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Laurent Warlouzet, *Governing Europe in a Globalizing World : Neoliberalism and its Alternatives following the 1973 Oil Crisis*, Abingdon : Routledge, 2018; 288pp.; £105 hbk; ISBN 978-1138729421

Laurent Warlouzet's book offers a comprehensive, well-researched and innovative look into the transformations of the 1970s and 1980s that affected European integration amidst global change. Warlouzet challenges the widely-held view according to which European integration follows a straightforward, predetermined and linear path towards ever greater neoliberalisation. He shows the all-too simplistic nature of this interpretation, and highlights by contrast the different paths open to the process of European integration. These different paths, according to Warlouzet, essentially revolved around three types of models: 'socially-oriented,' 'neomercantilist,' and 'market-oriented.' The first aims to diminish social inequalities; the second focuses on maximising industrial output; and the third promotes free-market reforms. In that framework, so-called neoliberal policies are only a radical variation of a market-oriented programme. But the book does not just covers a wealth of models, it also includes many different policy areas : social affairs, multinationals, manufacturing, high-technology champions, competition policy, and the making of the Single European Act. Such a variety of policy areas is rarely reached in a single monograph, and it is no small feat that Warlouzet succeeds in having covered all these themes and done so in a very clear and readable fashion.

Warlouzet covers material from many different archives, essentially from the largest member states (France, Germany and the UK), relevant international institutions (obviously European Economic Community, but also International Labor Organisation, and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), as well as the papers of some non-state actors (trade unions and business organisations). The book is at heart a piece of historical research, although Warlouzet's awareness and inclusion of works outside the traditional remit of the historical discipline is obvious. The author however claims to be inspired by a 'historical institutionalist' approach in which time matters in analysing decision-making processes (p. 9). I was a bit surprised to read this penned by an historian, as I would have thought that it were first and foremost historians who introduced the time factor in analysing decision-making, and indeed not just in decision-making.

The book's large scope invites further reflections that could admittedly not really be covered by the author himself due to constraints of space. A first aspect is related to the issue of 'governance' which – paradoxically given the book's title – is relatively little covered. To be fair, the evolution of the institutional framework in each of the policy areas is carefully tracked. But Warlouzet does not provide a standalone reflection of the evolution of the EEC as a whole, semi-federal system. Was the EEC governance structure fundamentally different at the end of the period under scrutiny from where it had started at the beginning?

A second aspect is related to the notion that the EEC would be a 'second-best outcome', to which the author often refers to. Warlouzet writes this in reference to other options available – nationalistic, bilateral, international – that could have been chosen. But this begs the question as to what could have been a 'first-best option'? The author mentions this only briefly in the conclusions (p. 218), but could have pushed it further. One may indeed argue that in many ways the EEC could only be second-best: an ideal international agreement fully satisfying all contracting parties – the ideal 'first-best outcome' – is difficult to imagine.

A third and final aspect relates to the 'balance' among the three different models that Warlouzet puts forward on the making of European integration. He claims that there was a degree of balance reached among them in the mid-1980s (p. 180). While he does show that the three models kept co-existing to a certain extent, I am still not fully convinced. True, social aspects of European integration regained some prominence in the mid-1980s and were seen as a contribution to compensate for the development of the 'market-oriented' and neoliberal dimensions. But the setting of the European

Monetary System was still clearly putting the onus of intervention on the weaker currency countries, in the absence of any significant Community-wide redistribution mechanism. Is there any balance left among the three models then? An EEC-wide redistribution mechanism clearly belongs to the socially-oriented model, while the responsibility of intervention falling on weaker currency countries tends to reflect a market-oriented model. But the latter certainly took precedence over the former in the course of the 1980s and beyond. The concept of 'putting your house in order first' clearly became the dominant view within European economic and monetary debates, at the expense of a possible fairer burden-sharing at an EEC-wide level. These three aspects on governance, best outcome and the possible balance among the different models of European integration highlight that Warlouzet's comprehensive and well-structured volume is a stimulating read, which is likely to become a classic.

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