



EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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ECSA
NEWSLETTER

EDITORIAL

PIERRE-HENRI LAURENT
ECSA Chair, Tufts University

I feel compelled to begin this message to our readers with a request that members renew their membership in the next two months and other readers seriously consider joining ECSA. We hope that members take the initiative in using the available form to join for 1993. The rates remain constant and intentionally very modest compared to other similar professional organizations. Renewal now will guarantee the flow of materials and information to you and also allow you to gain the members fee for the 1993 Conference. For those of you who are not members, we invite you to join for a year. We promise that you will find membership and its privileges professionally worthwhile in numerous ways. Whatever your primary interests are, whether in teaching and/or research, or in business, law, or government, the benefits of membership are clearly reflected in the various activities seen in this newsletter.

As announced in the winter 1992 *Newsletter*, ECSA has established a new biennial project on the relations of the United States and European Community. Jointly funded by the Delegation of the Commission of the European Community and the German Marshall Fund, this program is under the combined direction of the Executive Committee and Advisory Council. The essential objective of this project is to commission a distinguished specialist on some specific aspect of US-European relations to prepare a manuscript for critical review and peer discussion, presentation before ECSA's international conference, and publication by ECSA.

We are pleased to announce that in this first US-EC project, we have chosen Dr. Catherine Kelleher of the Brookings Institute to produce a monograph on the EC search for a CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) and the impact this process will have on the United States. Dr. Kelleher will examine this topic within a particularly interesting framework that we hope will enhance the public awareness of changes in, and policy adjustments necessary for, United States-European Community relations in the post-Cold War era. She will also provide important American and European decision makers and the transatlantic press as well as an opportunity to engage in discussions about her perspectives and conclusions. On January 15, 1993 at the Cosmos Club in

Washington, D.C., the author will present her interim ideas in paper form to six invited American referees and a select audience of policymakers and the media. On February 12, 1993, she will present those ideas again at the Foundation Universitaire in Brussels, this time to another five Americans and five European referees for critique and analysis. Both of these meetings will have small audiences, by invitation only.

ECSA's desire to collaborate with our European colleagues will be reflected in this new project. The Belgian segment of this process will be cohosted and financially supported by the Trans-European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) centered in Brussels. TEPSA will shortly announce the European participants, but the Executive Committee is happy to announce the following American specialists:

Washington, D.C.

Richard Betts, Columbia University
David Calleo, John Hopkins University
Lily Gardner-Feldman, American Institute for
Contemporary German Studies
Martin Hillenbrand, University of Georgia
Stanley Sloan, Library of Congress
Gregory Treverton, Council on Foreign Relations

Brussels

Edwina Campbell, Eagle Research Group
Karl Cerny, Georgetown University
Roy Ginsberg, Skidmore College
John Newhouse, *The New Yorker*
Richard Ullmann, Princeton University

The host of the Washington, D.C. portion of this project will be Ambassador J. Robert Schaezel of the Advisory Council, and the host of the Brussels meeting, Jacques Van Damme of TEPSA. I will perform the duties of the Chair at both sites.

Following these two meetings, Dr. Kelleher will revise her paper, given the expert opinions expressed. She will then present her findings at ECSA's Biennial Conference in Washington, D.C. in May 1993. ECSA aims to publish her 60 to 75 page work in June to July 1993, with the intent of making it available to ECSA members and interested readers in the public and private sectors. ○

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

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

NEW LOCATION

The central administrative office of ECSA is now located at Tufts University. All activity previously associated with George Mason University will be conducted at Tufts University. Address all communications to the attention of:

Professor Pierre-Henri Laurent
or Ms. Annette Lazzara
History Department
East Hall
Tufts University
Medford, MA 02155
Tel.: (617) 627-3979, or (617) 627-3858;
Fax: (617) 627-3479

ECSA NEWSLETTER

The *Newsletter* will be issued three times a year (winter, spring, and fall) in place of the previous two issues. The coeditors earnestly solicit information in any of the *Newsletter's* categories for inclusion in future issues. We particularly encourage reviewers for the "Review Essays" section to make themselves known to Carolyn Rhodes.

Please send information to:

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

or to

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

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of ECSA has agreed to use a Nominations Committee for the 1993 elections to the Executive Committee. The present chair and the past chair (Pierre-Henri Laurent and Roy Ginsberg, respectively) and Professor Isebil Gruhn of the University of California at Santa Cruz will review the presented nominations and propose a slate in early 1993 which each member will receive in the spring. The election results will be announced at the May 1993 conference.

Nominations letters should include clearly the name, address, phone of the person doing the nominating, and the name, address, telephone and fax numbers if possible of the nominee. All nominees must be members of

ECSA. These names must be received in letters addressed to ECSA Nominations, History Department, East Hall, Tufts University, Medford, MA 02155 **no later than January 1, 1993**. The Committee would appreciate that nominations be accompanied by an explanation of how the nominee would contribute to ECSA. It must be noted at this time that five of the seven present Executive Committee members are ineligible to run, having served two full consecutive terms (Ginsberg, Hurwitz, Laurent, Puchala, Rosenthal).

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

At its May 8-10, 1992 meeting, the Executive Committee unanimously decided to propose to the members an amendment regarding the position of Association Treasurer.

The current text reads: "The Executive Committee shall elect from its members the Chairperson, the Treasurer, and the Secretary."

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

As the Association expands, the functions of the Treasurer have become more complex. The current Executive Committee can envisage a future scenario in which no individual on the elected Executive Committee wishes to, or is able to, perform the crucial functions of resource generation and management and IRS reporting requirements. The intent of the proposed change is to broaden the pool from which the Executive Committee can appoint the Treasurer. The Executive Committee would still maintain the ability to appoint the Treasurer from its elected members if it so desired.

A ballot will be sent to all Association members in late 1992-early 1993 for a vote on this proposed amendment.

NEW APPOINTMENT AS COEDITOR

The Executive Committee announces the appointment of Dr. Carolyn Rhodes, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Utah State University, to replace Alan Cafruny as coeditor of the *Newsletter* along with Joseph C. Rallo. Alan will be at the European University Institute this academic year as visiting Professor in Political and Social Sciences. Alan served three years as *Newsletter* coeditor, and he will remain active in ECSA while in Italy. We wish him well in his new position.

ECSA PROGRAMS

ECSA CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT GRANTS

A maximum of four grants of up to \$3,000 each will be awarded by the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) for a course relevant to the European Community to be offered in academic year 1992 to 1993 or 1993 to 1994.

Deadline: April 15, 1993

Announcement of Awards: Successful applicants will be notified no later than May 1, 1993.

All applicants should send the following information in **triplicate** to:

Professor Glenda G. Rosenthal
ECSA Committee on Curriculum Development
c/o Institute on Western Europe
1310 International Affairs Building
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027

Guidelines:

- A. 1) Title and level of course;
2) Name of department or school;
3) Date course is expected to be given;
4) Description of course and its relevance to existing or proposed degree program(s);
5) If application is for funds to develop an existing course rather than a new course, a syllabus for the existing course and a description of proposed changes should be provided.
- B. 1) Curriculum vitae of applicant;
2) Description of ways in which grant funds will be used (personal research and direct salary support cannot be considered);
3) Detailed budget.
- C. 1) Letter of support from sponsoring institution;
2) **Brief** description of sponsoring institution and relevant program(s)

Terms of the Grant:

- A. Grant funds will be disbursed by the European Community Studies Association to the sponsoring institution, not to the individual applicant;
- B. If the course is not taught before the end of academic year 1993 to 1994, all funds disbursed must be returned by the European Community Studies Association;
- C. A final financial and descriptive report, including syllabus, enrollment, and documentation that the course has been offered, must be submitted **NO LATER**

THAN 30 DAYS after the end of the term in which the course is first offered to Professor Glenda G. Rosenthal at the aforementioned address.

Additional Terms of the Grant:

- A. Individual or institutional membership in ECSA required.
B. No indirect costs to be included.
C. Final report should include course evaluations if available.

PROGRAMS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE EC

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

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

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CO-EDITORS

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Big Rapids, MI 49307

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Amy V. Ait-Bella
Donna M. Eaton

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

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

ECSA DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS

In April 1993, the European Community Studies Association expects to award five fellowships of up to \$2,500 to support the research and writing of doctoral dissertations focused on the European Communities. To be eligible, candidates must have satisfied all requirements for the PhD except the dissertation. Candidates must also be members of ECSA and citizens of the United States. Applications will be accepted until February 15, 1993.

For application forms or further information, please contact:

ECSA Dissertation Fellowship Committee
c/o Institute of International Studies
University of South Carolina
Columbia, SC 29208
Tel.: (803) 777-8180; Fax: (803) 777-9308

TEAM '92

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

Consisting of representatives from the private and academic sectors, the program offers informed professionals as secondary sources of EC information around the United States.

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

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

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

CALL FOR SYLLABI AND OTHER TEACHING MATERIAL

ECSA solicits from all *Newsletter* readers copies of syllabi and other teaching material related to the EC. Material received will be kept on file and will be available upon request.

Please send material and requests for copies to:
Pierre-Henri Laurent
Department of History
East Hall
Tufts University
Medford, MA 02155

ECSA CONFERENCE

A CALL FOR PANELS

THE THIRD BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION

The European Community Studies Association will hold its Third Biennial Conference, May 27-29, 1993, at the Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

ECSA invites proposals for panels addressed to aspects of the theme, "European Integration after 1992 and Maastricht: Uniting Empirical and Policy Research with Revitalized Theory." Pertinent panel topics include: The European Policy Process; The Nature of the Emergent Polity; The Emergent Market; The Emergent Culture; and EC as

an International Actor. Proposals for papers are also welcome. The deadline for all submissions is *December 1, 1992*.

Proposals should be sent to:
ECSA Conference Program Committee
c/o Institute of International Studies
University of South Carolina
Gambrell Hall
Columbia, SC 29208

Preliminary Conference Registration Information:

The fees for the 1993 Biennial Conference are listed below. They have been increased from the costs associated with our 1991 gathering at George Mason University. We have

made a major effort to keep the increases as small as possible, but we are all aware of the rapid rise of inflation. In addition to the increased costs of food, catering services, etc., the increase reflects our move away from an academic setting (which generally support lower costs) and into a downtown Washington hotel. There is a trade-off, however, in that our 1993 location will be less expensive to get to and leave from National airport. In addition, much of the movement associated with this conference, including the recreational aspect, will be easier to do and more varied in terms of choices. Registration fees include one lunch, the dinner banquet, all registration materials including program, and access to reduced books and journal sales.

1993 Conference Fees:

Before April 10, 1993:

ECSA members	\$ 85.00
Nonmembers	\$105.00
ECSA student members	\$40.00
Student nonmembers	\$65.00

After April 10, 1993

ECSA members	\$95.00
Nonmembers	\$115.00
ECSA student members	\$50.00
Student nonmember	\$75.00
One-day registration (excluding meals)	\$50.00

ECSA CONFERENCE GRANTS

A small number of grants may be available for the 1993 ECSA Biennial Conference in Washington, D.C.

For more information, please contact:

Pierre-Henri Laurent
 ECSA Chair
 Department of History, East Hall
 Tufts University
 Medford, MA 01255
 Tel.: (617) 627-3979, or (617) 627-3858;
 Fax: (617) 627-3479

RESEARCH CENTERS AND INSTITUTES

KNOX COLLEGE MODEL UNITED NATIONS ON THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
 Knox College, Galesburg, IL

The Knox College Model United Nations club is hosting a Model United Nations conference entitled, "A Global Perspective on the European Community," to be held at the Knox College campus from October 28 through October 31.

European integration will be examined from two angles. First, student participants will be role-playing as international delegates from their represented country. As this conference is based on the United Nations model, it will be divided into five committees—Political Affairs, Economic and Social Affairs, Cultural Affairs, Environmental Affairs and Trade Relations. Each school is welcome to have more than one delegation. Each delegation shall be comprised of a minimum of five delegates including a head delegate who will be responsible for his or her delegation and who will vote during the General Assembly. In the General Assembly, delegates from all committees will act on resolutions brought forward during committee sessions.

Thirty-five countries will be represented at the conference by students from colleges and universities throughout the Midwest. The countries represented include the twelve current members of the European Community, the six members of the European Free Trade Association

(EFTA), several Eastern European countries, and the United States, Canada, Mexico, Turkey, Russia, Ukraine, China, Japan, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Argentina, Brazil, and South Africa.

This is a wonderful opportunity for students from diverse disciplines to come together and gain a better understanding of the European Community and the global consequences involved in its integration by means of intense debate and discussion. There will be speakers to represent each faction of the conference. Ambassador George Vest, former Ambassador of the United States to the EC, will be the keynote speaker.

If you have questions and/or comments, please feel free to write or call:

Madhuri Mansukhani
 Co-President, Model UN
 Knox Model United Nations
 Knox College
 Galesburg, IL 61401
 (309) 343-9778

Rebecca Olson
 Co-President, Model UN
 Knox Model United Nations
 Knox College
 Galesburg, IL 61401
 (309) 343-0112 ext. 217

CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

INTERNATIONAL ANTITRUST LAW AND POLICY

**Fordham Law School
October 24 - 25, 1992 New York, NY**

The 19th Annual Fordham Corporate Institute Conference will be cochaired by Barry E. Hawk from Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher, & Flom (Brussels), and by the Institute Director.

For more information, please contact:
Helen S. Herman, Assistant Director
Fordham Corporate Law Institute
140 W. 62nd St.
New York, NY 10023
Tel.: (212) 636-6885; Fax: (212) 636-6899

INTERNSHIPS

IN-SERVICE TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES WITH THE EC COMMISSION

Brussels, Belgium

The EC Commission organizes biannual in-service training periods lasting from three to five months for candidates from universities and the public and private sectors. The training periods begin on March 1 (application deadline: September 30) and on October 1 (application deadline: March 31).

Nationals of EC member states are generally selected as trainees, though a limited number of nationals from non-member countries may be accepted. The following candidates are eligible to apply if they are 30 years of age or under:

- University graduates or holders of diplomas equivalent to university degrees
- Students who have successfully completed at least four years of university study
- Public or private sector employees, provided they have a university degree or equivalent diploma, or have been engaged in advisory duties for at least three years

For applications and additional information, contact:
Commission of the European Communities
Secretariat-General—Training Office
200, rue de la Loi
B-1049 Brussels, Belgium

Send applications to the attention of:
Academic Affairs
Delegation of the EC Commission
Department of Press and Public Affairs
7th Floor
2100 M St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
(202) 862-9500

INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES AT THE DELEGATION OF THE EC COMMISSION

Washington, DC

The EC Commission offers internship opportunities at its delegation to the United States in Washington, D.C. Internships are offered three times a year:

- Fall semester
- Winter/spring semester
- Summer session

These internships are offered exclusively on a volunteer basis, and students enrolled in programs for academic credit are welcome. Preference is given to students available on a full-time basis (35 to 40 hours per week), although part-time internships are also available. Students in the fields of journalism and communications should direct their inquiries to *Europe Magazine* or to the "Speakers' Bureau" for information on their specific internship programs.

There are no formal deadlines for submitting applications. It is recommended that applications be submitted at least two months prior to the beginning of the internship. Applications should contain a curriculum vitae, a copy of a recent transcript, and a cover letter indicating the reasons for pursuing an internship with the European Community. A daytime telephone number should also be included.

Send applications to the attention of:
Academic Affairs
Delegation of the EC Commission
Department of Press and Public Affairs
7th Floor
2100 M St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 862-9500

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

FULBRIGHT CHAIR IN EC STUDIES

A 1993-1994 Fulbright Visiting Chair in EC Studies at University College Dublin (UCD) is expected to be announced in the near future. The appointee will be affiliated with the Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs (CEEPA), which is an interdisciplinary postgraduate teaching and research center at UCD. The disciplines represented at CEEPA are political science, economics, law, and business.

Inquiries should be addressed to:

The Secretary
CEEPA

University College Dublin
Belfield
Dublin 4, Ireland

Tel.: (01) 706-7634; Fax: (01) 269-2589

FULBRIGHT TEACHER EXCHANGE PROGRAM

This program seeks applicants for the 1993-1994 exchange program cycle. Four types of opportunities are available for American college faculty and secondary/elementary level teachers and administrators to attend seminars or teach in schools abroad:

- Exchanges: U.S. and foreign educators exchange teaching positions for one academic year
- One-way assignments in Germany and Denmark
- Travel: A grant to teach abroad may include round-trip transportation for participants
- Seminars: Summer seminars in the Netherlands are offered for college faculty and senior high school educators in World/European History, Culture, Civilization

Deadline for applications is October 15, 1992.

Application packets are available from:
Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program
Room 142
600 Maryland Ave., S.W.
Washington, DC 20024

FULBRIGHT RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN EUROPE

European Community Affairs Award—

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

Interdisciplinary proposals are welcomed. Projects may be based at EC headquarters in Brussels or at an appropriate academic institution within the EC. Project site and travel arrangements are to be determined according to the scholar's individual project. Grantees will have full access to EC resources and individuals in Brussels, as well as to libraries in academic institutions within the EC.

Applicants should submit documentation demonstrating contacts with archives or individuals to be involved with the proposed research. Collaboration with EC institutions is welcomed. Language competency or arrangements for translation may be required, depending on individual projects. Grants may range in length from three to ten months.

Grant Benefits: Approximately 500,000 to 660,000 Belgian francs for ten months (January 1992 exchange rate is U.S. \$1 = 31.54 Belgian francs), depending on the number of accompanying dependents. Applicants may request funding for shorter periods, as long as the minimum stay abroad will be three months. International travel is provided for grantee only. Research travel within Europe will be funded on a case-by-case basis.

Application Deadline: August 1, 1993 (for awards, tenable during the 1994 to 1995 academic year).

For further information and application material, please contact:

Jean McPeck
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
Suite M-500
3007 Tilden St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20008-3009
(202) 686-6241, or (202) 686-6242

The recipients of awards for research on European Community Affairs under the 1992-1993 Fulbright Scholar Program are:

Pierre-Henri Laurent
Professor
Department of History
Tufts University
Medford, MA

Robert Ladrech
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, IN

Anita Bernstein
Assistant Professor
Chicago-Kent College of Law
Illinois Institute of Technology
Chicago, IL

European Community Scholar-In-Residence Program—

Call for Proposals: Institutions are invited to submit proposals to host a European Community (EC) official as a resident fellow for one or both terms of the 1993 to 1994 academic year. Under an arrangement with the EC, up to four grants will be available to bring an EC official to an American campus for the purpose of strengthening expertise in European community affairs. The resident fellow will give guest lectures and conduct seminars as appropriate, consult with faculty and students on research, engage in collaborative study, and provide outreach to neighboring institutions and the local community. The resident fellow is not expected to teach regular course offerings.

Application and Review: The award is made available under the auspices of the Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence Program. The deadline for proposals for 1993 to 1994 is November 1, 1992. All submissions will be reviewed by an academic panel convened by the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) and nominations forwarded to the EC, which will select the US host institution and propose EC officials for the position.

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

Guidelines for Proposals: Regular Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence Guidelines and Proposal Forms are to be used and are available from CIES. Please note that the eligibility restrictions on participating institutions under the Western Europe S-I-R program do not apply and that proposals should be geared to the intent of this award as described and not to lecturing. Research universities, which are not eligible for the traditional Western Europe Scholar-in-Residence Program, are eligible for the European Community Program and are encouraged to apply.

For further information and materials, contact:
Jean McPeck
Council for International Exchange of Scholars
3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite M-500
Washington D.C. 20008-3009
(202) 686-6241, or (202) 686-6242

The recipients of the European Community Scholar-In-Residence Program for 1992 to 1993 are as follows:

The Fashion Institute of Technology
New York, NY
Scholar-in-Residence: Eamonn Gallagher, Chair, Brussels Branch of the Dublin Institute of European Affairs

Cornell University
Ithaca, NY
Scholar-in-Residence: Edward Latham, Professor of Law, Vrije Universiteit Brussels

Murray State University
Murray, KY
Scholar-in-Residence: George Close, Partner, Prisma Transport Consultants, SA, Brussels

Texas A&M University
College Station, TX
Scholar-in-Residence: Raffaello Fornasier, Professor of Law, Univesite de Liege

Social Science Research Council

Dissertation Fellowship for West European Studies

Program: Fellowships are awarded for doctoral dissertation research in Western Europe in the social sciences and humanities. Particularly encouraged are applicants from disciplines in which relatively less attention has been paid to Western Europe, such as economics, social psychology, and sociology. Applications will also be accepted for research involving both Europe and the United States, if required by the comparative nature of the project.

Applicants are expected to devote a minimum of 9 months and a maximum of 18 months to field research in the country or countries relevant to their proposals. They should be prepared to commence research within the year following the date on which awards are made. Fellowship recipients are eligible to apply for limited support for dissertation write-up upon completion of field research.

Eligibility: There are no citizenship requirements for full-time students enrolled in doctoral programs in the United States. American citizens or permanent residents of the United States who are enrolled at accredited foreign universities are also eligible to apply.

Application Deadline: November 1, 1992

For further information and application forms, contact:
Social Sciences Research Council
Joint Committee on Western Europe
605 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10158
(212) 661-0280

Dissertation and Postdoctoral Fellowships for Advanced German and European Studies

Program: This program is administered by the Council and is based at the Free University of Berlin. Its purpose is to encourage the comparative and interdisciplinary study of the economic, political, and social aspects of modern and contemporary German and European affairs.

Fellows are expected to produce a research monograph (doctoral dissertation book, manuscript, etc.) dealing with some aspect of German or European affairs, includ-

ing US-European relations. Awards are for a minimum of 9 months and a maximum of 18 months.

Eligibility: Citizens and permanent residents of the United States are eligible to apply. At the dissertation level, applicants must have completed all requirements (except the dissertation) for the PhD at the time the fellowship begins.

At the postdoctoral level, the program is open to scholars who have received the PhD degree or its equivalent in the last two years.

Application Deadline: February 1, 1993

For further information and application forms, contact:
Social Sciences Research Council
Joint Committee on Western Europe
605 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10158
(212) 661-0280

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS UPDATE

MIDWEST CONSORTIUM FOR STUDY ABROAD Alma College, Alma, MI

An excellent opportunity for undergraduate study abroad in Vienna, Austria focused on European Studies is available through the Midwest Consortium for Study Abroad (MCSA). The program features courses in English, homestays with local families, German language instruction, and a variety of excursions and cultural outings. Credits are transferable to all US colleges and universities.

The dates of the winter semester program are from January 14 to April 23, 1993. In addition to German language instruction, specific course offerings will include the following:

- Political science/history: Changes in Post-Communist Central Europe
- Humanities: Interactions—The arts in Vienna, 1860s–1930s
- English: German heroic tradition: Poetry and romance
- English: An introduction to world and Germanic mythology

For more information on the MCSA Vienna Program, contact:
Dr. Jon Saari
International Office

Northern Michigan University
Marquette, MI 49855
(906) 227-1220

BEAVER COLLEGE CENTER FOR EDUCATION ABROAD Glenside, PA

Since 1972, the Beaver College Center for Education Abroad has offered semester-long programs focused on Soviet, East European and Western European Studies. Recently, this Vienna-based program has introduced an exciting new set of courses offered each spring semester, which focus on the European Community. As member nations move toward a federal Europe, the EC will become a formidable new economic force in the world, one which will need to be understood and interacted with by the next generation of American and other world leaders.

This new program includes two required core courses: **EC: Economic Organization** and **EC: Political Development**, which examine the political and economic structure that has developed in Western Europe since World War II and analyze plans for further cooperation among nations; German language study; and two electives. As a support to the EC program, we have introduced a new elective: **Global Environmental Issues**, which focuses on the Austrian experience. The other

electives are: **Economic Systems in Transition, History of Austria, Social and Cultural Aspects of Modern Southeast Europe, Art and Architecture in Austria, Music in Vienna, and Russian** (intermediate and advanced). Students carry five courses, each bearing 3 credits for a total of 15 semester credits.

An integral part of the academic program are the special field trips which supplement in-class study. Visits to the administrative centers of the EC in Brussels and Strasbourg

as well as to The Hague are included. Students also visit the port of Rotterdam, manufacturing facilities in Germany, and agricultural installations in France and Holland. Comparisons with non-EC countries are offered through visits to similar sites in Switzerland and Austria.

For further information, contact:
Beaver College Center for Education Abroad
Glenside, PA 19038
(800) 767-0029, or (215) 572-2901

REVIEW ESSAYS

Taking Europe Seriously. Simon Serfaty. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. 188 pages.

The New European Political Economy: The Politics and Economics of Integration. Loukas Tsoukalis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. 333 pages.

Serfaty's book, *Taking Europe Seriously*, relates the transformation of Europe from what Rousseau called a "community of change" into what Jean Monnet hoped would be a "prosperous and cooperative community of choice" (p. 173). Throughout the book, the author maintains the contrast between geographical Europe and deliberative "Europe," the latter being a ". . . creation of the mind more than it is a creation of the heart" (p. 99). Serfaty's aim is to show that "Europe" is not inevitable, to deny both the possibility and the necessity is to invite tragedy.

The possibility of "Europe" is demonstrated by examining the logic behind the integration process, a logic that is portrayed as "relentless as it has been flexible" (p. 2-3), and one which the author does not see as changing in the near future. The necessity of the European construct derives from the end of the Cold War and the need for European participation in the elaboration of a new order. The book is at once a journey through the Cold War past, a survey of the end-of-the-Cold War present, and a glimpse of the post-Cold War future. Throughout, the polished rhetorical style and the beautifully written prose hold the attention, even when covering ground that may be very familiar to many readers.

Serfaty identifies the first key relationship in the integration process as being the menage a trois among Germany, France, and Britain, although the usual incapacity of the Big Three to see eye-to-eye has meant that the smaller partners have played key roles in gaining or maintaining the momentum. The second relationship essential to the development of Europe has been between the European Community and the Atlantic Community. The author does not see the importance of this second relationship as being diminished by the end of the Cold War; he argues that a "stronger and uniting European Community is needed if a strong and united America is to remain in

Europe" (p. 20), which is necessary because "keeping Europe safe still requires America, however, and keeping America safe still requires Europe" (p. 138). Indeed, one of the major challenges for the future of European integration is to identify the Community's role in new European and global security structures (p. 165).

Serfaty's view of the internal EC is as a multilayered entity, in which member states have progressively ceded sovereignty in exchange for security and prosperity. As such, he worries about the so-called democratic deficit, given the primacy of the European Council, the ascendancy of the Commission (especially so through direct intervention in national economies), and the still-weak European Parliament. Sometimes this view can border on self-contradiction; for example, at one point he argues that the EC has strengthened the nation-state by bringing political stability and freeing it from a certain measure of policy responsibility (p. 111), while later he details how the Commission now exerts substantial control over member states and even, on occasion, by-passes them when dialoging with big-city mayors (p. 171).

Overall, the book is an impressive synthesis of the internal and external factors favoring even deeper integration (Serfaty sees "deepening" as preceding "widening"). The broad sweep of the work is intended to show that, even when there are temporary setbacks, integration is always most likely to proceed (p. 59). Yet the conclusion contains a caveat that is most prescient in the wake of the Danish rejection of the Maastricht accords; "If a majority of the voters in one country want one outcome, and a majority of governments in the Community prefer the opposite, the voters are likely to win, at least for a while" (p. 172).

What the Danish vote means for future of "Europe" is, at present, uncertain. Serfaty, writing prior to the Maastricht episode, quotes the Commission as claiming that support for European integration now comes from pragmatic Europeans favoring the single market as a rational economic alternative (p. 112). But whereas in the postwar decade support for integration was confined to dreamers and romantics, perhaps today it is dreamers and romantics who are showing nostalgia for the nation-state and who are behind the resurgent nationalisms

which menace the European landscape both within and beyond the borders of the EC. *Taking Europe Seriously* is as much of a plea to Europeans to do so, as it is directed at an American audience. The book is an essential read for anyone interested in the logic of the integration process.

In *The New European Economy*, Loukas Tsoukalis directs his attention at the political economy of contemporary Europe. The author sounds a note of caution in the introduction, arguing that the "European economic system" is not limited to the geographical confines of EC countries; indeed, he perceives some nonmember states to be more integrated into the system than certain members, particularly in the areas of monetary/exchange policies and high technology cooperation (p. 6). This is a particularly interesting observation in the light of (a) the development of EC action in high technology programs such as EUREKA and its interest in stimulating research and development within the Community, and (b) the creation of the European Economic Area, which essentially formally recognizes the close economic relationships between the EFTA countries and certain of their EC counterparts.

Tsoukalis is concerned with answering some interesting questions about the nature of the new European political economy while eschewing any pretensions at grand theorizing. Is the single market program of 1992 an attempt to dismantle the traditional welfare state through deregulation, he asks, or is it actually an attempt to introduce new forms of regulation at a higher level (p. 3)? How important are EC policies that accompany the 1992 design, and how far is integration likely to proceed in the macroeconomic sphere (p. 3)? And how does Europe define its role in the global economy (p. 3)? Throughout, Tsoukalis is concerned with measuring the impact of forms of distribution on member states' control of their own sovereignty.

In partial answer to the first of these questions, Tsoukalis traces the origin of the European Community *relance* (of which the SEA became both the culmination and the dominant symbol) to the influence of neoconservative economic approaches which were, "Mainly imported from the United States of Ronald Reagan, with Mrs. Thatcher acting as the main and highly energetic European agent. . ." (p. 48). He notes the impact of supply-side economics on the EC Commission, although he traces the decisive moment to the shift of the Mitterrand administration in 1983 which was a ". . . major turning point for the Community as a whole, in view of the central role subsequently played by France in the relaunching of the integration process" (p. 49). The second element essential to the *relance* was the political leadership of Delors at the head of a Commission that suddenly found itself in synchronization with an 'internal market' Council created in 1983 (p. 55). Tsoukalis considers public support for the 1992 program critical to its final adoption, departing from elite/leadership analysis of the integration process (p. 66).

To a certain extent, the author sees the new political economy introduced by the single market program not only as a product of supply-side economics but also as a result of new confidence among market players. He attributes this confidence to the skills of the Commission (and to a lesser extent national governments) in "selling" the program (p. 87). But in terms of real shifts, Tsoukalis sees the SEA as fundamentally altering the relationship between State and market; the key, he argues, is not to see it simply as widespread deregulation, but as shifting regulatory responsibilities from the national to the supra-national level. Viewed from below, there is indeed substantial deregulation within national markets (emphasized by the British government); however, viewed from above, there is a ". . . new regulatory framework at the EC level and, therefore, the transfer of powers to Community institutions" (p. 89).

As far as the social dimension of the single market program is concerned, it is viewed in the book as ". . . first and foremost, a symbolic act and a political declaration" (p. 152). The author sees the importance of the Social Charter as bringing long-term pressure on member states to approximate social provisions and working conditions. He does not see labor organizations as really gaining from EC actions, noting the calls for a European social space have not been accompanied by any increase in EC monies available (p. 157).

Overall, Tsoukalis argues that the integration process has, and will, move ahead fastest when driven by economic factors and slowest in the political and social spheres. To the extent that European integration involves political integration (always implicit since the 1950s), it has been dragged by developments in the economic sphere. The rejection of the ambitious Maastricht design may be a confirmation of this precept. Nonetheless, it seems as if the major problems confronting the Community in the 1990s have grave political implications outside of economic considerations; deepening expansion, defense and foreign policy cooperation, and, very importantly, immigration, all of which receive little attention in this book. Perhaps the moment when the speed of integration has been largely determined by elite evaluations of potential economic benefits its past; the debate over the political and social identity of the Community is just beginning in earnest. Despite his reluctance to enter into grand theory, Tsoukalis has provided an essential tool for anyone with such ambitions. ○

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

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Edited by Alan W. Cafruny and Glenda G. Rosenthal

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