



## EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Vol. 13, No. 1 ISSN 1090-5758  
Winter 2000 www.ecsa.org

# ECSA REVIEW

### Romano Prodi: Another Delors? Essay by John Peterson

THE FIRST ONE HUNDRED DAYS of a new government are often its honeymoon period, when it is given scope to stamp its authority on governance. Of course, the EU lacks a “government” (or opposition), but the European Commission has begun to look more like one under Romano Prodi. Not since Walter Hallstein has any Commission President dared to refer to himself as a sort of “European Prime Minister.” Prodi’s rhetoric has been flowery, with references to a “common European soul” and the need to seize on the “consequences of the single currency to create a political Europe.” His first one hundred days saw the Commission initiate radical internal reforms, shift the debate on EU enlargement, agitate for an ambitious intergovernmental conference (IGC) in 2000, and even call for a “European army.” It became tempting to ask whether Prodi could rescue the Commission, and European integration more generally, as a new model Jacques Delors.

So far, the analogy does not hold up very well. Prodi’s early ambitions were abetted in important ways by the efforts of his predecessor, Jacques Santer, to strengthen the President within the college of Commissioners and reform the Commission (Peterson 1999a). By no means was Prodi free to choose his own “government.” Instead, he was forced to play a three-level game—Putnamesque (1988) in some respects—paying heed to the domestic politics of the EU’s member states, the institutional politics of Commission-European Parliament (EP) relations, and the bureaucratic politics of the Commission itself. Prodi ended up with a less charismatic but far more coherent college than Santer’s, with expertise matched to portfolio to an extent unseen in the Commission’s history (see table, p.7).

The point must be qualified. Despite Prodi’s pledge to eliminate “Frankenstein portfolios,” Loyola de Palacio insisted on sectoral responsibilities (energy and transport) in addition to her duties as Vice-President in charge of relations with the EP. The Commissioner for the internal market, Frits Bolkestein, appeared short on economic literacy. Before the EP’s vote of investiture on the new Commission, many MEPs expressed doubts about the basic competence of Philippe Busquin to manage the research portfolio. Still, the EP backed the new Commission by 414 to 142 (with 35 abstentions). In contrast, Santer’s Commission had barely sneaked in with an eight-vote EP majority. Arguably, Santer never recovered and never had a honeymoon period.

After the EP effectively badgered Santer into resigning, it became common to assume that Prodi’s success depended on keeping the EP sweet. However, the EP remains an unwieldy and undisciplined institution. More than half of the current EP was elected for the first time in the June 1999 election. The breakdown of the traditional alliance between the European People’s Party (EPP) and Socialist group (see Kreppel 1999) makes the EP still more unpredictable. Reports of a revolutionary shift towards parliamentary democracy in the EU seem overstated.

The real institutional revolution in Brussels is occurring within the Commission. Immediately after his investiture, Prodi unveiled edicts to discourage individual Commissioners from blocking decisions, and to “Europeanize” and curb the power of Commissioners’ *cabinets* (of personal advisors). All *cabinets* (now limited to six advisors) featured at least three nationalities. Interestingly, given the Commission’s chronic lack of women in senior positions, almost 40 per cent of *cabinet* members were female.<sup>1</sup> All Commissioners had to appoint a head or deputy head (*chef*) from a member state other than their own. All (besides Prodi) were moved out of the palatial Breydel building to the site of the Commission service they headed. The effect was to create something like ministries, headed by the equivalent of ministers (Commissioners), with a clearer division between policy and management responsibilities.

Neil Kinnock (1999) was named Vice-President (alongside de Palacio) and immediately embarked on what he called “the biggest single package of changes to the organisation of the Commission in the history of the Institution.” The number of services (or directorates) was reduced (by six) to 36 and their numbering (e.g., DGs I or VI) was abolished. New services for Enlargement and Justice and Home Affairs were created.

Perhaps the most dramatic change was at the level of Directors-General, the top officials in each service. Prodi insisted that none could be of the same nationality as “their” Commissioner. Kinnock decreed that “merit and experience” would determine who received which senior Commission post. Gone were “national flags” on specific posts (see Page 1997) which had meant, for example, that the Director-General of the Agricultural service was always French.

The changes had effects that were sub-optimal, even perverse. Some officials were assured that their jobs were safe and then told – some late the same evening – that they would be retired early. The ban on Commissioners and Directors-

(continued on page 7)

### **Do the Lessons of EU Legal Integration “Travel”?**

THE STORY OF EUROPEAN UNION legal integration—including the extraordinary powers of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), the gradual constitutionalization of the Treaties by the Court, and the extensive reach of EU law into national legal systems—has been the subject of an increasingly sophisticated, interdisciplinary literature over the past two decades. In this Forum, three ECSA members consider whether the lessons of EU legal integration “travel,” that is, whether the study of EU legal integration has yielded generalizable hypotheses or lessons which might inform the study of other domestic or international legal systems. If so, what are these hypotheses or lessons, and to what universe of cases might they apply?

The first essay, by Martin Shapiro, places the ECJ in the broader context of both domestic and international courts established to handle boundary conflicts among power holders in divided political systems. In order to serve as effective modes of conflict resolution, Shapiro argues, such courts must have a considerable degree of autonomy, and must engage in law-making as well as interpretation. Power holders in such systems will occasionally be “bitten” by the courts they have created, just as the EU’s member states have suffered adverse rulings before the ECJ; yet, Shapiro suggests, members are likely to accept the continuing independence of courts like the ECJ in spite of adverse rulings, in order to enjoy the benefits of the constitutional arrangement.

In the second essay, Karen Alter suggests four distinct ways in which the insights of EU legal integration might be applied beyond the EU, and beyond the legal realm. Specifically, she suggests that EU legal integration can inform more general studies of (1) the factors shaping national court and private litigant practices; (2) the effect of EU integration on national politics, outside as well as within the legal realm; (3) the more general trend toward legalization of international relations; and (4) the nature of the EU as a polity. Having affirmed the generalizability of the lessons of EU legal integration, Alter concludes with a call for more comparative work situating the EU legal system in a comparative context.

In the third and final essay, Laurence R. Helfer engages in such a focused comparison, contrasting the ECJ’s historic success with the recent establishment of a binding arbitration system under Chapter 11 of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Although NAFTA grants private parties the right to bring cases under Chapter 11—a key element in the success of the ECJ—Helfer finds that this mechanism has failed to legitimize NAFTA, and he examines in detail the various factors that might explain why NAFTA has failed to replicate the ECJ’s success. Helfer concludes by suggesting that granting enforceable treaty rights to private parties, in the absence of other factors present in the EU context, may lead not to legitimation, but to backlash against the new treaty regime.

Taken together, the three essays suggest that the study of EU legal integration can both draw from—and contribute to—theories of domestic and international law, and the interaction between the two.

—*Forum Editor*

### **Martin Shapiro**

THE EU IS BASICALLY a treaty-based free-trade area *plus* attendant treaty-based organs of legislation, administration and adjudication. The intention of the signatory member states was that the principal legislative organ, the Council, remain completely under the control of member state governments, that the administrative organ, the Commission, be relatively independent and exercise a strong role in legislation, and that the adjudicatory organ, the ECJ, be almost entirely independent. As we all know there is a scholarly debate about whether the law-making process engaged in by Commission-Council has remained entirely under member state control or under the law of unanticipated consequences and through the dynamics of path-determined institutional evolution has become somewhat independent of immediate member state control. I leave this vital question to others. Of course many questions of EU lessons and whether and where they can travel depend upon whether the EU is merely a species of intergovernmentalism or something new under the sun.

I turn instead to the ECJ. Here the EU experience tends to confirm a particular set of interdependent hypotheses that do travel easily. Intrinsicly and historically courts, that is triadic conflict resolution mechanisms, are convenient modes of conflict resolution. Therefore when constitution writers and others similarly situated constitute political arrangements in which power is divided geographically or among central political organs, they are likely to establish a court to handle the boundary conflicts that necessarily arise among the various holders of the divided political power. Indeed a court may be essential for the success of all such divided power arrangements because boundary conflicts are so endemic to them. Moreover a court has a certain natural advantage in such a situation. From the standpoint of each power holder it would be best if it could disobey the rules of the power dividing arrangement, but all other holders obeyed the rules. The second best solution is that it and all other holders obey the rules. So long as the survival of the basic arrangement (e.g., constitution) is preferred by each power holder over the dissolution of the arrangement, each will obey the rules and insist that other holders do so as well. Thus when the court of the arrangement seeks to impose compliance with the rules on any recalcitrant holder, the court will be supported by all other holders and ultimately even by the recalcitrant holder. Even the recalcitrant holder will disobey only if the court should seek to impose a cost on it higher than the benefit of remaining in the arrangement.

Finally, and this is a crucial hypothesis, courts cannot engage in successful conflict resolution unless they also engage in law making. Law making is as intrinsic to courts as is conflict resolution. In order for a judge to succeed as a conflict resolver,

she must persuade the loser at trial that he has lost not simply because the *judge* has chosen him as the loser but because he has violated a pre-existing legal rule. In reality, however, there sometimes is no pre-existing legal rule that clearly defines the winners and losers in a particular case. In such instances, the judge must make a new legal rule herself while pretending that it pre-existed the litigation. (This hypothesis is elaborated in my 1986 book, *Courts*.)

Where constitution makers and other similarly situated actors feel compelled to establish a court because of anticipated conflicts among the power holders in the arrangement they are constituting, they will also feel compelled to make that court relatively independent of the immediate will of all other holders, because only under such conditions will the court be an effective conflict resolver with a capacity for exploiting the mutual "second best" preference of all the holders. Because courts must engage in law making in order to do conflict resolution, and because they must be partially independent in order to do conflict resolution, it follows that no matter what the framers' initial intentions or the subsequent preferences of the other power holders, the court created will wield a certain degree of independent law making authority. From the point of view of the constituters of a divided power political arrangement, be it constitutional or treaty based, the lesson is, "If you buy a junk yard dog ..." (A junk yard dog is a large, fierce dog that the yard owner turns loose each night to discourage thieves and which he, himself, must chain up again each morning. Thus if you buy a junk yard dog, you, yourself, run the risk of getting bitten.) Players who choose to create a conflict-resolving court have, whether they like it or not, created a somewhat independent law making authority and each player can expect to be bitten once in a while, that is to encounter a piece of judicial law making that it doesn't like.

The member states of the EU created both a geographic (center-periphery), and a central government (four-branch) division of powers. They created the ECJ in line with the hypotheses outlined above. The ECJ has been a relatively successful conflict resolver and a quite active and successful law maker. Each of the member states has been bitten from time to time. Each has typically supported the Court when it bites others and ultimately submitted to being bitten itself. Indeed the biting has been sufficiently severe that in a number of the revisions of the treaties the member states collectively have sought to bar or limit judicial review from some sectors. But the dependency on judicial conflict resolution in the EU system is so great that most attempts to limit review have been aborted or have subsequently crumbled.

What travels, therefore, is the junk yard dog. Whether the member states do or do not completely control the Commission-Council-Parliament law making process, they do not completely control the ECJ law making process—and cannot do so as long as they want an effective conflict-resolving guardian of power holder boundaries. That lesson is now being learned by the members of the WTO and NAFTA, other treaty-based free-trade areas with attendant judicial organs, just as it has been learned previously by countries like France, which consistently rejected judicial review until it divided executive power between

PM and President, created a court to police the boundary between them, and ended up with a law making process in which one faction of the Assembly is constantly siccing the judicial dog on another.

*Martin Shapiro is James W. and Isabel Coffroth Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley.*

## **Karen J. Alter**

HAS THE STUDY OF European integration yielded generalizable hypotheses or lessons that might inform the study of other domestic or international legal systems? The answer is surely yes. There are at least four ways that insights gained from studying EU legal integration "travel."

1) *Insights into the factors shaping national court and private litigant behavior in the EU legal process are generalizable outside of the EU context.* Because of the central role private litigants and national courts play in the EU legal process, there has been much research on the factors motivating these actors. Scholars have found that the way domestic interests are organized (whether they represent broad or narrow constituencies, whether they are involved in or excluded from the policy-making process etc.) as well as the magnitude and distribution of potential benefits (large/small, narrow/diffuse) shape whether or not private litigants or groups see the EU legal system as a means to promote their objectives, and thus whether they raise EU law challenges to national policy (Alter and Vargas, forthcoming; Caporaso and Jupille, forthcoming; Conant, 1998). Such findings are clearly generalizable to other contexts. In addition, studies have identified legal cultural factors, the location of judges within the national legal bureaucracy, and historical and institutional features of national legal systems as important factors shaping national judicial behavior, all of which influence judicial behavior in areas outside of EU law as well (Alter, forthcoming (a); Chalmers, 1997; Mattli and Slaughter, 1998). Because these factors are directly generalizable, studies such as Carol Harlow and Richard Rawlings' *Pressure Through Law*, and Alec Stone Sweet's *Governing with Judges* integrate the EU into more general studies of judicial politics in Europe, examining EU judicial politics as part of broader political phenomenon (Harlow and Rawlings, 1992; Stone Sweet, 2000).

2) *Insights into how European integration is influencing national legal systems are generalizable outside of the legal realm.* Why assume that insights from the European legal realm are only transferable within the legal realm? There are a number of ways in which insights from the EU legal process apply to the overall political process of European integration, and to integration in other national and international contexts.

Insights into how EU law impacts national legal systems (which are after all administrative bureaucracies) are generalizable to other administrative bureaucracies. Renaud Dehousse generalizes from the legal realm to the policy realm when he discusses the trend towards transnational administrative networks making policy in the EU (Dehousse, 1997). Anne-Marie Slaughter generalizes outside of the EU realm, making a

broad claim that in the future international policies will be made and politics fought among disaggregated sub-state agencies—specifically courts and administrative bureaucracies—hammering out detailed international agreements that regulate transnational relations (Slaughter, 1997).

Because the EU legal system from an early point looked federal in nature, European law scholars have long been comparing the EU legal system to other federal systems (Weiler, Cappelletti, and Seccombe, 1986). Indeed many of the legal and political dynamics within the EU—namely the politics created as a result of the EU's multi-level governing structure, struggles over the borders of federal and state authority, and where the *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* (the power to decide on the limits to EU authority) lies—are dynamics present in any federal entity.

Indeed general political science theories have been applied to the study of legal integration in Europe, from neo-functionalism, to inter-governmentalism, to principal-agent analysis, to constructivist and cultural theories, yielding insights that go beyond the legal realm. For example, studies on the extent to which the ECJ enjoys institutional autonomy from member states draw on and contribute to the broader debate about the extent to which EU institutions (or any political institution for that matter) have autonomy from political actors (Alter, 1998; Garrett, Kelemen, and Schulz, 1998; Pollack, 1997; Tsebelis and Garrett, 1999).

3) *Insights from the EU legal system may be generalizable to other international legal contexts.* Because the EU legal system offers the best example of an international rule of law that works, it has become the model used in theorizing about international law in other contexts. The EU legal system and the European Court of Human Rights are prototype cases for theorizing about law among liberal states, the possibility for more effective supra-national adjudication, how international adjudication contributes to the construction of supranational constitutions, and how regime design undermines or enhances the effectiveness of international legal mechanisms in shaping state behavior (Alter, forthcoming (b); Helfer and Slaughter, 1997; Slaughter, 1994; Slaughter, 1995; Slaughter, Keohane, and Moravcsik, forthcoming; Stone Sweet and Brunell, 1998). Indeed an upcoming special edition of *International Organization* on “Legalization in World Politics” situates the EU legal system and the process of legal integration in Europe where it belongs, as part of a broader trend towards legalization and the strengthening of legal mechanisms in the international realm.

4) *EU legal scholarship has much to say about the type of polity the EU is.* National courts have been asked to decide where the core of national sovereignty lies. In *Brunner and others v. The European Union Treaty* (aka the Maastricht Decision), the German Constitutional Court had to consider whether the Maastricht Treaty compromised German democracy. Similar questions were asked of the French Constitutional Council and the Danish Supreme Court. Their soul searching has been examined and expanded upon in legal commentary, and in articles by European legal scholars questioning what type of polity the EU is (see for example

Bañkowski, 1999; Bañkowski and Scott, 1996; Eleftheriadis, 1996; Maher, 1998; Shaw, 1998; Weiler, 1995). Their reflections are not only philosophical, but also practical. Legal scholars have contributed to studies and plans to create a European Constitution, and they are part of broader debates about democracy in Europe (Weiler, 1999).

The question raised by this forum is a good one. The study of legal integration provides an exemplary case of how to overcome the  $n = 1$  issue discussed in an earlier *ECSA Review* forum. To be sure the EU legal system has some unique features. But the issues European legal integration raises pertain beyond the EU, and beyond the legal realm. And the insights from the EU can apply to other international and domestic contexts. At the same time, I don't think there has been enough comparative work situating the EU in a comparative context. It is more often the case that scholars take theories developed elsewhere and apply them to the EU than vice-versa. The study of the EU would be of greater interest to the broader disciplines of political science, sociology, economics, etc., and less theoretically isolated, if specialists of the EU used the EU experience to inform the study of politics in other international and domestic contexts. For this to happen EU scholars need to become comparative scholars, respectful of the unique aspects of the EU yet looking for ways to learn and generalize from the EU case.

*Karen J. Alter is an Assistant Professor of Government at Smith College.*

## **Laurence R. Helfer**

THE STORY OF HOW the European Court of Justice (ECJ) transformed itself into the world's most successful international court is by now a familiar one to political scientists and legal commentators alike. In the forty years since its creation, the ECJ restructured the legal architecture of the European Community (EC) from a classical international law regime based on treaties to one founded upon supranational law—a true international/domestic hybrid in which EC rules penetrate deeply into the national legal fabric of the member States (Helfer and Slaughter 1997; Weiler 1991).

Can the ECJ's success be transplanted beyond Europe? In particular, what insights does the ECJ's experience hold for three governments on the other side of the Atlantic, who five years ago established in NAFTA a treaty-based free trade regime that, like the EC before it, gives precedence to international norms over many domestic laws and regulations?

Without doubt, an essential ingredient in the ECJ's success was the decision to grant the Court power to hear claims brought by private parties against national governments or against other private parties. Conferring treaty rights on individuals and firms with financial and other incentives to invoke those rights depoliticizes the enforcement of treaty rules. It also allows an international tribunal to penetrate the surface of the State, forging direct relationships with private parties and with distinct government institutions such as national courts (Slaughter, Stone Sweet and Weiler, 1998). In short, private party participation

creates opportunities for international jurists to strengthen and legitimize international legal regimes and legal norms.

Seen from this perspective, NAFTA's chapter 11, which allows private investors of one State to sue the government of another State before a panel of arbitrators for violations of the treaty's investment rules, should have enhanced the efficacy of those rules and of NAFTA itself. For complaining businesses, chapter 11 has indeed proved an effective means of enforcing treaty rights. Investors have filed nearly a dozen chapter 11 cases, at least one of which prompted Canada to repeal a domestic environmental law and pay a multi-million dollar compensation award.

Unlike the European experience, however, private party access to international dispute settlement has so far neither solidified nor legitimized NAFTA. To the contrary, the last two years have witnessed a noisy and increasingly broad-based backlash against chapter 11 and the treaty itself. Non-governmental organizations supporting environmental protection, labor standards, and consumer rights have branded chapter 11 plaintiffs as "corporate predators" using a "secret tranche of international laws" and trade treaties "to overturn national laws which get in the way of their business activities" (Kingsnorth 1999).

Nor is the anti-NAFTA response limited to advocacy groups traditionally opposed to business interests. Government officials within the three treaty parties have also come to view chapter 11 as a threat to their sovereignty. Some have even endorsed proposals to scuttle pending cases or wipe out private party dispute settlement altogether (Jack 1999).

Why has private party adjudication under NAFTA produced a sovereignty backlash rather than the increasingly broad interpenetration of international and domestic legal rules and actors that characterized the EC? Although NAFTA is still in its infancy and much evidence must still be gathered, a preliminary comparison between chapter 11 and other facets of ECJ adjudication seems warranted. What follows is a tentative and unordered list of differences between the two treaty regimes intended to stimulate further thinking and research into the causes of the chapter 11 backlash and possible responses to it.

1) *Lack of transparency.* Chapter 11 is modeled on international arbitration rather than international adjudication. For this reason, the process is closed to outsiders. Key documents and key proceedings must be shielded from public scrutiny unless the parties decide otherwise. These features are in striking contrast to the ECJ, in which oral arguments, pleadings, and, of course, final judgments are publicly accessible.

2) *Identity, background, and domestic profile of dispute settlement jurists.* Outside of a small cadre of trade and arbitration lawyers, little is known about the identity and background of the arbitrators hearing chapter 11 claims. The arbitrators do have the backing of established arbitral centers such as the International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes. They are not, however, required to have served as national court judges, nor are they likely to have preexisting relationships with domestic legal or political actors, both characteristics of ECJ jurists.

3) *Early, expansive treaty interpretations.* NAFTA's drafters conceived of chapter 11 as a way for businesses to protect their investments by challenging expropriations, discriminatory treatment of foreigners, and other anti-investor harassment by host countries. In practice, investors have used chapter 11 expansively to challenge laws of general application, focusing in particular on environmental regulations. This record contrasts sharply with the ECJ's early history, in which most cases on the Court's docket fell within the heartland of legal rules protected by the EC treaties.

4) *Lack of incrementalism.* One often-cited feature of the ECJ's success was its ability to build slowly over a period of decades the legal doctrines necessary for the supremacy and legitimacy of EC law. Under chapter 11, by contrast, arbitrators are already being asked to adopt expansive interpretations of NAFTA's investment rules, even though the dispute settlement system is still a fledgling operation and even though an extension of investor rights is more appropriately carried out by the treaty parties themselves through NAFTA's political review processes.

5) *Absence of links to national courts.* Unlike the ECJ, investors challenging host country laws and regulations need not submit their treaty claims to national court judges prior to submitting them to chapter 11 arbitrators. Indeed, investors can simply by-pass national courts altogether. This practice isolates chapter 11 proceedings and decisions from domestic jurists. In Europe, domestic jurists' application of EC law and referral of pending cases to the Court was a crucial component of the ECJ's (and the EC's) success. The lack of any links between domestic and international adjudication also fuels the perception that foreign investors are using NAFTA to do an end run around democratically adopted national laws.

6) *Absence of treaty rights for domestic private parties.* If foreign investors are granted a slew of treaty rights favorable to their operations, why not domestic businesses? Domestic firms, who might have come to support NAFTA and chapter 11, now feel doubly slighted, having lost both protective tariffs and trade barriers and the ability to operate on an equal playing field with foreign firms. Here too the contrast with the EC is striking, where both domestic and foreign private parties may assert claims based on violations of EC treaties and legislation.

7) *Imbalance between investor protections and other legal and social objectives.* Legal rules protecting foreign investment and trade often conflict with other vital societal values, including environmental protection, labor regulation, public health, and consumer safety. Domestic legislators and administrators must carefully balance these competing objectives in response to the demands of rival constituencies. Yet chapter 11 does not respect the need for this balancing; to the contrary, it gives enforceable treaty rights only to one side of this complex regulatory equation. It thus skews decisionmaking in favor of investor firms at the expense of other domestic goals, further undermining the legitimacy of the NAFTA treaty regime. That a balanced regime of rules and enforcement is necessary internationally as well as domestically is apparent from the EC's history, in which member states have increasingly added subjects as diverse as human rights and employment protections to complement the free trade rules that comprise the treaty's core.

Although far from conclusive, this brief comparison of the ECJ and NAFTA chapter 11 suggests that simply granting enforceable treaty rights to private parties does not ensure that effective supranational adjudication will result. To the contrary, private party rights, unaccompanied by other factors, may well produce a backlash that destabilizes a treaty regime.

*Laurence R. Helfer is Associate Professor of Law at Loyola Law School, Los Angeles.*

### Forum References

- Alter, Karen J. (forthcoming (a)) "Where, When and How does the European Legal System Influence National Policy?" *International Organization*, Summer 2000.
- \_\_\_\_ (forthcoming (b)) "Regime Design Matters: Designing International Legal Systems for Maximum or Minimum Effectiveness," paper read at ISA Conference, Los Angeles, March 14-17, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_ (1998) "Who are the Masters of the Treaty? European Governments and the European Court of Justice," *International Organization* 52 (1): 125-152.
- \_\_\_\_ and Jeannette Vargas (forthcoming) "Explaining Variation in the Use of European Litigation Strategies: EC Law and UK Gender Equality Policy," *Comparative Political Studies* (June 2000).
- Bañkowski, Zenon (1999) "Subsidiarity, Sovereignty and the Self," in *Subsidiarität: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, edited by K. Norr and T. Oppermann. JCB Mohr, 28-39
- \_\_\_\_ and Andrew Scott (1996) "The European Union?" in *Constitutionalism, Democracy and Sovereignty*, edited by R. Bellamy. Aldershot: Avery Press, 77-95
- Caporaso, James, and Joseph Jupille (forthcoming) "The Europeanization of Social Policy and Domestic Political Change," in *Europeanization and Domestic Structural Change*, edited by M. Green Cowles, J. Caporaso and T. Risse. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Chalmers, Damian (1997) "Judicial Preferences and the Community Legal Order," *Modern Law Review* 60 (2, March), 164-199.
- Conant, Lisa (1998) "Contained Justice: The Politics behind Europe's Rule of Law," Dissertation in Political Science, University of Washington.
- Dehousse, Renaud (1997) "European Integration and the Nation State," in *Developments in West European Politics*, edited by M. Rhodes, P. Heywood and V. Wright. New York: St. Martin's Press, 37-56.
- Eleftheriadis, Pavlos (1996) "Aspects of European Constitutionalism," *European Law Review* (February): 32-42.
- Garrett, Geoffrey, Daniel Kelemen, and Heiner Schulz (1998) "The European Court of Justice, National Governments and Legal Integration in the European Union," *International Organization* 52 (1): 149-176.
- Harlow, Carol, and Richard Rawlings (1992) *Pressure Through Law*. London: Routledge.
- Helfer, Laurence R., and Anne-Marie Slaughter (1997) "Toward a Theory of Effective Supranational Adjudication," *Yale Law Journal* 107 (2): 273-391.
- Jack, Ian (1999) "Ottawa Pushes for Reform of NAFTA Lawsuit Provisions: \$1 Billion in Claims," *Financial Post*, April 20.
- Kingsnorth, Paul (1999) "A Very Happy Birthday for NAFTA," *The Ecologist*, 1 January.
- Maher, Imelda (1998) "Community Law in the National Legal Order: A Systems Analysis," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 36 (2): 237-254.
- Mattli, Walter, and Anne-Marie Slaughter (1998) "Revisiting the European Court of Justice," *International Organization* 51 (1): 177-209.
- Pollack, Mark (1997) Delegation, Agency and Agenda Setting in the EC. *International Organization* 51 (1): 99-134.
- Shapiro, Martin (1986) *Courts: A Comparative and Political Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Shaw, Jo. (1998) "Constitutional Settlements and the Citizen After the Treaty of Amsterdam," *Jean Monnet Working Paper* 7/98.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie (1997) "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October): 183-197.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995) "International Law in a World of Liberal States," *European Journal of International Law* (6): 503-538.
- \_\_\_\_ (1994) "A Typology of Transjudicial Communication," *University of Richmond Law Review* 29 (1): 99-137.
- \_\_\_\_, Robert Keohane, and Andrew Moravcsik (forthcoming) "Legalized Dispute Resolution, Interstate and Transnational," *International Organization*.
- \_\_\_\_, Alec Stone Sweet, and J.H.H. Weiler, eds. (1998) *The European Court and National Courts—Doctrine and Jurisprudence*. (Oxford: Hart Publishing).
- Stone Sweet, Alec (2000) *Governing with Judges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ and Thomas Brunell (1998) "Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community," *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 63-80.
- Tsebelis, George, and Geoffrey Garrett. Unpublished manuscript. "The Institutional Determinants of Supranationalism in the European Union," *Manuscript under review*.
- Weiler, J.H.H. (1999) *The Constitution of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_ (1995) "The State 'über alles': Demos, Telos, and the German Maastricht Decision," European University Institute Working Paper, RSC 95/19.
- \_\_\_\_ (1991) "The Transformation of Europe," *Yale Law Journal* 100: 2403.
- \_\_\_\_, Mauro Cappelletti, and Monica Seccombe (1986) "Integration Through Law: Europe and the American Federal Experience: A General Introduction," in Joseph Weiler, Mauro Cappelletti and Monica Seccombe (eds.) *Integration Through Law: Europe and the American Federal Experience*. Berlin: Walter deGruyter.



<b>The Prodi Commission</b>		
<b>Commissioner</b>	<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Portfolio(s)</b>
Romano Prodi	Italian	President (without portfolio)
Neil Kinnock	British	Administrative reform (Vice-President)
Loyola de Palacio	Spanish	Relations with EP; transport; energy (Vice-President)
Michel Barnier	French	Regional policy; institutional affairs
Frits Bolkestein	Dutch	Internal market
Philippe Busquin	Belgian	Research
David Byrne	Irish	Consumer protection
Anna Diamantopoulou	Greek	Employment and social affairs
Franz Fischler	Austrian	Agriculture and fisheries
Pascal Lamy	French	External trade
Erkki Liikanen	Finnish	Enterprise and information society
Mario Monti	Italian	Competition
Poul Nielson	Danish	Development and humanitarian aid
Chris Patten	British	External relations
Viviane Reding	Luxembourgish	Education and culture
Michael Schreyer	German	Budget
Pedro Solbes	Spanish	Monetary affairs
Günter Verheugen	German	Enlargement
Antonio Vitorino	Portuguese	Justice and home affairs
Margot Wallström	Swedish	Environment

(continued from page 1 )

General of the same nationality meant that Klaus van der Pas, the talented and experienced head of the EU's enlargement task force (and formally German, although of no obvious nationality) could not head the new enlargement service because Günter Verheugen was the responsible Commissioner. The Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs, Antonio Vitorino, headed a new service in a tricky area of policy from a base in a dire, rat-infested building only a stone's throw from the Breydel. The new policy/management split caused clashes, not least between the *cabinet* of the Greek Commissioner for Social Affairs, Anna Diamantopoulou, and the respected Swedish Director General for social policy, Allan Larsson, with the latter reportedly considering resignation.<sup>2</sup> Kinnock's planned reforms of trade union representation prompted one union official to trot out the all-purpose reproach that "Kinnock is trying to weaken the Commission so that it becomes nothing more than the secretariat of the member states."<sup>3</sup>

Kinnock's portfolio seemed a poison chalice. If the reforms worked, Prodi could take the credit. If not, Kinnock would shoulder the blame. In any case, expectations about quick results were raised, with one MEP dismissing Kinnock's job as a "one-off task of Brussels housekeeping."<sup>4</sup> Clearly, reform will be a long-term project given the trauma the Commission will face in policy, administrative and personnel terms after eastern enlargement (see Metcalfe forthcoming).

The determination of Prodi (and Kinnock) to make the Commission work better had no analogy in the Delors era (see Peterson 1999b). After Santer's downfall, significant reform of the Commission seemed a prerequisite for restoring its status as an engine room for new policy initiatives. Yet, even if one

partly determines the other, the success of Prodi's management reforms will decide his legacy far less than his Commission's contribution to EU debates about policy and institutional change.

Certainly, Prodi did much to transform the agenda on issues demanding history-making decisions. His calls for target dates for the admission of applicant states were stonewalled, but the December 1999 Helsinki summit expanded the list of fast track applicants from 6 to 12. Prodi's push for a "new South East Europe" gave impetus to the EU's quickly-constructed Stability Pacts for the region. Prodi's talk of a "European army" seemed fantastical, but the Helsinki European Council agreed on "headline objectives" for an EU defense policy.

Equally, Prodi played the hand he was dealt by events and carefully judged political winds in national capitals. The Kosovo conflict made rapid enlargement, although costly, seem cheaper than enlarging slowly. Prodi's insistence on a Balkans Stability Pact echoed Joschka Fischer, Germany's Foreign Minister and a skillful President-in-Office of the Council during the 1999 German Presidency. On defense, Prodi mostly reinforced British and French determination to equip the EU with a rapid reaction force.

On the biggest issue of all, Prodi's bid for broad agenda in the 2000 IGC was, at least initially, rebuffed. A Commission-convened committee of wise men urged comprehensive reform on the grounds that "[t]here might be no better occasion in future" (Dehaene *et al.* 1999: 1-2). Yet, the committee's most radical suggestions—to split the EU's Treaties in two (with part amendable by majority voting) and "enhanced flexibility"—were rejected. Building on the euro to create a "political Europe" seemed a joke after recriminations between the European Central Bank and the German government sent the euro into a tailspin on currency markets.

About the only parallel to the Delors years was that the Commission's role was still determined mainly by circumstances over which it had little control. During its honeymoon period, the Prodi Commission had openings to exploit because the status quo on a range of major issues had become unsustainable (see Peterson and Bomberg 2000). Kinnock's radical reforms were possible only because everyone agreed that the Commission needed to be reinvented. Above all, the power of market forces in the world's largest single capitalist market, further unleashed by EMU, continued to be the prime source of Commission power. On food safety, mobile telephony, e-commerce and, perhaps eventually taxation, the Commission could lead because an EU policy, almost *any* EU policy, was better than none (see Pollack 1997; Peterson and Bomberg 1999: 266).

Unlike Delors, Prodi seems likely to respect EP preferences, connect more with average citizens, and put a human face on Brussels. If Moravcsik (1999) is right that barriers to EU cooperation are more often domestic than intergovernmental, Prodi's closeness to Tony Blair, track record in Italian politics, and linguistic skills may uniquely qualify him as a supranational entrepreneur. Certainly, making sense of Prodi, his Commission and the EU of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century is going to be a fascinating academic enterprise.

*John Peterson is Jean Monnet Professor of European politics at the University of Glasgow and Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Bruges).*

1. A full list of all *cabinets*, as well as an overview of changes in the services and updates on the new co-decision and comitology procedures, is offered by Hill and Knowlton (1999).
2. See *Agence Europe*, 17 November 1999; *European Voice*, 25 November-1 December 1999.
3. Franco Ianniello, President of the Commission staff union *Renouveau et Democratie*, quoted in *European Voice*, 25 November-1 December 1999.
4. Letter to the editor by MEP-elect Nick Clegg in *Financial Times*, 13 July 1999.

## References

- Dehaene, Jean-Luc, Richard von Weizsäcker, and Lord David Simon (1999) "The Institutional Implications of Enlargement: Report to the European Commission", available from <<http://www.law.harvard.edu/Programs/JeanMonnet/dehaene.html>>.
- Hill and Knowlton (1999) *The European Commission 2000-2005* (Brussels), available from <<http://www.hillandknowlton.com>>.
- Kinnock, Neil (1999) "Press Statement – 29 September 1999", available from <[http://europa.eu.int/comm/pr\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/pr_en.htm)>.
- Kreppel, Amie (1999) "The June 1999 Elections, Amsterdam, and the Perils of Ideology," *ECSA Review*, 12: 4, 8-10.

- Metcalf, Les (forthcoming) "Reforming the Commission: Will Organisational Efficiency Produce Effective Governance?" *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38: 2.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (1999) "A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, 53: 2, 267-306.
- Page, Edward C. (1997) *People Who Run Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Peterson, John. (1999a) "Jacques Santer: The EU's Gorbachev," *ECSA Review*, 12: 4, 4-6.
- \_\_\_\_ (1999b) "The Santer Era: The European Commission in Normative, Historical and Theoretical Perspective," *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6: 1, 46-65.
- Peterson, John, and Elizabeth Bomberg (forthcoming) "The EU After the 1990s: Explaining Continuity and Change" in M. G. Cowles and M. Smith (eds.) *The State of the European Union, Volume V*. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- \_\_\_\_ (1999) *Decision-Making in the European Union*. (London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press).
- Pollack, Mark A. (1997) "Delegation, Agency and Agenda-Setting in the European Union," *International Organization*, 51: 1, 99-134.
- Putnam, Robert (1988) "Diplomacy and the Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, Summer: 427-460.

## EU-Related Associations

*We have recently received newsletters from the following Associations with EU-related foci in their missions:*

- "ARENA," Advanced Research on the Europeanisation of the Nation-State (Norway); Web site <[www.sv.uio.no/ARENA](http://www.sv.uio.no/ARENA)>.
- "CESAA Review," Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia; CESAA, P. O. Box 670, Carlton South, Victoria 3053, Australia.
- "EIPASCOPE," Bulletin of the European Institute of Public Administration (Netherlands); Web site <[www.eipa.nl](http://www.eipa.nl)>.
- "Euroscope," Newsletter of the Sussex European Institute, (UK); Web site <[www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI](http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI)>.
- "La Lettre du CEPPII," Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales (France); Web site <[www.cepii.fr](http://www.cepii.fr)>.
- "UACES News," University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UK); Web site <[www.uaces.org](http://www.uaces.org)>.





LYNNE RIENNER PUBLISHERS

**Now Updated and in PAPERBACK!**



## Encyclopedia of the European Union

*edited by Desmond Dinan*

**T**he acclaimed *Encyclopedia of the European Union* is now available in paperback, priced for student use. The chronology, tables, and appendixes have been updated to reflect recent events, including the constitution of the new Commission, the organization of the newly elected European Parliament, and the proposed fifth enlargement.

- \* A unique resource that covers in one up-to-date volume the full range of issues associated with the European Union
- \* More than seven-hundred easily accessible entries
- \* Contributions by internationally recognized scholars
- \* Maps, glossaries, appendixes, and a comprehensive index
- \* Useful to specialists, students, and general readers
- \* Includes the key concepts, policies, treaties, and personalities related to European integration

March 2000 • 565 pages • 7 x 10 • pb \$29.95

**“A real encyclopedia! ... straight-forward, detailed, lucid, comprehensive, factual, indexed, and beautifully laid-out.... This is one of the best reference works I’ve seen for a long time.”—*Library Review***

**“Exemplary in every important aspect ... lucid, concise, and authoritative.”—*Business Information Alert***

**“Recommended without qualification to those needing information about the European Union.”  
—*American Reference Books Annual***

**“An authoritative and affordable treatment of the European Union.”—*Against the Grain***

**“Dinan’s encyclopedia makes a big contribution to research on the EU.... It will prove to be an invaluable aid for future research as well as a source of information about the present EU.”—*Policy Studies Journal***

**“This volume [is] essential for nearly all universities and colleges, and even for larger high schools.”—*Choice***

CELEBRATING 16 YEARS OF INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING

LRP • 1800 30TH STREET • SUITE 314 • BOULDER, CO 80301 • TEL (303) 444-6684 • FAX (303) 444-0824 • [www.rienner.com](http://www.rienner.com)

## Teaching the EU

*Editor's note: Suggestions for and submissions of essays by ECSA members on teaching the EU for this column are welcomed. Please contact ECSA via [ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu).*

### The "Europeanization" and "Internationalization" of Education in Europe

Heather Field

THIS *ECSA REVIEW* CONTRIBUTION follows one written for this column in the Summer 1999 *Review* by Thomas Diez on his "alternative approaches" to the teaching of the European Union (EU) at Aarhus and Copenhagen (Diez 1999), and an earlier one by myself on the teaching of European Studies in Australia (Field 1998). However, it differs from these forerunners in that it deals with recent moves towards the 'Europeanization' and 'internationalization' of tertiary education in the EU and Europe, and should be of substantial interest to ECSA members. It was largely completed during a semester spent as Visiting Professor in the School for Postgraduate Interdisciplinary Research on Interculturalism and Transnationality (SPIRIT) at Aalborg University in Denmark in 1999. While 'cultural studies' as such (dealing with popular culture and media) is more firmly established in the UK than any other European country, with strong offshoot development in Finland (Alasuutari 1999), the work of SPIRIT and of the associated European studies area at Aalborg is more closely linked to the study of the process of integration in Europe. In addition to my research activities at Aalborg, I also planned and taught a short guest course there on "EU Cultural Policies: In Pursuit of a Common Identity" and provided advice and in one case supervision to visiting doctoral students.

Like other Danish and Scandinavian universities, Aalborg has developed a variety of undergraduate and postgraduate courses, which are taught and examined in English. Doctoral students throughout the university are able to submit work and receive supervision in English. This situation is not specific to Aalborg, but part of the impact of the processes of 'Europeanization' and internationalization on universities in Denmark. Another example of these processes was the publication at Aarhus University, not far from Aalborg, of an English-language collection on Irish identity by the university press (Westarp and Boess 1998), arising from work in the English Department there.

The Europeanization and internationalization of tertiary education in Denmark, the other Scandinavian member states as well as the EU overall has been pushed forward partly as a result of the EU-funded 'ERASMUS' programme, which provides assistance for EU tertiary students to undertake part of their degree course in a member state other than their own. An outcome of the scheme has been that the UK has been the most popular destination for students from other EU countries,

but the number of UK students wishing to study elsewhere under the scheme has been much lower. In 1997-98, for example, 20,769 EU students studied in the UK under the programme, but only 10,592 UK students went to other EU countries (Tysome 1999). The imbalance appears to reflect the anticipated economic benefit to EU students of study in English, as opposed to those of study in another EU language for English speakers. It also probably reflects the situation that the UK has had greater experience in educating international students at the tertiary level, including many for whom English has been a second language, and that its systems are relatively flexible.

The UK's response to the imbalance has been to complain of the extra costs it imposes on its tertiary education system, given that EU students pay only the same fees as UK students (for whom the fees are in most cases met by local education authorities), hence only a proportion of the amount which would be recouped from a non-EU foreign tertiary student. However, the other member states have been unwilling to provide additional funding to cover this, perhaps because they do not wish to see the UK become yet more entrenched as the main educator of ERASMUS students. Instead a requirement was introduced that each country must aim to balance the number of students coming from other EU countries with the number of those going to them (Tysome 1999). The introduction of this requirement was considered to create particular problems for EU countries with languages which are less widely spoken than the major European ones, such as, for example, Danish, Finnish and Swedish, since they had had a net outflow of students under the scheme. As a result of the decision, Danish universities had to consider a radical increase in the number of courses taught in English, in order to be able to attract students from other EU countries. The rector of Aalborg University and chairman of the Danish Rectors' Committee for International Affairs, Sven Caspersen, warned that there was "considerable cause for concern" over the new requirement: in 1993-94, for example, 1500 Danish students had taken up ERASMUS grants to study in other EU countries, but only 1000 students had arrived from those countries on ERASMUS grants (Buscall 1995).

France and Germany had received around a quarter and a fifth, respectively, of students assisted under the ERASMUS and Lingua student mobility schemes, compared with the UK's share of around a third, and their concern over ERASMUS and Lingua imbalances appears to have been one of the motivations behind moves towards greater integration of EU tertiary education systems. Others have included general pressures towards internationalization and the impact of the Single European Market in making greater comparability of qualifications and mobility of graduates and professionals desirable.

The integration of education in the EU and Europe more widely has gained momentum with the signing in 1999 of the Bologna declaration by ministers from 29 European countries. The declaration aims to eliminate some of the obstacles to increased mobility of students and graduates in obtaining employment, and movement towards a European Higher Education Area over ten years is to be achieved by 'ironing

out' some of the least compatible characteristics of national university systems. It represents a further step towards integration of tertiary education following the 1998 Sorbonne declaration. Common 'cycles' have been agreed upon as the basis of a common European system of tertiary education, consisting of a first or bachelor's degree of at least three years' duration and of a second postgraduate master's or doctoral degree. France and Italy are already introducing new, shorter degrees in line with the declarations (Jobbins 1999). The new arrangements aim to fuse degree structures across Europe into a system that encourages greater student mobility and is understood by employers. These arrangements are attractive to those EU member states which have become concerned about the length of their degrees and problems of maintaining access to their tertiary systems while reducing the level of overcrowding. Ten countries already comply with the new structures in some way, and Austria has indicated that it will join these.

These moves are also fueling attempts to standardize secondary education and university entry qualifications, and suggestions that, for example, the UK move to allow doctoral qualifications to be granted on the basis of publications, as elsewhere in Europe, rather than just research theses. Other aspects of 'Europeanization' more at the level of individual institutions have included an expansion of course offerings and assessment opportunities in English, more course offerings in German at one Netherlands university, and the establishment of a German/Danish research institute which uses English as its common language of operation.

What is the impact of these processes and changes likely to be? Certainly, an increasing Europeanization of elites in the EU and the Central and Eastern European applicant countries for EU membership. The latter already benefit from participation in the ERASMUS scheme, and from the Polish location of the Natolin offshoot of the Bruges' College of Europe. Such changes are controversial, not least in Denmark, but are probably inevitable. The development of a more unified and standardised system seems inevitable, though it is likely to take several decades. Yet more significant will be the impact of a more 'common' system in supporting the development of a 'European' stream of intellectual thought, and the impact of this on culture and identity, at least at the elite level. However, given that the commonality of the future EU tertiary system will be based partly on greater use of English as the language of teaching and assessment, this should open up greater opportunities for links and interaction with North American and other tertiary education systems. It will be important that such opportunities are realised if a future 'common European identity' is not to be too inward looking, or to lead to sharper global divisions.

*Heather Field is Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia and was a visiting professor at SPIRIT, Aalborg University, in 1999.*

## References

- Alasuutari, Pertti (1999) "Cultural Studies as a Construct," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2: 1, 91-108.
- Buscall, T. (1995) "Travelling Danes Saved by English," *The Times Higher*, 13 October, 10.
- Diez, Thomas (1999) "Reinvestigating Integration," *ECSA Review* XII: 3 (Summer), 6-9.
- Field, Heather (1998) "Teaching the European Union: An Australian Experience," *ECSA Review* XI: 1 (Winter), 8-9.
- Jobbins, David (1999) "Europe Aims for Greater Student Mobility," *The Times Higher*, 25 June, 64.
- Tysome, Tony (1999) "Brits Reluctant to Study Abroad," *The Times Higher*, 16 April, 60.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997) "European Fears Over Stay-at Home Brits," *The Times Higher*, 19 December, 1.
- Westarp, Karl-Heinz, and Michael Boess (eds.) (1998) *Ireland: Towards New Identities*, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.

## World Wide Web Sites

*In light of the February 2000 opening of ministerial-level accession negotiations at the IGCs, the following are some Web sites which focus on current EU enlargement issues. The required prefix http:// has been omitted for the sake of brevity.*

**www.worldbank.org/eca/eu-enlargement/index.html:** The World Bank's contribution to EU enlargement, particularly its assistance to CEECs to "maximize benefits of joining the EU and minimize the costs."

**news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/special\_report/1998/eu\_enlargement:** A bit outdated but still useful reports (with audio and video) on "A wider union," "What can go wrong with enlargement?" "Enlargement timetable," and others.

**www.euractiv.com/index.htm:** A commercial site which pulls together information for its "Focus on Enlargement" pages from enlargement stakeholders and offers a "who's who in EU enlargement," monitoring of the negotiations process, and more.

**europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/index.htm:** The official Web site of the European Commission's Directorate General for Enlargement. Full texts of key documents (in various languages) including Agenda 2000, the 1995 White Paper, and others, as well as sections on pre-accession strategy, negotiations, related speeches, Commission contacts, and Web links.

**www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement/briefings/en/default.htm:** The European Parliament site with full texts of some 45 EP briefings on all applicant countries, in 4 or more EU languages.

## Book Reviews

**Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner. Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security. London: Sage Publications, 1998, 208 pp.**

WHAT'S WITH NORWAY ANYWAY? It is a highly developed, thoroughly democratic country, with an enviable standard of living, a sophisticated and generous social security system, and a highly visible and admirably successful foreign policy. Its world does not revolve around fish—like Iceland's—nor has it spent centuries practicing the art of splendid neutrality—like Switzerland. Many informed individuals observing Europe from a distance naturally think Norway is a part of the most important West European organization, the European Union (EU). It isn't. In fact, the country has rejected membership in a referendum—twice. The big question is why.

Previous scholarship has explained the Norwegian puzzle by focusing on social cleavages (Nelsen in Norway and the European Community: The Political Economy of Integration, 1993) or the political importance of leading economic sectors (Ingebritsen's The Nordic States and European Unity, 1998). Clive Archer and Ingrid Sogner, in their recent book, take a more comprehensive approach. They refuse to confine their focus to Norway's arms-length attitude toward European economic and political integration and devote nearly half of their book to the country's security policy. For Archer and Sogner, Norway's refusal to join the EU has to be explained alongside its deep commitment to other multinational efforts, particularly collective security in the form of NATO. Norway is not opposed to membership in all collective European organizations. On the contrary, its "liberal institutionalism" encourages cooperation in a host of multilateral institutions. No, Norway does not reject multilateralism, it rejects the EU. It chooses to conduct its European policy by other means.

To explain Norway's unusual combination of European and security policies, Archer and Sogner draw on international relations literature, particularly the work of Russett and Starr (1992), World Politics: The Menu for Choice. In their review of the country's external relations in the post-war period, the authors examine the *opportunities*—the "menu of choice"—available to decision makers and their *willingness* to take advantage of new options. They argue that Norway's menu of choice has lengthened with time: its border with the Soviet Union and its dependence on Britain for trade confined its range of alternatives in the early post-war period, but a strong economy, the discovery of oil, the dynamism of the EU, and the end of the Cold War all opened opportunities. When policy makers had few choices, external circumstances dictated Norwegian foreign policy. As more options became available, domestic political forces became more important as determinants of policy. In the early post-war years the Soviet threat and the failure to reach agreement on the creation of a Scandinavian Defense Union pushed Norway toward the only

viable alternative, membership in NATO. A general (although not *total*) consensus in favor of the Atlantic Alliance has allowed post-war governments to rely on the United States for Norwegian security.

No popular consensus, however, has ever existed in Norway for participation in the supranational European Community/Union. Opportunities to join opened after Charles de Gaulle left the scene and the French lifted their veto of new applications. But other options involving closer relations with Europe were also now available, including a free trade agreement with the European Community (1973) and later a viable European Economic Area (1994). These—along with Norway's new-found oil wealth—made it possible for the country to prosper outside the EU.

A key question still remains: Why is the Norwegian electorate—as opposed to the political leadership—so resolutely opposed to EU membership? Archer and Sogner hint at (but, in my opinion, do not adequately develop) the important role of political culture in influencing public opinion and the predispositions of political elites. A large, mobilized counterculture that distrusts Europe and values Norwegian exceptionalism continues to hold sway on the political left and in the rural periphery. Unless the EEA is removed as an option, or the EU renounces supranationalism, or the Norwegian countryside is emptied, this counterculture will continue to dominate the Norwegian debate over Europe.

Archer and Sogner's book is excellent history. Part I on Norwegian European policy is the best work on the topic since Hilary Allen's Norway and Europe in the 1970s (1979). It covers all the usual events, but adds bits of color that make it a delightful read. Their contention that the only surprising thing about the 1994 referendum result was how close the "yes"-side came to winning is unconventional, but convincing. The second part of the book on Norwegian alliance policy is more pedestrian, less rich in detail, but still very helpful. The book's major weakness is in its organization. The authors would be more persuasive and easier on the readers if they had dealt with European and Alliance policy simultaneously. Their object was to convince readers that these two policies cannot be separated (indeed, recent discussions in Norway indicate that the changing security structure in the EU is reawakening the membership debate). Why then deal with European and security policies in two separate parts, forcing readers over the same post-war time period twice? "Part III: After 'No,' What?" tries harder to integrate the two policies, but even there the artificial distinction is evident.

Norway, European Integration and Atlantic Security is a well-researched, insightful book. If you are a student of Norwegian politics, you *must* read it. But read it for the history and sensible judgments, not the less-captivating explanatory framework. If you teach Scandinavian politics, you *should* assign it to your class—but you won't. Alas, at \$65.00 per copy only reviewers can afford to own it!

**Brent F. Nelsen**  
Furman University

**Francisco J. Romero Salvadó. Twentieth-Century Spain: Politics and Society in Spain, 1898-1998. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, 219 pp.**

"ARRIBA ESPAÑA." CASUAL OBSERVERS of the cover of this new book on contemporary Spain may at first be tempted to perceive that this is another text that tries to romanticize an angle of recent history or express a particular viewpoint. The cover dramatically reproduces a right-wing poster with characters raising their arms in the nazi-style salute. Above them is one of the Franco regime's most popular slogans: "Up with Spain." However, this book by Romero Salvadó, a historian at London Guildhall University, is one of the most impartial and objective analyses of the last one hundred years of Spain's experience.

The text is written in an elegant and direct style, free of verbose language, in an interesting format mixing good narrative and analysis. Most importantly, the book successfully manages to provide a much-needed educational support for the undergraduate student who has little prior knowledge of Spain's history and politics. At the same time, the text never gives the impression of insulting more advanced readers with superficial commentaries and facts of little content value. In fact, scholars claiming to have considerable background on Spain will find this book to be a valuable addition to a personal library for a review of the most important events, protagonists, and facts.

Romero's book will be a welcome addition to the growing bibliography of introductory texts on contemporary Spain, reflecting the interest raised not only in college history programs but also in political science and European Union studies. The new role played by Spain in the world arena has made the development of texts like this a must. In a way, a sanitized interpretation of the "Arriba España" slogan is a fitting reward for the transformation of the country from international pariah to one deserving due attention.

After a brief introduction of Spain's history leading to the causes and consequences of the 1898 defeat in the Spanish-American War, the book is divided into six subsequent chapters. Using a standard chronology, Romero's text covers the first two decades of the liberal monarchy (1898-1923), the evolution from the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship through the Second Republic (1923-31; 1931-36), the Civil War (1936-39), the Franco regime (1939-75) and finally a chapter entitled "The Triumph of Democracy" (1975-98). A list of abbreviations, a set of maps, notes including full references to a variety of current and updated bibliographical sources (books and journals published in several languages and countries), and a very useful index complete the educational and scholarly format of this volume.

Among the most unusual and interesting features of the content of the text is the humanizing effort exerted on some of the most influential figures of Spain's recent history, from Franco himself to King Alfonso XIII. Commentaries on the political behavior of the main protagonists are frequently illustrated by key decisions or comments attributed to them. Understandably, when some figures deserve the credit for developing or strengthening democracy, the author uses an appropriate language

*ECSA members interested in reviewing recent, EU-related books should contact the Book Review editor:*

Professor Jeanie Bukowski  
Institute of International Studies  
Bradley University  
1501 West Bradley Avenue  
Peoria, IL 61625 USA  
E-mail: jbukow@bradley.edu  
Fax: 309.677.3256

*Publishers should send review copies of books directly to Professor Bukowski.*

and attitude. However, readers will never have the impression that culprits are treated unfairly. Traumatic aspects such as the reprisals of the Civil War and the terrorist activities of ETA are also dealt with accurate language and attitude.

Original standard illustrative expressions for trends and events are frequently used in Spanish with the proper explanation of their meaning. When details about dates and even hours of key events are advisable, the author is accurate. Full names of secondary actors of political developments, war episodes, and social trends are frequently provided.

**Joaquín Roy**  
**University of Miami**

**Jeannette Money. *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999, 247 pp.**

JEANNETTE MONEY HAS PRODUCED an insightful work that makes important contributions to immigration research. It should be accessible to policymakers, analysts, and, for the most part, general readers. Migration, as Money points out, is one of the most fundamental characteristics that humans share. Historically, groups of people moved largely at will. As recently as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was possible to move from country to country without worrying (to a large extent) about border checks and government controls. However, the 20<sup>th</sup> century has witnessed an increasing emphasis by governments on controlling their borders and maintaining their sovereignty. As Money points out, "In the modern world system, control over national boundaries is a jealously guarded prerogative of all nation-states" (p. 21), and this certainly includes the power to regulate population movements. Her well-organized work, consisting of seven chapters, examines various arguments used to explain immigration control, including those focusing on ethnicity, citizenship and national identity, and economic explanations used to predict immigration policy.

In Chapter 2, she tests these theories using a cross-national analysis of twelve OECD countries covering the years 1962 through 1989. Most of the hypotheses she tests, both cultural and economic, were not supported. However, this buttresses one of Money's more important arguments in the book, namely that immigration issues are often prominent in local politics within countries, but become national issues only when politicians are forced to address them to obtain, or maintain, national electoral majorities. Subsequently, one of the key problems with immigration research is that most analyses are conducted at the national, rather than the sub-national level, and national-level analyses fail to capture the effects of immigrant concentration within countries. It is, after all, a well-known fact that immigrants tend to cluster within cities, or within certain areas of a country.

In Chapter 3, Money presents a framework to assess the process whereby local demands for changes in immigration control are translated into national policy. Under some circumstances, she argues, it makes sense for national politicians "to adopt local constituencies' preferences, even when these do not reflect those of the national median voter" (p.62). Specifically, this occurs when immigration issues are salient in swing districts. For example, a presidential bid in the United States might be doomed if the candidate fails to capture California because it possesses such a large population (and, as of 1999, 54 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency). If the candidate fails to adequately address demands for immigration control (or opposition to such proposals, as appropriate) he or she might very well lose the state and the national election. In such instances, the candidate might very well adopt a position on immigration control that conforms to the demands of Californians, even if this position is at variance with the typical, national voter's position. In contrast, if immigration issues are salient only in Wyoming, which has a much smaller population, and only three electoral votes, it is far easier to ignore the local demands. The same general logic holds, according to Money, when analyzing electoral politics in countries that have parliamentary systems, such as in the United Kingdom. In such cases, party leadership might adopt positions advocating immigration control if the national-election outcome, and obtaining control of Parliament, depends on winning specific districts where those issues have become politically salient. Thus, she convincingly argues, the spatial distribution of immigrants is a key to understanding immigration control policies.

Chapters 4-6 are case studies of the United Kingdom, France, and Australia. For each country, Money explores key background developments in immigration and immigration control, and political demands for change. In all three cases, communities began to oppose immigration after increases in immigration placed strains on local infrastructures. When economic downturns occurred, local groups organized anti-immigration movements. In each country, these movements could be ignored until, or unless, the political districts were likely to determine the outcomes of national elections. Furthermore, immigration control does not appear to be an issue

that can be analyzed simply as an issue dividing the ideological spectrum along conservative and liberal party lines. In both Britain and France, the conservative parties initiated immigrant control, but in Australia, the initiative was "launched" by the Labor Party.

Overall, this is a very useful volume, well worth reading, that challenges many of the mainstream frameworks that analyze immigration control by shifting the analysis from the national level to the sub-national level. While the author's arguments are not likely to convince everyone, in my opinion it substantially increases our understanding of the relationship between immigration and national immigration policies.

**Wesley D. Chapin**  
University of Wisconsin River Falls

### **ECSA Supporters**

*The following ECSA members generously donated to ECSA's Endowment and/or Grants and Scholarships Funds during calendar year 1999. We are grateful for the support of these ECSA members above and beyond their annual membership dues.*

Christa Altenstetter	Gary Marks
Jutte Birmele	Colette Mazzucelli
Anastasios Bisopoulos	Kathleen McNamara
Bill Burros	Clyde Mitchell-Weaver
Frances G. Burwell	David H. Popper
Karl H. Cerny	Donald J. Puchala
Maria Green Cowles	Agus R. Rahman
Jonathan Davidson	Carolyn Rhodes
Mathieu Deflem	Lynne Rienner
Desmond Dinan	Glenda G. Rosenthal
Inge Gedo	Alberta Sbragia
Roy H. Ginsberg	Vivien Schmidt
Ulrike Geurot	Michael Sodaro
C. Randall Henning	Beverly Springer
Peter Herzog	Valerie Staats
Gerald P. Holmes	Margaretta Thuma
Burkart Holzner	Amy Verdun
Thomas A. Hopkins	Joan Steves Ward
Paulette Kurzer	Sherrill Brown Wells
Carl Lankowski	Immanuel Wexler
Pierre-Henri Laurent	Steve M. Whiting
Kathleen Mahoney-Norris	Eleanor E. Zeff
Christopher Makins	

*Please see p.24 (back cover) of this ECSA Review for information on giving to our designated Endowment Fund and/or the Grants and Scholarships Fund.*



## Academic Programs

*Please contact each program directly for information on instruction, accreditation, courses, policies, fees, and applications; listing here does not denote ECSA endorsement.*

### 2000 Summer Programs

**Integration and Unification of the European Union**, Faculty Study Abroad, Antwerp, Belgium, May 14-26, 2000. For business, foreign language, and area studies faculty, this program includes seminars on European business and cultural issues. Contact Antwerp 2000, Wang Center for International Business, 220 Fogelman Executive Center, University of Memphis, Memphis, TN 38152; e-mail <jtutor@memphis.edu>; fax 901.678.3678; tel. 901.678.2038.

**The European Union Today and Tomorrow**, Paris, June 8-July 27, 2000, is a multidisciplinary summer course taught in English on the impact and complexity of European integration. Contact Sciences Po, EU/SP, 27, rue Saint-Guillaume, F-75007 Paris, France; e-mail <eusp@sciences-po.fr>; Web site with on-line application form <www.europaris.edu>.

**Bradley University Prague-Berlin Seminar**, Prague and Berlin, June 26-July 8, 2000. Seminar for faculty on contemporary issues facing the Czech Republic and Germany, held at Prague University of Economics and European Academy of Berlin. Contact Gregory Guzman, Director, Dept. of History, Bradley University, Peoria, IL 61625; tel. 309.677.2399; fax 309.677.3377; e-mail <ggg@hilltop.bradley.edu>.

**University of Oxford History, Politics and Society Summer Programme**, July 9-29, 2000, Oxford, UK. Intensive program covers modern British politics, changes in post-Soviet Russia, and the evolution of the European Union. Contact Charles Watson, Summer Programme, University of Oxford, Dept. for Continuing Education, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JA, UK; e-mail <iphist@conted.ox.ac.uk>; fax 44.1865.270.314.

**Relations Between Europe and North America**, Schloss Hofen, Austria, July 10-28, 2000, is a summer program given in English covering the whole spectrum of issues raised by the process of European integration. Contact Centre International de Formation Européenne, 10, avenue des Fleurs, F-06000 Nice, France; e-mail <cife@webstore.fr>; Web site <www.cife.org>.

### Master's Degree Programs

**M.A. in Advanced European and International Studies**, Nice and Berlin, taught in French, German, and English. Contact Centre International de Formation Européenne, 10, avenue des Fleurs, F-06000 Nice, France; e-mail <iehei@wanadoo.fr>; Web site <www.cife.org>; fax 33.4.9397.9371.

**Master in European Studies**, "The European Union's Past Present, and Future," Macau Institute of European Studies, Macau. Taught in English. Contact Instituto de Estudos Europeus de Macau, Calçada do Gaio no.6, Macau; e-mail <ieem@macau.ctm.net>; Web site <www.ieemacau.com>; tel. 853.354.326; fax 853.356.155.

**M.A. in Central and East European Studies**, Kraków, Poland. Taught in English. Contact Rafal Mazanek, Centre for European Studies, Jagiellonian University, Rynek Główny 34, 31-010 Kraków, Poland. E-mail <mazanek@if.uj.edu.pl>; Web site <www.ces.uj.edu.pl>. Tel./fax 48.12.422.5466.

**M.A. in Intercultural Communication and European Studies**, Fulda, Germany. Bilingual German-English program. Contact Fachhochschule Fulda, University of Applied Sciences, Dept. of Social and Cultural Sciences, Marquardstrasse 35, D-36039 Fulda, Germany; e-mail <iceus@sk.fh-fulda.de>; Web site at <www.fulda.de>; fax 49.661.9640.452.

**Master's in Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Studies**, University of Catania, Italy. Taught in English and French. Contact Scuola Superiore di Catania, Università degli Studi di Catania, Palazzo Sanguiliano, P.zza Università 16, I-95131 Catania, Italy; e-mail <ssc@mbox.unict.it>; Web site at <www.unict.it>; fax 39.095.312.721.

**M.A. in European Studies**, Leuven, Belgium. Taught in English at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. Contact European Studies, Blijde-Inkomststraat 5, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium; e-mail <arlet.hendrickx@arts.kuleuven.ac.be>; tel. 32.16.324.981; fax 32.16.325.344; Web site <www.kuleuven.ac.be/facdep/arts/onderw/eurstud.htm>.

**M.A. in European Integration**, Limerick, Ireland. Contact Admissions Office, University of Limerick, Limerick, Ireland; e-mail <admissions@ul.ie>; Web site at <www.ul.ie>; tel. 353.61.202.700; fax 353.61.330.316.

**TransAtlantic Master's Program**, program divided between universities in the U.S. and in Europe (University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, University of Washington Seattle, Duke University, University of Bath, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Université de Paris III, Humboldt Universität Berlin, Università degli Studi di Siena, Charles University Prague, Sciences Politiques, Freie Universität Berlin). Visit the Web site at <www.unc.edu/depts/tam>.

**Master of European Studies**, College of Europe, Brugge, Belgium and Natolin, Poland. Taught in French and English. Majors in European social studies, European economic studies, European legal studies, or European political and administrative studies. Contact College of Europe, Dijver 11, B-8000, Brugge, Belgium; e-mail <info@coleurop.be>; Web site at <www.coleurop.be>; tel. 32.050.44.99.11; fax 32.050.44.99.00.

## Calls for Proposals

### Cultural Dimensions in Communication Between China and the European Union

Since the normalization of diplomatic relations between the EU and China, and especially since the Chinese government has decided to develop a strategic partnership with the EU and the European Council has adopted new policies toward China, EU-China relations have entered a new era of cooperation. The Chinese government has attached great importance to relations with the EU and its member states, and regards bilateral trade and business cooperation as very important. This June 28-30, 2000 symposium in Nanjing aims to explore the universality and particularity of the cultural dimensions affecting EU-China economic and political communication and cooperation. Symposium areas are 1) Chinese and European cultural identities; 2) new issues in cultural dimensions of EU-China relations; and 3) the cultural environment for EU investment in China. Submit 1-pg. paper abstract a.s.a.p. to Yang Yu, Director, Institute of EU Studies, Nanjing University, Nanjing, P. R. China 210093; e-mail <yyu@nju.edu.cn>; fax 86.25.330.2728.

### World Capitalism, Governance and Community

The Research Committee 49 (Socialism, Capitalism, and Democracy) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) seeks proposals and offers to serve as discussant for its two sessions at the IPSA World Congress in Quebec City, Canada, August 1-5, 2000. Proposals on the democratic struggle for self-determination, from both theory and practice perspectives, might include theoretical critiques of world capitalism and of alternative, more egalitarian social orders, or case studies and comparative analyses of democratic non-capitalist and anti-capitalist political movements, and should be sent to the Committee Chair: John C. Berg, Dept. of Government, Suffolk University, Boston, MA 02114; e-mail <jberg@world.std.com>; fax 617.367.5762.

### Cultural Reconstruction of Europe in 1945

Proposals are invited for papers at a workshop in the ISSEI 2000 Conference at the University of Bergen, Norway, August 14-18, 2000. The workshop will examine the pivotal moment during and after 1945 when culture played a central role in the post-war reconstruction of most European countries and there emerged a broad but ambiguous concept of Europe, rooted in culture. It is hoped that a better understanding of 1945 will yield insights that may illuminate the cultural development of Europe today. Conference proceedings will be published on CD-Rom. Please send a short abstract and brief c.v. (1 page each) a.s.a.p. to Michael Kelly, School of Modern Languages, University of Southampton, Southampton S017 1BJ, UK; fax 44.023.8059.3288; e-mail <mhk@lang.soton.ac.uk>. Conference details are available at <www.uib.no/issei2000>.

## Conferences

*February 24-25, 2000:* "Enlargement of the European Union: Negotiations, Effective Capacity to Implement EU Rules and Institutional Reform," European Institute of Public Administration, Maastricht, Netherlands. Contact Belinda Vetter, e-mail <b.vetter@eipa-nl.com>; Web site at <www.eipa.nl>.

*March 24, 2000:* "European Perspectives on Interdependence and Cooperation in Current International Relations," Centre for Research in European Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, UK. Contact e-mail <v.koutrakou@uea.ac.uk>.

*March 30-April 1, 2000:* "Twelfth International Conference of Europeanists," Council for European Studies, Chicago, IL. Contact e-mail <ces@columbia.edu>; tel. 212.854.4172; or Web site at <www.europenet.org>.

*March 30-April 1, 2000:* "E2K: A New Vision for Europe," 17th Annual Graduate Student Conference, Institute on Western Europe, Columbia University, New York, NY. Contact e-mail <md430@columbia.edu> or <ss1058@columbia.edu>, or Web site <www.columbia.edu/cu/sipa/REGIONAL/WE/iwe.html>.

*March 31-April 1, 2000:* "In-Migration: Immigration, Racism and Policy in Europe and California," European Union Center of California and Scripps College Humanities Institute, Claremont, CA. Contact e-mail <eucenter@scrippscol.edu>; Web site at <www.eucenter.scrippscol.edu>; fax 909.607.1192.

*April 6-8, 2000:* "Rethinking Europe," UACES 30th Annual Conference and 5th Research Conference, Budapest, Hungary. Contact e-mail <admin@uaces.org> or Web <www.uaces.org>.

*May 12-13, 2000:* "Europe and Its Mediterranean Crossroads: The Cultures of Europe, North Africa and Asia," Center for Western European Studies, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, MI. Contact e-mail <cfwes@kzoo.edu> or tel. 616.337.7329.

*June 26-30, 2000:* "Geneva 2000 Forum: The Next Step in Social Development," U. N. General Assembly Special Session Follow-Up to the 1995 Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development. Contact e-mail <info2000@geneva2000.org>, or Web site <www.geneva2000.org>.

*September 7-9, 2000:* "Globalisation and European Integration," European Association for Comparative Economics Studies, Barcelona, Spain. Contact Executive Secretary Zoltan Bara at e-mail <zoltan.bara@comp.bke.hu> or <H8065bar@ella.hu>.

*October 25-28, 2000:* "Cultura Europea/European Culture," VI Congreso of the Centre for European Studies, University of Navarre, Pamplona, Spain. Contact e-mail <ebanus@unav.es> or Conference Secretariat, CEE, Universidad de Navarra, E-31080 Pamplona, Spain.

## Calls for Materials

The European Union Center at the University of Pittsburgh seeks manuscripts for its **policy paper series** on policy issues of concern to policy makers in both the EU and the U.S. The broad theme of the series is transatlantic policy making. This term may apply to an issue that the U.S. and the EU need to resolve together and in which they have substantial and linked stakes. It may also be taken comparatively to apply to an issue that the U.S., the EU, and the EU member states and authorities face in common within their own jurisdictions (e.g., competition policy or enforcement of environmental regulations). Copies of the policy papers reach diplomats, officials in the Directorates General (and in the corresponding member state ministries and U.S. agencies), senior policy makers in European and U.S. businesses and non-profit organizations, and researchers and journalists on both sides of the Atlantic. Papers are also posted on the Center's Web site at <[www.pitt.edu/~wesnews](http://www.pitt.edu/~wesnews)>. Papers are normally no more than 25 pages in length and should be easily intelligible to non-academics (though a "handle" to a conceptual issue is useful). The EU Center will provide multiple free copies to authors and will arrange for free copies to be sent to whomever the author nominates. Authors may submit manuscripts to the series editor, Martin Staniland, European Union Center, 4E23 Posvar Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; the editor may be contacted by telephone at 412.648.7656 or by e-mail at <[mstan+@pitt.edu](mailto:mstan+@pitt.edu)>.

*Political Power and Social Theory* is an annual review committed to advancing our interdisciplinary, critical understanding of the linkages between class relations, political power, and historical development. The journal welcomes both empirical and theoretical work and is willing to consider papers of substantial length (50-75 pp.), and accepts papers year round, provided they are consistent with the journal's mission. Publication decisions are made by the editor in consultation with the editorial board and anonymous reviewers. Direct inquiries and manuscripts (4 copies) to Diane E. Davis, Editor, "Political Power and Social Theory," Center for Studies of Social Change, New School University, 80 Fifth Avenue (5th Floor), New York, NY 10011; tel. 212.229.5312; fax 212.229.5929; e-mail <[ppst@newschool.edu](mailto:ppst@newschool.edu)>.

The European Parliament **D-G for Research** has posted an informal **call for expressions of interest** to conduct a study addressing the past, present and future relationship between the Euratom Treaty and the European Parliament (EP). The study will be of considerable significance for any attempt by the EP to advocate a revision of the Euratom Treaty during future Inter-Governmental Conferences. A thorough search must be made of some 40 years of EP activity concerned with this Treaty. All suggestions for potential contractors who might be invited to bid to help would be most welcome. Contact Gordon Lake, Principal Administrator, D-G for Research, EP, L-2929 Luxembourg, at e-mail <[glake@europarl.eu.int](mailto:glake@europarl.eu.int)>.

## Fellowships

### Council for European Studies Pre-Dissertation Fellowships

This year the Council is holding three pre-dissertation fellowship competitions for research in France, Portugal, and the field of social and cultural anthropology of Europe. Eligibility information, forms, and instructions can be viewed and downloaded at the Council's Web site at <[www.europanet.org](http://www.europanet.org)>, or contact Council for European Studies, 807-807a International Affairs Building, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027; fax 212.854.8808; e-mail <[ces@columbia.edu](mailto:ces@columbia.edu)>.

### Post-Doctoral Transatlantic Fellowships

The European University Institute's BP-Amoco Chair in Transatlantic Relations at the Robert Schuman Center invites applications for five post-doctoral fellowships in transatlantic relations. The applicant's research should be concentrated on transatlantic relations with a particular focus on 1) governance of the transatlantic relationship, especially in the areas of trade and investment; this includes analyzing the institutional structures for decision-making on both sides of the Atlantic; or 2) the international role of Europe, the U.S., and the transatlantic relationship in global governance. Contact Kathinka Espana, Coordinator, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute; fax 39.55.4685.775; e-mail <[espana@iue.it](mailto:espana@iue.it)>.

### Swedish-American Exchange Travel Grants

Approximately ten travel grants, usually equal to 25,000 Swedish crowns, are awarded annually partially to cover transportation and living expenses for a minimum of two weeks. Applicants must be citizens or permanent residents of the U.S. and the project must be completed between June 2000-June 2001. The Swedish-American Exchange Fund gives priority to work in the fields of politics, public administration, working life, human environment, mass media, business and industry, education, and culture. Application forms may be downloaded from the Web at <[www.swedeninfo.com](http://www.swedeninfo.com)>, or contact Swedish Information Service, Bicentennial Fund, One Dag Hammarskjold Plaza (45th Floor), New York, NY 10017.

### IREX Travel Grants

The International Research and Exchange Board offers travel grants for scholarly projects in the social sciences and humanities focusing on Central and Eastern Europe, Eurasia, and Mongolia; projects should advance the American academic community's knowledge of these regions. Applicants must be U.S. citizens or residents and hold the Ph.D. or professional terminal degree. Grants are generally no more than \$3,000. Information and application are available on the Web at <[www.irex.org](http://www.irex.org)>; or contact e-mail <[irex@irex.org](mailto:irex@irex.org)>. The next application deadline is June 1, 2000.



## NETWORK OF EUROPEAN UNION CENTERS

### *News and Notes for Winter 2000*

*December 3, 1999:* Bernard Ebbinghaus, Senior Researcher at the Max Planck Institute in Cologne, gave a talk about "Reform of Continental European Welfare States" to some twenty graduate students, faculty members and community supporters of the UW-Madison EU Center. From 9-11 February, Catherine DeWenden from the Paris Institute of Political Science will present a series of lectures on identity and citizenship among EU states to students, faculty and the Madison, Wisconsin community.

*December 9, 1999:* Austrian Ambassador Peter Moser spent the day at the University of Pittsburgh EU Center and delivered an address "Challenges of Enlargement: The Austrian Perspective." The Center will hold two Spring conferences: a March academic conference focusing on "National Policy Coordination and the EU," and an April 6-8 Policy Conference entitled "The Future of EU-U.S. Aviation Relations" which gathers policy makers and scholars to examine issues in the development and regulation of transatlantic commercial aviation. New courses in Spring 2000 include EU Fellow Willem Noë's "Aspects of EU Enlargement," and new Political Science Professor Mark Hallerberg's "Political Economy of the European Union."

*December 1999:* The EU Center of University of North Carolina Chapel Hill and Duke University awards two annual fellowships in EU studies to advanced graduate students to assist them in completing dissertation research. This year, one EU Fellow is Timothy Goodger, a third year economics graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill who is interested in the European Union's expansion into the former socialist countries of East Central Europe. In particular, his dissertation involves gauging the future macroeconomic stability of Hungary. The second EU Fellow is Adam Brinegar, Department of Political Science, Duke University. As a graduate student at Duke, his primary focus is comparative politics and political theory, with particular interest in international institutions and regional political unions.

*December 1999:* The EU Center at Harvard hosted the conference "France in Europe, Europe in France." Academic experts and practitioners from Europe and North America came to analyze economics, politics, culture, social policy, international affairs and defense. Stanley Hoffmann gave the opening address and the conference was graced by the participation of M. Philippe Sguin, former President of the French National Assembly. The Visions for European Governance series in Spring Term 2000 will include Mario Monti, EU Commissioner for Competition Policy, Philippe Maystadt, President of the European Investment Bank and former Belgian Minister of Finance, and Frits Bolkenstein, EU Commissioner for the Internal Market.

*December 1999:* The EU Center of Seattle hosted two major events during WTO week. The first event, an official WTO-Seattle Host Organization Business Outreach function presented in partnership with Seattle's Council of European Chambers of Commerce, was a panel discussion on EU-U.S. tensions over genetically modified foods and beef hormones, featuring EU Commissioner for Health and Consumer Protection, David Byrne. The second event, a workshop on Boeing, Airbus, and the Large Commercial Aircraft subsidy issue, brought together some foremost European and North American experts on the topic. This was our second event on the aerospace industry and reflects our commitment to the discussion of high-profile EU-U.S. topics with direct local impact.

To find out more about the Network of European Union Centers, please visit the Web site at [www.eucenters.org](http://www.eucenters.org). The Network was launched in 1998 by the European Union to build stronger ties among Europeans and Americans.



## **NETWORK OF EUROPEAN UNION CENTERS**

### *News and Notes for Winter 2000*

*January 2000:* The New York EU Center welcomed its 1999-2000 Marshall-Monnet Professor, Anand Menon, who will teach a graduate seminar at Columbia on "European Integration: Implications for Defense Policy" and a graduate course at NYU on "The EU and its Member States." Also at NYU, John Glenn, the EU Post-Doctoral Scholar, will teach "European Union: Past, Present, Future." Lectures and workshops for this period include: "State of the European Union" by Ambassador Eikka Kosonen, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, on December 16, sponsored by CUNY; "Does Europe Exist at the UN?" by Ambassador Stuart Eldon, Permanent Mission of the UK to the UN, on February 1 at Columbia; and "Language and Immigrant Incorporation: The US and Europe Compared," workshop at New School University on February 18.

*January 2000:* The EU Center at the University of Illinois will again offer its interdisciplinary seminar, "The European Union and EU-U.S. Relations." This course brings together graduate students and faculty from across campus to examine the historical evolution of the EU, its role in European security, politics and institutional relations in the EU, European Monetary Union, and the legal structure and social and labor policy in the EU. On January 20, Hans Dietrich von Loeffelholz, from the Rhine-Westfalia Institute for Economic Research, gave a public presentation on tax and social policy competition in European Monetary Union.

*February 11, 2000:* The EU Center of the University System of Georgia is sponsoring a Conference on Regionalism in the European Union at Valdosta State University. The conference will examine the impact of EU integration on regional patterns of political, economic, and cultural development at both the supra- and sub-national levels. Joanna Apap of the European Citizen Action Service will be the keynote speaker. In addition, the Center will sponsor several speakers during February including Adrian Taylor (External Relations of the European Commission) and Miguel Mesquita (Forward Studies Unit of the European Commission).

*February 16, 2000:* With the School of Journalism, the EU Center at the University of Missouri will welcome John Hume (MEP for Northern Ireland and leader of the social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland). Hume's visit coincides with the conference "Globalization and the European Union," co-sponsored by the EU Center and the Missouri School of Journalism on February 17-18. In January, the first in a series of courses launched the EU Center's new Graduate Certificate in European Union Studies. Entitled "Institutions and Policies of the European Union," the graduate-level course examines the EU from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Several members of the recently created European Union Student Association have enrolled in the course.

*February 28, 2000:* The European Union Center of California will hold a panel discussion on restitution issues arising out of World War Two, the Holocaust, and the Cold War. The panel will address legal, ethical, cultural, and political aspects of the restitution of property to individuals, and of cultural treasures and art to their countries of origin. Speakers will include Elazar Barkan, Department of Cultural Studies, and Alexander Karn, Doctoral Candidate, Department of History, both at Claremont Graduate University; Jonathan Petropoulos, Department of History, Claremont McKenna College; and Hans Rindisbacher, Department of German and Russian Languages and Literature, Pomona College.

ECSA's Network of European Union Centers Committee: Sidney Tarrow (Cornell University), Chair; Maria Green Cowles (The American University); Paulette Kurzer (University of Arizona); Vivien A. Schmidt (Boston University).

## Publications

*News of EU-related publications received in the ECSA Office:*

- ABN-AMRO (1999) The Euro and the Multinational Company. London, UK: Kogan Page/Reuters.
- Aldcroft, Derek H. and Anthony Sutcliffe (eds.) (1999) Europe in the International Economy 1500 to 2000. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bridges, Brian (1999) Europe and the Challenge of the Asia Pacific: Change, Continuity and Crisis. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Buti, Marco *et alia* (eds.) (1999) The Welfare State in Europe: Challenges and Reforms. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Button, Kenneth and Eric J. Pentecost (1999) Regional Economic Performance within the European Union. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Carr, Fergus and Andrew Massey (eds.) (1999) Public Policy in the New Europe: Eurogovernance in Theory and Practice. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik (ed.) (2000) Constructing Europe's Identity: The External Dimension. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Craig, Lee A. and Douglas Fisher (2000) The European Macroeconomy: Growth and Integration 1500-1913. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Dyson, Kenneth and Kevin Featherstone (1999) The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union. London, UK: Oxford University Press.
- European Commission (1999) The Amsterdam Treaty: A Comprehensive Guide. Luxembourg: European Communities.
- Frey, Bruno S. and Reiner Eichenberger (1999) The New Democratic Federalism for Europe: Functional, Overlapping and Competing Jurisdictions. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Helmenstein, Christian (ed.) (1999) Capital Markets in Central and Eastern Europe. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Hunya, Gábor (ed.) (1999) Integration Through Foreign Direct Investment: Making Central European Industries Competitive. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Ladrech, Robert (2000) Social Democracy and the Challenge of European Union. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Lee, Sang-Gon and Pierre-Bruno Ruffini (eds.) (1999) The Global Integration of Europe and East Asia. Gloucester, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Moriou, Corine (1999) Setting Up a Business in Europe: A Country-by-Country Guide. London, UK: Kogan Page.
- Naudin, François (1999) The European Central Bank: A Bank for the 21st Century. London, UK: Kogan Page/Reuters.
- O'Brien, Gerry and Adam Jolly (eds.) (1999) CBI European Business Handbook 1999. London, UK: Kogan Page.
- Östhol, Anders *et alia* (eds.) (1999) NEBI Yearbook 1999:

North European and Baltic Sea Integration. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

- Rosello, Mireille (1999) "Fortress Europe and Its Metaphors: Immigration and Law." Working Paper Series on European Studies 3: 1, Madison, WI: UW International Institute.
- de Schoutheete, Philippe (translated by Andrew Butler) (2000) The Case for Europe: Unity, Diversity, and Democracy in the European Union. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Walsh, James I. (2000) European Monetary Integration and Domestic Politics: Britain, France, and Italy. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

*Journal of European Social Policy*, Sage Publications, offers ECSA members a 25% discount off the individual subscription rate in 2000. This quarterly journal covers key European social policy issues and features a guide to the latest European legislation and research. Telephone the subscription hotline (mention your ECSA membership) at 44.0171.330.1266 or visit the Web at <[www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/j0023.html](http://www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/j0023.html)>.

In Summer 2000 *European Affairs* will be launched by the Irish Association of Contemporary European Studies in association with the Institute of European Affairs in Dublin. This multidisciplinary, refereed journal will publish articles on all aspects of European affairs and integration from anthropology, economics, geography, history, law, politics and sociology. To be published twice yearly, the journal aims to provide a platform for linking theory and practice by bringing academic research to the attention of policy-makers. The editors seek articles of 6,000-8,000 words that will appeal to academics and policy-makers on topics directly related to European integration or on a comparative aspect of European affairs. For an ongoing forum for post-graduate research students, shorter articles of no more than 4,000 words are sought. *European Affairs* will also publish book reviews and review articles. Contact the editors, Jim Bergeron (University College Dublin), e-mail <[james.bergeron@ucd.ie](mailto:james.bergeron@ucd.ie)>; Till Geiger (Queen's University Belfast), e-mail <[t.geiger@qub.ac.uk](mailto:t.geiger@qub.ac.uk)>; and Ben Tonra, Book Review Editor (University College Dublin), e-mail <[bentonra@eircom.net](mailto:bentonra@eircom.net)>.

*European Union Politics* is being launched in 2000 (three times yearly) and will offer a transnational approach to the challenges that the project of European integration faces in the 21st century. It will be a forum for advanced research on all aspects of the processes of government, politics and policy in the European Union. Editors are Gerald Schneider (University of Konstanz), Simon Hix (London School of Economics), and Matthew Gabel (University of Kentucky). Contact the editorial office at e-mail <[eup@uni-konstanz.de](mailto:eup@uni-konstanz.de)> or visit the Web at <[www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/Verwiss/GSchneider/eup.html](http://www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/Verwiss/GSchneider/eup.html)>.

Special edition (No.17-IX.1999) of *Collegium: News of the College of Europe*, features four English-language articles on "Shaping Environmental Policy in the European Union." Contact via e-mail <[collegium@coleurop.be](mailto:collegium@coleurop.be)>.



## **ECSA Interest Sections**

IN RESPONSE TO STRONG support indicated by ECSA members who responded to our 1998 Tenth Anniversary Member Survey, the ECSA Executive Committee has decided to establish Association interest sections on any topic related to European Union affairs. As in other academic associations, the interest sections must reflect the diverse interests and energies of the membership and it is hoped that the sections will be a vibrant part of ECSA. To date we have received queries about the formation of ECSA sections on EU law; EU environmental policy; teaching the EU at the secondary level; and Washington, DC area EU specialists. The ECSA Executive Committee welcomes queries and proposals from ECSA members for the creation of new interest sections.

ECSA policies for the creation and activities of interest sections, adopted by the ECSA Executive Committee in January 2000, are as follows:

- 1) Interest section members must be current ECSA members.
- 2) Interest sections must have a minimum of 15 members.
- 3) Interest section members pay \$5 dues per annum in addition to their ECSA membership dues. This amount is allocated to ECSA to help cover administrative costs relating to supporting the interest sections.
- 4) Interest sections may decide to increase their membership fees, and will receive the difference between the two amounts in order to fund their special projects and activities.
- 5) ECSA will host a dedicated and password-protected Web page for the interest sections as part of the ECSA Web site.
- 6) The ECSA office will set up and maintain an e-mail distribution list for each interest section.
- 7) Interest section members will appear in a separate set of listings in the biennial ECSA Membership Directory.
- 8) The ECSA office will generally commit to assisting interest sections in recruiting members and disseminating information about their activities.
- 9) Each interest section must elect a chair who will serve as the primary liaison with ECSA and is responsible for interest section financial matters. Interest sections may decide to elect a separate officer as treasurer.

10) Interest sections are encouraged to submit panel proposals for the ECSA Conference.

Interest Sections of the ECSA are subordinate bodies who shall not possess the legal authority to speak on behalf of the ECSA, obligate ECSA funds, or obligate or give the impression that they have the legal authority to commit the ECSA to any policy or position unless and until such action and/or conduct has been approved by the ECSA Executive Committee or by action in compliance with ECSA policy and procedures as contained within the ECSA Constitution and by-laws. The ECSA Constitution may be viewed on-line at <[www.ecsa.org/ecsacons.html](http://www.ecsa.org/ecsacons.html)>.

### **Proposal Guidelines**

Here's how to propose an ECSA Interest Section:

- 1) Any ECSA member may propose an interest section.
- 2) Proposal must be a 1-2 page formal letter (500 words maximum) on institutional letterhead including a rationale for the interest section topic and a brief statement of the proposer's qualifications for leading it (submit two copies of this letter).
- 3) Proposer must make a one-year commitment to leading the section.
- 4) Please include the *short form* of proposer's curriculum vitae (one copy).
- 5) Proposal must have at least ten brief letters of support from ECSA members (must be collected and submitted en toto by the proposer, not submitted individually to ECSA by the authors). These may be e-mail messages with signatures.
- 6) Deadline for proposals: ongoing.

Decisions on interest section topics and policies to be made by the ECSA Executive Committee and its appointed Sub-Committee, if any.

Please use regular mail (not electronic mail, overnight mail, or fax) to submit your interest section proposal to the ECSA Administrative Office, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA. For questions, please send an e-mail to <[ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu)>.

*Correction:* In "Germany's 1999 EU Council Presidency," by Carl Lankowski (*ECSA Review*, Fall 1999, p.2), the author refers to a ten-vote Bundestag majority for the red-green coalition of Gerhard Schroeder. The text should read "a nineteen-vote majority."

## ECSA News and Notes

✓ Transatlantic Perspectives on the Euro, essays on European monetary union and the euro by C. Randall Henning and Pier Carlo Padoan, is being released in February 2000 by ECSA with Brookings Institution Press. Current ECSA members will shortly be receiving complimentary copies of this book mailed under separate cover; others may order the book directly from Brookings. We are grateful to the European Commission, TEPSA (Brussels), the Institute for European Politics (Bonn), the U.S. Mission to Brussels, and the ECSA membership for their financial support of this project.

✓ Our State of the European Union book series is being relaunched by ECSA late in 2000 with Oxford University Press. Volume 5: Risks, Reforms, Resistance, Revival? is co-edited by ECSA's Maria Green Cowles (The American University) and Michael Smith (Loughborough University), and contains 19 contemporary essays by scholars from Europe and the U.S.A. The relaunch will appear both in paper and hardcover editions for classroom use as well as library collections.

✓ Mark your calendars now and make plans to propose papers and panels and to attend ECSA's Seventh Biennial International Conference, Madison, Wisconsin, May 31-June 2, 2001. The 2001 conference will be held at the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Monona Terrace Community and Convention Center on Lake Monona, with the skywalk-connected Hilton Madison as the conference hotel. Watch the ECSA Web site for updates!

✓ Current ECSA members will shortly be receiving by regular mail proofsheets for their entries in the 2000 edition of the biennial ECSA member directory. Please return your proofsheets to the ECSA Office at your earliest convenience.

✓ The ECSA e-mail List Serve continues to grow with nearly 615 persons subscribed to the list as of January 2000. It is a moderated list for current ECSA members to post EU-related queries and announcements. In December 1999 the ECSA Executive Committee adopted an Internet Privacy Policy regarding e-mail addresses, as follows:

The Executive Committee of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) has determined that ECSA will not, under any circumstances or for any reason, release the e-mail addresses of ECSA members to any outside person, party, organization, institution, or other entity.

ECSA members may be assured that their Internet privacy is respected and that their e-mail addresses are used by the Association only for official ECSA business such as EU-related queries or announcements on the ECSA List Serve. The ECSA List Serve is a closed, moderated list for current ECSA members only, and commercial solicitations are not posted to the List.

## From the Chair

ECSA IS DELIGHTED TO announce that, in conjunction with Brookings Institution Press, we will shortly be releasing the book that resulted from our 1999 US-EU Relations Project on European Monetary Union—Transatlantic Perspectives on the Euro, by C. Randall Henning (The American University) and Pier Carlo Padoan (University of Rome). All current ECSA members will receive a complimentary copy of the book. With the collaboration of the TransEuropean Policy Studies Association and financial support from the European Commission, the U.S. Mission to Brussels, the ECSA membership, and the Institute for European Politics in Bonn, our transatlantic project pulled together two experts, one European and one American, writing about the same topic from their differing perspectives. We are certain that ECSA members and other readers of the book will find Henning's and Padoan's conclusions about the euro provocative.

ECSA is about to launch its first interest section, one focusing on EU law. Organized by ECSA member and attorney Bruce Shine, this new interest section will lead the way for others which we hope the membership will organize based on common interests in areas of EU specialization. For ECSA's guidelines on interest sections, please see page 21 in this issue.

The abstracts of ECSA's 1999 conference papers are on-line along with an easy downloadable order form. Please visit the ECSA home page and click on the link under "What's New," or go directly to the paper abstracts at <[www.ecsa.org/intro\\_abs99.html](http://www.ecsa.org/intro_abs99.html)>. This issue of the *ECSA Review* also includes an order form for those who do not have access to the Web. Speaking of ECSA Conferences, we are already working hard on plans for the 2001 Conference to be held in Madison, Wisconsin at the Frank Lloyd Wright-designed Monona Terrace. The ECSA Executive Committee is also happy to announce the appointment of the 2001 Conference Program Chair, Martin Schain of New York University. Our call for paper and panel proposals will go out in Spring 2000, and we are greatly looking forward to an enthusiastic response.

Finally, we'd like to draw your attention to the recently established ECSA Grants and Scholarships Fund (an option on your membership renewal form). Now that we begin our 13th year and have an eye toward self-sustainability for all our programs, we'd like to ask ECSA members to make a contribution in any amount designated specifically for the Grants and Scholarships Fund. This fund will be overseen by the ECSA Executive Committee under the leadership of Donald Hancock. We aim to use the fund to make small travel and student research grants, as well as curriculum development grants, and we'd like to offer our first grants to persons from underrepresented countries (Mediterranean, CEECs, and elsewhere) to help them attend the 2001 ECSA Conference. Any support you can give will be greatly appreciated.

VIVIEN A. SCHMIDT  
*Boston University*

## 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 the submission of scholarly, EU-related manuscripts. Subscription to the *ECSA Review* is a benefit of Association membership.

### Managing Editor

Valerie Staats

### Forum and Features Editor

Mark A. Pollack (University of Wisconsin Madison)

### Book Reviews Editor

Jeanie Bukowski (Bradley University)

### Editorial Assistant

Rachael Riemersma

### ECSA Executive Committee

#### 1999-2001 Term of Office

VIVIEN A. SCHMIDT, Chair

(Boston University)

MARIA GREEN COWLES, Vice-Chair

(The American University)

DONALD HANCOCK, Secretary

(Vanderbilt University)

PAULETTE KURZER, Treasurer

(University of Arizona)

STEPHANIE ANDERSON

(Bentley College)

MARK A. POLLACK

(University of Wisconsin Madison)

SIDNEY TARROW

(Cornell University)

### Network of EU Centers Committee

SIDNEY TARROW, Chair

MARIA GREEN COWLES

PAULETTE KURZER

VIVIEN A. SCHMIDT

### European Community Studies Association

405 Bellefield Hall

University of Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA

E-mail [ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu)

Web [www.ecsa.org](http://www.ecsa.org)

Facsimile 412.648.1168

Telephone 412.648.7635

## EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION New Membership or Renewal Form *(Please type or print)*

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State/Province \_\_\_\_\_ Postal Code \_\_\_\_\_

Country \_\_\_\_\_

Work Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Work Facsimile \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail \_\_\_\_\_

Do you wish to be subscribed to

ECSA's e-mail List Server? \_\_\_\_\_ yes \_\_\_\_\_ no

Your Professional Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

### Membership dues (please check as appropriate):

Institutional \$75 \_\_\_\_\_ *Outside the USA:*

Individual \$35 \_\_\_\_\_ Individual \$45 \_\_\_\_\_

Student \$20 \_\_\_\_\_ Student \$30 \_\_\_\_\_

Three-year membership at USA addresses only \$100 \_\_\_\_\_

Three-year membership *outside the USA* \$130 \_\_\_\_\_

Note: U.S. citizens may make a tax-deductible contribution to support the work of ECSA in any amount over membership dues. Your gift:

ECSA Grants and Scholarships Fund \$ \_\_\_\_\_

ECSA Endowment Fund \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Total amount enclosed: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

If paying by check, please make check payable to ECSA. Checks must be in US\$ and drawn on a USA bank. We also accept international money orders and MasterCard or Visa credit cards.

MasterCard # \_\_\_\_\_

Visa # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Mail or fax this form (please do not mail *and* fax this form) to:

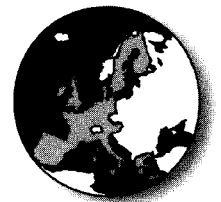
### European Community Studies Association

405 Bellefield Hall

University of Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA

Facsimile 412.648.1168



*Thank you for your support of ECSA and  
EU scholarship across the disciplines!*

Inside the Winter 2000 *ECSA Review*:

“Romano Prodi: Another Delors?” Essay by John Peterson	1
<i>ECSA Review Forum</i> “Do the Lessons of EU Legal Integration ‘Travel’?”	
Martin Shapiro, Karen J. Alter, Laurence R. Helfer	2
Heather Field “The ‘Europeanization’ and ‘Internationalization’ of Education in Europe”	10
Book Reviews	12
Academic Programs	15
Calls for Proposals; Conferences	16
Calls for Materials; Fellowships	17
Network of European Union Centers News and Notes	18
Publications	20
ECSA Interest Sections	21
ECSA News and Notes; From the Chair	22

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

**European Community Studies Association**  
*Information and ideas on the European Union*



*Support our new:*

**ECSA Grants and Scholarships Fund**  
to support students in EU-related programs or research,  
EU-related curriculum development in the USA,  
travel to the biennial ECSA Conference, and more

**ECSA Endowment Fund**  
to ensure the long-term viability and  
independence of our non-profit organization  
into the 21st century

Your gift is tax-deductible to the extent allowable  
by U.S. tax law. Gifts of \$25 or more will receive a receipt  
for income tax purposes. All contributors to either Fund  
will be listed in the *ECSA Review's* annual list of supporters.  
Contact the ECSA Office to make a contribution.  
Call 412.648.7635 or e-mail [ecsapitt.edu](mailto:ecsapitt.edu).