



EUROPEAN COMMUNITY  
STUDIES ASSOCIATION

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**ECSA**  
**NEWSLETTER**

## EDITORIAL

ALBERTA SBRAGIA  
ECSA Chair, University of Pittsburgh

I am delighted to announce the appointment of Donald Puchala as Organizer of the 1994 ECSA Workshop. The Executive Committee was highly impressed by his performance in organizing the ECSA Conference this past May, and is grateful that he will bring his intellectual and organizational skills to the upcoming Workshop. As this issue of the *Newsletter* went to press, the time, location, and theme of the 1994 ECSA Workshop had not been determined, and funding is pending from the United States Mission to the European Community. A preliminary program will be included in the Winter 1994 *Newsletter*.

I am also delighted to announce that David Cameron has accepted the Executive Committee's request to serve as Program Committee Chair for the 1995 Fourth Biennial ECSA International Conference. Additional developments concerning the Conference will be reported in subsequent issues of the *Newsletter*.

Turning to more immediate matters, centralization of ECSA's activities at the Administrative Office is now complete. The base of operations that the Executive Committee sought through negotiations with the

University of Pittsburgh has been established. The Administrative Office now maintains the ECSA membership records, coordinates ECSA's various programs, and supervises ECSA's publications.

An additional step toward centralization of ECSA's activities concerns the *ECSA Newsletter*. Beginning with the Winter 1994 issue of the *Newsletter*, production and distribution of this publication will be based at the Administrative Office. Please make a note of this and forward all correspondence concerning the *Newsletter* to Bill Burros, ECSA's Administrative Director, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. I wish to extend my thanks and appreciation to Joseph Rallo and Carolyn Rhodes, the retiring co-editors, for their valuable contributions to the *Newsletter*.

Several other ECSA publications have been or will be sent to all members. A collection of abstracts for the Third Biennial ECSA International Conference, "European Integration After 1992 and Maastricht: Uniting Empirical and Policy Research with Revitalized

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## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

### CARL LANKOWSKI NAMED ASSOCIATION SECRETARY

The Executive Committee has appointed Carl Lankowski as Secretary of ECSA. He joins Alberta Sbragia, Chair, and Leon Hurwitz, Treasurer, as an officer of the Association.

**ECSA NEWSLETTER MOVED TO  
ADMINISTRATION OFFICE:  
CHRISTINE INGEBRITSEN NAMED  
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR**

After the Fall issue, the *ECSA Newsletter* will be edited and produced at the ECSA Administrative Office. Readers who would like to place items in the Winter 1994

and subsequent issues of the *Newsletter* should send correspondence to the Administrative Office.

In a related development, Christine Ingebritsen has been appointed Book Review Editor of the *Newsletter*. Please forward any correspondence concerning book reviews to her at the following address:

Dr. Christine Ingebritsen  
Assistant Professor  
Scandinavian Department  
318 Raitt Hall, DL-20  
University of Washington  
Seattle, WA 98195  
Tel.: (206) 543-0645; Fax: (206) 685-9173

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## EDITORIAL (continued)

Theory," has been distributed to all ECSA members, and many of you have already made use of the order form enclosed in the collection to obtain Conference papers. Nonmembers may use the form at the back of this *Newsletter* to purchase this collection.

The 1992-1993 *ECSA Annual Report* will soon be distributed to all members. This publication provides an overview of ECSA's activities, programs, publications, and financial standing for the January 1, 1992 through June 1, 1993 period. Written by my predecessor, Pierre-Henri Laurent, this report clearly demonstrates ECSA's contribution to the study of the European Community.

Catherine Kelleher's monograph, *A New Security Order: The United States and the European Community in the 1990's*, will also be distributed shortly to all ECSA members. This publication represents the culmination of the inaugural ECSA US-EC Relations Project. Dr. Kelleher presents a concise and thoughtful discussion of the Community's progress toward a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), and its potential impact upon the security relationship between the United States and Europe. She also analyzes the options now available to policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic. Nonmembers will be able to purchase Dr. Kelleher's work from the Administrative Office.

Readers will be happy to learn that a new *ECSA Membership Directory*, an update of the 1992 edition, is now being produced. This publication will be distributed to all members in early 1994. The *Directory* is a valuable tool for communication among members, particularly in providing a summary

of research interests and publications for each member. All ECSA members will soon receive a biographical information form for inclusion in the *Directory*. Please complete this form as quickly as possible and return it to Bill Burros at the Administrative Office.

Finally, I wish to offer my congratulations and thanks to Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal, coeditors of *The State of the European Community, Vol. 2: The Maastricht Debates*. This second volume in the biennial ECSA series analyzes developments in selected EC public policy areas during the 1991-1992 period, and includes contributions from 27 European and American scholars. *The State of the European Community, Vol. 2* is the most thorough, timely, and wide-ranging scholarly examination of the EC now available. Members may use the order form at the back of the *Newsletter* to purchase this volume at a discounted rate from Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

I hope the many publications mentioned above, in addition to the upcoming 1994 ECSA Workshop and 1995 ECSA Conference, give readers ample reason to value their membership in this Association. ECSA is growing rapidly as a professional organization, as evidenced by the establishment of an Administrative Office, and I look forward to the next two years as a period of interesting and valuable activity for all members engaged in the study of the European Community. ECSA's growth and vibrancy is directly related to the active participation of its members. I close by asking current members to renew their memberships for the coming year, and ask readers of the *Newsletter* who have not yet joined ECSA to consider doing so. ○

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS (continued)

The Executive Committee sends thanks and appreciation to retiring co-editors Joseph Rallo and Carolyn Rhodes, and editorial consultants Amy V. Ait-Bella and Donna M. Eaton for their dedication and the excellence they have brought to the *Newsletter*.

### CALL FOR PAPERS (SECOND AND FINAL NOTICE)

2ND ECSA-WORLD CONFERENCE  
FEDERALISM, SUBSIDIARITY, AND DEMOCRACY  
BRESSELS, MAY 4-6, 1994

Proposals for papers (maximum two pages) should be based on specific national experiences or on theoretical arguments. They should be intended to provoke comparative debates and to clarify problems related to the institutional development of the European Community.

Papers, based specifically on the EC experiences, are also invited. Subjects should fall within the framework of the following nine specialized groups.

- I. The Federal Experience: Historical and Comparative Analyses
- II. Economic Constitution I: Fiscal Federalism
- III. Economic Constitution II: Subsidiarity and the Welfare State; The Public Sector and Subsidiarity
- IV. Citizenship and Federations: Regions, Nations and Wider Identities
- V. Institutional Structures: Federalism and the Courts
- VI. Institutional Structures: The Democratic Deficit
- VII. Implementation of Community Policies and the Principle of Subsidiarity: Comparative Experiences
- VIII. Integration Theories: Subsidiarity and Federalism
- IX. External Dimension of Federalism and Subsidiarity

Deadline for submission of final papers is March 15, 1994

Proposals should be sent to:  
Professor Malcolm Anderson  
c/o Commission of the European Communities  
DG X/University Information (Mrs. J. Lastenouse)  
200, rue de la Loi (T120 4/12)  
B - 1049 Brussels  
Tel.: 32-2-299 9454, or 32-2-299 9293; Fax: 32-2-296 3106

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Many of you have experienced delays in the receipt of your *Newsletter*. The primary reason for this problem has been our mailing the *Newsletter* at the third class rate. To solve this problem, we now mail all *Newsletters* to ECSA members at the first class rate. This has eliminated most, if not all, of the problems we experienced in the past. To help us serve you better, please ensure that your address is current in our records. Thank you for your assistance.

### ECSA MEMBERSHIP DUES POLICY IS CHANGED

The Executive Committee has adopted a continuous membership dues policy, which will become effective on January 1, 1994. Under this policy, individuals and institutions paying membership dues will have membership status for one year after their payment. For example, an individual whose membership dues payment is received on February 1, 1994 will be considered a member of ECSA until February 1, 1995. To maintain member status beyond February 1, 1995 that individual will be required to submit an additional membership dues payment.

This policy replaces the past practice of membership dues payments being valid only for the calendar year in which they were made. The new policy will provide members with improved service and certainty in their status, and result in a more efficient processing of membership renewals.

In fairness to those who have recently paid for membership, individuals who submitted membership fees on or after July 1, 1993 will maintain membership status until the corresponding date in 1994. In addition, current individual and institutional members who forward 1994 renewal payments before January 1, 1994 will receive membership status through December 31, 1994.

### ECSA CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT GRANTS

Contingent upon available funding, ECSA will offer curriculum development grants for the 1994-1995 or 1995-1996 academic year. These grants may be used to create new courses on the European Community or to enrich existing courses with material on the Community. A maximum of four grants of up to \$3,000 will be awarded. Courses developed or enriched through this program must be taught in the United States. Please contact

William Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office for further information.

### ECSA DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIP GRANTS

Contingent upon available funding, ECSA will offer dissertation fellowship grants for the 1994-1995 academic year. These grants provide financial support of up to \$2,500 for doctoral students preparing dissertations on the European Community. They may be used for travel required for dissertation research, or for books, documents and supplies, manuscript preparation, and other dissertation expenses. Applicants must be U.S. citizens and ECSA members. Please contact William Burros at the ECSA Administration Office for further information.

### ASSOCIATION TREASURER GIVEN VOTING RIGHTS

Consistent with the recently adopted constitutional amendment concerning the position of Treasurer, Leon Hurwitz has been appointed Treasurer of ECSA and an ex officio member of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee has also agreed to grant Dr. Hurwitz full voting rights. Though very much concerned with the question of accountability to the members of ECSA, the Executive Committee felt this was a proper decision. With five new members, the Committee wanted to make the best possible use of Dr. Hurwitz' experience and dedication to ECSA. His services are especially valuable because the current agreement between the University of Pittsburgh and ECSA does not allow for the transfer of the Association's financial operations to the Administrative Office. This decision is made only for the 1993-1995 term of the present Executive Committee and is subject to review by the Executive Committee elected in 1995.

## **E C S A** **NEWSLETTER**

#### CO-EDITORS

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#### EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

Amy V. Ait-Bella  
Donna M. Eaton

## **ECSA PROGRAMS**

### **PROGRAMS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE EC**

The Commission of the European Communities offers internship positions at its Delegation to the United States, in Washington, D.C.

Internships are offered three times a year: From the beginning of September until the third week of December (fall semester); from the beginning of January until the end of May (spring semester); and from the beginning of June until the end of August (summer session).

Internships are offered exclusively on a volunteer basis. Students enrolled in programs providing academic credit are welcome.

Preference is given to students available on a full-time basis, (i.e., 35 to 40 hours per week). Part-time internships are also offered.

There are no formal deadlines to submit applications. Because of the growing number of applicants, we recommend submitting applications at least three 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 day-time telephone number should also be included. Applications should be addressed to the following location:

Delegation of the Commission of the EC  
Attention: Academic Affairs  
2100 M. Street, N.W. Seventh Floor  
Washington, DC 20037

All applicants will receive a response.

## **CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS**

### ***CENTER FOR EUROPEAN STUDIES WORKSHOP***

The Center for European Studies is organizing a workshop on the European Commission under the Presidency of Jacques Delors. It will take place at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University on Saturday December 4, 1993.

The proceedings of the day will be structured around two recent research projects. The researchers will present and discuss their findings on the internal workings of the European Commission. After their detailed presentations of such "inside out" research-based data and analysis, there will be broader discussion to assess the role of the Commission in the European system.

For more information, contact:  
Ms. Jacqueline Brown  
Adolphus Busch Hall  
27 Kirkland Street at Cabot Way  
Cambridge, MA 02138  
(617) 495-4303 (ext. 208)

### ***FORDHAM UNIVERSITY'S SCHOOL OF LAW AND GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION***

**November 17, 1993**

Fordham University School of Law and Graduate School of Business Administration will present a day-long con-

ference on "Entering the U. S. Securities Markets: Opportunities and Risks for Foreign Companies."

The Conference will be held on November 17, 1993 in the Law School's James B.M. McNally Amphitheatre, located at Lincoln Center in New York City. The registration fee of U.S. \$475 includes attendance at the session, course materials, luncheon, and a closing reception.

For further information and registration, please contact:  
Helen S. Herman  
Director of Academic Programs  
Fordham Law School  
140 W. 62nd Street  
New York, NY 10023  
Tel.: (212) 636-6777; Fax: (212) 636-6899

### ***INSTITUTE ON WESTERN EUROPE CALL FOR PAPERS***

The Institute on Western Europe will be holding its 11th Annual Graduate Student Conference entitled "The Shape of the New Europe," on April 7-9, 1994 at Columbia University in New York City.

All enrolled graduate students are encouraged to submit papers that address issues related to contemporary Western Europe. We are particularly interested in papers on the European Community's external political and economic relations, including issues of enlargement and

association; the effects of European integration on domestic and multinational corporations; environmental problems and policies; and social issues such as gender, race and ethnicity. Comparative politics and policy papers are also encouraged.

Submissions should be 20-50 pages, double-spaced with appropriate citations. Papers must include a one-page abstract.

Selected papers will be organized for presentation in panel format. Only final versions should be submitted as accepted papers will be made available to the public in a collected volume.

The conference will pay for presenter' travel to New York City and accommodations during the conference. The three best papers, chosen by the Selection Committee with the assistance of the Conference's Advisory Committee, will receive awards of \$300.

**Deadline:** Papers must be postmarked no later than February 4, 1994. Send papers to:  
Selection Committee  
Institute on Western Europe  
Columbia University  
420 West 118th Street  
New York, NY 10027

**TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATIONS:  
ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF ETHNICITY  
February 24-26, 1994 Miami Beach, FL**

This international conference sponsored by the Global Foundation, Inc., will include several panels that examine migration issues confronting the European Community, such as "Comparison of Multiethnic and Multicultural Societies Created by Transnational Migrations: U. S. A.

vs. Western Europe," and "The Impact of Anticipated Migrations on the Prospects for an Enlarged European Community: Turkey and Eastern European Countries."

For more information, please contact:  
Dr. Behram N. Kursunoglu  
Global Foundation, Inc.  
1450 Madruga Avenue, Suite 301  
Coral Gables, FL 33146-3164  
Tel.: (305) 669-9411; Fax: (305) 669-9464

**ANNOUNCEMENT AND CALL FOR PAPERS  
INAUGURAL CONFERENCE  
EUROPE 2000  
ECONOMICS, POLITICS, LAW AND CULTURE  
February 14-17, 1994 University of Auckland**

The conference will focus on current and future developments within the European Community, and their implications both for Europe itself and the outside world, including New Zealand. The conference will be multidisciplinary in character. At least two keynote addresses by visiting European speakers are planned. Support from the European Commission is gratefully acknowledged.

Offers of papers and requests for information should be sent to the following conference organizers:

Mia Mikic and Robert Scollay  
Economics Department  
University of Auckland  
Private bag 92019  
Auckland, New Zealand  
Tel.: 64-9-373 7599, ext. 8312, 8717, or 7661; Fax: 64-9-373 7427  
Email: m.mikic@comu3.auckland.ac.nz  
r.scollay@comu3.auckland.ac.nz

## FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

**1993-1994 SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL  
FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS FOR TRAINING  
AND RESEARCH**

**Western Europe**

**Dissertation Fellowships:** Fellowships are awarded for doctoral dissertation research in Western Europe in the social sciences and humanities. Particularly encouraged are applications from disciplines in which relatively less attention has been devoted to Western Europe, such as economics, social psychology, and sociology.

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. Support for dissertation write-up cannot exceed 6 months.

**Eligibility:** There are no citizenship requirements for full-time students enrolled in doctoral programs in the United States.

**Application deadline:** November 1, 1993

**Luso-American Development Foundation Fellowship**

Successful applicants to the dissertation fellowship com-

petition become automatically eligible for the Luso-American Development Foundation Fellowship, sponsored by the Luso-American Development Foundation, if their projects relate to Portuguese studies.

### **Tocqueville Fellowship**

Successful applicants to the dissertation fellowship competition become automatically eligible for the Tocqueville Fellowship, sponsored by the French-American Foundation, if their projects relate to French studies. Two of these awards are made each year.

### **Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies**

This program is administered by the Council and 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, including U.S. European relations. Awards are for a minimum of 9 months and a maximum of 24 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 Ph.D. at the time the fellowship begins.

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

**Application deadline:** February 1, 1994

For more information about these Fellowships, contact:  
Kent Worcester, Program Director  
605 Third Avenue  
New York, NY 10158  
(212) 661-0280

## **RESEARCH CENTERS AND INSTITUTES**

### **FULBRIGHT GRANTS TENABLE AT THE EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE (EUI) Florence, Italy**

#### ***EUI Profile in Brief***

The European University Institute is a postgraduate teaching and research institute located in Florence, Italy. It was created by the European Community Member States and officially opened in 1976. The mission of the Institute is to contribute to the intellectual life of Europe, through its activities and influence, and to the development of the cultural and academic heritage of Europe in its unity and diversity.

The four academic departments of the institute are History and Civilization, Economics, Law, and Political and Social Sciences, all of which offer a doctoral degree program.

For detailed information on EUI teaching and research activity, request a copy of the Academic Year Prospectus from the following address:

Academic Service  
European University Institute

Badia Fiesolana  
Via dei Roccettini 5,  
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)  
Tel.: 39.55.46851; Fax: 39.55.599.887

### **FULBRIGHT GRANT OPPORTUNITIES**

As of the 1991-1992 academic year, the Institute hosts annually two U. S. graduate students, for 10 months, who are recipients of Fulbright awards. A senior scholar award, for 3 months annually, is also available.

For further information in the United States, contact:  
Graduate Student Category, Institute of International Education  
809 United Nations Plaza  
New York, NY 10017-3580  
Tel.: (212) 883-8200; Fax: (212) 984-5452

Scholar Category: Council for International Exchange of Scholars  
3007 Tilden Street, N.W.  
Suite 5M  
Washington, D.C. 20008-3009  
(202) 686-6245

## REVIEW ESSAYS

*Securing Europe.* Richard H. Ullman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. 184 pages.

*The Shape of the New Europe.* Gregory F. Treverton (Ed). New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992. 232 pages.

Richard Ullman says *Securing Europe* is "primarily about the good news"—that "no longer is there a serious likelihood of war among Europe's major states" and that "coming generations will look upon Europe as a zone of peace" (pp. xi, xii). He acknowledges the economic, political, and social problems Europe must confront, but argues that there are no major military threats to European security. Ullman maintains that the changes in international relations since 1989 have altered the assumptions of the European security debate and have enhanced the feasibility of a new security "architecture" for all of Europe.

Building his argument on several premises, Ullman contends that though the traditional roles of military power in international politics were to seize and hold territory and to defend existing states and regimes, only the latter retains relevance. According to Ullman, for most European states there is neither economic nor military advantage to be gained by territorial aggrandizement.

It is historical trends, Ullman believes, that will facilitate the building of a new security structure in Europe. By trends he means, particularly, the tendency to "seek security through cooperation" (p. 41) and the refinement in intelligence-gathering, which has eased anxieties over military capabilities and the intentions of other states. Ullman recognizes that armed conflict is a possibility in Eastern Europe and the remnants of the Soviet empire, but holds that because none of the major states of Europe perceive their security or existence at stake in Eastern European conflicts (unlike 1914 or 1939), none have incentive to enter and expand a conflict in that region: "Europe's piece has become a divisible piece" (p. 28). Indeed, one of the main functions of a new European security regime would be "walling off and dampening conflicts among or within smaller states" (p. 68). Although Ullman may be correct that this is a practical and likely course of action, the prospect of several "walled-off" Bosnias is hardly encouraging. In addition, as the increasing interest of the West and the Islamic world in the fighting in the Balkans suggests, containing these types of conflicts may not be as simple as Ullman implies.

Similarly, he states that whereas the "Third World will be tumultuous and violent for generations to come," other parts of the globe present few pressing military threats to Europe's security (p. 134). Ullman views terrorism as a nuisance rather than a major problem, and the prolifera-

tion of weapons of mass destruction as a worrisome trend without an obvious solution (pp 118-128).

What, then, should a new security regime in Europe look like? Ullman reasons that the new regime should approach (and because the Cold War is over, *can* approach) the ideal of collective security, "designed not to deter or defeat a particular nation (as it was for Germany or the Soviet Union), but to resist military challenge to the status quo" (pp. 68-69). Specifically, he proposes the formation of a European Security Organization (ESO) that would replace NATO and build on the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Western European Union (WEU). Ullman argues convincingly that NATO's "success creates the conditions of its growing irrelevance, and therefore its atrophy" (p. 63). Both the CSCE and WEU have attractive aspects (breadth of membership, including the U. S., in the former; the arms control and collective security functions of the latter) that should be incorporated into an ESO, although Ullman thinks neither the CSCE or the WEU could be easily transformed into such an organization (pp. 63-67). He allows for flexibility in the "architecture" of the ESO: It could range from "an umbrella covering a variety of institutional arrangements" to a "reborn EDC" (p. 78). Whatever its exact form, its core would be "an Agency for the Control of Armaments," which would assure the security of European nations (pp. 70-74).

What role for the powers that dominated European security affairs during the Cold War? As Europe's greatest military power, Russia—once it is "unquestionably democratic" (p. 77)—must, be a member of any ESO, Ullman contends. Although this condition is sensible, it also indicates that the ESO is a distant prospect. What might be done in the interim to build stronger European security institutions? Ullman has few specific suggestions to offer.

Although he asserts that the U. S. role in European security affairs is "bound to diminish" (p. 79), Ullman maintains the U. S. still should be an active member of any ESO, continuing to contribute militarily and politically to the collective security of Europe. He advocates an American role similar to that envisioned in the original North Atlantic Treaty, with the United States an "offshore guarantor" of Europe's security arrangements (p. 80). It is unclear whether the United States would want to play such a role, but given domestic economic and political pressures, this position is more likely to be acceptable than the current attempts to "downsize" NATO while maintaining American dominance of security affairs.

In contrast to Ullman's generally optimistic analysis of European security issues, most of the contributors to Gregory Treverton's *The Shape of the New Europe* are less sanguine. The authors do not reason that war is likely in

the new Europe (there are no Mearsheimers among this group), but most of them agree that constructing a new security architecture would be more difficult than Ullman believes.

West European states disagree on the form new security arrangements should take, and they clash on the function and importance of current security institutions. Helen Wallace, Peter Ludlow, and Stanley Hoffmann point out these disparate attitudes of the major states of Europe concerning the appropriate roles for the WEU, the CSCE, NATO, and the EC in the evolving security regime on the continent. Given such differences among nations that have worked together for years on security issues, it is easy to see the difficulty in creating a Europe-wide security organization with more bite than the CSCE.

Another difficulty in constructing a new European security structure is the reluctance of Western European states to extend NATO or other security organizations to the states of Eastern Europe. Although there is a desire to aid those states and reduce turmoil there, most West European governments do not want to muddle the security process with long-standing national and ethnic feuds. As Francois Heisbourg aptly comments, "one Greek-Turkish relationship is more than enough for NATO" (p. 41).

A third difficulty concerns the role of the United States—in any continued American involvement in Europe's security arrangements, it must be on terms "more symmetrical and more balanced" than those of the Cold War period (p. 33). But Hoffmann points out that the "American ambition of omnipotence has not yet been fully overcome" (p. 212).

Even given these problems, several of the authors offer their vision of alternative security arrangements for post-Cold War Europe. Heisbourg discusses the multilayered framework for an "integrated European security system," which most closely approximates the ESO of Ullman (p. 47). This security regime would build on the CSCE and the "institutions of democratic Europe—the EC, the WEU, and the Council of Europe," retaining NATO as a "prudent hedge" against new security threats (p. 55). Eventually, NATO should be transformed into a European-American Treaty Organization (EATO). Unlike Ullman's proposal, this one presupposes a large U. S. military deployment in Europe (p. 45). Heisbourg views the emergence of an EATO crucial to establishing a new security system in Europe: Without it, a "rambling, disjointed structure" suitable only for "fair-weather" would exist (p. 56).

F. Stephen Larrabee focuses on the extension of Western security institutions to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Although he perceives that NATO membership would not be immediately feasible, he feels the West should increase involvement in those nations' security affairs by selling defensive arms, by providing military training in *defensive* doctrines (in contrast to the previous *offensive* Soviet doctrine), and by training civilian defense specialists who might counterbalance the expertise of the military in those nations (pp. 152-53). Eventually these

states would become full members of a "transformed trans-Atlantic security community" along the lines of Heisbourg's EATO (p. 152). Larrabee distinguishes these East Central European states from the Balkans (Romania, Bulgaria, and the former Yugoslavia), whose histories and circumstances are different and whose security problems appear both less important to Western interests and less amenable to Western influence.

In a third glimpse of a possible future, Stanley Hoffmann argues that the "West Europeans [ought to be] the main actors in the realm of security now" (p. 215). He criticizes Ullman's ESO for including the United States and Russia, arguing that their participation would challenge the credibility of the collective security system Ullman is advocating (p. 211). Hoffmann calculates that the best course would be to strengthen the WEU and link it more closely to the EC, eventually extending its purview to Eastern Europe. Although this is likely to meet opposition on both sides of the Atlantic, Hoffmann sees it as essential: "The alternative to a West European security entity—alleged with but not subordinated to the United States—is not the pre-1989 NATO, but a renationalization of defense policies" (p. 215).

All these visions of the future offer thought-provoking arguments about what is possible and necessary for adequate security in Europe after the Cold War. Still, there is another possibility: that there will be no movement toward a new "security architecture" in Europe. Almost every author acknowledges that there are few, if any, major military threats to Europe in the near future; Heisbourg states that "defense is becoming a subordinate variable" in post-Cold War European politics (p. 38). The costs—foreign and domestic, political and economic—of attempting any of the four alternatives would be high. In the absence of a compelling threat, is it likely that those costs will be readily assumed? The relative attractiveness of the existing security arrangements may prove overwhelming, and the real movement may occur in attempts by officials to "modify" those existing arrangements in such a way as to shift their costs onto their alliance partners. This beggar-thy-neighbor approach would also bode ill for any new effort demanding cooperation in security affairs.

In addition to these main themes on the future security of Europe, the Treverton volume contains other virtues worth noting. Peter Ludlow's chapter discusses the role and evolution of intergovernmental conferences (IGCs) in the politics of the EC. Wolfgang Danspeckgruber tenders an interesting argument about neutralization as a foreign policy option in the new Europe. Michael Borrus and John Zysman provide a brief but intriguing analysis of Japanese influence on European integration. And in the opening section of his chapter, Stanley Hoffmann submits a scathing analysis of Mearsheimer and the "sterility of neorealism," especially in its application to the future of Europe (p. 294).

Given the rapidity of international political change and the variety of possible outcomes in Europe over the next



few years, we cannot expect an invariably accurate guide to the future. The intelligent and well-written volumes discussed here, though, provide an excellent foundation for further analysis and debate. ○

—Vincent A. Auger  
Hamilton College

**Editorial Note:** The editors of the Newsletter encourage reviewers for the "Review Essay" section. Please submit typed, double-spaced reviews or essays with accompanying disk to: Dr. Christine Ingebritsen, Assistant Professor, Scandinavian Department, 318 Raitt Hall, DL-20, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

## PUBLICATIONS—RESEARCH

### I. GENERAL, THEORETICAL, AND EC INSTITUTIONS:

Cyril E. Black, et al. *Rebirth: A History of Europe Since World War II*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.

Wolfgang Blass and John Foster, Eds. *Mixed Economies in Europe: An Evolutionary Perspective on their Emergence, Transition and Regulation*, Brookfield VT: Edward Elgar Publishing Co., 1993.

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