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EUSA REVIEW

EUSA Review Forum

The Convention on the Future of Europe : Transatlantic Perspectives

IN JUNE 2003, THE CONVENTION on the Future of Europe delivered its project for a draft Constitution to the European Council as a basis for negotiations during the 2003-2004 Intergovernmental Conference. Although it is too early to tell how different the final outcome will be from the Convention draft, it is time to reflect on the Convention as process, and situate this EU experiment in deliberative negotiating. In this *EUSA Review Forum*, three authors look back at the work of the Convention and analyze it in a historical and transatlantic light.

— *Virginie Guiraudon, Forum Editor*

Deliberating under the Shadow of the Veto Paul Magnette

THE INK IS SCARCELY DRY on the “constitutional treaty” written by the Convention on the Future of Europe. Yet, controversies about the meaning of this experience have already begun. Some, adopting a “realistic” point of view, see it as a classic form of intergovernmental bargaining that does not alter the Union structure significantly. Others, however, emphasise the novelty of the method and the importance of the proposed legal changes. These two lines of analysis are not necessarily contradictory. It is difficult to deny that the Convention was merely a new bargain between member states, governed by classic forms of mutual concessions and log-rolling. Yet, the deliberative nature of the process should not be neglected. To a certain extent, the “deliberative constraint” that the process put on the actors partly explains the outcome of the Convention.

Given the vagueness of the Laeken mandate, some initially believed that the Convention would reach a consensual agreement that would profoundly transform the Union and that the governments would be forced to ratify. It was, however, naive to think that the Convention could be “Europe’s Philadelphia.” Nothing, in the present European situation could create a pressure comparable to the military, commercial, political, moral and religious crises that had led to the Philadelphia process. A realistic assessment of the nature of the EU, of the international context and of member state preferences raised doubts on the Convention’s margin of manoeuvre.

The *conventionnels* did not initially restrict their horizons. The classic dichotomy opposing “bargaining,” based on a narrow defence of stable preferences, and “deliberation” defined as a rational exchange of arguments aimed at reaching the “common good,” seems to have structured the *conventionnels*’ image of their own role. The Chairman of the Convention, former French President Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, often echoed this ambition. A priori, the Convention fulfilled some of the key conditions of a fair deliberative process. It was a specially convened assembly, representing a very large array of interests and ideologies. It was formally independent from its creator and free to determine its own procedures. This gave the *conventionnels* the opportunity not to reproduce the logic of former intergovernmental conferences (IGCs). Given the presence of members who were not the representatives of the governments, they could have examined a larger set of possible options, and could have formed more fluid compromises.

The paradox of this Convention is that, although its members adopted a deliberative style, their attitudes actually remained crudely utilitarian. In most cases, the *conventionnels* played the game of honest deliberation, presenting their interests as impartial views seeking a compromise. In spite of this original and largely autonomous process, they proved unable to overcome classic divisions. In this mix of arguing and bargaining, the latter soon dominated. The members never forgot that they were just a preparatory body, and that their compromise would be renegotiated by the governments in the next IGC. Deliberation took place under the shadow of the veto.

This explains why the notion of “simplification” soon became the label of the minimum compromise that members could reach, and the conceptual tool used to forge it. In spite of all their divisions, all groups in the Convention shared an awareness of the Union’s complexity, a desire to make it simpler and the belief that this would make it more acceptable. Federalists and Euro-sceptic members disagreed on everything, except on that.

The emphasis put on the objective of simplification played a double role. Negatively, it helped preclude the creation of new institutions, on the ground that this would make the EU more complicated. On the other hand, this argument justified the reduction of the number and variety of norms and procedures. This implied extending co-decision and qualified majority voting (QMV) to many fields from which they had been deliberately excluded in the past. The rationale for this change was not that QMV would be more efficient, or that the European Parliament might improve the quality of the decisions, (*continued on p.3*)

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From the Chair

George Ross

LET ME WISH ALL EUSA members and friends an energetic and successful *rentrée*. The need for us to puzzle through and communicate about the EU has never been more urgent. How should we understand the Swedish “no” to the euro, and what does it portend? Will the Stability and Growth Pact survive the persistent unwillingness of the EU’s largest members to observe its structures? The collapse of Doha Round talks in Cancun should put pressure for broader reform of the CAP, but will it? The WTO, in large part a European creation, may lie in the balance. Post-Iraq transatlantic relations have moved in a murkier direction, but still merit careful observation. Perhaps most important, because most immanent, what will emerge from the IGC following the Convention? We are pleased that Virginie Guiraudon has organized a Forum about the Convention and its sequels for this issue, with comments from three eminent observers, Paul Magnette, Desmond Dinan, and Renaud Dehousse. Further, I am delighted to announce the publication of the sixth volume in our *EUSA State of the European Union* book series, Volume 6, subtitled “Law, Politics, and Society” (Oxford University Press, 2003). Anyone who has edited such a volume understands the immense intellectual creativity, persuasive capacities, and hard work that are needed. In volume 6, Tanya Börzel and Rachel Cichowski have upheld the distinguished tradition of the EUSA series, and we owe them and the stellar group of writers they have gathered a debt of gratitude. Please see p. 15 in this issue for ordering information.

The EUSA office is compiling the results of our 15th anniversary member survey, and we thank those members who returned the form (mailed to current members with the Summer 2003 *EUSA Review* in late July). If you haven’t already sent in your survey, please take a few minutes to do so. We, the Executive Committee and the staff of EUSA, use your comments and suggestions to help us plan future directions for, and projects and activities of, the Association. Our member-based interest sections, for example, grew out of responses from EUSA members to our tenth anniversary member survey in 1998.

For the first time in EUSA’s fifteen years as an organization, the board will hold its annual meeting outside the U.S. This is a reflection of our growing transnational scope. Two current board members are based in Europe, and we are working to strengthen ties with important institutions in Europe. In conjunction with our fall meeting, we are joining with EUSA members at the Institut d’Etudes Politiques in Paris (Sciences Po) to co-sponsor a seminar on the future of the EU and transatlantic relations on Friday, November 14. The program will include presentations by EUSA board members and other members on two topics: the future of the EU in light of the new Convention, and transatlantic relations, specifically commercial and security issues. EUSA members who live in the Paris environs are welcome to attend. We will be sending you invitations. Anyone weekending in the City of Light should also feel free to come. We hope to work with other EU-related entities in Europe on projects in the future, (*continued on p. 22*)

(Magnette, continued from p.1)

but the quest for simplification. Here, arguing clearly counter-balanced bargaining.

This type of formal reasoning was not, however, an uncontroversial strategy. Many members, aware of the impact such a quest for simplification might have on their interest, soon criticised this form of argumentation. Some emphasised that complexity was often needed in terms of efficiency; others added that complexity is often the price to be paid for democracy. This revealed the limit of the rhetoric of simplification. It offered a minimum consensus on the diagnosis, and provided the members with a “noble task” when the risk of failure was high. Still, its practical impact remained limited. The fusion of the treaties, the suppression of the pillars, the generalisation of co-decision and QMV in legislative matters, the incorporation of the Charter of Rights, are indeed important legal and symbolic changes, especially given the intensity of the conflicts over these issues in the past. It should not be forgotten, however, that these elements of simplification have only been possible because the Praesidium carefully listened to some members’ critics and accepted many exceptions. More importantly, the rhetoric of simplification has not significantly fostered other crucial reforms, i.e., the distribution of competencies or the institutional framework.

The argument of those who, like Giscard and many others, state that the Union will per se be more democratic, because its “constitution” will be simpler and clearer, so that students and people in the street will read it, is obviously overstated. Should we then conclude that “simplification” is an argument found by people who have spent hundreds of hours deliberating about the EU’s future and who, because they realised they could not overcome their divisions, presented “simplification” as a noble task so as to preserve their self-esteem? Perhaps. Notwithstanding, we should not neglect the importance of forms and processes when we think about the EU’s legitimacy. First, form matters in Western civic cultures. A simpler treaty, which looks like a constitution and uses terms that are part of the citizen’s usual political language, might be better accepted. Secondly, and more importantly, we should not underestimate the importance of confirming a constitutional agreement. The Convention has not altered the Union’s structure significantly. But representatives of its member states, of the EU institutions and of the candidate countries, (some federalists, others euro-sceptics, some leftists, others conservatives) have deliberated on all issues related to the EU, examined all possible reforms, expressed in public the largest spectrum of arguments ever made about the EU. This confirmation changes the nature of the agreement, even if it does not alter its content. Those who, in the past, criticised the EU because it had been built behind closed doors, have lost their argument. Those who criticised it on the ground that they had had to, at the time of adhering, take the whole package without having the opportunity to renegotiate the *acquis*, have also lost a key argument. The reassertion and confirmation of the “constitutional compact” by the Convention has not altered the compromise, but it has strengthened its foundations. In the long term, this might prove equally important.

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The Draft Constitution: American Interest Desmond Dinan

IF IMITATION IS THE HIGHEST form of flattery, then the EU is flattering the U.S. outrageously. First, at the 2000 Lisbon Summit, the EU set itself the ambitious goal of becoming, by 2010, “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs.” The United States, with the most competitive economy and a spectacular record of job creation in the 1990s, was the obvious point of reference, although European leaders were too savvy to say so. After all, praising the United States is not particularly popular in Europe.

Moreover, in an implicit swipe at the Americans, the EU stressed not only that it wanted to create “better” jobs, but also that the Lisbon goal included “greater social cohesion.” By emphasizing social cohesion, a concept unheard of in the United States, the EU signaled its unwillingness to imitate the United States wholeheartedly. Many observers would say that American-style economic modernization and greater social cohesion are incompatible objectives.

Constitutionally, however, the United States is the shining city on the hill, at least according to the rhetoric of Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, chairman of the Convention on the Future of Europe. Giscard rarely misses an opportunity to compare the Brussels convention to the Philadelphia convention of 1787. It is trendy for European pundits, who otherwise dismiss most things American, to express an interest in U.S. constitutional history and to claim to have read the *Federalist Papers*. By implication, the EU wants to constitute itself like the United States of America. Giscard even wanted to rename the EU the “United States of Europe.”

Of course Giscard and others are quick to point out the unique nature of European integration and that, regardless of what it called itself, the EU could never be a full-fledged federation along American lines. Comparisons with Philadelphia may be intended to legitimize the Brussels convention, although few Europeans followed the Convention closely and even fewer know much about what happened in Philadelphia over two hundred years ago. Perhaps the main reason for the comparison is to interest Americans in the Convention, by appealing to their historical knowledge and pride. Given that the number of Americans aware of the Brussels convention is so small as to be insignificant, the comparison with Philadelphia is clearly aimed at Americans who follow European affairs, notably policy-makers and policy-shapers in Washington, D.C.

Indeed, Giscard made a quasi-state visit to Washington in February 2003 to trumpet the Convention. In a lecture at the Library of Congress, he harped on the Philadelphia connection (Giscard 2003). Giscard’s lecture was reminiscent of Walter Hallstein’s at Columbia University in 1963, subsequently published in the *Political Science Quarterly* (continued on p.4)

(Dinan, continued from p.3) (Hallstein, 1963). Hallstein began with the requisite historical comparison, starting with the Albany Congress of 1754. He famously described the European Community as “a federation in the making,” and the Rome Treaty as “a veritable constitution.” According to Hallstein, “History is on our side.” One can imagine French President Charles de Gaulle’s apoplexy upon hearing about Hallstein’s lecture, which mentioned the evils on the national veto and anticipated its replacement by qualified majority voting for trade policy in 1966. De Gaulle, who understood history differently, threw Hallstein’s historical trajectory off course when he precipitated the Empty Chair Crisis in July 1965, ostensibly over budgetary proposals but really over the introduction of majority voting in additional policy areas. Thereafter Hallstein’s days as Commission president were numbered.

Giscard is not Hallstein. Nor is he de Gaulle. He is a moderate (some might say lapsed) intergovernmentalist. The EU today is not the EC of the early 1960s, which seemed to be soaring ever upward, toward ever-closer union. The EU has a far broader policy remit, has a large and growing membership of extremely diverse countries, has endured many crises, and is much more complex than the original EC. Having compared the Brussels and Philadelphia conventions, Giscard elaborated in his Library of Congress lecture upon the political and constitutional differences between the United States and the EU, and explained why the EU could never really be like the United States

Yet, like Hallstein before him, Giscard claimed that European political integration was good for the United States. According to Hallstein, European integration sought to replace “a system which harnesses one giant with a number of comparative dwarfs [with] a new system, which joins in partnership...twin units which today are already comparable and which one day will be equal.” Giscard put it more delicately, claiming that a stronger EU would be “a much more valuable and trustworthy partner for the United States,” allowing for “better organized and more productive dialogue on global strategic issues.” Giscard made another reference to Philadelphia, this time to President John F. Kennedy’s famous Independence Day speech there. “We do not regard a strong and united Europe as a rival,” Giscard quoted Kennedy as saying, “but as a partner.”

A lot of water passed under the transatlantic bridge since the 1960s. European integration excited Americans then; it bores them now. George Ball, the influential Undersecretary of State in the early 1960s, was an old friend of Jean Monnet’s and a fanatical supporter of the European Community. There is nobody remotely like Ball in Washington today. The curse of the Common Agricultural Policy, the end of the Cold War, the fall-out from the Balkan wars, and the Iraq debacle put paid to American enthusiasm for the EU.

William Kristol, editor of the *Weekly Standard* and a more influential Washington insider than Ball, does not think highly of the EU. “As to whether a united Europe is better or worse for America,” Kristol says, “It all depends on what the character of that Europe is. It all depends on the concrete understanding of how to deal with issues in the real world ... In 1991 [during the Gulf War], Europe was much less united and we had much more

support ... Now, Europe is much more [united, but it isn’t] clear to me that the greater integration of Europe has been helpful to U.S. foreign policy in the last couple of years ... a Europe whole, at peace, and free is fine: a Europe divided, at peace, and free is perfectly acceptable to me, and I don’t believe that the wholeness or the unity is required to be at peace or free” (Kristol 2003). To paraphrase Kennedy, the prevailing attitude in Washington is that, “We regard a strong and united Europe (should it ever happen) as at least a nuisance; at worst a disaster.”

The EU is out of fashion in the United States. This makes it difficult to generate much interest in the Convention which, because it took so long and produced such an outcome, is a Godsend to EU-bashers. At a time when Washington faces urgent international problems, and would welcome European support (but only on its terms), the Convention looks like an exercise in navel-gazing. As Kristol put it, “if you have the attitude of the Bush Administration that we have extremely urgent threats out there, and that five or ten years from now the world is either going to be a world of rogue states with weapons of mass destruction ... destabilizing other regimes nearby, or we have a chance to really, at this pivotal moment, make a fundamental difference and begin to create a safer world ... [then] you can’t wait ... [for] endless discussions [in a] constitutional convention ... about a common foreign [and] defense policy, greater defense spending, and all that.”

Little wonder that Giscard’s visit to Washington, which included a courtesy call on the Administration, attracted relatively little attention. As the Convention came to a close, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* ran lengthy, informative articles. Other media outlets were less kind. *Fox News*, a cheering gallery for the Administration, interviewed Charles Kupchan, of the Council on Foreign Relations, about the Convention, and warned its viewers that something sinister was afoot:

Interviewer (John Gibson): “Charles Kupchan, we have to keep an eye on these guys...so I hope you are coming back.”

Kupchan: “They’re coming up. We have got to keep looking over the shoulder, John.” (*Fox News* 2003).

Coincidentally, just before the Convention ended, the Europe Subcommittee of the House of Representatives’ Committee on International Relations held hearings on the future of transatlantic relations. Surely that was an ideal opportunity for friends of the EU to make a case for the draft constitutional treaty. Yet no one dwelt on the Convention in their prepared statements (U.S. House of Representatives 2003).

With the political tide in Washington turning against the EU, it is just as well that the Convention received little attention. The Administration may not have a policy of deliberately undermining the EU, but it is happy to watch the EU stumble and to play member states off against each other. If they think about the EU at all, senior American officials want to know what it does, not what it is or could become. Inclined to act rather than philosophize, their interest in the EU is essentially utilitarian. Even on that score the results of the Convention are hardly reassuring. Two indirectly elected presidents, from the Commission and the European Council, vying to represent the EU internationally, is not an ideal outcome. Nor does combining in

the EU foreign minister the offices of High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and commissioner for external relations mean that leading member states will streamline foreign policy making in Brussels.

In truth, the Administration thinks that the EU is incapable of “getting its act together,” and that the consequences of doing so, were it ever to happen, would not really benefit the United States. Testifying before Congress in June, John Hulsman of the Heritage Foundation explained that the “European Gaullists ... pushing for the creation of a more centralized, federal, coherent European Union political construct do so by increasingly defining themselves through their differences with Americans.” They are “European Lilliputians [who], given their strategic weakness, want to constrain the American Gulliver” (Hulsman 2003). Could the Europeans really unite? The Administration and its friends think not. As one of them recently put it: “Europe is in long-term decline, economically, militarily, and demographically, while the United States continues to grow” (Max Boot, 2003). So much, as far as the United States is concerned, for the Lisbon strategy and the draft constitutional treaty.

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“We the States”: Why the Anti-Federalists Have Won Renaud Dehousse

REFERENCES TO THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION and to the making of the U.S. Constitution were plentiful in and around the European convention. To be sure, much of this is rhetorical. In reality, the U.S. Constitution is seen by many Europeans as having given birth to a political system that is too centralized to provide a useful model for the EU—hence, *inter alia*, the widespread opposition of the concept of “United States of Europe.” However, American constitutional history provides useful yardsticks to make sense of what the EU convention has achieved.

Why a constitution?

There are obvious analogies between the motives underpinning the two conventional processes. Unavoidably, the issues were different, as one would expect given the overall context in which each of them took place. Yet in both cases, the pressure for change was prompted by discontent with the existing confederal structures.

In post-revolutionary America, the Articles of confederation had been the focus of much criticism since the Continental Congress could not respond to the necessities of the time. The mushrooming of barriers to trade among the thirteen States, the incapacity of state governments to respond to social unrest and threats to private property, the fear of excessive foreign (read : European) influence were among the main concerns of the states delegates in Philadelphia (Lacorne, 1989). On the European side, since its establishment by the Maastricht Treaty, the Union has been faced with recurrent criticism because of its alleged failure to meet democratic standards. Moreover, as the prospect of enlargement drew near, it appeared clearly that the institutional

architecture, initially conceived for a Community of six, and which was already giving clear signs of weaknesses in a Union of 15, would be severely crippled by the adhesion of another ten countries. The problem was addressed in the Amsterdam and Nice intergovernmental conferences, but, by general admission, failed to receive a convincing answer. The deal struck in Nice left a number of outstanding issues: the division of labour between the EU and the member states, the status of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, the role of national parliaments, etc. The scars generated by the negotiation in several countries generated a willingness to reopen the debate even before the Treaty was ratified.

Also noteworthy is the way in which both conventional bodies went beyond their initial brief. When recommending to the Continental Congress to convene delegates from all thirteen states in Philadelphia, the Annapolis Commission had only mentioned the need to discuss trade and commerce issues, and Congress had insisted that the Convention was summoned “for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of confederation,” which implied that the outcome of the proceedings was to be ratified by all States. No mention was made of a constitution. Similarly, in the European case, the Laeken declaration had merely invited the Convention to address a long list of issues and to “draw up a final document which may comprise either different options ... or recommendations if consensus is achieved.” The adoption of a constitutional text was contemplated, but only as a possibility in the long run, and the Convention was merely invited to consider the pros and cons of this prospect.

As is known, both conventions ended up adopting a draft constitution. Yet, the analogy stops there.

How much has been achieved?

Three features are worth recalling here about the document adopted in Philadelphia. First, it was adopted in the name of the American people, and came into force without having been ratified by all states. One of the most populous, New York, narrowly approved the new constitution only afterwards. Secondly, the U.S. Constitution gave birth to a strong national government, the authority of which was not directly dependent on the will of the states (even though the system of check and balances compelled it to take into consideration their views and interests), and the powers of which have dramatically increased in the twentieth century. Thirdly, the constitution contained several key political innovations. One was the invention of federalism, i.e., a *tertium genus* between unitary arrangements and the loose confederal structures discussed in the Enlightenment literature (Beer, 1993). At the heart of the system stood a bicameral legislature, product of a “grand compromise” between those who advocated the necessity to retain a principle of equal representation of states and supporters of a system in which seats would be apportioned to the population of each state. Underlying this arrangement was a new conception of representation and legitimacy. James Madison’s often quoted remarks (in No.10 of the *Federalist Papers*) on the necessity to “extend the sphere” in order to prevent the capture of states’ governments by factions are still viewed today as a manifesto for the pluralist model of democracy.

(continued on p.6)

(Dehousse, continued from p.5)

All these elements stand in sharp contrast with the European Constitution. While ostensibly coined in constitutional language, this latter text is essentially a consolidated version of earlier treaties. The reference to a constitution is a pure *trompe l'œil* for, pursuant to the Laeken roadmap, it will now be reviewed by an old-style IGC, and will not come into force until it is ratified by all member countries, newcomers included. The states, and not the people(s), will remain the masters of that treaty.

As regards its content, the draft constitution is dominated by states' fears to see their influence diluted in the European system. Large states were concerned to avoid the emergence of strong European institutions, while smaller countries were afraid by the prospect of a domination by "big" member states.

These fears are apparent in the institutional structure designed by the convention. Thus, it was felt necessary to reassert that the political leadership of the EU rests with the European Council. To consolidate that leadership, an office of President of the European Council has been established, while the responsibility for policy initiation, coordination and control of the implementation still rests with the Commission. To compensate for what was perceived as a victory of the big member states, equality has been the motto as regards the composition of the Commission: though the number of fully fledged commissioners will be inferior to the number of member states in the longer term, each country will be entitled to its own Commissioner every two terms. This is likely to undermine the Commission's representativeness of by preventing large countries from having "their" commissioner in each executive, as common sense would dictate.

A similar conservatism is apparent in the provisions on foreign policy. The Constitution has institutionalized competition between three poles for the leadership of EU external relations: the new foreign minister, the President of the European Council and the Commission, which will retain responsibility for a wide range of "soft policy" instruments: trade, development policy, etc. The discussions at the convention on the status of the EU diplomatic service outside of the Commission does not augur well of the way this odd *ménage à trois* will function. Moreover, the large member states have made it very clear that they were not willing to relinquish their autonomy in the field of foreign policy—hence, inter alia, their refusal to accept more QMV in that area. The Foreign Minister will certainly have to struggle to establish his/her authority.

States' individual concerns thus appear to have prevailed over the interest of all in devising an efficient system of government. Moreover, innovations were actually rather scarce. The novel features of the constitution are hardly new ideas: the necessity of a stable President had been advocated by Giscard d'Estaing a decade ago, the streamlining of legislative instruments had been suggested by the Commission during the Maastricht IGC, while the dismantling of the pillar structure was initiated in Amsterdam. Ironically, the only unquestionable elements of consolidation of the "central" institutions (the extension of QMV and of co-decision) are strikingly similar to those of the last intergovernmental conferences.

Debates in the convention had confirmed the existence of two camps: on the one hand, the Federalists, who militated in favor of stronger European executive, legitimated by universal suffrage; on the other hand, the supporters of an intergovernmental system, in which legitimacy is primarily derived from national governments. Despite months of hard work, the convention was unable to hammer out an innovative compromise between the two. The so-called "European constitution" displays more elements of continuity than elements of rupture with the past. To the extent changes were introduced, they were primarily motivated by the desire to prevent the emergence of a stronger central government. In other words, to use U.S. constitutional terminology, the Anti-federalists, supporters of states' rights, have had the upper hand.

Why have the anti-federalists prevailed?

Several reasons come to mind to explain this outcome. Anti-federalist feelings have been gathering strength in the last decade. Since the Delors Commission, national governments have come to learn that their freedom of maneuver can at times be severely limited by European constraints. Preserving their autonomy against encroachments by European institutions has become a regular concern in several countries. Many political innovations of the past decade (from the High Representative for Foreign Policy to the OMC) bear evidence of this concern, which was also quite apparent in the Laeken agenda.

The absence of a clearly identified political project was also felt. Europe has always been a project-based polity, in which transfers of powers to supranational institutions were accepted mainly because they were necessary to achieve common objectives. The common management of coal and steel policies, the common market, the 1992 program or the single currency rallied broad support, which made it easier to agree on important institutional innovations. In contrast, the agenda of the convention was confined to institutional issues. Problems were approached in an abstract fashion, which created an artificial divide between larger and smaller countries, and ultimately weakened the pro-integration camp.

But the way the reform process was designed also had strong implications: national governments, many of which were far from enthusiastic about the convention, had indicated that its results would have to be assessed by an IGC. This forced convention members to take into consideration the views put forward and the warnings of governments' delegates. Convention President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing repeatedly came under fire for spending more time negotiating with national governments than deliberating with his fellow convention members. Last but not least, governments played an active role on the floor of the convention. Several of them decided to send in political heavyweights (generally their foreign minister), which transformed the last months' discussions into a kind of intergovernmental negotiation. The main problem was no longer to identify the best response to be given to common problems, but rather the concessions needed to appease one government or the other.

Together, these elements explain why the individual concerns of the states prevailed over common ambitions. As a result, the eventual compromise does not differ substantially from that of

earlier institutional reforms. Hence this paradox: whereas the U.S. constitution was largely drafted by supporters of a stronger national government, for whom federalism was only an acceptable compromise, the European Constitution rather reflects the views of Anti-Federalists who hid their desire to preserve the status quo behind a pro-European discourse.

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Teaching the EU

Editor's note: This column is written by members of EUSA's "Teaching the EU" Interest Section. For details about the Section, please visit www.eustudies.org/teachingsection.html.

Integrating EU Curriculum at the High-School Level Alamanda Griffin and Monique Hofkin

ASIDE FROM EUROPHILES, ONE MIGHT ask why the study of Europe needs emphasis in American schools, some of which are already overwhelmed with more immediate concerns such as teaching English to its immigrant students or helping students understand the basics of their democratic government. Why then should European issues be deemed a necessary component for inclusion? If we look at a larger picture—one where America is seen in comparison to other countries—the answer seems clear. Americans have an aggrandized sense of self. There is, even if simply due to geographic location, a disconnect between how we see ourselves in the global context.

Tie this together with the immediate impact of the economic relationship between the U.S. and Europe, the socio-cultural divide between the U.S. and Europe (think death penalty and the environment), and the touchy military-strategic partnership built on NATO (and put under stress by the War on Iraq), and we realize the importance of the EU to the United States for the foreseeable future. This country's educational system cannot afford to ignore the global economy and the rising demand for a workforce equipped with international knowledge and skills. The broadening of Americans' knowledge base must include a closer study of the European Union.

A good place to start is at the high-school and middle-school levels. Based on this objective, the New Europe project at the Center for European Studies at New York University (NYU) was originally conceptualized from a \$500 Community Service Grant. Using thematic components, we led an eight-session program on Europe in a local Manhattan middle school. An example of one of the thematic components was the creation of nation states where the students were asked to present the government, geography, and national resources of their fictional state and then asked to highlight the similarities and differences between each state. We felt this was very successful. At the same time we were getting feedback from our professors at NYU about their own experiences with limited college-freshmen level of knowledge regarding European issues, in particular topics regarding the EU. We began discussing larger scaled outreach programs on the high school level.

Simultaneously our attention was drawn to a grant offered by New York University in the area of curriculum development. Supported by the Center for European Studies at NYU, we were awarded the grant (2001) and were able to develop and implement a program targeting public high school teachers. In an effort to increase awareness on the high school level of European issues, in particular of the EU, we initiated the (*continued on p.8*)

(continued from p. 7) “New Europe” seminar. Our operating budget was approximately \$14,000. This covered advertising costs, honorarium for non-NYU speakers, and travel grants offered on a competitive basis for participating teachers.

Twenty teachers representing public high schools from all over the New York City area including high schools with competitive admissions processes such as Stuyvesant and Brooklyn Technical high schools participated. Two-hour, ten weekly seminars were conducted each semester of the 2002 academic year. Speakers and topics covered areas from immigration to the euro. Our feedback from the high school teachers indicated they enjoyed the seminars but felt overwhelmed by the amount of material. They were also concerned with how to translate what they learned into lesson plans and then how to integrate all of this into the curriculum.

Our culminating activity was the generation of lesson plans. At this point we involved Ann Snoyenbos, the reference librarian for West European Social Science at Bobst library, NYU. We found that teachers didn’t always know where to find primary sources. They were uncomfortable using the Internet to research Europe, and their school libraries often lacked the facilities to support research. They also expressed concern that they couldn’t assign research projects that are dependent on Internet access even though this is one of the most accessible ways to get information on Europe. Snoyenbos also reviewed possible Web sites the teachers could search when competing for a “New Europe” travel grant.

Those interested in travel grants needed to propose a collaborative project with an NGO, government organization, University, or high school in a EU country and illustrate how it may be useful in lesson planning. Snoyenbos also constructed a comprehensive Web site for teachers to access information and classroom resources with links to pedagogy, EU resources, maps, news and current events, associations for the study of Europe, cultural sites, and video sources. Please visit <www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/europe/links/links.html>.

During the lesson planning stages of our seminar the teachers worked in small groups and produced lesson plans like document based questions and problem based learning models. For example, the document-based question was a cartoon from a British newspaper representing a point of contention between UK and EU relations. Students were asked to explain the message conveyed by the illustration. On the problem-based learning model, students were asked to debate a (then) current issue confronting the EU such as the adoption of the euro.

The teachers commented on time restraints—namely preparing their students for the Regents Exam. Since the material we were generating was not on the standardized test, there was no real guarantee that it would be used in the classroom. Originally we placed the Regents Exam at the end of our target list. As coordinators we realized a major oversight—the Regents dictated the curriculum.

Following this experience, in the spring of 2002, the New York City Alternative School System contacted the Center for European Studies at New York University. The New York City Alternative School System promised the New Europe program

that they would supply between 20-25 teacher participants each receiving \$35 per hour of participation. The NYC Alternative School System also ensured the New Europe program that they would be able to integrate the lesson plans generated in the program into their curriculum. This presented us with an excellent opportunity to test the premise that information concerning modern Europe, in particular the European Union, could successfully be integrated into the classroom.

Once the NYC Alternative School System signed on as a collaborative partner with the New Europe Seminar, several changes were made to the structure and content of the seminar. Most importantly, local librarians would begin participating in this project. In Fall 2002, the NYU Western European Social Science Librarian met with the Project Coordinator for the International Bridges Program, Office of the Alternative Schools and the Library Liaison for Alternative Schools to determine the best way to bring the libraries and librarians into the New Europe Program. As a result of these discussions, the library component of the Fall 2002 New Europe program was expanded to include: 1) a presentation for all participating teachers at the start of the program, in which the New Europe Web page was introduced, 2) the Western European Social Science librarian from NYU would attend all of the New Europe seminars in order to answer questions that might arise about research methods, and 3) a presentation by the NYU librarian to a gathering of the Alternative High School librarians, not just those from schools participating in the New Europe program. The goals of the New Europe program were presented to the librarians so that they would be able to help both teachers and students with research. The school librarians made useful suggestions for making the New Europe Web page more user friendly. The librarians also asked for a list of core materials they could request for their libraries. This last item should be ready for distribution by Fall 2003.

In March 2003, there was a meeting with the recent participants of the New Europe seminar teachers from the Alternative School System for New York City. This group meets once a month as a single group and several times a month in smaller special interest groups to concentrate on specific subject areas. Currently, the individual groups are addressing four content areas with respect to the European Union. One group is working with the current state of EU-U.S. relations. This group explores the development and implications of a common EU foreign policy. A second group deals with the concept of European identity and citizenship. A third group works with the developing European Union policies concerning immigration, and the fourth group on curriculum implementation methods. This fourth area of investigation, curriculum implementation, targets synthesizing the creation of the other groups’ lesson plans into unit plans. This group is also concerned with how students can learn about the EU on their own. To this end, this group is already working on the creation of a web site with links to different sites pertinent to issues confronting the EU specifically designed for students. This group has also envisioned an interactive web site that serves as a lesson repository, as well as the creation of a materials repository where teachers can acquire materials to aid in the teaching of the European Union.

Several of these teachers were concerned about how to best facilitate for their students a view of the European Union outside of the American lens. One consideration is the combining of lesson plans on the EU with a program in which American students engage in ongoing correspondence with European students. Through this program, American and European students could exchange ideas and opinions concerning specific topics. American students would also gain the benefit of witnessing first hand how different aspects of the EU directly affect the daily lives of European students. A second program under consideration is the creation of a student participation program simulating the EU. One such program, EUROSIM, or European Union Simulation, is already in place at the university level.

There are unrelated concerns that threaten the future success of this program. Specifically, there exists a cultural disconnect between the NYU and Alternative School community. The Alternative School coordinators have expressed concern that NYU professors aren't specifically trained to teach. Typically NYU professors in the area of political science and history have little to no experience teaching on the high school level. This, claims the Alternative School, keeps the seminars functioning at very high academic levels while sometimes failing to provide material appropriate for use in the average high school classroom. NYU faculty members have cited a lack of communication on the part of the Alternative School coordinators as to their specific requests. Still, several NYU faculty members have expressed a willingness to go into participating public school classrooms. NYU staff and faculty have also expressed concern regarding a general lack of respect for professors' time. Alternative School coordinators scheduled events that overlapped NYU faculty presentations. Additionally, the coordinators have demonstrated complete allegiance with their staff. Specifically, one teacher attacked the credibility of a professor during a seminar session. The coordinator present appeased the outspoken teacher rather than apologizing to the offended professor. As a result, NYU professors are less inclined to participate in what they consider a hostile environment. In short, these personality clashes, while seemingly petty, endanger the continued success of the program by continuing to drive a divide between the two institutions. As we continue to monitor the progression of this project, we have faith that the main objective of getting high school students curious and knowledgeable about the EU is a shared and bonding goal.

We found these elements to be vital for running this program:

- Find out which schools and organizations share your interest—there may be additional funding.
- Ask your participant group what they expect to gain from the seminar—this will help you design the program more effectively to each group.
- Encourage the participation of local librarians—they are an often overlooked but extremely useful resource.
- Find a local school, school district, or organization that will support the teachers' integration of EU curriculum.
- Diplomacy and persistence are key.

Alamanda Gribbin teaches EUROSIM at NYU and Monique Hofkin is an ABA instructor and grant writer.

Spotlight on Finland

Many EUSA members focus on EU member states. This feature highlights an individual EU member state's major presences in the USA and beyond.

Important Web sites

- www.finland.org Embassy of Finland in Washington (see below)
- www.valtioneuvoisto.fi/vn/liston/base.lsp?k=en Official site of Government of Finland (English)
- www.jyu.fi/library/virtuaalikirjasto/engvirli.htm The Finnish Virtual Library has searchable sections on culture, language, and education; society and economy; health and welfare; and, natural sciences and technology.
- <http://virtual.finland.fi> Multilingual on-line resource, a primer on Finland plus much information on Finnish government and institutions
- http://tilastokeskus.fi/index_en.html Web site of Statistics Finland offers many sets of data on Finnish society, under the auspices of the Ministry of Finance

Missions Embassy of Finland, 3301 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington DC 20008, tel. 202.298.5800, fax 202.298.6030, e-mail <info@finland.org>. Consulates in New York and Los Angeles.

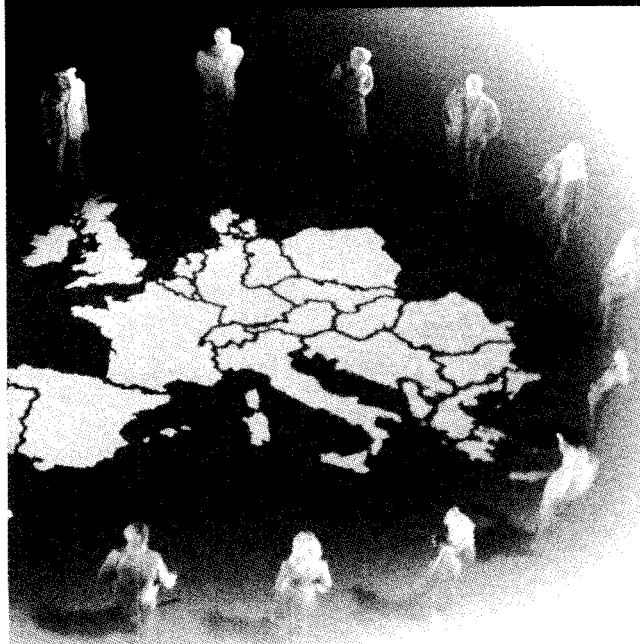
Media *Helsingin Sanomat*, English-language daily newspaper, international edition on-line at <www.helsinki-hs.net>. Also, daily business newspaper, *Kauppalehti*, on-line in Finnish and English at <www.kauppalehti.fi/4/i/etusivu>.

Business Finnish American Chamber of Commerce, 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, tel. 212.821.0225, fax 212.750.4418, e-mail: <info@finlandtrade.com>, Web: <www.finlandtrade.com>.

Selected scholarly resources

- The Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study (SASS) is an association of scholars and others interested in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden. SASS promotes research in Scandinavian languages, literatures, history, culture, and society. It publishes the journal *Scandinavian Studies*. Find more information at <www.byu.edu/sasslink>
- The *Journal of Finnish Studies* was launched in 1997 at the University of Toronto but only early issues are available on-line; we found citations to it as recent as 2001 but could find no contact information. EUSA members knowing of this journal, please e-mail contact details to <eusa@pitt.edu>.

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Book Reviews

Brian Hocking and David Spence (eds.) *Foreign Ministries in the European Union: Integrating Diplomats*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 295 pp.

“EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY” IS AN imprecise term. To some, it reflects attempts by the European Union (EU) to construct a common foreign (and security and defense) policy. To others, it is the study of how member states make foreign policies directed toward the EU, other member states, and non-European entities. Yet another interpretation is that the international interests and preferences of Europe are homogenous, or at least different from those of other countries or regions. The term also is confusing, in that it is not clear whether it refers to “traditional diplomacy,” foreign economic policy, or security and defense policy—either individually or collectively. As a result of this imprecision, the study of “European foreign policy” covers a wide array of issues, units of analysis, methodological approaches, and stimulating research questions. *Foreign Ministries in the European Union* is a valuable addition to this literature, and like all good books, it raises almost as many questions as it answers about the wider subject of European foreign policy.

Hocking and Spence are interested in national foreign ministries, specifically the tension between the views that “the traditional state-centred diplomatic machinery ... [is] ... a key institution of the international system and a major resource through which governments pursue their policy objectives,” and that “the twin forces of globalization and regionalization are challenging governments and have dramatically diminished the significance of these traditional instruments of diplomacy” (p.1). This is a particularly interesting question within the context of the EU. Given its institutional development, the EU is sometimes seen as having moved beyond traditional foreign policy processes, even though foreign ministries remain key players in the organization’s decision-making. At the same time, much of what the EU does (devises and administers policies in the areas of agriculture, economics, development, etc.) more closely resembles a supranational version of domestic politics rather than foreign policy. However, the focus of *Foreign Ministries in the European Union* is even narrower than a study of the current roles of the foreign ministries of EU member states. The authors are specifically interested in how European foreign ministries perform the coordination of EU-level aspects of domestic policy, and the provision of national input to EU external relations. The authors contend that foreign ministries act as more than simply “gatekeepers,” or filters between domestic and international environments. They opt instead for the image of “boundary-spanners.” The distinction is important—not just for EU members, but for all foreign ministries given the permeability between domestic and international policy and the territorial state. “Whereas the gatekeeper image rests on the assumption that its key objectives lie in controlling national boundaries and insulating

the state from its environments, the boundary-spanner image defines this in terms of mediating within and across spaces represented by the points of interface between the state and its environments” (pp.12-13). More simply, foreign ministries can best be viewed as coordinators of policies among bureaucratic units, most of whom are experiencing a blurring of domestic and international policy. As Hocking rightly notes in the book’s final chapter, the coordination imperative has both a horizontal dimension (that is, across national-level bureaucracies) and a vertical plane (as subnational regions become more involved in EU policies).

While adopting this general image of foreign ministries, the book proceeds to examine similarities and differences across EU member states, suggesting that political and bureaucratic cultures can account for variations. Organizationally, the book begins with introductory chapters by each of the editors on the roles of foreign ministries in the EU and ends with a concluding chapter written by Hocking. In between are thirteen chapters on the foreign ministries of each member state (Greece and Luxembourg excepted) written by experts from those countries. Helpfully, most chapters conclude with statistical information, such as foreign ministry budgets, staff size, and number of overseas missions. While the focus of this book is not on the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), most authors do explain how CFSP has impacted the structure and influence of national foreign ministries.

This structure is convenient in that it allows for comparisons between countries. For example, we learn that the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs has been strengthened and empowered through its European involvement, France’s Quai d’Orsay has had to struggle with other national bureaucracies to maintain its influence in the EU, and Finland’s Foreign Ministry underwent the most comprehensive reform in its history as a consequence of its membership in the EU. Such comparisons provide fascinating insights into how historical, cultural, political, and institutional factors can shape the organizational structure of national foreign ministries, and their relationships to other ministries and the EU. On the other hand, one could conceive of a similar book arranged by EU policy area (trade, environment, immigration, etc.) that compares the relative influence of foreign and other ministries in shaping state-level positions. The structure chosen by Hocking and Spence allows us to compare similarities and differences among European foreign ministries, at the expense of a better understanding of how EU-level policies are constructed. It is a trade-off we can understand and value, but one that also has some limitations.

A more serious drawback is an absence of any discussion about the foreign ministries of any of the ten Central and Eastern European countries that will join the EU next year. Given the historical relevance of the next expansion, it would have been beneficial to include chapters comparing at least a few of the foreign ministries in Central and Eastern Europe, and how their relationship to the EU and its institutional machinery has evolved since the early 1990s. However, this subject is so rich and, admittedly, extensive that it would be a perfect topic for a subsequent book.

An underlying theme in *Foreign Ministries in the European Union*, best articulated by Spence, is that “there can be no doubt that the locus, focus and public diplomacy of this emerging [European foreign] policy will be in Brussels and not in national foreign ministries” (p.34). While perhaps true in the long run, events leading up to and following the recent war with Iraq suggest that national foreign ministries—not the EU—will remain dominant in the core areas of foreign policy: war and peace. Thus, while we can accept Hocking’s proposition that it is “the intergovernmental processes of the CFSP, where foreign ministries emerge as having the greatest scope for initiative” (p.278), a useful addition to the book would be a chapter specifying precisely how CFSP and the EU’s evolving role as a global actor are shaping (and have been shaped by) European foreign ministries.

Despite these minor criticisms, the editors and contributors to this book have produced a very important work on European foreign policy. Their interest is in a fairly specific and understudied dimension of European foreign policy, and they have done an admirable and thorough job of illuminating similarities and differences among European foreign ministries, and persuading this reviewer of the applicability of the “boundary-spanning” and “coordinator” images of national foreign ministries.

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Mark A. Pollack. *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the EU*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, 496 pp.

ARE THE EU’S SUPRANATIONAL INSTITUTIONS the engines of integration or at least an engine of integration? By applying principal-agent theory to the relationship between the EU’s supranational institutions as agents, and the EU member governments as principals, Mark Pollack tries to answer this question theoretically and empirically. The primary argument of the book is that the member governments of the EU “delegate power and discretion to the European Commission and the Court of Justice in order to reduce the transaction costs of EU decision-making, and that they deliberately design and tailor a wide range of control mechanisms to limit agency discretion and maximize the benefits of delegation across issue areas and over time. Once created, however, supranational agents develop their own distinct preferences, generally for greater integration, and they pursue these preferences as “engines of integration,” albeit within the bounds of the discretion allocated to them in the original act of delegation” (p.19). Three questions thus arise, and Pollack deals with each of them extensively: the delegation question (what types of functions, and under what conditions do principals delegate power and discretion to supranational agents?), the agency question (what is the extent to which, and what are the conditions under which a supranational agent can pursue its own preferences, if any?), and the agenda-setting question (what is

the ability of a supranational agent like the Commission to influence policy-making among its legislative principals?). Pollack does so by first analyzing these questions theoretically and then by testing the resulting hypotheses empirically. He thereby provides a clear and nuanced picture of the merits of applying principal-agent theory to EU decision-making and European integration.

For delegation and discretion, the reduction of transaction costs is the overarching factor, at least as far as delegation to the Commission and to the Courts are concerned, if not to the European Parliament. There, ideological concerns on the democratic deficit matter more. The discretion granted is related to the unavoidable agency losses, the benefits of delegation (in terms of dealing with uncertainty and credibility, and promoting the speed and efficiency of policy-making whenever necessary), and the concern not to jeopardize these by restricting discretion too much. In addition, the problem of common agency (multiple principals) has its effects on discretion as well, as conflicts among several principals affect their ability to sanction an agent guilty of shirking. Through a detailed analysis of the treaty provisions and of secondary legislation, Pollack shows the variety in the extent of delegation and discretion granted by the member states to the European Commission, the Court of Justice, and the European Parliament. As far as the Commission is concerned, his analysis shows the role of credibility concerns (as it largely does for the subsequent analysis of the delegation to the Court of Justice), and speed and efficiency concerns, although, as Pollack observes, the picture from the treaties is clearer and more straightforward than for secondary legislation. Likewise, his analysis of the comitology system—partly based on references to already existing studies, and partly based on his own empirical work—shows that the member governments “tailor their comitology preferences according to the specific area or even specific piece of legislation to hand, as a function of their substantive interests in a given issue area and their estimation of the Commission’s likely behaviour in that area” (p.139).

Delegation to the European Parliament is another story however. Principal-agent theory seems less relevant here as ideological concerns, rather than concerns about uncertainty or credibility, prevail. However, the detailed analysis of the Parliament’s power in the different EU legislative procedures, and the scope of these procedures shows that the effects of ideological concerns on the discretion granted is mediated by two factors: each government’s substantive interests in an area, and each government’s calculation of the likely (distributional) consequences of increased EP powers.

Besides the question of delegation and discretion, Pollack deals extensively with the question of agency and agenda-setting. From an analysis of the preferences of each of the supranational institutions—in which the conclusion clearly is that they behave as competence-maximizers, and thus as potential engines of integration—Pollack proceeds to an analysis of the conditions under which these agents are able to autonomously pursue their preferences in EU decision-making. He does so by engaging in the process-tracing of six cases: three related to market liberalization, and three related to EU-level regulation. The

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outcome of this tracing largely corroborates the hypotheses formulated on the basis of what one can expect from principal-agent theory. First, that supranational institutions do behave themselves as competence-maximizers, thereby strategically using the opportunities provided by both the decision-making context and the actions of the other institutions. The former refers to situations such as the interplay between the Uruguay Round negotiations, and internal EU concerns about the cost of the CAP in the case of the 1992 CAP reform. An example of the latter consists of the way in which the Commission used the emerging jurisprudence of the ECJ to strengthen its role in merger control.

Second, the supranational institutions have to act under the supervision of their principals. From the perspective of these principals, their ability to counter agency losses varies. It is the largest in the case of their ability to control the agenda-setting powers of the Commission, as the analysis on the CAP 1992 reform, and on the Working Time Directive indicates. In addition, formal powers matter as much as informal ones, as the practice of consensus-building and its detrimental impact on the Commission's ability to set the agenda shows.

The ability to counter agency losses becomes weaker in the case of the executive powers of the Commission. However, this ability is affected by the question whether the Commission's powers expire within a preset period of time (as was the case with the Commission's management of the Structural Funds), or whether these powers have been granted indefinitely. Thus, the default condition as created by the act delegating power to the agent matters (even if one can wonder why the Commission, in the case of the Structural Funds, failed to anticipate the member states' reactions, knowing that a renewal of its executive powers was coming up).

The ability to counter agency losses is smallest in the case of constitutional interpretation by the Court of Justice and the Court of First Instance, even if one cannot assume that the member states are powerless vis-à-vis an ambitious Court. Legislative, or even constitutional overruling remains a possibility—as the Barber case shows—even if the analysis suggests that reining in an ambitious court may depend as much on the member states as

on other actors such as litigants, national courts, and the legal profession in general. But the role of the latter three is ambiguous as they play an important role in enabling the ECJ to be an ambitious player as well.

In sum, Pollack's book fulfills the ambition with which it begins: the ambition to clarify—through *inter alia* references to the already existing applications of principal-agent theory (mainly to congressional delegation of powers in the U.S.)—the possible contribution principal-agent theory can make to the analysis of European integration and EU policy-making. It is equally the ambition to empirically test this possible contribution. In doing so, Pollack succeeds—through a combination of different, but well elaborated cases and approaches—in using principal-agent theory, not as the engine, but as an engine to better understand European integration and policy-making. The clarity and depth with which this happens make this book more than recommendable to scholars and students of European integration and comparative politics.

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Catherine Barnard and Joanne Scott (eds.) The Law of the Single European Market: Unpacking the Premises. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2002, 414 pp.

UNDERSTANDING THE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION of the single European market is arguably the key to understanding the EU, since the single market is the most developed of the EU's policies and lies at the core of many of the challenges facing the EU today, from that of democratic accountability to institutional choice among competing national and Community alternatives. This edited volume brings together leading European legal scholars (though largely from the UK) to assess the law of the single European market from multiple vantages. The volume's chapters take contrasting thematic approaches, looking at the single European market from such perspectives as the distribution of regulatory competence (the meshing of EU, home and host state regulation), mutual recognition, regulatory competition and reflexivity, tensions between norms of flexibility and uniformity, and enforcement methods. These thematic chapters are complemented by contributions addressing the connection of internal market policies with related areas, including competition policy, border controls, and external commercial relations. This book serves as a welcome addition for classes on EU law and politics, and for general research. The majority of the chapters are written from a broader perspective than a survey of EU case law, so that the book should interest political scientists as well as legal academics. (The chapters that focus predominantly on case law will be of greater interest to lawyers.) The strongest chapters, by Stephen Weatherill and Kenneth Armstrong, are models of legal research that place legal developments within the context of complex institutional, political and normative choices.

The volume opens with Paul Craig's excellent historical overview of EU internal market law. The chapter assesses the law's development through the interaction over time of treaty revisions, secondary legislation, case law before the European Court of Justice (ECJ), and Community soft law policies. For example, the historical sub-sections on legislation address complementary techniques deployed, from different approaches to harmonization, to procedurally-oriented tools (including information disclosure requirements and the "open method of coordination"), to legislation mandating mutual recognition (as for the professions). These legislative techniques are placed in the context not only of EU case law and soft law policies, but also the implementation challenges posed and the normative tensions raised. As Craig points out, the very conception of the single market has shifted over time.

The second chapter is a fascinating contribution by Stephen Weatherill that uses the concept of regulatory competence as a way to understand EU internal market law. Weatherill examines the intricate ways in which regulatory competence is distributed in the EU, involving re-regulation at the EU level combined with regulation and enforcement shared between home states (where products are produced) and host states (where products are consumed). Weatherill views the Community method as involving institutional choices that do "not ... replace national political processes but rather ... require adaptation of existing national systems in order to induce recognition of the salience of un- or under-represented interests that are associated with the process of market integration" (p.67). Weatherill's chapter is particularly valuable for its close attention to how EU law is enforced, which he refers to as the "implementation imbalance." Weatherill addresses the challenges posed when EU law assigns primary regulatory control of traded products to home states (where goods and services are produced). His contribution assesses the risk that home states will favor their corporate constituents at the expense of consumers in host states, since host states retain only limited rights to bar imports of Community-produced products on public policy grounds.

Another outstanding chapter is that by Kenneth Armstrong concerning the application of the mutual recognition doctrine within the EU. Armstrong's chapter provides a nuanced account of the application of the mutual recognition doctrine as both a regulatory process norm aimed at restructuring national processes so that they become more "other-regarding," and as a means of policing the application of host state controls (through litigation before national courts and the European Court of Justice). Armstrong notes different techniques whereby host state regulators are to take into account a product's regulatory history in the state in which the product is produced. Armstrong puts forward an alternative vision of mutual recognition to that of regulatory competition, noting how the doctrine's application can also be viewed as a "basis for heterarchical learning between and across regulators" through "dynamic networks" (p.245). Armstrong's assessment of how the EU has experimented over time in the meshing of member state and EU regulatory regimes is important reading for anyone interested in the EU.

A number of excellent chapters also place EU legal developments in comparative perspective. George Bermann compares how U.S. and EU courts have applied the concepts of "proportionality" and "subsidiarity." Unlike most EU legal analysis that has focused on the Court of Justice's review of the proportionality of member state regulation, Bermann compares how U.S. and EU courts have applied the proportionality concept to assess the legality of federal legislation enacted in Washington and Brussels (could the ECJ ever take a Rehnquist court turn?). Gráinne de Búrca and Joanne Scott respectively unravel the complexity behind the concepts of "discrimination" and public policy exceptions to liberalized trade (clumsily dubbed "mandatory requirements" in EU jurisprudence). They point out how these concepts' meanings vary over time, as they always involve social and political choices. The authors compare the application of these concepts in EU jurisprudence with that of the World Trade Organization.

A number of the book's chapters address the issue of flexibility in EU law. For example, Nick Bernard examines simultaneous trends in which the EU adopts more "flexible" instruments of market integration while member states experience a "convergence of regulatory values" in light of European monetary union. Catherine Barnard's and Simon Deakin's contribution criticizes the ECJ for the incoherence of its market access tests, including that of "court-led deregulation." They promote the adoption of experimental regulatory techniques (such as the "open-method of coordination") and the use of a more "reflexive" approach in which EU law's explicit aim should be to induce "second order effects on the part of social actors" (pp.219, 224).

Finally, there are a number of chapters that relate other substantive areas of law to the creation of a single market. Elspeth Guild writes of the tensions between the EC's traditional "rights-based approach" for the establishment of the single market and the inter-governmental Schengen approach to border controls, which includes "mutual recognition of nationally constructed concepts of internal security threats" (p.309). Albertina Albors-Llorens shows how the aims of EU competition law, unlike antitrust law in the United States, has privileged the establishment of a single market over consumer welfare-oriented economic analysis. Marise Cremona traces parallel changes in EU external commercial relations law and internal market policies regarding the issue of "flexibility." She notes how EU external commercial policy has advanced broader concerns as the internal market has matured.

In short, this volume is a valuable addition and its editors are to be commended.

Gregory Shaffer
University of Wisconsin Law School



Now Available from Oxford University Press!

The State of the European Union, 6: Law, Politics, and Society

Co-edited by EUSA members **Tanja A. Börzel**, University of Heidelberg,
and **Rachel A. Cichowski**, University of Washington

426 pages, 234 mm x 156 mm, September 2003
Hardback 0-19-925737-X, paperback 0-19-925740-X

THIS IS THE SIXTH AND latest addition to our book series, *State of the European Union* (launched in 1991 with Lynne Rienner Publishers). The contributors to this volume take the dynamic interaction between law, politics and society as a starting point to think critically about key recent events in the European Union, while bringing to the forefront why these developments matter for ordinary citizens. Contents and authors:

Section I: EU Law and Politics: The State of the Discipline

1. Rachel A. Cichowski and Tanja A. Börzel: Law, Politics, and Society in Europe
2. Alec Stone Sweet: European Integration and the Legal System
3. Gráinne de Búrca: The European Court of Justice and the Evolution of EU Law

Section II: Structures of Governance

4. Fritz W. Scharpf: Legitimate Diversity: The New Challenge of European Integration
5. Adrienne Héritier: New Modes of Governance in Europe: Increasing Political Efficiency and Policy Effectiveness?
6. Lars Hoffman and Anna Vergés-Bausili: The Reform of Treaty Revision Procedures: The European Convention on the Future of Europe

Section III: EU Citizen Rights and Civil Society

7. Stephen Day and Jo Shaw: The Evolution of Europe's Transnational Political Parties in the Era of European Citizenship
8. Kenneth A. Armstrong: Tackling Social Exclusion Through OMC: Reshaping the Boundaries of European Governance

Section IV: EU Law in Action

9. Tanja A. Börzel: Guarding the Treaty: The Compliance Strategies of the European Commission
10. R. Daniel Kelemen: The EU Rights Revolution: Adversarial Legalism and European Integration
11. Lisa J. Conant: Europe's No Fly Zone? Rights, Obligations, and Liberalization in Practice

Section V: Innovation and Expansion

12. Kate R. McNamara: Towards a Federal Europe? The Euro and Institutional Change in Historical Perspective
13. Elena A. Iankova and Peter J. Katzenstein: European Enlargement and Institutional Hypocrisy
14. Terri Givens and Adam Luedtke: EU Immigration Policy: From Intergovernmentalism to Reluctant Harmonization

Section VI: Researching and Teaching the EU

15. Stacy A. Nyikos and Mark A. Pollack: Researching the European Union: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches
16. Michael Baun and Phil Wilkin: Web Teaching the European Union: Online Sources and Online Courses

Section VII: References

Section VIII: List of Contributors

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EUSA Members Research Notes

Editor's note: The following is a compilation of currently funded EU-related research projects of EUSA members. The next compilation will appear in the Fall 2004 EUSA Review.

Hans E. Andersson, Department of Political Science, Göteborg University, has received funding from the Swedish Research Council during 2003-05 to carry out research regarding EU member states' reasons for accepting supranationalism within such a highly sensitive area as immigration.

Kenneth Armstrong, Reader in European Law, Queen Mary, University of London, has received an award under the Economic and Social Research Council (UK) Research Seminar Competition to coordinate a series of interdisciplinary seminars in 2004-05 on the Lisbon Strategy and the open method of coordination.

Rachel A. Cichowski, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, has received funding from the German Marshall Fund of the United States in 2003-04 to carry out a research project, "Litigation, Mobilization, and Governance: The European Court and Transnational Activists." The project offers a systematic analysis linking supranational litigation and transnational mobilization, and examines two areas of EU law: gender equality and environmental protection.

Thomas Diez, Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham, is the recipient of an EU 5th Framework Programme grant to coordinate a 2003-05 project analysing the impact of European integration and association on border conflicts and their transformation, "The European Union and Border Conflicts."

Michelle Egan, School of International Service, American University, was awarded a Howard Foundation Fellowship from Brown University for 2003-04 for her new book project, "Single Markets: Economic Integration in Europe and the United States."

Ole Elgström and **Maria Strömvik**, Department of Political Science, Lund University, received a 2003-05 research grant from the Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies for their project, "New Ways to Influence in International Politics? New Roles for the European Union?"

Doctoral candidate **Jeremy Faro**, Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, has received a 2003-04 Fulbright Scholarship for his research on the impact of EU-led socio-economic integration in the borderlands between Slovenia, Italy, and Austria. He will be based in Ljubljana.

Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann, Institute of International Relations, Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, has received funding from

the Coordination for the Improvement of University Level Personnel and the Program for the Temporary Absorption of Doctors (CAPES/PRODOC) to conduct research on the integration processes in Europe and the Latin American Southern Cone (MERCOSUR) in comparative perspective.

Marc Morjé Howard, Department of Government, Georgetown University, received a research fellowship from the German Marshall Fund of the United States for calendar year 2004 to compare the citizenship policies of the countries of the EU, and to consider whether they are converging upon a common EU standard or remaining nationally distinct.

Andrew Jordan, Centre for Economic and Social Research on the Global Environment, University of East Anglia, is manager of the £ 2.2 million Economic and Social Research Council (UK) Programme on Environmental Decisionmaking, which is based at his Centre during 2001-06.

Christoph Knill, Institute of Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena, is coordinator and principal investigator of an EU 5th Framework Research Programme funded research project, "Environmental Governance in Europe: The Impact of International Institutions and Trade on Policy Convergence," during 2003-06. The project investigates the impact of institutional and economic factors on policy diffusion in the environmental field. EUSA member **Andrea Lenschow**, Fachbereich Sozial Wissenschaften, Universität Osnabrück, is a partner in this research project.

Doctoral candidate **Paul T. Levin** received a 2003-04 Dissertation Fellowship from the Center for International Studies at the University of California for research into identity questions related to Turkish application for membership in the European Union.

Christoph O. Meyer, Jean Monnet Lehrstuhl für Politikwissenschaft, Universität zu Köln, has received a 2003-05 Marie Curie Fellowship to work at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels on the role of public communication and opinion for the development of the EU's foreign and security policy.

Doctoral candidate **Lisa M. Pohlman**, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, received an IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board) Individual Advanced Research Opportunity grant from the U.S. Department of State to study the formation of attitudes toward EU membership in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. She will be a visitor at the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences from October 2003-July 2004, and will conduct a survey experiment using Taylor Nelson Sofres-Factum, a Prague-based polling firm.

Pohlman also received a 2003 Summer Fellowship from the EU Center at the University of Pittsburgh to survey 500 Slovak citizens on whether and how citizens are persuaded to accept or reject EU membership.

Research Associate **Melanie H. Ram**, Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, George Washington University, received an IREX Short-Term Travel grant from the U.S. Department of State for research in Romania on the influence of advocacy by the Roma minority and pro-Roma organizations on domestic and EU minority policies.

Detlef Sprinz, University of Potsdam and Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, is co-recipient of a joint 2001-03 grant from the German Academic Exchange Council and the Norwegian Research Council to develop further a methodology to measure the effects of international treaties; the methodology will be tested with data on European air pollution regulation.

Jarle Trondal, Centre for European Studies, Agder University College, is co-ordinator of a project (start-up phase in 2003-04) funded by the Joint Committee of Nordic Social Science Research Councils, "The Dynamics of International Secretariats: A Comparative Study of the European Commission, the OECD Secretariat, and the WTO Secretariat." EUSA members **Torbjorn Larsson**, Stockholm University, and **Martin Marcussen**, Copenhagen University, are also participating in the project. They endeavor to identify the conditions under which civil servants' behavior and roles are primarily intergovernmental, supra-national, and/or transnational/-governmental.

Martin Trybus, Public Procurement Research Group, School of Law, University of Nottingham, has received funding in 2003 from the Arts and Humanities Research Board, UK, for a research project on the impact of European Community law on European defence integration.

Yoichiro Usui, Niigata University of International and Information Studies, received a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan, for 2003-04, to study discursive interactions between science, law and politics in evolving environmental norms in the European Union.

Lecturer **Alasdair Young**, Department of Politics, University of Glasgow, has received a British Academy grant for 2003-04 to examine the European Union's use of the World Trade Organization's dispute settlement process.

Editor's note: Comparative Federalism (COMFED) is a research project funded by the U.S. Dept. of Education (FIPSE) and the European Commission in 2002-04 to promote the comparative study of the American federal system and the developing quasi-federal institutions of the European Union. Five EUSA members are among the six COMFED project directors: **Renaud Dehousse**, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po); **John Keeler**, University of Washington; **Anand Menon**, University of Birmingham; **Alberta Sbragia**, University of Pittsburgh; and **Martin Schain**, New York University. The COMFED Web site is at <<http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/comfed>>.

EUSA Sustaining Members

The European Union Studies Association is delighted to welcome its newest sustaining member, the U.S. Mission to the European Union in Brussels. We proudly acknowledge and thank our sustaining members for their support, and we urge you to visit their Web sites and learn about their work (listed in the order they established membership):

Center for West European Studies/European Union Center, University of Pittsburgh

<http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes>

Center for European Studies, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

<http://www.unc.edu/depts/europe>

BMW Center for German and European Studies, Georgetown University

<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/cges>

Center for European Studies, Vanderbilt University

<http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/euro>

Dublin European Institute

<http://www.ucd.ie/dei>

Center for European Studies, New York University

<http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/europe>

University of Leicester Faculty of Law Graduate Studies

<http://www.le.ac.uk/law/pg>

European University Institute

<http://www.iue.it/>

Columbia Law School European Legal Studies Center

http://www.law.columbia.edu/center_program/european_legal

European Union Center of California

<http://www.eucenter.scrippscol.edu/home>

Maxwell European Union Center, Syracuse University

<http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/gai/Programs/euc.htm>

European Voice

<http://www.europeanvoice.com>

U.S. Mission to the European Union

<http://www.useu.be>

To learn about the benefits of a sustaining membership in the European Union Studies Association as well as how to go about establishing one, please visit <http://www.eustudies.org/institutions.html>

EU-Related Miscellany

Long-time EUSA member and former EUSA board member **Carl Lankowski** gave invited testimony on July 22, 2003 to the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Europe, **Hearing on the European Union**. In his remarks Lankowski gave a detailed overview of the EU and its structure, described its history and evolution, emphasizing the treaties from 1986 onward, and informed the U.S. Congress about the impending EU enlargement as well as the recent Convention. He also discussed why U.S.-EU relations matter. For the full text of Lankowski's testimony, please go to <http://www.house.gov/international_relations/108/lank0722.htm>.

From the French Embassy Press and Information Service, Washington, publication, "**News From France**," (3: 9, September 3, 2003): The annual bicycle race, **Tour de France**, celebrated its 100th anniversary race in 2003, and its history has reflected stages in European integration, according to the Embassy's newsletter. After World War II, the Tour departed from Amsterdam and later from Brussels, to emphasize European unity and the signing of the Treaties of Rome. In 1992 the Tour departed from Spain and traveled in seven European countries. For the 2003 centennial race, Tour organizers marked the upcoming EU enlargement by having the EU flag attached to the jersey of every rider, and by awarding to the best rider from the ten accession countries a special "prize of European enlargement."

The September /October 2003 issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine includes an article by Stanford University professor of history, American studies, and political science, Jack Rakove, "**Europe's Floundering Fathers**" (pp.28-38). He compares and contrasts the proposed EU Constitution to the U.S. Articles of Confederation and argues that Europe's new charter "fails to give the European Union real authority ...", among other issues he cites. The article includes a suggested reading list and a table comparing the EU and U.S. conventions, and provides a good overview for undergraduate level students or those newer to EU affairs.

A new Web site devoted to EU affairs is www.eupolitix.com, a free information service of daily updated EU news and a legislation monitoring feature, Legislation Watch, that tracks current EU legislation in all policy areas from proposal to adoption (and includes stakeholder positions on each directive) with a constantly-updated timeline of progress through the institutions and links to the relevant official documents. There is a searchable forum for corporations, trade associations, NGOs, and other stakeholders to post their positions on proposed directives. One may also subscribe to daily e-mail bulletins. The site is available in English or French and is fully searchable 24 hours per day. Based in Brussels, the site is owned by a UK company, Parliamentary Communications Limited. For more information e-mail info@eupolitix.com.

The **European Centre for Public Affairs Brussels** sponsors an intensive training program open to the public on EU public affairs, "**Working with the EU: Institutional Relations and Public Affairs**" (Brussels, November 23-29, 2003). The program covers the working of EU institutions in Brussels, EU policies, European public affairs (management, monitoring, lobbying methodology, campaign building, with case studies), communication and media relations in Brussels, and future developments of the EU. The course uses an academically structured, executive training approach and is taught by EU officials, academics, and practitioners based in Brussels. For more information visit <www.eustraining.be> or e-mail <eustraining@eustraining.be>.

The **EU Policy Network** was established in Spring 2003 to provide an on-line network for young academics and policy practitioners to e-publish research articles and think pieces on Europe and the EU. A number of EUSA members are external advisors to or patrons of the Network, including Oliver Daddow, Geoffrey Edwards, Erik Jones, Hussein Kassim, Anand Menon, John Nomikos, Jo Shaw, and William Wallace. The Network has launched an electronic journal, *Journal of European Affairs*. Volume 1, No.1 (August 2003) contains 15 short pieces and one lengthy article, all on EU-related topics. Examples include "Keen Europeans? Yes to Europe in the Accession Referendums," by Sara Hobolt, and "Trans-Atlantic Relations and the Trajectory of American Empire: Beyond G. W. Bush," by Matteo Colombi. The Network's Web site and e-journal are on-line at <www.eupolicynetwork.org.uk>.

Federal Union, a UK-based think tank founded in 1938 to campaign for federalism for the UK, Europe and the world, has recently published its very useful **Glossary of the European Union** on its Web site, at <www.federalunion.org.uk/europe/glossary/a.shtml>.

The French magazine, **GEO**, has devoted its entire September 2003 issue (No.295) to the newly expanding European Union. This 150-page issue, "**L'Europe qui nous passionne**," takes an in-depth look at contemporary Europe in light of the EU's impending expansion to 25 member states, with articles on each of the 10 accession countries. Other articles assess Europe's history, geography, populations and cultures, prospects for the future, including relations with new neighbors such as Ukraine and Belorussia, as well as the EU's relations with Greenland, Iceland, Turkey, and other peripheries such as the African coast. The issue also includes a pull-out map of the new EU with useful data on the reverse on matters such as languages, population densities, climates and land use, and historical perspectives from the Greco-Roman times to the present European Union. Visit www.geomagazine.fr

EU Law Interest Section News

As a result of discussions at our section's meeting at the EUSA Conference in Nashville this spring, two section members have stepped forward to lead the section as co-chairs for the next two or three years:

Andre Fiebig, a partner in the Chicago law firm, Gardner, Carton & Douglas, where he specializes in corporate and antitrust law with emphasis on mergers and acquisitions, international joint ventures and commercial law. Prior to joining Gardner Carton & Douglas, Fiebig practiced European law in Brussels and received master and doctorate degrees from the University of Tübingen. He is co-Vice-Chair of the International and Foreign Antitrust Law Committee of the American Bar Association's Section on Antitrust Law, the author of numerous articles on international business and antitrust, and teaches European Business Law at Northwestern University School of Law.

Jeffrey Kenner, senior lecturer in law at the University of Nottingham, with research interests in EU law (particularly employment and social law) and international relations law, including EU enlargement. Kenner read law at King's College London and was awarded the degree of master of laws at University College London, and has been a Visiting Fellow at the Faculty of Law of the University of Western Ontario. He is the author of *EU Employment Law: From Rome to Amsterdam and Beyond* (Hart, 2002) and a contributor to and co-editor of Hervey & Kenner (eds.), *Economic and Social Rights under the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights: A Legal Perspective* (Hart, forthcoming).

Fiebig and Kenner have ideas for activities the Section could undertake and they also welcome suggestions from Section members. Please contact them at e-mail <AFiebig@GCD.com> and <Jeffrey.Kenner@nottingham.ac.uk>. The Section's Web pages are located on the EUSA Web site at <<http://www.eustudies.org/eulawsection.html>>. Section members may also post EU law-related announcements and queries to the Section's e-mail distribution list; send to <eusu@pitt.edu> for posting.

The EUSA would like to take this opportunity to express sincere thanks to D. Bruce Shine (Shine & Mason and the International Maritime Law Institute, Malta), who gamely stepped forward to launch and lead the EU Law Interest Section in early 2000 and who presided over its first meeting in Madison, Wisconsin in 2001 when law scholar George Bermann addressed the group. Mr. Shine's law firm also provided major *pro bono* legal assistance to the European Union Studies Association and was key in helping raise funds for the 2003 EUSA Conference in Nashville. We thank him for these things, and for his leadership of the EU Law Interest Section for the past three years.

Editor's note: For a list of all our Interest Sections and links to their Web pages, visit <www.eustudies.org/EUSAsections.html>.

Publications

New EU-Related Books and Working Papers

- Baldersheim Harald and Jean-Pascal Daloz (eds.) (2003) *Political Leadership in a Global Age: The Experiences of France and Norway*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
- Biskup, Przemyslaw (2003) "Conflicts between Community and National Laws: An Analysis of the British Approach." SEI Working Paper 66. Sussex, UK: Sussex European Institute.
- Borrás, Susana (2003) *The Innovation Policy of the European Union: From Government to Governance*. Cheltenham, UK & Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Cafruny, Alan W. and Magnus Ryner (eds.) (2003) *A Ruined Fortress? Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Damro, Chad and Pilar Luaces-Méndez (2003) "The Kyoto Protocol's Emissions Trading System: An EU-U.S. Environmental Flip-Flop." Pittsburgh, PA: EUC/CWES University of Pittsburgh Working Paper No.5.
- Dunn, David H. and Marcin Zaborski (eds.) (2003) *Poland: A Power in Transatlantic Security*. London: Frank Cass.
- Greenwood, Justin A. (ed.) (2003) *The Challenge of Change in EU Business Associations*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.
- Krupnick, Charles (ed.) (2003) *Almost NATO: Partners and Players in Central and Eastern European Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Lampe, John and Mark Mazower (2003) *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European Press.
- Lieven, Anatol (2003) "The Hinge to Europe: Don't Make Britain Choose Between the U.S. and the EU." Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Policy Brief 25 (August).
- _____ and Dmitri Trenin (eds.) (2002) *Ambivalent Neighbors: The EU, NATO and the Price of Membership*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Magone, José M. (ed.) (2003) *Regional Institutions and Governance in the European Union*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Moxon-Browne, Edward (ed.) (2003) *Who Are the Europeans Now?* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing.
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- Tworzecki, Hubert (2003) *Learning to Choose: Electoral Politics in East-Central Europe*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Volgy, Thomas J. and Alison Bailin (2003) *International Politics and State Strength*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Weber, Jürgen (2003) *Germany 1945-1990: A Parallel History*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European Press.
- Wenger, Andreas and Doron Zimmermann (2003) *International Relations: From the Cold War to the Globalized World*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Conferences

October 10-11, 2003: "7th Annual Competition Conference," Florence, Italy. Organized by the Antitrust and Trade Law Committee (C) of the International Bar Association at the European University Institute. See <www.ibanet.org>.

October 16-17, 2003: "Enlargement of the European Union: An Assessment of the Accession Process," Paris, France. Organized by the Cicero Foundation. See <www.cicero.foundation.org>.

October 17-19, 2003: 56th Conference of the International Atlantic Economic Society. Quebec City, Canada. The IAES holds two conferences each year, one in Europe and one in the U.S. See <www.iaes.org>.

October 23-24, 2003: "30th Annual Conference on International Antitrust Law and Policy." New York, NY. Organized by the Fordham Corporate Law Institute, Fordham University College of Law. See <www.fordhamantitrust.com>.

October 24-25, 2003: "Strategy of Poland's Membership in the European Union," Sopot, Poland. 20th anniversary conference of the University of Gdansk's Research Centre on European Integration. See <ekonom.univ.gda.pl/conference>.

November 12-14, 2003: "Multilateral Trade Negotiations and Dispute Settlement Systems," European Community Studies Association of Brazil Congress, Florianópolis, Brazil. For more information see <www.iribr.com/eventos/eidas2003>.

November 13-14, 2003: "European Migration and Refugee Policy: Towards a Harmonized European Approach?" Rome, Italy. Organized by the Cicero Foundation. See <www.cicero.foundation.org>.

November 20-21, 2003: "Regional Integration and Public Goods," Bruges, Belgium. Organized by Comparative Regional Integration Studies, United Nations University. Contact <mfarrell@cris.unu.edu>.

March 11-13, 2004: "Europe and the World: Integration, Interdependence, Exceptionalism?" 14th Biennial Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, IL. See <www.europamet.org>.

March 17-20, 2004: "Hegemony and Its Discontents," 45th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal, Canada. For information see <www.isanet.org>.

May 7-9, 2004: "Justifying Enlargement," Madrid, Spain. Organized by Universidad Nacional de Educacin a Distancia, Madrid, and ARENA, University of Oslo. For information contact <helene.sjursen@arena.uio.no>.

Fellowships and Grants

The **Fulbright Scholar Program** offers the **European Union Affairs Research Program**, for conducting research on EU affairs or U.S.-E.U. relations. Preference will be given to projects focusing on the organizations of the EU, particularly on the process of institution building within the EU. Fluency in French or German may be required, depending on the nature of the project; fluency in one or more other EU language may be required if based in another EU member state. For 2-5 months, between Sept. 2004-June 2005. Also available is the **Fulbright Lectureship in U.S.-E.U. Relations**, to teach a course on transatlantic relations and supervise M.A. theses at the College of Europe, Brugge, Belgium. Courses are taught to graduate students from Europe and North America. Grantee may also be asked to participate in conferences and other activities. Fluency in French is desirable but not required. Six months, starting Sept. 2004 or Jan. 2005. For more details, see <www.cies.org> or contact Daria Teutonico at e-mail <dteutonico@cies.iee.org>. *Deadline for both programs: October 31, 2003.*

Ten **German Chancellor Scholarships** will be awarded by the **Alexander von Humboldt Foundation** for the period September 2004-August 2005. The 12-month scholarship is intended for persons in the private, public, non-profit, cultural, and academic sectors who have the potential to strengthen the ties between Germany and the U.S. through their professions or studies. The program is preceded by language instruction in Germany during August 2004. Candidates must be U.S. citizens, possess a bachelor's degree by the start of the scholarship, and under 35 years old. Prior knowledge of German is not required. Applicants should design projects tailored to their professional development and goals, and decide at which institutions to pursue them; applicants may also arrange internships, junior staff positions, or training/performance programs. The monthly stipend ranges from € 2,000-3,500. Visit <www.humboldt-foundation.de> or e-mail <avh@bellatlantic.net>. *Deadline: October 31, 2003.*

The **Berlin Program for Advanced German & European Studies** of the **Social Science Research Council** supports anthropologists, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and all scholars in germane fields, including modern historians, with specialized knowledge of modern German and European affairs. Fellowships are awarded for doctoral and post-doctoral field research. The program has two components: the Berlin Program Fellowship and the SSRC/National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellowship. Both take place at Freie Universität Berlin. For details and an application, go to <www.ssrc.org/fellowships/berlin>. *Deadline: December 1, 2003.*

The **Atlantic Fellowships in Public Policy** of the **British Council** are for outstanding American mid-career professionals to study and gain practical experience in public policy areas in the UK, as well as a firsthand introduction to the EU. The

Programme's goals are to enable U.S. public policy experts to conduct policy research in the UK and benefit from British ideas and best practice, thus enhancing their ability to make innovative contributions to policymaking in the U.S.; to improve the theory and practice of public policy in the UK and the U.S. by sharing ideas and experience in both countries; and, to create a transatlantic network of public policy experts and practitioners concerned with society's most pressing needs and encourage ongoing collaboration and exchange. The Fellowships are offered in any field of public policy. Applicants must possess a valid U.S. passport, pass a medical examination, and have at least five years' experience in their professions. There are no formal age limits, but successful candidates are typically in their late 20s to mid-40s age range. Full details: <www.britishcouncil-usa.org/policy/atlantics.shtml>. *Deadline: December 6, 2003.*

Doctoral grants are available at the **European University Institute**, Florence, Italy, for three years of study in economics, law, political and social science, or history and civilization. They are primarily for those from EU member states, though candidates from other countries will be considered. See <www.iue.it> or e-mail <applyres@iue.it>. *Deadline: January 15, 2004.*

Calls for Papers

The **Transatlantic Studies Association** has issued a call for proposals for its **Annual Conference**, Dundee University, Scotland, July 12-15, 2004. Proposals are sought on the following panel themes: 1. History Diplomacy, Security Studies and International Relations; 2. Literature and Culture; 3. Economics; 4. Planning Regeneration and the Environment; 5. Race and Migration; 6. Comparative Politics; 7. Scotland and Transatlantic Relations; 8. Anglo-American Relations; 9. African-American Culture; 10. The New Transatlantic Agenda; 11. Anti-Americanism; 12. The Cold War and the Transatlantic Region: History, Security and Culture; 13. The Impact of U.S. Bases in Europe; and 14. Latin American Transatlantic Relations. More details are posted at <<http://www.prd.uth.gr/program/mps/meetings/tsaac.htm>>. *Deadline: November 1, 2003.*

Harvard University's Kokkalis Program on Southeastern and East-Central Europe sponsors the **6th Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern and East-Central Europe**, February 5-6, 2004, Cambridge, MA. Doctoral students are invited to submit proposals for papers. Proposals should be a maximum of 500 words and should fall into one of these themes (relevant to one or more of the countries Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, FYR of Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Serbia & Montenegro, Slovenia, and Turkey): 1. Southeastern Europe and the United States; 2. Religion in Southeastern Europe; and 3. Post-Communist Transition and the Prospect of EU Membership in Southeastern Europe. A number of grants for travel and accommodation are available. Proposals and CVs should be submitted

on-line via <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/scholarship_form/GSW/index.html> or may be submitted via e-mail to <Kokkalis_Program@ksg.harvard.edu>. *Deadline: November 14, 2003.*

"An Expanding Europe: Reflections and Prospects," 8th Graduate Student Conference, February 20-21, 2004, Washington, DC. Organized by Georgetown University BMW Center for German and European Studies. Master and doctoral candidates in the humanities and social sciences (political science, international relations, economics, history, cultural studies, anthropology, language and literature) are encouraged to submit abstracts of papers that examine the process that has brought Europe to its present status and the issues and challenges facing Europe as it prepares for enlargement. Possible panel themes include: Implications of the EU Convention and Constitution for Europe; Enlargement of the European Union; Historical Perspectives on European Integration; European Culture and Identity; Security Issues in Europe; Europe's Role in World Affairs; and, Issues in Transatlantic Relations.

Two papers will be selected to receive "best paper" awards on the basis of their academic quality, as judged by the panel commentators. The selected papers will each receive a \$250 award. Abstracts should be 300-500 words (1-1.5 pages) and should be submitted via e-mail if possible; please include a CV with your submission. Participation is limited to master and doctoral students currently enrolled in degree-granting programs. A limited number of travel grants are available. Send submissions to <cgesgradconference@georgetown.edu>, or mail to Graduate Student Conference, BMW Center for German & European Studies, Intercultural Center 501, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. For more information visit <<http://www.georgetown.edu/sfs/cges/gradconference.html>>. *Deadline (for postmark or e-mail): December 1, 2003.*

"Constructing World Orders," 5th Pan-European International Relations Conference, September 9-11, 2004, The Hague, The Netherlands. Organized by the Standing Group on International Relations. This *pan-European* conference will analyse the societal, economic, political, legal and military consequences of Europe's "new deal." Panel themes: What did we learn over the past century? Are we still in a fruitless debate between Idealism and Realism? Can new approaches, notably Social Constructivism, shed new light on the analysis? How will International Relations Theory meet International Law in the historical setting of The Hague? Additionally, the conference will present an early opportunity to evaluate the enlargement process that started in Berlin in 1989. Scholars from both sides of the table can discuss the negotiations on the basis of their outcomes. The final theme combines the others at a higher level of abstraction. How do traditional and new schools of thought in International Relations cope with the variety of politically relevant structures in the present world society, such as the international system, the world economy, international society, and the fruits and perils of globalisation? For more information on the proposal process, see <www.sgir.org/conference2004>. *Deadline: February 1, 2004.*

EUSA News and Notes

From the Chair

E-mail virus woes: Many EUSA members, in many countries, were affected by the e-mail viruses and worms that circulated widely over the summer. We want to assure EUSA members that our PCs in the office have both the latest firewalls and regular updates to anti-virus software. We never send unsolicited e-mail attachments and all our outgoing messages are automatically scanned for known viruses (as are all incoming messages).

In response to this summer's extreme e-mail problems, some EUSA members needed to block e-mail transmissions from all but a specified set of e-mail addresses. If this is the case with you, please be sure to instruct your e-mail filter to accept e-mail from eusa@pitt.edu, eusa+@pitt.edu, and eusa@list.pitt.edu. Also, please know that all the e-mail messages transmitted from our office bear the identifying name "EUSA Office." If you receive an e-mail message, including any with an attachment, that comes from simply "eusa" (in lower case), this message is not from our office, but is probably the result of e-mail worms attacking the e-mail address books of others. If you have any questions or concerns about any e-mail that comes from EUSA, please don't hesitate to contact us at eusa@pitt.edu or by telephone at 412.648.7635.

Are you moving? Many EUSA members move, or travel, frequently. Please drop an e-mail to the EUSA office at eusa@pitt.edu in advance to let us know your new address, even if it is a temporary one. (The U.S. Postal Service will not forward the *EUSA Review* to you.) We regret that we cannot replace membership materials that you have missed when you have not provided us with your new address, nor can we replace membership materials that were not delivered when you gave us an incomplete or inaccurate address. Members may purchase back issues of the *EUSA Review* for US\$ 5 each, postage included.

The *EUSA Review* follows an annual calendar of announcements and listings organized in four topic areas: Winter (December 15): EU-Related Academic Programs (degree or certificate-granting, worldwide); Spring (March 15): EU-Related Web Sites (especially primary sources such as databases, on-line publications, and bibliographies); Summer (June 15): EU-Related Organizations (academic and professional associations or independent research centers (such as think tanks) with significant EU aspects in their missions); and Fall (September 15): EUSA Members' Research Notes (current, EU-related, funded research projects). Send brief announcements by e-mail to eusa@pitt.edu or by mail to EUSA, 415 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA. We reserve the right to edit for length, and we cannot guarantee inclusion in the listings. We do not accept unsolicited e-mail attachments.

(continued from p.2) as EUSA takes its place as the international association, worldwide, for the study of European integration.

Looking ahead, at the end of this year we will release the final product of our 5th U.S.-EU Relations Project, a new monograph by scholar and journalist Elizabeth Pond entitled, *Friendly Fire: The Near-Death of the Transatlantic Alliance*, to be published for us by Brookings Institution Press. Pond's work, commissioned by EUSA last year and presented in draft form at workshops in Washington, DC and at the EUSA Conference in Nashville, couldn't be more timely. Transatlantic relations, for so very long one of the foundation pillars of the EU, continue to shift and slide. Elizabeth Pond's volume will help us to see what is really at stake in recent events. All current members of EUSA will receive a complimentary copy of the 120-page Brookings monograph as a benefit of Association membership. And with this issue we've mailed each EUSA member our brand-new poster soliciting new members: please help us by displaying it proudly in your place of work.

GEORGE ROSS
Brandeis University

Please make a note in your planner that the dates of our **2005 9th Biennial International Conference** in Austin, Texas, are **March 31-April 2, 2005**. We will be at the Hyatt Regency right on the water. Please visit our 2005 conference Web page at www.eustudies.org/conf2005.html for Conference updates. We will be circulating the Call for Proposals in Spring 2004.

At the centennial conference of the **American Political Science Association** in Philadelphia in August, the **European Politics and Society** (EPS) Organized Section held its annual meeting and elected new officers. Former EUSA board member Mark A. Pollack is Chair and EUSA member Liesbet Hooghe is Chair-Elect. Former EUSA Chair Vivien A. Schmidt is the Section's program chair for the 2004 APSA Conference in Chicago, September 2-5, 2004 (theme: "Global Inequalities"). The EPS Section's call for proposals: "... [I]n keeping with the main theme of the 2004 program, we would like the proposals to focus where possible on questions related to European inequalities ... the inequalities of power and influence between the EU and the U.S., among EU member states, between EU member states and accession countries, and between the EU and non-members in Europe and outside; the inequalities of wealth and life chances ... in terms of poverty, gender, ethnicity, and immigrant status ... in terms of employment and welfare systems; and the inequalities resulting from the differential impact of Europeanization on national economies, policies, institutions, and politics." Visit the Section's Web pages for the full call and details: www.apsanet.org/~ep. *Deadline: November 14, 2003.*

EUSA List Serve

EUSA members sent the following replies to David Armitage's 22 August 2003 list serve query seeking background information on the EU's relations with Africa and on the EDF:

(1) In reply to your question, I would suggest that you start by looking at the European Commission's development site. It has plenty of information on the EU's relations with Africa, the EDF, etc.:
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/development/index.en.cfm>

— Yuri Devuyt, European Commission

(2) You may have come across the following references already, but I thought I might send them just in case:

Olsen, Gorm Rye, "Promoting Democracy, Preventing Conflict: The European Union and Africa," *International Politics* 39: 3, September 2002, 311-328.

_____ "Europe and Africa in the 1990s: European Policies towards a Poor Continent in an Era of Globalization," *Global Society* 15: 4, October 2001, 325-343.

— Matthew Cannon, University of Limerick

(3) Best (fairly) recent analysis of Lomé/Cotonou:

Forwood, Geneva (2001) "The Road to Cotonou: Negotiating a Successor to Lomé," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39: 3, September 2001, 423-442.

— John Peterson, University of Glasgow

The EUSA office adds:

The Summer 2003 *EUSA Review* (16: 3, 11-13) contained a related article by EUSA member Olufemi Babarinde, "The African Union Debuts: Following in the Footsteps of the EU?" with a useful reference list and list of Internet resources on the topic.

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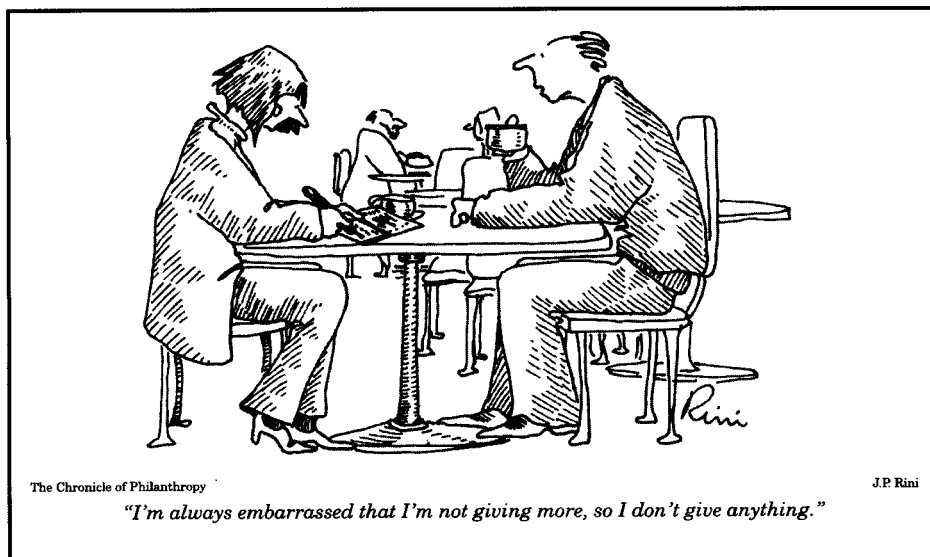
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Founded in 1988 (and formerly called the European Community Studies Association), the European Union Studies Association ® is a non-profit academic and professional organization devoted to the exchange of information and ideas on the European Union.



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