



EDITORIAL

ALBERTA SBRAGIA
ECSA CHAIR, University of Pittsburgh

Several matters require the immediate attention of ECSA members.

First, I wish to encourage qualified members to apply for the ECSA grant programs described in the Grant and Fellowship section on page 7. These programs include the **Curriculum Development Grants**, the **Dissertation Fellowships**, and the **Graduate Fellowships in European Integration**. The Executive Committee is particularly hopeful that faculty members will inform qualified graduating undergraduates of the opportunities provided by the Graduate Fellowships in European Integration. Contingent upon confirmation of support by the European Commission Delegation in Washington, this program is being extended and will now offer one-year fellowships at the University of Limerick, Ireland, and the University of Sussex, England.

Please also take note of the announcement for the **1994 ECSA Workshop**, "Immigration into Western Societies: Implications and Policy Choices," to be held May 13-14 in Charleston, South Carolina. The Workshop is organized by Donald Puchala, Director of the Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina, and sponsored by the European Commission and the United States Mission to the European Communities. Program information and registration instructions can be found on page 3. I look forward to seeing many of you in Charleston.

Panel and paper proposals are now being accepted for **ECSA's 1995 Fourth Biennial International Conference**. As indicated by the Call for Panels and Papers on page 2, the Program Committee encourages all engaged in the study of the European Union to consider submitting a proposal. We hope to have a truly representative exchange of research questions from a variety of disciplines.

Many readers will also want to consult the guidelines for paper proposals and submissions to the **1993-94 volume of *State of the European Community***, found on page 23. As paper proposals are due by March 15, 1994, those interested should contact co-editors Carolyn Rhodes and Sonia Mazey as soon as possible.

In other developments, the US-EC Relations Project is building upon the great success of Catherine Kelleher's inaugural monograph, *A New Security Era: The United States*

and the European Community in the 1990's. I am delighted to announce that Miles Kahler of the University of California, San Diego has agreed to author the second monograph in this series. Prof. Kahler's research will culminate in a plenary session presentation at the 1995 ECSA Conference.

You will notice a new "Essays" section in this *Newsletter*. I hope that you will enjoy these short articles and research notes on timely and important subjects. Please contact Bill Burros, ECSA's administrative director and co-editor of the *Newsletter*, if you wish to contribute such items to future issues.

Bill hopes to have the next edition of the ECSA Membership Directory distributed to members by April 15, 1994. The publication date has been delayed to accommodate the large number of members who have only recently submitted their biographical information forms.

Finally, I ask all ECSA members who have not already done so to renew their memberships. Readers who are not yet ECSA members should certainly consider joining. For \$10 or \$20 you will receive several additional publications, become eligible for ECSA grant programs, and receive special rates at ECSA activities.

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CONFERENCES AND WORKSHOPS

CALL FOR PANELS AND PAPERS



EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION FOURTH BIENNIAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

MAY 25-27 1995, CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

The European Community Studies Association (ECSA) invites scholars and practitioners engaged in the study of the European Community/Union to submit panel and paper proposals for the 1995 ECSA International Conference. The Program Committee hopes to promote the broadest possible exchange of disciplinary perspectives and research agendas, and it actively encourages proposals from all disciplines concerned with the European Community/Union. Participation by graduate students is welcomed.

Panel proposals should include: (1) the names, affiliations and addresses of chair, panelists, and discussant(s); (2) full paper titles and synopses; and (3) a short statement of the panel's theme. Individual paper proposals are also welcomed. The Program Committee will assign those papers to appropriate panels.

The deadline for proposals is November 15, 1994. Please send proposals to:

William Burros, Administrative Director
European Community Studies Association
405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Phone (412) 648-7635, Fax (412) 648-1168

Participants will be notified of acceptance by December 15, 1994.

The members of the Program Committee are:

David Cameron, Dept. of Political Science, Yale University, Chair
Anne-Marie Slaughter Burley, School of Law, University of Chicago
James Caporaso, Dept. of Political Science, University of Washington
John Gillingham, Dept. of History, University of Missouri, St. Louis
John Goodman, Harvard Business School and National Economic Council
Lily Gardner Feldman, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies

Announcing an ECSA Workshop on

IMMIGRATION INTO WESTERN SOCIETIES: IMPLICATIONS AND POLICY CHOICES

On May 13-14, 1994 the European Community Studies Association will conduct a workshop focused on problems raised by the current influx of immigrants into Western Europe, the United States and Canada. Today the immigration phenomenon is complicated not only by the magnitude of the human flow, but also by the largely cross-cultural as well as international character of the movement. Contemporary migration also occurs in an environment of newly aroused nationalism. Discussions at the ECSA Workshop will focus on the social, economic and cultural impacts of immigration in the receiving societies, the consequences for immigrants, the effects on international relations and the policy responses of governments concerned.

The Workshop will be held at the Charleston Marriott Hotel, Charleston, South Carolina. The daily room rate is \$80.00 plus tax for single or double occupancy. The phone number for reservations at the Marriott is 1-800-228-9290 or 1-800-747-1900.

Members of the European Community Studies Association are encouraged to attend. Other interested scholars and practitioners are most welcome. Proposed papers on the impacts of immigration into Western societies, or on policy responses to it will be seriously considered. Funding is available for invited authors, and limited support may also be provided for others on the program.

The preliminary program is:

FRIDAY, MAY 13

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m. | Registration |
| 9:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. | Panel 1: The Magnitude of Immigration into Major Industrialized Countries in Western Europe and North America |
| 11:30a.m. - 1:00 p.m. | Luncheon for participants |
| 1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. | Panel 2: The Impacts of Migration on Receiving Economies |
| 3:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. | Panel 3: Impacts of Immigration upon the Politics of Receiving Countries |
| 6:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. | Reception |

SATURDAY, MAY 14

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 9:30 a.m. - 11:30 a.m. | Panel 4: The Effects of Immigration on the Cultures of Receiving Countries |
| 11:30 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. | Luncheon for participants |
| 1:00 p.m. - 3:00 p.m. | Panel 5: Receiving Countries, Public Policy and Immigration Problems |
| 3:30 p.m. - 5:30 p.m. | Panel 6: Immigrations Issues and Policy Choices in the 21st Century |
| 5:30 p.m. | Adjournment |
| 7:00 p.m. | Dinner for participants |

There is no registration fee for the Workshop on Immigration Into Western Societies. Space is limited, however, and those interested are encouraged to register as soon as possible. For pre-registration materials and further information, please contact Sallie Buice or Emek Ucarer at:

The Institute of International Studies
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C. 29208
Telephone: (803) 777-4558
Fax: (803) 777-9308
E-mail: Buice@hsscls.hssc.scarolina.edu

The 1994 ECSA Workshop is made possible by grants from the European Commission and the United States Mission to the European Communities, Brussels, Belgium.

NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF EUROPEANISTS

March 31-April 2, 1994 Chicago, IL

This conference will include a number of panels with special interest for ECSA members. A partial listing of such panels from the preliminary program follows (any changes will be included in the final program booklet, which is available only at the Conference). Please contact the Council for European Studies, phone (212) 854-4172, fax (212) 749-0397, for further information.

NATION STATE STRATEGIES AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Panel A-1, Thursday, March 31st, 3:30-5:30 p.m.

Chair: John Gillingham, University of Missouri-St. Louis
The Benelux States and European Integration, 1950-1973

Wendy Asbeek-Brusse, University of Leiden
The Bonn-Paris Axis, 1950-1973

John Gillingham

Italy's Integration into Europe, 1950-1973

Frederico Romero, University of Bologna

INCLUSION AND SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNION

Panel B-2, Thursday, March 31, 5:45-7:45 p.m.

Chair: Glenda Rosenthal, Columbia University
Economic Conditions and Public Support for European Integration

Christopher Anderson, Rice University

Beyond the Boundary: The European Community, the Politics of Inclusion and the European Order

Michael Smith, Coventry University
Popular Opinion and the EC: Explaining Cross-National Differences by Social Democratic Politics

Mitchell P. Smith, Middlebury College

Discussant: Emil Kirchner, University of Essex

REGIONS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Panel C-4, Friday, April 1, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Chair: Gary Marks, University of North Carolina
Europe of the Regions - What Europe, Which Regions?

Michael Keating, University of Western Ontario
The Politics of the Commission Bureaucracy under the Structural Funds

Liesbet Hooghe, Oxford University

The Sources of Territorial Politics in the European Community

Gary Marks and Kermit Blank, University of North Carolina

INTEGRATING WOMEN INTO THE NEW EUROPE

Panel C-5, Friday, April 1, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Chair: Joyce Maire Mushaben, Univ. of Missouri-St. Louis
Gender, State Culture and Political Recruitment: A Swiss,

German and American Comparison

John Bendix, Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges

Class-Based Political Parties and Women's Political Participation

Lawrence Grossback, Washington University, St. Louis

Women in the Labor Markets of Germany and Japan

Paulette Kurzer, Babson College

A Forum for Gender Equality? The European Community Discovers the Other Democratic Deficit

Joyce Marie Mushaben

CONTENDING APPROACHES TO EC GOVERNANCE

Panel E-1, Friday, April 1, 2:00-4:00 p.m.

Chair: Alberta Sbragia, University of Pittsburgh

Who Gets What from Europe: Policy Networks and EC Governance

John Peterson, University of York

Why the European Community Strengthens the State: Domestic Politics and International Cooperation

Andrew Moravcsik, Harvard University

Institutions, Governance Regimes, and the Single European Market

Simon Bulmer, University of Manchester

Rationalizing EC Intervention: Rhetoric and Soft Law in Community Policy-Making

Laura Cram, University of Warwick

Discussant: Alberta Sbragia

EUROPEAN TRADE UNION RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION

Panel F-4, Friday, April 1, 4:30-6:30 p.m.

Chair: Andrew Martin, Harvard University

Britain, Economic Decline and Neo-Liberal Offensive

Chris Howell, Oberlin College

Sweden: Solidaristic Decline?

Rianne Mahon, Carleton University

Italy: Union Pluralism and the "Double Shift"

Richard Locke, MIT

Trade Unions and the Articulation of Working-Class

Interests in Corporatist Political Economies

Jonas Pontusson, Cornell University

COMPANIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE FORMAL CHANNELS

Panel G-2, Saturday, April 2, 9:00-11:00 a.m.

Chair: Stephen Woolcock, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

The New Collective Action of Big Business

Maria Green Cowles, The American University

The New Roads of Influence: A Case Study of the German Road Transport Industry

Pam Camerra-Rowe, Duke University

The New Politics of European Regulation
Michelle Egan, University of Pittsburgh
"Outsiders Inside": Japanese Lobbying in the European Community
Andrew McLaughlin, Robert Gordon University
Eurogroups and the EC Decision-Making Process
Federiga Maria Bindi, European University Institute

THE DOMESTIC POLITICS OF EUROPEAN MONETARY INTEGRATION

Panel G-5, Saturday, April 2, 9:00-11:00 a.m.
Chair: Sophia Perez, Boston University, and Torben Iversen, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung
European Monetary Integration and the Politics of Re-Designing Wage Bargaining Institutions: A Game Theoretic Model
Torben Iversen and Peter Lange, Duke University
Imported Credibility and Spanish Economic Policy: The Flip Side of Bundesbank Dominance in the EMS
Sofia Perez, Boston University
The Political Foundations of Monetary Institutions
William Bernhard, Duke University
"If I Can't Change the Rules, I Won't Play Your Game": Britain in and out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism
Mark D. Harmon, University of California, Santa Cruz

ORGANIZED ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Panel H-3, Saturday, April 2, 11:15 a.m. - 1:15 p.m.
Chair: Henry J. Jacek, McMaster University
Business Interests and the Regulation of New Information Technologies in Europe
Alan Cawson, University of Sussex
Representing Interests in the European Community: The Sector Concept
Justin Greenwood, Robert Gordon University
The Political and Institutional Bases of Agricultural Power in the EC
John T.S. Keeler, University of Washington
Creeping Competence: The Expanding Agenda of the European Community
Mark A. Pollack, Harvard University

MONETARY INTEGRATION FROM THE INSIDE-OUT: DOMESTIC ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS

Panel I-2, Saturday, April 2, 2:00-4:00 p.m.
Chair: Jerome W. Sheridan, American University, Brussels
The Déjà Vu of EMU: Considerations for Europe from Nineteenth Century America
Jerome W. Sheridan
Economic and Monetary Union in the European Community: Do Domestic Politics Matter?
Kathleen R. McNamara, Centre for European Policy Studies,

Brussels, and Columbia University
Small Countries and the European Monetary Trade-Off: Fiscal Stabilization versus Flexible Real Exchange Rates
Erik Jones, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels
Integration of European States and Regions
Petra Behrens, New School for Social Research and University of Bremen

SEVENTH MAASTRICHT WORKSHOP IN LAW AND POLITICS

March 30-31, 1994 Maastricht, The Netherlands

The Seventh Maastricht Workshop in Law and Economics will be held at the University of Limburg in Maastricht, The Netherlands, on March 30 and 31. The keynote lecture will be delivered on March 31 at 4 p.m. Conference languages are English, Dutch, and German. For further information, please contact Maud Soudant, University of Limburg, Faculty of Economics, P.O. Box 616, 6200 MD Maastricht, The Netherlands. Tel +31-43-883636 Fax +31-43-258440

ECSA-WORLD CONFERENCE: FEDERALISM, SUBSIDIARITY AND DEMOCRACY

May 5-6, 1994 Brussels

ECSA-World, a coordinating body for national ECSA's, will hold its second conference, on "Federalism, Subsidiarity and Democracy" in Brussels on May 5-6, 1994. Following a "call for papers" issued early in 1993, a select group of scholars evaluated the responses and selected five presentations for each of nine working groups:

1. The Federal Experience: Historical and Comparative Analyses
2. Economic Constitution I:
 - Fiscal Federalism
 - Central Banks, Currencies and Economic Convergencies
3. Economic Constitution II:
 - Subsidiarity and the Welfare State
 - The Public Sector and Subsidiarity
4. Citizenship and Federations: Regions, Nations and Wider Identities
5. Institutional Structures: Federalism and the Courts
6. Institutional Structures: the Democratic Deficit
7. Implementation of Community Policies and the Principle of Subsidiarity: Comparative Experiences
8. Integrations Theories: Subsidiarity and Federalism
9. External Dimension of Federalism and Subsidiarity

Professor Pierre-Henri Laurent represented ECSA-USA on the ECSA-World Conference steering committee. The workshop conclusions, abstracts of paper proposals, and keynote speeches will be published after the conference.

Attendance at the conference will be limited to 250 people. Registration is on a first-come, first-serve basis. The European Commission will provide three nights accommodation at one of the conference hotels for attendees coming from outside Belgium. For a provisional program (including registration form), please contact:

Mrs. A. Van Miert, Commission of the European Communities, DG X/University Information, 200 rue de la loi (T 120 4/12), B-1049 Brussels, phone 32.2.299.9454 or 299.9293, fax 32.2.296.3106.

XENOPHOBIA IN GERMANY: NATIONAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITIES AFTER UNIFICATION
May 11-14, 1994 Minneapolis, MN

The Department of German and the Center for European Studies at the University of Minnesota announce their second biennial conference on German culture. This event is co-sponsored by the Frederick R. Weisman Art Museum and the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service). The multidisciplinary conference will focus on the troubling phenomenon of xenophobia in modern Germany. Scholars and writers from the US, Germany, Great Britain, and Israel, including prominent members of some of the minority groups often targeted by xenophobic violence in Germany, people of Jewish, Turkish, and Afro-American heritage, will be featured speakers. For more information please contact:

Center for European Studies, University of Minnesota, 309 Social Science, 267 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455, phone (612) 625-1557.

WOMEN, THE EUROPEAN STATE, AND COMMUNITY
May 13-14, 1994 Kalamazoo, MI

Just as European feminists gained access into the state's political, legal and bureaucratic arenas, increased attention and reliance on European institutions have begun to take precedence over the more parochial concerns of the nation state. Most agree that the Community has tended to focus on women's employment and formal proclamations of gender equality to the exclusion of other aspects of women's subordination that are no less crucial. By focusing on a myriad of approaches to such issues as prostitution (e.g. sex trafficking in a Europe without borders), reproductive freedom and sexual harassment at work, this conference

allows for a more exciting and pragmatic approach to women and public policy than is usually the case at conferences on Europe more generally and women in particular. The conference is sponsored by the Center for Western European Studies, Kalamazoo College.

Conference participants will be a deliberately eclectic mix of feminist activists, bureaucrats and academics, including Christine Delphy, author of "Close to Home" and one of France's most exciting feminist theorists. For more information, contact Dr. Amy Elman, Political Science, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, MI 49006. By phone (616) 337-7106 and by e-mail: elman@kzoo.edu.

14TH CONFERENCE ON BALTIC STUDIES
June 8-11, 1994 Chicago, IL

The 14th Conference on Baltic Studies will be held June 8-11, 1994, at the University of Illinois at Chicago on the theme of "Independence and Identity in the Baltic States." For further information, contact the conference chair: Robert A. Vitas, Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 5620 South Claremont Avenue, Chicago, IL 60638-1039. Tel (312) 434-4545 Fax (312) 434-9363

ESRC/SEM COST A7 CONFERENCE: THE EVOLUTION OF RULES FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET
September 8-11, 1994 London, UK

The objective of this major international conference is to discuss the process of European integration in the 1990s. It is built around eight themes which reflect all facets of that process:

1. Setting and influencing the rules
2. Implementing the rules
3. Competition and conflict among rules
4. The impact of the rules
5. Rules under different visions of economy and society
6. The evolution of rules
7. Political legitimacy
8. The external impact

The conference will discuss the results of the UK's Economic and Social Research Council programme in the Single European Market as well as a wide variety of contributed papers drawn from many perspectives including economics, political science, sociology, environmental studies, the law and regional science. It is part of the COST A7 Action on "The Evolution of Rules for a Single European

Market." COST is the grouping of the main funders of research across the whole of Europe, not just EC and EFTA, but central Europe as well. The conference will be held at St. Luke's College, University of Exeter, Devon, UK. Those interested in attending and/or presenting papers should contact Sarah Leeming, NIESR, by fax at +44 (0) 71 222 1435 or by post at 2 Dean Trench Street, Smith Square, London SW1P, 3HE, United Kingdom.

**FRANCE: FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE NEW
WORLD ORDER**

September 16-18 Portsmouth, UK

Proposals for papers are being sought for a conference of the Association for the Study of Modern and Contemporary France. Some of the proposed areas to be covered by the conference are listed below, although the organisers would welcome proposals in any other subject area that is deemed relevant to the overall conference theme:

1. Defence
2. France and the break-up of the Soviet bloc
3. International relations
4. The Left and the Cold War
5. The Right and the Cold War
6. France, the new Europe and immigration
7. Cultural aspects
8. France and the Third World
9. France and international organisations
10. French Literature and the Cold War
11. Media representations
12. End of the Cold War: economic implications for France
13. Intelligence services
14. Postgraduate session

Proposals for papers should be addressed to:

The Conference Organisers, Tony Chafer & Brian Jenkins, School of Languages and Area Studies, University of Portsmouth, Wiltshire Building, Hampshire Terrace, Portsmouth, PO1 2BU, fax (44) 0705.843350.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

ECSA GRANT AND FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS

Graduate Fellowships in European Integration

Contingent upon available funding, the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) will offer two Graduate Fellowships in European Integration Studies for the 1994-1995 academic year. The fellowships lead to the M.A. degree, and offer \$12,000 toward tuition, lodging, and travel expenses. ECSA hopes to offer fellowships at both the University of Limerick, Ireland, and the University of Sussex, England. Applicants may express a preference for either program, but that preference will not be considered binding on the selection committee. Students interested in these fellowships may apply by providing the following supportive documents:

- 1) Academic transcript.
- 2) Resume or curriculum vitae.
- 3) Letter of application from the student, addressed to the European Community Studies Association, asking for consideration as a fellowship nominee.
- 4) Letter of recommendation(s) from appropriate institutional officer(s), explaining why the applicant is

qualified to fulfill the fellowship.

The application deadline is May 1, 1994. All supportive documents must be forwarded to Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 by that date. If you have any questions concerning the application process, please contact Bill at (412) 648-7635, FAX (412) 648-1168.

Dissertation Fellowship Grants

Contingent upon available funding, the European Community Studies Association (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/Union. 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.

The application deadline for this program is April 15, 1994. For further information, please contact Bill Burros at the Administrative Office.

Curriculum Development Grants

Contingent upon available funding, the European Community Studies Association (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/Union, or to enrich existing courses with material on the European Community/Union. 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.

The application deadline for this program is April 15, 1994. For further information, please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office.

OTHER GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

Fulbright Grants Tenable at the European University Institute (EUI), Florence, Italy

As of the 1991-1992 academic year, the Institute hosts annually two U.S. graduate students, for ten months, who are recipients of Fulbright awards. A senior scholar award, for three months annually, is also available. For further information in the United States, contact:

Graduate Student Category: Institute of International Education (IEE, 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 (CIES), 3007 Tilden Street, N.W., Suite 5M, Washington, D.C. 20008-3009. Tel (202) 686-6245

RESEARCH NEWS

Access to the Central Library of the European Commission in Brussels

Due to constraints in staff and space resources and other factors, the Central Library of the European Commission in Brussels has instituted the following access procedures:

- a) Requests to use the Library should be made in advance. A month's notice is advised. Requests should be addressed directly to:

European Commission
Central Library
Rue de la Loi 200
JECL 1/40
B-1049 Brussels
BELGIUM
Phone (32.2) 295.63.46
Fax (32.2) 295.11.49
- b) On arrival to Brussels, short visits (up to one month) will need only a badge, which will be issued by the security staff at the entrance on presentation of the authorization and the visitor's passport.
- c) Access to the Library for a longer period requires a reader's card issued by the Central Security Office on presentation of the authorisation, the visitor's passport and two passport photos.
- d) Please note that only postgraduate students are accepted

as readers.

Bradford Research on Maastricht and EMU

A major new research project has begun at the University of Bradford (UK) entitled, "The Dynamics of European Monetary Integration: Developing the EMS and EMU, 1987-1994". It is prompted by the recognition that in the last few years the European Monetary System (EMS) has become a central plank of European Community policy, and that Economic & Monetary Union (EMU) has become the linchpin of the new European Union constitutionalized in the Maastricht Treaty. There have been bitter arguments about whether the "hard" ERM and EMU make sense either in economic terms or whether they are in the best interests of promoting integration. These arguments have been intensified by the ERM crises of 1992 and 1993: "Black Wednesday", the exit of some currencies from the system, and the collapse of the existing bands of fluctuation. There is now a considerable economics literature on the costs and benefits of the EMS and EMU.

By contrast, the policy process itself and its effect on the nature of policies is less well understood. The Bradford project aims to investigate the nature of the different bargaining relationships that comprise the EMS and EMU and the methodology is a programme of interviews with leading participants in Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, and in the EC institutions. The

research will provide a detailed picture of the way in which the EMS and EMU are managed; how they got to be managed this way; and what realistically are the opportunities and constraints on economic and monetary policies in the EC. In addition, the research will offer new insights into the under-researched area of central bank involvement and the nature of stages one and two of EMU. The project forms part of a wider investigation of EC policy process in different sectors.

The research is supported by a grant from the ESRC in Britain, and will run from 1993 to 1995. The project is directed by Prof. Kenneth Dyson and Dr. Kevin Featherstone, together with Dr. George Michalopoulos, the project officer. Enquiries about the project are welcome, particularly from those researching in the same area, and should be sent to: Department of European Studies, University of Bradford, Bradford BD7 1DP, UK. Tel: 44-274-733466 Fax: 44-274-385550

Robert Gordon University Research Project on Industrial Interest Lobbying in the EC

Dr. Justin Greenwood of the School of Public Administration and Law, Robert Gordon University, will lead a team of researchers from Germany, Denmark, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Britain in a study of how firms with industrial biotechnology interests lobby the European Community. The project is to be completed by the end of 1995, and is supported by the European Union's third framework biotechnology programme. For further information, please contact Dr. Greenwood at: School of Public Administration and Law, Robert Gordon University, The Robert Gordon University, 352 King Street, Aberdeen AB9 2TQ, UK. Tel +44 (0) 224 262000 Fax +44 (0) 0224 26929

PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENTS

USIS Speakers Program

The U.S. Information Service (USIS) is sponsoring a Speakers Program involving U.S. Embassies and Consulates throughout Europe. The USIS seeks speakers capable of giving the American perspective on EC Affairs, the U.S.-EC relationship, the transatlantic alliance, and related issues. To qualify for the Speakers Program, individuals must have established travel plans in Europe. The USIS will provide compensation for the costs of travel within Europe, daily maintenance, and a modest honorarium. ECSA members traveling from the United States will find this an excellent

American Institute for Contemporary German Studies

Dr. Steven Muller, President emeritus of The Johns Hopkins University, has assumed the Co-Chairmanship of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS), an affiliate of The Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Muller will be serving in this capacity with Harry J. Gray, Chairman and CEO of the Mott Metallurgical Corporation of Farmington, Connecticut. Mr. Gray has been AICGS Chairman since December 1986. Dr. Muller has been Vice-Chairman since the Institute's founding in 1984.

Dr. Robert Gerald Livingston has requested that he be relieved of his duties as the Institute's Director, a position he has held since its establishment, in order to concentrate his efforts on raising the financial resources required to assure long-term development of the Institute. In the newly-created position of Senior Development Officer, he will organize a development campaign linked to the Institute's tenth anniversary. The management of the Institute is now shared by Dr. Jackson Janes, named by the Board as Executive Director, and Dr. Lily Gardner Feldman, as Research Director, a position she has held since 1990. Dr. Janes has been serving as Associate and then Deputy Director since 1989. He has now assumed managerial responsibility for AICGS, while Dr. Feldman will set and continue to develop and supervise the Institute's research agenda and programs, including fellowship programs and scholarly publications. For further information, please contact Jackson Janes or Lily Gardner Feldman at: AICGS, Suite 350, 11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-1207. Tel (202) 332-9312 Fax (202) 265-9531

opportunity to increase their understanding of European perspectives.

Individuals interested in this Program should fax the following information, **well in advance of their travel dates**, to the U.S. Mission to the European Communities in Brussels at (32.2) 512.57.20:

- a) planned European arrival and departure points;
- b) dates of availability;
- c) an abbreviated curriculum vitae;
- d) brief descriptions of topics that you find suitable for discussion; and
- e) fax number(s) where you may be contacted.

**Europe and the European Community
Council on International Educational Exchange**

Europe and the European Community is an overseas study program held at the University of Amsterdam and the Université Libre de Bruxelles. The program, sponsored by Cooperative European Studies Consortium, is designed for a full academic year. However, students may spend the fall semester in Amsterdam and the spring semester in Brussels only.

The fall semester in Amsterdam begins with a ten-day orientation to Amsterdam and the Netherlands which includes instruction in survival Dutch. Students then select four courses choosing from three special program courses and a wide variety of University of Amsterdam elective courses in the social sciences, international relations, history, and Dutch language. All instruction, with the exception of Dutch language, is in English. The spring semester in Brussels is composed of five special program courses, of which the students choose four and French language offered at the beginning, intermediate and advanced level. While in Brussels students are required to study French, there is no French language prerequisite, and all program courses are taught in English. Students with an advanced level of French may supplement their course work with regular university courses.

For more information, please contact Colleen Cuddy of the University Programs Department, Council on International Educational Exchange, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017, phone (212) 661-1414 ext. 1228, fax (212) 972-3231.

**Diploma in Languages and European Community Studies
University of Portsmouth, UK**

The School of Languages and Area Studies at the University of Portsmouth has launched a one-year (two semester) Diploma in Languages and European Community Studies. This programme builds on the department's already well established Diploma in English Studies, which takes about 150 students - mostly from other EC countries - a year. The new Diploma, offered at intermediate level (third year of a four-year course) is designed to give students a combination of language study in one or more of the major European languages, together with in-depth study of the origins, development and functioning of the European Community.

For more information and application details, write to: Admissions Tutor (Diploma in European Community Studies), School of Languages and Area Studies, Hampshire Terrace, Portsmouth PO1 2BU, United Kingdom.

European University Institute, Florence, Italy

The European University Institute (EUI) is a postgraduate teaching and research institute. 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. In this context, the Institute aims to provide a European academic and cultural training and to carry out research in a European perspective (fundamental, comparative, and Community research) in the area of the social and human sciences.

The four academic departments of the Institute are History and Civilization, Economic, Law and Political and Social Sciences, all of which offer a doctoral degree program. The academic departments are complemented by two interdisciplinary centers. The Robert Schumann Center develops research bearing on important issues confronting contemporary European society. The European Forum brings together experts in a selected topic for one academic year, with emphasis on the international, comparative, and interdisciplinary aspects.

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

**Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs
(CEEPA), University College Dublin**

The CEEPA offers a Master's Degree in Economic and Public Affairs which currently has an enrollment of 29 students. Sixteen of these students are from outside Ireland, with five being from the United States. The programme is actively interested in recruiting students from the United States.

A feature of the Master's programme is the Special Lecture Series, given by a distinguished European figure. Following the appointment of Peter Sutherland to the directorship of GATT, these lectures, formerly given by Mr. Sutherland, are now given by Dr. Garrett FitzGerald, Former Irish Prime Minister and former President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

Further information regarding the Master's programme can be obtained from: The Director, Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland.

Key to Europe

Key to Europe is a non-profit educational organization which coordinates training programs, educational seminars and workshops on the European Community, including field trips to Brussels and meetings with European scholars and public officials. For example, "The EC: Policies and Activities for the Disabled," a multinational program designed for staff members of NGO's and other organizations, is now being planned for Spring of 1994.

For more information on this and other Key to Europe programs, contact Todd Kingsbury, 6 Irasville Common, Waitsfield, VT 05673. Tel (802) 496-2428 Fax (802) 496-4548

Institute for European Business Administration

The Institute for European Business Administration (IEBA) offers a variety of programs designed to integrate a European perspective into business programs. The IEBA offers both a three week summer undergraduate diploma program, and a five week summer graduate degree program in European Affairs. Both programs include field excursions to Brussels, Luxembourg, and Strasbourg. Applications must be received by April 1, 1994. Training programs are also available, as are cooperation agreements with universities.

For more information concerning the IEBA and its programs, please contact Mike Nikkel, North American Office IEBA, 815-B Rockville Pike #155, Rockville, MD 20852.

TEACHING NEWS

EC Simulation Manual

The Model European Community Simulation Exercise: A User's Manual, revised edition, 82 pp., by William G Andrews, SUNY Brockport, is now available. The author is Director of the New York Consortium for Model European Community Simulations (NYCMECS), a group of thirteen public and private institutions that sponsors a Model EC annually. The first edition of this manual was prepared under a grant from the European Community Washington Office and published in 1989. The revised edition takes into account the author's experience with NYCMECS simulations since then. Copies may be obtained from him for \$10.00. Please send orders and remittances to William G. Andrews, Department of Political Science, State University of New York, Brockport, NY 14420, phone (716) 395-5670, fax (716) 395-2172.

Pennsylvania European Community Simulation

The inaugural Pennsylvania European Community Simulation was held December 3-4, 1993 at the Holiday Inn-Georgetown, Washington, DC. On December 3, student participants from several Pennsylvania colleges met with representatives from the European Commission Washington Delegation and the British, French, German, Italian, and Spanish Embassies. On December 4, the students conducted simulated meetings of the European Council and the European Parliament. For information concerning this program, please contact Mr. Edgar Morgan, c/o O'Brien, Baric & Scherer, 155 South Hanover Street, Carlisle, PA 17013, phone (717) 249-6873, fax (717) 249-5755.

Midwestern EC Simulation Consortium

Several midwestern schools have created a consortium to oversee and organize an annual Model European Community in Indianapolis, IN. The first simulation, held in April 1993, was well attended and enthusiastically supported by a number of colleges. Students participated in simulations of the European Council, the Council of Ministers, and the European Commission - the organizers hope to include a simulation of the European Parliament at future meetings. The next simulation will be held on April 14-16, 1994. Those interested in participating or discussing the details of the simulation should contact Prof. John McCormick, Department of Political Science, Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Cavanaugh Hall 504J, 425 University Boulevard, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202-5140, phone (317) 274-7387, fax (317) 274-2347, e-mail: iufd100@indycms.iupui.edu.

ECSA Syllabi Bank

ECSA has established a central clearinghouse/data-information bank for syllabi of courses covering the European Union. The bank contains syllabi for a number of disciplines at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Upon request, these syllabi are provided free of charge to ECSA members. *Newsletter* readers are encouraged (implored!) to contribute new or updated syllabi to this bank. Please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office for more information.

Editor's note: Please also see the announcement of ECSA's Curriculum Development Grants on page 8.

ESSAYS

The Belgian Presidency of the Council: A Turning Point Toward a Revitalized European Union?

Youri Devuyt

The Challenges

The results of the Belgian Presidency of the Council of the European Union (July-December 1993) must be measured against the challenges facing the Community at the start of the Presidency's six month term. Firstly, there was the general mistrust, even discredit, which weighed heavily on Europe's political institutions in the wake of the Danish referendum on the Treaty of Maastricht on European Union. Secondly, there was the deep economic crisis, causing unemployment for almost 20 million Community citizens, which profoundly affected the social fabric of the Community. The economic climate got even worse at the start of the Belgian Presidency, when the European Monetary System (EMS) seemed on the brink of collapse. Thirdly, in its relations with third countries, the Twelve seemed to lack a coherent answer to the growing instability and the rise of violence at their southern and eastern borders. Moreover, the enlargement negotiations were expected to run into trouble, not only because of the delicate problems with regard to the acceptance of the "acquis communautaire", but also because of the institutional debate which some Member States intended to link to the enlargement. Finally, the lingering uncertainty on the entry into force of the Treaty of Maastricht fueled doubts about the political will of the Twelve to tackle the many challenges facing the Community through joint action rather than separately.

Setting the Mood for Positive Action

In light of the reigning climate, restoring confidence was the Belgian Presidency's first task and it intended to use the entry into force of the Treaty on European Union to that end. Yet, the Belgian Presidency did not have the time to sit back and await the outcome of the German Constitutional Court cases which were upholding the Federal Republic's ratification.

The difficult discussions on the reform of the

Youri Devuyt is Expert-Counsellor to the Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium, President-in-office of Council of the European Union (July-December 1993)

structural funds presented the Presidency with an opportunity to demonstrate its intention to move the Community forward from the start. In close cooperation with Commission President Jacques Delors, Council President Willy Claes brokered a successful deal on the structural funds during two marathon sessions councils in July 1993. This compromise was essential to set the mood of the Belgian Presidency. The result was an increase in the Community's cohesion and a willingness to work together - implying a willingness to make concessions - in order to arrive at concrete results beneficial to all. In the same spirit, the Belgian Presidency of the Council convinced the European Parliament and the Commission to conclude, on October 29, 1993, an Interinstitutional Agreement laying down budgetary procedures and budgetary discipline up to 1999. This agreement greatly facilitated the approval by Council and Parliament of the budget for 1994. On that occasion, the European Parliament expressed its great satisfaction with the quality of the budget laid down by the Council, something which may indeed be called exceptional.

The Treaty of Maastricht

When on November 1, 1993, the Treaty of Maastricht on European Union finally entered into force, the spirit of cooperation and integration had already been largely regained. To create the conditions for a smooth implementation of the Treaty, the Presidency convened an Extraordinary European Council on October 29, 1993, which notably fixed the seat of 9 European Union bodies and agencies.

For the Belgian Presidency, the importance of the new Treaty on European Union consisted of four simple ideas which needed to be put into practice:

- (a) Greater economic prosperity thanks to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

In view of fear for further turbulence in the EMS, the Presidency paid special attention to laying the foundations for EMU's second phase beginning on January 1, 1994. The necessary decisions were taken to set up the European Monetary Institute in Frankfurt. In part as a result of these decisions, financial markets regained their calm.

(b) Greater external ambition thanks to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Five "joint actions" were started under the new CFSP. The Council *inter alia* approved a comprehensive plan to back the peace process in the Middle East, including mass aid to the occupied territories and the negotiation of a new Euro-Israeli agreement. In view of the growing political and economic instability of the Maghreb, the Belgian Presidency also insisted on and obtained the Council's approval of negotiation mandates for the conclusion of improved agreements with Morocco and Tunisia. In an attempt to promote stability and peace in Central and Eastern Europe, the Belgian Presidency started a structured political dialogue with Russia, while working toward a partnership and cooperation agreement between the Community and Russia. The European Union's new CFSP was not able, however, to impose peace against the will of the fighting parties in ex-Yugoslavia.

(c) Greater effectiveness in the struggle against cross-border problems thanks to cooperation in the field of Justice and Home Affairs

The first formal Council of Justice and Interior Ministers, on November 29 and 30, 1993, drew up a comprehensive plan of action covering notably the immediate start-up of the European Drugs Unit, the fight against organized crime, and the stepping up of judicial cooperation.

(d) Greater democracy

On October 25, 1993, Council, Parliament and Commission agreed to Interinstitutional Agreements on the co-decision procedure, the Ombudsman, subsidiarity, and to the Interinstitutional Declaration on democracy, transparency and subsidiarity. The concept of European citizenship also gained concrete meaning under the Belgian Presidency, through the decision that all European Union residents, no matter where they are staying in the Union, will be entitled to vote and stand as a candidate in the elections for the European Parliament.

Economic Recovery and the Social Dimension

The strength of the newly founded European Union was, obviously, dependent to a large degree on its economic and social vitality. In light of the economic situation, measures to combat unemployment were the focus of the European Council on December 10 and 11, 1993. On the basis of Commission President Delors' White Paper, the European

Council adopted a short and medium-term action plan. On the Community level, the Delors plan includes a large scale programme in energy, transport and environment networks and information infrastructures. Unexpectedly, the European Council also reached a compromise on the basic principles for the financing of this plan.

In addition to the broad strategy for economic growth, competitiveness and employment, the Belgian Presidency also intended to give a new impetus to the Union's social dimension. Four new directives were adopted dealing notably with the organization of working hours and with the protection of young people at work. Also, on the basis of a text of the Presidency, the Commission agreed to initiate the procedure of the Treaty of Maastricht's Protocol on Social Policy regarding the draft directive on the setting up of the European works council, this in view of the persistent refusal of the United Kingdom to accept the Presidency's compromise.

Enlargement

To the candidates for accession, the start of the federalist Belgian Presidency caused unease with its emphasis on the maintenance of the full "acquis communautaire". This unease soon proved unfounded.

At the Extraordinary European Council of October 29, the objective was set to complete the negotiations by March 1, 1994. In this light, the Presidency scheduled extra meetings and attempted to solve as many difficult issues as possible before the end of 1993. This approach resulted in an important breakthrough on December 21: the parties were able to close the difficult health and environment chapters, as well as the talks on the common foreign and security policy and cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs. Earlier, at the European Council of December 10 and 11, 1993, an agreement had been reached on the Presidency's proposal for a limited number of institutional changes related to the enlargement. Through this proposal, the Presidency succeeded in preventing a destructive dispute between the large and small Member States on the long term reform of the Union's institutional structures.

The Uruguay Round

By far the most difficult task of the Belgian Presidency has been the management of the Uruguay Round. At the start of the Presidency, France and the Commission were on a collision course. Moreover, the Member States were highly divided on the Community's main aims and the possibilities for concessions. Here too, restoring cohesion was the Presidency's first task. Three elements of this cohesion

exercise deserve to be underlined.

First, the Presidency needed to convince the top policymakers of the Twelve that none of the Member States would be able to achieve their essential Uruguay Round goals unless the Community acted as a coherent and single force. The successful organization of the Jumbo Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, and Agriculture on September 20, 1993 largely succeeded in achieving this goal. The preparation of the Jumbo Council's conclusions also created a positive Franco-German dynamic. To France, the Jumbo Council proved that working within the Council could actually 'Europeanize', and thus strengthen the essence of its demands. To Germany, the Jumbo Council was an appropriate framework for turning the damaging parts of France's proposals into acceptable compromises which would not endanger the Uruguay Round itself.

Secondly, communication between the Commission - the Community's negotiator - and the Member States would need to be improved. As a result, Council President Willy Claes called upon Commission Vice-President Leon Brittan to report on the state of negotiations during each session of the General Affairs Council. The Council's debates on these Commission reports often resulted in Council or Presidency conclusions containing negotiation directions for the Commission. As such, the Council was in effect fully implicated in the details of the Uruguay Round during the last six months of the negotiations. Instead of having the luxury of fighting with the Commission, the Member States were thus forced to work with the Commission to achieve a reasonable deal.

Thirdly, the Presidency and the Commission were prepared to consider particular internal compensatory arrangements for economic sectors or Member States which would suffer from the results of the Uruguay Round. Therefore, at the end of the Round compensatory commitments were made in view of specific problems for the Portuguese textiles industry and in the Common Agricultural Policy. Without these internal compensatory arrangements, several Member States would have refused to approve the outcome of the Round.

Finally, the approval of the results of the Uruguay Round was linked by France to the reform of the Community's trade policy instruments. This issue had been blocked in the Council for more than a year. Linkage with the Round, in combination with a reasonable compromise proposal of the Presidency, convinced Germany to vote in favor of trade instrument reform, leaving the United Kingdom and the Netherlands powerless to prevent the necessary qualified majority from being attained.

The Belgian Presidency: A Success?

While speaking about the reigning climate of Euro-pessimism during the presentation of the Presidency's programme, Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Willy Claes had recalled the following words of his great predecessor, Paul-Henri Spaak: "This pessimism is justified only if we do nothing to organize ourselves and to save ourselves. But if we organize Europe, there is no reason for such pessimism to exist."

In fact, the main achievement of the Belgian Presidency is that it was indeed able to organize Europe and that it did succeed in establishing a general framework for positive European Union action for the coming years. Largely on the basis of Belgian drafts, roadmaps for the implementation of the three pillars of the Treaty of Maastricht have been accepted as the itinerary for the Union's journey into the future. Moreover, thanks to the conceptual work of Commission President Jacques Delors, Belgium was able to preside over the determination of the Union's strategy for economic growth, competitiveness and employment for years to come.

Obviously, it remains to be seen how the roadmaps drawn up during the Belgian Presidency will be implemented. As Willy Claes recently noted, the European Union remains an "unfinished symphony." The free movement of persons, for instance, which should be at the Union's top priority, has not yet been fully realized. The Belgian Presidency was unable to achieve a breakthrough in this fundamental part of European citizenship.

The Recipe for Success

Which factors characterized the Belgian Presidency?

(a) European Integration as Belgium's prime national interest

Lionel Barber of the *Financial Times* wrote on December 29, 1993, that Belgium's successful Presidency can be explained by the fact that as "one of the smaller EU states, Belgium has become used to subordinating its own national interests to achieve compromise."

The ability to come up with creative compromise solutions was, indeed, essential to the successful Presidency. Still, Barber clearly did not understand the basics of the Belgian Presidency when he implied that Belgium needed to subordinate its own national interests to move European integration forward. Belgium has long come to the conclusion that its prime national interest is the progressive development of European Union itself. Thus, whenever Belgium is able to stimulate the European integration process, it does not sacrifice its national interest. Rather, it serves its

prime national interest and only subordinates, from time to time, interests of a secondary nature. This positive attitude toward European integration formed the basic condition for Belgium's success.

(b) The Presidency defined as "a responsibility"

Belgium was very careful not to over-estimate the role of the Presidency. The Presidency does not carry with it powers to impose a programme or policy options. The ambitious Dutch Presidency of 1991, for instance, learned that lesson when it had to withdraw its entire European Union plan after it had been presented to the partners as the masterpiece of Dutch diplomacy. Belgium saw the Presidency as a "responsibility," namely "to ensure that the Council functions...The political responsibility of the Presidency is to pilot dossiers through the procedures in order to arrive at balanced solutions within a reasonable period."

(c) Relying on collaboration with Commission and European Parliament

As a federalist Member State, Belgium wanted to work "in compliance with the letter of the Treaties." In the same spirit, the Presidency announced that it would "scrupulously observe the Commission's right of initiative." For that reason, the programme of the Belgian Presidency was largely based on the legislative programme of the Commission. Belgium's practice of collaboration with Commission and European Parliament resulted in a unique series of inter-institutional deals. Due to their crucial "constitutional" role, it must be recalled that both Commission and Parliament can effectively destroy any Presidency. A paralysing fight on the budget, for instance, would be enough to create a negative mood.

(d) Creating a climate of positive action and interaction between issues and Member States

For the Member States, the Council is a vehicle to protect their national interests. Only by demonstrating the concrete benefits of positive collaboration will the Member States be inclined to move forward. The delicate dossier on the structural funds, holding the potential for bringing millions of ECU's to particular regions in all Member States, was the issue *par excellence* for the Presidency to initiate a spirit of positive action.

Later in its term, the Presidency benefited from the fact that several problems of major importance were being

discussed simultaneously in a climate which could sustain the hope that these issues would be resolved positively. Indeed, in the end, the Uruguay Round, the Delors White Paper, enlargement and the related institutional discussion, all became linked. For instance, negative action by a Member State such as the United Kingdom on the White Paper would, no doubt, have influenced France's attitude during the debate on the Uruguay Round. In a positive environment, with several big projects, each holding the potential for delivering concrete benefits to the Member States, none of them wanted to take the responsibility of returning to the negative climate and of denying themselves the fruit of collaboration. This also implied that all Member States accepted relatively limited costs in some areas in light of much greater benefits in other fields.

(e) Creating cohesion through implication

In order to increase Union unity, the Presidency attempted to stimulate cohesion through the maximum implication of the Member States in all major decisions. The Presidency insisted, for instance, on the submission by all Member States of concrete proposals for the Delors White Paper. Also, during the final phase of the Uruguay Round, the Member States took part in the decision-making via frequent Council sessions. By forcing the Member States to think actively toward solutions to Europe's major problems, the Presidency effectively reduced the danger that "inside" Members would start acting as "outside" critics.

While several other elements characterizing the Belgian Presidency could be listed, this could create the wrongful impression that the method described above was a guarantee for success. That certainly was not the impression of the Presidency-in-action. Constant doubts about the positive outcome persisted throughout the six-month term. Instead of having the luxury to contemplate its long-term strategic moves, the Presidency often threatened to drown in the flood of apparently crucial short-term tactical decisions. The Presidency's role is limited to agenda setting and to formulating compromise solutions. In the final analysis, the Presidency was therefore entirely dependent on the attitude of the other Member States, the Commission and the European Parliament.

(Editor's note: The analysis presented in this article is that of the author and does not necessarily reflect the views of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

Comments on the Ruling of the German Constitutional Court on the Maastricht Treaty

Kurt Riechenberg

On October 12, 1993, the German Constitutional Court dismissed the legal challenges raised by several individuals, the most prominent being the former Chief of Staff of Commissioner Bangemann, against the act of ratification of the Treaty on European Union as approved by the Bundestag and the Bundesrat. The unanimous decision by the Court removed the last obstacle to the entry into force of the most important Treaty in recent history relative to European integration.

However, the ruling of the Constitutional Court contains a series of very important statements concerning the nature of the projected European Union and the distribution of powers between that entity and the Member States.

First, the Court defines the European Union as "Staatenverbund," i.e., something in between an association of states and a confederate entity. The Court emphasizes that the Treaty does not imply the gradual disappearance of the nation-state and that the governments of the Member States remain the "master" of that Treaty. Of course, this focus on the intergovernmental aspect of European integration is highly debatable.

The entire reasoning of the Court revolves around Article 38 of the German Constitution, the only ground for action to be held admissible by the Court. The above-mentioned provision stipulates that the German Parliament (Bundestag) has to be elected in general, free and secret elections. The Court interprets this provision as establishing the principle of democracy.

As regards the significance of that principle in relation to German participation in international or supranational organizations, the Court establishes the following three requirements for such participation:

- (1) The power transferred to an international body must be clearly defined by the act of ratification.
- (2) The international organization to which these powers are transferred must be subject to democratic control relative to the legislative and administrative activities.
- (3) Since European Union does not imply the disappearance of the Member States, substantial powers must be preserved by the national legislature.

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These three requirements are placed by the Court into the specific European context.

As to the first requirement, the Court emphasizes an interpretation of the Maastricht Treaty according to its wording. The Court warns that any interpretation going beyond the letter of that treaty would not be binding upon Germany. This warning refers to all institutions of the Union, including the judicial branch.

With regard to the second requirement, the Court recognizes that rulemaking in the European Community satisfies the minimum conditions for democratic legitimation. At the same time the Court clearly indicates that there is ample room for improvement, especially with view to the powers of the European Parliament and the necessity for a uniform election procedure. The Court also emphasizes the obligations of the European institutions towards the Member States and their citizens according to Article 5 of the Rome Treaty. It is interesting to note that in this context the Court cites the Zwartfeld decision of the European Court of Justice. In this case, the Luxembourg Court overruled a claim of executive privilege made by the Commission against a request for documents by a national judge. In its discussion of the democratic legitimation of European rulemaking the Court also mentions the transparency of the European procedures and the necessity that each European citizen should be able to communicate in his or her language with the European institutions.

The third development of the Court is probably the most debatable, i.e., the statement that Community jurisdiction is the exception and that national jurisdiction is the rule. On the basis of that finding the Court is able to reach the conclusion that significant legislative powers remain in the national sphere.

The Court's discussion of the subsidiarity principle has to be placed in this context. In addition, the Court - and this is one of the most surprising declarations of the ruling - holds that the European Court of Justice has to ensure respect of the subsidiarity principle. There is a considerable amount of discussion in Europe as to whether this principle may be subject to judicial review.

As to the protection of fundamental rights, the Court seems to retreat somewhat from its 1986 decision recognizing that the European Court of Justice is the primary judicial institution in charge of the task of supervising the respect of fundamental rights by the European institutions. Now, the German Constitutional Court refers to a relationship of "cooperation" with the Luxembourg Court in this area. It remains unclear what the term "cooperation" means.

It is obvious that the ruling of the German Court has been influenced by the wording of the amendment to the German Constitution according to which (Article 23) legislative powers may be transferred to a European Union "committed

to democracy, the rule of law and federalist principles as well as the protection of fundamental rights on a level similar to the one provided by the (German) Constitution."

It remains to be seen whether the ruling of the German Constitutional Court fulfills the pacifying purpose that should attach to any Supreme Court ruling or whether it will prove to be an invitation to future legal challenges to European legislative or administrative activity.

A Report on EC Studies in the United States

Carl Lankowski

I have been commissioned by the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) Executive Committee to draft a report on U.S. individuals, institutions, and associations engaged in European Community studies through a survey of publications and meetings. The following paragraphs offer a brief summary and interpretation of the findings of that effort. Readers should note that, though the survey was conducted systematically, it can hardly be considered the "last word" on EC studies in the United States. Rather, the report is summarized here to give *Newsletter* readers a brief, but necessarily incomplete, inventory of work being done in the United States.

Some of the more surprising results of the survey include the following:

- * at least six hundred U.S. American academics are actively involved in EC Studies;
- * there appear to be more U.S. American academics actively pursuing EC studies than Europeans;
- * as an organization, ECSA's *differentia specifica* is that it is the preferred academic network for analysis of EC questions by both Americans and Europeans.

How the Report was Generated

Names and affiliations were captured according to a narrow definition of "EC studies." The main inclusion criterion was that the individual had to have produced work in which the European Communities figured as a substantive focus of inquiry. Indicators for "substantive focus" consisted of explicit mention of EC, integration, "Europe" used as a subject or an independent variable, and the like.

Carl Lankowski, Assistant Professor of Comparative and Regional Studies, American University School of International Service, is Secretary of the European Community Studies Association.

Identification of names involved a three-stage process. The first stage searched for authors attached to book titles in the retrieval system of the Washington Library Consortium. The second stage involved physical inspection of all scholarly journals deemed relevant to the search held by American University's main collection. Fifty-six (56) journals were surveyed. The net was cast widely. Surveyed were journals on political science, comparative politics, international relations, administration, European affairs, history, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, women's studies, peace studies, third world studies, philosophy, and business. Time ran out before a comprehensive search of Law periodicals could be undertaken. The third stage of the project involved surveying the annual (or periodical) meeting programs of the following organizations for panels, papers, and presentations on the EC: American Political Science Association, American History Association, American Sociological Association, American Anthropological Association, Allied Social Science Associations (which includes the American Economics Association), the Council for European Studies, International Studies Association, and, of course, ECSA itself.

The Results: Aggregate Data

My research produced 599 names spread over eleven disciplinary affiliations or multidisciplinary units. The disciplinary/unit assignments are as follows:

Political Science	320 (53%)
Economics	69 (12%)
Business	25 (4%)
Law*	9 (2%)
History	24 (4%)
Sociology	10 (2%)
Anthropology	27 (5%)
Other	115 (19%)

* Law data underrepresented in the sample.

Of the 115 entries in the "other" category, 63 (11% of the sample) belong to individuals employed because of their academic credentials by non-academic organizations (the government and "think-tanks").

Although the search covered activity from 1985 onward, entries were made on the basis of most recent activity. The results, classified by citation-year, are as follows:

1993	193 (32%)
1992	113 (19%)
1991	130 (22%)
1990	61 (10%)
1989	62 (10%)
Prior to 1989	40 (7%)

The volume of EC activities is probably greater than many would have suspected on the basis of the eclipse of EC studies from the mid-1970s to the end of the 1980s. Together with the citation-year data presented below, the figures would seem to confirm rapid movement into EC studies. This trend is substantiated in detail when the professional organizations are examined with time series data.

Fully 226 different institutions are represented in the sample of 599 citations. Institutions with several citations include Harvard University with 21, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Georgetown University and UC-Berkeley with 14 each, George Mason University with 13, the University of Southern California with 11, the University of Pittsburgh with 9, American University with 7, George Washington University and the New School for Social Research with 6 each, and the University of Georgia with 4. The aforementioned eleven schools (5% of the institutions in the sample) account for 22% of the total academic citations.

If we look at metropolitan regions as the aggregation point, we find the highest densities of EC studies activity in metropolitan Washington, DC, followed by Boston, the San Francisco Bay area, greater New York city, Chicago and environs, and Atlanta. Washington's preeminent position is further reinforced if non-academic institutions are brought into the picture. These seven areas account for 268 citations or precisely 50% of the academics in the sample. The remaining institutions are spread more or less evenly across the United States. Arkansas, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, and New Hampshire are the only states not represented in the survey.

As for the 63 non-academic citations, the Congressional Research Service topped the list with 15, followed by the Brookings Institution with 5, the American Enterprise Institute (4), the Council on Foreign Relations, Institute on International Economics, Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Wilson Center with 3 each, and National Science Foundation and Carnegie Endowment with 2 each. The remaining 23 citations were distributed over a wide variety of institutions specializing in security in security studies, Islamic culture, the global environment, the Holocaust Memorial Museum, contract research groups and the Federal Reserve.

The Results: Activity in Professional Associations

Data is presented for meetings held since the ratification of the Single European Act for five disciplinary and three interdisciplinary professional associations. This data provides a "moving picture" of trends in EC Studies over time and a basis for evaluating the contributions of each of the disciplinary organizations as well as the special role of ECSA

itself. In each case, figures have been generated for the number of panels, the number of EC panels, the number of EC papers and/or presentations, and the number of EC papers presented by US-resident academics. The disciplinary associations follow:

Political Science (American Political Science Association)

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1985	*	1	4	1
1986		4	7	5
1987		3	4	3
1988		0	0	0
1989		4	15	14
1990		16	34	34
1991		16	51	45
1992		15	55	50

*I did not count the number of panels for APSA meetings, but there are normally around 500 with about 4 participants each, for roughly 2,000 presentations per meeting.

Economics (Allied Social Science Association)

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1990	431	8	31	16
1993	453	12	35	27

Sociology (American Sociological Association)

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1988	—	0	0	0
1989	—	0	0	0
1990	—	0	0	0
1991	322	1	1	1
1992	377	6	9	9

History (American Historical Association)

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1988	—	0	0	0
1989	140	1	5	2
1990	140	2	10	10
1991	140	1	4	4
1992	149	1	5	5

Anthropology (American Anthropological Association)

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1987	—	0	0	0
1988	374	2	14	14
1989	414	2	3	3
1990	339	4	6	6
1991	—	0	0	0
1992	449	1	2	1

The data above shows that, among the discipline-based professional associations, political science experiences very rapid growth in American EC panel presentations from their literal absence in 1988 and low levels prior to that. From zero presentations in 1988, the APSA figures peak in 1992 at 50 American presentations. Economics appears to follow this trend, with 16 U.S. presentations on the EC in 1990 and 27 in 1993. Sociology and History show similar crescendos of EC presentations in 1992, though at much lower levels. Anthropology is out of phase, peaking in 1988 with 14 American presentations (the year in which the APSA had none) and declining thereafter.

The data for multidisciplinary organizations is as follows:

Council for European Studies

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1990	30	2	4	4
1991	35	15	--	29
1992	35	16	--	33

International Studies Association

	<u>Panels</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>
1986	156	5	13	8
1987	153	4	23	8
1988	146	4	8	6
1989	415	21	73	36
1990	174	14	34	26
1991	206	11	31	25
1992	227	14	48	27
1993	305	19	49	33

European Community Studies Association

	<u>Panel's</u>	<u>EC Panels</u>	<u>EC Papers</u>	<u>US Present</u>	<u>**</u>
1989	41	41	166	70	33
1991	48	48	231	107	30
1993	42	42	215	116	15

**U.S. non-academic presentations.

Each of the multidisciplinary associations manifest the same progression in EC presentations noted for the disciplinary organizations, but with larger numbers. The APSA is the only disciplinary association with a comparable number of American presentations, with 50 in 1992, in contrast to 33 each for the CES and the ISA, in 1992 and 1993, respectively. The European Community Studies Association out-performs all organizations surveyed, at least in terms of volume.

Therefore, my first conclusion is that ECSA functions as the preferred site for sharing EC-related academic work in the United States. It is virtually self-evident that exchanges of

views with European counterparts constitutes a very important requirement for the robustness of American analysis. The following table shows the balance between European and US presenters in the ISA and ECSA:

	<u>ISA</u>		<u>ECSA</u>	
	(EUR)	(US)	(EUR)	(US)
1986	5	8	--	--
1987	15	8	--	--
1988	2	6	--	--
1989	37	36	65	70
1990	8	26	--	--
1991	6	25	97	107
1992	21	27	--	--
1993	16	33	99	101

The pattern shows rough parity of European/US participation at around 100 from each side of the Atlantic for ECSA (200 total). The ISA figures fluctuate between 37/36 at the London meeting in 1989 to 6/25 in Vancouver in 1991, i.e., the European/US ratio on this side of the Atlantic is typically 1:3 with total participation never exceeding 48. Consequently, my data show that ECSA has established itself as the primary organization for sharing analysis on the EC between Americans and Europeans.

Finally, let us look at the disciplinary composition of ECSA's three biennial conferences:

	<u>1989</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1993</u>
Pol Science	44	76	65
Economics	6	10	9
Sociology	1	0	5
History	5	4	5
Anthropology	0	3	0
Business	1	2	5
Law	2	2	3
Non-Academic	33	30	15
Undetermined	13	8	10

The results of this tabulation are broadly in line with the disciplinary breakdown of the sample as a whole. Only the economists are somewhat underrepresented in the conferences. The non-academic category includes individuals from governmental organizations, think-tanks, practicing lawyers, business people, and representatives of NGO's. This dimension, especially in the degree which it is present, is unique among all professional organizations surveyed.

Readers interested in contributing to the Essays section of the Newsletter should contact Bill Burros, ECSA administrative director at 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA, phone (412) 648-7635, fax (412) 648-1168, e-mail: ECSA@VMS.CIS.PITT.EDU

BOOK REVIEW

The Social Dimension of 1992: Europe Faces a New EC, by Beverly Springer (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992), xiii + pp. 177.

This easy-to-read book examines the social consequences of the completion of the Single European Market (SEM). In the context of the EC 1992 agenda, the author explicates those controversial aspects of the proposed social policies that appertain to the ambitious agenda of an integrated Europe. With precision and elan, Springer examines the inner workings of the Community and clarifies interactions between national elites and EC institutions vis-a-vis the decision-making process.

The Social Dimension is rich in bibliography, and Springer's theses are amply supported by charts on pertinent indicators, which are available in the appendix. It is a remarkable book in scope and substance, with a limited, but crucial, theoretical discourse. Springer displays a talent for writing: what is complex, she makes clear, and struggling with an array of difficult issues, she avoids being esoteric. Politicians, policy-makers, Eurocrats, and bureaucrats, among others--especially in Europe--will find that the book reflects cogently on what has transpired, on where leaders erred, and on moments of missed opportunity.

The beginning three chapters of The Social Dimension, introductory in nature, are a good review for both the novice and experts on the EC. They cover, *inter alia*, the institutions of the EC, the genesis of the 1992 initiative, and contemporary employment policies in the member states. The discussion on the institutions of the EC characterizes functions mandated by the founding treaties of the 1950s, outlining how each fared in the evolution of an integrated Community. This discussion also describes the decision-making process before and after the Single European Act (SEA). In covering the origin, scope, and purpose of the 1992 agenda (described in the book as "the marketing coup of the 1980s" [p. 13]), Springer questions if the 1992 initiative will result in a Community for businesses or in a Europe for the people. Her evidence suggests that the primary purpose of the internal market agenda was to enable European businesses to compete in the international arena. The author provides an overview of current employment trends in the member states, of regional differences, of the changing nature of work in an age of technology, and of the status of migrant workers within and outside of the EC. Chapter 3 focuses on the differences in employment trends and the variety of responses to unemployment by member states. These problems, Springer intimates, inhibit the realization of a common labor market.

Against the backdrop of the introductory chapters, Springer fleshes out the intricacies of the social dimension of the SEM. Issues covered in the last chapters run the gamut of social concerns in contemporary industrial societies. The logical manner in which the issues are introduced and discussed must be applauded. For example, in Chapter 4, the author acquaints the reader with the evolution of the Community's social policy, tracing it from token references in the Treaty of Rome to the controversial Fifth Directive and European Company Statute initiatives of the 1970s (among others) and illuminating the reasons behind the conspicuous omission of social policies in the 1985 White Paper (WP). In Chapter 5, Springer shows a deft hand for theoretical discourse as she addresses the politics of the social dimension. Adapting the popular heuristic Eastonian model, she investigates the validity of the neo-functional view of the EC as a process rather than as a goal. To this end, she introduces five questions that help delineate the extent to which the Community characterizes a political system. Four of her questions are answered in the affirmative. She argues that in the EC, there are European interest groups (e.g. the European Trade Union Confederation- ETUC) who articulate demands, just as there are EC elites who operate at the supranational level. Springer avers that the Community's bureaucracy is both workable and autonomous, and that there is effective communication between the Community and its citizens. One may take issue with Springer's sense that there is clear communication between the Community and its citizens: given the current overcast on the Maastricht Treaty, it is apparent that there is a gulf between the masses and EC elites. With regard to the last of the questions posed in this chapter, her analysis concludes that reforms of the political structures are a function of the institutions in question.

In chapters 6 and 7, Springer addresses two salient issues: first, what the completion of the internal market means for women in the Community, and second, the practice of industrial democracy in an integrated EC. In discussing what might be the impact on women of the 1992 agenda, Springer profiles women in the European labor market during the post-WW II era, noting how they were relegated to "feminized" jobs, how they bore the brunt of the downsizing period of the 1970s, and how they were subjected to unequal compensation. The author discusses how national and EC policies designed to rectify the deplorable situation evolved.

The policy changes include replacing paternalistic laws with laws that aspire to equality, standardizing the interpretation of gender discrimination, and regulating for improved enforcement of EC policies. Springer concludes Chapter 7 by asserting that since creating the SEM will entail restructuring in the private sector, women (and feminized jobs) will be susceptible to the changes. She notes that even though these changes are inevitable, neither the WP nor the SEM has addressed the working conditions that affect women. Why the seemingly intended omission in both documents? Springer explains that with regard to the WP, it is obvious that the 282 proposals are essentially economic for the sole purpose of "completing the internal market." As for the SEA, she explains it is not a human rights document and attributes the omission to Article 100, which requires unanimous voting on the rights of employees. Although the author acknowledges that the Commission, under pressure, has responded to the plight of women with a number of policies designed to mitigate the social costs of a SEM, she emphasizes the fact that more attention to the concerns of women is needed.

Chapter 7 focuses on industrial democracy. Here, Springer looks at employee-management relations, tracing them back to the Socialist and Catholic philosophers of the nineteenth century. She centers her brilliant discussion on what must be done at the supra-national level to ensure "worker participation," and furnishes the reader with three models for attaining this participation available at the national level within the EC. In addition, Springer analyzes the European Company Statute and the Social Charter. As well as being a rich discourse on codetermination as practiced in Europe, this chapter illuminates the impact that ideology has on the political dynamics of the Community. For example, of the three models of codetermination available at the national level, the author notes that the British Trade Union Congress (TUC) rejected the adoption of the German model at the EC level out of concern that it would coopt workers. In the same vein, Belgian trade unions rejected the German model because it affirmed capitalism.

Springer interweaves the specific threads of her discussion with an overview of the unusual, speedy, political journey and passage of the Charter of Fundamental Social Rights. She provides a glimpse of the normal legislative process that proposals go through and how, as well as why, the Commission, with the blessing of the Council, circumvented the process. This survey is a worthy addition to the book.

The overarching message of Chapter 8--as in much of the book--is that EC policy needs to be standardized, because national policies vary to the extreme. Specifically, Springer treats three areas of the Social Dimension that did not enjoy broad public debate: Health & Safety (H&S) policy of the EC, the Atypical Work directive of the EC, and the Community's

Social Fund program. Though these issues seem to be overlooked, Springer provides a plausible explanation for their absence in public debate: the issues are inundated with technicalities. In order for the public to participate in the discussion of the merits and the demerits of, say, H&S concerns in the workplace throughout the Community, the populace must be knowledgeable about the technical substance of the issue. Using these three issues, plus a consideration of gender discrimination, Springer builds a case for a standardized EC policy that could smooth the marked differences in national definitions and reporting styles and the need to avoid social dumping, which can inhibit the Community's ability to achieve a qualified and mobile work force in a single labor market.

The objective of creating a vibrant European labor market is the concern of Chapter 9. Springer notes that, in spite of the broad acknowledgment for it in the EC, a vigorous labor market remains elusive. She distinguishes between the old migrants (from other EC states and non-EC countries) who filled semi/unskilled labor positions during the economic miracle period and the new migrants, mostly "white-collar or technical people who move about Europe as employees of transnational corporations" (p. 112). Springer contends that the white-collar workers need EC policies that will protect them from the nit-picky and otherwise technical barriers of national governments, assuring free movement of occupations. She laments that, whereas legal barriers have been dealt with, there are sociological barriers (e.g. language, family ties, and culture) less amenable to EC regulations. The Commission has recognized these concerns, Springer says, and has pressed ahead with policies intended to eradicate the technical barriers that abound in the EC. To this end--since 1988--the Community has adopted a system of mutual recognition and has embraced a host of programs that will improve the quality of the work force in the entire EC and will ultimately enhance the competitiveness of EC firms.

In her final statements, Springer analyzes the meaning of the social dimension for the integration of the Community. Asserting that the SEM undoubtedly has a social dimension, she contends that the pressing task is to ensure that workers do not become the sacrificial lambs of a completed internal market. Springer poses three enlightening and interrelated questions and discussions by way of evaluating the short- and long-term goals of the social dimension.

First, she argues that there is no body of social policies comparable to the WP's economic policies. Noting that the social dimension is by no means revolutionary--since it constitutes a set of protections and benefits for employees to supplement those assurances available at the national levels--Springer asserts that many aspects of the document exist only in principle.

Second, she concludes that the creation of the social

dimension has profoundly affected EC politics, noting that there are *bona fide* new pan-European actors and national actors (e.g. ETUC and Britain's TUC, among others) who have begun to take an active part in EC-wide affairs in search of what Springer characterizes as a European solution to a European problem for a people's Europe.

Third, Springer argues that "the social dimension is the most important building block to date in the construction of a people's Europe" (p. 129), especially since it has served to mobilize popular involvement in the Community.

The book concludes with a brief discussion of the democratic deficit of the EC and how the politics of the social dimension have helped democratize policy-making process in the Community.

The Social Dimension of 1992 is a thoroughly researched and well-written book. It is also an overdue analysis of the social consequences of the 1992 agenda, and a forthright and succinct exposition of how the completion of the internal market affects workers, the labor market, and labor movements in the Community. Although the book was written before the Maastricht Treaty was signed, it nevertheless is relevant to the current hiccup in the treaty's ratification. Springer freely admits the book is dated in some areas, but it clearly should still be mandatory reading for those interested in the dynamics of the EC, because it illuminates the political wranglings encountered when proposals are introduced to the legislative process in the Community. The theoretical discussions are as powerful and enlightening as the rest of the book.

Springer's is one of those rare works difficult to fault; but in a nit-picking way, I confess that I was frustrated by one thing: the clutter of explanations in parentheses. Why were these not made into footnotes or endnotes? I would also suggest that to empower her argument, Springer include her charts with the corresponding discussions rather than secreting them in the appendix.

Springer has clearly made an important contribution to the literature on the EC in general and to the social dimension of 1992 in particular. I recommend the book without reservation.

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PUBLICATIONS

JOURNALS

***Journal of European Public Policy* Special Subscription Offer for ECSA Members**

The *Journal of Public Policy (JEPP)* is now being offered to ECSA members at the reduced yearly subscription rate of \$34.00, a 30% discount from the regular rate of \$48.00. The *JEPP* publishes contributions from all the social sciences and from practitioners at the national and European level in a wide range of European public policy areas. Those interested should contact Carol Payne, Subscriptions, ITPS Ltd., Cheriton House, North Way, Andover SP10 5BE, United Kingdom. Tel +44 (0) 264-342817 Fax +44 (0) 264 342807

Journal of Areas Studies

The *Journal of Area Studies*, which was not published between 1988 and 1992, was relaunched in September, 1992. There are two issues published per year, each issue focusing on one main theme with some space for additional separate contributions. Interested subscribers are asked to contact: Subscriptions Secretary, Department of European Studies, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leics LE11 3TU, United Kingdom.

***The European Journal for Political Research* Annual Review**

The *European Journal for Political Research* has begun publishing an *Annual Review* of literature. The *Review* will

(Continued on page 24)

Call for Papers and Guidelines for State of the European Community Submissions

A Project of the European Community Studies Association

Proposals are Due March 15, 1994

On November 1, 1993 the Treaty on European Union, more commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, came into effect. This marked the beginning of the European Union, a new constitutional structure which portends a new era in the evolution of European integration, and the end of a difficult and complex ratification process. The third volume of The State of the European Community will focus on how the European Union Treaty ratification process survived the pressures of a monetary crisis, continuing paralysis over the Yugoslavian conflict, a noticeable strain in the historical French-German relationship, ongoing discord in the Uruguay Round, and perhaps most importantly, double digit unemployment. In this context, it will examine the tide of events, national and Community responses, international bargains and institutional developments that explain the survival of the goals set at Maastricht. It will also examine how these goals have been bruised, modified, and reconsidered in the process, and how the actors involved -- member governments, Community, political parties, interest groups -- have affected and have been affected by these circumstances.

This project is part of an ongoing biennial effort aimed at updating scholars and policy makers on the events of the past two years. It is also aimed at following the excellent lead taken by Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal in their volume The State of the European Community, Vol. 2: The Maastricht Debates and Beyond in requesting that authors place their contributions within a conceptual framework. In fact, it is our goal to take the latter effort a bit further by requesting that authors consider their examinations in the context of the state of European Community Studies. How do the events, policies or activities that they describe contribute to our understanding of existing and emerging theory concerning international relations, integration, national politics, interest groups, voter behavior, etc? Conversely, how has the evolution of this theory contributed to our understanding of Community and member state activities during the past two years? We encourage contributions about the place of the European Community in the development of international relations theory and comparative political theory, as well as institutional analysis and public policy. We welcome innovative interpretations of Community developments in terms of institution building, member state relations, policy developments, implementation challenges, and external relations.

Paper proposals should be typed and no longer than 500 words. They should be accompanied by the author's curriculum vitae. Proposals should contain the following information:

1. Author's name, institutional affiliation, address, phone and FAX numbers.
2. Proposed paper title.
3. A brief description of the proposed contribution including its potential theoretical and substantive significance.

The editors reserve the right to solicit proposals in needed areas if the call for proposals does not produce them. Authors will be notified of their acceptance by **May 1, 1994**.

Proposals chosen for inclusion in this volume will commit the author to the following expectations:

1. Papers must be submitted to the editors by **September 1, 1994**.
2. Two double-spaced typed copies of the paper as well as a disk copy utilizing Word Perfect 5.0, 5.1, or 6.0 format must be submitted.
3. Papers must be written in English and should conform to the Chicago Manual of Style.
4. Currently a grant proposal has been submitted to provide at least \$100 honorarium for each contributor. This is pending, and authors will be apprised of the status of the of the grant when a decision is reached.
5. **PAPERS ARE REVIEWED BY THE EDITORS FOR THEIR QUALITY AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES. REVISION IS EXPECTED WHEN NECESSARY, AND THE EDITORS RESERVE THE RIGHT TO REJECT ANY FINAL SUBMISSIONS THAT DO NOT MEET THEIR STANDARDS.**
6. The volume is scheduled to go to the press by January 1995.

Please send proposals to one of the co-editors:

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be sold either as a single volume or as part of the annual *EJPR* subscription for 8 volumes. Interested subscribers should contact: Michael Moran, European Policy Research Unit, Department of Government, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, United Kingdom.

Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EC

The Bulletin on Women and Employment in the EC provides much information on women in the labor market, and is published twice a year. It is based on reports from the European Network of Experts on the Situation of Women in the Labour Market to the Equal Opportunities Unit. For more information on this publication, please contact: Els Van Winkel, Equal Opportunities Unit, DGV (Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs), European Commission, 200 rue de la loi, B-1049 Brussels, Belgium.

WORKING AND OCCASIONAL PAPERS

Centre for European Studies University of Essex

The Center for European Studies at the University of Essex is publishing a series of Occasional Papers in European Studies, which includes the following titles:

1. *The Future of European Security*, by Christoph Bluth;
2. *The European Parliament - More Democracy or More Rhetoric*, by Steve Ollerenshaw; and
3. *The Danish Co-operative Movement - A Paradigm for Eastern Europe*, by Thomas Dodd.

These papers are available for £2.50 each from the Centre for European Studies, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ Tel +44 (0) 206 872688.

Center for German and European Studies University of California

The University of California Center for German and European Studies has launched a major research initiative, which is organized around four principal thematic areas: Political Economy of European Integration, European Political Relations and Institutions, European Political and Social Cultures, and European Socioeconomic Integration. The Center has established a Working Paper series to make the results of this research available and to circulate work in progress prior to its final publication. In addition to the research of these four formally established study groups, the Working Papers include specially selected papers from

conferences that have been presented by the Center, as well as papers prepared for professional meetings and other research of particular relevance to the Center's research mission. For more information, please contact the Center for German and European Studies, International and Area Studies, University of California, 254 Moses Hall, Berkeley, CA 94720.

Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs (CEEPA), University College Dublin

The CEEPA has recently published four more papers in its series 'Working Papers in European Economic and Public Affairs'. They are:

1. *World Market Integration and Economic Stabilisation in Hungary: Irish Parallels and Messages*, by Sylvia Borbély;
2. *European Integration: A Life-Line for Irish Local Authorities?*, by Carmel Coyle;
3. *Theory and the Internationalization of Governance: Bringing Public Opinion Back In*, by Richard Sinnott; and
4. *Policy, Subsidiarity and Legitimacy*, by Richard Sinnott.

For more information regarding these papers, please contact the Director, Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs, University College Dublin, Belfield, Dublin 4, Ireland.

The Phillip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research

The Phillip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research announces a series of discussion papers. Two of these papers have been published - *Towards a European Immigration Policy* and *What is European Security After the Cold War?*

The latter paper includes contributions from Manfred Wörner, Secretary General of NATO; Hikmet Çetin, Turkey's Foreign Minister; François Heisbourg, Senior Vice President of Matra Defence; Simon Lunn, Deputy Secretary General of the North Atlantic Assembly; and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, until recently Poland's Defence Minister. The outlook for European Monetary Union will be the subject of PMI's third paper, to be published in March. For more information, please contact the Phillip Morris Institute for Public Policy Research, 6, Rue des Patriotes, B-1040, Brussels, Belgium. Tel (32.2) 732.1156 Fax (32.2) 732.1307

Sussex European Institute Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies

The Sussex European Institute has recently published two Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies. They are:

1. *Sanctions in Serbia: Sledgehammer or Scalpel?*, by Dr. Vesna Bojicic and Dr. David Dyker (June 1993); and

2. *The Future for a European Foreign and Security Policy*, by Dr. Gunther Burghardt (August 1993).

Each working paper is £5.00. For more information, please contact the Sussex European Institute, Arts Building, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, UK.

BOOKS RECEIVED

David S. Germroth and Rebecca J. Hudson. *Beyond the Cold War: American Foreign Policy and the German Question*. Alexandria, VA: R.J. Hudson Consultants, 1993.

M. Klein and P.J.J. Welfens, eds. *Multinationals in the New Europe and Global Trade*. New York: Springer, 1992.

Heinz D. Kurz, ed. *United Germany and the New Europe*. Edward Elgar Publishing Co., 1993.

David W.P. Lewis. *The Road to Europe: History, Institutions and Prospects of European Integration 1945-1993*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1993.

Christopher Lord. *British Entry to the European Community Under the Heath Government of 1970-74*. Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1993.

Brent F. Nelson, ed. *Norway and the European Community: The Political Economy of Integration*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993.

William Nicoll and Trevor C. Salmon. *Understanding the New European Community*. Hertfordshire, England: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994.

Geraldine Prince, ed. *A Window on Europe: The Lothian European Lectures 1992*. Edinburgh: Canongate Press Ltd, 1993.

U.S. Chamber of Commerce. *Europe 1992: A Practical Guide for American Business, Update #4*. Washington, DC: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1993.

M.P.C.M. Van Schendelen, ed. *National Public and Private EC Lobbying*. Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1993.

P. J.J. Welfens, ed. *Economic Aspects of German Unification: National and International Perspectives*. New York: Springer, 1992.

ASSOCIATION NEWS

In addition to the items below, readers should also be aware of the following Association announcements in this *Newsletter*:

1. Call for Panels and Papers, 1995 ECSA Conference p. 2
2. Preliminary Program for 1994 ECSA Workshop p. 3
3. ECSA Grant and Fellowship Programs (Graduate Fellowships, Dissertation Fellowships, and Curriculum Development Grants) p. 7
4. Special subscription offer for ECSA members to *Journal of European Public Policy* p. 22
5. Call for papers and submission guidelines for *State of the European Community, Vol. 3* p. 23

Special Book Offer to ECSA Members From Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. is pleased to offer ECSA members special rates on several Association-sponsored books, including *The State of the European Community, Volume 2: The Maastricht*

Debates and Beyond, Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal, editors. The regular price for this volume is \$49.95 plus shipping - ECSA members pay only \$39.95, which includes shipping fees. Reduced prices are also offered for *The State of the European Community Volume 1: Policies, Institutions, and Debates in the Transition Years*, Leon Hurwitz and Christian Lequesne, editors, and for *Europe and Africa: The New Phase*, I. William Zartman, editor. To order these volumes, please use the form on the last page of the *Newsletter*. This special offer is only available to ECSA members.

Membership Mailing List Policy Adopted

The Executive Committee has decided that the Association's mailing list will be made available only to organizations and individuals with goals consistent with those of ECSA - namely, to promote general and specialized knowledge of the European Union. This policy will safeguard the interests of ECSA members by preventing the distribution of unwelcome materials.

Grants Pending

The European Commission and the United States Mission to the European Communities (1994): \$40,000 for support of 1994 ECSA Workshop.

The Ford Foundation (1994-1995-1996): \$200,000 for programmatic activities and administrative operations.

The Office of Press and Public Affairs, Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities, Washington D.C. (1994): \$63,500 for programmatic activities and administrative operations.

ECSA NEWSLETTER

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MEMO

A Guide to Institutions after Maastricht*

The entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty on European Union on November 1, 1993 has introduced some changes in terminology regarding the European Community and some of its institutions. For your guidance:

The European Union is now the umbrella term referring to a three "pillar" construction encompassing the European Community (EC) and the two new pillars - Common Foreign and Security Policy (including defense) and Justice and Home Affairs (notably cooperation between police and other authorities on crime, terrorism, and immigration issues).

The European Community: the EC continues to exist as a legal entity within the broader framework of the Union. As before, it encompasses all policies derived from the founding Treaties, such as the single market. However, the European Union will always be the easiest term to use, in view of the difficulties of delineating what is strictly EC or Union business.

The Council of Ministers of the European Union: this decision-making body took the decision November 5 to change its name from the Council of Ministers of the European Communities to the EU Council of Ministers.

The European Council: which convenes heads of state or government of the member states for a twice-yearly summit, retains its name.

The European Commission: on November 17, the EC Commission decided to use European Commission in all but legal and formal contexts (where it is still called the Commission of the European Communities). Beginning January 1995, Commission terms will be five years instead of four.

The European Parliament: the directly-elected Parliament, which has gained co-decision powers under the Maastricht Treaty, retains its name. It will hold EU-wide elections in June 1994 for 567 seats (as opposed to the present 518). This increase reflects the changes due to the unification of Germany.

The European Court of Justice: The Court, which comprises 13 judges who adjudicate disputes regarding application of the Treaties, retains its name.

The Court of Auditors: the Court of Auditors, which monitors budget spending, retains its name.

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