

Book Reviews

The European Union and International Development: The Politics of Foreign Aid, by M. Carbone (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007, ISBN 9780415414142); xvi + 192pp., £65.00 hb.

The unique character of the European Union's international development policy – with its bilateral and multilateral dimensions – has received very limited attention among EU scholars. Most of the existing studies have concentrated on the European Commission's policies and programmes without attempting to provide comprehensive conceptual models to analyse the interactions between the European Commission and the Member States in the development policy arena. *The European Union and International Development* represents a valuable addition to the existing literature because it develops an analytical model to explain the role of the European Commission *vis-à-vis* the Member States in the EU decision-making process.

The book consists of five core chapters: the first chapter reviews existing approaches regarding the role of the Commission in the EU and its relations with the Member States; chapter two provides an overview of the EU's (European Commission and Member States) relations with the developing world. Chapters three, four and five analyse three case studies: the issue of volume of aid; of global public goods (GPGs) and untying of aid. The concluding chapter reviews the main findings of the book and looks at the future of foreign aid in the EU.

The central argument is that the European Commission plays a leading role in the EU's decision-making process, but that its leadership is contingent upon a series of conditions: an institutional entrepreneur that puts the issue on the agenda; the unity of the Commission – both at the administrative and political levels; the policy context and the tactics used throughout the various stages of the policy process. The case studies reveal that the central variable is the unity of the Commission: when united the Commission is able to achieve its goals regardless of the difficult context in which it operates.

The book represents a valuable contribution to the existing literature not only for the convincing leadership model developed in its pages but also for the choice of the case studies – not limited to specific geographical areas – and for the analysis of the multiplicity of Member States' approaches, traditions and performance in developing countries. Furthermore, the book provides additional evidence that integration theories can be successfully used to explain the EU's external relations and that the *logic of consequentialism* and the *logic of appropriateness* coexist and are simultaneously at play in EU policy-making.

It remains to be seen whether Carbone's leadership model might be applied to other (external) policy areas, such as trade or neighbourhood policies. For this reason, the book is highly recommended reading not only for scholars and practitioners interested in investigating and evaluating EU development policy but also for those interested in the international role of the EU.

GIULIA PIETRANGELI

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European Security and Defence Policy: An Implementation Perspective, edited by M. Merlingen and R. Ostrauskaite (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, ISBN 9780415431736); xviii + 226pp., £65 hb.

With the selection of contributions compiled in this volume, Merlingen and Ostrauskaite seek to add to the rich body of literature on European foreign policy, focusing exclusively on what they regard as a key area of the Union's international relations – the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). The main focus of the book is on the implementation of ESDP, the processes of organizing and running ESDP missions and on the mission outputs and outcomes. Two introductory and largely descriptive chapters provide a broad thematic and historical overview of European security and defence policies before a chapter on the role of ESDP missions leads into a set of case studies on single ESDP missions in the Balkans, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Indonesia. The main objective of these mission-related articles is to examine how and to what effect the ESDP has been implemented in the field. They are complemented by three chapters with a more horizontal focus, dealing with ESDP–NATO relations, the relationship between the EU and the US as well as the perception of ESDP action in host societies.

The volume includes contributions by both academics and practitioners, which on the one hand adds particular value and breadth to the book, but on the other also compromises its analytical coherence as a whole. Based on the argument that theory building and testing in the field would have to wait for further empirical research as too little is known about this specific dimension of European foreign policy, the editors refrain from offering a clear theoretical and methodological framework for the collection of articles. Their approach of giving insider information on internal procedural dynamics gathered on the basis of extensive interviews and in the course of self-observation is both innovative and adventurous. While the volume indeed offers a unique insight into some of the apparently inscrutable processes underlying ESDP field action, it would have benefited from a more systematic analytical arrangement to frame and structure the bulk of very specific information on individual missions. However, the editors' attempt to produce tentative generalizations in the concluding section could serve as a valuable starting point for further efforts in theory generation and development.

CARMEN GEBHARD

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Security in the New Europe, by A. Cottey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, ISBN 9781403986498); xxiii + 250pp., £19.99 pb.

In this book, Andrew Cottey provides an excellent overview of security issues for contemporary Europe, fundamentally reshaped in the context of both the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the new global security agenda, symbolized by the 9/11 attacks.

Following a rather, although not exclusively, traditional approach to security, the book suggests that the underlying context is an international order defined by Western global hegemony as well as resistance towards it. Within this context, the author's central thesis is the transformation of the nature of security within Europe by the development of a security community, defined as a zone of peace where war is inconceivable and underpinned by mutually reinforcing factors, such as democracy, economic prosperity, socio-economic interdependence and institutionalized international co-operation. Consequently, Europe is characterized by a core-periphery relationship with Russia and Turkey remaining entirely and/or partly outside the community.

Although the book is to be of interest both to the general public and to the specialist, it is to be characterized rather as an issue-balanced reference book by providing a broad overview on all major themes in a thoroughly researched, well-referenced and easily accessible manner.

This is, first, illustrated in the chapter on the Europeanization of security in Europe. After an excellent analysis of the Common Foreign and Security Policy's intergovernmental character and the pillar-structure's complexities as well as an adequate reference to the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, the author brings forward a very accurate analysis of the EU's emerging global role in peacekeeping and crisis management. However, the straightforward conclusion he draws that the EU is better situated for the longer-term strategic challenge of developing complex multi-faceted policies rather than rapid decision-making would require further analysis, given the absence of realization in this 'long-term' policy-making capacity.

Second, on Europe's relationships with other international actors, the author notably focuses on Europe-US and Europe-Russia relations. The author predicts a post-cold war replacement of a default transatlantic relationship by a 'set of transatlantic relationships' combining both complementary and contradictory dynamics, with the US and Europe being only two of the multiple centres of powers in the new world order. Developing a welcome analysis of Russia's strength and weaknesses, he explains the uneasy mix of co-operation, competition and periodic crisis which characterize its relationship with Europe. Russia's role in the Kosovo final status debate could have been elaborated on further.

Finally, the author analyses the twin challenges of terrorism and proliferation, presented as central threats for Europe. On terrorism the author draws an interesting conclusion within which he contrasts what one may refer to as 'direct' threats to Europe and those that arise 'indirectly' through the US's 'overly militarized and exacerbated war on terror' and argues that Europe is likely to live with a long-term, persistent but limited level of terrorist threat. On proliferation, the author fails to point

to the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) essential element clause which, since 2003, is to be integrated in all mixed agreements with third states upon revision or new conclusion.

Given the complexity of the new world order characterized by an interdependence of issues, the author provides a welcome description of non-military (soft) security issues, such as economic development policies, global warming and population movements. This highlights the fact that if global problems are not dealt with in a comprehensive integrated way, none of them will find an adequate solution.

MARTINA SPERNBAUER
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The European Union and Terrorism, edited by D. Spence (London: John Harper Publishing, 2007, ISBN 9780955620201); 268 pp., £23 pb.

Most people would agree that the European Union is a complex subject. Even more would probably agree on the complexity of counter-terrorism. Editing a book about the European Union and terrorism, therefore, is an extremely challenging task. David Spence has not only met that challenge head-on; by compiling and editing this volume he has also greatly enhanced the study of the EU's role in counter-terrorism. In essence, the book tackles three key questions: inter-governmental co-operation at the EU level; the vast range of policy areas involved in different aspects of counter-terrorism; and coherence between EU institutions and policies.

The particular difficulty of analysing the EU's role in counter-terrorism is its central paradox. The 27 EU governments agree in principle that co-operation at the EU level is a good thing because of the cross-border nature of the terrorist threat. But they are slow to give the Union the powers (such as investigation and prosecution) and resources (such as spies and money) it would need to be truly effective. This is because security policy – especially protecting citizens – goes to the core of national sovereignty, and governments are reluctant to give the EU powers that could interfere with their existing laws, national security practices and relationships with third countries.

Directly challenging that paradox, David Spence's edited book includes chapters by an impressive group of established experts which cover all the most important aspects of EU counter-terrorism policies, ranging from tackling radicalization to intelligence co-operation and transatlantic relations. Each chapter has been carefully and comprehensively researched while written in an accessible way. The range of policy areas covered in the book is broad enough to give the reader a clear idea of what the EU is doing, which is quite a lot (the book helpfully includes an annex with the texts of the most important official EU documents dealing with counter-terrorism). However, the danger of such a broad approach to counter-terrorism is that it can give the impression that the EU must solve all the world's problems if it is to truly tackle terrorism. The book generally manages to avoid this by not pretending that all EU efforts are useful or have worked.

The EU has also struggled to ensure both smooth co-operation between its various institutions and agencies, and coherent policies. But as the book makes clear, it is also

true that the threat from international terrorism has developed much stronger EU co-operation in key policy areas, especially judicial, legal and police co-operation. In other words the issue is not only what the EU can do to counter terrorists, but also how greater European counter-terrorism co-operation will change the EU. In sum, policy-makers, academics and students of the EU's role in tackling international terrorism will all learn something from this important book.

DANIEL KEOHANE

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Contentious Issues of Security and the Future of Turkey, edited by N.A. Guney (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, ISBN 9780754649311); xvii + 197pp., £55 hb.

In addressing the 'two Wests' as a challenge for Ankara's relations with both the EU and the US and with its neighbours, the book provides a new look at Turkey's foreign policy in the 21st century. The main theme is that with a historical Western orientation and under common threat perceptions, Turkey will continue to maintain balanced relations with Brussels and Washington.

Gokhan Cetinsaya's historical analysis reveals continuation of Turkey's Western orientation albeit with the dilemma of the 'two Wests'. Thomas Mowle points out that the two Wests present different choices for Turkey; while leaving it to behave autonomously on core national security concerns (ESDP and Iraq). Assuming that these concerns are linked to Turkey's contribution to the actorness of the EU, Eduard Soler i Lecha emphasizes an increasing security interdependence between the Union and Turkey, yet this does not mean that their security policies are compatible, hence making Turkey both a burden and an asset. Mahmut Aykan analyses the challenge of co-ordinating the policies of the US and Turkey in the face of common threats versus differing priorities and asserts that Turkey's deficient democracy has become a potential threat to US strategic interests. According to Aysegul Sever and Zeynep Ozden Oktav, Turkey's relevance would increase if it could solve its security problems through further democratization. For Visne Korkmaz, a convergence of the American and European security agendas in Eurasia could enable Turkey to balance its roles as a security provider and a regional state. Gareth Winrow is cautious for the Greater Black Sea region where US concerns over Turkey will only be dispelled if Ankara is firmly anchored within the EU. Ibrahim Mazlum views Turkey's accession process as beneficial to its energy policies, while conditioned by Middle Eastern politics. Sonmez Atesoglu's realistic analysis of the Mediterranean foresees an increased instability due to shifts in regional and global power politics. Mustafa Turkes provides a critical analysis of the EU's involvement in the transformation of the Cyprus problem, the current impasse and strained relations with Turkey. Finally, drawing upon the ISAF experience in Afghanistan, Nursin Guney views Turkey as an important partner in the Western operations.

Overall, the book offers a comprehensive account of the current debates on Western security by employing three levels of analysis: transatlantic, regional and national. While the linkage between the former two is analysed in depth, the future orientation of Turkish foreign policy could have included possible scenarios for the

evolution of its neighbouring regions. What also seems missing at the national level is an actor-based analysis of the recent transformation of Turkish foreign policy.

SEVILAY KAHRAMAN

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Turkey and the EU: An Awkward Candidate for EU Membership?, by H. Arıkan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2nd edn, 2006, ISBN 9780754647621); xi + 290pp., £55 hb.

Turkish membership is a topic that has been driven in the past by the highs and lows of enlargement policy within the EU. Harun Arıkan's book aims to establish a more stable, long-term framework of analysis of Turkey's candidacy. It explains the sources of Turkey's long and special relationship with the EU by looking at how the EU membership idea started, and possibly tainted the future evolution of the accession path for Turkey. The author looks at the case of Turkey in a comparative framework, to position the analysis of the country's troubled process towards EU membership in direct opposition to the choices and steps taken by Brussels when dealing with other applicants from central and eastern Europe.

The final result is a convincing presentation of information, data and arguments that underline how Turkey has possibly been treated differently, since the very first approach with the Ankara Agreement in 1963. In particular, the book states that the EU's vision for Turkey was not membership, due to the differences between the country and the rest of the EU over time, but simply 'containment': namely, a concession in regards to a close political and economic co-operation, but never real membership of the European club. Specific examples in four chapters emphasize the roles of individual policy areas as supporting evidence of the EU's attitude towards a different treatment for Turkey's application. Security issues, human rights concerns and Greek–Turkish relations provide interesting details on how Brussels made certain moves and decisions that were dissimilar, if not clearly inconsistent, with positions adopted *vis-à-vis* other applicant countries at the same time.

Although the selection of the case studies in the comparative analysis could have benefited from a presentation of the specific political background of the other applicants' political traditions and histories, the comparative design seems to work very well. Turkey did not benefit from any 'wave' effect of enlargement, could not always claim enough proximity, geographical or cultural, and ended up laboriously working to obtain EU membership without a clear 'sponsor' in Brussels, something that the central and eastern European countries enjoyed. The EU is then in part responsible for the complications and delays Turkey's application has had to face over time: if the Turkish government was not too keen to implement needed reforms on time, Brussels was also not too motivated to welcome Turkey in.

In consideration of the prominent relevance of EU enlargement and in light of the always current events dealing with Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU, the clarity, comprehensiveness and richness of details of this book make it essential reading for all European comparativists.

FRANCESCA VASSALLO
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European Security Law, edited by M. Trybus and N.D. White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780199218622); 381 pp., £60 hb.

Few monographs have analysed European security issues from a legal perspective, making this edited volume by Martin Trybus and Nigel White a welcome complement to the numerous studies of EU security policies and institutions. The book aims to supply a comprehensive overview of the fragmented and evolving legal framework of the EU's security and defence policy (ESDP). It is strongest when its authors confine their focus on the legal dimension of the ESDP and weakest when they veer into assessing the politics of European security. In the latter case, too much of their analysis remains underspecified, and the narrative at times becomes prescriptive, rather than analytical.

Framed by a very short introductory chapter and conclusions by the editors, the book is split into three sections that provide detailed analyses of the origin and future of European security law, its different areas and its internal and external coherence. Starting out with reviews of the failed European Defence Community treaty (1952) and the EU Constitutional Treaty (2004), the book highlights the sometimes ill-fated and still uncertain nature of EU security and defence integration. The subsequent chapters detail the legal frameworks of EU peacekeeping operations, anti-terrorism and armaments policies. The last section discusses the internal cohesiveness and flexibility of the EU's legal regime and outlines the EU's position as a regional security actor within the international legal order by contrasting the ESDP's relationship with NATO, the OSCE and the UN.

While individual chapters provide good overviews of their respective subject matter, a more systematic appraisal of contentious legal issues across different areas of European security would have been welcome. Considerable overlap between individual chapters (particularly on EU peacekeeping and EU–NATO relations) and repetitive introductions into the institutional and political development of the ESDP betray the origins of the volume as a set of disparate workshop papers. Additionally, and unfortunately for the authors, some of the discussions of the EU's Constitutional Treaty were already out of date at the time of publication and would have merited an update in light of the new Treaty of Lisbon. While this volume offers new insights into an under-researched dimension of European security, a more coherently edited volume or a single-authored reference work would have made a stronger contribution to the debate.

URSULA C. SCHRÖDER
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Global Multi-level Governance: European and East Asian Leadership, by C. de Prado (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2007, ISBN 9789280811391); xvi + 275 pp., \$34 pb.

The intellectual genesis of this PhD-derived book is wide-ranging, and the author draws on his involvement with prestigious seats of learning in both Europe and Asia – an experience which gives credibility to this book. De Prado's argument seeks to

transcend traditional models of IR theory, examining how ‘public and private allies’ shape new global multilevel governance frameworks, aiming to ‘harness knowledge for competitive innovation’. This analysis of the knowledge-revolution and intellectual exchange forms a good complement to recent work on regionalism by Katzenstein and others.

The six substantive chapters of the book focus on actors from, *inter alia*, the public, diplomatic, business, social and higher-education communities in Europe and Asia and de Prado examines numerous aspects of their functional interaction. His interests appear to lean towards Asia, and some of his statements border on the sweeping: according to de Prado, for instance, ‘the “East Asian” way does not radically differ from the early, informal, “European” way during the 1969–86 period of European political co-operation’.

In general, the author casts his net extremely wide. In striving to be all-encompassing, he includes much material which covers well-trodden territory; this reads, at times, like an introductory, ‘catch-all’ text on EU–Asia; not all points covered are relevant to the book’s central concerns. While connections between regionalism and identity are touched upon, the pertinent discourse is not sufficiently explored, neither is the issue of ‘leadership’, so tantalisingly contained in the subtitle. It is, perhaps, surprising, given his *leitmotifs*, that de Prado does not afford more room to social-constructivist perspectives.

Some readers may feel that access to this text is barred by ‘detail-overkill’ and lack of clear signposting. The meaning behind sentences such as ‘the variability of Europe’s info-communications economic governance renders a complex multi-level panorama in constant flux’ – and too many similar ones – is sometimes obscure and may put readers off this book. However, students of *ASEM*, *ASEAN + 3* and the *SCO* will be rewarded with a wealth of detail – and many idiosyncratic tables – to work with.

Given current EU priorities for future, ‘knowledge-based’, co-operation with Asia, the book’s greatest strength lies, arguably, in the analysis of ‘soft intellectual power’. The case-study-rich investigation of actors – including ‘knowledge-mediators’, civil-society, universities and think-tanks – represents an innovative contribution, given the dearth of literature on the globalization of higher education in Asia-Europe and the discipline of ‘European Studies’ in Asia. It is, therefore, to be welcomed that the author achieves a comprehensive survey of both incipient and more developed initiatives in this area.

GEORG WIESSALA

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The European Union and Asia – Reflections and Re-orientations, edited by P. Anderson and G. Wiessala (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007, ISBN 9789042022959); 313pp., €63 hb.

In recent years, more scholarly literature regarding relations between the EU and Asia has been published than at any other time. The reason is surely derived from the fact that their inter-regional economic co-operation has gradually become important to

one another. Anderson and Wiessala's edited volume, however, tries to go beyond the limited research range of economic interdependence.

This book is a collection of 13 essays, divided into three main parts. In the first part, 'Foundation and Representations', the contributors are aware that there is still considerable mutual misunderstanding and misperception in the two regions. Therefore, they seek to address the analytical foundations of the EU–Asia relationship by introducing various new perspectives such as historical legacies, media images, language presentation and theory building. The second part, 'Policies and Patterns', is made up of empirical case studies in terms of political engagement, trade issues, inter-regionalism and security matters. The contributors demonstrate in particular the EU's involvement in Asia from the perspective of a 'role' model based on its credible and peaceful character. The final part, 'Issues, Regions and Partners', looks at the EU's relationship with new partners including Central Asia and Australia which has been ignored in the past and investigates the new issues which the EU and Asia face in the future world.

The most important contribution of this volume is that 'constructivism' is fully applied as a key framework to the analysis in all the chapters. For instance, Fouquet and Lim define the EU's actual intervention in North Korea, China and Aceh as a 'constructive engagement' process supported by the concept of 'civilian-orientation' (p.145). Similarly, Yeo explains the Europe–Asia relationship from the 'social constructivist' standpoint on the basis of inter-regionalism and the 'people-to-people' dimension (p.173). In the last chapter, Wiessala also proposes that the EU's educational co-operation efforts with Asia are a re-orienting task for inter-regional collaboration building.

However, this book lacks a 'balanced viewpoint'. Almost all the chapters examined have a bias towards the European side (except for Holland, Murray and Yeo, but they are also closer to the English cultural area) without an Asian viewpoint, even though the volume is a collection by various specialists and has a title equally emphasizing the 'European Union' and 'Asia'. Furthermore, there may have been a lack of clarity in the editing guidelines because some of the authors focus on interpreting merely the EU's 'strategy' (Smith and Vichitsorasatra) or 'policy' (Quigley) rather than on the interactive 'relationship' between the EU and Asia.

This collection of essays is nevertheless still valuable as an introductory text presenting the multi-faceted dialogues between the EU and Asia as well as offering prospects for their future.

JONG YOON DOH
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Half a Century of European Financial Integration, by I. Maes (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2007, ISBN 9789061537908); 128 pp., €29.95 hb.

The publisher of the book, Mercatorfonds, is specialized in publishing art books on top-quality high-gloss paper. In this tradition, *Half a Century of European Financial Integration* is not a traditional academic book. Instead, it is rather an art book on financial and monetary integration. On the 128 pages of heavy high-gloss paper of the

book, one finds 120 colour illustrations, ranging from historical front pages of *The Economist*, cartoons from popular media, photographs of politicians important for the process of European integration over maps showing the different waves of EU enlargement to functional diagrams depicting selected issues of European financial markets. On most pages, the illustrations are given more space than the text.

The text in the book gives a historical overview of financial integration within the European Union starting with the Schuman declaration in May 1950 reaching as far as the Commission's initiative on the Single Euro Payments Area (SEPA) project in 2005. As a lot has happened in these 50 years, and the space for written text is rather limited in the book, this breadth comes at some expense of the depth. While readers learn what acronyms such as TARGET (Trans-European Automated Real-time Gross settlement Express Transfer) or MiFID (Markets in Financial Instruments Directive) stand for and when the projects have been initiated, they learn little about the controversies, macroeconomic consequences or details of these projects. The whole crisis of the European Monetary System is covered on about one page of net text (if one does not count the three large illustrations of this section), the Maastricht Treaty with all its provisions on another page.

Overall, given the luxurious make-up of the book, it is something that one would rather read in an armchair than at one's desk. For those broadly familiar with the current state of European financial integration, it provides very little new material. However, it is a great gift if one travels outside the EU and wants to bring something related to European finance or European integration. In addition, for those who want to get a first, broad overview of the European financial market and its history without putting too much effort into reading academic literature, it might be a good choice. As the book can easily be read and is easily digested and contains a lot of very interesting historical illustrations, for beginners in the field it might present a better entry than the more technical material otherwise available.

SEBASTIAN DULLIEN

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Central Banking Governance in the European Union: A Comparative Analysis, by L. Quaglia (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, ISBN 9780415425717); x + 194 pp., £65 hb.

This study deals with the evolution of central banking governance in Europe since the emergence of the euro. The author studies four central banks, showing how central banking governance was working before the European Monetary Union (EMU) and how it has evolved since then. Interestingly, the question of why each central bank adopted a different kind of governance in the first place is dealt with. This helps the reader to understand why the discrepancies that prevailed before the EMU still exist, at least in some measure, as the author shows.

The book is worth reading for several reasons. First, the case studies are well-chosen: two important central banks of the pre-EMU era (the Banca d'Italia and the Bundesbank, though they are interesting for different reasons), the European Central Bank (ECB) as the prominent central bank of the post-EMU period and the Bank of England as the one whose government opted-out of the EMU.

Second, the analysis uses a common grid, systematically applied to each central bank under review. This allows for an immediate comparison of the results. For example, if the Banca d'Italia has travelled along an 'incremental path towards central bank independence', the Bundesbank has benefited from its 'stable trajectory of central bank independence'. Fortunately, the book does not stop there and goes in depth by looking at the reasons behind such trajectories and explaining the differences between the four central banks' features. Going beyond legal provisions, the study explains why each of the analysed central banks benefited (and benefits today) from a different degree of legitimacy and political capacity. The author notably considers relations of the central banks under study with the political institutions, the government and the economic interest groups.

Third, the author shows that if a certain degree of convergence in central banking governance has recently prevailed, such a convergence mostly touches on issues of independence, while it stopped short on other dimensions, notably financial supervision and banking policy.

Finally, the book is important in that it helps us to think about the most adequate model of governance for a monetary union whose membership grows, to include countries with more diversified experiences in central banking governance as a consequence. At stake here is nothing less than embedding the ECB in a polity ready to support and enhance its legitimacy.

ETIENNE FARVAQUE

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The Transformation of Citizenship in the European Union: Electoral Rights and the Restructuring of Political Space, by J. Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780521677943); xviii + 398pp., £25.99 pb.

Although electoral rights are at the core of the citizenship idea, the majority of commentators following the development of EU citizenship since its inception at the Maastricht IGC preferred to focus on free movement, non-discrimination on the basis of nationality and other 'truly European' citizenship rights, which brought about a situation where the essence of the very concept of citizenship – i.e. political participation – has been largely neglected. Jo Shaw makes the first serious attempt to bridge this gap in legal and political thinking about the development of supranational citizenship, which is likely to pave the way for other scholars. The book makes a clear point, emphasizing the overwhelming importance of the idea of political participation, which is the essence of any citizenship, be it national, regional, or supranational. Starting off with the analysis of the crucial role played by electoral rights and the idea of participation in any citizenship context, the analysis shifts to the story of EU electoral rights and proceeds to scrutinize the obstacles to electoral inclusion existing at the level of the Member States.

The abundance of recent literature on citizenship notwithstanding, Shaw's book is a contribution unique in many respects. It stands out in the array of excellent studies of citizenship issues in the EU due to its innovative focus on electoral rights, its truly universal approach to the EU, not neglecting the east European Member States where

citizenship developments are particularly relevant and its insightful blend of legal and political perspectives in which this truly interdisciplinary work is written. But what is probably most fascinating about the work is its analysis of the idea of political participation beyond the framework of a nation state attempted through the lens of a critical assessment of exclusion and inclusion at both Member State and EU level. Having embraced this approach, the book adopts an all-encompassing idea of political participation, which is not limited to analysing the situation of those in possession of the formal status of a European citizen, but stretches much further, to include issues related to political participation of third country nationals residing in the EU. The assessment of this issue, obviously of crucial importance for the articulation of the concept of European citizenship *sensu lato* is one of the strongest points of the book, relieving it from the possible dangers of falling into legal formalism. Here is where the focus on the east European Member States becomes of vital importance: analysing the possibilities for political participation left to a number of minority populations in the East of the Union (focusing particularly on the developments in Estonia, Latvia, and Slovenia), Shaw puts well known minority-protection discussion into the greater framework of the process of articulation of European citizenship through participation and the numerous problems on the way of this process.

This important book is a welcome addition to the Cambridge series of 'Studies in European Law and Policy' edited by Laurence Gormley and Jo Shaw.

DIMITRY KOCHENOV
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Acquisition and Loss of Nationality: Policies and Trends in 15 European Countries (two volumes), edited by R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrauch (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006, ISBN 9789053569207 and 9789053569214), 499 + 588 pp., €102.95 pb. (two volumes).

The law of nationality is a subject which lends itself to comparative inquiry. The underlying questions faced by most states are typically similar, yet the answers given in any particular case are conditioned by political history and social circumstances. Among scholars, there is a lively debate over the question of convergence: are the combined forces of migration, international norms and imitation leading to a reduction in differences? At the methodological level, meanwhile, the possibility of meaningful comparison, and (if so) the best method for seeking it, are unavoidably posed by a subject matter for which culture and context are of basic importance.

This two-volume edited work offers an especially authoritative contribution to the examination of these comparative law questions, for the first 15 member states of the European Union (up to 2005). Its success lies initially in the very fact of its two volumes. The first volume contains cross-national comparative reports, mainly written by the editors and collaborators, while the second contains detailed accounts for the 15 states, written by leading experts in each case. The result is that the mainly formal treatment of nationality law in the first volume is successfully complemented by the context-rich reports of the second.

Two analytical chapters by Harald Waldrauch, respectively on acquisition and loss of nationality, are the centerpiece of the first volume. These contain a mine of information with which to test imprecise impressions. It is striking for example that in eight EU-15 states no provision at all is made for the acquisition of nationality by the children born on the territory to foreign parents, while a further four states do so only for the second generation born there. It is no less surprising to learn that – for all the talk of the acceptance of multiple nationality – there are still five EU-15 states that usually require the renunciation of another nationality as a condition of naturalization and a further six whose nationality may be lost or withdrawn upon the acquisition of another nationality.

Within volume 1, the rigour of the two analytical chapters is complemented by more discursive contributions. In particular, the chapter on ‘European trends in nationality law’ by Betty de Hart and Ricky van Oers surveys the latest developments and political controversies. Chief among the trends that they identify is a paradigm shift, whereby nationality status is now less likely to be treated as a means to social integration, and more likely to be understood as the ‘jewel in the crown of a successful integration process’. The renewed contribution of emigration from European states as an element in debates over nationality law is a second significant recent development which their chapter highlights.

The country reports in volume 2 are remarkable for their wealth of detail as to the history and politics of each state’s nationality laws. The country studies show in particular that the effect within nationality laws of contemporary immigration processes have varied widely. They range from the relatively liberal reforms in Belgium and Portugal, to the systematic introduction of new obstacles in Denmark and persistence with ethnic distinctions in Greece. The German case, analysed by Kay Hailbronner, is emblematic of the current uncertainties: a definitive rejection of an older ethnic conception of the nation, without the emergence as yet of a consensus as to the criteria of membership to replace it.

Within the project as a whole, a key chapter is that on ‘evaluation and recommendations’ by Bauböck and Perchinig in volume 1. In essence, this offers a contemporary restatement of a social liberal view of nationality law, based on recognition of an individual’s attachment to a society, rather than descent from co-ethnics and former residents. This restatement is unavoidably in tension with the material presented throughout the two volumes which shows a growing debate over social integration, particularly in states with substantial Muslim populations. The contemporary challenge for those who hold such a socially liberal perspective is to illustrate the incoherence of exclusion in the name of integration. There is every prospect that this unusually high-quality study will succeed in assisting in that endeavour.

BERNARD RYAN
University of Kent

Citizenship Policies in the New Europe, edited by R. Bauböck, B. Perching and W. Sievers (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007, ISBN 978905356922 1); 314pp., €41.15 pb.

The well written and very informative book complements the previous analyses and research carried out within the NATAC project devoted to the issue of the rules and practices regulating the acquisition and loss of nationality in the 'old' (15) EU Member States. The present volume, focused on the New Europe, is a collection of papers organised within four parts. With the use of the same methodological approach the authors examine the nationality regulations in the ten new member states that joined the EU on 1 May 2004. The eleventh chapter, devoted to the issue of citizenship in Turkey, was added because this country is similar in many ways to the two new Mediterranean Member States, Cyprus and Malta. Secondly, Turkey is by far the largest source of immigration into the old EU states. Finally, Turkey as a candidate to the EU provides an insight to the impact of enlargement on the concept and practice of citizenship.

The reports contained in the book do not aim at a legal comparison but focus upon the historical and political dimension of current regulations concerning the acquisition and loss of nationality. Thus, each chapter provides a history of nationality policy since 1945 followed by a description of the basic principles regulating the acquisition and loss of nationality in the respective countries. The next section refers to the current political debates and plans for future reforms. The last part of each chapter looks at the impact of the EU and other international institutions on the development of these regulations.

The volume clearly shows that the notions of citizenship in the 11 countries discussed in the study differ significantly from those existing in Western Europe. Citizenship in the new Europe is based on an ethnic interpretation of nationality. Secondly, there is a hostility towards multiple nationality and greater attention is given to citizenship links with ethnic kin-minorities in neighbouring countries and expatriates. Moreover, in recent citizenship provisions in these states emigration has played a more important role than immigration. Also, it must be emphasized that eight of these countries have experienced a transition from communist to democratic rule. And none of these states has enjoyed continuous independence for more than 60 years. A main lesson to be drawn from the volume is that despite some differences, all countries regard the regulation of acquisition and loss of their nationality as the essence of national sovereignty and self-determination.

The reader cannot avoid an impression that the volume would have benefited considerably from a conclusion linking together its different parts. However, this stimulating book is to be highly recommended as it represents an important contribution to a reflection and discussion on the state of democracy and the position of the individual in the New Europe.

STANISŁAW KONOPACKI
University of Łódź

Harold Wilson's EEC Application: Inside the Foreign Office, 1964–67, by J. Toomey (Dublin: UCD Press, 2007, ISBN 9781904558699); 147pp., €50 hb.

Jane Toomey's book is based on her PhD thesis. It is an examination of the role of the Foreign Office in the second UK application to join the EEC in 1967. It is thus not a complete history of the application, merely an analysis of how the Foreign Office convinced Ministers that EEC membership was the best available foreign policy option. Toomey's main sources are the Foreign Office papers, supplemented by interviews with some of the key officials involved. The interviews were conducted in 2001, so there has been some delay between completion of the research and publication.

Toomey brings out clearly the evolution in Harold Wilson's position on EEC membership, from hostility at the time of the Macmillan government's application in 1961, to agnosticism during his first administration in 1964–66, to support during his second administration, following the March 1966 election. During his first administration, he had been preoccupied by domestic economic problems and had little time for Europe. Early in his second administration, however, following the move of George Brown from the Department of Economic Affairs to the Foreign Office in the summer of 1966, Wilson quickly became convinced that EEC membership was the key to reversing the UK's economic and political decline. George Brown and the key Foreign Office officials responsible for European policy, as Toomey convincingly demonstrates, played a crucial role in this conversion by convincing Wilson that, with the declining economic and political significance of the Commonwealth and the strains on the Atlantic Alliance resulting from the Vietnam War, the Churchillian overlapping circles view of Britain's world role was no longer valid and that the only viable option was full-hearted commitment to the European circle. The FO had been committed to membership from around 1960. It bided its time during the first Wilson administration, but seized its chance after the 1966 election to persuade Wilson to make a second application, when he was looking for a new initiative to compensate for the failure of the National Plan.

There was, of course, one major obstacle to all this. De Gaulle had vetoed the first application in January 1963. As Toomey demonstrates, the Government took the decision to make a second application fully aware, from reporting from the Paris Embassy, that there was no clear evidence that he had changed his mind. During the tour of EEC capitals which Wilson and Brown undertook in early 1967, de Gaulle was discouraging without being openly negative. Wilson and Brown clearly hoped that firm support from the other five would avert a second veto, but as Toomey makes clear, in taking this view, they were more optimistic than the officials in the Foreign Office, who recognized, correctly, that de Gaulle was determined to keep the UK out and that there was no prospect of the application succeeding until he had left the stage. Toomey's book is a useful addition to the literature on the evolution of UK policy towards Europe.

TED HALLETT

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Christian Democracy and the Origins of the European Union, by W. Kaiser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780521883108); xii + 374pp., £55 hb.

In this impressive historical study, Wolfram Kaiser breaks new ground in research on the nature and origins of European integration, considering the long-term influence of political Catholicism and Christian Democracy on the process. Particular emphasis is placed on ideological conflict, initially between Catholics and Liberals and later between Christian Democrats and Socialists. For Kaiser, contemporary Europe owes far more to Christian Democratic party networks than to the European or resistance movements.

At the outset, Kaiser distinguishes his approach from those of political science, disputing their emphases on, and ascriptions of rationality and law-like behaviour to, formal institutions, whether national or European. Alan Milward is also singled out, both for criticism and praise; despite its state-centrism, it is arguably the work of this fellow historian which, in archival passion and mastery of detail, bears closest comparison with Kaiser's own.

Progressing chronologically, Kaiser situates political Catholicism in relation to upheavals such as the *Kulturkampf* and the Spanish Civil War. The hegemonic position of Christian Democracy in the immediate post-war period is explained by its anti-communism and the fixation of European socialists on the politics of class. Nor is the importance of aesthetics neglected: the attractions of technocratic governance by 'men in suits', which distinguished Christian Democracy from the fascist political theatre which preceded it, are given due acknowledgement. By the late 1960s, however, this stylistic orientation had lost some of its appeal; with an eye for historical irony, Kaiser notes how the youth and student movements of the time failed to appreciate the 'robust scepticism' of Christian Democrats towards 'individualistic US-style capitalism'.

Reflections of the former sort are a welcome alternative to the treatment of cultural mores as merely the backdrop for a deracinated, self-contained integration process. Against such a view, Kaiser emphasizes the importance of the 'cognitive structures and historically embedded [...] identities' which shaped Christian Democratic policy-making. Sadly, Kaiser's study ends with the era of the Maastricht Treaty, falling short of the dramatic politico-cultural shifts of recent European history. Of these, only the 'crisis of legitimacy' engendered by the failed constitutional referendums of 2005 receives cursory attention. With his sensitivity to the normative contexts of integration, Kaiser might, for example, have touched on the controversy surrounding Rocco Buttiglione's nomination as a European Commissioner or the implications for the European project of growing cultural diversity. An afterword to future editions of this work might profitably engage with such themes.

SHIVDEEP SINGH GREWAL
Brunel University

Beyond the Nation State: Parties in the Era of European Integration, by D. Hanley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, ISBN 9781403907950); x + 236pp., £45 hb.

Beyond the Nation State is the latest approach to the study of transnational parties (TNPs). Whereas the previous efforts in studying TNPs have been limited to the study of specific party families (most often the social democrats), the author of *Beyond the Nation State* takes a theoretically informed and comparative approach.

Hanley uses a bottom-up approach in analysing the creation of TNPs, which is seen as 'the seizing of new institutional opportunities by national parties' (p. 23). Even though most of the book is dedicated to the development of TNPs since the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979, the author dedicates a special chapter to historical analysis. He reminds us that the culture of transnational co-operation was developed long before the creation of the European Communities and traces party transnationalism to the First International of 1864.

Empirically, the core of the book is dedicated to well-informed analyses of party transnationalism across party families. There are six chapters, focussing on the social democrats, Christian democrats, liberals, communists, regionalists/greens and sovereignists/Euroscptics respectively. Each chapter contains both comparative discussions and single-party case-studies.

In these empirical chapters, the author explores two main issues. Firstly, the ways in which national parties use their membership in TNPs. It is argued that party transnationalism has often been seen as a way out of ideological crises, with TNPs acting as 'think tanks' (the case of the social democrats facing the erosion of the welfare state) or vehicles of ideological expansion (the case of the Christian democrats facing the changing value priorities of the western European electorates). In other instances, national parties which are excluded from office use TNPs as an 'investment' in supra-national levels of governance in order to increase their visibility. Nevertheless, as the author demonstrates, many parties in the communist and sovereignist/Euroscptic party families are not as enthusiastic when it comes to transnational co-operation.

Secondly, the author explores the balance between unity and diversity across TNPs. Through detailed narratives, the author describes processes of ideological expansion (conservative parties joining the European People's Party), factionalism (liberals versus democrats in the European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party), rapprochement (greens and regionalists into a single TNP) and creation of sub-groups (the Party of the European Left within the Confederal Group of the European United Left/Nordic Green Left) within TNPs.

In all, the book provides an excellent comparative overview of TNPs for researchers who want to explore this field. In addition, the analysis of transnationalism in families, such as the Euroscptics, for which the phenomenon has received little scholarly attention, is particularly welcome.

KOSTAS GEMENIS
Keele University

The Fundamentals of EU Law Revisited, edited by C. Barnard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780199226221); xxii + 299pp., £22.50 pb.

The rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by France and the Netherlands has spurred a plethora of research in both politics and law. This edited volume by Barnard is firmly in the latter category and is the product of lectures delivered at the European University Institute in Florence. The chapters reflect upon but do not explicitly examine the Constitutional Treaty. Rather the focus is a far more ambitious but diffused analysis of constitutionalism within Europe. Critics may argue that the European Union (EU) lacks a constitution, however, this would be an over simplification of a highly complex process of constitutionalization that has occurred over the last half century. Instead this text is based upon the acknowledgement that the EU is founded on a constitutional basis. From this starting point it is possible to examine the debates surrounding, for example, fundamental rights and social policy.

The contributions by Andrew Williams 'Respecting Fundamental Rights in the New Union: A Review' as well as Enzo Cannizzaro 'Unity and Pluralism in the EU's Foreign Relations Power' deserve mention. Williams outlines the development of human rights or 'fundamental rights' as they are referred to, from their non-existence to profound dominance within the contemporary EU. It is a common political myth constructed by, for example, the Commission and the European Court of Justice, that the 'European project' was founded upon human rights principles. Williams excellently exposes this by examining the development of human rights within the EU and its predecessors. He also provides a basis for how to talk about human rights within the EU which should be greatly beneficial for those conducting future research on the issue.

Enzo Cannizzaro offers a fascinating analysis of the highly complex external affairs of the EU. In so doing he examines the differences in competences between the EU and the European Community (EC). He highlights that the EC has a dominant position over Member States' foreign affairs in which the EC has either express or implied competences. This is in stark contrast to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the EU.

The highlighting of these two chapters is not intended to derogate other contributions. In fact individually each of the contributions is rich in information and highly meritorious. However, collectively they lack a defined purpose and a guiding thread linking each together. For those interested in a legal analysis of the constitutional debate that involves a very broad analysis of the activities of the EU then this text is an excellent contribution. Although this text is aimed at legal scholars, those in political science would also benefit from the reading of certain chapters relating to their focus on the EU.

MICHAEL CLARKE
University of Bath

Europeanization of British Defence Policy, by R. Dover (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, ISBN 9780754648994); ix + 190pp., £55.00 hb.

A decade after the adoption of the Saint Malo Declaration, the domain of security and defence policy still remains at the sidelines of the Europeanization research agenda. Robert Dover's book thus clearly breaks some new ground, while at the same time pursuing the rather orthodox argument that European security and defence integration can be best explained in liberal intergovernmentalist terms. Accordingly, Dover conceptualises Europeanization as a process whereby EU Member States upload their national preferences to the European level. This process occurs either 'formally' when supranational provisions become codified at Intergovernmental Conferences (IGCs) or 'informally' in the formulation of day-to-day EU politics.

As the elaborate methodological discussion in the first chapter reveals, Dover's study is based on an impressive number of primary and secondary sources, including some 50 elite interviews. Over the course of the following four chapters, an analysis of these sources culminates into the argument that the initial definition and adoption of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) reflected core British defence preferences. Thus, Dover points out that from 1997 onwards the Europeanization of British defence policy was part of a deliberate strategy, developed and implemented by a small cadre of officials and politicians under the aegis of then Prime Minister Tony Blair, which, *inter alia*, aimed at ensuring a continued US engagement in the European security architecture and a strengthening of the pan-European military capabilities following the Kosovo debacle.

According to Dover, by successfully invoking its political, military and economic power during the Anglo-French Saint Malo negotiations and several subsequent bilateral negotiations with French and German officials, as well as at the 2000 Nice IGC, the UK government was successful in negotiating a ESDP that largely corresponded to these core British defence preferences. However, Dover also emphasizes that past attempts to upload British preferences to the European level have not always fostered and sometimes even harmed further Europeanization in the sphere of security and defence policy and underpins this argument by providing a case study in chapter six, which discusses the European rift over the 2003 Iraq war. In the last chapter, Dover examines the acceleration of the Europeanization of arms production and trade in recent years, which is primarily driven by the supranational EU institutions and arms manufacturers, leading him to question carefully the accuracy of a liberal intergovernmentalist conceptualisation of Europeanization.

Indeed, this last chapter most strikingly reveals the main weakness of Dover's work, namely the inability of liberal intergovernmentalism to capture the multi-dimensional nature of the Europeanization of defence policy. Thus, throughout his book, Dover presents evidence which contradicts key liberal intergovernmentalist propositions regarding, for example, the role of the EU's supranational institutions in European security and defence integration or the impact of domestic interest groups on the formulation of national preferences. In addition, the distinction between

formal and informal Europeanization, which resonates well with core tenets of liberal intergovernmentalism, produces at best a distorted picture of European integration dynamics. It is unfortunate that in view of these obvious shortcomings of liberal intergovernmentalism, Dover fails to provide a more adequate theoretical foundation for his conceptualization of Europeanization.

However, despite these deficiencies, Dover's book offers an accessible and exceptionally well researched account of the Europeanization of British defence policy, which makes an important contribution towards advancing the long overdue inclusion of the domain of security and defence policy into a constantly expanding Europeanization research agenda.

JAN GASPERS

University of Cambridge

The European Union, by C. Archer (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, ISBN 978-0-415-37011-6); xix + 174pp., £14.99 pb.

Appearing in the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, you can see from the contents list how useful this short book will be. It covers the academic debate about the nature of the EU, a brief history of European integration, a description of institutions and processes, a survey of EU domestic and external policies and finally a chapter on 'Where to now?' This assesses the limits to enlargement, relations with rising states in a multi-polar world, the on-going debate about the nature of EU institutions, and a brief consideration of the survival or growth prospects for the EU over the next 50 years.

Close attention to detail, extensive footnotes, a bibliography (helpfully relating to each chapter) and an index of more than 500 entries (from Aceh to Yugoslavia) make this book more than useful; it comes close to being an essential guide for students having to come to terms quickly with the intricacies of the EU. Indeed, a number of practitioners could also find it useful, filling in areas of the map that they are not conversant with. The author makes sense of a wealth of information through straightforward analysis expressed in clear English, with telling examples well classified. Through this the reader gains an easily comprehensible overview of the course of events and the political arguments of the time, as well as the *post hoc* categorization of facts and trends by academics of various schools of thought.

The dispassionate point from which the author himself observes the fray is best illustrated by the concluding paragraphs of the section on institutions and processes (pp. 57–8). Here he describes the EU as a sphere that some observers see as 'an arena for demonstrating the virtues of the Community method' while others see as 'a battleground for the clash of states' interests'. Without taking a personal position he notes that 'the struggle continues in the legislative process to balance Union-wide interests with those of particular sectional and national groups'.

What weaknesses and omissions there are in the book appear due essentially to the necessary deadline for publication. Its analysis ends somewhere between the killing off of the Constitution and the birth of the Lisbon or Reform Treaty. It therefore fails to give much space to recent developments regarding energy policy,

in particular supply and security. It also underplays the latest Treaty provisions to expand QMV and co-decision, as well as some other details that emerged late in the negotiations.

But these omissions do not detract from what is an otherwise comprehensive, sympathetic and accessible description of the complexities and ambiguities of the European Union. It fills a vital gap in the series of more than 40 Routledge titles on 'Global Institutions' and will be appreciated by students, teachers and a wider public interested in this dimension of academic studies as well as in the current political debate.

MARTYN BOND

Royal Holloway, University of London

The Economics of Europe and the European Union, by L. Neal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780521864510 hb., 9780521683012 pb.); xiv + 440 pp., £60 hb., £23.99 pb.

Writing a textbook demands a compromise between what could be included and the available space. This compromise is particularly problematic for the economics of the EU because of the ever-increasing scope and content of EU economic policies. Larry Neal in his new textbook has made this compromise doubly difficult by including not only the economics of the EU but also essays on the post-war economic development of Member States (MS). Unsurprisingly this leads to a very uneven volume. This is also a very economic centric view of the development of the EEC which is seen as a means of reducing 'reliance on the United States as a source of imports in order to reduce pressure on recovering a nation's tenuous supply of US dollars' (p. 52). While this issue may be underplayed in many accounts, to give it centre stage in the EEC's development seems bizarre.

The economic policy chapters suffer from brevity caused by shoehorning so much into one volume. The theory is clear but lacks consideration of dynamic factors beyond economies of scale. There is an interesting chapter on the CAP. Monetary integration is dealt with in two chapters on exchange rate/monetary arrangements before EMU and on the ECB but there is very little on the Stability and Growth Pact and on the economic performance of the euro area. The Single Market chapter is dealt with in three chapters: first, a general consideration, which is short and descriptive with one page on competition policy; second, the single market for labour concentrating on migration, with a short section on problems of the labour force; the third, capital market chapter is too short to be very useful. Finally there is a chapter combining regional policy (nine pages) and development policy (six pages), again little more than descriptions of policy development. So the first part of this volume cannot be recommended as a textbook on the economics of the EU.

I am also not convinced of the utility of the half of the volume devoted to potted post-war economic histories of EU national economies. Given the number of economies considered (EU-27 plus Switzerland, Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey), and the time period covered, these are inevitably rather superficial. The one exception to this

is the consideration of the ten states that joined the EU in 2004 where a clear account of the processes of economic transition and accession is provided.

So overall this volume cannot be recommended as a basic text on the economics of the EU but it does provide some useful supplementary reading in some areas.

BRIAN ARDY

London South Bank University

Legitimizing the European Union: Aspirations, Inputs and Performance, by J. Mather (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, ISBN 9781403921086); xiv + 233pp., £45 hb.

Sixteen years after the Maastricht Treaty referenda in France and Denmark, the question of EU legitimacy continues to puzzle academics and policy-makers alike – and not without good reason. In 2005 European integration came again to a halt as a result of the French and Dutch people's refusal to consent to the adoption of a 'Treaty establishing a constitution for Europe'. Whilst the reasons behind the referendums' outcomes are complex, few today would dismiss European public opinion and support as irrelevant for European integration. Quite rightly Janet Mather argues there is little use in tackling EU legitimacy in isolation from European citizens' expectations and opinions. The cornerstone of her analysis is that regardless of any 'objective' legitimacy criteria or official rhetoric, as long as Europeans believe the EU is not legitimate there is a problem that needs to be addressed. Mather, however, is well aware that legitimacy is not simply about manipulating attitudes or managing public relations, although she acknowledges the role of the media and the fact the EU is often used as a scapegoat. On the contrary, legitimacy, she argues, is a complex concept, and different normative principles were used during different eras to justify government rule.

What makes the legitimization of the EU so difficult, Mather continues, is the co-existence of four different models of EU governance with conflicting interests and legitimacy demands. 'Technocratic Europe' is based on expert knowledge and elite leadership; 'state-centric Europe' serves national interests and sovereignty; 'multi-level Europe' favours the participation of non-state actors in the decision-making; and 'federal Europe' still aspires to a supranational state. Hence, EU legitimacy based on liberal-representative democracy is bound to conflict with 'state-centric Europe'. Likewise, national leaders are reluctant to grant real influence to non-state actors in the EU decision-making process. It goes without saying that a 'federal Europe' remains for many an anathema, whereas there are limits to what a 'technocratic Europe' can deliver.

The value of Mather's work lies not so much in offering new empirical data, but in introducing a historical dimension to EU legitimacy, in the extensive review of the EU's structure and policies, in the lucidity of her arguments and, most importantly, in her carefully calculated proposals for enhancing EU legitimacy. As she daringly declares, it is EU legitimacy that depends on European integration instead of the other way round. What is needed, therefore, is more, not less, powers to the EU. Increased competences to a Commission that is directly elected or at least has a directly elected

President, EU-wide referenda that will engage citizens throughout the EU and reserving a greater role for the EU in fighting global poverty and terrorism are some of the proposals put forward.

Even though she investigates a complex problem, Mather ensures the reader will follow her analysis throughout the book without being put off by unnecessary jargon. The fresh insights, the mildly optimistic note and her successful synthesis of a broad range of ideas and arguments signify a welcoming turn in a rich, though at times inaccessible to non-specialists, literature.

EMMANUEL SIGALAS
University of Reading

Central European History and the European Union: The Meaning of Europe, edited by S.J. Kirschbaum (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, ISBN 0230516823), xxii + 258pp., £50.00 pb.

For the understanding of east central European perceptions of the EU and its policies it is crucial to have a profound insight into the history of this region and its countries, as it is commonly interpreted as having a relatively direct impact on current everyday life, politics and policies. In this sense, the book demonstrates the right intention but the choice to publish an edited book instead of a monograph did not simplify the complex task.

One result is that the book is comprised of a selection of highly diverse articles regarding content and quality. This leads to the overall impression of a laboriously and not necessarily successfully arranged variety of texts. Read as independent texts, though, some articles take interesting perspectives. These contributions have in common that they refer to history and its application to current political questions as discourses, emphasizing their characteristically conflictive status and, therefore, their constructive nature. One example is the theoretically informed text of Juliane Brandt, which is complex and clear, highlighting processes of changing symbolic meanings in detail, which is similarly true of Stefan Samerski's, Krista Zach's and Mieczysław Biskupski's contributions to the explicitly historical section of the book. With respect to 'challenges of the EU membership', the substantial article of Laure Neumayer on 'Euroscepticism in Central Europe' stands out clearly, which is the case to a slightly lesser extent regarding the meticulously scrutinised text on 'Poland and the EU constitutional convention', written by An Schrijvers as well as for the informed analysis on Croatia by Mojmir Krizan.

These articles, however, stand in contrast to others, which are either of a journalistic rather than an academic type, or, and more problematic, attempt to represent history as a kind of stable entity which can be used to 'prove' some 'Europeanness' of east central European countries in order to provide evidence for the region and its countries to be 'at the right place' today. In a second step, this perspective is applied to 'Europe', describing it statically again by referring to Christianity and supposedly fixed values such as democracy and tolerance, as for instance in the editor's conclusion. In this way, he finally tries to provide the collection of articles with one overarching perspective, which he had already mentioned in his preface, by

suggesting the need of 'defining the meaning of Europe' as an 'end product', which surprises the reader but fortunately does not succeed as the dominating view of the book.

This static approach, however, is not only inappropriate, as it takes a defensive stake (contrary to the authors' intentions, obviously), but it also demonstrates an apparently still existing problem of communication between East and West. This is about form rather than content – but if the overall impression of this edited volume is representative, one positive aspect is that the described risk seems to be smaller for younger researchers who specialize in the region and its countries, being socialized in a very different way and somehow obviously less burdened with the experience of a (perceived) necessity of justification.

ANNE SOPHIE KROSSA
Lancaster University

Flexicurity and Beyond: Finding a New Agenda for the European Social Model, edited by H. Jørgensen and P. Kongshøj Madsen (Copenhagen: DJØF Publishing, 2007, ISBN 9788757417081); 610pp., £40.00 pb.

This collection provides 20 timely contributions debating the future of the European Social Model. The point of departure is the notion that the flexicurity concept might reconcile demands for labour market flexibility and security. Introducing the collection, the editors nevertheless warn against overoptimistic assertions. They suggest that 'it is the present lack of a precise and concrete concept of flexicurity used by the EU institutions that has secured the European success and status [of the concept] as a political celebrity' (p. 31). The book opens with some brief comments on the Danish and Dutch employment systems. Both are held to represent flexicurity objectives, but neither system can be considered to have the status of a 'model'. The editors stress, for example, that although Danish workers can move between employers and jobs without incurring high transition costs, this is only possible because they do so in a society characterized by a long tradition of social partnership and a high level of mutual trust between employers and unions. The authors believe that such country-specific preconditions cannot be copied at the EU level as 'collective entities and path-dependent developments are simply lacking at the European level' (p. 29).

The first section of the book provides analysis of the transitional labour market paradigm (Schmid); trade-offs in national employment systems (Auer); and of policies that facilitate transition between unemployment and quality employment (Gazier). Schmid argues that Europeans should be optimistic about their labour market performance. For example, labour force participation rates have increased substantially in Europe – in tune with the Lisbon agenda – whilst they have been virtually stagnant in the USA. Moreover, European growth has become more employment-intensive and remaining differences in GDP per capita between the US and EU are due more to longer working hours in the USA rather than specific advantages of the US system. Gazier suggests that the influential concept of 'make-work-pay', which is associated with OECD studies and US and UK welfare reform, should be replaced by the concept of 'making transition pay'. He holds that

short-term advantages in moving unemployed workers into low-quality employment 'may reveal very costly in the medium and long-term, with discouraged workers and low mobility' (p. 115).

The second section focuses on attempts to move towards more 'protected mobility'. It includes case studies of gender issues in existing labour market protection (Klammer) and the only comprehensive debate of the Danish case (Bredgaard *et al.*). A concluding third section provides in-depth studies of details of the flexicurity agenda.

Overall, this book deserves attention of all students of European labour market issues. However, there are also some shortcomings. In particular, the Dutch case could have received more detailed attention. Moreover, the early sections could have profited from more editing. For example, the Essen Council summit on employment took place in 1994 rather than 2004 (p. 23) whilst Schmid's contribution discusses Austria but the relevant figures in the table are missing (p. 53). Last, the collection would have gained by the editors trying to ensure stronger links between chapters, perhaps by providing some introductory and concluding remarks that summed up the core argument.

JÖRG MICHAEL DOSTAL
Brunel University

New Governance in European Social Policy: The Open Method of Co-ordination, by M. Büchs (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, ISBN 9780230506510); xiii + 206pp., £45.00 hb.

The book aims to analyse new governance structures in European social policy. In line with the analytical corpus on the open method of co-ordination (OMC) the book focuses on its emergence and implementation at national level. By concentrating on the comparative analysis of the implementation of the European Employment Strategy (EES) in the United Kingdom and Germany, the book makes a contribution to an under-researched area, which only few researchers had engaged in previously.

The book is clearly structured. It opens with a brief introduction into new governance and the dilemma of European social policy. The next two parts critically deal with OMC features and its aims as well as with the implementation of the EES in the two EU Member States. The book's evaluation discusses the OMC's failure to deliver effectiveness and legitimacy and presents a final conclusion on Social Europe and the OMC together with reform proposals.

In a brief theoretical part, the book presents helpful ideas about a revision of categories for the analysis of the OMC. However, although engaging in an implementation study, the author – due to the legally non-bindingness of the OMC – denies the benefits of the typology of national responses established by the Europeanization approach. Yet, at the same time, elements such as 'goodness of fit/misfit', the combination of top-down and bottom-up perspectives and the relevance of intervening variables are applied to the analysis. This confusing mixture of denial, consultation, reformulation, and application of the Europeanization approach leaves the reader somewhat unclear about the precise nature of the book's main theoretical innovation.

Regarding the empirical analysis of the EES, the book restricts itself too strongly to the way national governments use the tool to justify or reject reforms. This focus can deliver insight into the structural-procedural quality of the OMC. To offer more comprehensive evidence for its effectiveness and legitimacy, however, the analysis should have in parallel focused in more detail on policy change and its quality at the national level.

Additionally, subsuming employment policy under the realm of social policies is debatable. The existence of two separate treaty titles on the two policy areas, the treaty-based foundation of the EES and the marked differences of OMCs in social policy allow for a more elaborate differentiation. By taking the EES as a synonym for all OMCs in European social policy, the empirical analysis turns a blind eye to the particularities of different social policy OMCs and assumes too narrow a perspective to deliver overarching results on the whole policy sector.

Altogether, the book provides first steps towards the discussion of a re-categorization of OMC-related analytical concepts and empirical insight into comparative analysis on the usage of the EES/OMC by national governments.

GABY UMBACH
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Genèse et destinée de la Constitution européenne/Genesis and Destiny of the European Constitution, edited by G. Amato, H. Bribosia and B. de Witte (Brussels: Bruylant, 2007, ISBN 9782802723431); xxxi + 1353pp., €220.00 hb.

The French and Dutch no votes of 2005 threatened to condemn studies of the 2004 *Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe* – the EU Constitutional Treaty – and the process that produced it to remain unread by few except future historians of the EU. This would have been an unwelcome fate for this impressive and substantial volume. With much of the substantive content of the Constitutional Treaty finding its way into the *Treaty of Lisbon*, however, this worthy collection of authoritative, clearly written and informative analyses of the origins and substance of the Constitutional Treaty's key provisions will be of enormous value to those seeking to understand the reasons behind and the meaning of many of the envisaged changes to the EU's treaty base that the Treaty of Lisbon, assuming ratification, will introduce.

The volume, co-ordinated by the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute in Florence, brings together 42 expert analyses written by a mix of primarily continental European academic lawyers and officials, whether from the Member States or from the EU's institutions, involved in the European Convention of 2002–03 and the subsequent intergovernmental conference (IGC) that produced the Constitutional Treaty. For legal scholars, in particular, there is much in the volume to commend it, especially the detailed analyses of the treaty provisions and the significances of often minor but subtle changes to the existing wording.

However, although legal scholars dominate and the analyses of the various treaty provisions may at times appear too legalistic to non-lawyers, the contributions provide a valuable source for political scientists and historians seeking to understand

how the Constitutional Treaty emerged with the content it did. This is particularly the case with the early chapters on the Convention and IGC. There is less such explanation in the discussions of the treaty provisions themselves. Of greater interest therefore should be a third set of contributions that consider the significance of the provisions for the institutional development of the EU, its internal and, in particular, external policies, citizenship, differentiated integration and the question of the EU's *finalité*. Several of the authors here reflect too on the implications of the Constitutional Treaty's rejection.

Although lacking an index, finding one's way around this lengthy tome is made relatively straightforward thanks to the conventional French academic practice of providing a lengthy (34 pp!) and detailed *table des matières*. Three-fifths of the contributions are written in French, the remainder in English. There are also two useful tables of equivalence cross-referencing provisions from the existing treaties with the various drafts and the final version of the Constitutional Treaty. In sum then this would be a valuable addition to any academic library. Many may balk, however, at its cost.

DAVID PHINNEMORE
Queen's University Belfast

Constitutional Politics in the European Union: The Convention Moment and its Aftermath, by D. Castiglione, J. Schönlau, C. Longman, E. Lombardo, N. Pérez-Solórzano Borragán and M. Aziz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, ISBN 9781403945235); xii + 292pp., £55 hb.

During the 15 years from 1985 to 2000, the European treaties have been modified four times by means of intergovernmental agreements. In this decade a new procedure based on the participation of interests other than nationals (mainly from community institutions) on the definition of the legal framework of the European Union was essayed. The analysis of this procedure, the 'Convention method', is the aim of this book.

The volume is divided in four parts, each one focusing on a different analytical aspect of the process. In the first one, Castiglione reflects about the constitutional implications of the Convention method in the particular context of the European integration process, pointing out the confusion between those who may interpret it as a way for formally stating the European Union's constitutional character and those who see it just as a more inclusive way for modifying the treaties. In the second part, Schönlau formally analyses the Convention's work, contextualizing this new procedure by comparing it to intergovernmental agreements and to the Convention which drafted the Charter of Fundamental Rights. He also details how the body worked, highlighting the decisive role played by its Presidium because of the importance of its say in the final result. The third part shows that the Convention method, when drafting the constitutional framework of the Union, shares the very same problems the ordinary community legislative procedures do have. A good example of this is Longman's study of the Convention's language regime or, as can be deduced from the comparison of Pérez-Solórzano's and Lombardo's chapters, the different relevance of civil

society's and business' interests on the final decision. Lombardo also assesses the work of the Convention from a gender perspective, denouncing the low profile of the tasks assigned to women. However, her analysis loses some accuracy when studying how much the gender perspective was present in the final draft of the text, since what she considers a low focus on gender issues must be considered a commonly agreed legal technique which recommends an abstract drafting when protecting fundamental rights. On the other hand, there were some examples of fully constitutional debates, such as on which values European integration is based (Longman). Finally, the fourth part studies the legal effects derived from the Constitutional Treaty (Aziz) and the political consequences of the failure in its ratification (Castiglione and Schönlaui).

Despite the fact that the new Treaty of Lisbon has recently been approved, the study of the Convention method is still of great interest, since we can derive from it some significant conclusions about the constitutional status of the European Union. From this perspective, this volume is an excellent first step towards that new path on European studies.

FERNANDO LOSADA FRAGA
Universidad de León

Europe at Bay – In the Shadow of US Hegemony, by A.W. Cafruny and J.M. Ryner (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2007, ISBN 9781588265371); ix + 171pp., £11.50 pb.

This book is a really strange mixture. There are some academically sound sections, such as Chapter 6, where an interesting perspective on European integration is proposed. Past European analysis has been flawed, it is suggested, by a basic power concept. Structural power explains better why Europe still cannot vie with the US, despite its roughly equal economic weight; US dominance has been entrenched in the post-war economic system and Europe has neither had the will nor the power to seek emancipation from US hegemony.

There are other sections, such as Chapter 4, which only members of the UK Independence Party can read without a health warning. Particularly in reference to the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the euro, the authors can find only fault; for example, ECB independence is not an asset for economic stability, but tempts them to say that democracy remains as nothing more than a formal requirement in the EU (p. 137). And yet there are other sections where one finds a rather surprising advocacy of the European social model (Chapter 6). The authors distinguish between two major European integration projects. The first, until the 1980s, fostering a social conscience mostly of the caritative Christian-democratic nature, sometimes even wedded with a social democratic attitude of fair redistribution. The authors believe that the second phase, since ratification of the Single European Act (SEA, 1986), has been increasingly dominated by neo-liberal ideology.

Thus, the essential argument of the book is that Europe's subordination to the United States is the main characteristic of the European integration process. Coming back to their argument about structural versus basic power, EMU is seen as a European sign-up to US dominated neo-liberal economics. Particularly EMU has left

Member States so tightly corseted by economic austerity that they are incapable of resisting US domination. On the basis of this arrangement, Europe would never be able to stand up to the US, much less aspire to the status of a dominant world power (p. 12). This argument is thin, quite apart from the question as to whether it has ever been the purpose of the EU to compete with the US, much less to replace it as a world power – co-operation is clearly one of the underpinnings of the transatlantic relationship (p. 38). The argument is thin, too, because it really only describes post-war reality. This poverty of substance is also clearly reflected in the references. The list of works quoted is extensive (pp. 22–5), which, however dull, is good academic practice, but, disturbingly, the authors choose most references not in support of their argument, but to illustrate how European integration cannot be analysed and what Europe is not. This is very much in line with their own criticism of EMU: that this was not how Europe can be run or how it can achieve greater responsibility in the world.

Unfortunately, their own stance on US hegemony offers little in the way of alternatives, so that we are left with arguments – often disingenuous – serving only a negative viewpoint.

THOMAS HÖRBER

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The Yearbook of European Environmental Law Volume 7, edited by T.F.M. Etty and H. Somsen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, ISBN 9780199202751); lx + 571pp., £135 hb.

Like its predecessors, Volume 7 of *The Yearbook of European Environmental Law* takes a comprehensive view of the legal and policy developments relating to the environment at the EU level, and at the interface between EU and international law.

The first part of the Yearbook is devoted to substantial articles on a variety of topics. Although there is no common theme to link them together, and no indication of such in the editorial preface, the seven articles are well researched and written by a welcome mix of academics and legal and policy practitioners. The articles cover very diverse subjects. These include 'traditional' environmental law themes, such as wildlife under threat and the effect of the directives on the protection of species (Nicolas de Sadeleer) and a reappraisal of Article 2 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the climate change regime (Roda Verheyen). There are notably two articles discussing environmental dimensions to other EU policy-making areas: 'greening' the financial sector (Benjamin J. Richardson) and the potential impact of the Aarhus Convention on Export Credit Agencies in the EU (Wienke Zwier). The scope of legal analysis in the articles is thus broad, yet the relevance of the subject areas for all those working and researching the field befit the nature of the Yearbook as a reference source.

The second half of the Yearbook covers the sectoral developments in substantive EC Environmental Law during 2005, including pollution, energy and chemicals – the latter of which has a good introduction to the content and context of REACH by Candido Garcia Molyneux. There is also a short summary of the case law of the ECJ decided during 2005 and the documentation issued by the Commission, which will

already be familiar to many specialists in the area, but will remain a useful work for future reference and especially those who are new to the area. The editorial makes a point of noting the absence for the first time in the Yearbook of coverage of Commission compliance reports on the Member States, for the reason that their lack of substance and constant changes in format has rendered any useful comparisons from year-to-year an impossible task. It is hoped that this contributes to the Commission acting on its commitments to transparency.

Overall, *The Yearbook of European Environmental Law* continues to be a valuable addition to the scholarly literature on this important area and an important reference work in guiding through the maze of environmental law and policy at the European level.

PAUL JAMES CARDWELL
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Handbook of Quality of Life in the Enlarged European Union, edited by J. Alber, T. Fahey and C. Saraceno (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008, ISBN 9780415424677); xvi + 430pp., £95 hb.

'Social scientists have discovered Europe. They increasingly investigate questions such as whether specific hypotheses are valid in all European nations' (p. 405): this statement by Ulrich Kohler, one of the 23 authors of the *Handbook of Quality of Life in the Enlarged European Union*, well summarizes the purpose of this work to provide an overview of general living conditions in the European Union. Six key macro-areas have been investigated: fertility, families and households; employment and working conditions; material living conditions; housing; social capital and social cohesion; and processes of Europeanization. For each of them the authors provide a sound analysis of the main socio-economic trends in both the EU-15 and the new Member States (NMS), with special attention to the latter. The 12 countries which joined between 2004 and 2007 brought in much more diversity in the overall EU quality of life, therefore a systematic survey on all the EU Member States was necessary to better understand what sort of issues are now being debated in the EU policy-making arena.

The Handbook also brings to readers' attention subjects that normally are not considered as quality of life issues, such as fertility (chapter 1) and individual perception of social integration or exclusion (chapter 13). The survey highlights that EU-15 and NMS are not two separate blocks of countries experiencing two different trends, but many dissimilarities exist among countries inside each block. This is particularly true in the case of the NMS: often considered a homogenous group of countries, the study proves that they are not all the same, but often deeply differ from each other.

The only shortcoming is that the Handbook's analysis is most of the time a mere comment on the quantitative analyses of the data on the six key macro areas; it is not clear if and how the quality-of-life patterns described resulted from the existing EU and national policies or are the effect of other causes. While the quality of the analysis is excellent from a strictly methodological point of view, this may result in the type

of readers who can benefit from this work being restricted to socio-economic analysts. On the other hand, the rigorous analysis undertaken to illustrate what the quality-of-life trends are could form the basis for future academic contributions more based on similar empirical evidence. Overall, this is a book for social scientists and those particularly interested in the use of socio-economic analysis methods.

MONIKA MURA
University of Bristol

Political Islam and European Foreign Policy: Perspectives from Muslim Democrats of the Mediterranean, edited by M. Emerson and R. Youngs (Brussels: Centre for European Policy Studies, 2007, ISBN 9789290797111); 195pp., £15 pb.

This timely and comprehensive book attempts successfully at capturing the sentiments of acclaimed moderate Islamist party leaders and elites from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and the Palestinian Territory. The work offers a detailed collection of the parties' domestic evolution, their involvement level with the European Union (EU) and how they view the latter in comparison to the United States (US).

The book's strength relies mostly on its novelty, broad scope and ease of reading. It not only allows the reader to compare moderate Islamist thinkers and activists across a wide spectrum of states, but it also follows a clear methodology and questionnaires which facilitates drawing conclusions on their similarities and differences. This is a commendable attempt to examine in depth what moderate Islamists stand for and how they view EU foreign policies, namely on issues such as democracy promotion, the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). The editors rightly posit that it is time for the EU to add starting a dialogue with these parties to its list of strategic interests, to stop swimming with the current of the US and echoing the voices of neo-conservatives and to seize the opportunity of moderate Islamists stretching out a hand to build links with the West.

Notwithstanding all the merits of this book, there are some shortcomings that need to be addressed which in fact serve to open the space for further research on the subject. One such difficulty, which the authors themselves allude to, is how can one be certain that these leaders interviewed reflect the desires and needs of the people they claim to represent, without running public opinion polls to verify, especially when most of these parties have not enjoyed a long term in power? That leads to the second question which is, how can one be sure that once these parties are in power they will not change their moderate rhetoric towards the West, or even worse, develop different strategies that do not reflect the desires of their supporters? Finally, since the editors are advocating dialogue, what would be the first topics to discuss on the agenda and who is entitled to make decisions on theological issues if reform and change were proven necessary to reconcile Islamists' views on human rights with Western views?

That being said, one can definitely use this book as a cornerstone upon which other research, tackling difficult questions – about Islam–West relations, Islamic democracy and religious minorities' rights – would be built. Thus, I recommend this

book to any academic or practitioner who is interested in understanding political Islam and its moderate-form advocates, and to those who are interested in initiating an effective dialogue that aims at furthering co-operation between the West and moderate Islamists.

ROUBA AL-FATTAL
Leuven University

The European Union: How Does it Work?, by E. Bomberg, J. Peterson and A. Stubb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 2008, ISBN 9780199206391); xxviii + 270pp., £21.99 pb.

The writing team pull off a difficult trick with this updated and restructured book from *The New European Union Series*. The book is both a clearly written and illuminating introductory text and yet it also provides detail and analysis appropriate for a more sophisticated understanding of the European Union. The book is cleverly positioned, focusing on practicality. As the title suggests, it describes how the complex of institutions known as the European Union actually works. There is a useful up-to-date overview of key institutions, supported by a clear exposition of the processes and relationships involved at the European and state level, as well as at the sub-state level. Hence multilevel governance is shown as fundamental to policy-making, as well as engagement with lobbyists and contributions from the many directions that inform policy-making. This belies the frequent characterization of the Union as an overweening and centralized monolith remote from interest groups and stakeholders affected by EU-governance.

A further impressive feature of the book is whole chapters devoted to subjects that are often ignored or dealt with in a perfunctory manner, notably the internal security of the Union and its growing status as a global actor in trade, foreign policy and security and defence matters.

SIMON SWEENEY
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Beyond the Customs Union: The European Community's Quest for Deepening, Widening and Completion, 1969–75, edited by J. Van Der Harst (Brussels: Bruylant, 2007, ISBN 9782802724285); v + 393pp., €45 pb.

This edited volume includes contributions by various historians from across the continent and beyond, and stems from original archival research in Europe and the United States that serves to analyse the development of the European integration process since the 1969 Hague summit until 1975. The book is divided into five parts. The first part covers the foreign, security and defence aspects of the European integration process and examines the stakes of the main EC Member States in the nascent initiative of European Political Co-operation (EPC) in a context of *détente*, EC enlargement and the 1973 Oil Crisis. The second part looks at the 1973 enlargement, concentrating on Britain's changing attitude towards the EC, US views towards enlargement and the EC's (modest) record in promoting democracy in Spain. The

third part examines the consolidation of the EC's Common Agricultural Policy and traces the development of the Community's action in the realm of social, regional and educational policy. The fourth and fifth parts assess, respectively, Henry Kissinger's 1973 *Year of Europe* initiative (and the related 1973 December declaration on European identity), and the public perceptions and institutional development of the EC from the Hague summit (1965) to the 1965 Tindemans report.

The book calls into question the wisdom of some of the main features that stand out in the European integration narrative, notably a general instinct for developing one-size-fits-all abstract categories to explain either the development of the EC or the attitude of key Member States *vis-à-vis* European integration. The various authors put an accent on the inherent complexity of the integration process and on the necessity to enrich an abusive concentration on the general by further focusing on the specific. In a very important sense, the work plays as a wake up call from historians to political scientists on the perils of reductionism and oversimplification. As such, the book sheds much light on an important part of the so-called *dark ages* of European integration, calling attention to the rather dynamic nature of a period which illustrates well the dialectical relationship between the stimulating dynamics and countervailing forces that lie at the heart of the European integration process. As Thiemeyer asserts, 'The Hague' is 'a major breakthrough and the most successful conference since Messina 1955, preparing the first enlargement of the Community, the first extension of EC responsibilities to foreign and monetary affairs and the first completion of a Community issue with the definite financing of the Common Agricultural Policy' (p. 198). Political scientists should take note of the many complex dynamics identified in this volume when looking at existing contemporary puzzles (i.e. Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy or the evolution of transatlantic relations). Highly recommended.

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