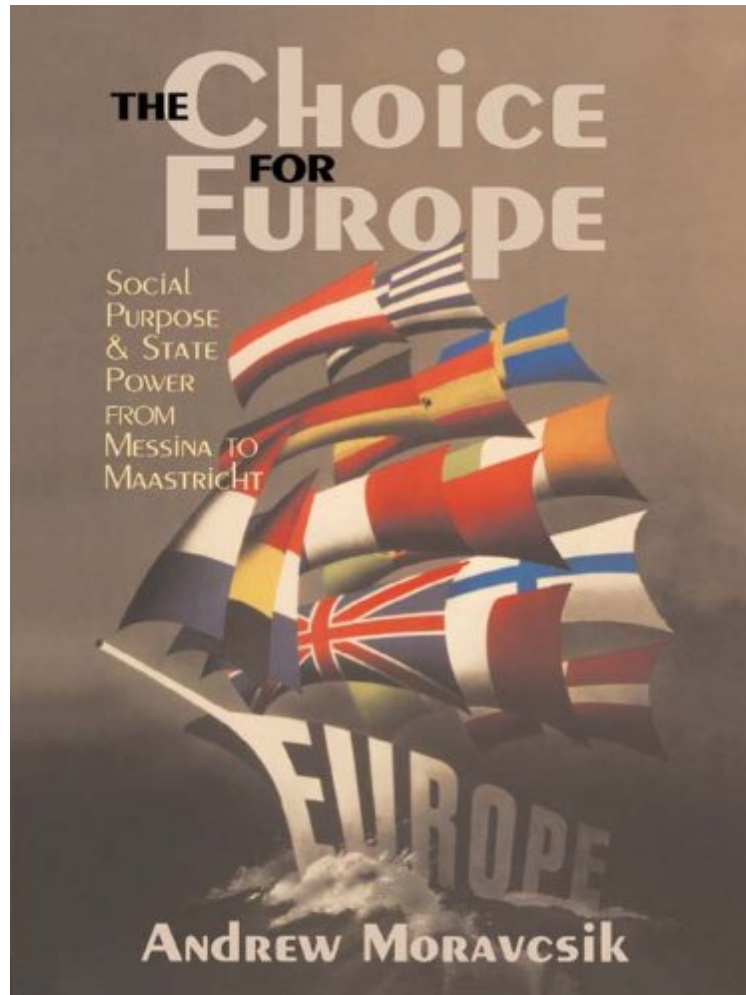


The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht

Andrew Moravcsik

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Andrew Moravcsik : The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht before purchasing it in order to gauge whether or not it would be worth my time, and all praised The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht:

0 of 0 people found the following review helpful. Inefficiency as a strength By Bart van den Bosch Interessant boek, maar een beetje te specialistisch voor geïnteresseerde leken als mijzelf. Moravcsik probeert in kaart te brengen hoe Europese staten er toe zijn gekomen om een deel van hun soevereiniteit over te dragen aan Brussel. Hij ontwaart drie processen die een verklaring geven; Policy demand oftewel vanuit het binnenland gestuurde vraag van interest groups die hun (meestal economische) belangen beter vertegenwoordigd zien op supranationaal niveau; Policy supply oftewel beleid dat (semi-gepland) totstandkomt bij de onderhandelingen tussen de lidstaten en het verschijnsel dat eenmaal ontstane instituten onderhandelingsprocedures gemakkelijker dwz laagdrempeliger maken. Hierdoor worden

volgens Moravcsik legitimiteit en geloofwaardigheid van Europese besluitvorming bevordert. De vraag blijft interessant wat de belangrijkste motor is achter het ontstaan en de uitbreiding van de EU is. Is het de Koude Oorlog? Is het het gevolg van idealisme van mensen als Monnet en Spaak? Is het de uiting van een soort Europese Volkswil? Is het een onbedoelde en sinds de oprichting van de Unie nauwelijks gestuurde onderneming waarin de deelnemers tot elkaar veroordeeld zijn? Deze vraag zal eerst beantwoord moeten worden voordat de EU een duidelijke plaats zal kunnen innemen in de wereld. Een cynische constatering zou natuurlijk kunnen zijn dat de ineffectiviteit van de Europese besluitvorming op een aantal essentiële gebieden als de belangrijkste verworvenheid wordt gezien door de lidstaten. Op deze wijze sparen zij, in hun beleving, de kool en de geit. De soevereiniteit van de nationale staten wordt niet bedreigd; sterker, de Europese overlegstructuren waarborgen nationale onhoudbaarheden, zoals het in stand houden van onrendabele economische sectoren als de landbouw. Als dit laatste de bepalende factor is, hoeft er niet gehoopt/gevreesd te worden dat er ooit een V.S. van Europa zal ontstaan."

9 of 9 people found the following review helpful. Political science for European integration historians

By A Customer

For once, here is a general text purporting to analyse the history of European integration that actually lives up to its billing. It is quite rightly considered a tour de force. Indeed, Andrew Moravcsik's "The choice for Europe" has already established itself as one of the most important publications to date on this subject. While it is obvious that the continued evolution of the European Union has been one of the most 'extraordinary political achievements' to have taken place during the 20th century, the reasons why this community of states was created in the first place and the ways in which it has since developed have not always been so convincingly explained or succinctly outlined, that is until now. What Robert Keohane describes on the fly-cover as the 'most compelling and significant analysis yet of the European Community' is just that. Moravcsik is not a historian, but in this text he tries to integrate political science theory into a historical study of European unity; this is in order to discover why there has been such a high-level of cooperation between Western European states during the last half-century. His book fills an important gap in our knowledge by tracing the somewhat erratic developments that have led to a greater degree of economic and political union gradually being instituted throughout this region and by placing these in a theoretical perspective. In this most accessible work, he persuasively argues that economic interdependence has been the prime motivator in successive governments making these rational choices. One of the weak (and strong) points however regarding Moravcsik's investigation is that it only focuses on the big European powers - Germany, Great Britain and France, as well as the European Commission - and does not really delve into small-power politics. Questions such as how these smaller nations tried to operate within, or negotiate entry into, the EEC as they became more aware and realistic about their world positions, how they operated in relation to the big powers, et cetera, must wait until their specific histories have been chronicled before they can be answered. At least historians now have a tool to do so. In taking the case studies that he does, Moravcsik examines them in the context of what he sees as the five decisive agreements that have driven European integration all the way from Messina to Maastricht: via the Treaties of Rome in 1957, the EC Merger Treaty and other consolidatory and expansionary agreements enacted during the 1960s, the various examples of European monetary integration during the 1970s and early 1980s, and the Single European Act of 1986, all the way to Economic and Monetary Union in 1991. In so doing, he develops his thesis on integration history to fit the facts rather than the other way round, while providing a critique of existing theories and presenting us with one of the best existing analyses on this topic. This volume by Moravcsik is clearly a strong basis for future historiographical debate.

5 of 6 people found the following review helpful. Renewing the Debate about the Causes of European Integration

By Dr. C. G. Mazzucelli

Andrew Moravcsik boldly makes the case for the centrality of the three largest member states in the construction of Europe. In this volume, Moravcsik articulates his "liberal intergovernmentalist" (LI) framework of analysis and utilizes primary sources to strengthen his response to Paul Pierson's "historical institutionalist" (HI) account of European integration. As Moravcsik explains, in making the choice for Europe "...it was the deliberate triumphs of European integration, not its unintended side-effects, that appear to have increased support for further integration. This is the key point of divergence between HI theory and the tripartite "liberal intergovernmentalist" interpretation advanced here. For most governments, inducing economic modernization-even with unpleasant side-effects-was the major purpose of European integration." (p. 491) One of the strongest contributions of Moravcsik's volume is to revisit the classic neo-functionalist-intergovernmentalist debate and to place it in a new theoretical context. To Moravcsik's credit, this tome offers a detailed, thorough and remarkably organized assessment of competing explanations in the European integration literature. Students and scholars of integration will grapple with the issues raised as a result of this work for years to come. Moravcsik's volume challenges the "myths" of European integration and calls into question the relevance of actions taken by supranational entrepreneurs. National versus supranational debates notwithstanding, Monnet's (and later Delors') talent was to seize a moment in history when Europe was at the brink of continuity or change. Monnet's use of crisis as opportunity sought to alter fundamentally the way in which France and Germany interacted within the European system. Is this not the essence of the Schuman Plan in 1950, namely, to use the opportunity to modernize France economically as part of an equation to make future wars with its neighbor across the Rhine impossible? Although convergence was already apparent among European economies, did the initial political decision to pool the critical resources in the making of war, to integrate in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), require individuals like Schuman, Monnet,

Adenauer and Hallstein to work against the fact that European states mistrusted each other and were therefore disinclined to integrate? It is most unfortunate that volume length does not permit Moravcsik to cover this initial case. In the light of the ECSC experience, was the agreement to create the Common Market in 1958 intrinsically about making European countries richer? The archival research of Raymond Poidevin and Andreas Wilkens sheds light on the experience of the ECSC. Their writings may help us evaluate the extent to which the initial experiments in integration, including the aborted European Political Community (EPC) and European Defense Community (EDC), influenced the interests of the Six during the Treaty of Rome negotiations. References to Poidevin's work are scarce among the 1116 footnotes in *The Choice for Europe*. There are some citations of Wilken's writings, but not those that critically evaluate the impact of Monnet's role during the period 1950-57. In Moravcsik's analysis, economic interests, asymmetrical interdependence and more credible commitments, respectively, drive states to negotiate, cooperate and integrate in Europe. Moravcsik candidly (and correctly) acknowledges that his primacy of economics explanation is less helpful to our understanding of German motivations to cooperate in Europe. In the French case, does Moravcsik's revisionist account successfully convince us that de Gaulle emphasized national economic interests over geopolitical priorities or an ideology of grandeur? By asserting that ideas motivate only when no strong interest is involved, does Moravcsik's account draw an unnecessary dividing line between the General's socio-economic and geo-political goals? It may be argued that the General's priorities were inextricably intertwined as President to assure the country's place as the first among states in Europe. My own volume on the Maastricht process demonstrates the relevance of two-level analysis. Other writings about Britain's role in the Maastricht negotiations likewise stress the importance of simultaneous domestic-international interactions in intergovernmental conference diplomacy. Given that Moravcsik's own prior writings strikingly illustrate the contributions of Putnam's model, it is puzzling why he does not emphasize two-level games in *The Choice for Europe*. Moreover, the potential for interactions among the three analytical stages Moravcsik defines in his book, namely, preference formation, interstate bargaining and implementation, also warrants more attention in future editions. The phenomenal number of sources cited in Moravcsik's tome is a compelling reason to include a bibliography, including the names, places and dates of all interviews conducted. This would help the reader locate cited materials more efficiently. Moreover, it would underline Moravcsik's attention to primary sources which brings us to a methodological point. Moravcsik does not cite magazine or newspaper articles and relies a good deal on confidential interviews. It may be argued that journalistic writings are helpful when "hard" primary sources, namely, internal government documents, are systematically cross checked with these accounts. Accurate journalistic reporting, when referenced consistently, can also confirm or deny explanations given in confidential interviews. These techniques allow for a greater degree of transparency in source materials. The preceding points are evidence that, given the numerous questions this volume raises, Moravcsik has admirably achieved his most important objective: to renew the intellectual-practitioners' debate about the fundamental causes of European integration. *The Choice for Europe* is recommended to a wide audience as an unprecedented work that incorporates elements of comparative politics, international relations and political economy in a historical narrative that challenges us to think critically about the reasons why states choose to cooperate.

The creation of the European Union arguably ranks among the most extraordinary achievements in modern world politics. Observers disagree, however, about the reasons why European governments have chosen to co-ordinate core economic policies and surrender sovereign prerogatives. This text analyzes the history of the region's movement toward economic and political union. Do these unifying steps demonstrate the pre-eminence of national security concerns, the power of federalist ideals, the skill of political entrepreneurs like Jean Monnet and Jacques Delors, or the triumph of technocratic planning? Moravcsik rejects such views. Economic interdependence has been, he maintains, the primary force compelling these democracies to move in this surprising direction. Politicians rationally pursued national economic advantage through the exploitation of asymmetrical interdependence and the manipulation of institutional commitments.

"This will become one of the most widely-used and authoritative sources on the politics and progress of integration in Europe. Moravcsik is well-known to EU specialists as one of the foremost theorists in the field. . . . An extremely good political history of European integration . . . which has strong claim to being the definitive work. . . . Given its length and detailed content and its masterly authorship . . . this volume will further Moravcsik's reputation as a contender to being the foremost analyst of integration in Europe." *Australian Journal of European Integration* "Moravcsik's brilliant book is, and will remain for a long time, one of the standard works on the subject. It is clearly a must for everyone seriously engaged in the debates of the discipline. . . . A masterpiece. . . . The depth of discussion and the treatment of the rich empirical material are truly exceptional and its analytical rigor is razor-sharp. . . . Moravcsik's book is an enriching and splendid intellectual operation." *International Affairs* "Few books are as clearly argued as Andrew Moravcsik's. . . . His analytical presentation is carefully articulated, his presentation of historical material is meticulous and his conclusions are at the same time provocative and well-grounded in existing debates. Simply, his is a book that is bound to generate useful controversy even among those who know very little about the intricacies of integration

theory beforehand. Moravcsik has succeeded not only in creating a touchstone for contemporary theorizing about Europe, but also in providing perhaps the best course book for advanced undergraduate and graduate students interested in European affairs. . . . At the same time, and perhaps more important, Moravcsik may inspire a new generation of students to take the study of Europe as seriously as they take the subject matter."?Eric Jones, Governance"Andrew Moravcsik, in this work of rich insights and cogent case studies,deserves complements for illuminating the 'grand bargains' that have forged and developed the European Community (now European Union). This work is a distinguished contribution to thinking about these paramount events in contemporary Europe. Moravcsik has performed a laudable feat by skillfully weaving the themes of nation-state decision formation with domestic socioeconomic variables, thereby enriching our comprehension about these frontier-shattering experiments in transnational co-operation. . . . The book is consistently interesting, stimulating, and intellectually challenging."?Pierre-Henry Lauren, International History "The Choice for Europe is a testament to Moravcsik's abilities. Not only does Moravcsik present a credible description of his representation of European integration, but he does so by integrating the forces of an interdependent global economy and the relative power of states within this system. While engaging with some of the specifics of European integration, Moravcsik's discussion presents a solid contribution to International Relations theory. The Choice for Europe is a major addition to the canon of European integration theory."?Ben Mueller, Canadian Journal of Political Science"The most important work in the field since Alan Millard's The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945ndash;1951, and the most ambitious interpretation of its subject yet written. Moravcsik has returned economics to the forefront of the history of European integration. He has mastered a vast, multilingual secondary literature. . . He courageously challenges the conventional wisdom on virtually every issue, and succeeds in debunking the tired claims of the memoirists that a handful of international technocrats created the New Europe."?William I. Hitchcock, American Historical "This is one of the most important books and probably the most ambitious one on the history and theory of European Integration which has been published in the 1990s. . . . The importance of the book is beyond doubt. Rarely have the core questions of European integration been presented in such a thought-provoking way, and it is extremely instructive to come to terms with Moravcsik's arguments even if one does not share the interpretation."?Dr. Hubert Zimmerman. Journal of European Integration History"This is an excellent book which uses a wide range of new empirical materials about the major decision points in the development of the European Union, and shows a mastery of the relevant theories and of the process of theorizing. Under both headings it is innovative and sophisticated, and deserves to be regarded as a major, even masterly contribution."?Nations and Nationalism"Moravcsik's book is a purely retrospective study (and all the better for it), examining why sovereign governments in Europe have repeatedly chosen to coordinate their core economic policies and surrender sovereign prerogatives within an international institution. . . . The case argued by Moravcsik is powerful, well buttressed by evidence, and weighty. . . . This is an original and challenging account of European integration."?Adam Robbers, Times Literary Supplement"Andrew Moravcsik has written a densely documented, well argued, intelligent, and aggressive book."?West European Politics"Moravcsik's book provides the most comprehensive account of the history-making decisions setting up the EC/EU available. It will set the standards in European studies for the years to come. . . . This book represents an excellent synthesis of his work. . . . Moravcsik's particular strength is his ability to combine in-depth historical analysis with rigorous hypothesis testing. This is the main reason why this book constitutes a model for future research in European studies and elsewhere. . . . This is a path-breaking book. . . . It also contains a political message that is utterly relevant for the future of the European Union."?Thomas Risse, International Politics"Moravcsik has produced a very well-written and ambitious work which addresses the flaws in previous scholarship on this issue. Simply stated, it is the best synthetic account of the European integration process currently available, and must be read by anyone with an interest in this intriguing issue."?Todd Alan Good, H-Net s"The Choice for Europe, Andrew Moravcsik combines social science theory with extensive empirical research to produce the most compelling and significant analysis yet of the European Community."?Robert O. Keohane, Duke University"Andrew Moravcsik has written the most thorough, and quite possibly the best, historical analysis of European integration extant."?Helen Milner, Columbia University"This challenging volume will be read?and re-read?for its insights into West European integration. Moravcsik's painstakingly thorough study lays out the rich evidence for his probing analysis of European statecraft."?Helen Wallace, Director, ESRC One Europe Or Several Programme, Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex