the challenge of interdisciplinarity. The funding stringency at a number of institutions, combined with internal developments within some departments, has tended to result in the shrinking of the institutional space available for interdisciplinary work. Indeed some go so far as to declare the attempt to promote greater interdisciplinarity as a failure from which we should move on. At the same time, there has been a significant diffusion of the study of Europe, including European integration, beyond the core disciplines normally associated with it. Business schools are only the most common of places to witness this diffusion, which also encompasses law schools, departments of communications and planning, and others.

If ever there were a phenomenon of which the full understanding and analysis requires an interdisciplinary approach, European integration would seem to be it. The question is how to achieve this in the current situation within the academy. My report attempted to catalogue the tensions both within and between disciplines that have helped engender the unfortunate situation that has developed. But this is, *par excellence*, an area in which the patients must heal themselves; there is little that can be done by external funders, except perhaps wealthy individuals who can provide for (and in a number of institutions have generously done so) interdisciplinary centers focused on Europe. This may be an issue on which the new European Union Centers can give a useful lead. But it is also one on which individual scholars need to make their voices heard within their own institutions and to which administrators need to devote attention in order to offset the particularism of departments.

Third, there is the vexed question of policy relevance. This may be less of a problem in the area of European integration studies than that of the study of Europe more

generally, but it is a problem nonetheless. Raising this subject does not imply a wish to make all scholarly enquiry in this area directly relevant to public policy debates. There will always be a place for fundamental and theoretical research on these issues. But the gap between the academic mainstream and those concerned with the discussion of public policy has grown wider in recent years. As a consequence possibilities for mutual enrichment of those engaged on the two sides of the divide are being foregone. For sure, the world of public policy debate could benefit from the more rigorous insights gained by scholars and, though the point may be less obvious, I believe that much scholarship and many scholars would be enriched by a more regular and serious dialogue with those, not only in governments, but also in the corporate and NGO worlds, wrestling with the practical issues of policy.

Again, the question is how to achieve this goal. Here, too, part of the responsibility rests with funders to encourage such interchange. But academic institutions and scholars could take more initiative on their side by seeking to involve government and corporate policy makers and policy analysts from think tanks and research institutes more in their colloquia and workshops and by looking for opportunities to become engaged themselves outside the walls of the academy. This recommendation admittedly flies in the face of the oft-cited and indisputable pressures from within departments, especially on younger scholars, to stick to their disciplinary lasts and to privilege theoretically interesting work over that which may have more practical application. But there are several examples, noted in the report, of institutions both within and without the academy that have led the way in building bridges between academic research and policy analysis and debate. One can only hope that there will be more people on both sides courageous enough to take up these cudgels.

Fourth, there are particular challenges arising out of the establishment of the ten European Union Centers. The first of these is obviously to find ways to make this initiative more than the sum of its parts and, in particular, to ensure that its benefits are disseminated as widely as possible, including to those outside the immediate vicinity of the centers themselves. The Internet offers a useful tool for this purpose and the idea of creating a network of Web sites, linked presumably to ECSA's site, as part of the initiative has great potential. The Council for European Studies should also be played into this picture in view of its broader interest in all aspects of the study of Europe.

A second challenge related to the centers is sustainability. Many of the 70 or so proposals for the Centers incorporated admirable ideas about ways to ensure that they would remain viable even after the presumed three-year term of the EU funding ends. Implementing these ideas is of the highest importance. This task will require the administrations of the institutions in question to put their weight firmly behind the Centers in their fundraising efforts. It would, to say the least, be highly unfortunate if after three years the new Network were to become a shadow of itself.

Fifth, and most intangibly, there is the concern expressed to me by a number of scholars during the research for my report that the area of European integration studies has suffered from inadequate quality control, in large measure because of the sudden vogue of interest in the EU since 1989. This concern is almost impossible to document with any conviction, but the very fact that it exists is significant. This again is an area in which individual scholars and departments must be primarily responsible for monitoring the field. But there should be no doubt that its long term health is very much dependent on maintaining a reputation for both quality and relevance. ECSA as an institution should be able to make its voice heard on the right side of this debate.

A somewhat related point derives from the, rather surprising, evidence generated by my research of the steady increase in recent years in the number of Ph.D.s awarded in the core disciplines of "European studies" with dissertations on European topics. Given the, at best, mixed state of the academic job market during this period, this evidence leaves the observer with an uneasy feeling. (It is, incidentally, of a piece with recent data from the National Academy of Sciences that suggest the overproduction of Ph.D.s in the life sciences.) Such information, of course, begs the rarely asked and answered question, "How much is enough?," and discussion of the criteria for determining this, on which my report attempted to offer some suggestions.

On this issue, as on all the others mentioned earlier, ECSA has a chance to take a lead in its field (as the Council for European Studies has in its broader universe, and was encouraged to do in my report) by providing a venue and stimulus for discussion of the needs of the academy, the international community of scholars, and the societies of the Atlantic world for U.S. scholarship on Europe. The answers are not obvious, but they are certainly important. ECSA would render valuable service by focusing wider attention on these important questions.

*Christopher J. Makins is Senior Advisor to the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, DC.*

## **Donald Hancock**

CHRISTOPHER J. MAKINS' [The Study of Europe in the United States](#) attests to the continued vitality of the study of Europe in American academe while documenting important changes in the field (among them, increased research on the Europe Union). Makins also soberly emphasizes the potentially debilitating tension between epistemological and methodological expectations on the part of various disciplines (notably Economics, Political Science, and Sociology) and area studies (including in-depth country and regional expertise).

That the study of Europe nonetheless remains relevant in the face of oftentimes faddish disciplinary orthodoxy is due not only to continued subvention in the form of Title VI funding and the recent creation of ten European Union Centers

throughout the country, but also to activities sponsored by professional associations not cited in the Makins report (nor explicitly surveyed in my own earlier survey of European studies on behalf of the German Marshall Fund). I am referring to the constructive role of country and regional organizations such as the German Studies Association (GSA), the Conference Group on German Politics, the British Politics Group, the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, and other organizations which sponsor annual conferences, provide (in some cases) a modicum of research support, publish quality newsletters and/or journals, and maintain their own Web sites.

Alongside the ECSA and the Council for European Studies, these associations constitute vital components of the field. The GSA (whose membership rivals that of the ECSA) is especially noteworthy for convening an interactive mix of social scientists and humanists from both sides of the Atlantic at its annual meetings. Its energetic and effective leadership constitutes a veritable model for promoting the continued importance of European studies as a whole.

A longer view of the field suggests simultaneous imperatives of revival, continuity, and innovation. A promising illustration of the former would be renewed emphasis on an activity associated with the CES during the halcyon years of more extensive funding—namely, intense training workshops involving established Europeanists and advanced graduate students. A particularly noteworthy example was an interdisciplinary conference sponsored by the CES at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the 1970s which brought together American and European specialists on Scandinavian politics and society and students pursuing research on countries in the region. The workshop resulted not only in substantive information exchange among its participants but also personal contacts that led to placement offers benefiting at least some of the participants.

Several examples of commendable continuity come readily to mind. One is continued funding by the CES and other agencies for trans-Atlantic research groups whose collaborative research results in tangible publications. Such activities can usefully underscore many of the prescriptive features of the Makins report, including an expanded linkage between traditional forms of scholarship and better understanding of contemporary public policy issues.

An additional imperative—common to European studies as well as other area study programs—is community outreach. The Title VI program and the Washington Delegation of the European Commission have commendably encouraged the dissemination of enhanced understanding of other cultures and societies among teachers, business people, and other members of the informed public, but academic institutions and individual scholars can do more.

Innovation can take many forms, including a willingness by Europeanists in the social sciences to support efforts by their colleagues in modern foreign language departments to transcend their disciplines' traditional focus on language and literature to create broadly based interdisciplinary programs

designed to train students seeking careers in business or public service (rather than positions as foreign language teachers). Examples include the transformation of departments of Germanic Languages into departments of German Studies at Stanford University and The University of Texas at Austin and the establishment of interdisciplinary undergraduate majors in French and European Studies and German and European Studies at Vanderbilt.

These objectives—along with the more detailed recommendations contained in the Makins report—can be realized only through sustained commitment to the field among Europeanists and a confluence of institutional and personal leadership and support.

*Donald Hancock is Director of the Center for European Studies at Vanderbilt University.*

### **Glenda G. Rosenthal**

THE MAKINS REPORT ON the study of Europe in the United States has a lineage of almost 30 years, going back to Kohl and Blackmer's July 1969 "Western European Studies in American Universities." Donald Hancock in 1989, Sidney Tarrow in 1993 and Peter Hall in 1996 each wrote thoughtful and provocative reports on the same subject, commissioned by the German Marshall Fund in the case of the Hancock Report, and by the Social Science Research Council in the case of the Tarrow and Hall Reports. Makins, however, is the first to have addressed head on European Union studies as the genuine sub-field that it has become in the United States. His report is also the first widely published document on European studies to have been sponsored in part by the European Commission's Delegation in the United States along with the German Marshall Fund.

Evaluation and critiques of academic disciplines by those heavily involved in their funding is also nothing new, of course, and I have no quarrel with it. Indeed, it would be both churlish and foolish of me to look a gift horse in the mouth. Agenda setting, however, is quite another story. Since the early postwar years when, largely as a result of Ford Foundation and, a little later, federal government encouragement, "area studies" came into being, the parameters of the study of Europe have been extensively defined by the principal funding agencies. This puts the scholar in the kind of double bind that Makins underscores when he calls for the breaking down of barriers that exist within the academy. How does one break down the barriers between Western European studies on the one hand and Central, Eastern European and Russian studies on the other, when approximately half one's external funding comes from the U.S. Department of Education, which continues vigorously to maintain such barriers, and the other half comes from the European Union, which penalizes such distinctions when it makes its monetary awards? Similarly, Makins admits that younger scholars especially are subject to unbearable

pressures from within departments to “privilege theoretically interesting work over that which may have more practical application,” but the only solution he offers is the sudden appearance of more people “...courageous enough to take up these cudgels.” I submit that it takes more than courage to buck deep-rooted and widely held academic practice. One solution to this dilemma is perhaps the creation of more fully fledged *Departments* of European Studies in American universities. Such departments have existed for many years in numbers of British universities without having destroyed the fabric and quality of British scholarship. Undoubtedly there would be resistance from the traditional academic departments, who would bleat about lack of theoretical relevance and absence of quality control, whatever that may mean, but such measures could be undertaken gradually with the aid of joint appointments. There is now no lack of highly respected, senior, tenured scholars of modern Europe to push for the creation of such departments.

*Interdisciplinary* study is also a term which has circulated among scholars and funders alike for decades. What on earth does interdisciplinary mean? If it means pairs or groups of scholars each examining the same questions from their own disciplinary points of view and then pooling the results, all well and good. If interdisciplinary study and teaching is understood to be something more than the sum of its parts, I think we are chasing shadows. The search for such a thing among the traditional disciplines cannot be legislated or brought into being by giving dollars. It requires scholars with genuine interests in the concepts and methodologies of other disciplines and the broad-mindedness and openness that only a tiny minority have the talent, energy and time to apply. I also doubt that it will be brought into being, any more than policy relevant scholarship will be brought into being, by seating scholars, corporate, government and NGO officials round the same conference, lunch or dinner table and enjoining them to debate.

I want to devote the remaining space allowed to the new European Union Centers. First, I welcome them with enthusiasm and gratitude. It has taken a very long time for the EU to recognize that important and extensive study of European integration and EC/EU governance and policies has been conducted in the United States since the very beginnings of the European Communities themselves. For decades, European scholars have looked to the U.S. for leadership, ideas and conceptual tools in this field of study. This, of course, is not to minimize the very valuable work that has been done and continues to be done in Europe itself, particularly during the rather fallow periods of EC scholarship here in the 1970s and 1980s. But, we should also not minimize the fact that European scholars participate in droves in the ECSA biennial conferences largely because no comparable meeting of EU studies specialists exists elsewhere. Understandably the European institutions have taken care of their home turf first. Widescale support here of EU studies has been a very long time in coming and is, therefore, all the more welcome. But, I am worried about these EU Centers, not so

much for reasons of sustainability and lack of quality control, as suggested by Makins. There is far too much at stake for scholars of the EU to abandon ship just at a time when major changes are and will be taking place in its membership, governance and policies. I am sure we can rely on each other to persuade our universities and our colleagues that what we do is meaningful and our funders that we are spending their money wisely and responsibly.

There is no easy answer and the most fashionable answer of the moment—electronics, more electronics, ever more electronics—is most definitely not my preferred remedy. Over the past year, there has been a huge increase in Web sites, list serves, e-mail correspondence and data bases. We are already facing a lot of overlap and duplication: links take one in ever increasing circles, more and more time is spent in front of screens, students are obliged to be ever more “wired.” Heaven forbid if we don’t put our newsletters, research papers, classroom assignments, syllabi, grades, announcement of events, summons to meetings, not to mention general chit-chat on line. Perhaps we will be dubbed slow and old-fashioned. Pity the poor scholar whose software is not of the newest and, even worse, who has to seek help in downloading attachments. Far be it from me to minimize the way in which the Internet and e-mail have revolutionized my research, teaching and professional (not to mention personal) communication in the last two or three years. But what is the point in linking my Institute’s Web site to our Consortium’s Web site, which is linked in turn to all other European studies Web sites, which are then linked to the Network of European Union Centers Web site? Maybe others are more disciplined than I am, but I am currently suffering from acute electronic indigestion.

Those of us involved in the study of Europe (I like the distinction Makins draws between the study of Europe and European studies) have, I contend, leaned over backwards for years to be responsive to fashions and fads in the academic disciplines, strictures and constraints imposed by university administrations, and the priorities of major funders in order to obtain adequate monetary support and scholarly recognition. Although it is incumbent on us to listen to constructive criticism, we should stop being so insecure and reactive and move ahead confidently with our work in the knowledge that, as practitioners of the study of the European Union, we have carved out for ourselves a strong and healthy field of scholarship and a dynamic professional organization to represent our interests.

*Glenda G. Rosenthal is Director of the Institute on Western Europe at Columbia University and Co-Director of the European Union Center of New York.*



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## Essay

### Europe's Information Society

Androulla Kaminara

THE TERM "INFORMATION SOCIETY" has been used in Europe to describe what in the U.S. would be called the information highway. It indicates the importance Europe is placing on the societal implications of the technological developments. Information society developments in Europe are taking place at a very fast pace. Here is an overview of recent developments and relevant sources of information:

European Union (EU) information society policy has been evolving since its introduction in 1994. One of the foundations of the policy has been the establishment of a fully liberalized regulatory framework for telecommunications services as of the 1st of January 1998. Policy objectives have included: improvement of the business environment; investing in the future through education and training adjustments and the enhancement of European knowledge base; measures to promote the use of the technology in order to promote social and regional cohesion and the development of global rules. The Information Society Project Office (ISPO) Web server of the Commission at <[www.ispo.cec.be](http://www.ispo.cec.be)> provides detailed up-to-date information on information society policy developments in the EU.

At the national level, nearly all Member States have by now launched initiatives in information society. Although these initiatives differ widely from country to country (some being launched as early as 1994, others as recent as 1998) they focus on creating an overall national strategy in promoting information society developments. Some of the characteristics of the projects that are being launched in Europe are:

- Education and training is the most popular application area. Nearly 50% of projects fall under this category. This is because most projects have an education and training element. At the same time, it is now becoming widely accepted that education and training are necessary for the development of a

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#### APPLICATION AREAS\*

Source: ESIS, Information Society Project Office

Education / Training	49%
Trade / Commerce	30%
Public Administration / Government	28%
Arts, Culture & Entertainment	21%
Social Utility / Enhancement of Democratic Rights and Participatory Mechanisms	21%
Health Care	16%
Transport & Environmental Development	14%
Consumer-Focused Marketing and Sales	14%
Manufacturing	13%

\* Multiple entries permitted.

sound economy and one that will fully benefit from the information society. More than half of the projects in this area target adult education.

- Electronic commerce is the objective of about 30% of all projects. The number of electronic commerce projects is increasing rapidly.
- Most projects are more content oriented than technology oriented.
- There is a strong involvement of national, regional and local authorities with over 28% of projects being led by them.
- Small and medium sized enterprises are the primary target users of 25% of the projects.
- Project development effort is mostly at the local/regional level even though they target national and international markets.

The data given above are based on the findings of the European Survey on Information Society (ESIS); information available on the Web at <[www.ispo.cec.be/esis](http://www.ispo.cec.be/esis)>.

In late December 1998 the legislation needed for the establishment of the Fifth Framework Programme of research and development was agreed to in a meeting of the Council of Ministers. A total budget of 14.96 billion *euro* will be allocated, which represents an increase of 4.6%. The theme "User friendly information society" will be allocated a budget of 3.6 billion *euro*. More information on this can be found at <[www.cordis.lu/fifth](http://www.cordis.lu/fifth)>.

*Androulla Kaminara was recently a European Union Fellow at the Center for West European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, and is the ESIS project coordinator, Information Society Project Office, D-G XIII, European Commission, Brussels.*

## Teaching the EU

*Editor's note: In response to member interest, this column is now a regular feature of the ECSA Review. Suggestions and essays from ECSA members for this column are welcomed.*

### Teaching Integration in Virtual Time: Using Technologies to Experience the European Union

Colette Mazzucelli

IN THEIR *ECSA REVIEW* article "Teaching an EU Simulation," Peter Loedel *et alia* mention the use of a satellite teleconference at the Finnish Embassy to allow students in the simulation to speak with a Union representative in Brussels. This opportunity is one of the many creative and innovative changes which new technologies introduce to enhance pedagogical techniques in the field of European integration studies. This article presents a number of options to educators who may wish to use new technologies to create a global classroom and to bridge the gap between integration theory and practice.

#### Satellite Technology, ISDN and the Internet

Satellite technology is by far the most expensive to use, which may limit its pedagogical applications. To date, the Delegation of the Commission of the European Union has used satellite transmission to broadcast occasional videoconference programs on the European Union, including interviews with academics and practitioners, and question and answer sessions with audiences at university sites across the United States and Europe. Costs to link 12 sites transatlantically for a two-hour period could be as high as \$60,000. Given the recent initiative to create a Network of European Union Centers across the United States, satellite technology could be used to link all the Centers in occasional program events on recent developments in European integration or transatlantic relations.

ISDN videoconferencing is less expensive and features possibilities to link two sites in a point-to-point program or several sites in a multipoint program. Point-to-point links are more cost-effective for teleseminars lasting one semester or more because no bridge is required. For instance, a transatlantic point-to-point link can be as inexpensive as \$250 per hour if there are no room and equipment rental costs.

As an educator at the Budapest University of Economic Services for two years, my experience was that ISDN programs are quite effective to bring academics and practitioners together across the continents. By and large, shorter programs of one to two hours in duration work best. The warmth which is lost by using videoconferencing can be gained by keeping the class size at each site small and featuring engaging speakers who feel comfortable on-screen. It may also be a challenge to persuade students to participate interactively at first if the videoconference screen is viewed as

a barrier to communication. A sense of humor helps a great deal. So does a down to earth approach and the use of numerous concrete examples which students may relate to as they learn about European integration.

A longer ISDN program, which linked Budapest, New York and Brussels, featured a number of panels dealing with comparative policy processes in the European Union and the United States. The entire teleconference lasted six-hours and provided continuous presence, with all three sites on-screen simultaneously, as well as voice activated presence in which the screens change from one site to another in response to the individual who is the main speaker. This teleconference was an outgrowth of a transatlantic teleseminar during Fall 1996 between New York University and the Free University of Brussels. More information about the organization of the ISDN seminar sessions may be found on-line at [www.ulb.ac.be/iee/](http://www.ulb.ac.be/iee/).

The six-hour teleconference linking Budapest, New York and Brussels was expensive because it included two European sites and one American city. With three or more sites, bridging services are necessary. Since ISDN videoconference technology works with telephone lines the average cost for a program of this kind may be as high as \$600 per site per hour including the bridge. An example of a company which provides bridging services at a reasonable rate, V-SPAN, may be contacted on-line at [stephanb@vspan.com](mailto:stephanb@vspan.com). The Budapest, New York, Brussels program was videotaped so that it could be made available to others on request; a contact person is Dennis Smith at [smithde@is.nyu.edu](mailto:smithde@is.nyu.edu). More information about the panels and participants may be found on-line at [www.cdsintl.org/rbfaa/partini.html](http://www.cdsintl.org/rbfaa/partini.html).

Cost-effective alternatives to ISDN programs which may reach a much wider audience are possible using the Internet or an ISDN link to the Internet with ISDN lines installed for use with a home computer. This latter option is very cost effective for personal use as a professor develops on-line course offerings. Bell Atlantic sometimes offers free upgrades of existing lines to achieve ISDN capacity and keeps monthly charges to use the ISDN lines at minimal cost. Price information is available in some areas at 1-800-USE-ISDN.

To link two sites in real time videoconferencing over the Internet, Microsoft's NetMeeting is one of the best options currently available in terms of the picture and voice clarity. The software may be downloaded free of charge from [www.microsoft.com](http://www.microsoft.com). Additional sites can try to join a point-to-point Microsoft NetMeeting connection by using the chat box to write messages or the White Board to draw diagrams, but only two sites can communicate directly at any one time. Diagram drawing usually inspires seminar participants, including faculty, to display their creative imagination.

To enhance the content and organization of video conference presentations using NetMeeting, information may also be presented in chart form using Microsoft's Power Point slides. Alternatively, three or more sites may be linked via audio and video using Cornell or White Pine CU-SeeMe, but the clarity is not nearly as sharp. The Cornell version of CU-



SeeMe may be downloaded free of charge from <[www.cornell.edu](http://www.cornell.edu)> or the White Pine version may be purchased inexpensively in computer software stores.

Another tool which facilitates very effective audio and video presentations by an individual professor or in team taught on-line seminar presentations at full screen dimension is RealPlayer which may be downloaded from <[www.realaudio.com](http://www.realaudio.com)>. RealPlayer is very useful to present weekly seminar sessions of an hour or more on-line. To view a demo by Roger Boston of Houston Community College which uses RealPlayer to present two videos and two PowerPoint slide shows, go to <[www.teched.org/tgcccc/hccs/html.ram](http://www.teched.org/tgcccc/hccs/html.ram)>. For those individuals who enjoy scenic tours of Texas, Roger's presentations may offer some pleasant surprises.

### **Bridging Theory and Practice**

In the field of EU studies, a recent four-week on-line seminar offered by Ernest Gohlert, Director, International Affairs Program and Professor of Government, Eastern Washington University, is a fine example of using technology to bring the practice of integration into the classroom. The course, which was partially supported by an ECSA Curriculum Development Grant, includes a historical overview of integration, Union institutions and policy-making, market and monetary policy, social policy, agricultural and environmental policy, trade, foreign affairs and defense, intra-European and transatlantic relations, and a global Europe. Requirements include two mini-essays, a research paper, attendance in two campus seminars, on-line communications via e-mail and a cyber-essay final exam. For more information, consult <[iap.ewu.edu/ia/course/nemasterfiles/nesyllabus.html](http://iap.ewu.edu/ia/course/nemasterfiles/nesyllabus.html)>.

As explained by Gohlert, teaching on-line requires that the professor bring students together for some face-to-face meetings before the course begins. Through the on-line course experience, students acquire skills researching on the Internet and increase their knowledge of the subject through e-mail exchanges with other students and practitioners of EU affairs. Gohlert also underlines that it is important to allow sufficient time to accomplish the workload assigned in an on-line course. Four weeks is generally not a sufficient amount of time for an on-line seminar.

Another example of an on-line course which incorporates theory and practice is the "European Union NAFTA WTO Advanced Issues in Law and Policy" offered by the Academy of European Law on-line at <[www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/JeanMonnet/seminar/index.html](http://www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/JeanMonnet/seminar/index.html)>. On-campus as well as virtual participants are invited to offer comments on draft papers which are made available on-line. During one seminar session, European Commissioner Karel Van Miert in Brussels participated on a panel with colleagues at Harvard Law School in Cambridge for a presentation on "The Impact of the Amsterdam Treaty on Interinstitutional Relations within the European Union."

The examples cited above illustrate that new technologies offer varied ways to bring the experience of integration into

the classroom. Over the past fifteen years European integration has become a more complex process with the changes initiated by the Single Market, the pillar structure introduced by the Treaty on European Union ("Maastricht") and the potential for further structural modifications contained in the Amsterdam Treaty. In this context there are numerous possibilities, working with technological tools, to marry conceptual insights and practitioners' experience to help us explain the evolution of the European Union.

*Colette Mazzucelli, Director, International Peace and Conflict Resolution Program and Assistant Professor, Beaver College, is writing a book on the Amsterdam process.*

## **Academic Programs**

*Please contact each program directly for information on instructional staff, accreditation, courses, policies, fees, and application materials and deadlines.*

**Master of Arts in International Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCRP)**, Beaver College, Glenside, PA is a dual-track, full-time or part-time MA program with overseas field experience and seminar components in Europe. A number of overseas sites are potential IPCRP partners including Ankara, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Castellon, Grenoble, London, Rome, Ulster and Uppsala. The program also emphasizes the use of new technologies to promote innovative curriculum development. Contact by e-mail <[mazzucelli@beaver.edu](mailto:mazzucelli@beaver.edu)> or visit the Web site <[www.beaver.edu](http://www.beaver.edu)> under Graduate Studies. Application deadline is April 1, 1999.

**Luxembourg Study Abroad Program**, Spring 2000, for undergraduate study of European history, political systems, culture, language, and international economics and business. The 15-credit program is accredited and taught in English. Sophomores with 2.5 or better GPA from any institution may apply and should contact John B. Roney, Director of European Studies, Sacred Heart University (Fairfield, CT) at tel. 203 371 7741; fax 203 371 7807; e-mail <[roneyj2@sacredheart.edu](mailto:roneyj2@sacredheart.edu)>.

**Master of European Public Affairs** is a post-graduate program offered by the Universiteit Maastricht in collaboration with the European Institute of Public Administration. The Maastricht Master's is designed to give professionals an understanding of the complexity of the European environment, equipping them with transnational training in politics and governance; civil societies; comparative public policies; integrating Europe; managing public affairs; and public management reform. Application deadline is April 1, 1999; contact Universiteit Maastricht EPA Office, P. O. Box 616, NL-6200 MD Maastricht, Netherlands; e-mail <[epa@facburfdcw.unimaas.nl](mailto:epa@facburfdcw.unimaas.nl)>; or visit the Web site at <[WWW.UNIMAAS.NL/~EPA](http://WWW.UNIMAAS.NL/~EPA)>; fax 31 43 321 0498.

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*ECSA invites proposals for a new initiative to debut at the 1999 Sixth Biennial International Conference:*

## **ECSA POSTER SESSION**

Wednesday, June 2, 1999 1-5 pm

Westin William Penn Hotel

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Poster presenters will have the opportunity to present their original research papers on some aspect of the European Union or the European integration process. Poster sessions have proved to be among the most interesting at the APSA and other meetings, and we have very high expectations of the ECSA Poster Session. ECSA will hold afternoon sessions and the following criteria and guidelines apply:

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Poster presenters must appear with the Poster, and should be prepared to answer questions about the work and make a 5-minute presentation of the research upon request.

Proposals for the ECSA Poster Session must follow these criteria:

- 1) A 100-150 word abstract, with bibliographic references, must be submitted to the ECSA Administrative Office (address given below). Please include full contact coordinates, including e-mail address and professional affiliation.
- 2) Deadline for receipt of all proposals is **March 5, 1999**.
- 3) Please do not send proposals by electronic mail.
- 4) Proposals will be accepted only from persons not giving a paper at the Sixth Biennial International Conference on June 3, 4, or 5, 1999.
- 5) Poster presenters must be present at the Poster Session.
- 6) All Poster presenters must register for the Poster Session and pay the small registration fee. Go to <https://secure.webstation.net/ecsa/index.html> to register for the conference on-line.  
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- 7) All Poster presenters will be listed in the full Conference Program.
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Interested parties may find general information on the use of Posters to present research in the social sciences by visiting these highly informative Web sites:

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**ECSA SIXTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**  
**June 2-5, 1999 \* Westin William Penn Hotel \* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania**

*Everything you need to know about ...*

***ECSA Founders Celebration and  
Scholarship Inaugural Dinner***

Glenda G. Rosenthal and  
Alberta Sbragia, Co-Chairs

When: Wednesday, June 2, 1999  
7- 10 pm

Where: Westin William Penn Hotel

Why: To honor the founders,  
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and establish an ECSA Grants  
and Scholarships Fund.

Who: All ECSA members, past and  
and current Executive Com-  
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*An invitation is enclosed.*

*Advance reservations required.*

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Friday, June 4, 1999  
12:30 - 2:15 pm

***Presentation of ECSA Prizes:***

Best 1997 ECSA Conference Paper  
Best Dissertation in EU Studies  
Lifetime Contribution to EU Studies

***Keynote Address:***

Ambassador HUGO PAEMEN, Head,  
European Commission Delegation  
"Europe and America: Monologue,  
Dialogue, Debate, or Partnership?"

*Advance reservations required.*

***Conference Registration Form***

Included with this issue of the *ECSA  
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registration on ECSA's Web site at:

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The legendary **Pittsburgh Pirates**  
take on the Los Angeles Dodgers at  
Three Rivers Stadium under the lights  
for a night game along the riverfront.

Wednesday, June 2, 1999 7:05 pm  
2nd Level Club Box Seats: \$12 per person

The Pittsburgh Civic Light Opera  
presents the quintessential American  
musical "**West Side Story**" in the  
beautiful Benedum Center, a few  
blocks' walk from the Hotel.

Saturday, June 5, 1999 8:00 pm Curtain  
First Tier Balcony Seats: \$29 per person

Cruise Pittsburgh's famous three  
rivers and take in the city's archi-  
tectural sights on the Gateway  
Clipper's **Sunday Brunch Cruise**  
(with a sumptuous buffet of salmon,  
ham, roast beef, made-to-order  
omelets and waffles, and more!).

Sunday, June 6, 1999  
10:00 am Boarding Time and Brunch  
11:00 am Cruise (Brunch Continues!)  
12:30 pm Return to Dock  
\$24.50 per person includes Cruise & Brunch

Tour **Frank Lloyd Wright's  
Fallingwater**, nestled in the wooded  
mountains 70 miles southeast of  
Pittsburgh (and built on a waterfall).  
You will have a guided tour of the  
house with time to walk the grounds  
and return for late afternoon flights.

Sunday, June 6, 1999  
8:30 am Depart from Conference Hotel  
10:30 am Guided Tour of Fallingwater  
2:30 pm Arrival Back at Hotel  
\$49 per person includes all Trip and Tour  
expenses

**PROVISIONAL CONFERENCE PROGRAM** (Current as of February 1, 1999 and subject to change.)

**Wednesday, June 2, 1999**

**ECSA POSTER SESSION** 1:00 - 5:00 pm

**ECSA FOUNDERS CELEBRATION AND SCHOLARSHIP INAUGURAL DINNER**  
**Social Hour and Dinner** 7:00 - 10:00 pm

**Thursday, June 3, 1999**

**PANEL SESSION ONE** 8:30 am - 10:15 am

**EU-ACP Relations in the Next Millennium**

Chair: Olufemi Babarinde (Thunderbird-AGSIM)

Olufemi Babarinde "The Lome Convention: End of an Era?"

Gerrit Faber (Utrecht University) "Lome Cooperation in the Changing External Economic Policy of the EU"

Robert Kappel (Universität Leipzig) "Time for a Change: The Future of EU's Cooperation with Africa"

Alfred Tovias (Hebrew University) "The Trade Impact of the Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas on the North African Countries"

Discussant: Alison M. S. Watson (St. Andrews University)

**Party Adaptation to the European Union**

Chair: Luciano Bardi (University of Bologna and University of Pisa)

Christianne Hardy (Fordham University) "Representing the European Community: The Adaptive Role of National Parties"

Karl Magnus Johansson (Swedish Institute of International Affairs) and Tapio Raunio (University of Helsinki) "Awkward Question:

Party Approaches to European Integration in Finland and Sweden"

Robert Ladrech (Keele University) "Europeanization and Social Democratic Parties: Adaptation and Innovation"

Discussant: Nicholas Aylott (Keele University)

**Domestic Politics and the Euro**

Chair: Pamela Camerra-Rowe (Kenyon College)

Mark Aspinwall (University of Durham) "British Europhobia: Domestic Politics and European Money"

Pamela Camerra-Rowe "German Social Democracy and the Euro"

John Constantelos (Grand Valley State University) "Local Interests Confront the Euro: Evidence from France and Italy"

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria) "Theorizing about European Monetary Integration: The Usefulness of Different Approaches"

Discussant: Alberta Sbragia (University of Pittsburgh)

**Legal Perspectives and Challenges in the European Union**

Chair: Vivian Curran (University of Pittsburgh)

George Bermann (Columbia University) "Enforcement of Federalism Principles in the EU and U.S."

Vivian Curran "The EU, the CISG and the Search for Legal Uniformity"

Eric Stein (University of Michigan) "Democracy Without a People"

Discussant: Leila Sadat Wexler (Washington University)

**The European Welfare State: Can It Survive? How Will It Change?**

Chair and Discussant: Paulette Kurzer (University of Arizona)

Anton Hemerijck (Erasmus University) "Policy Responses: Retrenchment and Renewal in National Employment and Social Policies"

Fritz W. Scharpf (Max Planck Institute, Köln) "Economic Vulnerability and Robustness: The International Pressures on National Employment and Social Policy"

Vivien A. Schmidt (Boston University) "Politics, Values, and the Power of Discourse in the Reform of the Welfare State"

### Security Governance in Europe

Chair: Stuart Croft (University of Birmingham)

Jolyon Howorth (University of Bath) "Governance and the ESDI"

Adrian Hyde-Price (University of Birmingham) "Security Governance in Europe"

Anand Menon (University of Oxford) "Institutions, Institutionalism and the European Defense Debate"

Mark Webber (University of Loughborough) "Russia and the Excluded"

Discussant: Derek Averre (University of Birmingham)

### Environmental Strategies

Chair: John McCormick (Indiana University Purdue University)

Regina Axelrod (Adelphi University) "Environmental Strategies in the EU: New Challenges"

Pilar Luaces (University of Santiago de Compostela) "Spanish Environmental Policy in the 1990s and the Impact of EU: The Case of Water Policy"

Kate O'Neill (University of California at Berkeley) "Changing the Guard: Evolving Ideas of National Environmental Regulation in the EU Context"

Discussant: TBA

### PANEL SESSION TWO 10:45 am - 12:30 pm

#### The EU and East Asia

Chair: Simon Reich (University of Pittsburgh)

Christopher Dent (University of Lincolnshire and Humberside) "The Weak Link in the Triad? The Future Prospects of the European Union's Economic Relationship with East Asia"

Nicholas Rees (University of Limerick) "The European Union, China and the Issue of Human Rights: An Examination of the EU's Role in the UN"

James Sperling (University of Akron) and Emil Kirchner (University of Essex) "Regionalism vs. Trilateralism: The Form and Content of EU-Japanese-U.S. Relations"

Discussant: Davis Bobrow (University of Pittsburgh)

### Political Behavior and Institutions in the European Parliament

Chair: Simon Hix (London School of Economics)

Clifford Carrubba (SUNY Stony Brook) and Matthew Gabel (University of Kentucky) "Distributing the Spoils: Party Groups and Office-Seeking Goals in the European Parliament"

Simon Hix *et alia* "A Theory of MEP Behavior"

Amie Kreppel (University of Florida) "Internal Development of the European Parliament: The Rise of the Party Groups"

Christopher Lord (University of Leeds) "Role of the European Parliament in the Accountability of the European Central Bank"

Discussants: Tapio Raunio (University of Helsinki) and Michael Shackleton (European Parliament)

### Regulation in Europe

Chair: David Coen (London Business School)

David Coen and Chris Doyle (London Business School) "Managing the Multiple Levels of Utility Regulation in Europe"

Burkard Eberlein (Technische Universität München) "Regulation of Infrastructures in Europe and Comparative Perspective"

David Levi-Faur (University of Haifa) "Governance of Competition: The Interplay of Technology, Economics, and Politics in the Making of the EU's Electricity and Telecom Regimes"

**ECSA Sixth Biennial International Conference Provisional Program \* June 2-5, 1999 \* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania**

Wolf Sauter (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen) "EU Regulation for Convergence: Telecommunication and Broadcasting Reforms"  
Mark Thatcher (London School of Economics) "National Politics of European Regulation: The Case of Telecommunications"

Discussant: Giandomenico Majone (European Union Center, University of Pittsburgh)

**The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: The Challenges of Social Citizenship and Its Impact Upon Non-EU Nationals within the European Union**

Chair: Chris Bourdouvalis (Augusta State University)

Joanna Apap (European Citizen Action Service) "Income Security and the Social Exclusion of Elderly Immigrants within the EU"  
Paul Harris (Augusta State University) "The Politics of Implementation: A Comparative Analysis of Immigrant Resettlement Services Within the European Union"

Ritva Heikkinen (College of Europe, Brugge) "Community Challenges in the Field of Social Policy: The Role of the European Commission in Combating Social Exclusion"

Gunnar Nielsson (University of Southern California) "European Group Human Rights: Protection of National Minorities"

Discussant: James F. Hollifield (Southern Methodist University)

**'Europeanization' and the Southern Periphery: The Domestic Impact on the State**

Chair: Claudio Radaelli (University of Bradford)

Carles Boix (Ohio State University) "'Europeanisation' and Spain"  
Marco Giuliani (Università di Milano) "'Europeanisation' and Italy"  
Panoyiotis Ioakimidis (University of Athens) "'Europeanisation' and Greece"

Discussants: Kevin Featherstone (University of Bradford) and George Pagoulatos (Princeton University)

**Institutional Match or Mismatch? Exploring the Interaction Effects Between National and European Economic Institutions**

Chair: Adrienne Héritier (European University Institute)

Orfeo Fioretos (University of Wisconsin at Madison) "Complementary or Competitive Institutions? Varieties of Capitalism and European Integration"

Jette Steen Knudsen (Danish Institute of International Affairs) "Liberalization of Service Trade in the European Union: A Break with Tradition"

Susanne K. Schmidt (Max Planck Institute, Köln) "Reacting to European Constraints at the Domestic Level"

Discussant: Michelle Egan (The American University)

**Roundtable on the German Council Presidency: Defining a Red/Green EU?**

Chair: Carl Lankowski (American Institute for Contemporary German Studies)

Rob Aspeslagh (Clingendael Institute for International Affairs) "Through a Glass Darkly: Perceptions of Germans in The Netherlands"  
Ulf Hedetoft (Aalborg University) "End of (Hi)story: German Political Identity in Post-Kohl Europe, or Normalisation by Normal Means"

Carl Lankowski "Defining a Red/Green EU"

Anne-Marie LeGloannec (Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales) "TBA"

William Paterson (University Birmingham) "EMU"

Wolfgang Wessels (University of Köln) "The Interagency Process"

Discussant: Ulrike Guerot (Johns Hopkins University)

**ECSA BIENNIAL BUSINESS MEETING 12:30 - 1:30 pm *Open to the Membership***

**ECSA PLENARY ADDRESS 2:30 - 4:15 pm *ECSA 1999 US-EU RELATIONS PROJECT on the EURO***

C. RANDALL HENNING (The American University and Institute for International Economics):

"United States-European Union Relations After the Introduction of the Euro: Cooperation or Rivalry?"

PIER CARLO PADOAN (University of Rome and College of Europe, Bruges):

"The Role of the Euro in International Systems: A European View"

**PANEL SESSION THREE**

**4:30 - 6:15 pm**

**Economic Advantages of Enlargement of the European Union to the East**

Chair: András Inotai (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Geoffrey Denton (Federal Trust and University of Reading) "Economic Advantages for EU Countries"

Peter Stanovnik (Institute for Economic Research, Slovenia) "Economic Advantages for the New Members"

Xavier Richet (Université Paris-III Sorbonne) "European Enlargement and Strategy of Transnational Corporations in Central and East European Economies"

Paul Welfens (Universität Potsdam) "Economic Advantages: Seen from the MNCs"

Discussant: Françoise Lemoine (Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales)

**How Democratic is the European Union?**

Chair: Fulvio Attinà (University of Catania)

Dimitris Chrysochoou (University of Exeter) "Democracy and Integration After Amsterdam"

Stelios Stavridis (University of Reading) "Democratic Control of the CFSP"

Penny Turnbull (University of Birmingham) "Democratic Control of the Third Pillar"

Amy Verdun (University of Victoria) and Thomas Christiansen (University of Aberystwyth) "Democratic Control of EMU"

Discussant: Thomas D. Lancaster (Emory University)

**The Commission as Actor**

Chair: Roy Dickinson (European Commission)

Michelle Cini (University of Bristol) "Framing the Commission's Role: From Autonomy to Influence"

Laura Cram (University of Sheffield) "Paradigm Shifts and Public Institutions: The Case of the Commission"

Ronald D. Gelleny and Christopher J. Anderson (Binghamton University) "The Political Economy of Support for the President of the European Commission"

Emek Ucarer (Bucknell University) "From the Sidelines to Center Stage? The Commission in Post-Amsterdam Justice and Home Affairs"

Discussant: Thomas Pedersen (Aarhus University)

**The Constitution of the European Union: From Uniformity to Flexibility**

Chair: David Trubek (University of Wisconsin)

Grainne de Burca (European University Institute) "A Flexible Internal Market?"

Marise Cremona (University of London) "Flexible Models: External Policy and the Economic Constitution"

Joanne Scott (University of London) "Flexibility in Implementation: The Case of Environmental Policy"

Stephen Weatherill (University of Oxford) "Closer Cooperation Under the Amsterdam Treaty"

Discussant: Carole Lyons (University of Aberdeen)

**Revitalizing European Labor**

Chair: Lowell Turner (Cornell University)

Michael Fichter (Freie Universität Berlin) "German Labor: Prospects and Challenges Under the New Red/Green Coalition Government"

Kerstin Hamann (University of Central Florida) "Union Strategies to Adjustment: The Spanish Case"

Edmund Heery (Cardiff University) "Social Partners or Social Movement? Revitalising British Labour"

Andrew Martin and George Ross (Harvard University) "EMU and the Europeanization of Labor"

Discussant: Jonas Pontusson (Cornell University)



**CFSP Joint Actions: Case Studies and Theory**

Chair: Martin Holland (University of Canterbury)

Tim Bale (Victoria University of Wellington) "CFSP and Diplomatic Coordination"

Roy Ginsberg (Skidmore College) "Reconceptualizing CFSP"

Stephan Kux (Universität Basel) "CFSP Joint Action: Kosovo"

Fabrizio Pagani (Università di Pisa) "CFSP Joint Action: Petersberg Tasks"

Discussant: Michael Smith (Loughborough University)

**Views from the North: Canadian Perspectives on Multi-level Governance**

Chair: Steven Wolinetz (Memorial University)

Peter Leslie (Queen's University) "Policy Constraints on Non-Central Governments: Canada and the European Union"

Gretchen MacMillan (University of Calgary) "Intergovernmentalism in Canadian Federalism: Are There Lessons for the EU?"

Steven Wolinetz "Political Parties in the European Union and Other Multi-level Systems of Governance: A View from the North with a Look South"

Discussant: Simon Bulmer (University of Manchester)

**UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE RECEPTION 6:30 - 8:30 pm**

*Cathedral of Learning* (U.S. National Register of Historic Landmarks Building) *Open to All Conference Delegates*

Hosted by the Office of the Chancellor and the European Union Center of the University of Pittsburgh

\* Attendees will be offered guided tours of the Cathedral Nationality Rooms during the reception

**Friday, June 4, 1999**

**PANEL SESSION FOUR 8:30 - 10:15 am**

**Constructivist Approaches to European Integration**

Chair: Jeremy Richardson (University of Oxford)

Thomas Diez (Copenhagen Peace Research Institute) "Speaking Europe: The Politics of Integration Discourse"

Rey Koslowski (Rutgers University) "Rethinking European Federalism: The Perils of Rational Constructivism and the Promise of Non-State Centric Constructivism"

David Green (University of Wisconsin-Madison) "Who Are 'The Europeans'? European Political Identity in the Context of the Post-War Integration Project"

Martin Marcussen *et alia* (Copenhagen University) "Constructing Europe? The Evolution of French, British and German Nation-State Identities"

Discussant: Lily Gardner Feldman (Georgetown University)

**Markets and Ideas**

Chair: Leon Hurwitz (Cleveland State University)

Michelle Egan (The American University) "Comparing Markets Across Time and Space: Europe, America and Integration"

Frederic J. Fransen (Liberty Fund, Inc.) "On the Incongruities of Monnet's 'Europe'"

George Pagoulatos (Princeton University) "Financial Integration in Southern Europe: Variations on a Central Bankers' Theme"

Rory O'Donnell (University College Dublin) "The European Union as an Economic Order"

Discussant: David Mayes (South Bank University)

**Public Goals and Private Strategies in the Transatlantic Economic Partnership**

Chair: Michael Smith (Loughborough University)

Maria Green Cowles (The American University) and Michael Smith "Public Goals and Private Strategies: From the New Transatlantic Agenda to the New Transatlantic Marketplace"  
Kalypso Nicolaidis (Harvard University) "Public Goals and Private Strategies in Transatlantic Regulatory Cooperation"  
Gregory Shaffer (University of Wisconsin) "Public-Private Partnerships and the Negotiations of the International Trade Claims Between the EU and the U.S."

Discussant: David Allen (Loughborough University)

#### **Domestic Consequences of European Integration**

Chair: Mitchell P. Smith (Middlebury College)

Patrick Crowley (Middlebury College) "Some State-Contingent Scenarios for Post-EMU Institutional Architecture"  
Nicolas Jabko and Riener Eising (University of California at Berkeley) "Moving Targets: Institutional Embeddedness and Domestic Politics in the Liberalization of Electricity Markets in the EU"  
Andy Smith (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux) "Connections in Brussels: Multi-Level Interest Representation in Two French Wine-Producing Regions"  
Mitchell P. Smith "The Politics of Economic Integration: Shifting the State-Market Balance?"

Discussant: David Cameron (Yale University)

#### **Policy and the Commission**

Chair and Discussant: Desmond Dinan (Clingendael Institute for International Affairs)

Terrence Guay (Syracuse University) and Rob Callum (Center for Naval Analyses) "Sovereignty in Transition: The European Commission's Influence on U.S. Policy"  
Ivo Maes (University of Leuven) "Macroeconomic Policy-making at the European Commission in the First Half of the 1980s"  
Luisa Perrotti (INSEAD) "The EU Commission: Re-actor of Integration? Evidence from the Case of Air Traffic Distribution at Malpensa, Italy"  
Jennifer Wozniak (Loyola University Chicago) "The Commission and the Member States: The Evolution of Regional Policy"

#### **Interest Intermediation in the European Union**

Chairs: Justin Greenwood (The Robert Gordon University) and Michael J. Gorges (University of Maryland Baltimore)

David Coen (London Business School) "The Development of Government-Business Relations at the EU: What Have European Multinationals Learned from the Lobbying Experiences of U.S. Firms?"  
Michael J. Gorges "The Social Dialogue and the New Institutionalism"  
Justin Greenwood "Inside the EU Business Associations"  
Clive Thomas (University of Alaska Juneau) "Understanding American Interest Group Activity in the European Union: Developing a Theoretical Framework"

Discussant: Gerda Falkner (Max Planck Institute, Köln)

#### **Social Democracy in Power: The Challenge of Europeanisation**

Chair and Discussant: Andrew Martin (Harvard University)

Alistair Cole (University of Bradford) "France"  
Kevin Featherstone (University of Bradford) "Britain"  
Charles Lees (University of Sussex) "Germany"  
Edward Moxon-Browne (University of Limerick) "The 'Europeanisation' of Political Parties"

**PANEL SESSION FIVE**                      **10:45 am - 12:30 pm**

#### **EMU: Economic and Political Implications**

Chair: Steven Overturf (Whittier College)

Shirley Cassing (University of Pittsburgh) "The Economic Implications of the Euro: A Challenge to the Dollar?"  
Sverker Gustavsson (Uppsala University) "Monetary Union without Fiscal Union"

Hugo Kaufmann (City University of New York) "Convergence and Single Currency: Why Do Unemployment Rates Still Differ So Much Between Western and Eastern Germany?"

Martin Marcussen (Copenhagen University) "EMU and the Power of Ideas"

Discussant: Patrick Crowley (Middlebury College)

### **The Drift to Brussels: The Impact of the European Union on National Policymaking**

Chair: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Jeffrey Anderson (Brown University) "European Integration and Democratic Convergence Since Maastricht: The View from the Member States"

Theo de Bruijn (University of Twente) "European Integration and Environmental Affairs: Comparative Analysis of Changing National Policy Arrangements"

Patrick Dunleavy (London School of Economics) "Why European Union Centralization is an Ineluctable Process: A Transactions Cost Analysis"

Bernard Steunenberg (University of Twente) "Adapting National Policymaking in the European Union: Some Insights from the Rational Choice Approach"

Discussants: Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz) and Vivien A. Schmidt (Boston University)

### **New Challenges for EC Environmental Policy**

Chair: Duncan Matthews (University of Warwick)

Pamela Barnes (University of Lincolnshire and Humberside) "The Treaty versus the 'Ideal World': Employment and the Environment"

Andrew Jordan (University of East Anglia) *et alia* "Innovative and Responsive? A Longitudinal Analysis of the Speed of the EC Environmental Policy Process"

Duncan Matthews "The Ebb and Flow of EC Environmental Instruments: Why the Need for a New Framework Approach to Community Water Policy?"

Anthony Zito (University of Newcastle) and Aynsley Kellow (University of Tasmania) "Steering Through Complexity: EU Environmental Regulation in the International Context"

Discussant: Wyn Grant (University of Warwick)

### **Migration, Citizenship and Race in the European Union**

Chair and Discussant: Martin Schain (New York University)

Terri Givens (University of California Los Angeles) "Immigration and Political Parties: A Comparison of Party Programmes"

Virginie Guiraudon (Princeton University) "European Integration and Migration Policy: Consequences of Vertical Policy-Making"

Randall Hansen (Oxford University) "Dublin and Schengen: The Emergence of an EU Migration Policy?"

Gallya Lahav (Wesleyan University) "The Role of Non-State Actors in the Movement of People: Promoting Travel and Controlling Migration in the EU"

### **Enlargement**

Chair: Sieglinde Gstöhl (Lichtenstein Institute)

Geoffrey Harris (European Parliament) "Enlargement of the European Union: The Democratic Dimension"

András Inotai (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) "Political, Economic and Social Arguments in Favour and Against Enlargement: A Survey of Influential Pressure Groups"

Neill Nugent (Manchester Metropolitan University) "The Next EU Enlargement: 'The Cyprus Problem'"

Heiko Prange (Lichtenstein-Institut) "Lessons from Financing the 'Secret' Enlargement of the European Union"

Discussant: Katja Weber (Georgia Institute of Technology)

### **Roundtable on US-EU Tensions Concerning the Role of Government in Industry and Trade: The Case of Commercial Aeronautics**

Chair: David Thornton (Campbell University)

Derek Braddon (University of the West of England) "Commercial Application of Military Research and Development: U.S. and EU Programs Compared"  
Philip Lawrence (University of the West of England) "Theory and Practice in Strategic Trade: The Case of US-EU Rivalry in the Commercial Aeronautics Sector"  
Martin Staniland (University of Pittsburgh) "Airline Privatization: Does It Matter?"  
David Thornton "Modern Mercantilism: The Enduring Role of the U.S. Government in Commercial Aeronautics and Civil Aviation"  
Robin Travis (Uppsala University) "European Aviation Integration"

**CFSP and the Future**

Chair: Roy Ginsberg (Skidmore College)

Stephanie Anderson (Bentley College) "The CFSP and Amsterdam: A Lowest Common Denominator Agreement?"  
Simon Duke (European Institute of Public Administration) "The Kosovo Standoff: Implications for CFSP"  
Charles Krupnick (U.S. Air Force Academy) "Nuclear Notions in Europe: Europe's Developing Nuclear Attitudes and Activities"  
Maria Stromvik (Lund University) "Do Numbers Matter? The CFSP and the Dynamic Effects of Enlargement"

Discussant: Dieter Wolf (University of Bremen)

**ECSA CONFERENCE LUNCHEON AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS 12:30 - 2:15 pm**

*Presentation of ECSA Prizes* Gary Marks, Chair, ECSA  
Lifetime Contribution to the Field of EU Studies  
Best 1997 ECSA Conference Paper  
Best Dissertation in EU Studies

***ECSA Conference Keynote Address***

AMBASSADOR HUGO PAEMEN, Head, European Commission Delegation  
"Europe and America: Monologue, Dialogue, Debate, or Partnership?"

**PANEL SESSION SIX 2:30 - 4:15 pm**

**EU Information Dissemination: New Formats and Policies in the 21st Century**

Chair: Barbara Sloan (European Commission Delegation)  
Panelists: European Union Depository Librarians

**International Trade Issues**

Chair: TBA

Sophie Meunier (Princeton University) "Who Should Speak for Europe? A Prescriptive Analysis of Trade Competence in the European Union"  
Mike Pournarakis (Athens University of Economics and Business) "International Production and the Periphery of the European Union"  
Sebastiaan Princen (Utrecht University) "The California Effect in the EC's External Relations"

Discussant: Carolyn Rhodes (Utah State University)

**Interaction of International Regimes and European Integration**

Chair: Peter Holmes (University of Sussex)

Peter Holmes and Alasdair Young (University of Sussex) "Exporting Rules: The EU as Model and Supplicant for International Regimes"  
Francis McGowan (University of Sussex) "Bringing the World (Back?) In: Integrating the Global into Regional Integration"  
Henrike Mueller (University of Sussex) "The Politics of Deregulation: Negotiating the Single European Insurance Market and GATS"  
Alasdair Young (University of Sussex) "The Final Frontier? Regulatory Cooperation Beyond the EU"

Discussant: Séamus O'Cléireacáin (Columbia University)

**Stimulating Simulations: Roundtable on the Use of Simulations for Teaching the EU**

Chair: Peter Loedel (West Chester University)

Ed DeClair (Lynchburg College) "Organizing the EU Simulation"  
Peter Loedel, "Theory and Practice: The EU Simulation"  
John McCormick (Indiana University Purdue University) "TBA"  
Huib Spoomans (Universiteit Maastricht) "Learning to Learn: Problem-Based Learning in the Maastricht Master's in European Public Affairs"  
Gretchen van Dyke (University of Scranton) "Assessment and Evaluation of the EU Simulation"

Discussant: John Rosenbaum (Ithaca College)

### **Subnational Regions in the EU**

Chair: Jeffrey Anderson (Brown University)

Duane Adamson (University of Virginia) "The Rise of Sub-State Regionalism: Is the EU Giving New Life to Europe's Historical Sub-State Regions?"  
Ana-Maria Boromisa (Institute for International Relations, Zagreb) "Regional and Subregional Associations and Enlargement of the EU"  
Richard Haesly (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) "The Impact of European Attachment on Territorial Attachments in Scotland and Wales"  
Hendrik Vos (University of Ghent) "Regions in the EU Decision-Making"

Discussant: Brian Murphy (North Georgia College and State University)

### **The Arena of Social Policy**

Chair: Ivor Roberts (European Commission)

Laurence Carmichael (University of Sunderland) "Implementing Unity: The Challenge to European Integration Studies: France, Britain, and Social Cohesion Policy"  
Werner Eichhorst (Max Planck Institute, Köln) "Shaping the Single European Market: European Social and Environmental Policy between Harmonization, Deregulation and National Autonomy"  
Robert Geyer (University of Liverpool) "Mapping European Union Social Policy"

Discussant: Beverly Springer (Thunderbird-AGSIM)

### **The Politics of Budgetary Reform**

Chair and Discussant: TBA

Iain Begg (South Bank University) "Reshaping the EU Budget: Yet Another Missed Opportunity?"  
Nico Groenendijk (University of Twente) "Budgetary Discipline in Brussels"  
Ines Hartwig (European Institute of Public Administration) "Managing the Structural Funds: Institutional Constraints to Efficiency"  
Brigid Laffan (University College Dublin) "Santer I: Can the Budgetary Acquis Hold?"

### **Constitutionalism and Governance in the EU: Flexible Architectures and Concrete Spaces**

Chair: John Peterson (University of Glasgow)

Damian Chalmers (London School of Economics) "The Spaces of EU Governance"  
Sorcha MacLeod (University of Abertay Dundee) "Gilding the Lily: A Place for Fundamental Rights Within an EU Constitution?"  
Jo Shaw (University of Leeds) "The Emergence of Postnational Constitutionalism"  
Antje Wiener (University of Hannover) "Communitarising Schengen: Governance Under Changing Conditions"

Discussant: Mark A. Pollack (University of Wisconsin)

### **PANEL SESSION SEVEN 4:30 - 6:15 pm**

#### **Gender, Social Capital and Protest**

Chair: TBA

Effie MacLachlan (City University of New York) "The Right to Care: Gender and Citizenship in the European Union"

Brent F. Nelsen (Furman University) *et alia* "Explaining the Gender Gap in Public Attitudes Toward Integration: Women as Rational Actors"

Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz) "Bringing Putnam to the European Regions: On the (Ir)Relevance of Social Capital for Economic Growth"

Discussant: Amy Elman (Kalamazoo College)

#### NGOs: The Other Actors

Chair and Discussant: TBA

Pauline P. Cullen (State University of New York at Stony Brook) "Pan-European Non-Governmental Organizations: European Union Sponsored Mobilization and Activism for Social Rights"

Philippa Sherrington (The Queen's University of Belfast) "Influencing the Policy Agenda: Think Tanks in the European Union"

Alex Warleigh (University of Reading) "Surrogate Citizens? Group Mobilization and Citizenship Practice in the EU"

#### Identities and Discourse

Chair and Discussant: Sureyya Yigit (Aalborg University)

Gregory Feldman (Syracuse University) "Estonia's Identities, European Integration and Elites: Anthropological and International Relations Perspectives"

Evangelia Papoutsaki (University of Wales Cardiff) "French Cultural Policy and European Integration: From National to European"

Klaus Roscher (European University Institute) "Transforming the State or Diluting the Nation? Ideas, Interests, and French Discourse on European Integration"

Mette Zolner (Copenhagen Business School) "National Images in French Discourses on Europe"

#### The European Union and NATO

Chair: Simon Serfaty (Old Dominion University)

Michael Brenner (University of Pittsburgh) "Preparing the United States for a Common European Foreign and Security Policy"

Robin Niblett (Center for Strategic and International Studies) "Preparing the Defense Sector for a Common European Security Policy"

John van Oudenaren (Library of Congress) "Preparing the Institutions for a Common European Foreign Policy"

Simon Serfaty "Imperatives of Institutional Cooperation"

Discussant: S. Victor Papacosma (Kent State University)

#### The Politics of Eastern Enlargement: Constructivist Explanations

Chair: Knud Erik Joergensen (University of Aarhus)

Paolo Dardanelli (London School of Economics) "The European Union Enlargement: A Rational Approach"

Karin Fierke (Nuffield College) and Antje Wiener (University of Hannover) "Promises as Threats: EU and NATO, Enlargement Against the Odds?"

Frank Schimmelfennig (Technische Universität Darmstadt) "The Double Puzzle of Eastern Enlargement"

Ulrich Sedelmeier (Central European University) "The Limits of a Rationalist Approach to the EU's Policy Toward Central Europe: The Role of Collective EU Identity and Policy Paradigms"

Discussant: Rey Koslowski (Rutgers University)

#### Political Parties

Chair and Discussant: Marco Steenbergen (University of North Carolina Chapel Hill)

Joel Herndon (Emory University) "Organizing for Europe: European Regional Parties at the Millennium"

Shinasi Rama (Columbia University) "Has a Transnational Concordance Party System Emerged in the European Union?"

Leonard Ray (Binghamton University) "When Party Matters: Contextual Effects on the Influence of Party Cues about the EU"

#### Journal of Common Market Studies Panel

Chair: John Peterson (*Journal of Common Market Studies*)

Giandomenico Majone (European Union Center of the University of Pittsburgh)

"The Study of European Integration in the Age of Globalization"

Invited Commentary: Gary Marks (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

**ECSC CONFERENCE RECEPTION 6:30 - 8:00 pm**

*Top of the Triangle Restaurant USX Building*

*All Conference Delegates are cordially invited to walk across the street one block from the Hotel and ride up to the 61st floor for a conference-wide reception and a panoramic view of Pittsburgh—the Golden Triangle and the three rivers.*

**Saturday, June 5, 1999**

**PANEL SESSION EIGHT 8:30 - 10:15 am**

**The Creation of the Union: Perspectives on the Beginnings**

Chair: Pierre-Henri Laurent (Tufts University)

David Ellwood (Johns Hopkins Bologna Center) "Problems and Progress in the New Europe"

John Gillingham (University of Missouri St. Louis) "The New Literature of the New Europe"

Alan Henrikson (Tufts University) "NATO as a 'Creator' of the European Union"

Discussant: Clifford Hackett (Jean Monnet Council)

**Alternative Explanations of European Integration**

Chair: Bernard Moss (Institute of European Studies, London)

Werner Bonefeld (University of York) "British Experience: Monetarism Hiding Behind Europe"

Michele Chang (Colgate University) "Dual Hegemony: France, Germany and the Making of Monetary Union"

Gerald Friedman (University of Massachusetts at Amherst) "Economic Effects of EC Membership: Monetarism and Poor Performance"

Bernard Moss "France: Monetarism with a Social Dimension?"

Discussant: Robert Geyer (University of Liverpool)

**European Parliament Elections**

Chair: John Keeler (University of Washington)

James Endersby and Steven E. Galatas (University of Missouri Columbia) "Electoral Competitiveness and Voter Participation: Choosing the European Parliament"

Richard Flickinger (Wittenberg University), Stephen E. Bennett (University of Cincinnati) and Donley T. Studlar (West Virginia University) "The Economic Role of Government and the EU and Turnout in European Elections"

David W. F. Huang (Academia Sinica Taiwan) "Structural Funds, Pro-European Opinions and Turnout in the European Parliament Elections: Evidence from British Election Studies"

Discussant: Amie Kreppel (University of Florida)

**Making the Council Work: The Administrative Infrastructure of the Council of Ministers and the Problem Solving-Capacity of the EU**

Chair: Helen Wallace (University of Sussex)

Geoffrey Edwards (University of Cambridge) "Making External Policy: A Disposition to Agree?"

Jeffrey Lewis (University of Wisconsin-Madison) "Administrative Rivalry in the Council's Infrastructure: Diagnosing the Methods of Community in EU Decision-Making"

Juergen Neyer (University of Bremen) "Justifying Comitology: The Promise of Deliberation"

Guy Peters (University of Pittsburgh) "The Joint Decision Trap and the Council's Problem-Solving Capacity"

Discussant: Wolfgang Wessels (University of Köln)

**Women and the European Union: Beyond Article 119 and Equal Pay**

Chair and Discussant: Miriam Feldblum (California Institute of Technology)

Amy Elman (Kalamazoo College) "Women as Standard or Deviation"

Mark Pollack (University of Wisconsin Madison) "Equal Opportunities Policy in the EU in the 1990s: Towards a Broader Agenda?"

Jo Shaw (University of Leeds) "Gendering the European Union"

**Regulation in the EU**

Chair: TBA

Lisa Conant (Ohio University) "Law and Politics in the European Union: The Europeanization of Market Regulation and its Discontents"

Thomas Doleys (Vanderbilt University) "The Logic of Delegation: Explaining the 1989 Merger Regulation"

Lee Ann Patterson (University of California at San Francisco) "A Comparison of Biotechnology Regulatory Policy in the United States and the European Union"

Michael E. Smith (University of California Irvine) "Activists, Institutions, and Expertise: The Politics of EU Biotechnology Regulation"

Discussant: Iain Begg (South Bank University)

**The EU and North America**

Chair and Discussant: Pascaline Winand (Free University of Brussels)

Frances G. Burwell (Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland) "The United States and the European Union: Getting to Yes"

Bart Kerremans (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) "The Fate of the Transatlantic Economic Partnership: Cooperation and Conflict Between the European Union and the U.S."

Séamus O'Cléireacáin (Columbia University) "The Changing Nature of EU-US Economic Relations"

Stephan Sberro (Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México) "Europe-North America Relations: Is Mexico a Bridge or an Exception?"

**PANEL SESSION NINE 10:45 am - 12:30 pm**

**The Nordic Countries and the EU**

Chair: Donald Hancock (Vanderbilt University)

K. V. Laatikainen (Chatham College) "Losing Moral Authority? The Impact of CFSP and EU Membership on Common Nordic Positions in the UN"

Jennifer Novack (London School of Economics) "The Different Approaches of Two Neighbors: The Finnish and Swedish Decisions on Participating in the Third Stage of EMU"

Kerstin Sorensen (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) "Social Policy Convergence in Norway and Sweden: Does EU Membership Matter?"

Discussant: Leslie Eliason (Monterey Institute of International Studies)

**New Directions in EU Theorizing**

Chair: Liesbet Hooghe (University of Toronto)

Gary Marks and Carole Wilson (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill) "National Parties and European Integration"

John Peterson (University of Glasgow) "The Choice for EU Theorists: Establishing a Common Framework for Analysis"

George Tsebelis (University of California at Los Angeles) and Geoffrey Garrett (Yale University) "The Constitutional Core of the EU"

Discussant: Alberta Sbragia (University of Pittsburgh)

**Institution Building and Change**

Chair and Discussant: Jeffrey Stacey (Columbia University)



Peter Bursens (University of Antwerp) “‘Institutions Matter’: An Institutional Perspective on Decision-Making Configurations in the EU”

Dorothee Heisenberg and Amy Richmond (Yale University) “The European Court of Justice and the European Central Bank: A Comparison of Institution Building in the EU”

Christoph Knill (Max Planck Project Group) and Andrea Lenschow (University of Salzburg) “A Hierarchy of Explanations: Linking Different Perspectives on Institutional Change”

Frank McDonald (Manchester Metropolitan University) “European Monetary Union and the Need for New Institutional Structures”

### **The European Union as an International Actor**

Chairs: Michèle Knodt and Thomas Conzelmann (University of Mannheim)

Thomas Conzelmann and Michèle Knodt “Understanding Multilevel Dilemmas: The EU and Its Performance in International Organizations and International Treaties”

Chad Damro (University of Pittsburgh) “Expanding Authority: The European Union and Extraterritorial Competition Policy”

Carolyn Rhodes (Utah State University) “The European Union as an Influential Presence in the Global Political Economy”

Richard G. Whitman (University of Westminster) “Developing Capabilities, Reducing Expectations: The Rebirth of Civilian Power Europe”

Discussant: David Allen (Loughborough University)

### **Decision-Making Processes**

Chair and Discussant: Geoffrey Edwards (University of Cambridge)

Markus Jachtenfuchs (Free University of Berlin) and Beate Kohler-Koch (University of Mannheim) “Democratic and Effective Governance Beyond the Nation-State?”

Andreas Maurer and Wolfgang Wessels (University of Köln) “Governance in the European Union After Maastricht: An Empirical Analysis of the EU’s Joint Decision Making System”

Sabine Sophie Saurugger and Philippe Rivaud (Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris) “The Negotiating Process in the European Union: The ‘Mediation’ Role of Structures”

### **EMU Institutional Structure: Independence and Credibility**

Chair and Discussant: David Mayes (South Bank University)

Miriam Campanella (University of Turin) “ECOFIN-11 and the European Central Bank: A Rational Choice Perspective”

David Howarth (Aston University) “French Efforts to Modify the EMU Project: The Idea of ‘Gouvernement Économique’”

Peter Loedel (West Chester University) “The Independence and Credibility of the European Central Bank: Problems and Prospects”

Francesco Stolfi (University of Pittsburgh) “The European Central Bank and the Issue of Accountability: A Comparative Approach”

### **EU Communication and Information Policies**

Chair and Discussant: TBA

Beatrice Dumont (University of Rennes I) “Competition Policy in Communication Industries: New Antitrust Approaches”

Jackie Harrison and Lorna Woods (University of Sheffield) “Critique of European Audio-Visual Policy”

Paula L’Ecuyer (University of South Carolina) and Ken Rogerson (Duke University) “Broadcast Policies of the European Union: Economically or Culturally Bound?”

Susan Parker (The Robert Gordon University) “The Development of a European Information Policy and Its Implementation in the United Kingdom”

### **BOX LUNCH AND ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION 12:45 - 2:15 pm**

*Lunch Provided by the European Commission Delegation \* Open to All Conference Delegates*

**Role of the Network of European Union Centers in EU Studies: Overview and Discussion**

Chair: Hugo Paemen, Head, European Commission Delegation

Panelists: Directors, European Union Centers

PANEL SESSION TEN

2:30 - 4:15 pm

**EU and the Challenge to Social Partnerships**

Chair and Discussant: Christopher Allen (University of Georgia)

P. Kevin Blackwell (University of Kansas) "Corporatism and Integration: The Dutch Social and Economic Council and the Common Market Negotiations 1955-1957"

Gerda Falkner (Max Planck Institute, Köln) "Corporation, Pluralism and European Integration: The Impact on National Interest Politics"

Reinhard Heinisch (University of Pittsburgh) "Coping with the Single Market: Corporatist Response Strategies in Austria and Germany"

Daniel Naurin (Gothenburg University) "Pathways to Influence in the European Union: Explaining Interest Groups' Choices of Political Strategies"

**The EU and National Borders**

Chair and Discussant: Michael Malloy (University of Pittsburgh)

Ayse Ceyhan (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris) "Threatened Borders/Threatened Identities: A Comparative Analysis of Security Concerns in the EU and in the U.S."

Rudolf Hrbek (University of Tuebingen) "Cross-Border Cooperation of Regions and the EU Integration Process"

Anthony M. Messina and Colleen Thouez (Tufts University) "Controlling Borders: The Logics and Politics of a European Immigration Regime"

**EU Legislative Procedures**

Chair: Francis Jacobs (European Parliament)

Scott DeLong (University of Virginia) "The Actual Agenda-Setting Ability of the European Parliament: The Imprint of the EP on European Union Environmental Policy"

David Judge (University of Strathclyde) and David Earnshaw (SmithKline Beecham) "Locating the European Parliament"

George Tsebelis (University of California at Los Angeles) *et alia* "Bargaining in the European Union: An Empirical Analysis of Legislative Procedures"

Diego Varela (London School of Economics) "A Legislative Game with Incomplete Information: Why the EP Has Power under the Co-Decision Procedure"

Discussant: TBA

**'Images of Europe' Among European Union Players**

Chair and Discussant: Bert Rockman (University of Pittsburgh)

Jan Beyers (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) "Where Does Supranationality Come From? Ideas in the Working Groups of the Council of the European Union"

Morten Egebert (University of Oslo) "Transcending Intergovernmentalism? Role and Identity Perceptions of National Officials in EU Decision-Making"

Liesbet Hooghe (University of Toronto) "Commission Officials and European Integration"

Roger Scully (Brunel University) "Between Nation, Party and Identity? A Study of European Parliamentarians"

**National Policy Adaptation**

Chair: TBA

Christa Altenstetter (City University of New York) "European Integration and National Governance: A Comparative Analysis of the Implementation of EU Regulatory Policy on Medical Products"

Michaela Drahos (University of Utrecht) "Convergence of National Competition Policies in the European Community: The Cases of Germany, the Netherlands, and Austria"

Markus Haverland (European University Institute) and Frans van Waarden (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences and Humanities) "European Integration and the Convergence of National Regulatory Styles"

William Kottmeyer (University of Washington) "Transforming the Machinery of the State: How the National Administration Adapts to European Integration"

Discussant: Simon Bulmer (University of Manchester)

### **The EuroMed Partnership**

Chair: Glenda G. Rosenthal (Columbia University)

Joseph Licari (Université de Paris-IV Sorbonne) "Economic Aspects of the EuroMed Partnership"

Stefania Panebianco (University of Malta) "Commonalities and Differences Between the EuroMed Partners: Challenges to the Multilateral Track of the Partnership"

Philip-Xenophon Pierros (European Commission) "A History of EuroMed Relations"

Stelios Stavridis (University of Reading) "Mediterranean Challenges to the CFSP and the EuroMed Partnership"

Discussant: Fulvio Attinà (University of Catania)

### **Legal Policies and the Court**

Chair: TBA

Karen Alter (Smith College) "Where, When and How Does European Union Law Influence Domestic Policy?"

Anke Grosskopf (University of Pittsburgh) "Can Legitimacy Transfer? A Comparative Study of Public Support for The European Court of Justice and the *Bundesverfassungsgericht*"

Jonas Tallberg (Lund University) "Sanctioning Supranational Shirking: Why Inaction is Sometimes More Effective Than Action"

Discussant: Lisa Conant (Ohio University)

### **PANEL SESSION ELEVEN 4:30 - 6:15 pm**

#### **Franco-German Relations in the European Union: Decline or New Design?**

Chair and Discussant: Christian Lequesne (Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales)

Julius W. Friend (George Washington University) "Economic Aspects of the French-German Relationship in the EU at the Century's End"

Josef Janning (University of Munich) "In Search of Governance: Franco-German Concepts for the Future of an Expanded EU"

Colette Mazzucelli (Beaver College) "Constructing Europe: Identity and Interests in France and Germany, 1989-1999"

Antonio Menendez (Butler University) "The Limits of Integration: An Analysis of French Political and Union Leadership Views on the EU"

#### **European Social Models: Legal and Institutional Perspectives**

Chair: Stephen Weatherill (University of Oxford)

Catherine Barnard (Trinity College) "Social Dumping Revisited: Some Lessons from Delaware?"

Jo Hunt (University of Leeds) "The Expression of the European Social Model Through the Medium of Labour Law"

Susan Milner (University of Bath) "Working Time and Labour Regulation"

Discussant: George Ross (Harvard University)

#### **CAP and the Structural Funds: The Next Millennium?**

Chair: Patrick Hazard (University College London)

Nicholaos Baltas (Athens University of Economics and Business) "The Common Agricultural Policy: Past, Present and Future"

Martyn Farrows and Nicholas Rees (University of Limerick) "The Reform of the EU Structural Funds: Administrative Adaptation and the Prospects for Regionalisation in Ireland"

Craig Parsons (University of California at Berkeley) "How Ideas Drive Integration: Explaining the CAP, the Single Market, and EMU"

George Zanas (Athens University of Economics and Business) "The Distributional Impact of the European Union Common Agricultural Policy"

Discussant: Bronwyn Dylla (University of California at Los Angeles)

**EU Institutions: Below the Surface**

Chair: TBA

Mark Hallerberg (Georgia Institute of Technology) "The Role of Parliamentary Committees in the Budgeting Process within the European Union Countries"

Lawrence Hamlet (Harvard University) "The Power of Procedure: Explaining the Role of Secretariats in the European Union"

David Sadler (University of Durham) "Social Dialogue and European Labor: A New Scale of Governance?"

Discussant: Neill Nugent (Manchester Metropolitan University)

**Institutional Dynamics After Amsterdam: Views from the European Parliament**

Chair: Karlheinz Neunreither (University of Heidelberg)

Francis Jacobs (European Parliament) "Nomination and Appointments: An Evolving EU Model?"

Karlheinz Neunreither (University of Heidelberg) "The European Parliament and the National Parliaments: Rivals or Partners?"

Dietmar Nickel (European Parliament) "Beyond Treaty Revision: Shifts in the Institutional Balance?"

Michael Shackleton (European Parliament) "The Politics of Co-Decision"

Discussant: Glenda G. Rosenthal (Columbia University)

**EU Policy Implementation**

Chair and Discussant: TBA

Fabio Franchino (London School of Economics) "The Determinants of Implementation Control in the European Community"

Steven Lamy (University of Southern California) "The Impact of EU Membership on Aid Priorities: Can Reform Institutionalism Survive?"

Charles Lyon (University of Pittsburgh) "Implementing Policy in the European Union: The Cases of Telecommunications and Pharmaceuticals"

Claudio Radaelli (University of Bradford) "EU Public Policy: How Technocratic is it?"

**Immigration Policy**

Chair: Eleanor Zeff (Drake University)

Theodora Kostakopoulou (University of East Anglia) "The Insecure Union: Change and Continuity in European Integration Policy"

Chien-Yi Lu (Institute of International Relations, Taiwan) "The Harmonization of Migration Policies in the EU: A State-Centric or Institutional Explanation"

Catherine Wihtol de Wenden and Anne de Tinguy (Centre d'Etudes des Relations Internationales) "Immigration Policies in Europe: Towards More Europeanisation?"

Discussant: Mark Miller (University of Delaware)

**CONFERENCE CLOSES**

*See you in Madison, Wisconsin for ECSA's Seventh Biennial International Conference, May 31 - June 2, 2001!*

\* Please note that this Provisional Program is subject to change. The Final Program will be distributed at the Conference.

\* The Provisional Program is updated frequently on the ECSA Web site at <<http://ecsa.org/conf99.htm>>.

## Book Reviews

**Ulf Hedetoft (ed.) Political Symbols, Symbolic Politics: European Identities in Transformation. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 1998, 303 pp.**

ONE OF THE MOST persistent and important questions surrounding the development of the European Union (EU) in the late 20th century concerns the degree to which a supra-national political entity can either supersede or replace the existing nation-state structure. Most observers agree that the EU integration project has progressed to the point that such givens of European politics, culture and identity as the nation-state, territorial nationalism, and sovereignty have been permanently altered. For example, the nation-state has traditionally provided citizens with their political identity. Today, national identity is under growing pressure from both globalization and European integration. Belief systems and political cultures handed down for generations are being challenged by a European politics of identity.

The main topic of this work is the change of perceived identities in Europe as mediated through symbolic processes. The goal of this work is to make a case for the importance of symbolic representations and symbolically informed policies and political behavior for understanding contemporary Europe, which is rapidly being transformed by numerous forces, among them the integration vs. national identity debate.

In the introduction, editor Ulf Hedetoft traces the battle between nationalizers and Europeanizers over identity in Europe during the last decade. First, Hedetoft explains how whereas popular nationalism was largely implanted from the top down in Europe between 1880-1930, in the last decade members of numerous levels of society have participated in the debate. Second, in the recent period the tensions between European integration and national-cultural identity have shifted. In the early 1990s, center ground was occupied by those favoring some European identity construction; during the 1990s, those favoring a stronger national identity construction have made progress, by labeling Europe as a threat to traditional national identities. Third, both Europeanizers and nationalizers have accepted significant portions of the other side's arguments. Europeanizers have accepted that national identities must not be eliminated, and nationalizers accept that integration will be a permanent fact of European life.

It is central to Hedetoft's thesis that the concepts of symbol and symbolization are of primary importance in understanding the current conflict between the Europeanizers and nationalizers. He attempts to explain the struggles resulting from the relationship between these two sets of symbolic identity construction, treating the subject of European unity or fragmentation through the concept of cultural and symbolic tension, and hence between the symbolic politics used by

those who urge in-depth integration and the political symbolisms employed by those on the nationalizer side.

The eleven readings are grouped under three sections which describe the terrains on which the battle of symbolism is played out: Symbolising Europe through culture; Symbolising nations through Europe; and, Symbolising Europe through the Other, the Other through Europe (refers to relations with states outside the EU). The readings, produced by a multidisciplinary group, focus on the symbolic nature of the political and cultural struggles over the ultimate fate of the nation-state in Europe.

**Phil Wilkin**  
**University of Pittsburgh**

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**James Sperling and Emil Kirchner. Recasting the European Order: Security Architectures and Economic Cooperation. Manchester University Press, 1997, 287 pp.**

SPEHLING AND KIRCHNER ASSERT that with the end of the Cold War, security in Europe and North America is no longer simply about territorial deterrence and defense. Specifically, European security now has political-military components, as well as economic components. Macroeconomic stability and environmental degradation are concepts that now must be added to definitions of security for advanced industrial states, and the existing security architecture must be recast to fit the new reality.

From a theoretical standpoint the authors conclude that neorealist and liberal institutional approaches are not useful if they are mutually exclusive. The security situation in Europe is too complex to be explained by a single view. State competences have changed due in part to greater interdependence, and in part to the opening of economies, and the rise of nonstate actors. The opening of economies is key: Sperling and Kirchner argue that the currency of power is now economic, and that the source of that power is technological dominance. As a result, in North America and Europe, interstate war is no longer desirable; military security is still primary, however a shift has occurred which favors economic welfare over military security.

Ideology no longer divides Europe. The end of the Cold War may not represent the 'end of history,' but it has for the time being ended ideological debate. Gross domestic product (GDP) and differential membership in organizations such as NATO, and the European Union are now the major divisions in Europe. Political and economic instability in Eastern Europe threaten the West more than military security. During the Cold War security was complicated by two security dilemmas: the first, the security dilemma postulated by Robert Jervis, asserts that the measures a state takes to protect its security will decrease the security of its neighbors. The second security dilemma is the choice states must make between "guns or butter." The end of the Cold War and the increased prominence of economic issues have resolved these dilemmas

in a manner that creates incentives for cooperation.

Sperling and Kirchner assert the centrality of economic security for European stability. In their view this means European security depends upon a successful transition to a market economy and democratic government by the states in Eastern Europe, and thus macroeconomic policy should become part of the European security order. The authors conclude that after the Cold War, optimal European security depends upon the congruence and interdependence of economic and security regimes which can achieve the political, military, and economic goals of both Eastern and Western Europe.

**Brent Stuart Goodwin**  
**Brown University**

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**Andrew Moravcsik. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 514 pp., 1998.**

IN THE PAST DECADE the European integration process has been extensively studied. After a decade of almost total silence, the 1990s witnessed a complete reemergence of the theorizing about the European integration process. Arguably Moravcsik's 1991 "Negotiating the Single European Act" article in *International Organization* (IO) and subsequent writings contributed importantly to this renewed debate. The Choice for Europe thus can be seen as the culmination of Moravcsik's contribution to the theorizing about European integration. Scholars and students have anxiously awaited the publication of this important book.

The book seeks to explain "why sovereign governments in Europe have chosen repeatedly to coordinate their core economic policy and surrender sovereign prerogatives within an international institution" (p.1). This is done by studying the five treaty-amendments, or "grand bargains." The central claim is that the European integration process from "Messina to Maastricht" can be explained by looking at three factors: economic interest, relative power of governments, and incentives to enhance the credibility of interstate commitments. The economic interests are identified as being the most important of the three.

The core focus is on the traditional debate in European integration theory—i.e., intergovernmentalism versus supranationalism/neofunctionalism/historical institutionalism (HI)—and unsurprisingly The Choice for Europe positions itself in the former category. The book delivers a careful balancing act of arguing that the book is not about dismissing neofunctionalism/HI in favour of intergovernmentalism. Yet, throughout the book it clearly discards neofunctionalist/HI propositions as well as those offered by conventional critics of neofunctionalism, as they are seen as being unable to explain the outcome of grand bargains. Notwithstanding these generalisations, the theoretical framework presented in the book is very carefully crafted, taking into consideration many mid-range theories. Yet it unfortunately does not

discuss the wide spectrum of theoretical analyses on the European integration process that have been put forward throughout the 1990s. Instead, it remains within the parameters of the traditional grand debate. To a certain extent this effort should be applauded as it is the author's aim to test rigorously the liberal intergovernmentalist approach and reflect on other parsimonious, or "grand" theories, as well as the mid-range theories which offer the building stones to create the "grand" theories. Yet, a discussion of the full richness of the various approaches would have been interesting.

Regarding another traditional debate in the literature, the International Relations debate, it positions the book in the "liberal" as opposed to "realist" tradition. Though Moravcsik's previous work has by some been categorised as realist, in The Choice for Europe, as he did in his recent IO article, "Taking Preferences Seriously," he argues that his incorporation of state-society relations and focus on economic and commercial interests, rather than on security issues, and the fact that he studies the process of preference formation (p.21), enable him to adopt a liberal perspective. Although the analysis indeed allows for significant "influence" of societal actors, this categorization is not quite convincing as the "state" ends up being a rational actor, striving to protect its interests (which are seen to be stable over time) and acts as a unitary actor. Moreover, the end result is considered to be calculable by knowing the preferences and the structural power of the strongest Member States.

The Choice for Europe studies five big negotiating moments in European Community history. It starts off by positing that the outcome of these grand negotiations can be understood if one accepts the proposition that national governments were rational actors who tried to maximise their national preferences. The state is taken to act *as if* it is a unitary actor. Subsequently it acts rationally, aiming at satisfying its preferences. In order to test this hypothesis, the book follows in particular the negotiating positions of three countries, i.e., Germany, France and Britain between 1955-1992. The enlightening feature of this book is that it argues that the actions of European governments are "normal" rather than as an "unintended outcome" of a technocratic, elite-driven, gradual process.

The book has seven main chapters. The introduction and the first chapters set out the framework. The five negotiations are discussed in the subsequent chapters. Chapters 2 through Chapter 6 deal with the negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Rome signed in 1957, the consolidation of the Common Agricultural Policy during the 1960s, the establishment of the European Monetary System in 1978-79, the negotiation of the Single European Act in 1985-86, and finally the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992. The concluding chapter offers the theoretical contribution to the literature on European integration theory.

Moravcsik concludes his analysis by stating that the liberal intergovernmentalism (LI) argument holds because

“European integration was a series of rational adaptations by national leaders to constraints and opportunities...” (p.472). It can be explained by adopting his tripartite framework: national governments (1) formulate national preferences, (2) engage in interstate bargaining, (3) decide whether or not to delegate or pool sovereignty (p.473). In his view “alternative causes—geopolitical threats, European federalist ideas, technocratic imperatives to delegate and intervention by supranational policy entrepreneurs—played a decidedly secondary role” (p 473). Most of the discussion in this concluding chapter discusses the merits of liberal intergovernmentalism over historical institutionalism. However, Moravcsik points out that the final analysis on the usefulness of HI has yet to be made. Yet, in a persuasive though rhetorical conclusion the book argues against HI in favour of LI (pp.489-92).

The book is well written and full of evidence for its argument obtained through primary and secondary sources. This provocative book is daring in both its analysis and conclusions. The methodology is sound and theory-building is carefully crafted. Even though the reader might disagree with the theory-crafting or the interpretation of the facts presented, the book offers an enlightened analysis of the five big bargains. With his book Andrew Moravcsik will once again give an impulse to the debate on European integration theory.

Given the richness of the book, both in terms of data, as well as the theoretical argument, a short review such as this one cannot ever do full justice to it. Readers are strongly encouraged to read it and judge for themselves. It is well worth making the effort of reading the more than 500 pages, as the book will no doubt be discussed widely in the decades to come.

**Amy Verdun**  
**University of Victoria**

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**Heikki Mikkeli. Europe As An Idea and An Entity. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, 263 pp.**

**Bill McSweeney (ed.) Moral Issues in International Affairs: Problems of European Integration. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, 265 pp.**

**Richard G. Whitman. From Civilian Power to Superpower? The International Identity of the European Union. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998, 251 pp.**

THESE THREE INFORMATIVE AND insightful books underscore the chicken-or-the-egg dilemma of creating a Europe to defend. Does a concept of Europe come into existence as states occasionally ally themselves to defend interests? Or do states come together to defend their interests because they see

themselves as European? The answer, of course, is whether the moment in history is more propitious for the chicken or for the egg.

The analogy is not entirely apt. The chicken and the egg enjoy an existential relationship with one another. Can that be said about the states in the physical area known as Europe and their relationship with the idea of Europe? Hardly, Heikki Mikkeli argues. Europe as a credible and consistent political identity has only been around for some fifty of western civilization's over two thousands years of existence. Even today, Mikkeli underscores, there is no unchallengeable definition of Europe (p.3).

Mikkeli, a Junior Research Fellow at the Academy of Finland (University of Helsinki), sets out in his fine book to cull the entire annals of the idea of Europe, because, in his opinion, “we may . . . well claim that study of even the earliest visions of European integration and union may provide the key to an understanding of the discourse on Europe today” (pp.vii-viii).

The Greeks and the Romans saw Europa as a dot on the map, i.e., purely a geographical term. No one in Antiquity identified themselves as European (p.16). Only in the Middle Ages was Europe as an identity pressed into action as various elite political forces (Popes, Emperors) sought to buttress their power structures. The birth of the modern state hardly changed matters. From Louis XIV through the reign of Bismarck, the idea and identity of Europa was bandied about by elites as another political pliers in their power-tool kit.

Through the centuries there have been voices propagating a more noble vision of Europe (William Penn, Abbe de St-Pierre, Immanuel Kant). Yet it took World War II for their message to be seriously entertained by politicians. Why only then? As Mikkeli notes, one of the paradoxes of the European idea and identity is that it has been pressed into action at those times when powers-that-be feel unusually vulnerable (p.33). Shamed, traumatized and vulnerable were certainly dominant perspectives after 8 May 1945.

Since then, postwar integration of Europe has “been a gradual evolution interspersed with sudden bursts of action” (p.112). In essence, bursts are unleashed by intergovernmental activity with evolution being powered by functional doings. Bringing on the bursts are heightened states of vulnerability (aftermath of World War II, the United States): “Identity is often produced by speaking of threats” (p.226). Mikkeli aptly shows how this has been the case since the days of Charlemagne.

Bill McSweeney and his co-authors underscore the tough times had for those longing for European integration in the tradition of William Penn and Immanuel Kant and Jean Monnet. How to bring Thomas More into play in a regional and international game often dominated by the values of Henry VIII can be a daunting task. The Cold War did not help, McSweeney notes in his opening chapter.

Until the demise of the Soviet Union, realism dominated among scholars of international relations. Their starting point of an anarchical world meant that analyses were offered up of

European integration and international relations that stressed the need for balances of power, alliances, and military might. It was a world where, like at the earliest stages of the idea of Europe, the strong did what they will, and the weak did what they must.

But Richard Falk provides us in his essay with a different interpretation of Thucydides. The historian of the Peloponnesian Wars was stating with his quip the *ratio ultimo* for Athens and the other city-states for acting as they did, not providing a prescription for international order. Indeed, those so-called staples of realism, Thucydides and Machiavelli, never shun the importance of ethics and morality in international relations; these values should be interwoven with policy—to the extent that they can be without endangering stability—to provide more security.

And it is just this task that the authors in this volume set out to do: to explore how to create a more ethical, a more moral foreign policy, during the process of European integration. McSweeney is Director of the Centre for Peace Studies at the Irish School of Ecumenics in Dublin. He states outright that there is no particular design to the book, just a common theme, as he and his co-authors tackle their objective.

And so we cover a broad spectrum of issues having to deal with European identity, security issues, and normative approaches to policy. Michael McGwire berates the decision to expand NATO as little more than (and this is my connection) a Charlemagnian exercise of demonizing the Muslims to justify one's own power base. One simply undermines one's own security in the process. And while European integration is hailed as a model for the world, Ian Davis points out the participants in said-exercise export their arms to regions of the world where such weapons only distance those countries from the European experiment.

The criticisms of European foreign policy in this collection of essays are sharp and on the mark. The volume overall is a very enjoyable read, with the chapter by Richard Falk particularly engaging (for my tastes). But as McSweeney notes, Peace Studies has always been good at showing the flaws of the existing system, but has had a much tougher time of it telling us how to get where they think we should be.

Fred Halliday calls in this volume for a “robust universalism,” a “Scandinavian consensus with teeth” (p.28). To get there involves recognizing the importance of human agency and moral choice in international relations, all these authors more or less argue. Leadership counts. There is, alas, not nearly enough of it to push Europe in the direction in which these authors want it to go: “Realist morality continues to underpin global security...” (p.48). Thomas More is still not winning his case.

Still, the European Union is not a hodge-podge of countries banded together just to pursue their own interests, Richard Whitman sets out to argue in his well-structured book. The European Union enjoys an intact international identity that allows it to be recognized as a “significant actor” on the international scene.

Whitman is Lecturer in International Relations and Diplomacy and Jean Monnet Lecturer in European Union Studies at the University of Westminster. His working definition of an international identity is “the existence of instruments or action which may ostensibly be under the control of the Member States but are distinguishable in form from instruments or actions of Member States” (p.28). To buttress his case, Whitman examines those mechanisms and treaty stipulations provided under Pillar I of the EU construction, as well as the powers granted for the CFSP under Pillar II.

The author is well aware of the disparity between expectations and capabilities under which the EU works as an international actor. Thus while it is clearly more than a civilian power, it is by no means a superpower (as the word was understood during the Cold War). To tease out how the EU's international identity is gaining substance and stature, Whitman looks at the process of how Union institutions such as the Parliament and the Commission have been allowed to play a more substantive role in the policy process.

Whitman's work is finely argued and carefully laid out. It is a crisp read on the frustrations, but real progress, in building an international identity for the European Union. The process ultimately involves not a zero-sum game between the EU and the Member States, but rather a complementary exercise in which state actors can increase the power that pushes their foreign policy agendas by turning to a larger and distinct international actor.

And this brings us back to the chicken and the egg dilemma. These three books lay out for us clearly and informatively the ambiguous nature of foreign and security policies built upon an identity that currently and historically is often hailed simply to justify these security policies in the first place. Yet Whitman argues convincingly that the EU-egg and the State-chicken are increasingly enjoying an existential relationship: the Union still relies on its Member States to keep it alive, but Members are giving up more Power to Brussels to keep their fortunes extant, too.

**Crister S. Garrett**  
**Monterey Institute of International Studies**

**Readers interested in reviewing recent EU-related books for the *ECSA Review* are encouraged to contact the Book Review Editor:**

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## Calls for Materials

### Australasian Journal of European Integration

This new, refereed scholarly journal seeks submissions of articles for the next (1999/2000) issue, related to the EU, modern Europe, and European integration, and either from the region or dealing with issues of interest to the region, such as trade issues, representation of outside interests to the EU, EU-Asia relations, EU-Australia relations, industry policy, regionalisation and globalisation. The debut (1998/99) issue includes a symposium on Andrew Moravcsik's The Choice for Europe and articles on monetary union, the CAP and Australia's relations with Europe, and more. For information please contact ECSA member Heather Field, Senior Lecturer in European Studies, School of Humanities, Faculty of Arts, Griffith University, Nathan, Queensland 4111, Australia, or at e-mail <h.field@mailbox.gu.edu.au>.

### European Union Politics

Scheduled to debut in February 2000, this new international journal aims to provide a forum for advanced research on all aspects of the processes of government, politics and policy in the European Union, adopting a transnational approach to the challenges that the project of European integration faces in the 21st century. This journal also aims to bridge the gap between theoretical and empirical analyses in this area. The editors seek submissions of articles that offer new theoretical argument, analyse original data in a novel fashion, or present an innovative methodological approach, from any subfield of contemporary political science. Executive editor is ECSA member Gerald Schneider, University of Konstanz, and associate editors are ECSA members Simon Hix, London School of Economics and Political Science, and Matthew Gabel, University of Kentucky. For information visit the Web site <www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/usdetails/jo296.html>.

### Yearbook of European Studies

The Amsterdam-based Yearbook dedicates each edition to a specific theme in European Studies, from a wide range of disciplinary and particularly interdisciplinary perspectives. Past topics have been Britain and Europe; France and Europe; National Identity; and The Disintegration of Yugoslavia; future volumes will deal with Middle and Eastern Europe; Nation Building and Literary History; Europeanisation; and Ireland and Europe. The editors welcome suggestions for other projects and the Yearbook may provide a vehicle for the publication of thematically focused conference or colloquium proceedings. Direct editorial inquiries either to Menno Spiering, University of Amsterdam, at e-mail <m.spiering@hum.uva.nl> or to ECSA member Thomas M. Wilson, Queen's University of Belfast, at <tom.wilson@qub.ac.uk>.

## Publications

- Cassese, Antonio *et alia* (1998) Leading by Example: A Human Rights Agenda for the European Union for the Year 2000. Florence, Italy: European University Institute.
- Chalmers, Damian (1998) European Union Law, Volume One: Law and EU Government. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing.
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- Yearbook of Polish European Studies, Volumes 1 and 2 (1997, 1998). Warsaw, Poland: Warsaw University Centre for Europe.

### Marmara Journal of European Studies

Received Volume 6, Nos. 1-2 (1998). No.1 includes articles on Turkey and the EU, Cyprus, the Customs Union, and more; No.2 is a special issue, "The Treaty of Amsterdam." Contact: Editor, Marmara University European Community Institute, Göztepe Campus, Kadiköy, 81040 Istanbul, Turkey; by fax to 90 216 347 4543; or by e-mail at <acakir@marun.edu.tr>.

*New Journal for 2000*

# European Union Politics

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## Conferences

### Practitioner Seminars in European Integration

*February 1999:* New York and Manchester, UK. Organized by New York University and the University of Manchester, these four, two-hour teleconferenced seminars are open to the public in both locations. February 4: "The Political Economy of the Euro," Iain Begg; February 11: "Agenda 2000: Getting Ready for Enlargement," Mark Lyall Grant; February 18: "Multilevel Governance: North West England in the UK and EU," Marianne Neville-Rolfe; February 25: "Europe: A Scottish Perspective," Philip Rycroft. The New York location is Seven East 12th Street, Fifth Floor, Office of Telecommunications. Contact Dennis C. Smith, Wagner Graduate School of Public Service, New York University, at e-mail <smithde@is.nyu.edu> or by fax to 212 995 4162.

### Competing Competition Laws: Do We Need a Global Standard?

*March 19, 1999:* Boston. Organized by the New England School of Law, this conference will investigate whether the multitude of standards act as non-tariff barriers and slow the growth of world trade, whether global standards are needed, and if so, on what economic philosophy they should be based and who will enforce them. Please contact Michael Scharf at e-mail <mscharf@fac.nesl.edu> or by tel. at 617 457 3009.

### European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions of Workshops

*March 26-31, 1999:* Mannheim, Germany. The ECPR sponsors the annual Joint Sessions of Workshops; the 1999 Sessions include 27 Workshops on such topics as "Politicians, Bureaucrats, and Institutional Reform;" "European Aspects of Post-Communist Party Development," and "Coordination or Competition: Fiscal Policy in an EMU-ed Europe," the latter organized by ECSA members Mark Hallerberg and Claudio Radaelli. For information contact the Local Organizing Committee at e-mail <ECPR@mzes.uni-mannheim.de>; fax to 49 621 292 1784; or visit the Web site at <http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/ECPR>.

### Managing European Environmental Policy

*March 29-31, 1999:* Maastricht. The European Institute of Public Administration has organized this English-language seminar to explore the role and importance of EU member state administrations in the policy process at the preparatory phase in the European Commission, the decision-making phase within the Council, and the implementation phase in the "comitology committees." Contact Winny Janssen-Curfs, EIPA, P.O. Box 1229, NL-6201 BE Maastricht, The Netherlands; e-mail <wja@eipa.nl>; or fax to 31 43 3296 296.

### European Integration: Research and Documentation in the Digital Age

*April 19-20, 1999:* Florence, Italy. The European University Institute is organizing this conference on the latest electronic developments relating to European documentation and the use of European documentation in academic research. Contact the organizers via e-mail at <edconf@datacomm.iue.it> or visit the Web site at <http://www.iue.it/LIB/edc/edc-conf.html>.

### France, Germany and Britain: Partners in a Changing World

*May 21, 1999:* University of Bradford, UK. For scholars who share an interest in the Franco-German relationship (now at a critical turning point) in the widest sense (political, economic, financial, industrial, historical or cultural), and the relations Britain has with these European partners. What are the prospects for a triangular axis? Contact either conference organiser, Jean-Marc Trouille, University of Bradford, e-mail <j.m.l.trouille@bradford.ac.uk> or Mairi Maclean, University of London, e-mail <m.maclean@rhnbc.ac.uk>.

### Globalization and the Good Society

*July 8-11, 1999:* University of Wisconsin-Madison. The 11th Annual Meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics is cosponsored by the International Institute and others entities at the University of Wisconsin and is part of the 150th anniversary celebration of the University of Wisconsin. Program co-chairs are Bruce Western, Princeton University, and ECSA member Frans van Waarden, University of Utrecht. The conference will feature formal paper sessions, poster sessions, author meets critics panels, and focused debates. Paper streams will include Communitarian Ideals and Civil Society; Development, Social Change, and Governance; Gender, Work, and Family; Globalization and Local Socio-Economic Development; Industrial Relations and the Political Economy; and others. For information contact SASE, P. O. Box 39008, Baltimore, MD 21212; fax 410 377 7965; e-mail <saseorg@aol.com>; or visit the Web site at <http://www.mpi-fg-koeln.mpg.de/sase99/>.

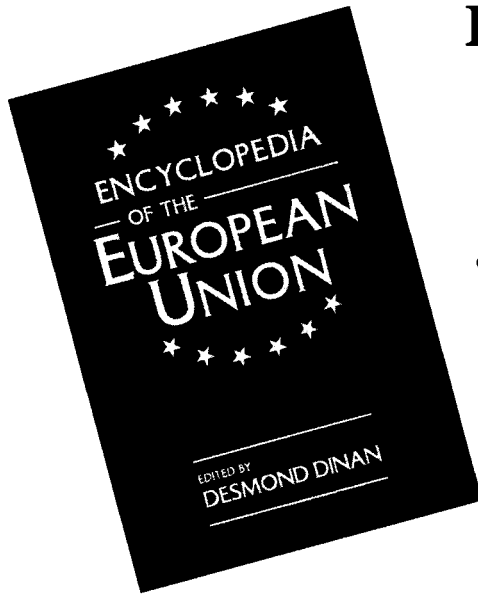
### Will Europe Work?

*August 18-21, 1999:* Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam. The European Sociological Association Conference will feature 22 topic streams, among them "Collective Identities: Local, Regional, National, European;" "Thinking Europe: Social Theory;" "Beyond Legal Frameworks: Crime, Policing, Traffic;" "Europe in the World System," "Citizenship: National, European, Global;" and "Constructing European Institutions." Contact the ESA Conference Secretariat, SISWO, Plantage Muidergracht 4, NL-1018 TV Amsterdam, The Netherlands; fax 31 20 622 9430; visit the Web site <http://www.qub.ac.uk/esa/>; or e-mail <esa@siswo.uva.nl>.



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North Carolina:	University of North Carolina Chapel Hill and Duke University
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- ◆ In Fall 1998, the European Union launched an exciting new initiative to build stronger ties among Europeans and Americans—the Network of European Union Centers in the United States. Ambassador Hugo Paemen, Head, European Commission Delegation, said “We hope, through the Centers, that more and more American students will gain insight into the European Union ... and take that with them into their working lives.”
- ◆ After an open competition, ten sites around the United States were selected to be European Union Centers, with the aim of conducting outreach programs in their communities and regions, involving colleges and universities, local businesses, chambers of commerce, World Affairs Councils, high school teachers and others, to promote both broad and deep knowledge of the European Union and build upon US-EU relations.
- ◆ Each Center has already engaged in and planned an astonishing array of European Union-focused events, from videoconferences to meetings with state legislators to secondary teacher training workshops. The activities of the European Union Centers will have the impact of both increasing the number and level of EU specialists in the United States, as well as helping to inform the general public about issues relevant to them such as the introduction of the *euro* and US-EU trade relations.
- ◆ To find out more about the Network and each of the participating European Union Centers, please visit the Network Web site at <<http://eucenters.org>>. The Web site includes a calendar of events and detailed information, with contact coordinates, about each Center. Please bookmark the site as a favorite, and visit often!

The Network of European Union Centers is supported by the European Union, with assistance from the host institutions, and is coordinated by the European Community Studies Association. ECSA's Network of European Union Centers Sub-Committee is Vivien Schmidt, Chair (Boston University); Leon Hurwitz (Cleveland State University); and Paulette Kurzer (University of Arizona).

## ECSA News and Notes

### 1997 ECSA Conference Papers

During 1998 ECSA members and others ordered copies of papers delivered at ECSA's 1997 Biennial Conference (the conference paper abstracts are on the Web at <<http://ecsa.org/abs97.html>>). The top three "best sellers" to date among the available papers have been Bukowski, Jeanie, "Policy networks and complex interactions in the European Union: Environmental policy in Spain"; Golub, Jonathan, "The path to EU environmental policy: Domestic politics, supranational institutions, global competition"; and Hendriks, Gisela, "CAP reform and enlargement: A German perspective."

### 1999-2000 Curriculum Development Grants

Contingent on available funding, ECSA will again offer faculty curriculum development grants for the development of new EU-related courses (or the augmenting of existing EU-related courses) taught at U.S. institutions. Full guidelines are available at <<http://ecsa.org/currdev.htm>> and the deadline for receipt of application materials in the ECSA Administrative Office is **April 15, 1999**. The syllabi developed with these ECSA grants will be posted on the ECSA Web site.

## ECSA Supporters

The European Community Studies Association is extremely grateful for financial support above and beyond membership dues contributed by these members between January-December 1998:

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In addition, the publication of the *ECSA Review* has been made possible in part by the support of the **Delegation of the European Commission**, Office of Press and Public Affairs, Washington, DC, for which the ECSA is very grateful.

## Miscellany

### "What is Europe?" Essay Competition

To celebrate the millennium, the Centre for European Studies Research at the University of Portsmouth, UK, has organized an essay competition open to any person who adheres to the Competition rules. All entries must address the question, "What is Europe?" in 5,000-6,000 words and must be accompanied by the appropriate forms, available from the Secretary, Centre for European Studies Research, University of Portsmouth, Park Building, King Henry I St., Portsmouth PO1 2DZ, UK; e-mail <[carolyn.carr@port.ac.uk](mailto:carolyn.carr@port.ac.uk)>. The winning essay receives a prize of 1,000 pounds, sponsored by Frank Cass Publishers; deadline is 12:00 noon on September 30, 1999. A panel of experts (Susan Bassnett, Richard Overy, and William E. Paterson) will decide the winner and select essays for publication in a volume entitled "What is Europe?" to be published by Frank Cass in 2000.

### European Parliament Internships

The European Parliament will accept up to five student interns each year from U.S. universities; candidates should be graduate students or senior-year undergraduates, majoring in European studies. These unpaid internships normally last for three months. Interns would be based in either Brussels or Luxembourg, and would travel to Strasbourg for several days to observe a plenary session of the European Parliament. Parliament will pay for the Strasbourg trip plus travel expenses from any point within the EU to Brussels or Luxembourg at the beginning and end of the internship. Request an application form in writing from the Traineeships Office, European Parliament, Office BAK 2 A 007, L-2929 Luxembourg; fax 352 4300 24882; e-mail <[KaJeppesen@europarl.eu.int](mailto:KaJeppesen@europarl.eu.int)>.

### CIEE Faculty Development Seminars

Organized by the Council for International Educational Exchange, several 1999 faculty development seminars focus on and take place in Europe; these 7-16 day seminars aim to provide intensive overseas experiences for faculty and administrators to help them internationalize their institutions. Of interest to EU scholars are the following seminars, all taking place in June: "Facing Old and New Challenges: Germany in 1999" (in Berlin and Dresden); "Hungary and Central Europe: A Region in Transition" (in Budapest); "Political, Economic, and Military Security in East-Central Europe" (in Warsaw); and "Spain, Past and Present: Camino de Santiago" (in León and Santiago de Compostela). Application deadline is March 15, 1999; CIEE, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017; toll-free tel. 1-888-COUNCIL; fax 212 822 2699; e-mail <[ifds@ciee.org](mailto:ifds@ciee.org)>; or visit the Web site at <[www.ciee.org](http://www.ciee.org)>.

## ECSA Review

The *ECSA Review* (ISSN 1090-5758) is published four times yearly by the European Community Studies Association, a membership association and non-profit organization founded in 1988 and devoted to the exchange of information and ideas about the European Union. We welcome scholarly, EU-related manuscripts. Subscription to the *ECSA Review* is a benefit of Association membership.

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***Founded in 1988, ECSA is a non-profit organization dedicated to the exchange of information and ideas on European Union affairs. ECSA is the coordinator of the Network of European Union Centers.***

*Notes and deadlines for ECSA members ...*

- ECSA Poster Session proposal deadline: **March 5** ... ECSA Curriculum Development Grant application deadline: **April 15** ... Early registration deadline (and discounted rates) for the ECSA Conference: **April 30**. Visit our Web site at <<http://ecsa.org>> for full details on all of these activities.
- If you are moving, please let the ECSA Administrative Office know your new mailing address and contact coordinates, preferably six weeks in advance, so that you don’t miss any of your membership materials.
- Approximately 425 ECSA members (about 40 percent of current membership) now subscribe to the ECSA e-mail List Server, a forum for succinct queries and announcements related to EU studies. To subscribe, send an e-mail to <[ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu)> with this message: **subscribe [ecsa@list.pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa@list.pitt.edu)**
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