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# **ECSA REVIEW**

## **From the Chair**

**Vivien A. Schmidt**

I AM DELIGHTED TO report that ECSA's Sixth Biennial International Conference (June 2-5 in Pittsburgh) was a resounding success. We had in all 480 persons, a number which includes 65 European Union Depository Librarians group brought to the Conference from throughout the United States by the European Commission Delegation in Washington. Directors of all ten of the newly launched European Union Centers in the United States presented a joint roundtable at the Conference (see recent news and notes from the EU Centers on pp. 18-19 of this *ECSA Review*). Attendees including academics and practitioners from 24 countries, including all EU member states, the U.S., Canada, Israel, New Zealand, Taiwan and others, and representing not only academia but government agencies and research institutes. The Pittsburgh news media gave live radio and front-page newspaper coverage to the Conference. Conference-goers enjoyed a number of organized outings and evening receptions in the city, as well as coffee-break receptions in the Conference Exhibits Room.

Seventy-five panels and roundtables included several standing room only sessions, and all were intellectually exciting and stimulating. Panels covered EU enlargement, EMU, security issues including Europe's response to Kosovo, the social implications and challenges to democratization posed by the Europe project, the use of simulations to teach the EU, and much more. The Plenary Address given by C. Randall Henning and Pier Carlo Padoan on transatlantic perspectives on the Euro was well attended, as was the Keynote Address given by Ambassador Hugo Paemen, Head of the EU's Delegation in Washington. In addition, the panel sponsored by the *Journal of Common Market Studies* which featured Giandomenico Majone also generated great interest. ECSA presented its new biennial awards, Lifetime Contribution to EU Studies, Best 1997 Conference Paper, and Best Dissertation (see Ernst Haas' acceptance speech on the next page). Two innovations at this ECSA Conference were deemed highly successful by conference attendees: a Poster Session showcased the work of fifteen graduate students and scholars in an exciting, visual format that generated lively discussions during the two-hour session; and a Paper Room made conference papers for the first time easily available to interested persons right at the Conference site.

We at ECSA would like to thank all those ECSA members and other delegates who made the trip to Pittsburgh and whose papers and panels made the Conference a success. The participation and support of ECSA members is key to the success of our Conference. For their support of Conference events, we would like to thank the European Commission, all the Conference exhibitors and advertisers, and the European Union Center of the University of Pittsburgh, who acted as local host for the Conference and organized the wonderful reception at the Cathedral of Learning on campus. Now watch our Web site ([www.ecsa.org/conf2001.html](http://www.ecsa.org/conf2001.html)) for details of ECSA's Seventh Biennial International Conference to be held in Madison, Wisconsin, May 31-June 2, 2001!

I'd like to add a note here on what the Conference tells us about why ECSA is such an appealing organization. The Conference, with about one-half foreign participation, primarily from Europe, shows that ECSA is not only an American organization but also an international one, and one of the few in the United States or Europe which can claim to create a truly trans-Atlantic dialogue. In its wide range of panels spanning history, economics, politics, sociology, and the law, the Conference also demonstrates that ECSA is a highly interdisciplinary organization, as befits the study of the EU. And in its mix of academic and practitioner participants, the Conference suggests ECSA's theoretical *and* practical relevance. There is still room for improvement, however. For the 2001 Conference, we hope to have even more Europeans—especially from France, Italy, and Southern Mediterranean countries who are less well represented among our members and attendees; an even more interdisciplinary set of participants, especially economists, historians, law faculty, and sociologists, given the preponderance of political scientists; even more country specialists, given the majority of EU scholars whose concerns are primarily Community-focused; and an even wider range of topics such as social Europe and industrial relations, which tend to be under-represented because they are less directly affected by the EU. For all this, you, the ECSA membership, will be key, by proposing panels with a wider range of topics which bring in a broader range of participants, and by organizing interest sections which will build to the Conference.

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***Coordinator of the Network of European Union Centers***

**ECSA's First Lifetime Contribution to European Union Studies Award  
Presented to Ernst B. Haas at the ECSA 1999 Sixth Biennial International Conference  
Acceptance Remarks Delivered by ECSA Member Michael Gorges**

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"I DEEPLY REGRET THAT I am unable to be here to accept this award which you have so generously decided to give to me. And I am very grateful to Michael Gorges for standing in for me.

When Gary Marks informed me of a lifetime achievement award I was rather non-plussed. What? Me? Am I old enough to get a *lifetime* anything? Like many people of my age I thought of myself as eternally thirty-five and certainly not deserving of something that properly goes to jolly dignitaries who raise money for charity.

But eventually I came to terms with myself on the age issue and then asked myself what can a lifetime award possibly signify. Now, as you know, I live in Berkeley, the only city—as far as I know—which takes the search for meaning so seriously as to have a cheese store that prides itself on having its own foreign policy. We do take our search for meaning very seriously indeed, so seriously that we often wonder about the meaning of meaning.

In the present instance, that search led to an interior monologue that raised the question, "Why did I ever move to Luxembourg to study the European Coal and Steel Community?" I soon found out that Jean Monnet at first made his living peddling the family's inferior blend of cognac. But that also seemed to provide an inadequate reason for exposing my family to the coldest winter since Charlemagne, as the locals informed us, who blamed the cold weather on the *bombe atomique*.

The answer, it will not surprise you, was not that I was fascinated by the fortunes of coal and steel. European integration as a process did, of course, interest me even if it started with two boring commodities. One early interest of mine was the study of efforts at social

engineering designed to overcome deep-seated animosities among nations. The fortunes and the dynamics of nationalism have concerned me since graduate school.

But even this intellectual anchor was merely a means to a more elusive end, of which I was quite self-conscious when I first entered into the study of European integration. Like most scholars of my generation, I was raised in the shadow of classical realism. I devoted my Ph.D. dissertation to attacking it, empirically and theoretically. Somehow, I got a job anyway. Like many of you, I was challenged to come to grips with neorealism a little later. And, later still, when some of my close friends developed neoliberal institutionalism, I was challenged once more to assert my differences with that school.

My underlying interest all along had been the study of how international institutions, norms, practices and behaviors can and do change. The other two schools of thought were preoccupied with demonstrating why things remain the same. I immersed myself in the study of European integration because I wanted to understand change at the macro-level. I still do. Almost all the work I did after my earlier work on European integration has dealt with the same theme, up to and including my current work on nationalism. Perhaps the award is premature.

Possibly I deserve some credit because I dabbled in constructivism before that school of thought had acquired a label and an identity. Now we must hope that we are not dealing with just another fad here, that we are really on to something with constructivism. But whether we are or not, I thank you very, very much."

ERNST B. HAAS

*(continued from page one)*

As I begin my two-year term as ECSA Chair, I would like to renew our invitation, extended in the Winter 1999 *ECSA Review*, for the development of member-based interest sections. We want the interest sections to reflect the diverse interests and energies of the ECSA membership. We envision a model in which interest sections will participate actively in the life of ECSA, whether through pieces in the *ECSA Review*; through organized panels at our Biennial Conference; or through a page on ECSA's Web site. They will be listed on ECSA's membership form and in the ECSA Member Directory. Interest sections could, for example, bring

members together on the basis of issues area such as technology or social policy; topic areas such as EMU, European elections, or European identity; and national groupings, e.g., Scandinavian countries and the EU; Britain and the EU, and so forth. We've already had a number of inquiries about interest sections ranging from "EU environmental policy" to "Inside-the-Beltway: Washington, D.C. Area EU Specialists." Please visit the ECSA Web site at <[www.ecsa.org/interest.html](http://www.ecsa.org/interest.html)> for the easy guidelines on proposing interest sections; we look forward to receiving proposals from ECSA members.

— VIVIEN A. SCHMIDT, *Boston University*

## Essay

### TIES: Web Connections for the New Transatlantic Agenda

Nanette S. Levinson

A RECENT ESSAYIST in the Winter 1999 *ECSA Review* bemoans "acute electronic indigestion" in our information intensive and rapidly changing Internet era. One answer to this concern is the creation of a new Web site devoted to facilitating information sharing (including best practices) and partnership forming in support of the New Transatlantic Agenda. The Transatlantic Information Exchange Service project (TIES) provides a one-stop portal—a virtual home that organizes information and interaction on a single Web site bringing together themes including civil society, environment, education, art and culture, and technology and electronic exchange. New sections are currently being added including one linking individuals and organizations interested in sister cities in the U.S. and Europe.

TIES (which can be found on the Web at <[www.tiesnet.org](http://www.tiesnet.org)> is a non-profit organization founded in October 1997 at an Amsterdam conference of twenty Americans and twenty Europeans. The idea for a Transatlantic Information Exchange Service project actually began at a Bridging the Atlantic: People-to-People Links conference held in Washington D.C. on May 5-6, 1997 and attended by approximately 400 people from a broad array of backgrounds and co-sponsored by the United States Information Agency and the European Commission. The purpose of the conference was to strengthen EU-U.S. ties and carry out the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA) forged by the United States and European Union governments.

Several key individuals on both sides of the Atlantic became champions in the formation of TIES. Together these champions from governments, non-governmental organizations, and universities identified other individuals who could play a role in bringing TIES to reality. The October 1997 Amsterdam founding meeting resulted in the election of a board and its executive committee as well as the naming of an advisory board consisting of government and regional officials. Franck Biancheri, president of Prometheus Europe and a former president of the first Europe-wide Student Association, became the president of TIES, and I, a scholar of knowledge transfer and institutional change, became the secretary-general. Marleen Sticker, president of The Netherlands' Society for Old and New Media and former mayor of the Digital City of Amsterdam, became the Webmaster and Ken Wasch, president of the Software and Information Industry Association (with U.S. and Europe board representation), became the treasurer.

The meeting also served as a forum for creating an action plan for the formal launch of a TIES Web site targeted for

London, England in May 1998 in conjunction with the European Union-United States Summit. Participants at the meeting agreed upon a structure of component sections that constituted the key building blocks of the Web site and also matched categories of cooperation listed in the NTA.

Perhaps most importantly, the Amsterdam founding conference participants agreed that a TIES Web site would provide a value-added cyberspace locale for individuals and organizations, especially building transatlantic connections and strengthening the participation of civil society. In that spirit, the participants agreed that each section of the Web site would provide not only links to important sources of information within that category and related categories, but it would also list best practices and examples of transatlantic partnerships that worked. With Sir Leon Brittan, Vice President of the European Commission, and Strobe Talbot, U.S. Undersecretary of State, and other transatlantic leaders looking on, representatives of TIES presented a successful Web site prototype at Blair House as part of the December 1997 EU-US summit.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science in partnership with American University's School of International Service honored a member of the European Parliament, Dr. Elly Plooi, and highlighted the TIES prototype Web site at a meeting held in December to complement the EU-US summit. As promised, TIES was formally launched in London in May 1998. The following January, TIES held an international conference called Cyberspace Collaboration Across the Atlantic: New Opportunities and Issues in Atlanta, hosted by the newly named European Union Center in Georgia. Brian Murphy, EU Center Co-Director and a professor at North Georgia College and State University, and I served as conference coordinators.

In the ensuing months, TIES has held virtual board meetings, reflecting the intentional absence of a physical headquarters location and the presence of the new virtual operating mode of the Internet era. The next TIES conference, in conjunction with a board meeting, is planned for late January 2000 in Paris, France. Brian Murphy, now head of TIES Civil Society Section, and Franck Biancheri, president of TIES, are working on a program dealing with Internet regulation issues on both sides of the Atlantic. Any individual or organization or network of organizations interested in participating can contact Brian Murphy by e-mail at <[bmurphy@ngcsu.edu](mailto:bmurphy@ngcsu.edu)> or Franck Biancheri at <[president@prom.org](mailto:president@prom.org)> for further information and idea sharing. The TIES Civil Society Section is taking the lead in organizing this conference. Participants from academe, government, non-governmental organizations, and industry have already expressed interest in participating and shaping the agenda.

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The sections provide the real substance of TIES. The Environment Section, headed by TIES board member, Carl Lankowski of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies serves as a fascinating model for understanding TIES and its development. Carl brought together organizations from both sides of the Atlantic with concerns about the environment. He initiated a dialogue among representatives of these organizations to identify needs for new knowledge, useful Web site links, funding resources, and even best practices and effective transatlantic partnerships to be highlighted on the TIES Environment page. Other sections include Civil Society (Brian M. Murphy of North Georgia College and State University), Culture and Arts (Jane Sledge of Getty Information Institute), Digital Libraries (John Vanoudenaren of Library of Congress), Education (Stephen Hunt of the National Library of Education), Electronic Exchange and Technology (Nanette S. Levinson of American University), and Senior Citizens (Mark Carpenter of AARP).

A striking characteristic of TIES is the diversity of participating and advisory organizations. These include foundations, regional, national, state, and local governments and their representatives, universities, businesses, myriad non-governmental organizations, several of the newly established EU Centers, the American Association for Retired Persons, Future Farmers of America, Prometheus, the Netherlands Society for Old and New Media, the Information Institute of the Getty Museum, and more. Such a rich, overlapping pattern facilitates the work of TIES, work that is voluntary except for funded technological support.

There are, of course, different levels of participation ranging from merely using TIES as an information resource to using TIES to facilitate transatlantic interaction to participating actively in the work of a section or beyond. These differing levels of participation and the many organizations participating in either active or advisory roles further embeds TIES in a number of transatlantic networks. This pattern also contributes to the deepened patina of culture where each interacting entity is shaped by its own and other culture(s). Cross-cultural communication can add much

**At [www.tiesnet.org](http://www.tiesnet.org) you can ...**

- ♦ **link to people with similar interests in Europe and the U.S.**
- ♦ **participate in TIES as an individual or an organization**
- ♦ **discover best practices on both sides of the Atlantic**
- ♦ **identify possible partner organizations**
- ♦ **find the entire text of the NTA**
- ♦ **participate in discussions focusing on:**
  - democracy-strengthening*
  - region-to-region ties*
  - environment*
  - senior citizens issues*
  - consumer interest*
  - science and technology*
- ♦ **and more ...**

complexity and possible conflict; yet any instability is counterbalanced by TIES continuing embeddedness in a network of organizations representing many cultures, communicating and gaining added value through participation.

Reflecting on the founding of TIES amidst technological uncertainty and its almost two-year growth, it is clear that the TIES innovation has taken hold. It is bringing together individuals and organizations concerned with the New Transatlantic Agenda who are together crafting new information exchange and learning patterns. The focus of TIES is on *linking* in order to match the complexity and opportunities in our post-Cold War environment. TIES is not merely a network of participating individuals or even organizations sharing information. Rather it reflects what I argue is the organizational prototype of the turn of the millennium—it serves as a network of interorganizational learning that goes beyond individuals, organizations, and nation-states.

Designed with change in mind, TIES welcomes new participants, new ideas, and even new challenges. It is a pioneer in combining transatlantic relations, Internet technologies, and civil society participation. TIES itself is learning to grapple with the dizzying pace of technological change and concomitant technological constraints, while focusing continually on providing value-added information-sharing both within and across its sections. Crafting cyberspace connections that make a difference in strengthening EU-U.S. relations and information sharing calls for connectivity, content, and creativity; we encourage ECSA members to participate with us in all of these dimensions. Please visit the TIES Web site and e-mail us with your questions and suggestions.

**The opinions expressed in essays in the *ECSA Review* are solely those of their authors. The ECSA welcomes submission of scholarly essays on EU-related issues that foster debate and discussion.**

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## Essay

### Iran's Khatami Visits the European University Institute

Paul Fabian Mullen

AS THE 1998-1999 ECSA Fellow at the European University Institute (EUI), I had many enlightening and interesting experiences during my year in Florence, Italy. One of the true strengths of the EUI is the depth and variety of speakers from both the academic and political worlds that regularly visit. Without question, the most important and unique speaker during my year in Florence was H.E. Seyed Mohammad Khatami, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and of the Islamic Conference Organization. This essay will discuss his speech and my impression of this first visit of an Iranian President to the Europe since the Iranian Revolution. At the outset, I must state that this essay should in no way be construed as foreign policy analysis or, except in the loosest sense, an academic exercise. Rather, my goal is simply and admittedly somewhat journalistically to set forth my impressions of the speech and the man.

President Khatami arrived at EUI on March 10, 1999 amidst very heavy security to give a speech entitled "A Message for Europe." The speech was not overtly political, but rather, Khatami placed his larger political points in the context of a philosophy lecture. Essentially, the speech concerned creating a dialogue between the East and West and offered a historical view of how this dialogue had occurred in the past and under what conditions a dialogue might resume in the future. These latter thoughts were phrased more metaphorically than as a program of practical steps. Yet this lack of practical proposals must be fairly viewed in the context of the occasion. The visit alone seemed to be a significant overture to the West. Khatami's speech, in very general terms, set forth a vision for this dialogue.

According to Khatami, "The dialogue among civilizations requires listening to and hearing from other civilizations and cultures, and the importance of listening to others is by no means less than talking to others. It may in fact be more important." For Khatami, the West has treated the East as an "object of study" rather than "the other side" in a dialogue. Yet Khatami stressed the importance for the Islamic world "to take major steps toward gaining a true knowledge of the West, the way it really is."

In order to develop this knowledge, Khatami called for a new sense of tolerance. He discussed the development of tolerance during the Renaissance by the Italians through their continuous contacts with Byzantium and Islam. According to Khatami, "(t)his knowledge and familiarity with a foreign culture, and the sense of wonder that accompanied it, was the biggest factor in developing a sense of tolerance among the

Italian people." A similar tolerance and understanding must occur since because of a historical and geographic accident, Europe and Islam are neighbors. Thus, Khatami argued, it was in Europe's interest to develop and cultivate a dialogue with Iran, both as a neighbor and as a meeting point of Europe and Asia. But, this dialogue can only proceed if both sides respect their own and the other side's cultural identity.

Whatever Khatami's other strengths and weaknesses, his knowledge of the West is impressive. His speech referenced a range of Western philosophers including Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel, and Wittgenstein. He discussed Islamic influences on Western literature including plays by the German dramatist Lessing and the Italian work *One Hundred Old Tales*. His speech, though not programmatic, was scholarly, wide-ranging and drew on both Islamic and Western traditions to bolster his arguments for a renewed dialogue with the West. Needless to say, this was an impressive and important departure from the rhetoric of the recent past.

Yet what was perhaps the most encouraging impression that I am left with is that Khatami seems to understand the gravity and the difficulty of the task he has laid out. Distrust, stemming from at least the time of the Crusades, is rampant between the West and Iran. Stereotypes pervade our views of one another and we generally lack trust and understanding. Thus, in this context it is understandable and probably correct that Khatami made no concrete proposals in this speech and said little of substance concerning specific disagreements between Europe and Iran. Trust seemed not to be on the agenda in this speech, being too distant for either Europe or Iran at this time. What he proposed was simple respect and understanding leading to dialogue. These things will take time and effort. Yet Khatami's visit was a first contact, and the commercial ties he helped establish during his visit will provide others. Perhaps through these contacts, Europe and Iran will, like the Italians of the Renaissance, cause a familiarity and admiration between cultures to grow to a point where true dialogue among cultures can occur. The reason Khatami's visit and speech were important, and in my opinion, historic, is that they represent a shift toward tolerance and away from the isolation of the two cultures. Without discounting the many issues and problems that exist between Iran and Europe and the many obstacles that remain to normal relations, it seems that Khatami offered in his speech a road forward through respect and dialogue. Whether either Europe or Iran will choose to take this road remains to be seen.

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Editor's Note: The entire text of the Khatami speech given at the European University Institute can be found on the Web at <[www.iue.it/General/Ks.html](http://www.iue.it/General/Ks.html)>.

## Teaching the EU

*Editor's note: In response to member interest, this column is a regular feature of the ECSA Review. Suggestions and essays from ECSA members for this column are welcomed.*

### Reinvestigating Integration

Thomas Diez

TODAY'S STUDENTS IN EUROPEAN studies programs are expected, once they hold their degrees in their hands, to know the details of the institutional build-up and policy-making processes of the European Union. Accordingly, an increasing number of courses and textbooks is devoted to the rather descriptive and technical side of teaching the EU. When foreign students come to Copenhagen, they are thus surprised to sit in a class that makes them look into European integration and governance from a number of unconventional perspectives, including social constructivism, feminism, postmarxism and poststructuralism, most of which they are completely unfamiliar with or have never heard of.

Given the widespread characterization of the EU as a 'postmodern polity' (e.g., Ruggie 1993), this is a pity. From a theory perspective, teaching the EU from such an angle allows an introduction to the latest debates in International Relations (IR) theory that works not only in the abstract, but brings in the EU as a concrete example. Conversely, these various "critical and constructivist" approaches, as I call them, allow an easier appreciation of the complexities of the EU, since none of them starts from the assumptions of statism but emphasises the constructed nature of political institutions and their transformative character. This, of course, is an exercise that many students will not be immediately interested in, and which they in the beginning often find difficult to understand. In the first lecture, I thus usually draw on a scene from the film "Dead Poets Society," where the teacher invites the students to step on the table and see the classroom from a different perspective. Teaching reinvestigations of European integration is about opening paths to new viewpoints, some of which one may find fascinating and enriching, others less so, all of which, though, require some effort to change one's own way of thinking.

Why should novel viewpoints be important for students of European integration? This is the more practice-oriented argument. One of the central problems of the future development of European governance, students will agree, is its supposed lack of legitimacy and the democratic deficit. Although this is, of course, addressed in conventional classes, e.g., when surveying the development and functions of the EP, there is a need, I think, to address not only the possibilities of institutional reform, but also the underlying ideas, norms, and values of such possibilities. Taking up a recent comment by Joseph Weiler (1998), it may well be the lack of new ideals for

integration after the achievement of peace within the EU that is underlying the legitimacy debate. To address this lack, students must move beyond learning how institutions function and get to know the assumptions on which such a system of governance is built, the problems implied in these, and the struggles of competing alternative conceptualizations. Critical and constructivist perspectives can be fruitfully drawn upon here, because all of them, in one way or the other, address the issues in democracy and governance beyond the state, the historical and discursive contexts of political organization, and the ethical and normative dimensions of such governance.

The class I have been teaching at the universities of Århus and Copenhagen introduces advanced undergraduate and MA students to critical and constructivist perspectives taken from IR and shows how they may be used to analyse European governance. It is a mix of lecture and 'proper seminar' parts. There have been some difficulties in this endeavour, none of which, however, prevented students from responding very positively at the least, and sometimes even enthusiastically, to new perspectives offered. Of the difficulties, some are of a general nature (the lack of an appropriate textbook), whereas others are peculiar to the Danish university system, where classes are offered both in Danish (more so) and English (less so), and the latter attract mostly exchange students with a huge variety of backgrounds. This has its good side, because students can contribute their home countries' perspectives to the class, but on the other hand, there is not much of a common basis one could draw upon when it comes to previous knowledge about the EU, integration theory and history, and the debates in IR theory. The first three to four sessions are thus devoted to providing a *tour de force* through these themes in order to get a minimum of common ground. As for literature helping to bring this about, everyone will have his or her own preferences—I have so far used Urwin (1994) for an introduction to integration history and Caporaso and Keeler (1996) for an overview of the integration theory debate.

As for the institutional set-up, I refer students to the classic volume by Wallace and Wallace (1996, new edition is in the making). They are also introduced to the EU's Web site and asked to look up some specific documents in order to make themselves familiar with it. Furthermore, a question-and-answer game about European integration has proved to be a good, albeit time-consuming, method for: (a) figuring out what students actually know; (b) introducing them to the topic; (c) clarifying for them how much they know; (d) providing some basic knowledge in a playful way; and (e) breaking the ice between students and thus laying the ground for good discussions during the remaining semester. Finally, this first part also introduces students to some of the problematic issues currently debated, from the democratic deficit to the economic consequences of the Single Market both inside and outside the EU. Apart from Weiler's piece mentioned above, both Newman (1996) and Thody (1998) have proved to be easy inroads into these debates.

The seminar's second bloc is its main focus. It starts with an overview of critical and constructivist approaches, using

Smith (1996) and Wæver (1997). Each of the following meetings (preferably three hours instead of two) is then divided into two halves: first, introduction into a specific approach from a general, mostly IR-oriented perspective; second, raising the question of how this is useful for an analysis of European integration and governance.

I start with Social Constructivism, not for chronological reasons but because it is closest to that part of political science with which many students who enter the class are most familiar, and it can easily be related to neofunctionalism as a classic integration theory. At the same time, it opens up the general themes addressed by the other approaches, too: structure/agency, institutional constraints, the possibilities of change, etc. Adler's programmatic statement (Adler 1997) is a useful starting point for a general introduction. Prominent research topics from such a perspective are the institutional development of European governance (Risse-Kappen 1995) or the development of specific policies such as citizenship (Wiener 1997) or social policy (Pierson 1996). A forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of European Public Policy* devoted to constructivist approaches to European integration will provide further useful material.

The next step is to Critical Theory in the Habermasian sense. Here exists a neatly circumscribed debate in IR theory, especially in the form of the so-called Hoffman/Rengger debate (Hoffman 1987, 1988; Rengger 1988; see Brown 1994). This helps to introduce, for instance, the difference between technocratic and classical politics, which can easily be related to current criticisms of the Commission. It also introduces the Habermasian understanding of discourse, discussed in relation to EU citizenship by Habermas (1992) himself. A different use of Habermas as a micro-foundation for social constructivism has been put forward by Thomas Risse (1999), and can be read in connection with the discussion about changing identities and diplomatic practices within CFSP (see Øhrgaard 1996; Glarbo Andersen 1999).

Postmarxist approaches, drawing mostly on Gramsci, shift the focus to economic issues, raising questions about the liberalist conception of the single market, the influence of business interest, and the possibilities of involving citizens in decision-making processes. I have used Cox (1983) as an introductory text from IR, and Lipietz (1992) has the advantage of relating some general themes directly to Europe, whereas the conclusions of Amin and Thrift (1995) can be read as a counter to Lipietz' tendency towards an increased federalization.

Approaches inspired by poststructuralism can be divided into two groups. The first uses discourse analysis to bring to the fore the different constructions of Europe(an governance). Foucault's "Politics and the Study of Discourse" (1991) provides a not too difficult introduction if the general context

is provided, and Wæver (1998) is an easily understandable application of discourse analysis. A second theme is the question of ethics and European governance. Here, the question of inclusion/exclusion raised, for instance, by the EU's external borders, its membership criteria and its search for an identity, plays a central role. George (1995) is the appropriate introduction here, whereas Neumann (1998) and I (Diez 1997) have related this discussion in different ways to the integration debate.

The last set of approaches introduced in this part of the seminar consists of various strands of feminism. These are last because they come in a variety linked to several of the other approaches, and thus offer a first possibility to reflect upon the latter. This variety is usually characterised as having come in three waves, usefully and eloquently summarised in Sylvester (1994): (1) empiricist feminism, (2) standpoint feminism, and (3) feminist postmodernism/postmodern feminism. Most of the literature relating to the EU grows out of the first and second wave, highlighting the positive role of the EU and in particular the ECJ in improving women's equality, and criticising the limited conception of women as market participants (Hoskyns 1996 is a good example). This latter argument is extended in works that may be situated in the third wave, such as the analysis of the Kalanke case by Lundström (1997).

In order to facilitate engagement with these perspectives, two pedagogical measures have proven useful: first, a guest lecturer; someone working from a specific direction is always good as a first-hand contact (which I myself can only really claim for poststructuralist perspectives). Second, I ask students to prepare short portraits of authors like Habermas or Foucault. Not everyone will like this personalization, but it makes it easier for many students to understand why and how arguments are put forth by contextualizing an author's work (although this of course depends on the student who is presenting), and apart from that it adds a human face to often highly abstract theories.

The final bloc of about three sessions is devoted first to an evaluation of critical and constructivist approaches when analyzing the EU. Here, the reflections put forth in Christiansen et al. (1999), Moravcsik (1999) and Smith (1999) will be most useful, and should help to start a controversial discussion in class. Secondly, the possibilities of future development of the EU are discussed and assessed in light of the literature read during the preceding weeks. Schmitter (1996) and Jachtenfuchs et al. (1998) provide the background for different visions of where European integration may head. Ideally, this last part is linked to presentations of student papers. Favorite subjects for the latter have so far been social constructivist accounts of CFSP, discursive requirements for the development of European democracy (using predominantly Habermas), and a critique of the Lomé convention drawing upon Foucault and postmarxist writing. Finally, a visit to the EU's Representation in Denmark has provided the opportunity to discuss these and other themes from the seminar with EU officials.

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Some will say that the literature on my syllabus is too difficult to be read before the graduate level. I disagree. It would obviously be too much to expect that at the end of such a seminar, every student became an expert in critical and constructivist approaches. My aim is rather to provide students with the idea of other directions, and thus make it possible for them to decide whether to follow one or a few of these more closely, or rather to stay on the traditional path. In contrast, to defer unconventional approaches beyond the undergraduate degree means that students continue on the conventional path without further reflection.

Other critics will say that this is exactly what we should aim at, that instead of teaching students such hazy alternative perspectives, we should rather stick to the fundamentals of reality, which are complex enough. I have tried to argue why I think differently. Leaving aside that a seminar like the one outlined here can only be conceived of as an addition to traditional European integration courses, the underlying question is what one understands the purpose of teaching to be. This purpose can either be to provide knowledge about the world, or it can be to unsettle the knowledge with which students come into class, in order to make them open for a variety of perspectives. It is the latter which I take to be, citing Rob Walker, a prime "pedagogical responsibility." As Walker (1994: 322) notes, "It will be impossible to seduce students away from the sports news unless one responds to the evidence from every other kind of news that things ain't what they used to be." It is my experience so far that to mix critical and constructivist approaches with European integration studies means that one has to overcome some obstacles. But once these are overcome, students usually not interested in theory find various interesting and useful aspects in it, and students more theory-inclined find European integration a much more fascinating object of study than they had ever imagined. The latter, I should add, is after all my own experience from some years back.

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## Book Reviews

**Kristen Appendini and Sven Bislev. Economic Integration in NAFTA and the EU. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, 237 pp.**

**Hubert Gabrisch and Rudiger Pohl. EU Enlargement and its Macroeconomic Effects in Eastern Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, 227 pp.**

THESE TWO MONOGRAPHS ADDRESS issues in the broadly defined area of European integration but represent widely diverse views and use antithetical methods of analysis. The Appendini and Bislev book is heavily critical of neo-liberal arguments for economic integration and attempts to outline the consequences of prematurely rushing down the road of integration without proper consideration and planning for the development of accompanying institutions. The Gabrisch and Pohl book models and analyzes the macroeconomic and structural adjustments on the horizon for the new Central and East European member countries of the European Union. While both volumes will be of some interest to those studying the political economy of European integration, the latter is more clearly focused, far less ideological and manages to offer some concrete policy guidance.

Economic Integration in NAFTA and the EU is a conference volume from a workshop held near Copenhagen in March 1997 addressing the interface between inequality among states and economic integration with a particular focus on market spillovers and institutional deficiencies in addressing the socio-political repercussions. Most of the papers focus on NAFTA and describe effects on the poorest member state, Mexico, and its attempt to cope with systematic transformations across the manufacturing and agricultural sectors. Most of the presentations are didactic and unbalanced attempts to demonstrate the perceived troubling consequences of coping with encompassing economic integration combined with strongly evolving economic and political competition. There is no systematic empirical presentation to document or measure the propositions. Beside a few weak attempts at classification schemes to map the transition process, the analysis is sterile in developing any testable relationships. No positive analysis of the process of institutional adaptation or generation is offered nor is any normative analysis or evaluation of alternative arrangements presented.

The monograph's limited coverage of EU integration is focused on three issues. The first is an investigation of the institutional breath and depth of the EU as contrasted to NAFTA and the relationship of these differences to the historical division of power among member states. The second is a brief survey of the political and economic responses to the integration of the southern members of the EU. The obvious comparative point is how the EU's response with cohesion principles and the resulting institutional and budgetary

commitments might guide NAFTA responses to similar pressures. The third is a short description of the historical development of the social charter dimension of the EU and its role in producing social cohesion within the community.

The book is clearly written for scholars with interests in the political economy of NAFTA and the EU papers are aimed to offer a contrasting approach to integration both in terms of depth, development, and institutional layering. European scholars will find the material much less interesting because of its heavily skewed coverage of NAFTA and the fact that it offers few examples relevant for the upcoming integrative efforts embodied in the accession of new members from Eastern Europe.

EU Enlargement and Its Macroeconomic Effects in Eastern Europe is an edited volume from a workshop held by the Institute for Economic Research in Halle in February-March 1997 on macroeconomic problems of the eastward EU enlargement. The volume is one of the first five in the St. Martin's Press series, *Studies in Economic Transition*. The major and unifying question posed is under what specific conditions East European member states and economic sectors can survive in the increased competitive environments of the EU. The focus is on the adjustment costs and structural changes confronting the East European states in the accession to the EU.

The central focus is on the three broad issues of price convergence in the newly integrated markets, the magnitude and accommodation of foreign capital inflows, and the resolution of current account deficit adjustments. In many parts of the survey a comparative approach to adjustments is grounded in an understanding of the details of the previous southern enlargement of the EU.

Current data demonstrates a wide divergence in prices between eastern and western countries in Europe. The differences are multidimensional but the tradable versus non-tradable division is of prime importance. With EU entry, prices of tradable goods will converge and tradable goods prices will be altered relative to non-tradable goods. The task is then to trace the consequences of these price effects to the market for exports and imports and establish links to economic growth and employment levels.

Capital flows into East European nations are expected to be significantly transformed after EU membership. Such flows have implications for the currency values producing feedback effects on export competitiveness and long-term growth. It would not be wise to repeat the recent East Asia currency crisis which was clearly the result of a similar interaction of weak financial systems and liquid capital flows.

In the sectoral adjustment process agriculture will unequivocally be subject to major changes. The uncertainty attached to the application of the CAP to new member states makes it difficult to forecast increased or decreased price-level protection for eastern farmers, but under any regime there will be required adjustments and consolidations leading to improvements in the very low productivity level of the agricultural sector. Manufacturing is also in need of major

restructuring to maintain competitiveness and these changes have broad implications for employment and wage differentials and for domestic demand.

Overall, the volume presents a good blend of theoretical, empirical, and policy analysis. Distinctly written for a reasonably sophisticated economic audience, the questions are carefully formulated and explored with appropriate tools and methods for investigation. The volume represents a valued addition to the debate on eastward EU expansion about the nature of costs and benefits and their incidence. Certainly this monograph has expanded the scope of examination beyond the narrow budgetary debate and opened up important macro-economic questions to thoughtful empirical analysis.

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**Gerda Falkner. EU Social Policy in the 1990s: Towards a Corporatist Policy Community. London: Routledge, 1998, 254 pp.**

BY THE EARLY 1990s, a general consensus seemed to have emerged among scholars of European politics and public policy that, given the apparent decline in the popularity of corporatist forms of interest intermediation in many western European countries during the 1980s, the European Union's post-1992 policy-making apparatus would not likely be characterized by any substantive corporatist tendencies. Prominent authors such as Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe Schmitter, for instance, maintained that the future European political economy would most likely be characterized by American-style pluralism or competitive federalism with interest associations of capital and labor competing for the attention of regional, nation-state, and supranational governments with a host of other interest groups, specialized lobbyists, and government actors. Essentially, it was assumed that relations between capital and labor would for the most part be conducted at the level of the multinational firm and as such would be largely nonpolitical in character.

In many ways these predictions concerning the EU's developing interest intermediation structure were similar in theoretical orientation to existing arguments related to the EU's future role in social policy formation and implementation. In short, just as corporatism had come to be viewed as contradictory to the neoliberal, free market regime that was developing throughout western Europe, so too was substantive state intervention in the realm of social policy. The need to become increasingly flexible and competitive in the new global economic system had simply rendered governmental activism in social policy largely problematic at the level of the nation state. Why, then, would the EU consider assuming an active role in social policy formation? Moreover, why would EU officials even consider proposing initiatives that would undoubtedly contradict the long-standing market-

driven goals of European integration? Essentially, for many observers, the integrated European market was to be free of substantial state interference, operating in accordance with established free market principles and with minimal regulations.

But, as Gerda Falkner's new book, EU Social Policy in the 1990s: Towards a Corporatist Policy Community, demonstrates, the 1980s drive towards economic integration along purely market-driven principles itself seems to have been the primary stimulant behind recent EU-led actions to develop a foundation for federalist social policy action. Against the backdrop of persistently high unemployment, social dislocation, social dumping, and other seemingly chronic economic maladies, some European governments and many other social actors over time became increasingly willing to consider the need for common social policy initiatives to redress the perceived negative consequences of the ongoing market-driven process of European integration. Of particular significance, of course, was the Maastricht Agreement on Social Policy, which came into effect in November 1993. The Social Agreement extended Community competence into an enlarged range of social policy issues, including working conditions and matters pertaining to the equal treatment of men and women at work (p.186). Perhaps more importantly, qualified majority voting (QMV) was extended to a number of social policy issues that before had been subject to the unanimity principle in the Council of Ministers. The extension of QMV to issues such as worker consultation privileges seemed notably profound in light of the long-standing reluctance on the part of the EU member states to "fast track" such controversial labor-related matters.

In addition to its extension of EU social policy competencies, the Maastricht Social Agreement, according to Falkner, introduced a major procedural innovation which essentially created a role for corporatist intermediation in the formation of EU social policy initiatives. The Social Agreement, in effect, gives management and labor the ability to halt the legislative process on social policy issues and negotiate collective agreements which, at the joint request of their signatories can in turn be implemented by the Council (p. 186). This decision mode, which Falkner claims is clearly corporatist in nature, effectively requires the Council to transform the standards agreed by capital and labor into binding law, without negotiating the substance. For Falkner, this represents the Waterloo of the intergovernmentalist theoretical approach to European integration. "Not only are the governments no longer the gatekeepers of national societal interests in this area. There is now EC social policy regulation without any bargaining between the governments in the usual sense" (p.187).

In response to the contention of many scholars that business and labor would not choose to utilize the powers granted them under the Social Agreement, Falkner argues to the contrary. An extensive empirical analysis of the post-Maastricht social policy (Chapter 4) reveals, for instance, that a "corporatist policy community" of sorts was not only

established but proved to be effective (p.187). Through detailed case studies of the development and formation of the European Works Councils Directive and the parental leave and atypical work initiatives, Falkner shows how corporatist patterns of policy-making became operational, and how their practical functioning produced agreements on issues that were once considered too controversial to address. For Falkner, what started out as a relatively loose, unstructured, and fragmented issue network became over time a competent, well-organized, corporatistic policy community (pp.146-149). And even though a federalist social state is far from emerging, her empirical evidence reveals that a certain degree of social state building at the European level has indeed occurred. It would thus be a mistake to disregard the significant policy innovation which characterizes EC social policy in the 1990s. For Falkner, one simply cannot ignore the substantial amount of coordination of national policies (e.g., with a view to social security of migrant workers; equal treatment rights for female workers) and of common minimum standards (working time, parental leave, etc.) that is characteristic of the new EC social policy regime of the 1990s (pp.149-154). "At least measured against the Commission's social policy ambitions as expressed in the 1989 social action programme, the EC's social dimension looks successful, by the late 1990s" (p.154). In short, there has emerged an established social policy process at the European level that countervails prominent expectations of "Euro-pluralism" (p.149).

To explain these developments, Falkner develops an "analytical tool-kit" of sorts in the book's initial chapter. Reviewing not only the most common schools of integration theory but the body of political science literature on interest groups and the policy process as well, Falkner hopes to convince the reader that no existing grand theories of European integration or macrocorporatist bargaining can effectively explain the process of policy-making in the sphere of EC social policy. First, Falkner argues that, while most of the dominant conceptual approaches to European integration are viable in one respect or another, their tendency to focus on either EC policy-making (e.g., neofunctionalism) or on intergovernmental conferences (e.g., intergovernmentalism), combined with their preference for concentrating on only select actors in the integration process, render them only partially helpful for understanding the often complex process of social policy formation. Particularly interesting is Falkner's rejection of the state-centric, intergovernmentalist explanation for why the member countries (except of course the UK) agreed to the Maastricht Social Protocol in the first place. For Falkner, the empirical evidence simply does not validate the assumptions of authors such as Peter Lange that the Social Protocol was a product of the national economic interests of the individual member governments (p.86). Instead, a combination of factors—EU institutional activism, processes of joint preference shaping, and ideas and communicative actions—converged to facilitate the development of the unique EC social policy processes described in the book's succeeding chapters. As Falkner suggests, the evidence

reveals quite convincingly that the EU is indeed "a political system where ideas, interests, and institutions are alive and kicking" (p.203).

As noted, Falkner affords additional attention to existing theories of interest intermediation and policy-making. Here, she rejects the contention that EU interest group activity is and will continue to be largely pluralist in nature. To the contrary, "corporatist patterns of policy-making and even the specific features of interest representation which were often found to accompany them (i.e. most significantly, *de facto* monopoly positions and state involvement in interest intermediation) *still play a role in contemporary European governance*" (p.187). Quite obviously, contemporary corporatist patterns at the European level are much less centralized and all-inclusive than previous nation-state macrocorporatist bargaining arrangements. As such today's "Euro-corporatism" appears comparatively restricted in functional scope "and belongs to the *sectoral or area-specific level*" (p.188). The corporatist system that has emerged in the area of European social policy formation, then, can best be described as a corporatist policy community, characterized by state intervention in interest group organization and intermediation and by some state delegation of policy-making authority to private interests (p.35).

Falkner's identification of corporatist tendencies in the EC social policy realm represents one of the most intriguing aspects of her book. Dismissing partially earlier interpretive approaches to corporatism (notably those that viewed corporatism only as a systemic, macro-level system of interest intermediation and macro-economic policy steering), Falkner argues that contemporary European-level corporatist forms are best explained with the help of recent theoretical literature on so-called "policy networks" which acknowledge the likelihood of different types of policy networks (or policy communities) within individual political systems. The type of (corporatist) policy community that developed within the EU's policy-making apparatus to address certain social policy matters is thus not necessarily going to be replicated in other policy areas. Indeed, as Falkner concludes, because institutional, technical, and ideational circumstances all combine to shape the process of policy formation, policy communities (especially corporatist ones) will certainly not develop in all areas alike (p.188). Nevertheless, the apparent development of a meaningful and functionally viable system of corporatist interest intermediation and policy-making within the EU's social policy realm is certainly significant. As Falkner points out, it is significant because, in contrast to earlier assumptions that corporatist policy-making practices were much too inflexible, bureaucratic, and time-consuming to function alongside Europe's evolving neoliberal market economy, corporatism appears to have been viewed by state actors, Commission members, and producer groups alike as a means through which greater progress toward European integration could be realized. In effect, for Falkner, the evidence suggests that "the incremental development over time of an *intersubjective understanding that 'social dialogue'*

was a valid path through, maybe even a 'solution' to, the regulatory conundrum of EU social policy" (p.189).

This is an important study that incorporates major theories of European integration with those of interest intermediation and policy-making to explain why progress has been made in the notably controversial area of European social policy integration. It should thus be read with special interest by anyone seeking to gain valuable and fresh insight into the dynamics of the contemporary European integration process. And while critics will no doubt emerge to question among other things the importance of the social policy initiatives addressed by Falkner, as well as the substance of the empirical evidence presented to validate her centrally crucial claim that ideas and communicative actions are intrinsically linked to the process of EU policy formation, the book for the most is both empirically well-grounded and theoretically unique enough to warrant considerable scholarly attention.

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**Martin Westlake (ed.) The European Union Beyond Amsterdam: New Concepts of European Integration. London and New York: Routledge, 1998, 159 pp.**

ON THE COVER OF this book is a map of Europe featuring ... East Germany. Although presumably an oversight on the part of the publisher, this anachronism actually sets the tone for the book rather better than its somewhat misleading title. This is not a book about "new" concepts of European integration, nor does it look "beyond" the Amsterdam treaty in the conventional sense of speculating about the near future. Therein, ironically, lies its strength.

Written as a *festschrift* for Jacques Vandamme, the volume brings together the reflections of a group of academics and practitioners united by their enduring belief in the project of European federalism. The resulting essays blend reflection and advocacy providing, on the whole, a refreshing contrast—or at the very least a much-needed complement—to the over-theorized writing characteristic of much of contemporary "EU studies."

Even the most analytic of the chapters, Westlake's essay on institutional change, can be read as a warning against over-theorization. Recent trends in the "institutional" analysis of the EU, he suggests, risk replicating the logical fallacies of "argument from design," the notion that any complex creation, be it physical or institutional, must necessarily be the intentional product of a unitary and rational "creator." Through the metaphor of the "blind watchmaker" he argues instead for a more historically-informed understanding of the often arbitrary accretion of institutional elements that have led to the structure we see today. Importantly, however, this is not an argument for surrender, either on the analytic or on

the political fronts. Quite to the contrary, Westlake argues forcefully for the importance of what he calls "blueprinting," the attempt to steer the EU's institutional evolution in a particular direction.

This combination of hard-headed realism about the present and hope for the future informs a number of the other essays. Andrew Duff's chapter on Britain in the EU eschews vague evocations of "insularity" or "distinctiveness," to focus instead on the poor fit between British domestic institutions and the integration process, and how it might be improved. Similarly, the chapters by John Pinder and Robert Toulemon, each arguing for the increased democratization of the Union's institutions, begin from a clear vision of the present and the processes that have led us this far.

Particularly interesting in this context, are two essays of the "Tindemans Report" of 1975, one by Wolfgang Wessels and the other by Tindemans himself. Although they share in the general disappointment concerning the timidity of the Amsterdam Treaty, both see in it a step in the directions sketched out 25 years previously. Once again, a realistic assessment of the present and a federalist vision of the future are presented not as contradictory but as necessary complements for the scholar as well as the practitioner.

This last observation can be extended to the volume as a whole. For this reason, I suspect that it will be most useful in the classroom. EU specialists will find little in here that is new. For students, though, the book—while clearly no substitute for a more systematic analysis of European institutions and their history (but of these there is no shortage—should provide a valuable perspective on a point of view too often dismissed as utopian.

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### Newsletters

- AUSE Notizie* (Associazione Universitaria di Studi Europei).
- CESAA Review* (Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia).
- CEUROS Newsletter* (Centre for European Studies, Limerick).
- La Lettre du CEP II* (Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales).
- Modern Greek Society* (Modern Greek Studies Association).
- UACES News* (University Association for Contemporary European Studies).

### Miscellaneous

- European Parliament Task Force on Enlargement Briefings:
- "Cyprus and Membership of the European Union" (1)
  - "Hungary and Enlargement of the European Union" (2)
  - "Romania and Enlargement of the European Union" (3)
  - "Malta and Relations with the European Union" (5)
  - "Poland and Accession to the European Union" (12)
  - "Switzerland and Enlargement of the European Union" (28)
  - "The Russian Minority in the Baltic States and Enlargement of the European Union" (42)
- (all available at [www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement](http://www.europarl.eu.int/enlargement))



## Fellowships

### German-American Center for Visiting Scholars

The German-American Center for Visiting Scholars (GACVS) offers fellowships for young German and American scholars (normally from the humanities and social sciences) to do research for up to six months at its Washington, DC facility. Fellows have fully equipped work stations, access to resources and researchers in Washington, and may receive a rent subsidy. For information, contact the GACVS at 1607 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009; tel. 202 483 9710; fax 202 483 9717; e-mail <contact@gacvs.org>; Web site <www.gaac.org/cvs.html>. Deadline: **August 30, 1999**.

### Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowships

This work-study fellowship provides in-depth understanding of the politics, economics, and culture of Germany and the European Union to young U.S. professionals. From September 1999-May 2000, fellows complete two internships which are supplemented by seminars in Bonn, Berlin, Brussels, Paris, and Poland. Applicants should hold a graduate degree and professional experience in business administration, economics, journalism, law, political science, or public affairs, or extensive professional experience in one of those fields. For information contact CDS International, 871 United Nations Plaza (15th Flr.), New York, NY 10017; tel. 212 497 3500; fax 212 497 3535; e-mail <info@cdsintl.org>; Web site <www.cdsintl.org>. Deadline: **October 15, 1999**.

### TransCoop Program 2000

The German Federal Ministry for Education and Research (Bonn) will support joint research projects among German, U.S., and/or Canadian scholars in the humanities, social sciences, economics, and law. Funding is foreseen for projects to be launched in 2000 with a maximum duration of sponsorship of three years. The TransCoop Program offers opportunities to researchers from universities and research institutions in all three countries. Priority is given to new research initiatives central to the disciplines cited above. Funding may be used for expenses directly related to the research project including short-term research visits, other travel, organizing conferences, material and equipment, printing, and data collection and analysis research assistance. Project must be matched by funds from U.S. and/or Canadian sources which should be identified in the TransCoop application. Applications for 2000 should be submitted jointly by at least one German and one U.S. and/or Canadian scholar and each applicant should hold at least a Ph.D. For information contact Stiftung Deutsch-Amerikanisches Akademisches Konzil, TransCoop Program, Jean-Paul-Strasse 9, D-53173 Bonn, Germany; tel. 49 228 956 770; fax 49 228 956 7719; e-mail <lich-knight@gaac.org>. Deadline: **October 30, 1999**.

### Fulbright EU Scholar-in-Residence Program

The Fulbright European Union Scholar-in-Residence Program is designed to strengthen expertise in European Union affairs. Through an arrangement with the EU, grants are available to bring European scholars specializing in EU affairs to American campuses as resident fellows for one term of the academic year. The program is devised for scholars in the humanities and social sciences or in fields where there is an international, comparative or policy component. The scholars give guest lectures and conduct seminars as appropriate, consult with faculty and students on research, engage in collaborative study, and provide outreach to neighboring institutions and the local community. The resident fellows are not expected to teach regular course offerings.

To receive guidelines and application materials for the EU Scholar-in-Residence Program, contact Marilee Muchow at the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, tel. 202 686 4013; e-mail <mmuchow@cies.iie.org>. For grants commencing the following academic year, the competition deadline is **November 1, 1999**.

### European University Institute Jean Monnet Fellowships

These post-doctoral fellowships are earmarked for research in one of these three categories: comparative research in a European perspective; research on the European Communities or on a topic of interest for the development of Europe; or fundamental research that relates to an innovative subject in one of the disciplines contributing to the development of Europe's cultural and academic heritage. Jean Monnet Fellows carry out their research in one of the European University Institute's four departments (History and Civilization; Economics; Law; Political and Social Sciences) or the Robert Schuman Centre, and must be linked to research conducted there. Contact the European University Institute, via dei Roccettini, 9, I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole, Italy; fax 39 055 468 5770; e-mail <applyjmf@datacomm.iue.it>; Web site <www.iue.it/JMF>. Deadline: **November 1, 1999**.

### Fulbright Awards for U.S. Faculty and Professionals

The Fulbright Scholar Program offers opportunities in all disciplines and professional fields, including professionals from fields outside academe including business, government, journalism, law, technical fields, and others areas as well as university faculty and administrators. U.S. citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications are required. Foreign language skills are needed in some countries. Contact the USIA Fulbright Scholar Program, CIIE, 3007 Tilden Street NW (Suite 5L), Washington, DC 20008; tel. 202 686 7877; e-mail <apprequest@cies.iie.org>; Web site <www.cies.org>. For international education and academic administrator seminars, the deadline is **November 1, 1999**; for NATO advanced research fellowships and institutional grants, the deadline is **January 1, 2000**.

## World Wide Web Sites

*The following annotated list highlights Web sites of interest to EU specialists. This issue's listings features sites on selected organizations or associations with a significant EU component in their missions. NB: All Web addresses must be preceded by <http://> (omitted here for the sake of brevity).*

**www.tusiad.org** is the site of the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen's Association (TÜSIAD), founded in 1972 and now having external offices in Washington, DC and Brussels. The Turkish language Web site has an English version. Among TÜSIAD's aims are to "communicate opinions and proposals of the business community through contact with relevant institutions in Turkey and abroad in the context of Turkey's potential membership in the European Union."

**www.aicgs.org** informs us about the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies based at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC. Recent research programs have focused on the German EU Council Presidency and on EMU, among other topics; recent EU-related publications include "The European Central Bank: How Accountable? How Decentralized?" by Ellen E. Meade, and "Europeanizing Security? NATO and an Integrating Europe," edited by ECSA members Carl Lankowski and Simon Serfaty.

**www.ier.si** is the site of the Institute for Economic Research in Ljubljana, Slovenia. The Slovenian language site has an English version and includes a small working paper series plus descriptions of current research topics, including trade relations between the EU and associated states; effects of integration processes on Slovenian agriculture; determinants of financial flows in the EU and associated states and the implications of enlargement; the cost of approximating EU environmental law; and many others. ECSA member Peter Stanovnik directs the Institute.

**www.eucenters.org** connects to the Network of European Union Centers in the United States, an EU initiative launched in Fall 1998 as part of the People-to-People project of the New Transatlantic Agenda, aiming to increase knowledge and awareness of the EU in the U.S. Ten Centers at academic institutions across the U.S. (from Cambridge, Mass. to Los Angeles) organize workshops, seminars, EU visitors and exchanges, outreach to secondary educators, news media, and the business and government sectors, and more.

**www.amcham.be** is the site of the American Chamber of Commerce in Belgium, an independent association of persons and businesses with interests in Belgium and Europe. Its EU Committee has produced and published the EU Information Handbook, Guide to the European Parliament, Business Guide to EU Initiatives, EU Environment Guide, and others, aimed at businesses, government officials, and academics.

## Academic Programs

*Editor's note: Please contact each program directly for information on instructional staff, accreditation, courses, policies, fees, and application materials and deadlines. Listing here does not imply endorsement.*

**M.A. in European Studies, University of Birmingham, UK.** The Graduate School of European Studies at the University of Birmingham offers a master's degree with specialisations in Central and Eastern Europe; Contemporary German Studies; Western European Political Thought; Europe and Asia; Modern History; European Union; and European Integration. The University of Birmingham is a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence. Contact Sue Redding, School Projects Secretary, School of Social Sciences, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT, UK; fax 44 121 414 6630; e-mail <[s.b.redding@bham.ac.uk](mailto:s.b.redding@bham.ac.uk)>.

**Master's in International Economics and European Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC.** The School for Advanced International Studies offers this and other dual concentration, two-year master's programs with either one year in Bologna, Italy and one in Washington, DC, or both years in Washington. Joint degrees may also be pursued at the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School of Business, INSEAD in Fontainebleu, France, and elsewhere. The European internship program offers internship possibilities in the political and economic capitals of Europe. Visit the Web site <[www.sais-jhu.edu](http://www.sais-jhu.edu)> and follow links to "Catalog" and "Admissions."

**TransAtlantic Master's Program, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill** (and other locations). In this fourteen-month program students study at a minimum of two and a maximum of four universities in the U.S. and Europe, including UNC Chapel Hill, Duke University, and University of Washington Seattle in the U.S., and Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Università degli Studi di Siena, Charles University (Prague), Freie Universität Berlin, Université de Paris III, and University of Bath in Europe. The program focuses on the politics, policy, and society of the emerging transatlantic market. Visit the Web site at <[www.unc.edu/depts/tam](http://www.unc.edu/depts/tam)>.

**Council Study Centers in European Studies 1999-2000** offers semester- or year-long, full-credit courses of study in English for undergraduate students at the following institutions: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium; Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic; Budapest University of Economic Sciences, Hungary; University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands; and Warsaw School of Economics, Poland. All the programs include course work in the politics of Europe. Contact by e-mail <[info@ciece.org](mailto:info@ciece.org)>; tel. 1-888-COUNCIL; or visit the Web site <[www.ciece.org](http://www.ciece.org)>.



## NETWORK OF EUROPEAN UNION CENTERS

*News and Notes ...*

★ *June 1999:* The European Union Center of New York has in residence its two summer post-doctoral fellows: Carolyn Dudek (Ph.D, University of Pittsburgh) is at the Institute on Western Europe at Columbia University, revising her dissertation, "Does Brussels Matter? The Impact of the EU on Spanish Regional Politics" for submission for publication. Elizabeth Prodromou (Ph.D., MIT) is the summer post-doctoral fellow at NYU's Center for European Studies. She is researching an article tentatively entitled, "The European Union and Cyprus: A Case Study in Nesting Federalisms and Peace Building under the CFSP." Also, Sophie Body-Gendrot (Political Science, Université de Paris-Sorbonne) was an EU Center short-term visitor at NYU.

★ *June 1999:* The European Union Center of California launched a new publication series, *Research Briefs*, designed to fill an important niche in academic publishing. In the *Briefs*, scholars exploring European or transatlantic themes may condense the core arguments and results of their research into a summary, which will be distributed to a wide audience, including professionals (academics, policy analysts, diplomats, business executives) who are not experts in the field but who have substantial interest in the subject. In the first issue, Benjamin J. Cohen summarizes the arguments he made about euro/dollar relations in his 1998 book, The Geography of Money.

★ *June 1999:* The European Union Center at Harvard University supported two research projects. During a June 14-15 workshop of the new Boston Working Group, George Ross convened scholars from the Boston area and visiting Europeanists to reflect on the specific challenges that European integration poses for democratic accountability. A research agenda was set by the group. On June 21-22, Andrew Moravcsik convened a group of scholars to consider "The New Theory of Integration." The meeting's goal was to assemble an edited volume to set the agenda for the current and forthcoming generation of scholars working on European and comparative regional integration.

★ *June 2-5, 1999:* The European Union Center at the University of Pittsburgh served as the local host for ECSA's Sixth Biennial International Conference in Pittsburgh. The EU Center, along with the University Center for International Studies, hosted a reception on the University of Pittsburgh campus for conference attendees. The University Chancellor, Mark Nordenberg, welcomed the participants and guided tours were provided for the University's acclaimed Nationality Rooms, museum-quality rooms constructed by Pittsburgh's ethnic communities to symbolize their architectural and artistic heritage.

★ *June 8, 1999:* The European Union Center of the University System of Georgia sponsored a roundtable discussion entitled "The Crisis in Kosovo: American, European Union and Russian Perspectives." Panel discussants were Dimitri Simes (President of the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom), David Benton (retired Lieutenant General and former Chief of Staff for the U.S. European Command), and Lodewijk Briët (Minister-Counsellor at the European Commission Delegation). Each panelist outlined the security interests involved in the Balkans and responded to questions from the audience. The event attracted media coverage from area journalists and local television.

★ *June 10, 1999:* The European Union Center of the University of Wisconsin Madison, in partnership with the European Studies Program, sponsored a one-day workshop on "Teaching the European Union." About 25 primary and secondary school teachers from around the state heard presentations on the history and institutions of the EU and the implications of a single



## NETWORK OF EUROPEAN UNION CENTERS

*News and Notes ...*

monetary currency, and then spent the afternoon defining strategies for applying the information to classroom use. (Funding for the conference came, in part, from the European Commission and the U.S. Department of Education, in cooperation with the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction.)

☆ **July 1999:** The European Union Center at the University of Missouri Columbia sent three graduate students—Steve Galatas, Annamarie Mantese, and Andrea Moraes—to visit the European Commission in Brussels, and EU Center Academic Cabinet member Gordon Brown to visit Regensburg University. The Foundation for Improvement in Post-Secondary Education has funded a project, coordinated by the University of Missouri and EU Center Director Andrew Balas, to prepare students for the international and information technology-based health care system of the next century. From the United States, Missouri, Yale, and Howard, and from Europe, Regensburg, Aristotle, and La Laguna universities form the team.

☆ **July 13-14, 1999:** "The European Union and the United States Today," a workshop for secondary school and community college teachers was co-sponsored by the European Union Center at the University of Washington Seattle and the Washington Council on International Trade, to provide teachers with basic information on EU institutions and policies and on current debates related to EU-U.S. relations, emphasizing issues with direct local impact—the Boeing-Airbus rivalry in commercial aerospace (the region's largest employment sector) and transatlantic tensions in agriculture (a vital part of the state economy). A hands-on Internet demonstration introduced educators to EU-related resources on the Web and a Bastille Day Dinner capped the workshop.

☆ **June-August 1999:** The European Union Center at the University of Illinois is sponsoring nine graduate students conducting EU-related research in Europe: Steven Chrapusta, tele-communications technology; Carrie Cunningham, GMO technology and corn and soybean trade; Bryan Endres, role of civil liability in GMO regulations; Jody Endres, organic foods regulations (U.S. and EU); Donald Garner, product liability laws (EU and U.S.); Rajesh Gupta, banana trade dispute; Elise Sevebrant, Danish food safety regulations and quality assurance systems in the pork industry; Raja Shankar, role of a pan-European organization in the aspirations of sub-national groups; and Kirsten Wandschneider, the Asian crisis and European banks.

☆ **August, 1999:** The European Union Center of UNC and Duke University will welcome the second group of students into the Transatlantic Master's Program (TAM) in August. This year's class includes six American and six European students. The TAM is an innovative graduate program in partnership with the University of Washington Seattle and six European universities. Students will take course work on both sides of the Atlantic offering a broad comparative understanding of EU-US politics, policy, and social evolution, as well as specialist knowledge of key issues in the Euro-Atlantic arena.

*The Network of European Union Centers in the United States was launched by the European Union in 1998 to build stronger ties among Europeans and Americans. To find out more about the Network and each of the European Union Centers, please visit the Network Web site at [www.eucenters.org](http://www.eucenters.org). The Network of European Union Centers is supported by the European Union and the host institutions, and is coordinated by the European Community Studies Association. ECSA's Network of European Union Centers Committee: Maria Green Cowles (The American University), Paulette Kurzer (University of Arizona), Vivien Schmidt (Boston University), and Sidney Tarrow (Cornell University).*

## Conferences

### After the Global Crisis? What Next for Regionalism?

*September 16-17, 1999:* University of Warwick, UK. The Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation hosts this conference on the role of regions as a mediating level of governance. Contact Dr. Shaun Breslin at e-mail <shaun.breslin@warwick.ac.uk> or visit the Web page at <www.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CSFR/>.

### Regionalism: Stepping Stone to Globalization?

*September 17-18, 1999:* The University of the Pacific will host the 1999 Western Regional Conference of the Academy of International Business, on all aspects of international business. Contact ECSA member Georgine Kradya, Eberhardt School of Business, University of the Pacific, 3601 Pacific Ave., Stockton, CA 95211; e-mail <gkradya@uop.edu>.

### Fifty Years of the Federal Republic of Germany: Through a Gendered Lens

*September 24-26, 1999:* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Duke University, co-sponsor), will host this conference covering topics such as "Gendered Citizenship," "Gendered Workers," and "Gendered Providers and Welfare Policies," inter alia. Specifically taking stock of gendered power relations and how they have changed in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949-1999 will be the central focus of this gathering. Contact Ruth Mitchell-Pitts at tel. 919 962 6765 or visit the Web at <www.unc.edu/depts/europe>.

### International Antitrust Law and Policy

*October 14-15, 1999:* Fordham University School of Law, New York. The annual conference of the Fordham Corporate Law Institute includes sessions on "EC Competition Policy and International Cartel Enforcement," "Sports Under EU Competition Law and U.S. Antitrust Law," "Modernization of EC Competition Law," and others. Contact T. Scott Lilly, Fordham Corporate Law Institute, 140 West 62nd Street, New York, NY 10023; tel. 212 636 6777; fax 212 636 6984; e-mail <slilly@mail.lawnet.fordham.edu>.

### EMU: Realignments In and Out of the Eurozone

*October 25-26, 1999:* Organized by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, this conference will cover issues which have emerged since the euro's launch, viz. the role and credibility of the European Central Bank; threats to monetary stability within EMU; the UK and entry into EMU; and U.S.-EU relations and their repercussions on trade. Contact Georgina Wright, Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, 10 St James' Square, London SW1Y 4LE, UK; fax 44 171 321 2045; e-mail <gwright@riia.org>.

## Changing Contexts for International Educational Exchange

*November 10-13, 1999:* Chicago, annual conference of the Council on International Educational Exchange, examines the many viewpoints that have emerged in the post-Cold War era and the implications of recent global changes for international educational exchange. Contact the Council at 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017; tel. 1-888-COUNCIL (USA and Canada only); or visit the Web site <www.ciee.org>.

### Peace by Pieces or Pieces of Peace? The Future of European Security

*November 18-19, 1999:* Maastricht. Co-organized by the European Institute of Public Administration and the Western European Union Institute for Security Studies, this colloquium will assess the CFSP's recent development and prospects for the future, and will consider the state of the European arms industries and their relations with CFSP. Contact Jeannette Zuidema, EIPA, P. O. Box 1229, NL-6201 BE Maastricht, The Netherlands; tel. 31 43 329 6204; e-mail <j.zuidema@eipa-nl.com>; or visit the Web site at <www.eipa.nl>.

### 12th International Conference of Europeanists

*March 30-April 2, 2000:* Chicago, organized by the Council for European Studies. The Council will mark its thirtieth anniversary, celebrate founding figures in European studies, and reflect on major shifts in the region and the disciplines. (The call for proposals appears on the facing page of this issue.) Contact CES at Columbia University, 807 International Affairs Building, 420 West 118th Street, Mail Code 3310, New York, NY 10027; tel: 212 854 4172; fax 212 854 8808; Web site <www.europenet.org>.

### Rethinking Europe

*April 6-8, 2000:* Budapest, Hungary. The UACES (UK) 30th Annual Conference and Fifth Research Conference to be held at Central European University will address all aspects of European integration. (The call for proposals appears on the facing page.) For proposal guidance contact Prof. Clive Archer, Dept. of Politics & Philosophy, Manchester Metropolitan University, M15 6LL, UK; fax 44 161 247 6312; e-mail <CAr1963068@aol.com>.

### European Odyssey: The EU in the New Millennium

*July 31-August 2, 2000:* Quebec City, Canada will be the site of the third biennial conference of the European Community Studies Association Canada, to be held in conjunction with meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association and the International Political Science Association. (The call for proposals appears on the facing page of this issue.) Contact Programme Chairs Patrick Crowley at <patrick.crowley@middlebury.edu> or Amy Verdun at <averdun@uvic.ca>.

## Calls for Proposals

**European Integration online Papers**, a peer-reviewed, interdisciplinary working paper series on European integration seeks contributions from economics, history, legal studies, history, political science, and all relevant disciplines. The EIoP aims to distribute as quickly as possible the latest research results. Authors retain copyright of their papers, which may be simultaneously submitted elsewhere; only papers already accepted by a traditional journal are not publishable in EIoP. Address submissions only by e-mail to Dr. Michael Nentwich at <mment@oew.ac.at>; view the Web site at <<http://eiop.or.at/erpa>>.

**International Political Economy Group** of the British International Studies Association annual workshop, February 12, 2000, University of Warwick, UK. The focus will be on market transparency in the global economy, e.g., what is transparency and for whom it functions; institutional responses to the perceived problems of transparency; and, the broader societal and global implications of the drive for transparency. Organizers are particularly interested in work that demonstrates theoretical innovation, and aim to produce a set of papers suitable for publication. Submit 150-word paper abstracts to Tim Sinclair, Dept. of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, UK; fax 44 1203 524 221; e-mail <[timothy.sinclair@warwick.ac.uk](mailto:timothy.sinclair@warwick.ac.uk)>. Deadline: **August 15, 1999**.

**Georgia Political Science Association Meeting**, February 25-26, 2000, Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. Open to all scholars in all disciplines worldwide, on the theme "Democracy in the 21st Century: New Challenges and New Opportunities." Scholars wishing to submit proposals for papers and/or panels, or wishing to serve as discussants or panel chairs, should contact ECSA member Michael J. Baun, Dept. of Political Science, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA 31698; tel. 912 259 5082; e-mail <[mibaun@valdosta.edu](mailto:mibaun@valdosta.edu)> by **September 15, 1999**.

**Council for European Studies**, 12th International Conference, Chicago, March 30-April 2, 2000. In addition to its general call for proposals, the Council especially welcomes panels and papers on the following core themes: (1) Europe's changing position in the world; (2) European social sciences and the study of Europe; (3) historical interpretations of Europe in the 20th century; and (4) European capitalisms at the turn of the century: economic, social, and political institutions in a comparative, cross-European perspective. The conference committee also welcomes sessions that (1) are innovative in format, such as roundtables and debates, focused around important recent books and pre-circulated papers posted on the CES Web site; (2) encourage policy-oriented discussions (including dialogue between scholars and policy-makers); and (3) debate the contributions of key scholars and schools of thought.

Limited subsidies will be available to persons traveling to the Conference from Europe and to U.S. doctoral students and scholars in part-time or visiting positions. All proposals should be submitted in seven copies using forms available in the current CES "European Studies Newsletter" and on the CES Web site. No proposals will be accepted by e-mail or fax. Contact the Council at Columbia University, 807 International Affairs Building, 420 West 118th Street, Mail Code 3310, New York, NY 10027; fax 212 854 8808; e-mail <[ces@columbia.edu](mailto:ces@columbia.edu)>; Web site <[www.europamet.org](http://www.europamet.org)>. Deadline: **October 1, 1999**.

**University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UK)**, 30th Annual Conference and Fifth Research Conference, April 6-8, 2000, Budapest, Hungary. Academics and others interested in European integration are invited to submit panel and paper proposals on any aspect of European integration, broadly defined. UACES encourages proposals from social policy and sociology as well as the more traditional areas of politics, economics, history, and law. If submitting a paper proposal, please specify which field(s) the paper falls into from among: (1) theory of European integration; (2) institutions and the policy-making process; (3) EMU; (4) justice and home affairs; (5) structural funds/regional policy; (6) social policy; (7) environmental policy; (8) security and defence; (9) enlargement; (10) external relations; (11) agriculture; (12) cultural policy; (13) industrial policy; (14) member states and the EU; and/or (15) internal market. Please submit proposals to Susan Jones, UACES Secretariat, King's College, Strand, London WC2R 2LS, UK; tel. 44 171 240 0206; fax 44 171 836 2350; e-mail <[admin@uaces.org](mailto:admin@uaces.org)>; visit the Web site at <[www.uaces.org/u-info/](http://www.uaces.org/u-info/)>. Deadline: **October 14, 1999**.

**European Community Studies Association Canada** Third Biennial Conference, July 31-August 2, 2000, Quebec City, Canada. The main theme is "European Odyssey: The EU in the New Millennium," and panel and paper proposals are being sought on the themes: (1) European integration, sovereignty, legitimacy, accountability and democracy; (2) federalism, multilevel governance, citizenship, values and identity; (3) institutions, interests and policies; (4) consolidation of the EU, enlargement, the euro, the Treaty of Amsterdam; and (5) theories of European integration. The Committee explicitly welcomes comparisons between the EU and Canada, interdisciplinary panels, and proposals from non-political scientists.

Proposals should include full name, last completed degree, title, institutional affiliation, mailing address, tel/fax numbers, and e-mail address for panel convenors and all paper givers, and be sent to Programme Chairs Patrick Crowley, Dept. of Economics, Munroe Hall, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753, USA; fax 802 443 2050; e-mail <[patrick.crowley@middlebury.edu](mailto:patrick.crowley@middlebury.edu)>; and Amy Verdun, Dept. of Political Science, University of Victoria, P. O. Box 3050, Victoria, B.C., V8W 3P5, Canada; fax 250 721 7485; e-mail <[averdun@uvic.ca](mailto:averdun@uvic.ca)>. Deadline: **November 1, 1999**.

### ECSA Curriculum Development Grants

ECSA is pleased to announce that the following ECSA members are recipients of the 1999-2000 Curriculum Development Grants, generously funded by the European Commission: **Marijke Breuning**, Political Science, Truman State University, for the upper-level undergraduate course, "European Politics;" **David L. Cleeton**, Economics, Oberlin College, for the sophomore/junior-level undergraduate course, "Political Economy of European Integration;" **Reinhard Heinisch**, Political Science, University of Pittsburgh Johnstown, for the senior-level undergraduate course, "EU Social Policy and Welfare States in Comparative Perspective;" and **Christian Hunold**, History and Politics, Drexel University, for the upper-level undergraduate course, "The European Union." The grants fund the development of EU-related courses at U.S. institutions. The syllabi for these courses will eventually be posted on the ECSA Web site; watch the <[www.ecsa.org/teach.html](http://www.ecsa.org/teach.html)> page for updates.

### ECSA Interest Sections

In response to strong support indicated by ECSA members on our 1998 Tenth Anniversary Member Survey, the ECSA Executive Committee decided to establish Association interest sections on any topic related to European Union affairs. Interest sections will participate actively in the life of ECSA: they will be featured on ECSA's membership form (and a small membership surcharge assessed to support them); may publicize their activities in the *ECSA Review*; potentially, may organize panels at ECSA's Biennial Conference; will be listed in the ECSA Member Directory and have a presence on ECSA's Web site. See ECSA Chair Vivien Schmidt's letter in this issue for more about ECSA interest sections.

Any ECSA member can propose an interest section. Proposal must take the form of a 1-2 page formal letter (500 words maximum) on institutional letterhead including a rationale for the interest section topic and a brief statement of the proposer's qualifications for leading it (submit two copies of this letter). The proposer must make a one-year commitment to leading the section. Please include the short form of proposer's curriculum vita (one copy). Proposals must have at least ten brief statements of support from ECSA members (must be collected and submitted en toto with the proposal, not submitted individually to ECSA by the authors, but can be print-outs of e-mail messages, for example). Decisions on interest section topics and policies to be made by the ECSA Executive Committee and/or its appointed Subcommittee. Deadline for proposals: ongoing.

Please use regular mail (not electronic mail or fax) to submit your interest section proposal to the ECSA Administrative Office, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA.

### The GMF 1999-2000 Awards for Research on Europe

ECSA congratulates two long-time members (and currently ECSA Executive Committee members) who are among fifteen 1999-2000 grant recipients for research on Europe from The German Marshall Fund of the United States: **Mark A. Pollack** (Political Science, University of Wisconsin Madison) will use principal-agent analysis to test the hypothesis that the EU's supranational organizations (the Commission, the Parliament, and the Court of Justice) 'matter,' in the sense of exerting an independent causal influence on the integration process under certain conditions. **Sidney Tarrow** (Government, Cornell University) will examine the increase in contentious politics within Europe as the EU becomes more integrated, and will study how citizens employ techniques of collective action and protest in relation to EU regulations, and the role of national states in this developing relationship, and will develop case studies of European contentious politics in key policy sectors.

### One Europe or Several?

#### The Dynamics of Change Across Europe

The UK Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) has launched a three-year research program, consisting of 24 separate research projects which examine the "contemporary processes of political, security, economic, social and cultural change across the European continent, as well as issues of convergence and divergence and prospects for integration and fragmentation" (from the *Newsletter*, Issue One, Spring 1999). In addition to its newsletter, this ESRC program will produce briefings, issue papers and discussion papers, as well as a book series with Macmillan which will publish the findings of individual projects and volumes on the overarching theme of the dynamics of change in Europe.

Examples of specific research projects are (all of the following are led by ECSA members), "National and Supranational Economic Policy to Correct Internal Disequilibrium Under EMU," led by **Iain Begg**, South Bank University; "The Europeanisation of State-Society Relations: A Comparative Study," led by **Laura Cram**, University of Sheffield; "How MEPs Vote: A Study of the EU Legislative Process," led by **Simon Hix**, London School of Economics and Political Science; "Germany and the Reshaping of Europe," led by **Charlie Jeffery**, University of Birmingham, and "Globalisation, EU Economic Policy Communities and the Construction of European Identities," led by **Ben Rosamond**, University of Warwick. **Helen Wallace**, Sussex European Institute, UK, and long-time ECSA member, is the Program Director. "One Europe or Several?" can be contacted via the Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SH, UK; tel. 44 1273 678 560; fax 44 1273 678 571; e-mail <[h.wallace@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:h.wallace@sussex.ac.uk)>; Web site <[www.one-europe.ac.uk](http://www.one-europe.ac.uk)>.



## ECSA Review

The *ECSA Review* (ISSN 1090-5758) is published four times yearly by the European Community Studies Association, a membership association and non-profit organization founded in 1988 and devoted to the exchange of information and ideas on European Union affairs. We welcome scholarly, EU-related manuscripts. Subscription to the *ECSA Review* is a benefit of Association membership.

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*Thank you for your support of ECSA and  
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***Founded in 1988, ECSA is a non-profit organization dedicated to the exchange of information and ideas on European Union affairs. ECSA coordinates the Network of European Union Centers in the U.S.***

*Notes for ECSA members ...*

- If you are moving, please let the ECSA Administrative Office know your new mailing address and contact coordinates, preferably six weeks in advance, so that you don't miss any of your membership materials.
- About 550 ECSA members (nearly half of our current membership) now subscribe to the ECSA e-mail List Server, a forum for succinct queries and announcements related to European Union affairs. To subscribe, send an e-mail to [ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu) with this message: **subscribe ecsa@list.pitt.edu**
- For those members on the ECSA List Serve, please let us know as soon as possible if you change your e-mail address so that we may unsubscribe the defunct address and subscribe the new one.
- Now that the *ECSA Review* is published quarterly, rather than three times per year, we can include news of your organization's conferences, events, publications, and so on, more often. Please continue to send news of your events in hard copy by regular mail, especially conference and publications announcements.



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