

## Andrew Moravcsik: ALL PUBLICATIONS

### ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

#### BOOK

[\*The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht\*](#) (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, European edition with London: Routledge/UCL Press, 1998.)

Selected Reviews:



Donald Puchala, "[Institutionalism, Intergovernmentalism, and European Integration: A Review Article](#)," *Journal of Common Market Studies* (June 1999).

William Hitchcock, "[Review of The Choice for Europe](#)," *American Historical Review* (December 1999)

[Symposium on The Choice for Europe](#) (James Caporaso, Fritz Scharpf, Helen Wallace) in *Journal of European Public Policy* (March 1999)

[Quotations from More Reviews of The Choice for Europe](#)  
[Bibliography of Reviews of The Choice for Europe](#)

*European Integration and the Liberal Theory of World Politics: Essays 1991-2001* (London: Routledge, under contract)

*A Liberal Theory of International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, under contract) (with William Burke-White and Anne-Marie Slaughter).

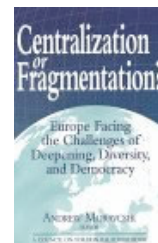
#### EDITED VOLUMES



[Europe without Illusions](#) (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005).

Moravcsik, ed., *Europe in the New World Economy*, International Library of Writings on the New Global Economy (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishers, forthcoming).

[Centralization or Fragmentation? Europe Facing the Challenges of Deepening, Diversity, and Democracy](#) (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1998).



#### ACADEMIC ARTICLES, BOOK CHAPTERS AND WORKING PAPERS

"[Democracy-enhancing Multilateralism](#)," Institute for International Law and Justice Working Paper (No. 2007/4, New York University Law School, 2007) (with Robert Keohane and Stephen Macedo).

["What Can We Learn from the Collapse of the European Constitutional Project? A Symposium"](#), *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 47:2 (forthcoming 2006). Part of a forum with Fritz Scharpf, Michael Zuern, Wolfgang Wessels, and Andreas Maurer.

Responses by [Pepper Culpepper and Archon Fung](#), [James Fishkin](#), [Mark Franklin](#), [Paul Magnette](#), [Giandomenico Majone](#), [Jeremy Rabkin](#) and [Loukas Tsoukalis](#), and Moravcsik's ["Response to Eight Critics"](#).

French Translation: ["Que faut-il retenir de l'effondrement du Projet Constitutionnel Européen?"](#)

["The Paradox of US Human Rights Policy"](#), in Michael Ignatieff, ed. *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

["The European Constitutional Compromise and the Neofunctionalist Legacy"](#), *Journal of European Public Policy* 12:2 (April 2005), pp. 349-386.

["The European Constitutional Compromise"](#), *EUSA Review* 18: 2 (Spring 2005).

["The European Constitutional Compromise"](#), *European Politics and Society (APSA)* 4:1 (Winter 2005) (part of a symposium entitled "Debating Federalism and Constitutionalism in the European Union" with Tanya Boerzel, Alberta Sbragia, and Gary Marks).

["Is there a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis"](#), *Government and Opposition* 39:2 (2004).

Reprinted in: David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, eds., ["Global Governance and Public Accountability"](#) (Blackwell Publishers, 2004).

"Enlarging the European Union: A Theoretical Perspective," in Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Zielonka, eds., *The Enlargement of the European Union* (forthcoming) (with Milada Vachudova)

Unrevised Working Paper Version: Center for European Studies Working Paper Series (Cambridge: Harvard University, forthcoming)

["Liberal Theory and the Politics of Security in Northeast Asia"](#) (Paper prepared for the Ford Foundation Project on Non-Traditional Security, Seoul, South Korea, 30 January 2004). (with G. John Ikenberry)

["Explaining the Paradox of American Human Rights Policy: Rights Culture or Pluralist Pressures?"](#) (Paper delivered at Conference on Unilateralism and U.S. Power, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, 5 December 2003).

["Britain and the Creation of the United Nations Human Rights Regime: Liberal Theory Confronts the Historical Record"](#), Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia Pennsylvania, August 2003). (with Ioannis D. Evrigenis)

["Theory Synthesis in International Relations: Real Not Metaphysical"](#), *International Studies Review* (March 2003). Part of a forum entitled "Are Dialogue and Synthesis Possible in International Relations?" with Gunther Hellmann, Friedrich Kratochwil, Yosef Lapid, Iver Neumann, Steve Smith, Frank Harvey and Joel Cobb.

["Bargaining Among Unequals: Enlargement and the Future of European Integration"](#), *European Union Studies Association Review* (Winter 2002). (with Milada Vachudova)

Polish Translation: ["Targi między nierównymi: Rozszerzenie a przyszłość integracji europejskiej"](#), *Unia & Polska* (Issue 19/2002, December 23, 2002).

Slovak Translation: ["Rokovanie medzi nerovnými: Rozširovanie a budúcnosť európskej integrácie"](#), *Listy SFPA* (November-December 2002).

["Europe without Illusions"](#), in Moravcsik, ed. *Europe without Illusions* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005).

Unrevised Working Paper Version : ["Europe without Illusions"](#), Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (Harvard University, 2002).

French Translation: "L'Europe sans illusions" in *L'Europe sans illusions* (Bruxelles: Bruyant, forthcoming).

["Le mythe du déficit démocratique européen,"](#) *Raisons politiques* (Paris, May-July 2003).

["Liberal International Relations Theory: A Scientific Assessment"](#) in Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, eds. *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 159-204.

Unrevised Working Paper Version: ["The Liberal Paradigm in International Relations Theory: A Social Scientific Assessment"](#) Weatherhead Center Working Paper Series No. 01 (Cambridge: 2001).

["On Democracy and 'Public Interest' in the European Union,"](#) in Wolfgang Streeck and Renate Mainz, eds., *Die Reformierbarkeit der Demokratie. Innovationen und Blockaden* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2002). (with Andrea Sangiovanni)

Unrevised Working Paper Version: ["On Democracy and 'Public Interest' in the Europe Union,"](#) Center for European Studies Working Paper.

["In Defence of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union,"](#) *Journal of Common Market Studies* (40th Anniversary Edition) 40:4 (November 2002).

Reprinted in: Joseph H H Weiler, John Peterson and Iain Begg, eds., ["Integration in an Expanding European Union: Reassessing the Fundamentals"](#) (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishing, forthcoming).

Unrevised Working Paper Version: ["In Defence of the Democratic Deficit: Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union"](#) Center for European Studies Working Paper.

For a summary and review, see Julie Smith, ["Global Newsstand: The Heartless EU,"](#) *Foreign Policy* (March 2003).

Andreas Føllesdal and Simon Hix, ["Why there is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: a Response to Majone and Moravcsik,"](#) (forthcoming, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, June 2006).

["National Interest, State Power, and EU Enlargement,"](#) *East European Politics and Society* (February 2003) (with Milada Vachudova)

For unabridged, fully footnoted working paper version, click [here](#).

Czech Translation: ["Evropská unie za bodem návratu,"](#) *Prítomnost* (Winter 2003).

["The New Abolitionism: Why Does the US Practice the Death Penalty while Europe Does Not?"](#), *European Studies* (September 2001).

Response: ["The New Abolitionism: American or European Exceptionalism regarding the Death Penalty?"](#) (Stephen J. Silvia and Aaron Beers Sampson)

Rejoinder: ["The Death Penalty: Getting Beyond 'Exceptionalism'"](#)

["Federalism in the European Union: Rhetoric and Reality,"](#) in Kalypso Nicolaïdis and Robert Howse, eds., *The Federal Vision: Legitimacy and Levels of Governance in the US and the EU* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

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["Is Anybody Still a Realist? The Authors Reply,"](#) in "Correspondence: Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm? (Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?)," *International Security* (Summer 2000). (Reply to critiques by Peter Feaver, Gunther Hellmann, Randall Schweller, Jeffrey Taliaferro and William Wohlforth)

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"De Gaulle between Grain and Grandeur: The Economic Origins of French EC Policy, 1958-1970," [Part I](#) and [Part II](#), *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Spring 2000 and Fall 2000).

Unrevised Version: ["De Gaulle and Europe: Historical Revision and Social Science Theory"](#) CES Working Paper No. 8-5 (Center for European Studies, Harvard University, 1998).

["Is Something Rotten in the State of Denmark? Constructivism and European Integration,"](#) *Journal of European Public Policy* ("Special Issue: The Social Construction of Europe," 6:4, 1999).

Reprinted as: "Social Constructivism and European Integration: A Critique," in Thomas Christiansen, Knud Erik Jørgensen, and Antje Wiener, eds. [The Social Construction of Europe](#) (London: Sage, 2001).

["Le grain et la grandeur: les origines économiques de la politique européenne du général de Gaulle \(Partie I et II\)"](#) *Revue française de science politique* (August 1999 and February 2000).

["Grain and Grandeur: Was De Gaulle Really a Visionary Statesman?"](#) *Europe (NYU)* (December 1999).

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["From the Outside In: International Relations and the 'Obsolescence' of Comparative Politics,"](#) *APSA-CP*

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"[Explaining International Human Rights Regimes: Liberal Theory and Western Europe](#)" *European Journal of International Relations* (Summer 1995).

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"[Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach](#)," *Journal of Common Market Studies* (30th Anniversary Edition) (December 1993).

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"Integrating International and Domestic Politics: A Theoretical Introduction" (Chapter One) in Peter Evans, Harold Jacobson and Robert Putnam, eds. *Double-Edged Diplomacy: Interactive Games in International Affairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

"Armaments among Allies: Franco-German Weapons Cooperation, 1975-1985" (Chapter Eight) in Evans, Jacobson and Putnam, eds. *Double-Edged Diplomacy* (see above).

"The Political Economy of Financial Assistance to Eastern Europe, 1989-1991" (with Stephan Haggard) in Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye and Stanley Hoffmann, eds., *After the Cold War: Politics and Institutions in Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

"Integrating the Two Halves of Europe: Theories of Interests, Bargaining and Institutions" (with Stephen Haggard, Marc Levy and Kalypso Nicolaïdis) in Keohane, Nye and Hoffmann, *After the Cold War* (see above).

"[Interests and Ideals in the European Community: The Case of the French Referendum](#)" *French Politics and Society* (Winter 1993).

"[European Federalism and Modern Social Science: A Rejoinder on the Maastricht Referendum](#)" *French Politics and Society* (Spring 1993).

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"[Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community](#)" *International Organization* (Winter 1991).

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Robert O. Keohane and Stanley Hoffmann, eds. [The New European Community](#) (Boulder: Westview, 1991).

Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubb, eds. [The European Union](#) (Boulder: Westview, 1994).

Michael O'Neill, ed. [The Politics of European Integration: A Reader](#) (London: Routledge, 1996).

"[The Future of the European Armaments Industry](#)" *International Defense Review* (September 1991) (with Philippe Cothier).

"[The European Armaments Industry at the Crossroads](#)" *Survival* (January-February 1990).

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"[Disciplining Trade Finance: The Origins and Success of the OECD Export Credit Arrangement](#)" *International Organization* (Winter 1989).

"Lengthening the Fuse: No-First-Use and Disengagement" (with Daniel Arbess) in Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Graham Allison and Albert Carnesale, eds. [Fateful Visions: Beyond Nuclear Deterrence](#) (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1988).

## **PUBLICATIONS: ACADEMIC BOOK REVIEWS**

[Review](#) of Stefano Bartolini, *Restructuring Europe: Centre Formation, System Building, and Political Structuring between the Nation State and the European Union* (2005) in *West European Politics*, May 2006.

[Review](#) of Olivier Bange, *The EEC Crisis of 1963* (2000), in *American Historical Review*, December 2001.

[Review](#) of Jean Blondel, Richard Sinnott, and Palle Svensson, *People and Parliament in the European Union: Participation, Democracy, Legitimacy* (1998) in *American Political Science Review*, June 2001.

[Review](#) of Robert Gilpin, *The Challenge of Global Capitalism: The World Economy in the 21st Century* (2000) in *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 2000.

Review of Anthony Forster, *Britain and the Maastricht Negotiations* (1999) in *International History Review*, forthcoming.

Review of Stephen Wood, *Germany, Europe and the Persistence of Nations* (1998) in *International History Review*, June 1999.

Review of John Duffield, *World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions, and German Security Policy after Unification* (1998) in *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, September 1999.

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Review of Piers Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (1997) in *Journal of European Integration History*, 2/1998

[Review](#) of Philomena Murray and Paul Rich, eds. *Visions of European Unity* (1994) in *European Journal of International Law*, 2/1998.

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1996.

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Review of David Long, *Towards a New Liberal Internationalism* (1996) in *Millennium*, Spring 1996.

[Review](#) of Alan Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (1992) in *Journal of Modern History*, March 1995.

[Review](#) of Smith and Ray, eds., *The 1992 Project and the Future of Integration in Europe* (1993) and Alan Cafruny and Glenda Rosenthal, eds., *The State of the European Community: The Maastricht Debates* (1993) in *American Political Science Review*, June 1994.

[Review](#) of McElroy, *Morality and American Foreign Policy* (1991) in *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1993.

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[Review](#) of Michael Brzoska and Peter Lock, eds. *The Restructuring of Arms Production in Western Europe* (1992) in *American Political Science Review*, March 1993.

Review of Herbert Giersch, et al., *The Fading Miracle: Four Decades of Market Economy in Germany* (1992) in *German Politics and Society*, Spring 1993.

## **PUBLISHED AND PUBLIC SYMPOSIA ON MORAVCSIK'S SCHOLARSHIP**

Special Section of *Journal of Cold War Studies* on "The Choice for Europe: Soft Sources, Weak Evidence?" (forthcoming, Summer 2004), with Robert H. Lieshout, Mathieu L.L. Segers and Anna M. van der Vleuten, and author's rejoinder.

Round Table session of the Yale-Harvard-Boston University Conference on International History (Cambridge 2001) on "Grain and Grandeur: The Political Economy of De Gaulle's Europe" with critique by Ted Bromund and author's response.

Special section of *International Security* (Summer 2000) entitled "[Brother, Can You Spare a Paradigm? \(Or Was Anybody Ever a Realist?\)](#)," with critiques by Peter Feaver, Gunther Hellmann, Randall Schweller, Jeffrey Taliaferro and William Wohlforth, and authors' response.

[Special issue](#) of the *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Fall 2000) devoted to "Grain and Grandeur: The Political Economy of French European Policy" with critiques by John Gillingham, Stanley Hoffmann, John Keeler, Alan Milward, Marc Trachtenberg, and Jeffrey Vanke, and author's response. [Further on-line H-Diplo refereed commentary and exchange](#) involving Sean Kennedy and Irwin Wall.

[Round Table session](#) of 12th Annual Conference of Europeanists (Chicago 2000) "Roundtable on Theory and Method in Moravcsik's *Choice for Europe*" with George Moss, George Ross, and Alberta Sbragia, and author's response.

[Special section](#) of *International Organization* (October 1999) on "A New Statecraft?" with [critique](#) by Oran Young and author's [response](#).

Round Table session of the 1999 Annual Convention of the American Political Science Association on the article "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" with comments by Stephen Krasner, David Lake, Randall Schweller, Stephen Walt, and authors' response.

Special section of *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* (July 1999) entitled "[Riding the AM-Track through Europe](#)," with critique by Thomas Diez and author's response.

Special section of *Journal of European Public Policy* (March 1999) entitled "[The Choice for Europe - Current Commentary and Future Research](#)" with critiques by James Caporaso, Fritz Scharpf, and Helen Wallace, and author's response.

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[Special section](#) of *Journal of Common Market Studies* (December 1995) on the article "Preferences and Power in the European Community," with critique by Daniel Wincott and author's response.

## COMMENTARY AND REVIEWS IN JOURNALS OF CIVIC OPINION

Contribution to "[Symposium: American exceptionalism - Is there a moral high ground?](#)" *International Herald Tribune* (23 May 2007).

"[Europe's Anti-Ballistic Missile Defense](#)," *Newsweek* (International edition, 30 April 2007).

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[For author's exchange with readers, click [here](#).]

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"[The Future of the Constitutional Process of the European Union](#)," *Report to European Parliament Symposium* (13-14 October 2005) (with Kalypso Nicolaidis).



["Dog and Tony Show,"](#) *Newsweek* (International edition, 7 November 2005).

["Brussels Diary: An End to Constitutional Confusion,"](#) *Prospect* (October 2005, 10th Anniversary Special Issue).

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["How to Fix Europe's Image Problem,"](#) *Foreign Policy* (May-June 2005). (with Kalypso Nicolaidis)

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