

## Book Reviews

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*The Engines of European Integration. Delegation, Agency and Agenda-Setting in the EU*, by M.A. Pollack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, ISBN 0199251185 hb, 0199251177 pb); £50.50 hb, £20.00 pb.

By negotiating the EU treaties, Member State governments delegate powers to the European institutions. Assuming that these exercises are not naively designed to destroy the nation-state and construct a higher level of state-like authority, Pollack's study on delegation and agency politics addresses two of the most central questions of European integration: first, why do Member States delegate power; and, second, do we as a result of delegation observe the emergence of an original political system *sui generis* whose institutions become able to create autonomous functions – to 'co-engineer the EU's fabric of governance'?

To resolve these puzzles, Pollack draws on principal–agent analyses of delegation, agency and agenda-setting. In a first part, he focuses on the delegation process: under what conditions do states delegate powers and allocate discretion to supranational agents, and which functions are performed by those agents? In a second part, the focus shifts to the actual agency and agenda-setting. Do agents have an autonomous preference for 'deeper integration' and, if so, how far are they able independently to pursue this preference?

Pollack argues that EU Member States have delegated discretionary powers to EU institutions over an increasing range of policy areas, in order to secure efficient and credible joint decision-making and rule compliance. At the same time, however, the allocated powers are cautiously balanced with mechanisms to control and monitor the autonomy. Regarding the Commission, the study provides clear evidence for both the delegation of executive and agenda-setting powers, and the existence of complex control mechanisms, in order to limit the Commission's discretion in the policy process. *Vis-à-vis* the European Court of Justice, the Member States restricted their control mechanisms. Hence, the judges could trail an integrationist agenda, which largely ignored the political preferences of Member States. Therefore, the last treaty reforms were reluctant to delegate new powers to the Court in the EU's intergovernmental pillars. In contrast, Pollack shows the limited explanatory power of the model of delegation and agency with regard to the successive extension of the European Parliament's powers. This process is explained by the principals' concerns about democratic legitimacy. The delegation of power to the Parliament thus results from political and not necessarily rational demands by governments. Nevertheless, the Parliament does not escape the 'principals' control mechanisms. Its powers are

restricted in several ways: the parliamentary supervisory role, for example, is limited to the Commission. Furthermore, the Parliament disposes only in a limited number of areas of legislative authority and even in the co-decision procedure it shares authority with the Council, which it cannot overrule.

Pollack's study is based on a full, convincing and recent account of empirical data. The book thus provides a first-class analysis of a complex institutional system. He offers a sophisticated toolbox for operationalizing the principal-agent model and the theory of delegation of powers. In sum, Pollack provides evidence of the important role of these institutions as 'engines of integration' next to the Member States. Their discretion is, however, restricted by a range of control and monitoring mechanisms.

ANDREAS MAURER AND DANIELA KIETZ

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*Le fait régional et la construction européenne*, edited by M.T. Bitsch (Brussels: Bruylant, 2003, ISBN 2 8027 1786 3); 458pp., €65 pb.

This substantial volume, composed of 28 varied contributions from Francophone scholars, EU *fonctionnaires* and practitioners, aims to address the centrality of regions in the ongoing evolution of the European Union. Although impressive in scope, this latest addition to the crowded European regional studies field sketches a superficial picture of the role of regions in the Union, and does not focus in any great detail on any one mechanism, explanatory argument or process underpinning regional integration.

Within the collection, three thematic sections address the development of the 'regional idea' in Europe, the process by which regional interests are acknowledged by national and European institutions, and a series of case studies details regional responses to the process of integration. Although some articles simply rehash the development of regional advocacy groups and the Committee of the Regions, others include original arguments about the historical and cultural factors that underlie present-day interest in regional politics and governance. Individual contributors make prescient observations about the influence of EU regional policy on domestic thinking in Britain (Poggiolini) and France (Saunier), not to mention the development of regional consciousness by early European and regionalist political thinkers such as Jean Charles-Brun (Guieu), Denis de Rougemont (Saint-Ouen) and Alcide de Gasperi (Preda). Additionally, a group of detailed case studies on trans-frontier co-operation between Belgium, France, Luxembourg and Germany (Lejeune, Dupeyron, Kahn, Gengler, Wassenberg and Hudemann) contains interesting insights into the integrative role played by regular population flows, judicial co-operation, institutional developments and public opinion in trans-border areas.

Despite the incredible breadth of its component essays – not to mention the originality of the archival research carried out for several of its historically focused contributions – this volume largely fails to articulate a clear mission or unifying theme. Beyond its laudable desire to examine the dynamic relationship between regional actors and the EU without adhering to the hackneyed notion of a 'Europe of the Regions', the collection meanders through issues such as multi-level governance,

the principle of subsidiarity, representation in the European institutions, and the historical motives underlying regionalism. While editor Marie-Thérèse Bitsch certainly accomplishes her goal of providing a space for European authors to reflect on the questions that surround regional politics and governance within the ever-changing Union, the resulting volume lacks the sort of coherence and structure that would transform it into something more than a collection of engaging but disparate articles.

ADAM MARSHALL  
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*NATO, the European Union, and the Atlantic Community: The Transatlantic Bargain Reconsidered*, by S.R. Sloan (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, ISBN 0742517608); xvii+287pp., £18.95 pb.

Stanley Sloan's book offers a practitioner's well-documented account of the antagonisms within the transatlantic alliance during the cold war and post-cold war periods. The author tries to capture the right balance between exogenous (Soviet Union, rogue states, terrorism) and endogenous (collective security, national interests, values and policies) determinants of the evolution of the transatlantic alliance over time. The focus falls on the transatlantic bargain, as the melting pot where the two categories of determinants are reflected without, however, any attempt by the author to identify the conditions that affect their relative weights. The thesis of the book is centred on the core issues of the transatlantic bargain, the mix of US leadership and European autonomy, and the issue of burden-sharing between the two sides and their decisive contribution to the past and present evolution of the alliance. The analysis of the cold war period does not depart from existing work on the topic; however, viewing the evolution of the alliance through the prism of the transatlantic bargain disciplines the discussion and offers a fresh angle on the issue. The discussion in chapter 5 of the fundamental differences between the American and European worldviews, as a result of dissimilar historical experiences and geographical realities, and as a cause of friction and misunderstanding between the allies during the cold war, is outstanding and as timely as ever, though not fully integrated into the broader argument.

In the post-cold war period, due to the elimination of the Soviet threat, the values over interests ratio appears to increase as the basis of the *raison d'être* of the alliance yet, as the author argues, the form and substance of the evolving alliance is still defined by the transatlantic bargain. The analysis relies partly on the author's personal account of relevant events and is certainly a contribution to our knowledge of the not too distant past. However hazardous, predictions regarding transatlantic relations, and Nato and its future relations with the EU are understandably of interest to policy-makers. The same could be said for the prescriptive note on which the book concludes: at a time when many foresee the disintegration of the alliance due to diverging worldviews between its two pillars, the author points in the opposite direction to a more comprehensive relationship through the creation of an Atlantic Community, as the answer to the current unsatisfactory state of affairs. Utopian or not, it is an alternative vision and a potential source of food for thought for policy-makers and

academics. Overall, this is a useful book for the generally interested reader and an important source for the more committed student of transatlantic relations.

GEORGE G. GEORGIADIS  
*Cambridge University*

*Privatisation in the European Union. Public Enterprises and Integration*, by J. Clifton, F. Comín and D. Díaz Fuentes (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003, ISBN 1402074816); 173pp., £51.00.

This volume is representative of the new generation of comparative studies of privatization in the EU. Early publications in the late 1980s and early 1990s tended to focus their attention on the British experience, viewing it as an ideologically nested policy paradigm that was bound to be emulated by other European countries. The question was, to what extent. There was an implicit determinism in that early approach, as rightfully noted by the authors of this book, which largely resulted from exaggerating the potency and endurance of the anti-statist, pro-market discourse. Drawing on the accumulated mixed experience with privatization as well as the equally diverse body of literature about it, this book takes a nuanced view of the phenomenon. It appreciates the exact impact of the European single market and EMU in promoting privatization in some sectors more than others, redefining the notion of 'public services' into 'services of general interest'. It also acknowledges the possibility of a Hirschmanian cyclicalcy in pro-privatization stances, pointing out the current dissatisfaction of European citizens with several aspects of the market's performance.

The book traces the roots of public enterprises in Europe, charting the historical factors and economic arguments that led to their creation or nationalization, and explaining the roots and content of the generalized backlash against public enterprise since the 1980s. A chapter is devoted to describing the privatization policy experience in the EU countries. Lacking comparative depth, comparable evidence, as well as a set of common research questions, this is one of the weakest chapters of the book. The nation-specific secondary literature is too narrow, the chapter is written in a rather cursory manner and contains several inaccuracies. Another chapter compares the British privatization experience to that of other EU countries, pointing out the higher level of development of the British financial market as well as the impressive scope of privatization in some continental EU countries, where privatization proceeds far exceeded British ones. A most interesting chapter takes a good look at public enterprises by sector in the EU, explaining the sector-specific logic of privatization in the context of European integration and globalization. The two-page concluding chapter is too short to do any justice to many of the book's interesting findings.

As often happens with jointly authored books, this is an uneven volume, providing a very good introductory conceptual framework, which remains undeveloped in the rest of the book. It is, however, an interesting and useful overview of the origins, development, logic and scope of privatization in the European Union, providing a convincing EU policy framework that ties together various national experiences.

GEORGE PAGOULATOS  
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*The Politics of EU Police Co-operation: Towards a European FBI?* by J. Occhipinti (London: Lynne Rienner, 2003, ISBN 158826); 225 pp., £44.95 pb.

Occhipinti sets himself the dual task of outlining and explaining the developments in European police co-operation since the mid-1970s. In relation to the former, he achieves his objective admirably, providing a very detailed summary and creating a useful reference for future studies. However, in terms of the latter, he is less convincing, selecting a series of variables (including federalism and subsidiarity, which are arguably two sides of the same coin, functional spillover and external shocks) to assess each historical period, but failing to suggest which are more important in explaining progress. In addition, his task of assessing events is hindered by the book's structure, which too closely mirrors the chronological development of police co-operation. In his attempt to ensure comprehensive coverage, and thereby meet his first objective, there is a real danger that the reader will become swamped in a fact-laden narrative, with the end result being that the wood is sadly obscured by the trees.

There is also a question mark over the book's conclusions. As the title suggests, the author seems to see a slow but steady drift towards a supranational conclusion, arguing that 'the continued salience of internal and external variables' will propel the EU inexorably in one direction. To make that point even more forcefully, he includes a table in the final chapter, demonstrating progress in a number of areas from institutional roles to Europol's remit. While, at first glance, the table seems to reinforce such a trend, closer examination provokes a rethink. Occhipinti has ordered the material into distinct time-periods, but has added a final column, entitled 'Future (Potentially)'. Whereas the other columns contain factually accurate conclusions, the final section is little more than the supposition on the part of the author. No context is provided to demonstrate that changes such as Europol being able to make arrests or the European Court of Justice gaining 'full power to make preliminary rulings' are likely to occur in the near future. If anything, the table lends itself to a completely different conclusion, namely that there has been limited progress, at best, towards a federal outcome (if such a development is even desirable, a question left untouched in this volume).

DAVID BROWN

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*Understanding the European Union's External Relations*, edited by M. Knodt and S. Princen (London: Routledge, 2003, ISBN 0415296978); xiv + 221pp., £60.00 hb.

This text on the European Union as an international actor represents the latest volume in the series of *Routledge/ECPR Studies in European Political Science*. It appears at a time when issues such as enlargement, the invasion of Iraq and transatlantic relations have thrust many of the Union's activities and challenges in foreign policy into the international spotlight. The book distinguishes itself from the growing number of writings on EU external relations in two significant ways. It firstly offers a much-needed link between theories of international relations and the organization *sui generis* that is the EU. And, secondly, it cuts across all three 'pillars' – EC, JHA and CFSP – to shed more light on the Union's global position, powers and reach. The collection

is divided into three larger parts, dealing with the evolution of the EU's multi-pillar external policies, the internal and institutional reflections of EU external action and, importantly, the question of the EU as an 'exporter' of values and ideas on a global scale. This last part, in particular, addresses a hitherto much under-researched aspect of EU studies.

In surveying a broad range of contemporary theorizing surrounding EU external relations, the introduction determines the *leitmotiv* question of this text: how can traditional perspectives of international relations, such as constructivist or realist theories, be applied and adapted to, the unique phenomenon that is the EU? The book's 11 contributors handle this challenge with impressive competence and in a variety of ways, which include empirical examination, reflective-theoretical background work and some more eclectic approaches. Thus, the contributions on EU-US relations, the Nice Treaty or Kosovo, will be of interest to those seeking to explain current, often contested, fields of EU external action with reference to a wider environment of EU internal collaboration, external differentiation, foreign policy competencies and actorship. Other chapters offer both familiar and lesser-known frames of reference for EU external action employing, for instance, multi-level game metaphors or the concept of 'framing' in the emergence of a European identity.

Given the EU's ambitious agenda of global promotion of democracy and human rights, the book's emphasis on 'exporting values' is both welcome and necessary in a text of this orientation, particularly as it extends into fields such as fighting transnational organized crime and others. However, a more systematic and comprehensive investigation of the ethics of EU human rights policies or their impact on the Union's relations with the developing world in Africa or Asia would have benefited both the coherence and the topicality of the text. After all, these areas condition much of the contemporary theoretical debate revolving around EU actorship, decision-making and external competencies.

GEORG WIESSALA

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*The European Union and Democratization*, edited by P.J. Kubicek (London: Routledge, 2003, ISBN 0415311365); xi+216pp., £60 hb.

This edited volume brings together a collection of essays that assess the EU's ability to promote democracy in third countries, building on the premise that the existing literature overestimates the success of the EU's intervention, and thus there is a need for more systematic analysis. It identifies the factors that affect the external promotion of democracy by reflecting on the EU's interaction with 'reluctant democratizers' (countries reluctant to promote aspects of political liberalization despite EU encouragement). In this sense, this volume is a useful and refreshing contribution, which will enrich the literature on comparative democratization and the analysis of mechanisms for the intervention of international actors.

Theoretically, this book reflects the constructivist turn in international relations and an attempt to ascertain the rational behaviour of the state when faced with the carrots and sticks offered by an external agent. Hence, the country studies test the

validity of the convergence and conditionality paradigms against several hypotheses. Regarding convergence, the authors maintain the need for resonance between external norms and pre-existing ones; the tension between novelty of environment and nationalistic trends; the higher the status of the persuader, the more effective the influence; spillover builds a momentum for policy shift; transnational networks promote democratization; and a preference for soft tactics. The conditionality model is assessed against a hypothesis checklist which expects the external agent to use sizeable carrots and real sticks; the absence of alternative paths for the target country; transnational networks to promote democratization; and grey zone democracies to confuse policy thus escape sanctions and win benefits.

As with most edited volumes, the introduction and conclusion bring cohesion to a challenging comparative endeavour, given the major differences in domestic environments and in each country's relations with the EU. While the chapter on Latvia focuses on minority issues and the interplay of international agents, the Slovak case echoes the two-level game approach of the Mečiar government. Crowther's contribution reflects on path-dependency mechanisms in Romania, while Smith's reflections on Turkey present credible prospects of EU membership as the anchor for change. Tull's study on Croatia stresses the effect of Tudjman's dictatorial heritage, while Kubicek argues that Ukraine is a model grey zone democracy where rhetoric is the name of the game. Morocco's reluctant democratization is rooted in its monarchy, the Islamic factor and what Dill views as the unclear EU's commitment to democratization.

This comparative study offers a stimulating analytical outcome, which should appeal to academics and practitioners alike: the EU displays varying degrees of success and commitment when promoting democracy amongst reluctant democratizers. Convergence and conditionality methods overlap and complement each other. While the effectiveness of the latter is more easily measured, the hypotheses outlined do not hold true for all countries selected. Yet policy learning should improve the EU's future performance as a champion of democratization.

NIEVES PÉREZ-SOLÓRZANO

*University of East Anglia*

*Institutional, Legal and Economic Aspects of the EMU*, by F. Breuss, G. Fink and S. Griller (Vienna: Springer Verlag, 2003, ISBN 3211838562); viii+346pp., €66.95 pb.

This volume is the most recent in the series of monographs from the Research Institute for European Affairs (IEF) at the Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration. At the beginning of the year, at the time of the formal restructuring of Austrian universities, the IEF was retitled the Europainstitut (EI). As a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, the EI continues to demonstrate leadership in cross-disciplinary evaluation of institutional and policy developments with a core concentration on studying the economic and monetary union (EMU) project. Continuing that tradition, the editors of the current volume are the heads of the three research divisions of the EI: Fritz Breuss, economics; Gerhard Fink, business administration; and Stefan Griller, law. The analysis focuses on the major aspects of the institutional architecture of

EMU with an integrated approach to studying the legal standing of its institutions and the directions for reform of the policy-making structures of the euro area.

The presentation is organized into three main parts which examine the institutional and legal structure of EMU, the accompanying fiscal policy framework, and the prospects and problems in further enlargement of the euro area. The section on the institutional design and theoretical justification for fiscal policy oversight and co-operation within a monetary union is useful to help frame current questions of how the dismantled Stability and Growth Pact might in future be reconstructed, reconfigured, or abandoned for a more efficient and productive institutional system. The segment on future expansion of the euro area, through the admission of recent European Union accession states, offers a relevant but somewhat preliminary analysis of the accompanying costs and benefits. This calculus is stated in terms of measures of business cycle co-integration and fragility of financial systems. As such, readers are given a clear route map for a more complete integration of the financial economies of EMU candidate countries, but are also left without a timetable. A fourth group of three disparate research essays are packaged together. These papers address the short history of monetary policy performance by the ECB, the transformation of the payments system, and a brief look at issues on the international valuation of the new currency.

The breadth of the topics covered and range of methodological approaches used will stretch readers who manage to work their way through the entire monograph. However, they will be rewarded, for the most part, to find the individual research papers are well organized, informative, and at times insightful. As a whole, a mosaic is pieced together to demonstrate the deep and powerful transformation which EMU has brought to the financial and economic systems of the participating countries and the work which remains on the horizon.

DAVID L. CLEETON  
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*Transport Policy in the European Union*, by H. Stevens (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004, ISBN 0 333 79356 0); 276pp., £18.50 pb.

This well-researched study makes a significant contribution to our understanding of a complex and under-researched European policy sector: transport. The book begins by sketching a four-dimensional model of transport policy-making. The author suggests that the practical environment of transport operations, the political environment inhabited by ministers and officials, and the organizational environment of collective structures each has its own separate existence, but equally interacts with the other two environments, within the fourth dimension of time, to generate policies. Against this background, Chapter 3 examines the historical development of the main features of a common transport policy since about 1952, whilst Chapter 4 explores the general process by which EU transport policy and legislation take shape. Chapter 5 assesses inland transport modes (rail, road and inland waterway), followed by sea and air transport in Chapters 6 and 7, and transport infrastructure in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 then examines the contest which has taken place between the two major paradigms

of transport policy, characterized as Continental and Anglo-Saxon, the one stressing the harmonization of competitive conditions and co-operation among transport providers under the tutelage of the public sector, whilst the other favours competition between providers within the private sector. Chapter 10 maps the growing dominance of the supranational institutions of the EU over the intergovernmental organizations, which have occupied the field for many decades. The concluding chapter then tests the relevance and validity of the proposed four-dimensional model.

Theoretically, the author argues that none of the theories of European integration (EI) – neofunctionalism, liberal intergovernmentalism and the various versions of institutionalism – captures satisfactorily the full complexity of the policy-making process. Unfortunately, Stevens asserts rather than demonstrates that the explanatory power of each theory within the appropriate environmental context makes it easier to see the theoretical explanations as complementary rather than in competition with one another. A testing of hypotheses systematically derived from and within the different approaches to the process of EI would have been more convincing. He also bypasses here the interesting debates surrounding this argument of combination.

However, the book is informative, and clearly structured. The author shows that transport policies are subject to a very wide range of pressures which pull in different directions – practical, political, organizational, national and international, social and economic. All in all, it is by far the most comprehensive study of transport policy in the European Union and leaves us with an opportunity for further theory-guided discussion of this policy field.

MICHAEL KAEDING  
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*The Politics and Government of Switzerland*, by C.H. Church (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004, 0333692772); xiv+285pp., £50.00 hb.

This textbook with its various informative annexes provides one of the very few English-language studies of contemporary Swiss politics. Written by Britain's leading expert on Switzerland, it provides a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the political actors, institutions, processes and outputs of the Swiss political system. In fact, occasional comparisons seem to indicate that the author particularly aims at a British audience. From an outside perspective, Church tries to 'demystify' the prevailing vision of the country as a harmonious but sleepy backwater. He shows that developments since the late 1980s such as the end of the cold war, accelerating globalization and the relaunch of European integration have put the Swiss system under strain, rendering politics more strident and divisive, over both domestic and foreign issues. In the 1990s, Swiss society experienced its first real post-war economic downturn and encountered difficulties in financing welfare and providing social cohesion. Hence, Church argues, Switzerland today is less of a special case and more of a vibrant and pluralist polity, in which politics are increasingly competitive. However, it still retains some distinctive characteristics like direct democracy and strong federalism. The author's diagnosis was proved right by the elections to the Federal Council in December 2003, which for the first time gave the Swiss People's

Party a second seat and thus changed the coalition government's long-standing 'magic formula'. In contrast to traditional comparative works, Church classifies Swiss politics as a 'governance system', 'held together and driven forward by a combination of institutional factors and a significant and largely supportive political culture' (p. 179). Given its bottom-up nature, this system is 'multilevel, pluralist and operating with a very fluid boundary between public and private sectors' (p. 181). The governance approach is not only a topical but also a promising research avenue away from the usual static analyses and comparisons. Unfortunately, many of the German expressions explained in the glossary and used in the text are misspelt, and throughout the text precise references are lacking. Even though less systematic and more descriptive than the standard comparative politics literature, the book offers a highly readable narrative which succeeds in conferring a feeling for the fabric holding Switzerland together, instead of merely using certain Swiss features as a showcase for typologies. 'Understanding Swiss Politics' would have been a more appropriate title for this work.

SIEGLINDE GSTÖHL  
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*European Integration Theory*, edited by A. Wiener and T. Diez (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, ISBN 0199252483); xvi+290pp., £18.99 pb.

This edited volume brings together contributions by leading experts in European integration theory, providing a useful addition to the growing literature in this field. It aims to be an introduction to as well as an overview of integration theory, taking stock of its achievements and problems to date. Some of the authors were eminent in spelling out 'their' theoretical approach (e.g. Schmitter: neofunctionalism, Kohler-Koch: multi-level governance approach). While the editors account for a comprehensive introduction and concluding remarks, each author sketches out the origins of the theoretical approach under examination, and its substantial arguments, as well as its development over time. But what makes this volume particularly valuable, and well suited as a textbook for advanced undergraduates and interested scholars? There are two main features: first, each contribution includes a section which illustrates the explanatory value of a particular theoretical approach at its best ('best case') and, second, it tests the theory against the backdrop of EU enlargement as a 'test case'.

The book is divided into three parts to illustrate integration theory along the lines of three decisive phases 'meant to identify the emergence, development and, at times, the dominance of particular theoretical tendencies' (p. 6). The first phase (1960s onwards) – following the normative period of early functionalism – is characterized by theoretical efforts to 'explain regional integration' (dependent variable). The second phase (1980s onwards) is much more concerned about the polity of the EU system (independent variable) and how it operates ('analysing European governance'). Last, but not least, a third phase (1990s onwards) focuses on questions of 'constructing Europe' as a consequence of increasing politicization within the political system of the EU. Emphasizing the constitutive role of social practices and legitimacy in

supranational politics, constructivist approaches seem to be sufficiently equipped to address the constitutional turn in European integration.

Some readers may of course feel uneasy about the disproportionate weight attributed to concepts of social constructivism in the field of integration theory. Thus he or she may wish that the editors had elaborated somewhat more on their plea in favour of 'European integration theory as a mosaic' (pp. 20, 242). Still, Wiener and Diez provide a well-written and excellently organized book with consistently high standards of scholarship across all chapters.

STEFAN GÄNZLE

*Friedrich Schiller University of Jena*

*Greece in the European Union*, edited by D.G. Dimitrakopoulos and A.G. Passas (London: Routledge, 2004, ISBN 0415258111); 164pp., £55.00 hb.

The concept of 'Europeanization', which in recent years has gained such momentum is increasingly linked with the process of European integration and the interaction between the EU and its Member or prospective Member States. Greece as a national case study of Europeanization is an intriguing and interesting example of a country which has been dramatically affected by its membership of the EC/EU, but which has also exhibited resistance to EU change and reform. Mainstream literature on the issue of Greek membership of the EU assumes that the latter has enhanced, overall, the Europeanization, democratization and modernization of the country. Dimitrakopoulos and Passas challenge the notion of Europeanization on the grounds of public policy in Greece, by discussing how EU membership has altered traditional patterns of policy-making behaviour characterized by clientelism and aversion to meritocracy. They argue that sectoral analysis can provide us with a better picture of the actual reform undertaken in specific governmental areas. The areas of policy-making discussed are: agricultural policy (Pezaros) and regional policy (Andrikopoulou and Kafkalas), two sectors that represent the distributive power of the EU; environment (Giannakourou) and social policy (Yannakourou), two sectors that represent its regulative power; and two constituent policies in the foreign relations fields (Couloumbis and Dalis) and EMU (Andreou and Koutsiaras). These sector analyses are complemented by a study of public opinion and the linkage between public attitudes and EU-related policy changes (Mavris).

The book is a useful addition to the literature of Europeanization, focusing on attitudes to change, be that of public officials or the Greek public at large. It addresses the actual impact of reforms by asking why and how reforms are implemented or not implemented. The general conclusion is that all Greek policy-making governmental sectors share a common legacy of a strong state, weak civil society, a mentality of short termism and a difficulty of building consensus politics. Moreover, a passive rather than proactive attitude on the part of civil servants delays the process of change and adaptation to the exigencies of the EU and the international system. But the main argument is that the impact of membership on national policy is also likely to vary across sectors and policies, through different degrees of compliance or resistance to change. Although this volume lacks comparison with sectoral behaviour in other EU

member countries, its main contribution is its methodology and its fresh approach towards sectoral or sub-sectoral analysis. This approach can be particularly relevant for the study of policy change and the process of adaptation in the new Member States from the east.

OTHON ANASTASAKIS  
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*The European Union and British Politics*, by A. Geddes (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004, ISBN 0333981219); xv+252pp., £16.99 pb.

In a field filled with textbooks on the EU that focus on the institutions and policies of the Union, it is refreshing to find a book that eschews this overly EU-centred focus and seeks to present a more subtle and nuanced analysis of Britain's relationship with the European Union. To this end, the author examines Britain's 'conditional and differential' engagement with the EU through two particular themes: examining Britain's role in shaping, not always successfully, the Union's development and assessing the role that European integration has played in British domestic politics. Geddes's analysis seeks to show how these two themes are engaged in a dynamic process that transforms both the process of European integration and domestic political debates. The author suggests that British governments, despite appearing sometimes detached and at other times awkward, have 'consciously chosen' European integration with the effects of such decisions providing a source of transformation in the nature of domestic political debates and institutional structures. This process of Europeanization offers the potential to understand the dialectical relationships of political change at the European and national level in a far more theoretically informed manner than has previously been adopted by either European specialists or political scientists concerned with domestic affairs.

This line of analysis is pursued through chapters that examine the historical, institutional and policy tensions that have shaped the UK's engagement with the EU. There is also a chapter on public attitudes and media representation in Europe. These chapters demonstrate some consistent themes in Britain's engagement with the EU which are its preference for intergovernmentalism, global free trade and the emphasis placed on the Atlantic alliance. Geddes sees these preferences as a source of Britain's inability to bring itself fully into the heart of Europe. These preferences are said to have filled Britain with doubt about what it wants from the EU. This half-hearted engagement has had the effect of limiting Britain's ability to get its preferences into the EU's priorities and to act as an effective European player. In terms of the domestic impacts of EU membership, Geddes argues that the effects of European integration on the British political system have not been uni-directional, but rather have been refracted so that the basic principles of Whitehall have been retained in the UK's adaptation to European integration.

Written in a clear and accessible style, Geddes has produced an excellent book that will be required reading for students on EU and British politics courses.

PHILIP CATNEY  
*University of Sheffield*

*Britain and Europe since 1945: Historiographical Perspectives on Integration*, by O. J. Daddow (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2004, ISBN 0719061377); xii+252pp., £47.50 hb.

As a reader alert to subtitles will at once realize, Oliver Daddow's book is less concerned with narrating the story of Britain's relationship with her European neighbours since 1945 than with relating how British public and academic historians have narrated it. His central observation is that this topic has given rise to three distinct historiographical 'schools'. The first of these is the 'missed opportunity' school. Historians and writers belonging to this school, of whom Miriam Camps is the most salient figure, have 'by dint of repetition' made the discourse of missed opportunities the 'interpretative paradigm of choice' for British public intellectuals and the political class. Britain, it is argued, threw away the post-war leadership of Europe by its suspicion of the Schuman plan and the common market, and its attitude to European integration has been characterized ever since by an unseemly wariness that has won few friends. Since the 1980s, this interpretation has been gnawed away by a 'revisionist' interpretation advanced by a group of archive historians (Anne Deighton, John Baylis, John Kent, John Young) who have argued that British leaders did not really miss the European bus so much as fail to realize that it was there to be caught. Moreover, even if Britain had boarded the bus, the other passengers would still have been reluctant to let it get behind the wheel. The third school (though Daddow himself says that it may be an overstatement to call it a school as yet) might be termed 'post-revisionism'. These historians are more interested in the 'individual, departmental, governmental, non-governmental, interest group, media and international influences' at work on Britain's European policy. Insofar as they have reached a conclusion, it is that British policy was a messy, improvised process of 'muddling through', that Britain counted for even less in world politics than the revisionists thought it did, and that individual agents counted for a great deal.

This portrayal of the historiography of Britain's relations with the EC is a convincing one, though, like all models, a little oversimplified. What is less convincing in this book is Daddow's strident post-modernism. He regards the historiography produced by these three schools as being merely a construction of the historians' ideological sympathies, personal ambitions and the structural constraints (archives, the RAE, external readers, etc.), under which they work. The question that he does not directly answer is whether we actually know more than we used to about Britain's relations with Europe since 1945 as a result of these schools' labours. I think the answer is that we plainly do have a richer picture than we did 20 years ago. We certainly don't just have sets of competing stories, which is the implication of Daddow's book. Daddow is right to say that what we know is conditional and deeply contingent upon what historians have so far chosen to research and publish (and that their research agendas can be driven by factors other than the love of truth), but it does not follow from this that we should give up on the idea that empirical research can provide us with more sophisticated and nuanced understandings of 'what really happened'. Britain and Europe since 1945 is ultimately too partisan. Daddow cites the main post-modernist scholars dozens of times, with the enthusiasm of a convert, but does not

address the cogent arguments that have been made against the 'post-modernist turn' by a host of thoughtful historians of all political and academic persuasions. As a result, the methodological sections of this book have an air of dogmatism that was probably far from the author's intentions. They are, however, expressed in good, clear English. For a post-modernist work, this may be a first.

MARK GILBERT  
*University of Trento*

*The Accidental Constitution: The Story of the European Convention*, by P. Norman (Brussels: Eurocomment, 2003, ISBN 9077110054); xiv+408pp., €35.00 pb.

Whether one accepts or not that the European Convention produced a constitution, and an accidental one at that, Peter Norman's book provides an excellent account of the European Convention's work. As the subtitle indicates, the book is very much a story, so lacks any real engagement with academic debates about the dynamics of either the European Convention *per se* or treaty reform more generally. But nevertheless, it is an invaluable tool for understanding how the European Convention produced the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe presented to the European Council in July 2003.

The book starts with the context and in particular the call for a debate on the future of Europe heralded in the Treaty of Nice before moving swiftly on to discuss the establishment and structure of the European Convention and the key issues being debated. This takes up a third of the book. The remainder charts the emergence, amidst 'splits', 'paralysis' and the threat of failure, of the final text. Norman then presents a brief assessment of the document – viewed very much as 'a synthesis not compromise' – before including in a series of annexes the full text, with comments, of Part I and key excerpts from later sections of the 'Accidental Constitution'.

As with any good story, Norman, a respected *Financial Times* journalist who attended every session of the European Convention, focuses not only on events but also on characters. Particular attention is given throughout, and understandably so, to the Convention's President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing whose 'skill', 'authority' and 'audacity' steered the Convention towards consensus. But the dramatis personæ includes a host of others, notably Giscard's Vice-Presidents (Amato and Dehaene) and behind-the-scenes 'fixer' (Kerr) as well as other 'movers and shakers': representatives of national governments (notably Hain, Palacio, Dastis and, later, Fischer and de Villepin), of the European Parliament (Brok, Duff, Hänsch, Lamassoure, Méndez de Vigo), of national parliaments (Bruton, Dini) and of the European Commission (Barnier, Vitorino). The influence that political leaders (notably Blair, Chirac, Schröder and Verhofstadt), at times distracted by Iraq, had on the outcome is also acknowledged.

Norman's story facilitates understanding of what happened (although a full index as opposed to one limited to names would have been welcome). Obviously, it does not – indeed cannot – tell the entire story, saying, for example, little about the involvement and impact of actors beyond the main 'movers and shakers'. Other volumes, such as those by Dauvergne, Kiljunen and Lamassoure, are helping to fill some gaps. It could also be accused of mild UK-centrism. However, as a starting point for research on the European Convention, *The Accidental Constitution* is unlikely to be rivalled.

DAVID PHINNEMORE  
*Queen's University Belfast*

*The European Parliament*, by D. Judge and D. Earnshaw (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003, ISBN 0333598741); xii+355pp., £18.50 pb.

Judge and Earnshaw's book provides a highly comprehensive and critical account of the burgeoning literature on the European Parliament (EP), its powers, members and relations with other EU bodies. The book goes beyond merely reviewing extant research to consider each of the EP's functions in comparative terms. The authors employ Mezey's well-known classification of parliaments to examine the power of the EP in policy-making, budgetary affairs and control over the European Commission and other institutions. Other classic studies from the comparative literature are used to analyse the nature of representation and the role of parties and committees in the EP. In this regard, the authors emphasize the need to study the EP in terms of its relations with other institutions, the systemic context in which it operates, and the variety of functions it performs (p. 16). Such an approach leads them to analyse the extent to which the EU has been 'parliamentarized' over time.

Across nine chapters, Judge and Earnshaw cover major academic debates on the EP, such as the problem of low turnout in European elections, the lobbying of the EP, coalition formation among the party groups, and the role of EP committees. A highlight of the book is its discussion of the EP's influence in policy-making. The relevant chapter brings together the quantitative and qualitative literature on this subject and draws heavily on much of the authors' own work in this area. The conflict between the predictions of rational choice modelling and qualitative case studies is brought out here with the authors cautioning against overlooking the informal processes at work in the inter-institutional game of EU legislative politics. The book also describes aspects of the EP seldom discussed in detail elsewhere, such as the 1999 review of committees or the EP's hearings held with prospective candidates for the European Commission in 1995 and 1999. Those with undergraduate or postgraduate reading lists in mind will find much in the authors' succinct summaries of sophisticated literature and in their ability to set out simply, among other things, the notoriously complex co-decision procedure. Overall, this is a comprehensive text that is firmly rooted in the advanced literature on the European Parliament and is essential reading for scholars of the EP and of democracy and institutions in the EU.

RICHARD WHITAKER  
*University of Leicester*

*A Certain Idea of Europe*, by C. Parsons (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2003, ISBN 0801440866); 249pp., £23.95 hb.

The recent European Union enlargement which brought the number of Member States from 15 to 25 has rekindled the debate about the origins as much as about the future of the European integration process. The enthusiasm and idealism among many of the new Member States contrasts sharply with the disappointment and sense of frustration surrounding the collapse of the constitutional talks in Brussels merely half a year before. These divergent sentiments are symptomatic of two different ways of understanding the dynamics of the integration process: on the one hand one finds the widely-held explanation that European integration has been the result of economic bargaining and fights for self-interest. Where national interests differ too widely, the integration process breaks down. On the other hand, as Parsons advocates, European integration can be viewed as the outcome of the interplay of ideas and visions of Europe, which have proved far more significant in shaping the European Union than mere economic rationality.

Parsons argues that today's European Union reflects the ideological project of an elite minority. He bases this argument on a study of France by tracing the progressive victory of the integration project in France, where the battle over European institutions erupted most divisively. The core of his argument about the centrality of ideas is convincing, as the examples of the choice of a supranational Commission, the decision to have a common agricultural policy and a single currency demonstrate, all of which would not have come about on the grounds of purely economic reasoning and national self-interest.

While the argument is a welcome balance to the current trend of predominantly economic reasoning, it is by no means novel. Much of the early literature about European integration reflects on the impact of ideas and visions, and the main achievement of Parson's study in comparison with this older material is that he is in a position to argue a case, the French case, over a period of half a century. However, the benefits are somewhat diminished by the fact that the author, despite having carried out extensive archival research and numerous interviews, relies heavily on narrative based on secondary sources. Yet, the emphasis on ideas as cause of and motivation for choice and thus political and institutional designs is a compelling one. Whether visions of an integrated Europe will provide as much momentum to the current constitutional debates as they have fuelled the pattern of integration hitherto, remains to be seen. It appears doubtful in view of the magnitude of economic challenges ahead and the variety of ideas across the enlarged European Union.

SABINE LEE

*University of Birmingham*

*The Political Dynamics of Constitutional Reform: Reflections on the Convention on the Future of Europe*, edited by A. Michalski (The Hague: Clingendael Institute, 2004, ISBN 9050310893); 136pp., €12.50 pb.

The book is a collection of nine essays emerging from a seminar devoted to the study of the European Convention organized by the Clingendael Institute at the beginning

of June 2003. The volume presents interesting insights into the 18 months of negotiations in the Convention that preceded the recently concluded intergovernmental conference. Most of the chapters included in the book deal with either the internal dynamics characterizing the Convention, or the implications of the draft Treaty presented by the Convention on the Future of the EU.

Mark Gray's analysis of the developments preceding the adoption of the draft Treaty is perhaps the most interesting chapter concerning the internal dynamics. He expounds the complexity of the Convention's procedures, showing that informal channels played an important role in the elaboration of proposals and compromises. Among the relevant actors in this process were not only the Convention's official organs, but also ad hoc networks built around particular personalities such as Giuliano Amato, Jean-Luc Dehaene, and António Vitorino among others. Gray also demonstrates that the President, the Præsidium, and the Secretariat were all essential for the success of the Convention. With regard to the implications of the draft Treaty, most authors express some scepticism about the adequacy of the results achieved. Kirsty Hughes explicitly compares the outcome of the Convention on institutional issues with the objectives set out in the Laeken declaration, and comes to the conclusion that the draft Treaty does not live up to these objectives. Helen Wallace demonstrates that the draft Treaty fails adequately to equip the EU for the future, and criticizes the Convention for lacking the courage to tackle seriously the institutional shortcomings of the EU. In her opinion, the institutional reform proposed by the Convention does not suffice to maintain the European institutions' effectiveness in the face of enlargement.

The volume's treatment of very recent developments in the EU is both an advantage and a reason for the shortcomings of the book. On the one hand, the volume provides exhaustive and not yet published information about the work of the Convention, which will definitely help advance our understanding of this experiment. On the other hand, the fact that the topics are so recent limits the depth of the analysis provided in most of the chapters. Nevertheless, at least one conclusion will probably stand up to later research: that although the Convention method has some virtues in comparison with traditional intergovernmental negotiations, the way in which the work was conducted in the Convention and in which the results were achieved remains open to criticism. In sum, I recommend this volume to all interested in the constitutional politics of the EU.

GEMMA MATEO GONZÁLEZ

*Mannheim Centre for European Social Studies*

*Sécurité et justice: enjeu de la politique extérieure de l'Union européenne*, edited by G. de Kerchove and A. Weyembergh (Brussels: University of Brussels, 2003, ISBN 2800413212); xii+325pp., €30.00 pb.

The contributions to this edition address the impact of enlargement on justice and home affairs and external relations in criminal matters. They conclude that enlargement has reinforced calls to accelerate the evolution of justice and home affairs (JHA). Gilles de Kerchove speaks of an evident dynamism and links this process to external

relations in this area. The logic is that enlargement changes the geography of the external borders. New and deeper relations need to be built with the new neighbours to safeguard the external borders of the EU and enhance interior security. Problems are rooted in a lack of efficient co-operation between Member States and the restrictions of the pillar structure that prevent coherent and transparent legislation.

Wenceslas de Lobkowicz addresses the problems the new Member States had with the Accession Treaty and the requirement to implement the community *acquis* into national laws. Kirstyn Inglis examines the Accession Treaty in more detail and concludes that the two safeguard clauses on the internal market and JHA indicate that these may be considered as priority areas. Contributions by Olivier de Schutter and Guy Stressens address the important implications of JHA issues on fundamental rights. While de Schutter looks at the internal implications, Guy Stressens looks at mutual legal assistance and the problem of death penalty cases. Both contributions highlight the added value of the Union in these areas.

The question of efficiencies of scale is not directly raised by any of the contributors but it is an underlying theme of the debate. In the postface, JHA Commissioner Vitorino stresses the progress made in negotiations with the US and the importance of working together on a global basis. His references to the controversial negotiations on the exchange of passenger data indicate the importance attached by the Commission to the partnership with the US.

On balance, this collection of essays is a welcome contribution to the important debate on the future of JHA. The contributions reflect the nature of the debate as well as the shortcomings. Very few of the contributions touch on the human rights implications.

Commissioner Vitorino is right when he stresses that the EU and the US have a key common objective. It should be expressed more explicitly that the nature of the common objective cannot be security for its own sake, but security to protect the western values of freedom, democracy and the rule of law.

JAN DORMANN  
*University of Manchester*

*Built to Last: A Political Architecture for Europe*, by E. Berglöf, B. Eichengreen, G. Roland, G. Tabellini and C. Wyplosz (London: Centre for Economic Policy Research, 2003, ISBN 1898128642); xviii+80pp., £25.00 pb.

This book, the twelfth in the Centre for Economic Policy Research's 'Monitoring European Integration' series, is a thin but timely assessment of the institutional and procedural choices available to the architects of the European Union's anticipated new constitution. Arguing that the EU today suffers from decades of prioritizing economic integration over the construction of supporting political institutions, the contributors essentially ask the oldest question of political science – what is the ideal form of the polity? – and seek answers in alternatives emerging from the European Constitutional Convention.

Attempting to provide readers with a parsimonious framework within which to assess the political pressures and economic logic of different institutional

configurations and decision-making models, Bergl of *et al.* identify two broad models – parliamentary and presidential governance – and endeavour systematically to assess the relative merits of each for twenty-first-century EU democracy. Never shy to advocate a certain path forward, the authors contend that reform of either parliamentary or presidential type must maximize four essential criteria: accountability, representation, effectiveness and efficiency. In four chapters the book makes the case for a presidential regime in the EU, with advantages in executive effectiveness and accountability ultimately outweighing disadvantages in representation and efficiency (these latter qualities being the strengths of parliamentary regimes). Among the authors' most compelling suggestions is the election of the Commission President via a college of country representatives, with each Member State free to decide how its representatives are chosen. In exchange for this new presidential power, the Commission would relinquish its exclusive right to propose legislation (ceding some of this right to the European Parliament). An empowered but more accountable Commission should, the authors suggest, be granted new authority in the areas of internal and external security and foreign policy; these advances would, however, be balanced by the Commission's retreat from other areas such as fiscal policy, redistribution and taxation. Contending 'Europe needs both more and less centralization and more and less executive authority' (p. 63), the authors caution against lowest-common-denominator solutions and insist on creating a constitution that maximizes short-term flexibility to enhance long-term success (e.g. have the Constitution come into force on ratification by a qualified majority of Member States, rather than insisting on all 25).

All told, this book is accessible and direct in pursuit of its objectives. It should find a ready audience among public and private-sector decision-makers weighing Europe's contending institutional options. The book assumes a measure of existing knowledge about the EU and should therefore not be treated as background reading for the uninitiated. Likewise, scholars already well versed in the intricacies of the EU's constitutional wrangling will find little new here. What they will find is clear argumentation, empirical support for the necessity of enhanced democratic legitimacy, and sober advice on the importance of building an EU whose foundation will endure.

WILLIAM M. DOWNS  
*Georgia State University*

*Contesting Capitalism? Left Parties and European Integration*, by R. Dunphy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, ISBN 0719068045); ix+198pp., £14.99 pb.

This is a welcome addition to the literature on political parties and European integration. It focuses on the parties to the left of social democracy – communists, 'new left' and 'green left' – parties that, according to the author, 'contest capitalism'. Chapter 1 offers an excellent overview of the theoretical literature on left visions of European integration, outlining the main left critiques of the European Union (EU). It also highlights some of the strategies advocated to turn the EU from an undemocratic 'capitalist club' into a red-green United States of Europe with the power to challenge

the hegemonic position of the USA. Chapter 2 goes on to provide the historical context focusing in particular on Eurocommunism, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the problems faced by left parties in establishing transnational links in the European Parliament. There then follow eight well-researched case study chapters which examine how each party's European policy has developed and/or changed during recent years.

One of the particular strengths of the book is the comparative chapter in which Dunphy compares the debates of the left parties to those of the Greens and the Social Democrats, their biggest rivals. The book then concludes with a useful analysis of ten issues that have emerged as central to the European orientation of Left parties. This leads me to my main criticism. Whilst this analysis was useful, I would have liked to see a more systematic comparison between the case studies. In particular Dunphy could have returned to and made more of the checklist of seven factors that help us understand how parties' perceptions of European integration change and evolve, as identified by Johansson and Raunio. It would have also helped if the author had provided an overview of the main ideological similarities and differences between these parties, so that the reader could be clear what distinguishes a communist party from a green left party.

This book is relevant for students who want an introduction to the attitudes of the eight case study parties to European integration. However the fact that it fills a significant gap in the literature on political parties and European integration means that it should be read by anyone interested in political parties.

SIMON LIGHTFOOT

*Liverpool John Moores University*

*Les Modes de représentation dans l'Union Européenne*, edited by S. Saurugger (Paris: l'Harmattan, 2003, ISBN 2747540227); 304pp., €24 pb.

The issue of representation in the European Community is closely linked to the so-called 'democratic deficit' in the EU which is usually blamed on the European Parliament's weak legislative powers and on voter apathy. However, this book seeks to show that the issue of representation in the EU involves more than a weak parliament and passive voters. Bringing together the thoughts of a dozen, mainly French, academic researchers, the book looks at the concept of representation in the EU from a sociological perspective. Wanting to see if the concept of Community representation can be used as an heuristic tool, contributors use empirical analyses of various modes of Community representation to examine the issue of legitimacy in the EU.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I focuses on the electoral mode of representation and Part II on broader conceptions of Community representation. Drawing on *Eurobarometer* surveys and on basic arguments about voter turnout and EP elections as 'second order' contests, Bruno Cautrès draws attention to the importance of representation in the politics of the EU. Looking at representation through the political parties' lens, Karine Cabrol examines the Scottish National Party's partisan strategy of Europeanization, and Pascal Delwit looks at European party groups, which he claims do not represent national party politics. Questioning the

ability of MEPs to fulfil their representative function within the complex and unique institutional context of the EU, Olivier Costa and Julien Navarro suggest building on Scully and Farrell's earlier research by evaluating how MEPs perceive their mandate and representation functions. Philippa Sherrington concludes Part I with an examination of the public and private aspects of the Council of Ministers' representation role.

Part II asks whether Community representation can be conceived in terms of a process of legitimation through expertise, problem-solving, control, and participation by multiple policy actors at different stages of the decision-making process. François Forêt focuses on how the Commission presents itself to citizens through symbols. Andy Smith and Jean Joanna look at the composition, policy-making role, and image of European Commissioners as political representatives and policy-makers. Julien Weisbein views representation in terms of citizen mobilization via associations and NGOs, whereas Stijn Smismans narrows the focus to the Advisory Committee for Safety, Hygiene and Health Protection at Work. Finally, Claudio Radaelli concludes the volume with a broad discussion of the representation of expertise in the EU policy process.

EU specialists will not find a great deal of 'value added' content in this book. Long on questions but short on answers, this volume seems targeted at an audience of non-English readers. The editor acknowledges that the book represents the sum of individual conference contributions and discussions by a group of academics refl.15.005 Teted atos

that is, the elaboration and analysis of national policies towards the EU and the impact of membership on the domestic system. Thematically, the book is divided into three parts in which the authors assess and evaluate the impact of the EU on Spanish politics, polity and policy. The resulting content of the book ensures that it makes a valuable contribution to the burgeoning literature on the Europeanization of domestic politics and systems.

The authors show clear evidence of Europeanization of varying degrees, yet at the same time this process has allowed for 'the recuperation of a genuinely national project' – the economic and political modernization of Spain. EU membership has helped shape Spanish territorial politics, affecting the role of the autonomous communities in the domestic system, and has considerably influenced economic, regional and foreign policies, but at the same time it has allowed successive Spanish governments to use the EU as an effective arena for the resolution of specific domestic issues, such as combating domestic terrorism. Careful empirical analysis also shows that successive Spanish governments have not been shy in fighting for the national interest at EU-level negotiations, while at the same time displaying support for the European project itself (although this support became more nuanced under the Aznar administrations). As this book was published before the 2004 elections, it cannot assess the impact of the Socialist victory. Nevertheless, it does provide considerable food for thought on the future of Spain in the EU. By its very nature, the book's focus is on Spain's adaptation to EU membership, yet it would have been interesting if the authors had included their assessment of lessons to be learned from the Spanish experience for the ten new Member States who joined the European family in May 2004, in addition to their thoughts on Spain's relationship with its southern EU partner, Portugal.

JANE O'MAHONY  
*University of Kent*

*The Future of Money*, by B.J. Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, ISBN 0691116652); xxiv+294pp., £19.95 hb.

Financial globalization means, among other things, that states increasingly compete with each other with a view to supplying world markets with their own monies. The spatial organization of monies has changed radically over the last 30 years and the many diverse monies are caught up in an intense Darwinian struggle for survival. This does not mean, however, that we will see fewer monies in the future – on the contrary, 'the global population of currencies is set to expand greatly, not contract, making monetary governance more difficult rather than less' (p. xiii). There are two reasons why we should expect a hitherto unforeseen plurality of monies. First, the existence of national currencies is very strongly linked to national interest and sovereignty. Cohen argues that states will simply not allow their currencies to disappear. Second, the private sector will start to issue money to a much larger extent than today. According to Cohen, frequent flier bonus schemes are just one set of examples of an electronic unit of payment that has all the functions of ordinary monies.

This is a refreshing, thought-provoking and easy to read book on a subject that is highly relevant to students of European monetary integration. In Cohen's perspective, the EMU can be seen as the 'exception that proves the rule' (p. 159). Curiously enough, despite the fact that economic arguments are clearly not enough to sustain monetary integration, some of the world's most prosperous and powerful states have, against expectations, pooled their monetary sovereignty and, consequently, replaced their national monies with the euro. Only because EU members share a strong sense of political community, according to Cohen, can the euro be seen as the one and only future competitor to world domination of the US dollar.

However, Cohen's account also opens up another perspective on the euro. History is loaded with examples of currency unions that failed. At present it is easy to find examples of regions where states unsuccessfully struggle to establish currency unions. This leads to the natural question of how stable the EMU really is. Is the EMU bound to fall apart, thereby really being the exception that proves Cohen's rule? Cohen's indecisiveness on this point may explain why he, on the one hand, predicts that the UK, Denmark and Sweden are expected to join EMU (p. 92) while, on the other hand, he concludes that there is little prospect that they change their mind about their euro-outsider status any time soon (p. 160).

MARTIN MARCUSSEN  
*Copenhagen University*

*Monetary Policy Transmission in the Euro Area*, edited by I. Angeloni, A. Kashyap and B. Mojon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, ISBN 0521828643); xv+497pp., £60.00 hb.

The quest for financial stability, as a key determinant of self-sustainable development, is the 'Holy Grail' of modern economics. Thus, in any analysis of the impact of monetary and financial variables, it is placed in the 'first line' of economic theory. And when the topic is the monetary transmission process in a monetary union, the battlefield is a veritable *terra incognita*.

The book is an extensive set of studies which covers the euro area as a whole, as well as its individual components. A complex of analytical methodologies, from 'concentrated' VARs to structural models, is involved in a homogeneous way and an important dataset serves as a robust empirical base. The dominance of the interest rate channel (IRC) in the transmission of monetary policy shocks is set out as the 'null hypothesis' of the entire approach. While the conclusions about the consistency of this hypothesis are, not surprisingly in an fragmented financial and real environment like the euro area, somehow ambiguous ('our reading of the evidence is that the IRC, while not playing an exclusive role, is clearly a prominent channel of transmission', p. 410), the adoption of the IRC framework provides a fruitful choice for a rigorous step-by-step analysis.

Due to the complexity of the problematic, there could be some enlightening caveats. For instance, as Monticelli noticed (ch. 25), a greater emphasis on the 'expectations channel' and 'real balance channel' could be preferable. Also, there are only a few

remarks about the effects of the uncertainty induced by the monetary policy of the euro-system itself, and also by the changing role of the euro inside the architecture of the international financial system. But this limitation does not endanger the solidity of the analysis.

From our point of view, the massive research effort incorporated in this book provides substantial evidence in favour of the thesis on the asymmetric effects of monetary policy inside a monetary union. This asymmetry is induced via the different behaviour of the economic subjects from different regions of the Union and it is caused by the deepened characteristics of the imperfectly unified economic space, which serves as the background for the monetary mechanisms. The problem of the asymmetry implications in the conception and implementation process of the monetary policy will remain an open question. Overall the book is a well balanced, clear and sophisticated analysis and a stimulating read. Briefly, a masterpiece.

BOGDAN DIMA

*West University of Timisoara*

*European Union Enlargement*, edited by N. Nugent (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004, ISBN 1403913536); xvi+312pp., £18.50.

This collective volume is a contribution to the recent wave of studies on EU enlargement to central and eastern Europe (and the two Mediterranean islands). The authors take advantage of the two circumstances: the finalization of the accession negotiations which allows a better picture of the 10 plus 2 enlargement process to be presented, and the accumulation of both theoretical and descriptive literature on EU enlargement which provides tools and material for addressing the challenges involved. The book covers most of the currently debated issues and addresses them in a consistent and structured way, starting with the contextual and explanatory questions, then dealing with different dimensions of enlargement and concluding with a return to the theoretical debates and a summary of the implications for the Union.

The analysis presented in the book is constructed on the basis of the opportunities and challenges that an enlarged EU is facing with a particular focus on the effects of enlargement on the future functioning of the Union. This research focus shows the limited theoretical ambitions of the authors. Although the theoretical approaches to the enlargement of the EU are very briefly presented in the introductory chapter and more extensively considered in one of the concluding chapters, most chapters do not attempt to contribute to the theoretical debates on the enlargement of international organizations, its motives and effects. At the same time, taking into account that questions about the institutional, political, economic and social effects of the current enlargement are inevitably future oriented and therefore surrounded by great uncertainty, the choice of analytical angle is quite understandable. The variety of the enlargement-related issues discussed in the book provides a very rich picture of the process. However, it also limits the depth of analysis and sometimes leaves the reader wishing that some points and arguments were developed further. Also, sometimes attention to the Member States – both old and new – overshadows the main analytical

question about the effects of enlargement on the Union (although sometimes the analysis of the former is required to explain the latter). Nevertheless, this volume provides a very good (broad and up-to-date) picture of EU enlargement, its effects and implications for the Union. It should be a useful addition to any course on enlargement and the future functioning of the European Union.

RAMUNAS VILPISAUSKAS  
*Vilnius University*

*Technology, Television and Competition: The Politics of Digital TV*, by J.A. Hart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, ISBN 0 521 82624 1); xiv+248pp., £40 hb.

When I was approached to write a review of this book, I wondered whether I was competent to do this, not having a technology background. Reading it, I realized that this work has a contribution to make to the understanding of my field, the political economy. The contents examine the interplay between technology, competition and business strategy.

The book aims to provide an insight into digitalization issues. It focuses on HDTV and DTV, as a valid case of the broader transition in the field, and analyses the standards war on an international scale. It is therefore organized into chapters that present the institutional setting and discuss the more technological issues of digital convergence. Three case studies subsequently research HDTV in Japan, the United States and Europe. These regional studies explain the diverse evolution and challenges of digitalization in these three leading economies. This part is followed by an analysis of digital television in the United States and Europe, based on documentary sources as well as field research and interviews. The whole is illustrated by examples of global standards in a chapter that precedes the conclusions. The author uses very pertinent examples and a style that is easily readable and comprehensible for the layman.

What comes to mind when starting the book is a serious question about the relevant time. Is a book that deals with digitalization in the 1980s and 1990s not outdated? The author has taken the risk of publishing material which could be considered obsolete. However this worry is eliminated by his clear demonstration of the particular interest of a time period that is essential for the study of the triad, of the US's lead in global competitiveness, and of standards wars. This teaches us much about the way corporations win markets, and how this is linked to the impact of institutions, interests, ideas and nationalism. These relationships are crucial to global competitiveness. Jeffrey Hart's main argument is that domestic decision processes and international negotiations have a critical influence on the way business players seek advantages.

Altogether, while the theoretical output could have been enhanced, the discussion of the broader meaning of the case of digitalization for the present and future of the political economy is well developed and contributes to our understanding.

GABRIELE SUDER  
*CERAM Sophia-Antipolis*

*Surpassing Realism: The Politics of European Integration since 1945*, by M. Gilbert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, ISBN 0742519147); xvii+277pp., £20.95 pb.

It is surely a good idea to turn one's lecture notes into a book, provided one finds a publisher. Mark Gilbert has succeeded in this by presenting the fruits of his labours as a general history of European integration. The focus of his book is clearly on Europe's monetary integration and the UK, as in his monetarist world view the EU is 'a child of the fluctuating dollar' (p. 9). Based on secondary sources and a wealth of data he develops this theme well. To be fair, he also covers Europe's constitutional debates and evolution extensively. But the development of EU sectoral policies from trade to competition usually gets short shrift. The book appears particularly interesting with its extensive description of Britain's and the continent's post-war economy, in retelling the fascinating and often forgotten debates – among Labour and Tory intellectuals alike – in pre-war and wartime Britain on a desirable post-war pan-European federal order, and in recalling the origins of the Council of Europe. By and large the book is well written and treads solid ground. But there are quite a few – perfectly avoidable – mistakes and misjudgements, which cloud this overall positive assessment.

A whole series of Commission presidents during 1966–84 is dismissed, like Gaston Thorn, as 'hapless' (p. 163) – with one exception: Roy Jenkins, whose similar level of achievement wins praise. Mistakes start on p. 1. Gilbert mentions 'prospects' of Europe's borders extending from the Atlantic to the Russian border. Since 1995 they already do. The EU budget does not provide for loans (p. 2). 'Tiny Luxembourg' never had 900,000 inhabitants (p. 231). The whole of Austria was never occupied by the Soviets – not even 'briefly' (p. 36). In fact the professor of international history could remember from 'Four Men in a Jeep' or Orson Welles' 'The Third Man' that there were four powers as well.

In his political analysis Gilbert repeatedly criticizes functionalist and teleological perspectives on integration, while his own views never seem to surpass realism. In the end he appears rushed to finish his manuscript. The years since Maastricht – more than a decade of admittedly mostly summit failures – are squeezed into just 30 pages. While Spanish accession has been analysed in pages of detail, the enlargement by Sweden, Finland and Austria is mentioned in passing in a single line bracket (p. 226).

With these limitations in mind, the book is still a useful historical compendium of Europe's monetary integration. A full political history it is not.

ALBRECHT ROTHACHER  
*Asia-Europe Foundation*

*The European Union and the Race for Foreign Direct Investment in Europe*, by L. Oxelheim and P. Ghauri (Oxford: Elsevier, 2004, ISBN 0080442455); xv+510pp., £58.00 hb.

I am generally unenthusiastic about books constructed from conference papers, as one can gain the impression of reading work-in-progress; but in this case, papers

were thoroughly discussed and amended between presentation and publication. Consequently, this book avoids structural and stylistic shortcomings, and focuses on its subject better than most of the genre.

Twenty-three writers from the fields of economics and business/management studies, many of whom will be familiar to readers cognizant with the literature on MNEs and FDI, contribute 17 chapters, in three parts, covering the impact of FDI in the EU in general, sample countries/regions, and specific sectors. The book veers towards the 'applied' end of the spectrum, with the second and third parts, in particular, drawing on empirical studies and data. The diversity of subjects covered inevitably means some chapters appeal more than others, but all have something to recommend them. All contributors demonstrate mastery of their topic and an ability to write about it in an interesting manner. I am not convinced much material is 'cutting edge'; chapters covering topics of which I had knowledge did not add much, except examples and case studies useful for teaching, but those dealing with subjects where I knew little, or nothing, filled important gaps and broadened my understanding.

There is a wealth of literature and much discussion in many disciplines about the implications of FDI and its attendant globalization. The degree to which institutions can, or should, influence flows of capital and enterprise, and the incidence of costs and benefits when they do, are disputed, as is the stratum at which regulation might be efficiently imposed and enforced. While this book reviews and continues the debate coherently, it does not really arrive at any clearer conclusions than other works. In consequence, the premise for the book seems somewhat contrived at times: several contributors question the validity of the term 'race' for FDI, while others suggest its importance has been overstated. Some chapters are lightweight on the European Union aspect, looking at issues in other contexts. Having said that, the opening chapter is an excellent introduction, containing useful data and examples, to the implications of the past two decades' rapid growth in FDI for the EU and its Member States, and their responses to it.

This book might seem a strange choice of reading for a Greek beach, though that is where I read it, without feeling too resentful. The standards of writing and editing are high and, except for a few minor typographical errors, presentation commendable. Given its price and content, this book is unlikely to stand on many personal bookshelves, but it is undoubtedly worthy of any academic library and individual chapters will certainly feature on my modules' reading lists.

PETER CULLEN

*University of the West of England, Bristol*

*EU Human Rights Policies: A Study in Irony*, by A. Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, ISBN 0199268967); xix+219pp, £40.00 hb.

This book represents a powerful, engaging and critical account of EU human rights policies. Rather than merely investigating and identifying the incoherence of the EU's human rights policies, Williams provides a valuable critical analysis of the 'problems that subvert any movement towards effective change' (p. 10). His proactive approach is aimed at demonstrating the extent of the problem of incoherence of the EU's human

rights policies as – he observes – only an understanding of the scale and nature of the condition that needs to be addressed can lead to change.

Williams interprets such incoherence by looking at what he terms the ‘bifurcation’ in the EU’s approach to human rights, that is, the development of human rights policies and practices along two different paths, one external and one internal. He does so in the first part of the book by comparing two specific (and sensitive) external EU policy areas, development co-operation and enlargement, with the internal sphere of the EU’s action. He argues that the exterior/interior distinction is due to the contrast between, firstly, an emphasis on a narrow conception of human rights (mainly ‘individual’ rights) and no effective monitoring or scrutiny in the interior and, secondly, the constant monitoring, potential enforcement of standards (e.g. withdrawal of aid) and a wide understanding of rights (collective concepts, including minority rights) in the exterior.

In the second part of the book, Williams analyses why such a policy differentiation or gap between rhetoric and practice has taken place. He critically examines the most frequently raised legal, constitutional and political arguments and explores the differing human rights conditions both inside and outside the Union, arguing that traditional explanations are not satisfactory. Thus, in Chapter 6 he provides his own explanation and advances the proposition that the bifurcation in human rights policies and narratives is inherent to the Union’s definition of itself. In order to create a legitimate identity (as rightful holder of sovereign powers), the Union relied from the beginning on a notion that respect for human rights was a founding principle and it created an enabling environment (with no institutional constraints) within which this bifurcation could take place. The search for a European identity by the Community has been instrumental therefore in constituting the specific characteristics of the bifurcation.

Williams concludes (Chapter 8) by drawing the implications that this serious bifurcation will have on the Community’s constitutional structure and its future human rights activities. He argues that the presence of double standards undermines the Community’s claim for a credible human rights policy by infusing it with a sense of irony (hence the title of the book) which may provoke conflict, scepticism and disdain towards future Community human rights policies and initiatives. Williams highlights the Community’s attempts to overcome the charges of incoherence but nevertheless lucidly argues that such approaches will not address the core problem, bifurcation. The solution is to return to basic principles.

What would seem at first reading a rather pessimistic account of where the Community’s human rights policies are going, half way through the book assumes a more hopeful and proactive approach towards change. Williams writes a compelling case for the erasure of distinctions in definition, scrutiny and enforcement of human rights between the inside and outside of the Union. The result is an extremely well-written, persuasive and informative case for change, which would certainly be of interest to both academics and practitioners in the field of EU law, governance and human rights.

ALESSANDRA BUONFINO  
*University of Cambridge*

*Subnational Democracy in the European Union: Challenges and Opportunities*, by J. Loughlin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, ISBN 0 19 927091 0); xvi+422pp., £22.50 pb.

Despite increasing interest in regional and local government and a widespread trend towards decentralization across Europe, comparative studies of politics and democracy below the central level are still few and far between. This book aims to fill this gap in the literature by providing a comprehensive review of regional and local democracy in the 15 states of the pre-enlargement European Union. The book is divided into 17 chapters, each dealing with one of the states, plus an introductory and concluding chapter. Most chapters are authored by John Loughlin but nine of them are written by collaborators, including Udo Bullman on Germany and Austria, Frank Hendriks on the Low Countries and Anders Lindström on the Scandinavian states.

The chapters are grouped in four parts, each dealing with a cultural-geographical tradition of sub-state government, namely the Anglo-Saxon, the Germanic, the Napoleonic and the Scandinavian traditions. Each chapter aims to discuss both how regional and local democracy is conceptualized within each state and each broader tradition, and to outline the main institutions governing its functioning. The book has to be commended for its comprehensive treatment of the topic and for its focus on democracy rather than just on formal institutions. Its identification of four main 'models' of sub-state democracy is also helpful for the purpose of classifying and comparing the different systems and how they have changed over time. Although there is some variation in quality, the chapters are all informative and well written – notably Bullman's on Germany – and provide a valuable introduction to each of the systems covered. While the book makes a virtue of its comprehensiveness, it pays a significant price in terms of depth and analytical sharpness. The decision to cover both regional and local government and to include all 15 EU states – even tiny Luxembourg – makes the topic a very large one and inevitably limits the depth of the treatment. Furthermore, this all but rules out a truly comparative analysis of the different cases aiming at shedding theoretical light on the key issues in regional and local government in today's Europe. Given the dearth of literature on the topic, however, these limitations weaken the book only marginally. This work is best approached as an introductory, textbook-like survey of the topic and, all in all, it does this well. It will make interesting reading for all those interested in regional and local government – in Europe and beyond – and will certainly be useful in undergraduate teaching on European politics.

PAOLO DARDANELLI  
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*Services and Free Movement in EU Law*, edited by M. Andenas and W.H. Roth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, ISBN 0198299389); xlix+466pp., £60 hb.

This book aims to provide a critical analysis of EU services law. It is largely based on papers given at a seminar at the University of London in 1999. It divides naturally into two sections; the first nine chapters are concerned with general principles of

services and free movement, in particular as understood by the Court of Justice, while the next five form a case study of the regulation of financial services. In the last chapter Goebel shows how legal services and lawyers move much more freely in the EU than the US. Although sitting outside the broad structure of the book, this chapter serves well as a conclusion, comparison being an effective way of judging the scope and radicalism of EU services law, and thus bringing the preceding parts together.

The first section is in fact largely concerned with convergence of the categories of free movement, and to a remarkable extent with the Keck case. The search is for a grand theory of the market and Poyares Maduro and Jarass both address this directly, while Roth, Da Cruz Vilaca, Snell, and Snell again with Andenas, compare goods and services, and Hansen considers differences between services and establishment. A strong point is the number of chapters that address topics otherwise little discussed. O'Leary and Fernandez-Martin consider exceptions to free movement, as does Tison in the context of financial services. Snell looks at the application of the law to private parties. Kjellgren provides an original and useful discussion of the concept of 'abuse' of Community law. All four of these chapters are well written and argued, and deserve to be the basis for more discussion.

The second section, on financial services, succeeds in making a complex area accessible to the non-specialist. Dalhuisen on liberalization and re-regulation, Lomnicka on the home country control principle, Dasseuse on localizing financial services, Tison on the 'general good' exception and Usher on the relationship between services and capital can all be seen as translating some of the general principles of the earlier part to the financial services sphere.

Overall the book is well researched and written and will be very useful for reference, but its selection of topics provides only a limited perspective on services as a whole, and the emphasis on convergence is less stimulating now than it would have been a few years ago, before new cases and books (including Snell's own on goods and services) moved the debate on. Moreover, a chapter or two on the general principles of harmonization of services would have improved the overall structure of the book, avoiding the rather brutal leap from foundational case law to specific regulation.

GARETH DAVIES  
*University of Groningen*

*Governance in Europe: The Role of Interest Groups*, edited by A. Warntjen and A. Wonka (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2004, ISBN 3832906347); 163pp., €29.00 pb.

The volume aims at offering an overview of current research on governance in Europe. The work is composed of ten chapters, divided into a theoretical first part and an empirical second part. As the editors themselves underline, the contributions are based on extremely diverse theoretical and methodological backgrounds. The volume brings together a number of well-advanced and recently graduated PhD students, as well as confirmed and well-known scholars. The introductory chapter seeks to sketch a framework for the study of public policy-making in the EU by binding together

approaches of EU interest intermediation and studies of formal legislative decision-making. The authors state that the process of public policy-making should be divided into two stages, where formal decision-making, which only involves public actors, is preceded by interest intermediation between private and public actors.

The theoretical first part offers a good overview of the origins of the governance concept which is seen as a modern variant of the state (Volker Schneider), an account of interest intermediation in the EU, underlining the already classical producer/diffuse interests divide (Madeleine Hosli, Andreas Nölke, Jan Beyers), as well as a more normative chapter by B. Guy Peters assessing the effects of the involvement of interest groups and the increasing degree of extra-parliamentary politics in the policy-making processes. The second part of the volume then presents a number of empirical studies. A relatively short first chapter gives an account of the debates surrounding the EU's White Paper on Governance and the Commission's role in it, but curiously does not take into account the existing or non-existing influence of interest groups in this process, as one expects from the volume's main theoretical puzzle. Irina Michalowitz's and C.H.C.A. Henning's papers address the question of interest group resources in political exchange processes, using two different methodological approaches. Henning's paper offers an economic model based on economic transactions costs, showing the important influence of interest groups, whereas Michalowitz's chapter points out that public actors need to raise their awareness of the difference between being influenced and maintaining a working relationship with institutional independence. Christine Arnold's and Paul Penning's chapter on the open method of co-ordination shows that the formal opportunity of interest groups to be heard has increased while their influence has decreased, a research result also underlined by Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Erson's chapter on trade union influence on public spending. Finally, Gerald Schneider and Konstantin Baltz link the national level to the European level of interest intermediation. They analyse different types of interest groups, resulting in the classical conclusion that producer interests are more influential at the EU level than diffuse interests.

The edited volume offers a collection of diverse individual chapters on interest intermediation in the EU political system. However, it lacks a clear theoretical theme which links the chapters together. Its implicit focus is mainly on economic interest groups without defining them clearly. Overall, the volume will be of interest to all those interested in day-to-day policy-making of the EU.

SABINE SAURUGGER  
*IEP Grenoble*

*Building a Dynamic Europe: The Key Policy Debates*, edited by J. Gual (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, ISBN 0521827345); ix+170pp., £20.00 hb.

Although published in 2004, the chapters in this book were written in 2001 and many were not updated beyond 2002. This timing is surely a function of the slow process of academic publication and not a fault of the authors or editor, Jordi Gual. Nevertheless, it remains important. The discussion of political development by Gérard

Roland makes no mention of the intergovernmental conference that met after October 2003 and offers little detail about the European Convention. The analysis of the Stability and Growth Pact by Francesco Giavazzi gives no space to the turmoil created by France and Germany in November 2003, the legal battle between the Commission and the Council, the July 2004 ruling of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), or the September 2004 Commission proposals for reform. While such issues remain focal points for the key policy debates, the conversation has clearly moved on since the chapters of this book were written.

Even judged on its own terms, however, the book fails to live up to expectations. Gual argues in the introduction that ‘the purpose is to analyse key policy reforms aimed at bringing about the kind of economic dynamism that Europe so sorely needs’ (p. 2), and suggests that ‘the unifying theme of this volume is that Europe needs to reform its political institutions significantly if it is to meet its objectives of greater market integration – the key to a more dynamic economy’ (p. 4). The first chapter then introduces Roland’s analysis of the relative economic merits of presidential and parliamentary systems, and subsequent chapters deal with broader issues related to the welfare state (Assar Lindbeck), network services (David Newberry), macroeconomic policy co-ordination (Giavazzi), and banking markets (Gual).

The problem with this arrangement is not with the contributors, all of whom are well known as experts in their fields. Rather it is that only Roland makes the case for sweeping institutional reform. Lindbeck hardly mentions the European Union. Newberry’s analysis is industry specific. Giavazzi actually makes the case against changing the political management of macroeconomic policy, although he does admit that the European Central Bank will need new voting rules to accommodate enlargement. Even Gual seems unconcerned with the role of political institutions in the further liberalization of the banking industry. Read together, it is difficult to imagine that the types of reform that Roland advocates – which include the progressive presidentialization of the EU – are prerequisites to addressing the concerns of the others. Indeed, given the current state of debate about the European Constitutional Treaty, it is hard to imagine that Roland’s proposals continue to find any purchase at all. This collection of papers was relevant when they were written. Now, however, it appears to lack coherence and it has fallen prey to the dynamics of European policy debates.

ERIK JONES

*Johns Hopkins University*

*Developments in German Politics*, edited by S. Padgett, W.E. Paterson and G. Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003, ISBN 0333962028); xviii+324pp., £16.99 pb.

Seven years after the publication of the previous edition of *Developments in German Politics*, changes in the political environment offered enough material for a new edition of this established textbook on the political landscape of Germany. The period since 1996 witnessed the end of Helmut Kohl’s 16-year reign (1998), resulting in the first ever red–green coalition government on the national level. These years also led to a

more 'stable' manifestation of the economic problems of the state that went beyond the financial implications of unification. As a consequence, while the previous edition was still heavily influenced by the implications and the consequences of the unification process for the German polity, the present publication has shifted its focus more to the economic difficulties of the unified state. The current edition of *Developments in German Politics* therefore represents more than just a revision of its predecessors. This is highlighted by a new layout for the structure of the book, as well as by contributions from three authors not involved in the previous editions.

Beyond its economic focus, the volume also incorporates ample material on the wider environment. This not only includes the 'European dimension' and the effects of globalization, but also takes into account the basic aspects of the German political system (for example federalism, the party system, elections), the coverage of various policy fields (social policy, foreign and security policy, etc.), and questions of political cultural identity. Such a wide range of topics especially suits the purpose of the book, which is not only aimed at students but also at the practitioner community and a broader general readership. Meeting the needs of such diverse target audiences places a premium on clear language and a logical structure. The editors and the authors, drawn from US, British and German institutions, succeed in achieving this objective. However, a book that has the aspiration to deal with a wide range of topics in an accessible way naturally cannot cover each topic in depth. Some analyses might therefore be open to criticism, as for example the rather unsophisticated explanation in Chapter 9 of the electoral success of the red-green government in the 2002 national elections.

Nevertheless, this is a comprehensive and accessible volume, providing good overall coverage of key issues. By further offering a useful guide to additional readings for each chapter – which is particularly beneficial for newcomers to the topic – it can serve as a useful introduction and textbook to the issues surrounding German politics. The only (minor) letdowns concern spelling mistakes (five in the Glossary alone), and a map of Germany (p. xix) with mistakes in the drawing of the borders between the Länder.

GANGOLF BRABAND  
*Queen's University Belfast*

*Free Movement of Persons within the European Community: Cross-Border Access to Public Benefits*, by A.P. van der Mei (Oxford: Hart, 2003, ISBN 1841132888); xi+528pp., £60.00 hb.

As anyone who has read the British tabloid press in recent months will know, few topics are more emotive than the spectre of hordes of foreigners flooding to the United Kingdom to obtain free health care and claim lavish social security benefits funded by the long-suffering British taxpayer. Alarmist as these stories may be, they illustrate a central problem of EU law: can the goal of free movement of persons be reconciled with maintaining a welfare state?

In his study of this conundrum, A. Pieter van der Mei argues that the welfare state represents a bounded political community whose members have collectively decided

to set and make financial contributions to certain goals; hence states traditionally have established a range of obstacles to prevent outsiders gaining access to the collective benefits to which they have not contributed. However, while the state's traditional 'gate-keeping' function is evidently incompatible with a supranational legal system dedicated to ensuring free movement of persons between states, granting access to social benefits to outsiders who have not contributed financially may be equally incompatible with citizens' conceptions of fairness and democracy.

This book concisely sets out the basic principles governing the free movement of persons in general, before analysing minutely the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice on three particular aspects of the issue, namely access to minimum subsistence benefits, to health care and to education. The author casts his net widely: not only does he cover, in addition to the rights of EU citizens, the rights of EEA, Turkish and Maghreb nationals, but he also draws a comparison with how the United States has regulated the inter-state movement of persons.

Van der Mei argues that the ECJ has been less radical in its approach to free movement than sometimes thought. Cases such as *Martinez Sala* and *Grzelczyk* have cut the link between nationality and entitlement as Member States can no longer deny benefits on grounds of nationality to non-national EU citizens lawfully residing in their territory. Yet by making entitlement to benefits dependent upon residence instead, the Court has not only maintained a link with liability to taxation, but has also strengthened the notions of equality and solidarity on which welfare states are based.

One curiosity is the rather cursory treatment of both the Supreme Court's leading decision in *Plyler v. Doe* and the debate surrounding California's Proposition 187, which has obvious parallels with popular reaction in Europe to migration. The omission of a Table of Cases is also disappointing. But overall this book represents both a meticulous analysis of the Court's jurisprudence on free movement, as well as a masterly study of the underlying political and economic issues, which will appeal to both academics and practitioners.

TOBY KING

*European Commission\**

*Europeanization and Transnational States: Comparing Nordic Central Governments*, edited by B. Jacobsson, P. Læg Reid and O.K. Pedersen (London/New York: Routledge, 2004, ISBN 0415299780); xiv+191pp., £60.00 hb.

Despite the fact that research on Europeanization is likely to develop into a sub-discipline of European studies, few studies exist at present which analyse the conditions for administrative change not only in a systematic manner, but also from a cross-national view. This book is one of the few exceptions: drawing on an extensive survey conducted among central governments' bureaucracies in 1998, the authors study the impact of Europeanization on the day-to-day work of national administrations in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Indeed, the Nordic states provide an 'excellent laboratory' (p. 4) because of the similarities in their political and

\*The views expressed are wholly personal and do not represent the views of the European Commission.

administrative systems. With the long-standing EC/EU member Denmark, two post-cold-war EU newcomers (Finland and Sweden) and self-distancing Norway (whose EU-light relationship is primarily based on the EEA), Europeanization may consequently account for similarities and variations between each of the states. The argument is that during the last 10–15 years there has been a development towards transnationalization of the relationship between national administrations and European organizations – including EU bodies, interest groups and NGOs – exposing both public and private features in character. The authors claim that one of the fundamental consequences of Europeanization itself can be found in the tremendous growth of a transnational administration.

The book integrates four different theoretical perspectives: the first one stresses the importance of adapting to EU aspirations and regulations, thus providing some kind of external explanation for change; the second emphasizes individual countries' own national strategic choices; thirdly, the authors, starting from the theoretical perspective of historical institutionalism, view path dependencies in the field of administrative change as important explanatory factors; last, but not least, the 'translation perspective' assumes that the line between national and European policy-making is becoming blurred, and that state actions are increasingly determined by relationships with other actors. The study gives a detailed account of Europeanization as a factor reshaping administrative practices while at the same time national structures seem to be relatively stable. More importantly, Europeanization provides not only a stimulus for further transnationalization, but also for a trend towards further bureaucratization, incrementalism and fragmentation within administrations that may ultimately challenge democratic values.

Taking into account the need of combining comparative approaches with the study of Europeanization, this book is very timely and will doubtless spark further discussion in this particular field of EU studies.

STEFAN GÄNZLE  
*University of British Columbia*

*The Emergence of A European Asylum Policy*, by C.D. Urbano de Sousa and P. de Bruycker (Brussels: Bruylant, 2004, ISBN 2802718150); xxvii+344pp., €65.00 pb.

This is very much a book written by lawyers for lawyers. Of the 17 chapters (five of which are in French) Van Kessel's 'Evolution of Asylum Applications in the EU Member States' offering a statistical overview will be the most accessible to the non-lawyer.

Written in 2002, this volume presents very much a snapshot in time. The Tampere work programme for developing a Common European Asylum System started in 1999 and ended in 2004. The bulk of the decisions on the key directives and regulations were taken in the last two years of the programme – in fact the two most important were taken in the last five weeks before the 1 May 2004 deadline. Vincenzi, then of the European Commission, reminds readers and fellow contributors alike that at the time of writing we were 'only in the first phase of the Common European Asylum System' (p. 160). It could be added that the building of that system was, and remains,

a matter of politics and policy, even if the outcomes in the form of directives and regulations are instruments of law. As such, the title of this volume suggests a broad relevance which the narrower legal assessments cannot fulfil.

Most of the chapters are quite critical in their assessment of EU developments. Other than Vincenzi's explanations of process, Spijkerboer presents the most positive evaluation – of the then draft directive on the qualification for refugee status. This was the penultimate directive on which a final decision was taken. One wonders if his assessment of the reinclusion of people whose cases would be excluded under much of the prevailing national law and jurisprudence has remained intact through the final negotiations. Much has changed. As the second phase of the development of the asylum system gets underway, further consideration of the emergence of an EU asylum policy is surely needed. This volume will provide lawyers with a basis on which to build continuing assessments. For those interested more broadly in policy, a wider view will be needed.

JOANNE VAN SELM  
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*The Economics of Enlargement*, edited by S. Manzocchi (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003, ISBN 1403915164); vi+373pp., £65.00 hb.

Before enlargement, it was possible to treat the new CEE Member States as a group because of their common problems of transition and EU accession. What this book indicates is that, in the economic sphere at least, such commonality of treatment is no longer sustainable; the economies of this group are becoming increasingly differentiated. While this message does come through, this book, based on an issue of *Rivista di Politica Economica*, suffers from an acute case of edited volume disease: no cohesion and variable quality of the contributions. This is not helped by a short introduction that merely summarizes the chapters and points out that 'enlargement will make Central Eastern Europe ever closer to the European Union' (p. 11).

The differentiation of CEE economies comes across most starkly in the fascinating chapter by Landesmann and Stehrer, who chart the changing patterns of CEE specialization. This shows large differences in CEE structural change in terms of employment, production and trade in manufacturing, and the importance of foreign direct investment and educational attainment in this process. Differentiation is also demonstrated at the micro level for the textile and apparel industry in Baldone, Sdogati and Tajoli's chapter. However, here the focus is on east–west integration in the production chain via outward processing trade, as a mechanism for the EU industry to remain competitive. Another slant on these issues is provided by Boeri and Martins, who emphasize the need for further structural change to increase the varieties of goods produced, to move away from specialization on homogeneous scale-intensive goods. Monetary integration is considered in the chapters by Gros, and Coricelli and Jazbec, again with differentiation evident, this time in macroeconomic performance measured by EMU convergence criteria.

The remaining chapters are a rather strange amalgam. The traditional policy concerns of enlargement, structural policy and agriculture are dealt with by Mele,

Felippis and Salavatici respectively, but these contributions seem rather dated now. The welfare costs of exclusion of the CEE by Alcidi, Manzocchi and Ottaviano again seems to have been overtaken by events; of more relevance would be a consideration of the countries likely to remain more permanently excluded from EU membership. This leaves the chapter on 'The Political Economy of Eastern Enlargement' by Heinemann, who seems determined to interpret events in line with preconceived ideas. Thus the interpretation of the Nice outcome of the allocation of European Parliament seats as the protection of the EU-15 Member States' interest, is contradicted by the subsequent granting of additional seats to CEE countries treated unfairly in the original outcome.

Overall therefore, this is a curate's egg of a book that adds up to rather less than the sum of its parts. While such a selection is compatible with an issue of a journal, a good edited volume requires a clear overall theme and much stronger editorial influence over the individual contributions.

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