



EDITORIAL

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UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

I am pleased to report on a number of activities, some of them in the near future, others a bit more distant. From May 16 to May 19, 1996, Prof. Carolyn Rhodes will conduct an ECSA Workshop in Jackson Hole, Wyoming, the theme of which is "The European Union in the World." Papers and discussion will go beyond the international relations of the EU to analyze the character of the EU as an international actor in its own right. The importance of the EU will be considered from a functional (e.g. trade, monetary affairs, the environment) and geographical (e.g. Eastern Europe, the Balkans) perspective. Rhodes is pursuing publication of the workshop papers as an edited volume, and a summary of the workshop's findings will be included in the Fall 1996 *Newsletter*. The workshop is generously funded by the Delegation of the European Commission in Washington, DC, and Utah State University.

Let me also provide advance notice of the next biennial international conference of the ECSA, to be held in Seattle from May 29 to June 1, 1997. A good deal of preparatory work for the meetings has already been done -- the hotel has been selected, availability of good flights and connections have been verified, etc. -- and a Call for Papers appears on page two of this *Newsletter*. Many thanks go to Prof. John Keeler, Director of the Center for West European Studies at the University of Washington, for agreeing to serve as host of the Conference, and to Prof. Gary Marks of the University of North Carolina for accepting the Executive Committee's request to serve as Chair of the Program Committee. We have every expectation of continuing the line of successful ECSA conferences.

ECSA continues to sponsor a number of research and teaching activities of interest to our members. We hope (pending funding) to continue support of the Jacques Delors Fellowship at the European University Institute, Florence, during the 1996-1997 academic year. This Fellowship provides an excellent opportunity to carry out research within a genuinely European setting. In addition, we will continue to offer four dissertation fellowships for students pursuing research on the EU. Funding from the European Commission Delegation has also been approved for continued support of a Graduate Fellowship in European Integration at the College of Europe, and support is pending for similar fellowships at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and the Université de Nancy II. Details for all of these

programs are available in this *Newsletter*, and on the ECSA-USA World Wide Web page at <http://www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101>.

Finally, we have an exciting "communications" prospect on the horizon. During a visit to Brussels last December, I had extensive discussions with Mme. Jacqueline Lastenouse and Dr. Bertrand Soret (both of DGX, European Commission) about putting ECSA-World on the internet. Soret has undertaken the initiatives and is currently doing the work to assure that this worthwhile aim becomes a reality.

If it does, it will mean that all of the national ECSAs (there are 32 in total, including ECSA-USA) will share extensive information concerning their activities via the internet. We will have instant access to information about scholarship (research projects, papers, workshops) on the European Union in all countries which have an ECSA association. It will be relatively easy to be in touch with colleagues who share teaching and research interests and to engage in the exchange of information. Our administrative director, Bill Burros, is working with Soret in gathering the necessary information and integrating ECSA-USA into the net. We will do our best to keep you informed about progress on this matter. Questions can always be sent to Bill via e-mail at ecsa+@pitt.edu.

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Call for Panels and Papers

Fifth Biennial ECSA International Conference

May 29 to June 1, 1997 Seattle, Washington

The European Community Studies Association (ECSA) invites scholars and practitioners engaged in the study of the European Union to submit panel and paper proposals for the 1997 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 Union. Participation by graduate students is welcomed. A limited amount of funding for participant travel may be available.

Panel proposals should include: (1) names, affiliations, and full 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.

Proposals must be received by November 10, 1996. Please send proposals and direct inquiries to:

Bill Burros
Administrative Director
European Community Studies Association
405 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA

Phone (412) 648-7635
Fax (412) 648-1168
E-mail: ecsa+@pitt.edu

ECSA Workshop

"The European Union in the World"

May 16-19, 1996 Jackson Hole, Wyoming

This Workshop will be devoted to an analysis and evaluation of the European Union as an actor in international affairs. Funding for the Workshop is provided by Utah State University and the European Commission Delegation, Washington, DC.

A large number of paper proposals for the Workshop were received in response to an announcement in the Fall 1995 ECSA Newsletter. A final program for the Workshop will be established shortly. Due to limited funds, the format of the Workshop, and the requirement that students of Utah State University have access to all sessions, participation is limited to paper-givers and discussants. Workshop Organizer Carolyn Rhodes hopes to use the papers presented as the core for an edited book on "The Role of the European Union as an International Actor." A summary of the Workshop will also appear in the Fall 1996 ECSA Newsletter.

For more information, please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office.

UACES Conferences in 1996

The University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) of the UK will sponsor a number of conferences in 1996. These include:

The New Commission, venue and date to be determined;
The Green Agenda for the IGC - the Future of the EU Environmental Policy, London, 29 March;
Aspects of Business in European Integration, London, April/May;
European Monetary Union, London, 24 May;
Governance of the EU, Manchester, date to be determined;
Research Students Conference, London, Autumn; and
European Information Sources and the Academic Sector, venue to be determined, November.

For further information, contact Susan Jones, UACES Administrator, King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS, UK; tel/fax (+44) 171 240 0206; e-mail: <100633.1514@compuserve.com>.

Towards 1996: Problems of Governance in the Post-Cold War Era

early 1996 Brighton, UK

The conference will address the context in which the Inter-governmental Conference will take place and the new kinds of processes and ways of thinking that will have to be introduced if the very real achievements of transnational integration, up to now, are to be sustained and indeed redirected in order to overcome these deeply disturbing tendencies. The focal point of the conference will be the concept of governance. The Conference will bring together Jean Monnet Chairholders in Political Science to investigate these concepts and whether they provide an appropriate framework to understand the growing sense of drift in European governance since the end of the cold War and within which develop proposals for concrete areas of policy Cooperation. It will also include other speakers who can make a significant contribution to the subjects. For information, contact Mary Kaldor, University of Sussex at Brighton, Sussex European Institute, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN, UK; tel (+44)-1273-606755 or 678578; fax (+44)-1273-678571; e-mail: <SEI@sussex.ac.uk>.

The IGC: Preparing Europe for the Next Century

March 7-8, 1996 Paris

This Conference is organized by the Cicero Foundation. Its main themes include: Reforming the Qualified Majority Voting, But How?; Redefining the Relationship Between the European Parliament and the National Parliaments; A Prolonged Preparation of the Membership of the Central and Eastern European Countries?; Home Affairs and

Justice, Appendix of European Integration?; and Will the WEU be transformed into a Fourth Pillar? For more information, contact the Cicero Foundation, c/o Ms. Valérie Cohen, 12 rue Dupleix, F-75015 Paris; fax (+33-1) 42.67.92.04.

Tenth International Conference of Europeanists: An Open Agenda for a New Europe

March 14-17, 1996 Chicago, Palmer House Hilton

The 10th biennial Conference of Europeanists will be held in Chicago at the Palmer House Hilton. Panels have been organized around such themes as: Agricultural Development-Dilemma and Debate; Boundaries and the New Territoriality in Europe; Citizenship; Class Decomposition; The Disappearance of Class as an Analytic Category; Collective Memory and the Construction of Post-Liberation Identities, 1944-1989; Constructing Markets, including the European Union; Corruption and the New Public; Studies in Comparative Scandals; Gendering the Welfare State; Left-Wing Liberalism in Eastern Europe; Long-Term Unemployment; Politics and Film; Privatization and Property. For further information, contact the Council for European Studies, 808-809 International Affairs Building, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027; tel (212) 854-4172 or 4727.

Acceleration, Deepening and Enlarging: The European Economic Community, 1957-1963

March 21-24, 1996 Oxford

The fifth Research Conference will be organised by the European Community Liaison Committee of Historians at St. Anthony's College, University of Oxford in March 1996. Contributions will cover the period after 1958 which was one of major developments both within the international environment surrounding the Community (the second Berlin crisis, "grand designs" for Europe, American security proposals, the creation of the European Free Trade Association, and the first attempted enlargement of the EEC) and within the Community itself (the Fouchet Plan, the creation of the Common Agricultural Policy). The Conference will set the proposals for political union and political cooperation within the context of the acceleration and widening of the Community. It will draw upon the most recently released private and public archival evidence from Western, including Community, and Eastern archives. For information, contact Prof. Anne Deighton or Prof. Alan Milward, St. Anthony's College, European Studies Centre, Oxford OX2 6JF, UK; tel (+44) 1.865.59651/274470; fax (+44) 1.865.274478.

Challenges To Labor: Integration, Employment, and Bargaining in Scandinavia and the U.S.

March 21 and 22, 1996 Berkeley, CA

The third Peder Sather Symposium, organized by the Center for West European Studies, University of California-Berkeley, in collaboration with the Norwegian and Swedish Consulates General, will gather scholars and policymakers from the United States and Europe for two days to discuss the effects of changes in international economics and politics on labor. The conference will be divided into four sessions: (1) International Sources of Change in Scandinavia: European Integration, Capital Mobility, and Labor Power; (2) Bargaining and Labor Relations in Contemporary Scandinavia; (3) Patterns of Work Organization; and (4) Unemployment and Underemployment. Among the participants will be: Jonas Pontusson, Cornell University; Christine Ingebritsen, University of Washington; Miriam Golden, UCLA; Douglas Hibbs, LO Research Institute, Stockholm; Michael Wallerstein, Northwestern University; as well as a number of Berkeley faculty members from Economics, Geography, Sociology and Political Science. For more information, contact the Center for West European Studies, 248 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94704-2311; tel (510) 642-9314; fax (510) 643-5996; e-mail: <cwes@uclink.berkeley.edu>.

Europe and the World: External Relations, Internal Dynamics

March 28-30, 1996 New York City

The Institute on Western Europe at Columbia University announces its Thirteenth Annual Graduate Student Conference. The Institute invites authors who are currently enrolled in a degree-granting graduate or professional school program to submit papers on all topics related to contemporary Western Europe. Papers are selected on a competitive basis in an anonymous referee process. The Conference plans to pay for presenters' travel to and accommodations during the Conference, and the presenters will compete for three awards carrying prizes of \$300 each.

Papers must be submitted in hard copy **and** on a 3.5" diskette (MS Word preferable). They should be 20-50 pages in length (double-spaced with citations) and include a 1-page abstract. Papers on all topics related to contemporary Western Europe are welcome. The submission deadline is January 31, 1996. Submissions should be sent to the Student Conference Organizing Committee, Institute on Western Europe, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027. Inquiries should be directed to Sarah Lukashok at (212) 854-4618; fax (212) 854-8599.

The European Firm in the Global Economy

April 4-6, 1996 Thessaloniki, Greece

For a list of topics on which proposals for papers could be made, please contact Prof G Papadiodorou, TEI, Economic Society of Thessaloniki, tel 00 30 31 791 206 or fax 00 30 31 791 180.

Historiography and Nation Building: France, Germany & Italy

April 9-11, 1996 Cardiff, Wales

For information on this event, contact Dr. S. Berger, School of European Studies, University of Wales, Cardiff, tel 01222 874 000 x5405.

A Changing Europe in a Changing World: Urban and Regional Issues

April 11-14, 1996 Exeter, UK

Proposals for papers or requests for more details to: Kathy Wood, University of Durham, fax 0191 374 2456, E-mail: "Kathy.Wood@Durham.ac.UK"

France: Future Perfect?

April 12-13, 1996 Kalamazoo, Michigan

This Conference is sponsored by the Center for Western European Studies at Kalamazoo College. It will focus on the agenda for French Studies as we approach the end of the 20th Century; France as actor in the European Union and with the emerging states of eastern Europe; France's role in global affairs; and the question of multiple French "identities." In addition to plenary sessions, the conference will include workshops for secondary and post-secondary educators. For further information contact the Center for West European Studies by phone at (616) 337-7329, by fax at (616) 337-7251, by email at <CFWES@KZOO.EDU>, or contact Kathleen Smith, Romance Languages and Literature, at (616) 337-7117.

Redesigning the European Idea

April 21-24, 1996 University of Canterbury, New Zealand

This is a joint conference organized by the European Community Studies Association of New Zealand (ECSA-NZ) and the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA). Please direct all inquiries to the conference organizer, Dr. M. Holland, Department of Political Science, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch, New Zealand; fax 03 364 2007; e-mail: "M.HOLLAND@pols.canterbury.ac.nz".

Redesigning Europe: Canadian Perspectives on the 1996 IGC

May 31-June 2, 1996 St. Catherine's, Ontario

This is the inaugural conference of the recently formed European Community Studies Association-Canada (ECSA-C). The meeting will be held at Brock University, St. Catherine's under the aegis of the Learned Societies, the rubric under which most academic associations in the Social Sciences and Humanities hold their annual meetings. It will be held just prior to the meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association and overlap with meetings of economists, sociologists, anthropologists, and historians.

Conference papers will examine institutional reforms, Common Foreign and Security Policy, enlargement and other issues confronting the upcoming intergovernmental conference. In light of Canada's persistent preoccupation with questions of federal-provincial relations, the Conference organizers hope to bring a distinct Canadian perspective to the debate on the EU and its emergence as a multi-tiered transnational system of

governance. Confirmed participants include Gijs de Vries, Leader of the Liberal Group in the European Parliament; Brigid Laffan, University College Dublin; Liesbet Hooghe, University of Toronto; Alex Moens, Simon Fraser University; Richard Simeon, University of Toronto; Grace Skogsrand, University of Toronto, and others. Invited participants include Renaud Dehauss, European University Institute and Alberta Sbragia, University of Pittsburgh. A preliminary program is available by e-mail.

For more information, contact Steven Wolinetz (ECSA-C Chair), Department of Political Science, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland A1B 3X9, Canada; tel (709) 737 7413; e-mail: <ECSAC@MORGAN.UCS.MUN.CA>.

The Changing Roles of Parliamentary Committees

June 20-22, 1996 Budapest

Further details for this Conference are available from Attila Agh, Dept. of Political Science, Budapest University of Economic Sciences, Fovám ter 8, 1093 Budapest; Tel/Fax (+36) 1 218 8049 or from Lawrence Longley, Dept. of Government, Lawrence University, Appleton, WI 54912; Tel (414) 832-6673; Fax (414) 832-6944. Lawrence Longley may also be contacted for information on a coordinated, but separately organized second international conference on "The New Democratic Parliaments: the First Years," in Ljubljana, Slovenia. Information on this second conference may also be obtained from Drago Zajc, Dept. of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, P.O. Box 47, 61109 Ljubljana, Slovenia; tel 386 61 168 1461; fax 386 61 168 3421; e-mail <DRAGO.ZAJC@UNI-LJ.SI>.

Memory and History: European Identity at the Millennium

August 19-24, 1996 Netherlands

Further details for this Conference are available from Dr. Debra Kelly, School of Languages, University of Westminster. Tel (+44) 0171 911 5000, Fax 0171 911 5001.

Third ECSA-World Conference: The European Union in a Changing World

September 19-20, 1996 (rescheduled) Brussels

At the time the Newsletter went to press, this Conference had been moved to the dates above. The Conference, organized with the support of the European Commission by the federative body of all the European Community Studies Associations, including ECSA-USA, will consist of several plenary sessions and the following Working and Regional Groups.

WORKING GROUPS

1. Europe and the World Economy: Competitiveness, Competition; Investment
2. Trade Relations
3. Monetary Policy and Capital Markets.
4. Challenge and Instruments of Foreign and Security Policy
5. Europe and the International Migrations

REGIONAL GROUPS

1. The EU and Central and Eastern Europe (including the NIS)
2. The EU and the Mediterranean Countries
3. The EU and North America

4. The EU and Asia
5. The EU and Latin America
6. The EU and Africa

Because of space limitations in the conference facilities, only a very limited number of American scholars will be able to attend. US citizens and permanent residents working in these areas who wish to attend should send a letter requesting an invitation, with a brief curriculum vita, to the ECSA-USA Administrative Office. Please note that citizens of other countries should contact their national ECSA for more information on attending the conference. Accommodations of invited participants will be paid for by the European Commission, but the cost of air travel is the responsibility of the individual scholar.

Fifty Years after Nuremberg: Human Rights and the Rule of Law

October 1996 Storrs, Connecticut

For more information on this Conference, contact Henry Krisch, Dept. of Political Science U-24, University of Connecticut, 341 Mansfield Rd., Storrs, CT 06269-1024; fax: (203) 486-3347; e-mail: "henryk@uconnvm.uconn.edu".

German Studies Association

October 10-13, 1996 Seattle, Washington

The twentieth annual conference of the German Studies Association invites proposals on any aspect of German Studies, including history, *Germanistik*, political science, sociology, philosophy, pedagogy, and the arts. Proposals for entire sessions and for interdisciplinary presentations are encouraged. The deadline for proposals is February 25, 1996. For more information, contact Glenn R. Cuomo, Division of Humanities, New College of USF, 5700 N. Tamiami Trail, Sarasota, FL 34243-2197; tel (941) 359-4262; fax (941) 359-4298; e-mail: <cuomo@virtu.sar.usf.edu>.

Grants and Fellowships

ECSA Graduate Fellowships in European Integration

The European Community Studies Association (ECSA) hopes to offer three M.A. level Graduate Fellowships for the 1996-1997 academic year. Funding has been approved by the European Commission Delegation in Washington, DC for a fellowship leading to the Master's Degree in European Studies at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium. The Fellowship provides \$14,500 toward tuition, living, and travel expenses. ECSA also hopes to receive approval from the Delegation for fellowships at the Institute of European Studies, Brussels University, Belgium, and at the Centre européen universitaire, Université de Nancy II, France. Students must possess a high level of proficiency in the French language, have completed a university degree (B.A. or B.S) by August of 1996, and be U.S. citizens to apply for these fellowships.

The College of Europe is the oldest European institution exclusively devoted to postgraduate teaching, focusing on issues of European integration. The Academic Program of the College of Europe is divided into four departments: European Political and Administrative Studies, European Economic Studies,

The Institute of European Studies, Brussels University (Université Libre de Bruxelles) is exclusively devoted to postgraduate teaching at the Master's level. The Academic Program is divided into four parts: European Law (J.D. required for admission), European Economy, European Policy, and a Complementary Diploma in European Studies.

The Centre européen universitaire, Université de Nancy II organizes postgraduate programs specializing in European problems. Fellowship applicants may choose between three specialized areas of instruction: Civilization (cultural identity of Europe, culture and society in Europe, etc.); Economics and Management Science (Community integration and regulation, business strategy and the single market, financial management and the European domain); and Political and Legal Sciences (legal and political aspects of EC integration).

Students may apply for one, two, or all three of these Fellowships. However, students applying for more than one Fellowship must provide a clear explanation of why their qualifications and interests are suitable for each program chosen. Students applying for more than one program must also state their preferred Fellowship locations in rank order.

Applications for the ECSA Graduate Fellowships must include **all** of the following:

1. Letter of application from the student, addressed to the Graduate Fellowship Selection Committee, which discusses:
 - a) the student's preparation and qualifications for the Fellowship;
 - b) how the Fellowship will enhance the student's educational and professional goals; and
 - c) the student's proposed area(s) of specialization at the program(s) chosen.
2. Three letters of recommendation which comment directly on the applicant's qualifications for the Fellowship.
3. Academic transcript(s).
4. Certification of proficiency in French from an officially recognized Language School or Institute (e.g. Alliance française, British Council, TOEFL).
5. Resume or curriculum vitae.

The application deadline is April 1, 1996 All application materials must be postmarked by that date. Please send all application materials and direct all inquiries concerning this program to:

Bill Burros, Administrative Director
ECSA Administrative Office
405 Bellefield Hall
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Phone (412) 648-7635
E-mail: ecsas+pitt.edu

ECSA Curriculum Development Grants

Contingent upon available funding, the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) will offer curriculum development grants for the 1996-1997 or 1997-1998 academic years. These grants may be used to create new courses on the European Union, or to enrich existing courses with material on the European 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. Applicants must be ECSA members, or affiliated with institutional ECSA members.

The application deadline for this program is April 1, 1996
For application guidelines and further information, please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office.

Jacques Delors Fellowship at the European University Institute

Contingent upon available funding from the European Commission Delegation, Washington, DC and the European University Institute, ECSA hopes to continue the Jacques Delors Fellowship at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy during the 1996-1997 academic year. This Fellowship was established in 1995 to commemorate 50 years of transatlantic cooperation, and enables an advanced graduate student to pursue coursework and dissertation research. The Fellowship provides tuition and approximately \$14,500 towards transportation and living expenses. The application deadline is April 1, 1996.

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 Schuman 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.

Applicants must be U.S. citizens, ECSA members, and currently enrolled in a doctoral program in the United States. For application guidelines and further information, please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office.

ECSA Dissertation Fellowship Grants

With funding from The Ford Foundation, the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) will offer four dissertation fellowship grants for the 1996-1997 academic year. These grants provide financial support of \$2,500 for doctoral students preparing dissertations on the European 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 1, 1996

For application guidelines and further information, please contact Bill Burros at the ECSA Administrative Office.

Robert Bosch Foundation Scholars Program in Comparative Public Policy and Comparative Institutions

The American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, is pleased to announce the Robert Bosch Foundation Scholars Program in Comparative Public Policy and Comparative Institutions. The Program offers two in-residence fellowships, one each from candidates working at American and German institutions, tenable at the Institute in Washington D.C. The program is designed for post-doctoral scholars. Awards are for 6 months at \$2,400 a month. In addition, there is a small budget for travel and research expenses. Scholars will interact in discussions and colloquia with junior and senior fellows of the Institute as well as the Institute's Research Director. They also will be active participants in the Institute's Seminar Series that regularly brings together scholars and practitioners from the U.S., Germany and Europe.

For the first round of fellows (July 1, 1996 - December 31, 1996), the Program seeks candidates in political science, economics, business, sociology, and interdisciplinary studies whose work deals with employment training. One American and one German scholar will be chosen. The next round of fellows (January 1, 1997 - June 30, 1997) will come from the field of health care studies. For more information, contact AICGS, Suite 420, 1400 16th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036-2217; tel (202) 332-9312; fax (202) 265-9531; E-mail <AICGSDOC@JHUNIX.HCF.JHU.EDU>.

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Opportunities for International Research Collaboration

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation of Bonn, Germany, provides highly qualified individuals of all nationalities the opportunity to conduct research in Germany. The Foundation's North American Office in Washington, D.C., distributes information on collaborative research support programs to North American scholars. Since 1953 the Foundation has enabled more than 3500 scholars from the United States and Canada to participate in such programs.

The Research Fellowship Program provides support to non-German scholars who have earned a doctorate and are under 40 years of age for the conduct of research in Germany in all fields of scholarship for periods of 6 to 12 months. For the past several years, approximately 70 American scholars have been selected annually in worldwide competition. The Humboldt Research Award provides internationally recognized scholars with the opportunity to spend between 4 and 12 months conducting research at German institutions; candidates for awards may be nominated by eminent German scholars and previous awardees. The Feodor Lynen Fellowship Program enables German scholars under 38 years of age who have a doctoral degree to spend as many as three years at the home institutions of former Humboldt fellows and awardees. The Max-Planck Award permits internationally recognized German and non-German scholars to conduct long-term, project-oriented cooperative research; only senior officials of German research institutions may nominate candidates. The Bundeskanzler Scholarship Program provides the opportunity each year for as many as 10 promising young Americans who demonstrate the potential of playing a pivotal role

in the future relationship between Germany and the United States to spend a year in Germany on research projects of their own design.

Qualified individuals are encouraged to apply for these programs. For more information about the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and its programs, please contact Dr. Bernard Stein, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Suite 903, 1350 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036; tel (202) 296-2990; fax (202) 833-8514.

German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)

DAAD is a private, publicly funded, self-governing organization of institutions of higher learning in Germany. All DAAD grants are available to faculty and students in Canada and the United States. Unless otherwise stated, participants must hold Canadian or U.S. citizenship and must be full-time members of Canadian or U.S. colleges or universities at the time of application. Permanent residents should inquire about eligibility, DAAD offers funding for the following:

- Grants for German Studies Program
- Grants for Study, Research and Information Visits to Germany
- Grants for courses in German Studies and Language in Germany
- Annual Grants
- Other programs

There are grants for team teaching, guest lectureship, summer language courses, research grants for both graduate students and faculty, full-year grants, among many others. Each program has different deadlines and eligibility requirements. Those interested should contact the DAAD directly for information at: DAAD--New York Office, 950 Third Ave., 19th Floor, New York, NY 10022; tel (212) 758-3223; fax (212) 755-5780.

NATO Research Fellowships

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization awards fellowships to citizens of NATO member nations and cooperating partner countries in Central and Eastern Europe. The aim of these fellowships is to promote research leading to publication in two distinct areas. The first type of fellowship is awarded to citizens of NATO member countries for the study of aspects of the common interests and shared values of the Alliance. This category of awards targets both individual projects and institutions, the latter in the form of support for research groups. The second category, aimed exclusively at citizens of Central and Eastern European countries, originates from the May 1989 NATO Summit, which decided to establish a new fellowship program aiming at the promotion of the study of democratic institutions. For further information, contact the NATO Press Service, B-1110 Brussels, Belgium; fax (32) 2728 50 57.

1997-1998 Fulbright Awards for US Faculty and Professionals

Opportunities for lecturing or advanced research in over 135 countries are available to college and university faculty and professionals outside academe. US citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications required. For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Foreign language skills are needed for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English.

The deadline for lecturing or research grants for 1997-1998 is August 1, 1996. Other deadlines are in place for special programs: distinguished Fulbright chairs in Western Europe and Canada (May 1) and Fulbright seminars for international education and academic administrator (November 1).

For further information, contact the USIA Fulbright Senior Scholar Program, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, NW., Suite 5M, Box GNEWS, Washington, D.C. 20008-3009; tel 202/686-4000; web page for on-line materials may be contacted at <<http://www.cies.org>>; e-mail <cies1@ciesnet.cies.org> (requests for mailing of application materials only).

Research News

New Transatlantic Action Program Goes Online

The new Transatlantic Agenda and Action Program unveiled at the December 3, 1995 EU-US presidential summit in Madrid is available to online users on both sides of the Atlantic. The Action Program's launch in cyberspace fulfills one of the goals of the wide-ranging transatlantic initiative, which includes specific commitment to promote the public's use of resources like the internet to help people in the EU and the US learn more from and about each other. Building Bridges across the Atlantic - one of the Action Program's four priority areas - pledges to "use our sites on the Internet to provide quick and easy access to the New Transatlantic Agenda, the Joint EU-US Action Plan, information on the EU and US studies, descriptions of pertinent library holdings, as well as other material relevant to the EU-US relationship."

The US and EU internet sites are accessible on the World Wide Web (WWW) using either of the following universal resource locators (URLs):

Europa server: <http://www.cec.lu/en/agenda/tr01.html>
USIA: <http://www.usia.gov/usis.html>

British Politics Group

Membership includes a quarterly Newsletter, annual bibliography of books on British politics, and opportunities to participate in BGP-sponsored panels at the annual meeting on the American Political Science Association. In addition, the BPG sponsors the Samuel H. Beer Prize which is awarded to the Ph.D. dissertation making the most substantial contribution to the field. Annual dues are \$20 (\$10 for graduate students). For more information contact Donley Studlar, West Virginia University, Dept. Of Political Science, P.O. Box 6317, Morgantown, WV 26506-6317; tel (304) 293-3811 x 5269; e-mail: <studlar@wvum.wvnet.edu>.

Standing Group on European Level Interest Representation

The European Consortium for Political Research has approved an application for standing group status for a network focused on the study of European level interest representation. The aim of the group is to enable a wide community of mature

and young scholars to develop, through exchange opportunities proffered by permanent status, a theoretical basis for European interest group studies, focused on meso level governance and collective action at the European level. The award of standing group status involves a small amount of seedcorn money, and the opportunity for a structure to network/meet and develop activities in any way members choose.

The group would be pleased to hear from anyone working on European level interest representation not yet in contact. A newsletter will be circulated shortly. Please contact: Justin Greenwood, School of Public Administration and Law, The Robert Gordon University, 352 King St., Aberdeen AB1 2FL, Scotland; tel: UK (0)1224 262910; fax: UK(0)1224 262929; E-mail: "LASJG@Merkland.rgu.ac.uk".

ECPR Standing Group on the European Union

This is a newly established Group which aims to support the development of the field by serving as a structure of information, promotion and coordination of research efforts. It will monitor the state of investigation on EU politics and signal neglected aspects. A wide range of topics are of interest to the Standing Group, for example: institutions and decision-making systems, political forces and processes, policies, common foreign and security policy, Union-state relations, integration theory and union development.

The immediate aims of the group are: to publish a directory of specialists; to establish an informal newsletter which can diffuse information on research (in progress and accomplished), books and reviews, scientific meetings and conferences, schools and courses, data banks and archives, available research funds, etc.. The Standing Group will also collaborate on the organization of workshop proposals on EU politics.

For more information, contact: Professor Fulvio Attina, Dipartimento di Studi Politici, Università di Catania, via Vittorio Emanuele 49, I-95131 CATANIA, Italy. tel (+39) 95 532 866/645; fax 95 533 128.

Positions Available

American University School of International Service

The School of International Service invites applications and nominations for an Assistant Professor in regionalism and comparative integration with an emphasis on Europe. This is a tenure track position effective September 1996. Primary teaching responsibilities within the School's Comparative and Regional Studies field will include the European Union, with attention to other European regional structures, trans-regional flow of ideas and resources, comparative political economy, and comparative foreign policy. Preferred areas of specialization are France, the United Kingdom, Scandinavia, or Southern Europe.

Applicants should have a Ph.D. in Political Science, International Relations, Economics, or related discipline. Evidence of research accomplishments commensurate with rank, outstanding teaching and professional initiative are expected, along with a commitment to professional and university service. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, teaching evaluations, three letters of reference, and one representative publication to: CRS Europe Search Committee, School of International Service, The American University, Washington, DC 20016-8071.

Consideration of materials will begin November 15, 1995 and will continue until the position is filled. Women and minority candidates are especially encouraged to apply.

Program Announcements

Internship Opportunities at the European Commission Delegation

The Delegation of the European Commission offers internship positions at its office in Washington, DC. Internships are intended to provide students and recent graduates with the opportunity to acquire considerable knowledge of the European Union, its institutions, activities, laws, statistics and EU-US issues. Internships are offered three times a year in keeping with the "semester calendar" from: the beginning of September through the third week in December; early January through May; and late May through August. In addition, interns are accepted periodically for the January inter-term period. Preference is given to candidates available on a full-time basis, i.e., 35-40 hours per week, although part-time interns are accepted and encouraged to apply.

Applications should contain a curriculum vitae, a copy of a recent transcript and a cover letter indicating the reasons for pursuing an internship with the European Union. A daytime phone number should be included. While there are no formal deadlines, it is advisable to submit applications at least three months prior to the beginning of the internship.

Several sections of the Delegation accept interns, including Public Inquiries, Academic Affairs, Agricultural Section, Economic Financial Section, and Environment/Energy. Internship applications for these services should be addressed to the "Internship Coordinator." Europe Magazine, Audiovisual Section, and the Speaker's Bureau also accept interns. Applications for these areas should be addressed to the specific department. The general address for applications and further inquiries is Delegation of the European Commission, 2300 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037; tel (202) 862-9500; fax (202) 429-1766.

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 EU Affairs, the U.S.-EU 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 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:

- planned European arrival and departure points;
- dates of availability;
- an abbreviated curriculum vitae;

- brief descriptions of topics that you find suitable for discussion; and
- fax number(s) where you may be contacted.

Teaching News

Free Educational Videos on the EU

The following videos from the European Union are available free of charge (while supplies last) for instructional purposes:

- Implementing Common Policies** (running time 47 minutes); Contains "The Union and its Regions", "The White Paper: Europe Toward the 21st Century", "The Treaty on the European Union", and "1992 and Beyond".
- International Cooperation** (running time 59 minutes); Contains "Extraordinary Partners: the European Union and the United States", "PHARE, the EU Aid Program for Eastern Europe", Lome Mark Four: Stability in a Changing World".
- Business/Economics** (running time 53 minutes); Contains "Europe World Partner", "The ECU for Europe", "Eastern and Central European Countries and the EU", "1992 and Beyond", "The White Paper: Europe Towards the 21st Century".
- Environment** (running time 50 minutes); Contains "The EU and the Environmental Control of Chemicals", "The Environment", "The Environment at the Center of EU Policy".
- European Union Historical Overview** (running time 56 minutes); Contains "Jean Monnet: Founder of Europe", "Who Runs the Union?", "Towards a European Union", "A Growing Europe."

Requests should indicate video subjects in order of preference (first choice, second choice, etc.) as supplies are limited. To order these videos, please contact:

The European Union
c/o Video Placement Worldwide
P.O Box 58142
St. Petersburg, FL 33715-9976
Fax: 1-800-358-5218

European Union Simulations

Since 1987 three consortia of colleges and universities, representing schools in New York, Pennsylvania, and the Midwest, have been established to bring the reality of today's Europe to their students. Each consortium conducts a 2-3 day simulation of the EU once a year. In each case students are assigned specific roles and alter egos in the EU. In the New York group students are assigned positions in all three major EU institutions, while in Pennsylvania faculty fulfill the role of the Commission and the Midwest group has omitted the European Parliament up to now.

Preparation for the simulations varies from school to school. In some cases a full one-semester course is dedicated to the EU, while in others the EU receives special attention in an appropriate course such as "West European Politics." A third option is a

seminar, and in some schools the preparation is carried out as an extra-curricular activity.

Ideally, a simulation would involve 15 schools, each one representing one of the EU members. It is possible, however, as was done in Pennsylvania, to start with as few as three schools but enough students to represent at least five countries. Reality is enhanced if students from the European universities can be incorporated, as New York has done for the last four years. New York also alternates the location of the simulation between Brockport in odd numbered years and Luxembourg or Brussels in even numbered years. When in Brockport it has approximately 140 American and 50-60 European students. In Europe it has about 140 Americans and 120 Europeans. The Midwest group with about 100 students uses the Indiana University-Purdue University Convention Center in Indianapolis.

The Pennsylvania consortium (120 students in 1995) conducts its simulation in Washington, DC, where officials from EU embassies and the State Department brief the participants. Further information or assistance can be obtained from Dr. John McCormick, Director of the Midwest-EU simulation at I.U.P.U.I., Department of Political Science, 425 University Boulevard, Indianapolis, IN 46202; Dr. William G. Andrews, Director of the New York EU Simulation at SUNY-Brockport, Brockport, NY, 14420; or Ed Morgan, Director, the European American Institute, 17 West South Street, Carlisle, PA 17013; tel (717) 249-6873.

Decision-making in the European Union: a Hypermedia Learning Tool

This CD ROM tool, produced by the University of Bath, Centre for Research in European Social and Employment Policy and Centre for Continuing Education, will be comprised of three pathways. First, a hypothetical narrative of a piece of legislation making its way from proposal by the Commission to implementation by the member states and a challenge in the European Court of Justice. Along the pathway, students may take detours to video clips of officials at the different institutions talking about the different stages of the process in greater detail. Second, a set of three case studies of Brussels pressure groups: the agricultural lobby, the environmental lobby, and the lobby for the elderly. Students will be able to access clips of interviews with officials at both European pressure groups and the institutions they lobby. Third, a journey along the road to membership for the Central and East European states. This pathway will explore the advantages and disadvantages for the EU of expanding eastward. Here students will be able to listen to representatives from prospective new member states, as well as from the EU, discussing the challenges of the next decade.

For more information, contact Alan Jacobs or Graham Room at School of Social Sciences, University of Bath, Claverton Down, Bath BA2 7AY, UK; tel (+44) 1225 826826; e-mail "hssamj@bath.ac.uk".

Essays

The Spanish Presidency of the European Council: More Continuity Than Change

**Michael P. Marks
Willamette University**

On July 1, 1995 Spain took possession of the leadership of the European Council. During the previous six months, the Council presidency of France was marked by two negatively reinforcing factors: Instability in French domestic politics, and uncertainty in European integration. European Union politics thus hovered in a transition phase between the addition of three new member states and the planned 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC). The Spanish Council presidency was characterized by similar phenomena. Buffeted by domestic political turmoil, Spain's socialist Prime Minister Felipe González hoped to use the Council presidency to reassert his legitimacy by pushing forward key elements of European integration and preparing the EU for the 1996 IGC. However, rancorous public debate over European currency coordination, the need to resolve the war in the Balkans, domestic political tensions in key EU states, and continued uncertainty over what the 1996 IGC will accomplish made the Spanish Council presidency seem like a continuation of the previous six months under the leadership of France. Furthermore, with Italian politics as chaotic as ever, it is not unrealistic to predict that the Italian Council presidency during the first six months of 1996 will resemble what has preceded it.

Spain and Europe: Domestic Tension and Euroenthusiasm

The Spanish government is one of the most pro-Europe in the EU. Membership in the European Community was considered one of the foundations of the consolidation of democracy in Spain, and Spanish leaders persist in their belief that European integration holds the key to the continued modernization of Spain. The government takes seriously its European vocation.¹

This is only the second time Spain has held the rotating presidency of the Council since joining the European Community in 1986. During Spain's first Council presidency in 1989, the Spanish government used the occasion to advance its agenda of equalization of wealth throughout the EC. To this end, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González pushed the issue of the so-called Social Charter to the top of the list of his priorities, and won support from such important allies as France and Germany by agreeing to place the Spanish *peseta* in the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the European Monetary System before some economists thought was wise. In this respect the first Spanish Council presidency was part of the integration inertia which began with the passage of the Single European Act in 1986, and which carried on through the signing of the Maastricht Treaty and the lowering of trade barriers with the so-called Project 1992.

The Spanish government hoped to use its second Council presidency to establish additional groundwork for the advancement of European integration. Instead, as with its first presidency, Spain's just completed term must be seen as part of a continuity in EU politics; in this case, the current trend of

uncertainty within the European Union. In many respects, the Spanish presidency of the European Council is a continuation of the French one that preceded it, given the domestic political difficulties faced by Jacques Chirac and Felipe González, respectively.

González has been under fire on several fronts since his reelection in 1993. First, the government of González's Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) has been rocked by scandals involving accusations of embezzlement and insider-trading by present and former cabinet ministers, improprieties by the chief of the paramilitary *Guardia Civil*, and operation of a secret anti-terrorist hit squad. Second, González's Socialist Party does not enjoy a parliamentary majority and has been forced to rely on the support of the right-of-center Catalán nationalist party *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) headed by Jordi Pujol.² Third, the right-of-center opposition party *Partido Popular*, which had suffered in the past by association with politicians linked to the Franco dictatorship, has enjoyed increased popularity among voters too young to remember the authoritarian regime.

The government scandals, which involve the Economy and Justice Ministries, the *Guardia Civil*, and the Banco de España (Spain's central bank), have threatened to bring down the government. The former head of the Banco de España, Mariano Rubio, has been charged with insider trading, while Luis Roldán - the former head of the *Guardia Civil* - was put under arrest in Spain on charges of embezzlement upon being extradited from Asia (possibly under a false extradition order) after having fled Spain under cover of night several months earlier. Perhaps most importantly, it has been rumored that Felipe González himself approved a secret government anti-terrorist hit squad known as GAL (*Grupo Anti-terrorista de Liberación*) which carried out assassinations of suspected Basque terrorists.³

Despite all of González's domestic troubles, his longevity in the ranks of European heads of government (he has been in office since 1982) grants him a certain degree of legitimacy in European Union affairs. Among the 15 heads of government of the EU states, only Helmut Kohl has been in office longer. This has bestowed upon González the unlikely status as a senior statesman despite his relative youth (he is 53 years old). Thus, the Spanish Prime Minister can be considered a veteran of European integration and a practiced hand in EU negotiations. This would, at least, provide the European Council with a certain experienced guidance it lacked under the novice leadership of Jacques Chirac.

Prime Minister González did in fact receive some lucky breaks during the Spanish presidency of the European Council. One of the most noteworthy came in the realm of foreign policy, more specifically, Bosnia. In November, American negotiators working together in Dayton, Ohio with representatives from Russia and the European Union succeeded in forging a peace agreement among the warring parties in the Bosnian war. This agreement was facilitated by the US promise to contribute 20,000 ground troops to Bosnia as peacekeeping forces alongside troops from other NATO countries.

President Clinton made a trip to Europe in early December to consult with European leaders on the logistics of the troop deployment and to rally U.S. forces in Germany. Clinton's European trip culminated with a visit to Madrid to sign a new "Transatlantic Agenda" between the United States and the EU, which builds upon the Transatlantic Declaration signed in 1990. As the EU's titular head, González was on hand to oversee the

signing of this agreement and to lend support for deployment of Spanish troops as part of the NATO contingent in Bosnia. The success of the American peace initiative in Dayton and Clinton's state visit to Spain provided a respite from the battering the Spanish Prime Minister had been taking over the charges of corruption in his government. Ironically, González now finds himself committing Spanish troops on a NATO mission after staking his early political career on denouncing NATO and the American military presence in Europe. Despite this irony, the reprieve González received from domestic political sniping allowed him to re-focus on the EU agenda. The signing of the Transatlantic Agenda with the United States also provided at least one positive note on which to orchestrate the Madrid summit later in December.

What the French Council Presidency Bequeathed

The French presidency of the European Council (January-June 1995) came on the heels of the German presidency.⁴ The consecutive sequence of the German and French presidencies (which was contrived by juggling the normal alphabetical succession of the rotating Council leadership) was designed to allow the two most influential EU countries to set an agenda for closing several important chapters of European integration.⁵ It was also an indication that agreement between Bonn and Paris on the future of Europe is considered essential for integration to move forward.

The French Council presidency was hampered by the domestic transition of power from François Mitterrand to Jacques Chirac, which came mid-way through France's leadership of the EU. Germany and Great Britain took advantage of Chirac's unpreparedness and put forth certain parochial concerns, while the Cannes summit in June did not yield any great advances in the integration agenda articulated by the French government. Thus, the French presidency produced a mixed bag. Modest achievements were made in the realm of the CFSP, and steps were made to establish Europol (although disputes over the role of the European Court of Justice held up this issue). However, major elements of EMU were left unresolved, no firm decisions were made on the future enlargement of the EU, and no concrete agreement was reached on the agenda for the 1996 IGC.⁶

The French Council presidency also was the first to include the EU's three new members, with the accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden occurring on January 1, 1995. Spanish leaders took a cautious position during enlargement talks fearing that a northern expansion of the EU would place southern concerns in jeopardy. France, likewise, was concerned that "Latin" Europe not be marginalized in the Europe of the 15. Thus, the French Council presidency advanced a range of "southern" issues, and the Spanish government hoped that its Council presidency (and the subsequent Italian one) would continue to keep the EU's attention focused on concerns central to Mediterranean member states.

Agenda for the Spanish Presidency

The agenda for the Spanish presidency of the European Council included ten major issue areas. The Worldwide Web page maintained by the Spanish office of the European Commission⁷ lists these as:

- 1) Preparation for the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference;
- 2) Clarification of the role of the European Parliament;
- 3) Evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy;
- 4) Reinforcement of international obligations of the EU;
- 5) Continuation of assistance for the economic development of poorer regions of the EU;
- 6) Advancement of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the EU's budget;
- 7) Development of the interior market (with emphasis on industry, research & development, and telecommunications);
- 8) Resolution of issues in the common agriculture and fishing policies;
- 9) Integration of labor and social policy; and
- 10) Development of a common environmental policy.

Naturally, most of these items are ongoing policy areas of European integration. However, three of these issues were of primary importance during the Spanish presidency: The Common Foreign and Security Policy, Economic and Monetary Union, and preparation for the 1996 IGC.

The Common Foreign and Security Policy

The Spanish government has been in favor of the CFSP as a mechanism for advancing political integration of the EU. At the beginning of its Council presidency, Spain floated the idea that the 1996 IGC should institutionalize the so-called "active abstention" in EU votes on foreign policy. The active abstention would allow a member state to register its opposition to EU foreign policy, but stop short of a veto which would block any EU action.⁸ This would have the effect of allowing the EU to act on foreign policy despite the reservations of one or more member, and thus provide a step towards a singular foreign policy of the EU.

The list of CFSP agenda items to be addressed during the Spanish Council presidency was rather lengthy and included, among other things, the budget for the EU's foreign policy, the role of the Western European Union, the so-called "White Book" on European security, contributions of the EU to the OSCE, relations with East/Central Europe, resolution of issues within the GATT, and improving relations with Mediterranean countries. The focus on the Mediterranean is noteworthy as it represents a continuation of priorities articulated during the French Council presidency, and will be of continued interest to the Italian government which took over leadership of the EU on January 1, 1996. The EU Conference on the Mediterranean, held in Barcelona November 27-28, was therefore a primary agenda item during the Spanish Council presidency. The Barcelona Conference produced an aid package that includes 4.7 billion ECU (\$6 billion) in assistance to twelve non-EU Mediterranean states between 1996 and 1999, and also guarantees the gradual lifting of trade barriers on selected products culminating in a regional free trade area by the year 2010.⁹

Resolution of the conflict in Bosnia was also an important issue during the Spanish Council presidency. The credibility of the EU's Common Foreign and Security had been tested by the Balkan war, and eleven of the fifteen EU states are also members of NATO. The Dayton peace accords were reached with active EU participation and will involve the deployment of NATO troops as peacekeepers in Bosnia. However, serious issues

remain to be resolved. The Dayton accords were largely a function of U.S. leadership, and the American contingent will provide the bulk of the NATO forces on the ground in Bosnia. It remains to be seen whether the 1996 IGC can provide greater direction and coherence to the EU's foreign and security policy.

Economic and Monetary Union

An important area of integration that received a lot of attention during the Spanish presidency, yet faltered in the realm of public debate, was monetary union. The Reflection Group on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference affirmed its unanimous consensus to work towards a single currency by the time frame agreed to in the amended Maastricht Treaty. Specifically, EU Economy and Finance ministers decided at their meeting in Valencia (September 29-October 1, 1995) that by 1998 the heads of government of the EU states will decide which countries will be in a position to adopt the new currency by January 1, 1999. The European Central Bank is also to be operational on that date. The single currency is then to be in circulation in all EU states no later than December 31, 2001, with a six month transition period in which the single currency will circulate alongside existing currencies. National currencies would then disappear by July 1, 2002.¹⁰

Despite this timetable, public debate over EMU and the single currency marred the discussion of this issue during the Spanish presidency. In September, Germany's Finance Minister Theo Waigel mentioned in an off-the-cuff statement that Italy - although a founding member of the European Union - likely would not be ready for the single currency in 1999.¹¹ And in October, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl chided his European partners for not taking appropriate measures to promote monetary union despite the Valencia conference in which EU government leaders tried to come to terms on the ingredients for monetary union.¹²

Indeed, the expected difficulties faced by EU member states in meeting the requirements for participating in the single currency has been the source of domestic political tension in various EU states. This was most notable in France during the weeks prior to the Madrid summit in December. Faced with a bloated public deficit, the French government proposed changes in the pension plan for state employees, leading to a mass walk-out by public sector labor unions, government bureaucrats, and their sympathizers. The French government's decision to force a showdown with state employees in order to trim the budget was tied directly to the requirements for EMU.¹³ As French economist Jean-François Mercier pointed out, "The French government has been seized by a sense of emergency prompting it to push reforms at an unusually high pace and frequency. There are worries that if France is not ready to join Germany in a single currency in two years, it may never be ready."¹⁴ The public wrangling over a single EU currency and the labor crisis in France overwhelmed the discussion over EMU during the Spanish presidency and left Spain's government playing an uneasy role as conciliator.¹⁵

Still, the bitter public disputes over EMU during the Spanish Council presidency overshadowed the fact most EU member countries have reaffirmed their determined commitment to Economic and Monetary Union. Indeed, the September/October meeting of Economy and Finance ministers in Valencia re-stated

the EU's resolution to stick by the convergence criteria, while recognizing that member states have a range of economic measures (aside from austerity) at their disposal to fulfill these criteria by the 1999 deadline.¹⁶ The decision by the French government to hold the line on achieving EMU, and the fact that Spain also has made strides in this direction, indicate that EU states are trying hard to stay on course to meet the convergence requirements. The Spanish presidency of the European Council will be remembered as one in which the debate over EMU was heated and left the impression that these issues were far from settled. At the same time, EU states demonstrated that Economic and Monetary Union is a goal to which they are committed and they are willing to suffer short-term tensions in order to fulfill this long-term goal.

Preparations for the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference

Discussions on the agenda for the 1996 IGC began during the French Council presidency, but many issues were left unresolved due to uncertainty in France and the desire of the Spanish government to reserve the agenda-setting honor for itself.¹⁷ The IGC "Reflection Group" was formed with Spain's Secretary of State for EU Affairs Carlos Westendorp as its chair. Based on the work of the Reflection Group, there are six broad agenda items that will comprise the bulk of the 1996 IGC¹⁸:

- 1) Widening of the EU;
- 2) Economic and Monetary Union;
- 3) Creation of a system for writing multi-year budgets for the EU;
- 4) Evolution of the Common Foreign and Security Policy;
- 5) Determining the future of the WEU (the WEU treaty is slated to be renewed in 1998); and
- 6) Development of plans for European Parliament elections in 1997 and 1998.¹⁹

However, the IGC Reflection Group decided to treat each of these issues separately and not link them to discussions dealing with additional matters on the IGC agenda, namely, changes required by the Maastricht Treaty (e.g., amending the treaty to include additional official languages of the EU after the accession of Sweden and Finland, and codifying the schedule for issuing a single currency).²⁰

Although settlement of the IGC agenda was achieved during the Spanish Council presidency, there was the impression that uncertainty surrounding critical issues, such as Economic and Monetary Union, the CFSP, and the EU's budget, did not provide the proper environment for anything beyond preliminary discussions.²¹ Westendorp realized that resolution of amendments to the Maastricht Treaty is necessary for integration to move forward in these areas. This is especially true with regard to the new timetable for issuance of the single currency, and the role of the Western European Union in the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy. In addition, many people agree that the IGC will turn into an opportunity for EU states to wrangle over sticky issues such as the CAP and regional funds meted out through the EU's cohesion policy.²² Finally the Reflection Group's preliminary report was to provide only a general overview of issues to be included in the 1996 IGC. It is especially revealing that, while the group's outline ran a mere 47 pages, it contained

fully 350 pages of proposed amendments.²³

The December 1995 Madrid Summit

The Madrid summit was in many ways anti-climactic. Most of the decisions announced at the summit had been made at earlier meetings of EU ministers and reflected a consensus that many big issues are being resolved at a gradual pace. The issue that received the most amount of attention was monetary union. Council ministers announced in Madrid that the timetable for proceeding to Stage 3 of EMU agreed to in Valencia is now the official policy of the EU. Specifically, in 1998 the EU will announce which countries will be ready for the single currency in 1999 (the same year the European Central Bank will become operative), and all EU states must be prepared to switch over to the new monetary unit by December 31, 2001.²⁴ The heads of government also announced that the name of the new currency shall be the "Euro".

Leaders at the Madrid summit also approved a series of resolutions that had been in the works for several years. The EU's preoccupation with internal security and threats posed by instability along Europe's periphery has dominated the Council presidencies of southern EU states. Thus in Madrid, the European Council approved the La Gomera Declaration on terrorism, approved the report from the Group of Experts on Drugs, agreed to discuss the role of the WEU in European security at the 1996 IGC, and emphasized the significance of the November Barcelona Conference for improving conditions in the Mediterranean region.²⁵

The summit was not without its snags and controversies. Despite the decision to proceed with the new timetable for EMU, British Prime Minister John Major indicated that Britain reserves the option to delay participation in the single currency, and EU leaders were forced to agree to a British request to fund a study of the repercussions if not all EU states are ready for the single currency by 1999.²⁶ Council ministers also clashed over the schedule for widening the EU. The summit text lists extending membership to countries in both Central and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean as a priority. However, Germany would like to give priority to Central and Eastern European states, while France, Spain, and Italy would like to prioritize expansion to the south.

The Madrid summit yielded no surprises and was an indication that resolution of some of the more controversial aspects of integration will have to wait until the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference. The first meeting of the IGC will be in Turin on March 29, with meetings scheduled for once a month after that. The announcement of the timetable for EMU notwithstanding, there still exists a great deal of uncertainty over how the European Union will resolve the remaining issues that serve as the linchpin for European integration.

Anticipating the Italian Presidency

As with all Council presidencies, Spain's tenure leaves some unfinished business. The Italian presidency likely will have certain elements in common with the Spanish one (and the preceding French presidency), not least of which is the ongoing domestic turmoil and scandals on the Italian political scene. In addition, the Italian government likely will continue to press for

the "southern" or Mediterranean agenda of the EU, attempt to clarify the nature of the CFSP, and resolve the difficulties of Economic and Monetary Union in anticipation of the issuance of the single currency.²⁷ Therefore, in the Italian Council presidency we can anticipate continuity in the nature of EU leadership as carried out by France and Spain.

Endnotes

1. Spain's prime minister, Felipe González, was rumored to have been a candidate for president of the European Commission when Jacques Delors stepped down in 1994, and the Spanish presidency of the European Council was given a tacit nod of approval on December 5, 1995 when Spain's foreign minister Javier Solana was tapped to be Secretary General of NATO after the resignation of Willy Claes.

2. On September 9, Pujol formally dissolved the CiU's alliance with the Socialist government. However, he did not succeed in his call for a vote of no-confidence, and the PSOE will likely stay in power, while Felipe González is expected to announce general elections for March of 1996.

3. Stories of González's involvement with GAL dominated the Spanish press during the fall of 1995. González denies any connection with the anti-terrorist group.

4. On the French presidency of the European Council, see George Ross, "A Faltering French Presidency," European Community Studies Association Newsletter, (Vol.8, No.3, Fall 1995), pp.13-16.

5. In the past, the rotating presidency of the European Council was determined alphabetically using the name of each country in its native language. Thus, the usual rotation schedule would have yielded this succession: Germany (*Deutschland*), Greece (*Ellas*), Spain (*España*), France (*France*). Under the revised schedule, the Greek presidency preceded the German one, and Spain followed France, while Italy will precede Ireland so that the Council presidency has some continuity among the larger EU states.

6. Ross, "A Faltering French Presidency," op.cit. p.14.

7. See Presidencia Española del Consejo de la Unión Europea, at web site <http://www.uji.es/euroinfo/presidencia/documentos_presidencia/objetivos>.

8. El País, International Edition, July 24, 1995, p.4.

9. The Economist, December 2, 1995, pp.49-50. See also El País (International Edition), November 27, 1995, pp.4-5.

10. See Worldwide web site, Periódico de la Representación de la Comisión Europea en España, <http://www.uji.es/euroinfo/europa15/>

11. The Wall Street Journal, September 21, 1995, p.C26. In the same article, it is reported that a member of the Bundesbank's Central Bank Council, Reimut Jochimsen, remarked that even France would not be ready to participate in the single currency by 1999.

12. The New York Times, November 2, 1995, p.C1.

13. One of the four convergence criteria necessary for a state to participate in the single currency is that the government budget deficit be no more than 3 percent of gross domestic product.

14. The New York Times, December 8, 1995, p.A1.

15. Most observers do not expect Spain to fulfill the convergence criteria by 1999. Publicly however, Spain's economic leadership claims that there is still the possibility of being ready for the single currency by the deadline. See excerpts of statements by the Banco de España's Governor, Angel Rojo, in El País (International Edition),

November 27, 1995, p.23.

16. See El País (International Edition), Oct. 2, 1995, pp.20-21.

17. Ross, "A Faltering French Presidency," op.cit., pp.13, 14.

18. Periódico de la Representación de la Comisión Europea en España, <http://www.uji.es/euroinfo/europa15/> op.cit.

19. Some delegates to the Reflection Group also suggested adding things like the Social Charter to the reforms to the Maastricht Treaty to be made at the 1996 IGC. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. "'We have not looked for consensus for consensus's sake,' said [Carlos] Westendorp this week, releasing the [Reflection] Group's report ahead of the Madrid summit. Mr. Westendorp's elegant prose is littered with such qualifications as 'most of us,' 'a majority of us' and 'some of us'." The Economist, December 9, 1995, p.53.

22. The Economist, September 9, 1995, p.55.

23. El País (International Edition), November 27, 1995, p.5.

24. Madrid European Council (15 and 16 December): Presidency Conclusions, Press Release from the European Commission (reference document 95/9), issued December 16, 1995. See especially Annex 1: The Scenario for the Changeover to the Single Currency.

25. Ibid. See especially Annex 3: Terrorism, and Annex 11: Mediterranean.

26. National Public Radio broadcast, December 17, 1995.

27. "In the run-up to the EU's summit meeting in Madrid ... Spain's prime minister criticized the Union for failing to draw up a proper strategy for the dozen applicant countries, while his Italian counterpart gave warning against accelerating plans for economic and monetary union." The Economist, December 9, 1995, p.53.

Lessons from the European Community and Spanish Democracy¹

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With membership applications in hand or forthcoming from Central and Eastern European countries, the European Union soon will be debating again the costs and benefits of the accession of new members. While much attention will be paid to the economies of these countries, the political considerations of membership should not be overlooked. Specifically, in the case of the Central and Eastern European countries, consolidation of a democratic political system will be crucial.

The purpose of this article is to draw some lessons and conclusions from the European Community's² interactions with Spain during the latter's transition to democracy in the 1970s and early 1980s (see also Pridham 1991). These might be of interest to the Central and Eastern European countries which are also undertaking such a transition. After a discussion of the relations between the EC and Spain during the (nondemocratic) Franco regime, a description of important events in Spain's transition to democracy and the reaction of the EC will be provided. Finally, conclusions will be drawn concerning the EC and Spanish democracy.

EC-Franco Spain Relations

The initial movement of Spain toward the European Community came with Spain's formal application to the European Community for associate membership, made by Foreign Minister Fernando María Castiella y Maíz in February 1962. Spain's application letter mentioned her geographical proximity to the EC, her "European vocation," and the possibility that association would ultimately result in complete integration (Pou Serradell 1985, 191). The request caused considerable discussion within the EC and throughout Europe about whether or not a non-democratic country could join the Community. This was a particularly important issue, as one month prior to Spain's application, the European Parliament (EP) issued a Working Paper, the "Report of the Political Committee on the Political and Institutional Aspects of Accession to or Association with the European Economic Community," commonly known as the Birkelbach Report.

The Report stated that "[t]he guarantee of a democratic form of government in the shape of a liberal political system [is] one of the conditions of membership" (European Parliament 1962, 9). Furthermore:

States whose governments are not officially recognised as democratic and whose peoples do not participate in government decisions, either directly or indirectly through freely elected elected representatives, cannot claim admission

to the circle of peoples which form the European Communities (European Parliament 1962, 9).

After two months, the EC simply acknowledged receipt of the request (Pou Serradell 1985, 192); it did not respond to the request itself, on the grounds that Spain did not share the goals outlined in the Treaty of Rome (Commission 1979, 9).

The Spanish application produced much debate within the EC over what was meant by "association" and what the political requirements of association and full membership should be. In light of the Report which bears his name, Willi Birkelbach spoke in the European Parliament against the Spanish application. He argued that a non-democratic Spain was unacceptable and that Spanish association with the EC would be "... in contradiction with the fundamental principles of the Community" (Communautes europeénes 1962, 81). He cited several articles in the Treaty of Rome which implicitly require a democratic regime for membership: Article 3, which calls for the approximation of national laws, and Article 118, which calls for cooperation in collective bargaining. Birkelbach also cited the opposition of several groups to Spain's application, including trade unions in the Six, the socialist parties in the Six, and the Socialist Group in the European Parliament (Communautes europeénes 1962, 81-82). Several Europe-wide groups also voiced opposition: the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, and the Congress of the European Federalist Movement (Pou Serradell 1985, 192-193).

The EC's non-response to Spain's application pleased Spain's domestic democratic opposition, which opposed association with, or membership in, the EC because it would have enhanced the legitimacy of the Franco regime. In fact, at the fourth Congress of the European Movement in Munich, in June, 1962, opposition leaders from within Spain and those in exile agreed on a declaration outlining the conditions the EC should demand for Spanish association or membership. These included "... a representative elected government, the guarantee of basic human rights, the recognition of national minorities, syndical liberties and the right to strike" (Preston 1976, 143). Those opposition leaders who met in Munich and returned to Spain were arrested and exiled, "reinforc[ing] the anti-Spanish lobby within the EEC" (Tsoukalis 1981, 77).

In 1963, Franco confirmed the death sentence of Communist leader Julián Grimau García, despite protests from European governments (Share 1986, 49). Labor disturbances led to limited reforms of collective bargaining and the election of syndical representatives during the 1960s; however, they still fell short of labor freedoms in EC Member States (Baklanoff 1978, 91).

With no significant movement on the part of Spain toward satisfaction of EC conditions for associate membership, a Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA) was signed in July 1970. There appeared to be two schools of thought within the Community on the PTA: either it would result in political change in Spain or it would consolidate the Franco regime further. Throughout the 1960s, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg were opposed to negotiations with Spain for political reasons (the lack of democracy). In addition to political opposition, Italy was opposed for economic reasons (agricultural competition), while Germany and France, as the countries with

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² The term European Community is used in this article because it was not yet a Union during the period under consideration.

the closest relations with Franco Spain, were generally in favor of negotiations (Pou Serradell 1985, 197-264). Once negotiations had been completed, the Netherlands accepted the PTA "only on the unspoken condition that it does not lead to further concessions until the Spanish regime is more to its taste" (*The Economist* 21 March 1970, 83). This position was confirmed by the Dutch Deputy Permanent Representative to the EC in an interview with this writer (Oostra 1991). A similar position was held by Belgium. The Socialist government and all political parties in the Belgian parliament were strongly opposed to membership for Spain until a democratic political system was in place (DeGroot 1991).

Negotiations between the EC and Spain on closer relations beyond the 1970 PTA did not result in any further agreements in the early 1970s because of the nondemocratic nature of Franco Spain. Upon Franco's death in 1975, Spain embarked on the road to democracy and, ultimately, membership in the EC.

The EC and Spain's Transition to Democracy

Spain's transition to democracy after Franco's death has been amply narrated (see, for example, Amodia 1977; Carr and Fusi 1979; Coverdale 1979; Maravall and Santamaria 1986; Medhurst 1984; Preston 1986; Preston and Smyth 1984; Pridham 1984; Share 1986; Zaldívar and Castells 1992). Only the major developments are briefly discussed here, to illustrate the Community's evolving acceptance of Spain as a potential member.

Juan Carlos, Franco's designated successor, was proclaimed King on November 22, 1975, two days after Franco's death. He retained Franco's last Prime Minister, Carlos Arias Navarro, until July 1976. Unhappy with the slow pace of reform, the King asked for and received Arias' resignation, subsequently appointing Adolfo Suárez as Prime Minister (Eaton 1981, 36-40). Despite some initial skepticism (see Coverdale 1979), Suárez embarked on a series of democratic reforms far beyond what many expected.

Among Suárez's first moves was to declare amnesty for political prisoners not convicted of violence against persons (Coverdale 1979, 48). Over the next fifteen months, the government would declare two additional amnesties for political prisoners. In November 1976, the Law on Political Reform was passed by the Cortes (the Spanish Parliament). It established a new bicameral Cortes, and also set the stage for parliamentary elections and writing a new constitution (Coverdale 1979, 53).

Before the elections, the Suárez government had to legalize political parties and trade unions. A process was established which might allow the government to avoid the difficult decision of legalization of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE); there was concern about the reaction of the Army, in particular. Ultimately, the government could not avoid making the decision, or deciding in the affirmative if Spain was to be truly democratic. After an agreement was reached between Suárez and the PCE leadership, in which legalization was exchanged for a promise to recognize and support the monarchy, the PCE was legalized on April 9, 1977. The decision did upset high-ranking officers in the armed forces, and some Defense Ministry officials resigned, but the Supreme Council of the Army accepted the decision out of patriotism (Coverdale 1979, 57-59; Preston 1986, 114). In addition to the legalization of political parties, formal legalization

of trade unions came with the Law of Syndical Freedom in March 1977 (Foweraker 1987, 108-109).

Although there was a proliferation of parties after their legalization, only a few survived with seats in the Parliament after the June 1977 elections. The Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) under Suárez received a plurality of votes, followed closely by the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE). These two parties played major roles in the new party system, with the Communist Party, the right-wing Popular Alliance (AP), and some regional parties playing minor roles (Gunther, Sani, and Shabad, 1986).

Following the election, the constitution-making process began. Between August 1977 and October 1978, the Constituent Cortes in Spain drafted and passed a new constitution. On December 6, 1978, it was approved by Spanish voters in a referendum (Coverdale 1979; Share 1986).

Only six weeks passed between the elections of the Cortes and a second application by the Spanish government for accession to the European Communities on July 28, 1977. The Commission responded that it welcomed Spain's application and was ready to work toward Spanish membership (Commission 1977a, 6). In a statement in October 1977, Commission President Roy Jenkins foreshadowed the Commission's position:

We have the applications for membership of the Community from three southern European countries [Spain, Greece, and Portugal] which have just emerged from dictatorship . . .

As you know, the Commission believes that any reply which we might give to the candidate countries which rejected their applications, even implicitly or indirectly, would not be acceptable. A straight refusal would be a severe blow to the fragile democratic regimes which have emerged with the open encouragement of the Community . . . (Commission 1977b, 67-68).

A favorable opinion was conveyed by the Commission to the Council of Ministers on November 29, 1978. The Commission cited the democratization efforts taking place within Spain:

Since 1975 King Juan Carlos I and the Government of Spain, supported by the country's political, business and labour circles, have been engaged in restoring a pluralist democracy and providing guarantees for individual liberties. This process has culminated in the emergence of a new constitution, adopted by the Spanish Parliament . . . (Commission 1978b, 9).

Immediately following Spain's application, the reactions in the Member States were generally favorable. One of the most favorable reactions came from the Federal Republic of Germany, which was pleased with democratization in Spain and only briefly mentioned the economic problems (*EL PAIS*, 29 July 1977). The British government also expressed its support for enlargement (U.K. Parliament 1978, 2). Belgium had opposed to any EC-Spain negotiations beyond the Preferential Trade Agreement as long as the Franco regime still existed. Once Franco died, King

Juan Carlos ascended the Throne, and Spain applied for membership, Belgium strongly supported Spain's accession (DeGroot 1991).

However, one major Member State, France, felt Spain did not yet meet the democratic requirement. The French were concerned that the Spanish regime was neither fully democratic nor stable. Not until the alternation of Spanish governments in 1982 did France feel that Spanish democracy was stable (García Lombedero 1991). Additionally, there were concerns expressed in several Member States (e.g., France, Italy, the Netherlands) about the economic consequences of Spanish membership (*EL PAIS*, 29 July 1977, and Preston and Smyth 1984, 68-80).

Despite these concerns, the Council of Ministers reacted favorably to the Commission's *Opinion on Spain's Application for Membership*. At the end of its December 18-19, 1978, meeting, the Council issued a statement which said, in part:

The Council took note of the Commission opinion, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties, on Spain's application for accession and decided in favour of this application (Commission 1978a, 76).

The European Parliament was very active in debating Spanish membership and the political developments in Spain, from Juan Carlos' proclamation as King in 1975 until the first general elections under the new monarchy in 1977. Debate in February 1976 revolved around the question of whether or not the Spanish regime had actually changed. On the one hand, the Socialist Group and the Communist and Allies Group argued that not enough change had yet occurred in Spain. On the other hand, the Christian-Democratic Group believed that there had been a change to a democratic political system. The Liberal and Allies Group, the Group of European Progressive Democrats, and the European Conservative Group all took a middle position: change had taken place in Spain, more change needed to take place, and such change should be encouraged (European Communities 1976, 119-123).

With the announcement by the Spanish Government that general elections would be held in June 1977, the European Parliament issued a resolution, supported by the major political groups, in which it "welcome[d] the Spanish Government's decision to hold free and democratic legislative elections on 15 June 1977, which represents the essential prerequisite for the final democratization of Spain" (European Communities 1977b, 67). After the elections were held, the EP "expresse[d] its satisfaction at the organization of the recent elections in Spain which are a decisive step towards democracy . . ." (European Communities 1977c, 38). Again, all of the major political groups fully supported this position (European Communities 1977a, 203-205).

Negotiations between Spain and the European Community on membership began in February, 1979, two months after the referendum approving the Spanish constitution. At the opening session, Roy Jenkins, President of the Commission, said:

You come to this table with the immeasurable asset of full support from your people and all the political parties through which Spanish opinion is expressed. I pay tribute not only to your Government but also to your sovereign for the remarkable and peaceful way in which

Spain has undergone profound constitutional change in such a short time.

The new institution of parliamentary democracy in Spain and your respect for human rights have together created the conditions for Spanish membership of the Community . . . (Commission 1979, 22).

In keeping with the requirements of the new Constitution, elections were called for March 1979. The results did not alter the make-up of the Cortes or the Government significantly. However, in municipal elections one month later, and in regional elections in 1980, Suárez and his UCD party fared poorly. They began to lose the public's confidence. In early 1981, Suárez resigned as Prime Minister, and was replaced by Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo (Mujal-León 1985, 284-289).

During the votes to confirm Calvo Sotelo as Prime Minister, the most serious threat to Spanish democracy since the first elections under the monarchy took place. On February 23, 1981, there was an attempted *coup d'état*, during which members of the military held deputies to the Cortes hostage and took over radio stations. The *coup* progressed no further, however, after King Juan Carlos denounced the attempt and the deputies eventually escaped or were released. Although the attempted *coup* shook the new democracy, it did have at least one beneficial aspect: it gave a strong boost to the negotiations for Spain's accession to the EC. Most of the EC member states felt a new sense of urgency to complete the negotiations (*The Economist* 7 March 1981, 51). Furthermore, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the European Parliament all advocated speeding up negotiations.

As mentioned above, the French did not consider the transition to democracy complete until there was an alternation of Spanish governments. This occurred in 1982. With the UCD in a weakened position, and the PCE suffering from internal divisions and electoral losses, the PSOE and the AP were in a position to benefit most from the elections. And benefit they did. The PSOE won a majority of seats and the AP became the main opposition party. The UCD splintered into several groups, some running in coalition with the PSOE and the AP (López-Pintor 1985, 293-295). With the alternation of governments, even the most skeptical observers would have a hard time arguing that democracy had not been consolidated.

In his speech of investiture and in subsequent speeches, Socialist Prime Minister Felipe González acknowledged the importance of negotiations for membership (Morán 1990, 45), and that the presence of Spain in the European Community was ". . . logical for the development of democracy" (Spain, Cortes Generales 1984, 108).

While great changes were taking place in the Spanish political system, negotiations with the European Community continued until June 12, 1985, with the signing of the Accession Treaty (Commission 1985). Spain, Portugal, and the ten Member States ratified the Accession Treaties over the next seven months. On January 1, 1986, Spain became a member of the European Community, nearly a quarter of a century after it had first applied, nine years after its second application, and five years after its first alternation of governments under democracy.

Conclusion

The interactions between the European Community and Spain, beginning with Spain's initial application for membership and ending with Spain's accession, provide some important lessons for current and future applicants (see also Pridham, Herring and Sanford 1994 and Pridham and Vanhanen 1994). The first lesson is that while democracy is a formal requirement for membership (evolving from an informal requirement not explicitly mentioned in the Treaty of Rome to a formal one in the Maastricht Treaty), current Member States may have different ideas about when a country becomes democratic. Several Member States felt Spain was democratic at the time of its 1977 application, after the first elections under the monarchy. For these countries, elections were enough for Spain to be considered democratic. However, France did not believe Spain was democratic until the alternation of governments, which did not occur until 1982. Therefore, it is important for applicants to meet the democratic requirement not only in a general sense, but according to the definitions of the Member States.

A second lesson is that the European Community/European Union acts to support transitions to democracy. Throughout Spain's transition, the EC positively reinforced Spain's steps toward democracy. Most of the reinforcement came in the form of verbal or written statements praising each of the steps (or condemning any possible backsliding). However, there was implicit reinforcement in the main reward the Community could give for a successful transition: membership. That is, membership was not possible without a successful transition to democracy; and since there was nearly unanimous support within Spain for membership (see, for example, Preston and Smyth 1984, 66), there also had to be domestic support for the transition.

A final lesson, which is also borne out in the case of the EFTA enlargement, is that political considerations (democracy in the case of Spain) had to be resolved before the negotiations on economic issues could be accelerated toward a conclusion. The Spanish government applied for membership in 1977, but negotiations did not begin until 1979, only after the adoption of the new Spanish constitution. They did not get serious until 1982, with the alternation of governments from the center-right to the center-left. Despite the overriding economic nature of the EC/EU, political consideration must be addressed and any conflict resolved before serious negotiations on economic issues can be completed. This will be increasingly the case as the jurisdiction of the European Union expands into additional political areas.

In conclusion, the requirement of a democratic political system for membership in the European Union is a crucial one. This is obvious in the case of Spain (and Greece and Portugal), and will be important in any expansion to the East. The EC/EU's support for democracy in potential members is somewhat ironic given its own democratic deficit. Perhaps in its 1996 IGC, the EU will take a hard look inward, and support greater democracy in its own activities.

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Germany in Europe: New Visions and Old Suspicions¹

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On the Discourse: A Confusing Picture

The public discourse on the future of what is now called the European Union (EU) is marked all over Europe and not least in Germany by a strange mixture of intensity, controversy, ambiguity and confusion. More than in past decades, the European construction is put to fundamental criticism, including abolitionist voices. At the same time, the preferences of accession by outside countries and the reactions by insiders against a possible exclusion from a "core Europe" are strong. Frustration is mixed with the closing of other exits: institutional alternatives to the EU like a reinforced pan-European OSCE or an enlarged free trade area are not really on the political agenda.

The political consequences of this confusing picture are rather clear. Confronted with the project of deepening, i.e., the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference (IGC), and of widening, i.e., the negotiation with possibly 10 more European countries from Eastern and Mediterranean Europe, the EU countries have not agreed on an overall strategy - let alone a grand design. The basic ingredients for further integration already on the political agenda are less visible than before the Single European Act in the middle of the eighties, and before the Maastricht Treaty on European Union in the early nineties. Politicians are cautious till fuzzy about what they want or should propose. The present reflection group (chaired by Westendorp) is stronger on debating options than on presenting consistent policy proposals.

For academics this picture raises the issue of whether we have to adapt, revise, or simply confirm our conventional wisdom about the West European integration process. Is our "acquis academique", dubbed in analogy to the "acquis communautaire", still valid? Do we offer any useful advice to the debates in the marketplace, television studios, or committee rooms of government?

For a closer look we need to analyze the different reasons for this outburst of a European-wide debate. As for exogenous factors, we need to look at the revolutionary upheaval of the international system after "1989". Is this form of (West) European integration now called the European Union still needed,

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or more a relic of the times of the Cold War and thus dysfunctional, at least as seen from the perspective of the new international system?

As for endogenous factors, we need to realize that the steps and proposals for "deepening" and for "widening", especially the Economic and Monetary Union, have produced a broad and intensive debate about European, and, even more, national identity. More than ever before, many benevolent observers are now struck by how serious this EU is to become for their political and economic systems. The general "permissive consensus" has apparently waned. What is now seen by practically all actors and observers is a considerable legitimacy gap in the EU. Is this process "far away in Brussels" sufficiently transparent and still acceptable given the vital decisions taken there? Thus, the basic issue for both set of factors may be stated: Is the Maastricht Treaty on the European Union a "bridge too far", or the right start into a "new Europe", open for all those European countries "able and willing"?

On Germany: A German Europe or a European Germany?

Though each country carries its historical, geopolitical and economic baggage into the EU arena, the "German dimension" within the conceptual debate is of outstanding importance. Approaches to European integration in general are also discussed in terms of their relevance for a national policy vis-à-vis Germany. From Monnet to Mitterrand, the EC/EU has been also a central theme of the French strategy on Germany. With German unification and the EMU project this dimension grew in importance. More than before did the Federal Republic of Germany move into the "heart of Europe" geographically, economically, and politically. Each country - except perhaps for France - has to realize that, though it might dispose of the constitutional "veto" as concerns treaty revision (Art. 236, now Art. N, European Union Treaty), the EU or related forms of European policy making might evolve even without them. For the Germans, such a risk of getting marginalized seems not to exist.

It is of course not only the strategic weight and centrality which creates worries: it is the long shadow of history which raises again and again the issue of democratic reliability, or at least the question of how this leadership position is used by the Germans. Germany as a geopolitical "hegemon" is one answer which is given both from a systematic analysis, and from politicians reacting to German actions or proposals. The term "hegemon" is mostly used not in the sense of a military empire, but as the active motor and model for the European system which is able to use its economic and cultural strength in a broader sense.

The shadow of history also raises the issue of the drive towards the East. Rapallo, as the place in which Germans shifted their focus to the East in the twenties, is quite often recalled as a symbol, and also as a new German option to draw away from it western partners. The strong support of Eastern enlargement is quite often taken as sign of a "bouleversement des coalitions."

Power, history and geopolitics are exploited for several variations on the German role. Quite often it boils down to the alternatives (put forward by Thomas Mann) of a "German Europe" or a "European Germany".

In Germany: A Clash of Options

Though, unlike other EU member states, no referendum on the Maastricht treaty was held, public discourse in Germany was intensive, controversial and ambiguous. A new party had some media success, and different groups of academics led a "battle of manifestos" for and against the Maastricht Treaty. Most products of the print media stressed the critical remarks of the ruling by the Bundesverfassungsgericht, which became a focal point more than the respective changes in the constitution (Grundgesetz) and the debates in the Bundesrat and the Bundestag. Public opinion as part of the public discourse showed a clear decline of the support for European integration. After a boom in pro-European attitudes over the second half of the eighties, the downswing to a historical low in 1994 is remarkable (see Eurobarometer, July 1994), though a slight rebound did occur in 1995. In case of a referendum, which seems not possible constitutionally, in 1995 a majority would have voted for the Maastricht Treaty.

The institutional impact was also considerable. The constitutional adaptations of the Maastricht Treaty involved a major shift of powers away from the Government towards the Bundesrat (Art. 23 of the Grundgesetz) and to a lesser extent to the Bundestag (Art. 23 and 45 of the Grundgesetz). The final adaptation of the TEU, including the changes of the Grundgesetz by the Bundesrat were taken by a large majority (in the Bundesrat by unanimity and in the Bundestag by 97%).

Such a split between a broad consensus within the political class and a general malaise in the public discourse was a widespread phenomenon in nearly all the EU countries; as it has been the case in the referenda of the EFTA applicants - with the exception of Austria.

On the Method: Options on the Menu

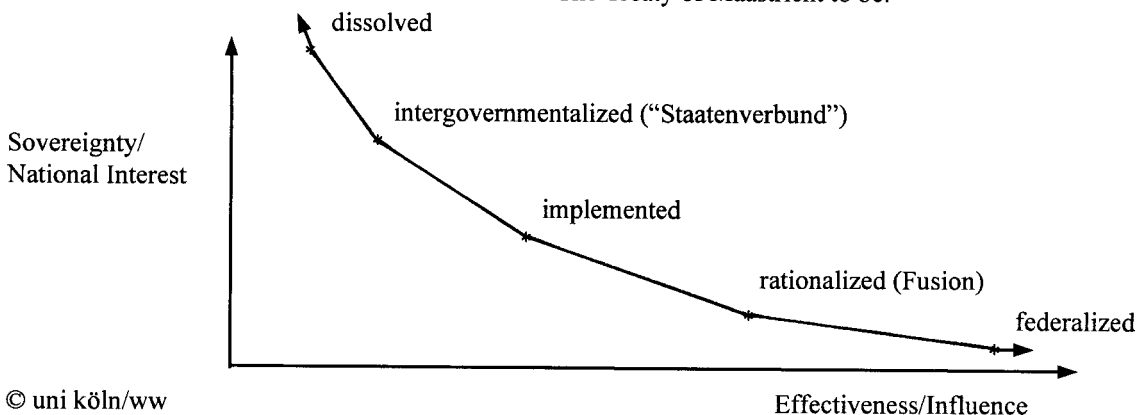
The post-Maastricht controversy on the future of the EU has been characterized by several heterogeneous inputs, which are also present in national discourses albeit with a varying intensity and different accentuations. The schools of thought, outlined in Figure One, represent intellectual constructs which combine (and partly extrapolate) lines of argument that seem to reflect the basic trends in the current state of political and academic debate, the *acquis académique*. Each of them presents a certain view about deepening and widening the European Union, as depicted in Figure Two.

Strategies for Deepening and Widening

Figure Two illustrates the possible strategies that can be identified in public discourse in the European Union overall as well as in Germany. The figure contains two axes: the vertical axis represents the degree of integration: deepening is represented by an upwards movement, and dilution by moving downwards. The horizontal axis represents the possibility of widening into a European Union of thirty states, on the right side, or reducing the membership to perhaps two, on the left. The origin is of course the present EU of 15 members. We can see that the EU is confronted with a dilemma between deepening and widening; this constellation has stimulated a highly controversial debate about the right strategy and model to pursue. The "business as usual-strategy" that widening can take place on the present level of the

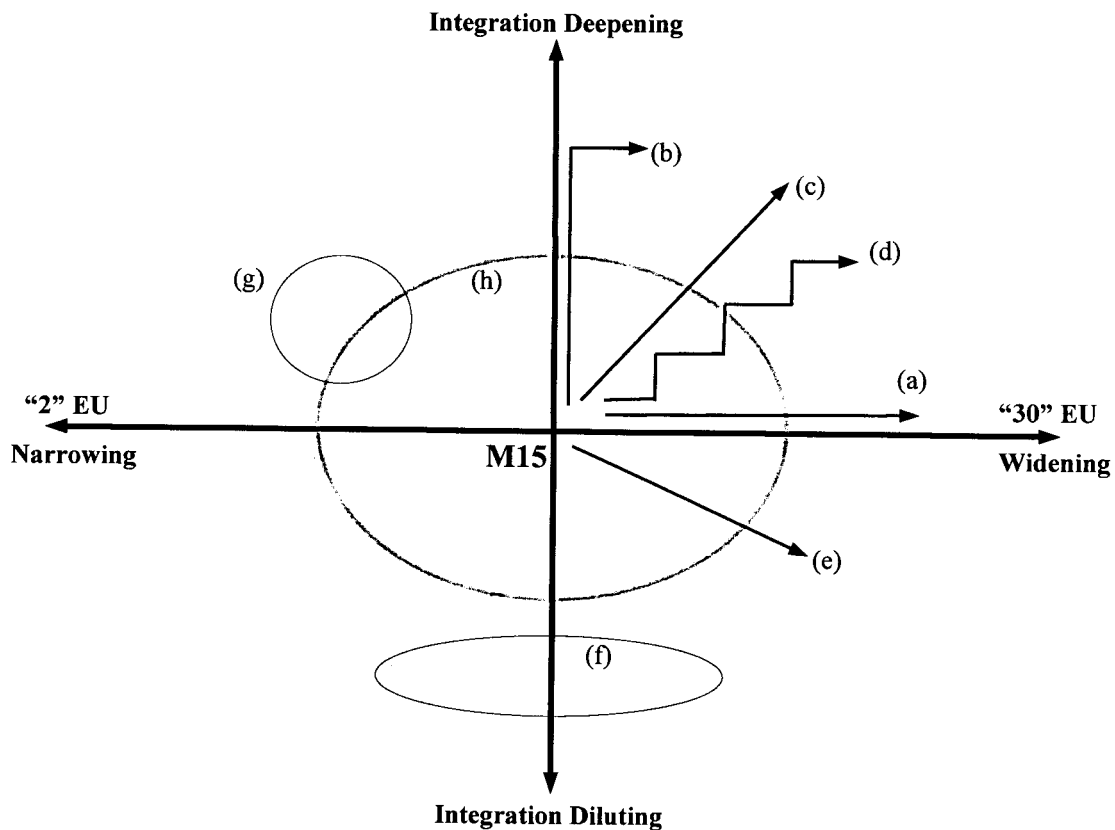
Figure One
The Integration Curve (Interest and Influence)

The Treaty of Maastricht to be:



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Figure Two
Variations: Strategies for Deepening and Widening



M15: EU with 15 members (1995)

- a) **Linear approach:** widening without deepening.
- b) **EC orthodoxy:** deepening first then widening.
- c) **Dream option:** widening and deepening at the same time.
- d) **A multi-speed Europe:** ("abgestufte Integration") partial deepening and partial widening (within EU framework).
- e) **Intergovernmental approach:** diluting for widening or widening for diluting.
- f) **Europe à la carte:** limited functional or sectorial cooperation of interested countries without legal strings (outside EU framework).
- g) **Core Europe:** institutional deepening for upgrading interests by group of "able and willing" countries (outside EU framework).
- h) **Europe of concentric circles:** system/order of several geographically and functionally delimited organizations.

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Maastricht Treaty (line a) does not look rational for both sides. For many, deepening seems necessary for achieving the goals long set by the West Europeans themselves (line b). The optimistic strategy demands for a parallel process of deepening and widening at the same time (line c). But with further deepening the accession process of Central and Eastern European Countries becomes more difficult. Sometimes (see line e) widening is considered as the best strategy for diluting integration. Without further deepening, the EU will have even larger difficulties in dealing with the demands of the new members and in trying to remain a comparatively efficient and effective organization. From this dilemma, many unconventional concepts can be deduced, such as a "multi-speed Europe" (line d), a "core-Europe" (line g), "l'Europe à la carte" (line f) and a "Europe of concentric circles" (line h).

A New Vision and Mission

In all schools and strategies we could identify certain recurrent patterns, which could be summed up as a new vision and mission of the Federal Republic of Germany. Its new "vocation Européenne" is to be an architect of some kind of an even closer and wider Union. Such a "vocation" to fulfill specific functions for the sake of the common public good (EU) is quite common among EU-countries. Many member states stress relations with third countries as their special gift to the EU which they can offer using historical ties. Quite often this self-proclaimed bridge-building function constitutes some kind of psychological device to link one's own history with a new EU destiny. With such an approach the EU membership and its deepening are presented as a new way to continue and reinforce one's own national past, and not as a rupture with it. Such an integrative, quite often vague and declamatory strategy is also helpful to reconcile national traditionalists with modernists in the national discourse.

For the Federal Republic, the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) are of special economic, political and security interest. It is more important for Germany to lead those countries into the EU than for most other EU countries. The German policy objectives are thus also driven by national interests, but there is more to it than just the search for new markets and the worry about political instability. There is an emotional and moral surplus involved, namely that of an overall responsibility for the EU in dealing with the new EU and German neighbors. There might be also something like the feeling for what Americans might call the "new frontier" - a challenge for both Germans and the EU.

Therefore I would like to characterize this basic attitude as a "mission", a fundamental element of German European policy which plays a significant role inside the Federal Republic, the EU and the whole of Europe. The border at Frankfurt/Oder is not only the frontier between Germany and Poland. It is also perceived as the frontier between EU/Europe and a country which should belong to it. There are of course different roots for this vision and mission: the historical legacy - both positive and especially negative - of the German role in Eastern Europe is certainly a major factor.

From a historical point of view this approach is quite different to that from 1870 onwards. It is not a renaissance of a German dominated Mittel-Europa concept. This new option is some kind of an updating or renewal of the German post-World

War II vision. Those positive lessons learned by integrating into Western organizations should now be applied also to the eastern neighbors. The basic notion is to live and work together in a multilateral and, if possible, integrative network. The traumatic experiences of the first half of this century are not forgotten or put on a shelf after unification, but are clearly marking German attitudes and options.

This updated vision then stresses Germany's own post-war experiences and develops some kind of a new mission as a member of the EU. This dimension is of a major importance. The German strategy does not look for a "Sonderweg" to Eastern Europe. It is not the old thinking of nationalism but the new thinking of Europeanism. It is not to replace Western ties with Eastern ties, but rather to use Western ties for strengthening Eastern ties.

The conceptual discourse in Germany about a European vision and its own mission in it is, however, characterized by a strange mixture. There is without any doubt a strong rhetoric for enlarging and deepening the EU as the essential elements for the architecture of a new Europe, and an intensive political impetus to be some kind of architect for this construction. At the same time, the discourse about deepening will be coined for a long time by a cleavage between the more reluctant nation-state-oriented intergovernmentalists and the more willing EU federalists or fusionists. "Fusion" may be defined as the merging of national and EU instruments and procedures, without the creation of institutions at the EU or "federal" level. As to widening, my guess is that the real debate about costs and benefits is still to come in the FRG.

Despite all its ambiguity and superficiality, this deepening and widening vision is very useful politically for creating a multi-partisan overall consensus for an active EU policy. At least till 1996, an abolitionist and revisionist approach has not come to play a major role.

Scenarios

The ambiguities in the discourse let us speculate about the directions the new vision and mission might take. As the implementation of Maastricht continues, public discourses might be confronted with a reality which is getting out of their sight. Consequently, public discourses do not freeze but evolve. Among several scenarios as thinkable future constellations, we might look at Figure Three. In the case that the present EU members and the sufficiently successful countries of the CEEC are geared to agree on effective package deals for a larger and closer Union, the Federal Republic of Germany will be prepared to follow its vision and mission as architect and bridge of a federalist or fusionist Europe. Germany will certainly invest considerably in financial, political, and institutional terms. The intergovernmentalist's "Staatenverbund" school of thought will be following these developments closely, but if an overall success is near, it will not be able or even wish to stop a qualitative change.

If this kind of European consensus is neither on the agenda for deepening nor for widening but if disagreements in and outside the EU makes the pan-European vision outdated, and therefore turns the mission into an anachronistic utopia, several options might become prominent. Strong revisionistic tendencies for a looser but wider Europe may appear. They might lead to a more intergovernmental Europe or eventually to something like a

A Review Essay of Christian Deubner's Deutsche Europapolitik: Von Maastricht nach Kerneuropa?¹

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Figure Three:
Possible Evolutions of German Schools of Thought Related to "Real Developments"

		Widening of the EU	
		+	—
Deepening of the EU	+	Federalist and Fusionist	"Staatenverbund" vs. Federalists
	—	Core Europe	Core Europe vs. Europe à la carte

+ = takes place
— = does not take place

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"Europe à la carte" in which Germany might emerge with some kind of role as regional hegemon. Germany might also turn towards a "core Europe" approach looking for a "coalition of the able and willing" in which a new set of countries will work together.

If only deepening is possible within the EU on a serious scale, Germany's public debate will be torn between both major objectives: the "Staatenverbund" approach and perhaps even more revisionistic contributions will find political arguments against transferring more of Germany's statehood and constitutional sovereignty to a small Europe. If only widening is possible in the EU, the core-Europe option will certainly be raised as a complementary strategy necessary for an enlarged membership.

Outlook: Multi-Speed EU with a Step-by-Step Widening

As deepening and widening are presently full of intrinsic problems, not least for Germany itself, we can expect that German policy will try to pursue a multi-tiered approach. Such an approach will progress slowly and incrementally towards a political Union, and at the same time open the process toward a step-by-step deepening. This will allow Germany to maintain its internal consensus, which Germans like on such fundamental matters. Such a piece-meal engineering might also be very helpful and even necessary to maintain the present EU-wide consensus, which looks even more shaky than that within the FRG. From an academic perspective this trial and error process seems optimal: our knowledge on the processes in Europe are too limited to present a convincing design and clear cut strategies to implement it.

But time might be too short for such a surprise free scenario. Perhaps more than before "1989", failures of the EU - e.g. in the area of the EMU - or perceptions of failures might serve as catalyst for the renaissance of a more national outlook in Germany, as in the rest of Europe.

Christian Deubner's impressive *tour d'horizon* of the options for Germany's European policy fills an important lacuna. The flood of literature unleashed by German unification and European revolution and reform has covered a broad range of policy and theory, including questions of power, role, and interest in the political, economic, security, and cultural fields. Deubner's important book captures admirably the richness of the extant literature, but its main contribution resides in three other dimensions: it looks beyond the near and medium terms and assesses Germany's long-range interests in Europe; it shatters the comfort of traditional thinking about German policy in Europe by questioning the compatibility of deepening with widening; and it offers a clear alternative in the form of a five-country core Europe, together with specific lines of strategy for Germany to both think and arrive at the unthinkable: a Europe that is small, coherent, responsive, and homogeneous.

One can easily welcome the logic, urgency, and unconventional nature of Deubner's analysis without sharing his alternative vision. The book's very strength -- the passion of prescription -- inevitably contains its weakness -- the dilution of balance, the defining feature of Germany's European policy and its foreign relations in general in the post-war world.

Germany's Interests: Complex and Contradictory

The European Union's 1996 Intergovernmental Conference lends immediacy to Deubner's attempt to provide a correct assessment of Germany's vital interests, for the IGC will shape, further, and constrain Germany's purpose. Yet, the focal point, he suggests, lies in the second half of the 1990s and beyond. He views integration, to which he is deeply committed, as a long-term proposition whose success will depend on the nature of the process, the quality of the terminal condition, and the number of actors involved.

In the tradition of Paterson and Bulmer, and of Wessels and Hrbek, Deubner vividly paints a complex, variegated portrait of the different German actors engaged in interest articulation: the federal government (including the Federal Constitutional Court and the Bundestag), state and local governments, political parties, economic organizations, and public opinion. What Deubner adds is a sense of the growing importance of certain actors -- state governments, and public opinion, for example -- and of the mounting contradictions within and between the interests of German actors, such as the federal government's objective of a common German position within the EU conflicting with its desire to maintain the strength of German federalism, or a CDU September 1993 goal of a federal European state involving the disappearance of nation states juxtaposed against a November

¹Deutsche Europapolitik: Von Maastricht nach Kerneuropa? Christian Deubner. Aktuelle Materialien zur Internationalen Politik, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen, Band 42 (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995).

1993 emphasis on the retention of the fatherland. One can add to Deubner's examples of intra-party differences the indications in 1995 of "Deutschmark nationalism" and opposition to the third stage of EMU within both the CSU and the SPD. There is still overall agreement among the major political parties on the goal of integration, as expressed, for example in the two June 1995 discussion papers of the Executive Committee of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Party (the Seiters papers) and in the We Need Europe statement of the SPD's November 1995 party convention. Yet, there are profound differences between parties as to method, and identifiable pockets of opposition within parties as to European community-building.

Deubner recognizes that Germany seeks a balance among three sets of interests: the treaty obligations of Maastricht, European idealism, and the reservations of public opinion. He dissects very effectively the first and the last (what one might call the Realist aspects of Germany's position) and addresses well Germany's view of ideal EU institutions, but he neglects two important principles of idealism: the policies of responsibility and of reconciliation in response to Germany's fascist past and the excesses of nationalism. If these principles are no longer relevant to the German public, he still needs to explain why architects of Germany's policy persist in promoting them (see, for example, the March 1995 article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung by Wolfgang Ischinger and Rudolf Adam) and Germany's partners (particularly the Dutch and the British) continue to expect them.

Deepening and Widening: An Impossible Task?

Germany's ultimate purpose in integration is stability which it seeks in the West through deepening and in the East through widening. For Deubner, this is the arena of fundamentally conflicting German interests. Deepening alone, he argues, is a difficult proposition for four reasons: the altered nature of the international environment; the size and obduracy of the reform tasks; the conflicting positions of member states; and the deep skepticism of public opinion.

Deubner believes the end of the East-West conflict has fundamentally restructured Europe and that old answers to basic integration questions and to the traditional German Question ("Germany's weight and its potential for dominance", p. 48) are no longer adequate. For Germany, the Cold War priority assigned to economic issues and the internal market now must be accompanied by stronger political integration (other analysts contend that economic issues were always subordinate to Germany's political goals).

The combination of new European challenges and obligations (both Maastricht-based and subsequent summit agreements) with the old agenda of reform presents a Herculean task: enlargement, including the implementation of changes resulting from the accession of Austria, Finland, and Sweden; extension of the European Parliament's co-decision rights, and the Parliament's relationship with national parliaments; restructuring of the Commission, including reduction of the number of Commissioners and changing the method of appointment; redefining the Council's role and its standard operating procedures, above all the issues of majority voting, blocking minorities, and double majorities (of states and populations); progress in key functional areas, especially the revision of CFSP (administratively, financially, and structurally), and completion of Economic and Monetary Union; and the overarching questions of

the limits of EU competence, the practice of subsidiarity, and the ultimate form of political union.

In Deubner's view, the triple agenda of enlargement, intergovernmentalism, and constitutionalism becomes harder to pursue in an already large EU (15-plus) in which the differences between the intergovernmentalists and the supranationalists are growing.

Deepening will be acceptable to public opinion, he maintains, only if it confronts the issues of legitimacy, transparency, efficiency, and democracy. Deubner lays out in fine detail existing proposals for such reform and their strengths and weaknesses. In the end, he suggests, Europe must have a political identity that is both recognizable and meaningful for the majority of citizens. He seriously doubts that this can happen in a large Europe of 15-plus.

He is even less sanguine about realizing the goal of effective deepening in a European Union that has widened to include members from Central and Eastern Europe. He questions the economic value-added of rapid EU membership for the Visegrad countries (with the possible exception of the Czech Republic), sees no evidence (at least in the short term) for the stabilizing and security benefits cited by German officials, and in fact, fears that enlargement to the East could destabilize the EU's deepening effort, especially given the profound differences between France and Germany. Deepening is so essential, he contends, for embedding Germany multilaterally that it must take absolute priority over widening.

While the range of alternatives to Central and Eastern Europe's incorporation into the EU is weighed and advanced (Council of Europe, OSCE, Stability Pact, European Economic Space), material and psychological factors militating in favor of membership are ignored in this book. In the past five years, Germany has assumed the disproportionate financial burden of supporting the democratic political and economic transformation of Central and Eastern Europe. Part of its logic for championing EU enlargement to the East rests in multilateralizing the costs as well as the risks of failure. One could posit that excluding Central and Eastern Europe from membership will only increase Germany's economic liabilities and accentuate Germany's national role in the region. Moreover, following the EU's own example of reconciliation, the psychological, societal, and historical legacy between Germany and individual Central and Eastern European countries remaining from World War II can be encountered most successfully on the basis of these countries' equal standing and sense of belonging. Relegation of Central and Eastern Europe to the periphery of the periphery carries enormous risks. This notion of core and periphery lies at the heart of Deubner's analysis and prescription; it entered German and European political debate via the September CDU-CSU parliamentary party's paper Reflections on European Policy (the Schäuble-Lamers paper), but Deubner's idea predates the political initiative and may well have been its intellectual forbear.

Core Europe: A Means or an End; a Separation or an Obfuscation?

A large part of the book is devoted to laying out four scenarios for the EU's progress and systematically evaluating their advantages and disadvantages in light of desirability, feasibility, and German interests: 15-plus, Maastricht II constitutional deepening; modest reform effort; launching of

economic and non-governmental networks among EU member-states; creation of a deepened core Europe. He concludes that Germany and the EU can best achieve the goal of deepening by creating a core group that will move forward together.

On the basis of small group theory, Maastricht Treaty opting out provisions (EMU), practice (the Schengen Agreement) and proposals ("coalitions of the willing" for CFSP), the author details the conceptual and political viability of the core Europe idea. His work extends beyond the existing political and academic debate about the core by showing through description and charts how it would work in key areas such as EMU and CFSP, and how it differs from "variable geometry" and "differentiated integration" (they involve ad hoc, single-issue coalitions). Deubner combines the working models of the Franco-German duo and the Benelux arrangement to identify the five core countries. He cites four other reasons for why France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg constitute the core: greater mutual trust among the publics of the five than in any other combination of the EU; economic interdependence and similar social systems; close geographical proximity that has engendered extensive personal contacts and intimate knowledge of economic and social realities; and religious and historical compatibility.

For Deubner, the creation and practice of the core is conceived within the framework of 15-plus, and not as a separate legal entity. Nonetheless, four central questions require broader treatment: How to conceptualize those EU members remaining outside the core, other than as the periphery? How to prevent the idea of a core becoming an end in itself rather than a means to the end of eventual deeper integration for all members? How to convey the new myriad relationships and lines of authority to an already perplexed public craving greater simplicity in the EU? How to project a unified profile of core plus non-core in an international arena already puzzled by the lack of synergy within the EU?

In all probability, the author will have an opportunity soon to develop further his answers and his ideas, for if the Intergovernmental Conference's results are modest, as the Reflection Group's agenda promises, then alternatives will be sought in the Federal Republic of Germany. Christian Deubner's contribution is provocative, his identification of problems and challenges in Germany's European policy is broadly confirmed (see, for example, Josef Janning's summary in *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration* 1994/95), and his solution already has found political acceptance.

Book Reviews

Elusive Union: The Process of Economic and Monetary Union in Europe. Kenneth Dyson. London: Longman, 1994. 370 pp. ISBN 0-582-25131-1.

Economists often accuse political scientists of being overly vague, contingent, even fuzzy. Political scientists, for their part, insist that economists -- with all their precision -- answer only the easy questions: *Assuming that it can be implemented without excessive difficulty*, what are the relative costs and benefits of a given policy? This charge and counter-charge have practical as well as methodological significance. Indeed, they are particularly

relevant to the implementation of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), where the vagaries of 'monetary sovereignty' stand in stark yet potent contrast to the intricate precision of economic debates about the costs and benefits of a single currency.

In *Elusive Union*, Professor Kenneth Dyson makes the strong case that the problems besetting EMU can only be understood once we accept that both parties can be right at the same time -- that political scientists can be vague but meaningful, while economists can be precise but incomplete. The difficulty lies in understanding how one group of social scientists (in this case the economists) can gain such clear ascendancy over the other. Particularly, Dyson questions how a large and diverse group of well-respected politicians and political analysts could fashion a controversial plan for European monetary integration without giving any apparent consideration to the political implications of monetary union. For anyone who aspires to prevent the starting date for EMU from receding ever farther into the 21st century, Professor Dyson's analysis of monetary integration as a political process deserves careful consideration.

Unfortunately, those who would benefit most from reading this book -- the policy-makers and the economists who advise them -- are also the least likely to make the effort. Given Professor Dyson's own methodological and stylistic preferences, his analysis is immediately accessible only to other like-minded scholars. The writing is dense, the argument discursive, and the theorizing relies heavily on allusions to specialized literature in political science. In the first 19 pages, Professor Dyson interprets the two faces of money, respectively technical/economic and political/cultural; surveys competing approaches to monetary union, both evolutionary and sudden; offers three principal arguments about policy-making in the EU, covering agents, bargaining conventions, and structural power, as well as a unifying theme to describe the interaction between all three; and claims that reliance on the narrative, historical method is necessary (though insufficient) to understand European monetary integration. In trying to say so much at once, Professor Dyson is sometimes difficult to follow.

The patient will be rewarded on two levels -- the historical and the analytical. On the historical level, professor Dyson has assembled a concise (circa 150 pp.) history of two centuries' worth of monetary integration. The material is heavily weighted in favor of the Maastricht project, and yet sufficiently comprehensive to be recommended for course use. Thus, although he offers few new insights on historical events, Professor Dyson makes a valuable addition to the literature in providing a single coherent narrative.

The analytical reward arises from Professor Dyson's discussion of how policy-makers are constrained by their international, domestic and personal relationships as well as

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by their past experiences. It is in this area that he is most insightful and -- to non-political scientists, perhaps -- most frustrating. On the surface, his argument at times meanders through complex discussions of structural power, policy networks, and policy learning, nevertheless it rests on two straightforward and powerful contentions. The first is that monetary integration has evolved as an elite concern particularly prone to bureaucratic self-interest (e.g. from 'independent' central banks) and to intellectual socialization (e.g. with respect to technocratic notions of the costs and benefits of stable money). In such a context, the political implications of monetary union were unlikely to receive due consideration: There were no institutions representing popular perceptions of money and social science analysis of the politics of monetary reform was relatively underdeveloped. On this count we can hope that Europe's policy-makers will have learned from the difficult implementation of the Maastricht Treaty and that they will not soon forget that monetary reform (including monetary integration) is an issue of popular as well as elite concern.

Professor Dyson's second contention is more clearly argued and also more fundamentally troubling to future prospects for EMU. He contends that monetary integration suffers from the lack of authoritative oversight. Simply put, there is no person or institution responsible for upholding the interests of the system of European monetary relations as opposed to having primary allegiance to the interests of one of its constituent elements -- whether national or bureaucratic. As a consequence, the policy-makers responsible for negotiating EMU are inherently more concerned with their own objectives and sacrifices than with the requirements for successful implementation. As long as this lack of leadership prevails -- in Professor Dyson's words, as long as Europe suffers from a 'hollow core' -- the likelihood is that the various advocates of EMU will give up after seeing their own objectives frustrated rather than make additional sacrifices. This tendency is particularly evident in the German federal government, where incessant battling with the Bundesbank and opposition parties has greatly complicated the task of constructive monetary leadership.

For those who aspire to see a monetary union in Europe, Professor Dyson's analysis outlines the broad agenda for what needs to be done both intellectually and institutionally. To begin with, political scientists should develop an understanding of the (often intensely political) questions of the implementation of EMU that is every bit as sophisticated as the economics literature on its costs and benefits. And, if this review is critical of the complexity of Professor Dyson's exposition, that criticism should be understood in light of the difficult questions he seeks to answer. Institutionally, Europe's policy-makers need to design some framework to be responsible for managing the monetary affairs of the Union. This is clearly the more difficult part of the agenda, and in many ways it is dependent upon the success of intellectual efforts to understand the monetary integration as implemented. Only when we understand the political problems of implementation can we begin to design the necessary institutions. Professor Dyson's second contribution is to bring us closer to that objective, and for that he should be commended.

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The European Parliament, 3rd ed., Richard Corbett, Francis Jacobs, and Michael Shackleton (London: Cartermill Publishing, 1995).

The European Parliament is the definitive reference work and introductory guide to a most unique representative body, "the first, and so far the only experiment in trans-national democracy" in the words of Corbett, Jacobs, and Shackleton. Written with the authority of an insider's perspective (all three co-authors work as administrators for the EP), this edition has been updated to consider developments such as the 1994 European elections, the 1995 enlargement, and the need for institutional reform at the 1996 intergovernmental conference. It is a valuable addition to any library on EU affairs, and provides a wealth of data on the inner workings and external powers of this complex and often misunderstood European institution. Indeed, one might wonder how the EP functions at all, with the limited attendance of MEPs in plenary sessions spread over three cities, the high turnover of MEPs, multiple languages, weak debates, little appreciation for the EP among the public, and few real legislative functions. Yet the EP is deeply involved in European integration, and this book, divided into three coherent sections and loaded with charts, graphs, tables, and appendices on the EP's activities, does an admirable job of explaining how.

The short first section provides a brief account of the institutional context in which the EP operates, along with some key events in the EP's history. It then turns to the questions of EP elections and the general calendar of EP activity. There is of course no uniform system for electing MEPs, which is one of the thorniest issues for reformers, and may never be since such a system must be approved by a unanimous vote of the Council of Ministers. The authors describe the inauguration of direct elections in 1979 and review the wide variation in national electoral rules currently used to choose MEPs. Only the voting age - eighteen - is uniform; otherwise member states have devised a patchwork of practices with regard to EP elections: proportional and majoritarian electoral systems, varied rules of eligibility for office (candidate age limits from 18 to 25, for example), rights to vote, filling vacancies, etc. Various issues concerning a uniform system are covered, along with an assessment of the few attempts that have been made to create such a system, but the authors note the many areas of disagreement (such as campaign financing) encountered. The section concludes with a chapter on the EP's meeting schedule, which is conducted in a monthly cycle: a plenary week usually held in Strasbourg, followed by two "Committee weeks" in Brussels or elsewhere, and ending with a "Group week" when the Political Groups meet. The authors provide a candid assessment of the increasingly difficult (and expensive) language issue, which makes the EP both accessible and remote to its citizens. And, as more committee and plenary meetings are being held in Strasbourg, Brussels, and Luxembourg, the authors relate exactly how much duplication of resources is involved in maintaining the illusion that the EP has no single home.

The second section delves deeper into the internal organization of the EP, beginning with a chapter on the rights, resources, and general background characteristics of individual MEPs. Although many MEPs are professional politicians, turnover within the EP is fairly high. The authors do not attempt to explain why this is so. They do argue that MEPs are not an

isolated political class in Europe; the EP is “an integral part of Europe’s political network. Indeed, it is the place *par excellence* where politicians from different Member States are in regular contact. No other group of politicians in Europe is in such constant contact with colleagues from other Member States” (original emphasis). Since the EP is organized into Political Groups instead of parties, and has a weak system of “whips,” MEPs enjoy more autonomy than members of many national parliaments, and the authors describe their most important rights in great detail.

The following three chapters on the Political Groups, EP leadership structures, and the committee system of the EP are particularly rich, since these mechanisms, as in national parliaments, condition most of the EP’s activities. As of early 1995 there are nine Political Groups in the EP, and the authors provide a detailed discussion of their complex evolution since 1953. They also list the MEPs who now lead the nine Groups and the parties and states that currently compose each Group, including Austria, Finland, and Sweden. The Party of European Socialists still dominates the EP, as it has since 1989, with over a third of MEPs (221) belonging to this Group. In addition to these Political Groups, there are three European Party Federations that work outside the EP to unite the main parties in member states: the Party of European Socialists, the European People’s Party, and the European Liberal Democrat and Reformist Party.

After a brief discussion of the roles played by the EP’s president, 14 vice-presidents, and five Quaestors (the internal administrators of the EP), the book turns to the committee system. This system, like the Political Group system, is unique, as the EP has taken pains to keep the number of committees limited instead of allowing them to proliferate as they have in some national legislatures. There are only 20 permanent committees and a handful of subcommittees in the EP, but a number of *ad hoc* working groups or special committees are formed to handle specific matters. Coupled with the high turnover of membership on committees (and in the EP in general) and the limited role played by seniority in the choosing of committee chairs, this reluctance to create additional standing committees may have made it difficult for the EP to speak with an authoritative voice on some matters (such as telecommunications). Committee staffs are very small, and chairmanships very short, compared to the U.S. Congress (but not to national parliaments). The authors describe how committees conduct their business. Like many parliaments on the Continent, the EP’s committees assign rapporteurs to guide proposals and reports through the system. It also relies on many interparliamentary delegations to stay involved in the EU’s external relations. This section concludes with three brief chapters on plenary sessions, intergroups (such as the Crocodile Club and the Kangaroo Group), and the EP’s secretariat. Since the thematically-organized intergroups seem to play a key role in the EP’s development as an institution that transcends national *and* partisan boundaries, they may deserve more attention than they receive here. The book does provide a list of several dozen of the most important intergroups and a concise case study of the Intergroup on the Welfare and Conservation of Animals.

The third and final section probably will be the most interesting for serious students of the EU, since it concerns the EP’s role in the overall legislative process, particularly its relationship with the Commission. It begins with a general

chapter that provides lengthy descriptions and detailed charts of the consultation procedure, the conciliation procedure, the cooperation procedure, and the co-decision procedure. Maastricht established what became the co-decision procedure (Article 189b), the EP’s newest power, and this mechanism, according to the authors, has increased the bargaining power of the EP vis-à-vis the Council. However, they acknowledge that co-decision, like the cooperation procedure it stems from, applies only to one-quarter or so of the legislative texts handled by the EP, usually in policy areas which are fairly well-established in the EU (except trade and agriculture). Although the co-decision procedure was used to debate only a handful of measures in the first months after Maastricht went into effect, the authors suggest that this power will become increasingly important in the future.

The book also explains a host of lesser-known formal and informal EP practices, such as the assent procedure (which applies to much of the EU’s external relations), the Luns procedure, the Luns-Westerterp procedure, the Notenboom procedure, the Plumb-Delors procedure, and the Shevardnadze procedure. The authors argue that, whatever their formal powers, the MEPs do exert influence on European integration by their very presence in negotiations. Thus the EP:

is not a rubber-stamp Parliament whose real powers are in practice exercised merely to legitimize a Government’s wishes. It is an independent institution whose members are not bound to support a particular governing majority, who do not have a permanent majority coalition within Parliament and whose party structures are not all pervasive. In this sense it resembles the United States Congress, with its own identity, independent legitimacy and separation from the executive, though seeking to interact intensively with the executive.

The authors then turn to a comprehensive discussion of the EP’s important role in the budgetary process. While there are still nasty debates over the scope of its budgetary authority, which has not been formally codified by treaty in any substantial way since 1975, the EP has attempted to use the power of the purse to pursue new European policies, both internally and externally. The third section concludes with three brief chapters: one on the EP’s scrutiny of appointments (such as to the Commission, European monetary institutions, and the Court of Auditors), which includes a lucid discussion of the arcane “comitology” procedures for implementing legislation; a second on the EP’s role as a forum for communication, which includes a too-brief discussion of lobbying in the EP; and a third on the EP as a major driving force for institutional reform. The budgetary process is one area, like the issue of a uniform electoral procedure for the EP, begging for some resolution in 1996. If the EU does not attempt to address these issues soon, its parliament will, despite its many unique features, no doubt continue to share a dubious trait with other representative institutions: low esteem in the eyes of many of those it purports to represent.

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Shireen Hunter, Turkey at the Crossroads: Islamic Past or European Future. Paper Number 63, Brussels: Centre for European Studies, 1995. (Available from CEPS at place du Congrès 1, B-1000 Brussels, Belgium)

For almost two hundred years now, Turkish society has been embroiled in a fierce debate about whether the country should retain its indigenous (read Islamic) institutions and characteristics or chart a new course in the direction of western civilization and culture. The clash between these two points of view has created a highly charged and volatile political life in the country where each side tries to fend off the other by representing itself in pure, dogmatic, and exclusive terms. In times of economic and political crisis such as the current one, this debate gains an added urgency. Today, depending on one's vantage point, the West or westernization is portrayed as either the culprit or the panacea for the problems that confront Turkish society. The discussions over Turkey's present status and future direction is further complicated by the ever-receding target date of the country's membership in the European Union. The latter has now acquired a symbolic significance as the event that will either certify the successful completion of Turkey's two-hundred year journey toward western civilization or, by not materializing, it will show once again that the values and institutions that are characteristic of Europe and Turkey are fundamentally, essentially and mutually incompatible.

In this short book Shireen Hunter sees the current conditions in Turkey as supporting a movement away from the West and Westernization and hence portending the latter of the two scenarios. According to Hunter, the weakness and incomplete nature of democratic institutions, the seriousness of economic crisis, and the strategic uncertainties of the post-Cold War world have undermined Turkey's ability to turn these conditions around and bring the country closer to her two-hundred year dream of becoming a part of the community of European states. It is hard to disagree with Hunter's assertions regarding the critical nature of the era which Turkey is living through, yet this book has so many mistakes and is so poorly put together that its credibility is seriously undermined.

On p. 24 Shireen Hunter says that the "prominent Turkish writer Omar Mumcu" was assassinated "in July 1992 during a bomb attack in Sivas." She must have in mind Ugur Mumcu who was killed by a car bomb in front of his house in Ankara on January 24, 1993. Hunter describes the influential religious order, *Naqshibandi* as belonging to the *Nurcu* order, whereas the only informal relationship between these two is the other way around. The former is a world-wide order that dates back to the thirteenth century and extends from Central Asia to California, while the latter is a movement that grew out of Turkey in the nineteenth century. (34) She says the name of the *Nurcu* order comes from the word *Nur* which in Turkish means "light". In reality the name refers to Said Nursi, the founder of this order who was born in the town of Nurs in eastern Turkey. The religious Refah Party (whose name is commonly translated as Welfare and not Prosperity) reentered politics in 1984 not in 1989. (35) After the most recent coup in 1980, new laws allowed the reemergence of political parties in 1982 not in 1992. The Republican Peoples Party turned leftward in the 1970s not in the 1950s. (43) The late President Turgut Özal's son Ahmet Özal is not a party leader. (50) Actually he is in trouble with the law for financial irregularities and shady dealings with the Turkish underground. It

is Özal's brother, Yusef, who is leading a small political party. The latest constitution was adopted in 1982, not in 1980. (110)

Leaving aside all this, which admittedly does not leave much behind, Hunter's more general arguments also suffer from the weaknesses of an old perspective that sees the world in stark contrasts. She defines everything that is Islamic as belonging to the "past" and hence inherently backward, anti-western or anti-modern. Nowadays, the extreme partisans of the debate in Turkey like to portray themselves in a similar way to exaggerate their own distinctions and cut down the appeal of their rivals. But from writers we should expect more.

Such simplifications do not reflect the multifarious life which most people live in modern Turkey. Among the many things that make up their identity and aspirations, as an ideal, as a place to work, and as a place to live, Europe has always occupied a very important place. The implications of this for Turks and Turkey, as well as for Europe and Europeans, is an important topic that deserves to be studied seriously. Below are some books and articles that can be helpful in thinking about this topic.

**Resat Kasaba
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- Canan Balkir and Allan Williamson, eds., Turkey and Europe, New York and London: Pinter, 1993.
- Ilhan Basgöz and Norman Furniss, eds., Turkish Workers in Europe, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- John Berger and Jean Mohr, A Seventh Man: Migrant Workers in Europe, New York: Viking, 1975.
- Stephen Castles, Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities, London: Pluto Press, 1984.
- Stephen Castles and Mark Miller, The Age of Migration, New York: The Guildford Press, 1993.
- Ahmet Evin and Geoffrey Denton, eds., Turkey and the European Community, Opladen: Leske and Budrich, 1990.
- Metin Heper, Heinz Kramer and Ayse Öncü, eds., Turkey and the West: Images of a New Political Culture, London: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Caglar Keyder, "The Dilemma of Cultural Identity on the Margin of Europe" Review, 16, 1, Winter 1993.
- Philip Martin, The Unfinished Story: Turkish Labour Migration to Western Europe, Geneva: ILO, 1991.
- Yasemin Nuhoglu-Soysal, Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Ziya Önis, "Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era: In Search of Identity," Middle East Journal, 49,1, Winter 1995.
- Suzanne Paine, Exporting Workers: The Turkish Case, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- John Redmond, The Next Mediterranean Enlargement of the European Community: Turkey, Cyprus and Malta?, Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Co., 1993.

European Foreign Policy, The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe, edited by Walter Carlsnaes and Steve Smith. SAGE Modern Politics Series Volume 34, Sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research/ECPR (SAGE Publications, 1994), 312 pp. [Hardcover 0-8039-8816-8, \$75.00; Softcover 0-8039-8817-6, \$25.95]

In this important yet highly speculative book Walter Carlsnaes (Uppsala University) and Steve Smith (University of Wales, Aberystwyth) have edited a work of fourteen essays which consider the applicability of research models, paradigms, and previous conceptions in the light of the Revolutions of 1989, the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, and the impact of the Maastricht Treaty in sustaining the European Union movement. Although there is some unevenness in the quality of the essays, and while the variables in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) are more numerous, diverse, and uncertain than they were in the more predictable and formulaic pre-1989 period, recent developments suggest that the underpinnings of FPA and Foreign Economic Policy (FEP) will survive but will be transformed substantially.

European Foreign Policy, The EC and Changing Perspectives in Europe is organized into five parts: Introduction; The Changing Foreign Policy Context of the New Europe; Foreign Policy Actors in the New Europe; Critiques; and a Conclusion. The Introduction consists of Steve Smith's essay, "Foreign Policy Theory and the New Europe." Four essays constitute Part Two; "Beyond the Stable State ? Foreign Policy Challenges and Opportunities in the New Europe" by Michael Smith; "The Long-Term Future of European Security: Perpetual Anarchy or Community of Democracies?" by Thomas Risse-Kappen; "Foreign Economic Policy in the New Europe" by Roger Tooze; and "Multinational Enterprises as Actors" by Gerd Junne. As the largest component of the book with six essays, Part III includes "The Evolution of the EC/EU as a Single Foreign Policy Actor" by Ben Soetendorp, "Tensions in Sovereignty: Foreign Policies of EC Members Compared" by Frank Pfetsch; "After Maastricht: Explaining the Movement towards a Common European Defence Policy" by Alfred van Staden; "Testing Weak-Power Theory: Three Nordic Reactions to the Soviet Coup" by Hans Mouritzen; "Changing Course: When Neutral Sweden Chose to Join the European Community" by Bengt Sundelius; and "Context and Action in the Collapse of the Cold War European System" by Olav F. Knudsen. The critiques in Part Four are "What's New? Feminist Observations on the New Europe" by Marysia Zalewski, and "Resisting the Temptation of Post Foreign Policy Analysis" by Ole Waever. The volume closes with Walter Carlsnaes' essay, "In Lieu of a Conclusion: Compatibility and the Agency-Structure Issue in Foreign Policy Analysis."

Smith outlines the nature of the concerns addressed in the book. Reference is made to the Rimini Conference held in September 1990 and sponsored by the European Consortium for Political Research as the genesis of the volume, and the review of the applicability of prevailing foreign policy theory. Smith argues that the two main issues of concern are the 'nature of the new Europe,' which is defined by the close of the Cold War and the acceleration of the European movement. Within this context, Smith notes that there is a need to reexamine the models which serve as the basis of current FPA theory; the three prevalent paradigms of realism (including neo-realism), pluralism, and structuralism are reviewed adequately, as is the state of the 'inter-

paradigm debate.' According to Smith, each of the contributors to this volume were requested "to follow a four-step procedure" in considering their respective topics; each was charged to: (1) "...outline the empirical domain..."; (2) "outline the dominant theories in the literature which purport to explain the events in this empirical domain"; (3) "...evaluate the ability of the dominant theories to explain or account for the empirical domain"; and (4) "...conclude [by] either offering his or her own version of events, suggesting some further theoretical development, or continuing a research agenda for the further analysis of the topic." (p. 8) Carlsnaes' conclusion takes exception to Smith's suggestion that a crisis in foreign policy analysis had developed. He notes Smith's "strong suspicion that in so far as accounts stressing agency cannot be combined with accounts stressing structure, the agency-structure is essentially unresolvable." (p. 277) Instead, Carlsnaes develops an argument focusing on methodology to counter some of Smith's fundamental themes.

Though space constraints prevent an examination of each essay in this volume, observations on several are warranted. In his discussion of the future of European security, Thomas Risse-Kappen presents a cogent argument organized around four 'theoretical approaches' within the context of recent history: namely, structural realism, realism-cum-cooperation, liberal republicanism and institutionalism. In arguing correctly that attitudinal and environmental factors constitute determining factors, he states that "...gloomy or optimistic predictions of the future in an environment characterized by the uncertainties of the post-Cold War world might become self-fulfilling prophecies." (p. 59) Further, a federation of democracies is indeed feasible and that condition "implies a moral obligation for policy-makers and social actors alike to work in this direction." (p. 59) Marysia Zalewski's feminist critique raises a myriad of excellent issues concerning the 'reality' of a new Europe, women's employment and reproductive rights. Her remarks are among the most salient and valuable in this volume. Hopefully, Zalewski will amplify her thoughts in an extended piece in which she addresses the formulation and implementation of a European foreign policy in the context of gender and racial concerns. Hans Mouritzen's study of 'weak-power theory' in the cases of Denmark, Sweden and Finland provides valuable data in identifying "the true weathercocks" in response to the uneasy days of the Russian coup of 1991.

Carlsnaes and Smith should be commended for addressing this critical issue as European integration progresses. Each of the essays provides insights and perspectives on the structure, formulation and conduct of European foreign policy for a new age characterized by diminished Russian and American influence and a general willingness to proceed with the integration of European political institutions. While this volume will be of great interest to scholars, it will also be useful in courses focused on methodology.

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Publications

State of the European Union, Volume 3: Building a European Polity?

The third volume in ECSA's *State of the EC/EU* series is now available from Lynne Rienner Publishers. The most recent volume, edited by Carolyn Rhodes and Sonia Mazey, considers the implications of the Treaty of European Union — in the context of integration analysis — for both the member states and the EU itself. The volume contains twenty chapters in sections devoted to "Reflections on European Integration," "Europeanization of National Politics," and "European Public Policy Making: Internal and External Dimensions."

The regular purchase price for this volume is \$49.95., plus shipping. ECSA members receive a special discount rate of \$39.95, which includes shipping. Orders should be sent to Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1800 30th Street, Suite 314, Boulder, CO 80301; fax (303) 444-0824; tel (303) 444-6684.

1995 ECSA Conference Papers on CD-ROM

ELLIS Publications of Maastricht is offering a CD-ROM title of papers presented at the 1995 ECSA Conference. Over 130 papers from a variety of disciplinary perspectives and on a broad range of EU-related topics are included in the collection. Through easy-to-use Folio Views 3.1 for Windows software, the collection offers free text searching and table of contents access. All words and phrases are searchable. Papers may be displayed on-screen, printed out, saved partially, or saved as a complete document. The 1995 ECSA Conference CD-ROM collection also includes a full listing of paper abstracts.

The standard price is US \$175.00 plus US \$25.00 for postage and handling. ECSA members (individuals, students, and institutions) receive a special discount price of US \$99.00 plus US \$25.00 postage and handling. Authors contributing to the ECSA Conference CD-ROM collection will receive previously agreed discounts.

In addition to the special offer on the 1995 ECSA Conference CD-ROM, ELLIS Publications is also offering a substantial discount for the Official Journal of the European Communities on CD-ROM (OJCD). OJCD includes the complete full text orientated CELEX (EU legislation in force, Treaties, Agreements, proposed legislation Case law, national implementing measures and parliamentary questions) database produced by the EU institutions. It cumulates from 1952 onwards and includes over 200,000 pages of text. OJCD runs under both Windows and DOS and is quite user friendly. This valuable collection, regularly priced at US \$375.00, is available to ECSA members at US \$99.00. A US \$25.00 fee for postage and handling will be added if the OJCD is ordered separately; extra shipping costs will not be applied if ordered with the 1995 ECSA Conference CD-ROM collection. Please note that the special OJCD offer applies only to individual and student members of ECSA and not to institutions.

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Global Security Beyond 2000: Global Population Growth, Environmental Degradation, Migration, and Transnational Crime

This Conference was held November 2-3, 1995 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. It examined the issues of global population growth, environmental degradation, migration, and transnational organized crime - issues which are now of great concern to the United States and European Union - within the context of post-Cold War changes in global security. Forty-five government officials, policy experts, and senior academics from the United States and Europe participated.

Papers presented include: "Threats to Global Security: New Views or Old?" by Richard H. Ullman; "Global Population Growth" by Norman Myers; "Security Implications of Global Migration" by Sarah Spencer; "Complexificação of Environmental Security" by Alexander Carius and R. Andreas Kraemer; "The Geopolitics of Transnational Organized Crime" by Phil Williams; and "Transatlantic Cooperation: New Strategies for New Issues" by Earl Anthony Wayne. Sir Leon Brittan, Vice President of the European Commission, delivered the keynote address.

The Conference was planned and hosted by the Center for West European Studies of the University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh. Funding was provided by Directorate General I (External Affairs) of the European Commission, the US Mission to the European Union, and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. ECSA, which has its administrative offices at the University of Pittsburgh, co-sponsored the Conference. Those interested in obtaining summaries of individual papers and an executive summary of the Conference should contact the Center for West European Studies, 4E01 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; tel (412) 648-7405; fax (412) 648-2199; e-mail <wesp+@pitt.edu>.

South European Society & Politics

The aim of this new journal is to provide a forum for comparative interdisciplinary studies of Southern Europe, along with innovative country and subnational studies, and to encourage work on the region and its social, economic, cultural and political dimensions. In particular, the editors wish to encourage quantitative work and a more extensive study of policy-making. To these ends, the journal will publish regular assessments on the state of the art in major research areas. The principal countries of

study will be Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece. The editors will also consider contributions on southern France, Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, particularly where there is a strong comparative component. The disciplines can be any of the social science - sociology, social policy, social anthropology, political science, political economy. Emphasis will be placed on interdisciplinarity and, where appropriate, empirical and quantitative methodology. Enquiries regarding submissions should be directed to the editors: Martin Baldwin-Edwards, Institute of European Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, UK (Tel:44 1232 335414; Fax 44 1232 683543; E-mail m.baldwin-edwards@v2.qub.ac.uk); Martin Rhodes, Robert Schuman Centre, European University Institute, San Domenico di Fiesole, CP No. 2330 FIRENZE, Ferrovia, Italy (Tel: 39 55 4685 370; Fax 39 55 4685 330; E-mail Rhodes@datacomm.iue.it); or Yiannis Yfantopolous, Tel 301 613 0448; Fax 301 684 0212. For subscription information, contact Frank Cass, 890-900 Eastern Avenue, Newbury Park, Ilford, Essex, IG2 7HH, UK(Tel: 44 181 599 8866; Fax 44 181 599 0984; E-mail 100067.1576@compuserve.com) US orders: Frank Cass c/o ISBS, 5804 NE Hassalo Street, Portland, OR 97213 3644 (Tel: 503 287 3093 or 800 944 6190; Fax 503 280 8832).

Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations

This study report is jointly prepared by the Brookings Institution and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Ebenhausen at the initiative of the Forward Studies Unit of the European Commission. It is drafted by Christoph Bail of the Forward Studies Unit, Wolfgang Reinicke of the Brookings Institution, and Reinhardt Rummel of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. The purpose of the report is to provide a critical analysis of the evolution of mutual interests and differences within the transatlantic relationship over the next five to ten years. The Report identifies the factors shaping this relationship, describes several "medium-term" scenarios, and examines five strategy options available to policymakers.

For more information, contact the Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-2188; tel (202) 797-6000; fax (202) 797-6004.

Columbia Journal of European Law

The Columbia University School of Law and the Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law announces the launch of a new journal, the *Columbia Journal of European Law*, which will provide academics and practitioners with an ongoing scholarly analysis of Europe's rapidly evolving legal landscape through articles, notes and reviews by authorities in the field. Legal developments within the European Community (in the post-Maastricht context of a European Union), as well as shifting relations with Eastern Europe and North America, will be examined. For subscription information, contact Transnational Juris Publications, Inc., One Bridge Street, Irvington, NY 10533; tel (914) 591-4288; FAX (914) 591-2688.

University of Pittsburgh Center for West European Studies Policy Paper Series

In August 1995, the Center for West European Studies published and distributed the first in a series of policy papers on issues facing government and business leaders in or dealing with

Western Europe. The paper, by Professor Youri Devuyt, is entitled "Transatlantic Trade Policy: US Market Opening Strategies."

The policy papers will be short (no more than twenty pages in length) and will offer clear, concise and informed introductions, mainly to issues in the field of international political economy. They will contain the minimum of jargon and the barest academic apparatus. Contributors from all disciplines will be welcome.

The intended audience for the papers includes U.S. scholars and students specializing in Western Europe, as well as members of the business, diplomatic and legal communities and the media. The papers will be distributed free on demand: authors will receive 25 free copies in lieu of an honorarium. Initially, two papers will be published each year.

Inquiries about the series and manuscripts for review should be submitted to the series editor, Prof. Martin Staniland, Acting Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, 3N29 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; tel. (412) 648-7650; fax (412) 648-2605; e-mail: <Mstan@vms.cis.pitt.edu>.

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A Select Bibliography of Books on European Integration 1990-1994;

This wide-ranging guide to recent literature on European integration is an invaluable aid both for those wishing to acquaint themselves with the field and for those desiring more detailed information about specific policy areas. Compiled by Eva Evans, MBE, the guide covers the following topics: Early texts - General texts - Institutions - Member-states, EFTA and enlargement - External Relations - Economics - Business Studies - Law - Security - The CAP and Fisheries - Social Affairs - Other Issues. The bibliography is available from the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES) at an inclusive price of £6.00 per copy (£7.00 outside the UK). To order, please contact UACES, King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS, UK; TEL/FAX: 44.171.240.0206; E-mail: <100633.1514@compuserve.com>.

Register of Courses in European Studies, 1995/96 in UK Universities and Colleges

This newly updated Register focuses on courses offered by UK universities and colleges of higher education in European Studies at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It is

particularly helpful for US students considering graduate study in the UK, and for faculty who are advising those students. The Register is published by the UACES, and compiled by Susan Jones, the UACES Administrator.

Copies of the Register are available for the inclusive price of £6.00 per copy (£7.00 outside the UK) from UACES at the address above.

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The Federal Trust focuses on the European Union and the United Kingdom's role within it. The Trust conducts enquiries, promotes seminars and conferences and publishes reports on a wide range of contemporary issues. Its current work programme includes a major series of papers on all aspects of the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference, under the chairmanship of the former president of the Commission, Roy Jenkins, and an enquiry into *Private Enterprise and Public Utility in the European Union*.

The Trust's most recent publications include *Security of the Union*, the latest series on the IGC, *European Unity and World Order: Federal Trust 1945-1995* by John Pinder and *Network Europe and the Information Society*, the report from a study group analysing the development of the information in the EU and their social, economic, and political impact. Further information on all other Federal Trust titles, ordering details, and all Trust activities is available on the Trust's World Wide Web home page at <<http://www.compulink.co.uk/~fedtrust>>. All enquiries about the Federal Trust should be sent to: The Information Officer, 11 Tufton Street, London SW1P 3QB, Fax +44 171 799 2818, E-mail: <info@fedtrust.compulink.co.uk>.

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The *Journal of European Social Policy* provides comprehensive coverage of the wide range of social policy issues, including: ageing and pensions, benefits, family policy, gender, health care, HIV/Aids, international organizations, migration, poverty, professional mobility, unemployment, and the voluntary sector. For further information, contact Julia Wood, Longman Higher Education, Longman House, Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE, UK; Tel (01279) 623212; Fax (01279) 623862; <[e-mail: longhe@cityscape.co.uk](mailto:longhe@cityscape.co.uk)>.

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This series now includes nine papers including: "The Future of European Security," by Christoph Bluth; "The European Parliament - More Democracy or More Rhetoric?" by Steve Ollerenshaw; "The Danish Cooperative Movement - a Paradigm for Eastern Europe?" by Thomas Dodd; "Decision-Making by Consensus in Poland," by Andrzej Ziolkoski; "The Transition of Small Business and Private Entrepreneurship in the Czech Republic," by Vladimír Benáček; "Hungerstrikes, The Unions, Government and Political Parties in Hungary," by Béla Greskovits; "Status for the Poor: The Institutionalization of Poverty in Post-Communist Czech Society," by Petr Mares and Ivo Mezný; "The Painful Birth of Slovak Democratic Political Culture," by Silvia Mihalikova; and "The Development of Democratic Political Systems in Post-Communist Countries," by Ivan Gabal. Further information and orders (pre-paid at £2.50 each including postage) to Centre for European Studies, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, UK; e-mail: <susyd@essex>.

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Association News

ECSC Home Page

ECSC-USA now has a home page on the World Wide Web. It includes basic information on ECSC's activities, and will provide updated announcements on grant and fellowship opportunities, etc., between issues of the Newsletter. It will also contain news on efforts through ECSC World to establish an "ECSC-Net", as discussed in James Caporaso's editorial. The URL for the home page is <<http://www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101>>. Comments and suggestions concerning the home page are welcome!

New ECSC Membership Directory to be Distributed in April

The updated Membership Directory will be distributed in April to all ECSC members. The new edition will be a valuable resource for those working in EU studies. Thanks to all members who have already sent in biographical information forms!

Other Association Items in this Newsletter

Readers should also be aware of announcements for the following programs, activities, and publications:

- 1) Call for Papers, 1997 ECSC Conference (p. 2);
- 2) 1996 ECSC Workshop (p.2)
- 3) ECSC Graduate Fellowships in European Integration (p.5);
- 4) Jacques Delors Fellowship at the European University Institute (p. 6);
- 5) ECSC Dissertation Fellowship Grants (p.6);
- 6) ECSC Curriculum Development Grants (p.6);
- 7) *State of the European Union, Volume 3: Building a European Policy* (p. 30); and
- 8) ECSC 1995 Conference Papers on CD-ROM (p.30).