

euroscope

Message from the Co-Director

Happy New Year and welcome to the Spring Term Euroscope. Yet again we have a full issue with many things to celebrate and look forward to. First let me welcome the 2008 cohort of Chevening Fellows in European Political Economy. This is the third group of fellows we have hosted at SEI. The FCO funded programme is designed to give a group of mid career high flyers from the post-2004 member states and candidates an opportunity to study and engage British and other European policy makers and practitioners on the economic agenda from the European Union. They will visit think tanks, Departments of State, Parliaments (Westminster, Scottish and European), the EU Commission as well as hearing from academics at SEI and elsewhere.

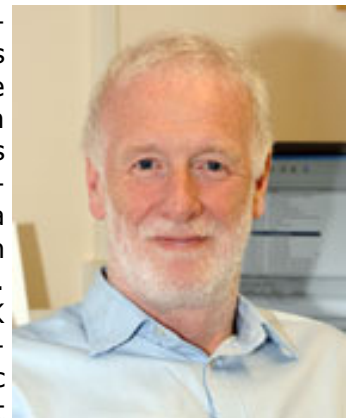
Looking forward the other issue which will occupy us in the next year is the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). This is a major event in the lives of all British academics since its results determine the future research funding made available from the Higher Education Funding Councils. I am a member of the European Studies sub-panel (and our Honorary Professor Helen Wallace is a member of the Politics and International Studies panel). This will entail meetings and a lot of reading of re-

search outputs and research strategies. The results will be done by the end of the year. Finally in the welcoming mode Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, my co-director at SEI is returning from research leave. Aleks will talk at the Research in Progress seminar on 29 January.

Let me also note here a very notable research funding success by Dr Lucia Quaglia, Senior Lecturer in European Political Economy. Lucia has been awarded a grant of £230,000 to study the governance of European financial markets by the newly set up European Research Council. This is the first round of these very prestigious grants and the competition was extremely tough, no other Sussex researcher has been successful. The grant will allow Lucia to research for three years and will allow the department to hire a replacement for that time.

I gave my professorial lecture last term. A short summary is on page 27. Those of you with a spare 40 minutes can listen to the podcast of the lecture and view the slides at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sussexlecturesarchive/lectures2007>.

Now to three substantive issues: first the Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty duly signed, now we enter the ratification phase. That promises to be hard fought in the UK at least. On the question of substance we will have a Roundtable on the treaty on 15 January with John Palmer (Former Chair of the European Policy Centre in Brussels and before then the Guardian's European Editor and who is now an SEI Practitioner Fellow), Lucia Quaglia, Adrian Treacher and myself. The debate in the UK promises to be fertile. The eurosceptic press; a resurgent eurosceptic Conservative party; the



Professor Jim Rollo

Inside	page
◆ SEI Diary	3
◆ SEI Working Papers	8
◆ EPERN Briefing Papers	9
◆ SEI RIP Seminar Timetable	9
◆ Politics Seminar Timetable	11
◆ <i>Feature: The 2007 Polish Election</i>	12
◆ SEI Student Report	16
◆ Conferences and Seminars	17
◆ Ongoing Research	20
◆ SEI Researcher Workshops	21
◆ Professorial Lecture	27
◆ SEI Dispatches	27
◆ Obituary: Bruce Graham	28

weakened Labour government with a euro-sceptic wing in parliament will ensure this. The key argument is whether the Lisbon Treaty is the same as the proposed constitutional treaty that failed in 2005 and hence whether it requires a referendum to ratify it (as promised by Tony Blair in 2003). I am old fashioned enough to prefer parliament to referendums on issues as complex as Treaty ratification so I am happy with the government's decision to go with parliamentary ratification. I fear however that this decision may not hold.

Second, the continuing attempts to revive the Doha Development Agenda in the WTO. I remain pessimistic. I think this is a dead parrot. As I have noted before the causes are multiple: the difficulty of reaching consensus in an organisation of 150 members; the failure of the EU and the US to offer sufficient liberalisation of agricultural trade or cuts in agricultural subsidies; the unwillingness of the major developing countries, notably India and Brazil but also, apparently silent on the side lines, China to legally bind liberalisation on manufacturing and services; the rise of regionalisation taking negotiating resources away from the WTO; and a general resistance to more liberalisation among the developing countries. These all add up in my mind to an insurmountable barrier to anything but a feeble agreement made largely to preserve the conventions and allow the WTO membership to regroup.

An outright failure to reach an agreement would be very dangerous for the world trade system. The big players would look to hegemonic regional agreements. The smaller countries would find themselves subject to power plays by the big countries. The WTO dispute settlement system – a fairly substantial global trade court – would start to fail in the absence of multilateral liberalisation and global rules making. So the stakes are high. One of the key challenges is to mitigate the negative effects of regionalisation. Sussex is making its own contribution through economic research on the impact of regionalism – see the website of the Centre for the Analysis of Regional Integration at Sussex (CARIS), www.sussex.ac.uk/units/CARIS/ for details of existing research and watch it for a developing research agenda – a key topic in my professorial lecture. The other contribution is the Sussex Framework for analysing regional agreements which is designed to help negotiators, particularly in developing countries,

to navigate the shoals of such agreements. In that context I have now proposed that there should be a new, small, international organisation to help developing countries negotiate such agreements in particular with larger partners. This I propose be called the Advisory Centre on Regional Trading Arrangements (ACORTA) (see page 26).

The final topic that I want to touch on is EMU. Membership, increased to 15 on 1 January as Malta and Cyprus joined up. The incoming Danish government has proposed a referendum on EMU membership (and it should be stressed other Danish opt outs). The new Polish government is also considering a timetable for EMU membership. Slovakia is in the pipeline as are Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. So what about British membership? The topic has been off the agenda since the Treasury carried out an assessment of the five tests in 2004.

The general success of British economic institutions and policies have strengthened arguments made against the case for membership. That however, may be changing. The Northern Rock debacle has undermined the reputation of British institutions and policymakers. At the same time the European Central Bank has, so far, handled the implications of the global credit crunch for euro-zone financial markets with aplomb and gained reputationally. Add to all this the difficulties that face British fiscal policy and perhaps the technical case against British membership is not as strong as it was.

The politics however remain inimical. A weakened prime minister is unlikely to abandon the crown jewels though a hung parliament with Liberal Democrats holding the balance might change this. Short of economic catastrophe it is unimaginable that a conservative government would take Britain in. Nonetheless as we face a difficult outlook for the world, European and British economies, policy choices may open up. Do I think this is likely? The answer must be no but as the gilt comes off the British model of macro economic and financial governance it is worth considering alternatives and I hope that someone in Whitehall is dusting off the files to have a look, if only to dismiss the option explicitly rather than by default.

Prof Jim Rollo

SEI Diary

During the autumn of 2007 members of SEI have been involved in many memorable activities connected to teaching and research on contemporary Europe.

September: Papers

Aleks Szczerbiak presented the paper 'Will the autumn elections in Poland result in real change and political stability?' at a briefing seminar for Ric Todd, the UK's Ambassador-Designate to Warsaw on 18 September in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Alan Mayhew and SEI Visiting Fellow Nat Copsey also participated in this seminar.

Simona Guerra presented her paper 'Public support for the EU in Central and Eastern Europe: Lessons from Poland?' at the 60th WAPOR Annual Conference in Berlin, 19-21 September. After the conference Simona was interviewed by the German Radio *Deutsche Welle* on how public support for the EU has changed before and after accession. Simona also commented on the emergence of Euroscepticism in Croatia, and on attitudes toward the EU in the Western Balkans.



In September Martine Huberty went to the 6th SGIR Pan-European

conference in Turin and presented on 'Luxembourg's role in the negotiations of the Stability and Growth Pact in 1996 at the Dublin Summit in 1996 and its reform in 2005'.

In September Lucia Quaglia conducted fieldwork in Frankfurt for her project on financial services governance in the EU. She interviewed policy makers at the Bundesbank, the Bafin, the Committee of European Insurance and Occupational Pension Supervisors and policy stakeholders in the private sector.

October: New Arrivals

At the beginning of the academic year, SEI welcomed twenty-three new students on the MA in Contemporary European Studies (European Public Policy) (MACES) programme. Five visiting ERASMUS students from Poland also attended the MACES core courses during the autumn term.

In October SEI doctoral student Emanuele Massetti began a three month visit to the European University Institute in Florence. Throughout the autumn term Emanuele conducted his research under the supervision of Prof. Michael Keating. He used the time in Italy to research documents in the party archives of the Northern League and the South Tyrolean People's Party and conducted interviews with party members (see page 25 for more details).

Dan Hough spoke at the German Studies Association (GSA) annual conference in San Diego on 7 October. Dan's paper was called 'To Dare is to do do? Left-Left Coalitions in German and Spanish Regions' and was co-written with Tania Verge. This builds on research that Dan and Tania have done into left-left coalitions at both statewide and sub-state levels in Europe.

On 16 October SEI held a Roundtable on 'European Neighbourhood Policy' at the SEI Research in Progress seminar. SEI Visiting Fellow Dr Nat Copsey (University of Birmingham), Dr Christophe

New Research Students

Three new research students joined SEI at the start of the autumn term. Details of their research topics are given below:

- **Enver Ethemer**
Europeanisation and European Citizenship and European Governance: A comparative study of UK and Ireland
- **Ezel Tabur**
Turkey-EU relations and Wider Europe framework
- **Stijn van Kessel**
Paths to Populism: The Ideologies of Populist Parties in Europe

Hillion (University of Leiden) and Prof Alan Mayhew (University of Sussex) spoke at the roundtable.

Following the snap Polish elections on 21 October SEI co-sponsored a roundtable on the elections at the UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies on 24 October. A panel of experts from the Sussex European Institute, Central and East European Language Based Area Studies (CEELBAS) network, SSEES/UCL and the University of Birmingham provided the first conclusions on the election results. The panel included George Kolankiewicz (CEELBAS Managing Director, SSEES/UCL) (chair), Nat Copsey (CREES, University of Birmingham and SEI Visiting Fellow), Tomasz Mickiewicz (SSEES/UCL) and Aleks Szczerbiak (Sussex European Institute).

Aleks Szczerbiak's paper 'Europe and the October 2007 Polish Parliamentary Election' was published in the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network election briefing paper series. Aleks also gave various interviews around the time of the Polish parliamentary election, most notably with the *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune*.

In October the Department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies (PolCES) started its own online blog and discussion forum, which offers academic staff, researchers, visitors and students a chance to post comments on any aspect of the contemporary political scene. Recent contributions to the blog include Francis

McGowan's post 'True Brit? On Gordon Brown's Economic Nationalism'. The PolCES blog can be found at:

<http://thesussexpoliticsblog.blogspot.com/>

SEI celebrated in October as the University of Sussex appointed SEI founding Director Helen Wallace as an honorary Professor in Politics and Contemporary European Studies.

Dan Hough's article 'The German Left: Troubled Times' was published on 11 October in *The Economist*. This article analyses the impact of the expansion of the Left Party upon the social democrats. The article can be found online at:

http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9953365

November: Conference on Poland in the EU

The European Research Institute of the University of Birmingham and the Sussex European Institute co-organised the conference 'Poland in the EU: Evaluating the First Three Years of Membership' on Poland's first three years of EU membership, on 16 and 17 November 2007 at the Polish Embassy in London.

Over the past three years, the Polish government's European policy has been a source of considerable controversy and has been widely criticised. This conference on Poland in the EU took place three weeks after this Autumn's pre-term parliamentary elections in Poland and provided the opportunity not only for an ex-



SEI Co-Director Jim Rollo addresses the conference on Poland's first three years of EU membership at the Polish Embassy

pert assessment of the initial phase of membership, but also to look forward to the European policy of the next government.

The conference was organised by SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, SEI Visiting Professorial Fellow Alan Mayhew and Dr Nat Copsey, a research fellow at the University of Birmingham and was sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Centre for East European Language-Based Studies (CEELBAS) and the Sussex European Institute.

The conference was addressed by the Polish Ambassador HE Barbara Tuge-Erecinska, and a broad range of academics working on both Poland and contemporary Europe as well as policy makers, journalists and representatives from the Polish community. More information on the conference can be found on page 19.

In November Jim Rollo presented at Chatham House on 'The Future of EMU' and on 14 November Jim went to Tokyo for a Tokyo Club Conference to speak on the 'Impact of East Asian Growth on Europe'.

Dr Jacek Kucharczyk (Institute of Public Affairs) presented at the SEI Research in Progress Seminar on 'Populism in Poland'. This analysed the rise to power and eventual decomposition of the PiS-led coalition.

On 16 November Lucia Quaglia gave two papers at a conference on 'European integration after fifty years'



The SEI Roundtable on 'France under Sarkozy'

organised by the University of Padova, Italy. The first paper 'Italian Politics and the European Union' co-authored and co-presented with Claudio Radaelli (University of Exeter) has recently been published in *West European Politics*.

The second paper 'The Banca d' Italia: Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?' is a chapter in her forthcoming research monograph *Central Banking Governance in the European Union: A Comparative*, Routledge, London.

Lucia then gave two further papers in November. She presented 'The reform of the supervisory authorities: the New Role of the Bank of Italy' at the Istituto Cattaneo, Bologna. This was at a workshop organised for the preparation of the volume *Italian Politics/Politica Italiana*, Mulino, Bologna, edited by Mark Donovan, (University of Cardiff) and Paolo Onofri (University of Bologna). Lucia's paper, which is part of the edited volume, will be published in Italian and English.

Following this Lucia presented the paper 'The Bank of Italy between Europeanisation and Globalisation' at a conference organised at the British Academy. The paper is forthcoming in a volume edited by Kenneth Dyson and Martin Marcussen, *The Changing World of Central Banking*, OUP, Oxford.

In November Simona Guerra's chapter 'Public opinion before and after accession: the case of Poland', was published in L. Gatnar and D. Lane (eds) *Popular Opposition and Support for Different Types of the EU*, Brno: Tribun EU.

Dan Hough talked on German radio station MDR



New EPERN Briefing Papers

During the autumn term there have been three new additions to the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) Election Briefing papers series. These are

- Aleks Szczerbiak
Europe and the October 2007 Polish Parliamentary Election

- Nathaniel Copsey
The Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections of September 2007
- Clive H. Church
Europe and the Swiss Parliamentary Elections of 21 October 2007

There is also one new addition to the EPERN Referendums Briefing Papers Series.

EPERN
European Parties Elections
and Referendums Network

- Ed Maxfield
Europe and Romania's Presidential Impeachment Referendum, May 2007

Key Points for all four new EPERN Briefing Papers are included in this issue of *Euroscope* on pages 9-10.

about whether the new European Left Party will remain a subject for the chattering classes or whether it will actually help the wide and diverse spectrum of left-wing movements to speak with one voice on 26 November. On the broadcast Dan said that whilst the new European Left Party will help left-wing parties understand each other better and co-ordinate their activities, it is unlikely to have much popular resonance with the wider European public.

SEI held a roundtable discussion titled 'France under Sarkozy: Six months on' on 27 November. This roundtable, comprising of Sussex's own Sally Marthaler, Jim Rollo and Adrian Treacher,



examined the record of Sarkozy's first six months in office in the domestic political

and economic spheres as well as in European and foreign affairs more broadly. In particular, it assessed the extent to which Sarkozy represents the 'clean break' with the past ('rupture') that he promised in the presidential campaign.

In November a new SEI Working Paper was published by Aleks Szczerbiak titled 'Why do Poles love the EU and what do they love about it?: Polish attitudes towards European integration during the first three years of EU membership'. An abstract from the paper and more information about the SEI Working Paper Series can be found on page 8.

On 27 November Jim Rollo gave his Professorial Lecture on 'Regionalism and deep integration: the challenges for economic policy and economic analysis' at the Chouwen lecture theatre, BSMS. The lecture outlined the history of regional trading agreements; set out an

agenda for future research on regional integration and analysed how the Sussex Framework developed by economists at SEI can help to assess the costs and benefits of regional integration for developing economies. An abstract of the lecture and link to an audio recording of it can be found on page 27.

December: SEI Scholar Secures Major European Grant

SEI-based scholar Lucia Quaglia has been awarded an FP7 ERC grant by the European Commission for a three year project worth £230,000 on 'Financial Services Governance in the European Union: National, European and International Dimensions'. This will be the first ever project to cover the politics and public policy aspects of all financial services, broadly conceived, including: banking, securities trading, post trading

Autumn Term Research Student Professional Development Workshops

Throughout the Autumn term the Sussex European Institute (Department of Politics & Contemporary European Studies) ran a series of Professional Development Workshops for research students. The workshops enable researchers to discuss key aspects of their research and professional development with SEI (PolCES) faculty. During the autumn term workshops included:

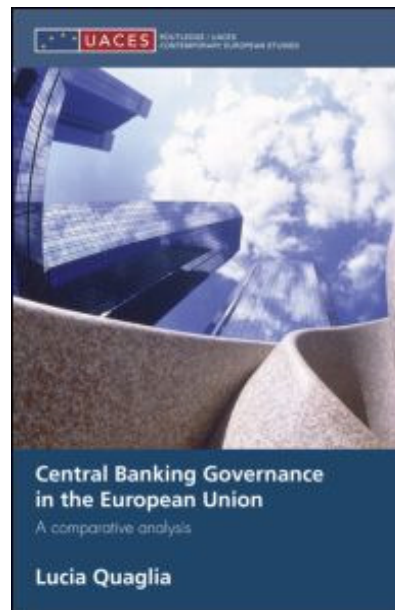
- **'The Research Student Start-Up Kit'** by Paul Taggart
- **'Graduate Teaching Issues'** by Ed Maxwell and Paul Taggart
- **'Presenting Your Research'** by Paul Taggart and Sabina Avdagic
- **'The Process of Journal Publication'** by Paul Webb.

Details of the Spring term series of Professional Development Workshops can be found on page 21.

activities (payments and clearing and settlement), financial conglomerates, insurance, corporate governance, corporate finance and company law, accounting and auditing standards and EU trade in services.

In December Lucia Quaglia gave a paper on 'Italy and the Reform treaty' at a workshop on the Reform Treaty at the University of Glasgow. Lucia's new book on 'Central Banking Governance in the European Union: A Comparative Analysis' has also been published by Routledge/UACES Contemporary European Studies. More details are available from the following link:

<http://www.routledge.com/books/Central-Banking-Governance-in-the-European-Union-ISBN9780415427517>



Forthcoming

In January the third year of the Chevening Fellowship in Political Economy (Funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office) begins. Under the programme SEI welcomes twelve fellows to attend courses within SEI and events organised by SEI. The Chevening Fellow-

ship programme aims to develop opportunities for mid career professionals from the post-2004 members of the EU and some of the EU neighbourhood countries in Eastern Europe with the aim of pointing up the British angle on how to promote an effective EU.

Simona Guerra will present the paper 'Familiarity doesn't Breed Contempt: Polish Attitudes toward European Integration in a Comparative Perspective', to the panel on 'Empirical Studies of Changing Attitudes to the EU', at the European Politics, 2008 Midwest Political Studies Association National Conference, Chicago, 3-6 April.

Simona will also present with Sarah de Lange (University of Antwerp) on the 'The League of Polish Families between East and West, past and present' at the Conference on 'The Radical Right in post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe: the Role of Legacies', at New York University, 24-26 April.

Mark Bennister has an article forthcoming in the journal *Parliamentary Affairs* entitled 'Predominant Prime Ministers Compared: Tony Blair and John Howard'. Mark will be presenting a paper in the Political Leadership Specialist Group panel at the 2008 Political Studies Association Annual Conference at the University of Swansea in April. Mark is also contributing a chapter to a forthcoming Palgrave book entitled 'Britain After Blair'. This chapter will examine Blair's leadership style as Prime Minister.

SEI Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies

SEI Working Papers present research results, accounts of work-in-progress and background information for those concerned with contemporary European issues. There is one new addition to the SEI Working Papers Series. The abstract from this is presented below

- SEI Working Paper No 98

Why do Poles love the EU and what do they love about it?: Polish attitudes towards European integration during the first three years of EU membership

Aleks Szczerbiak
Sussex European Institute
A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

Abstract

Parties that were extremely critical of, or even hostile to, the EU, have obtained high votes in recent Polish elections and the country developed an image as the EU's 'new awkward partner'. However, Polish support for EU membership remained extremely high and increased to record levels in the three years since accession, as Poles were extremely positive about the effects of accession on most aspects of their lives.



The key to understanding this was the fact that Poles did not actually expect a swift transformation of their country as a

result of EU accession and had fairly low (arguably, realistic) expectations of what, and how soon, benefits were likely to accrue. Most Poles felt that the EU had broadly delivered in those areas where people hoped or expected it would, especially



access to Western labour markets and the opportunity to work abroad, and in other areas, notably agriculture, were pleasantly surprised by the positive effects of accession.

Poles had fairly complex, and often contradictory, sets of attitudes towards the EU's future trajectory, and a lot depended on the particular sphere or policy area under consideration or how the question was framed. Low salience of the European issue in Polish elections partly explains why Eurosceptic parties performed so well in spite of these high levels of Polish Euro-enthusiasm. However, most Poles also had a very 'realistic' perception of how the EU functioned based on a deep suspicion of the motives of the large member states and supported political leaders committed to a taking a 'tough' stance in 'defending Poland's national interests' within the EU.

All SEI Working Papers are downloadable free of charge from the web:

ww.sei.ac.uk

Otherwise, each Working Paper is £5.00 (unless noted otherwise) plus £1.00 postage and packing per copy in Europe and £2.00 per copy elsewhere. Payment by credit card or cheque (Payable to 'University of Sussex')

e-mail: sei@sussex.ac.uk

European Parties Elections & Referendums Network (EPERN): Briefing Papers

The network produces an ongoing series of briefings on the impact of European integration on referendum and election campaigns. There is one new referendum briefing paper and there are three new additions to the election briefing paper series. Key points from the papers are outlined below.

All EPERN briefing papers are available free at

www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-2-8.html

- **ELECTION BRIEFING NO 36 EUROPE AND ROMANIA'S PRESIDENTIAL IMPEACHMENT REFERENDUM, MAY 2007**

Ed Maxfield
Sussex European Institute
e.r.maxfield@sussex.ac.uk

Key Points

- On May 19 2007 Romanian voters backed President Traian Basescu in an impeachment referendum by a margin of three-to-one.



Ed Maxfield

- This result came despite most of Romania's political parties urging a 'Yes' vote in the referendum to impeach, including Basescu's erstwhile partners in the Truth and Justice electoral alliance, the National Liberals.

SEI RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS

SPRING TERM 2008

Tuesdays 14.15 - 15.50

Except in week 8 on Wednesday 21.11.07

Arts C233

15 January

Roundtable on the Lisbon Treaty

John Palmer, Dr Lucia Quaglia, Dr Adrian Treacher, Prof Jim Rollo, University of Sussex

22 January

The rise of the regulatory state in fiscal surveillance: How and why?

Dr Weltraud Schelkle, European institute/LSE

29 January

The (non-) impact of the EU on Polish party politics

Prof Aleks Szczerbiak and Monika Bil, University of Sussex

5 February

Germany and the European Union; the impact of Mrs Merkel

Prof William Paterson, Institute of German Studies University of Birmingham

12 February

How effective are the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines?

Dr Dermot Hodson, Birkbeck College

19 February

The EU's Energy and Climate Policies - from declaring to delivering a "Europe of Results"?

Francis McGowan, University of Sussex

26 February

Lisbon and social policy: Europeanising the welfare state?

Prof Daniel Wincott, University of Birmingham

4 March

The Future Governance of the EU: From Lisbon to Lisbon

Prof Kenneth Armstrong, Queen Mary College

11 March

Explaining Multi-level Governance in South East Europe: Research Strategies and Early Findings

Dr Charles Lees, University of Sheffield

If you would like to be included in our mailing list for seminars, please contact Amanda Sims, tel: 01273 678578, email: sei@sussex.ac.uk

EPERN

European Parties Elections
and Referendums Network

- The referendum came at a time of considerable tensions within the country's party system and the result is likely to add to the instability.
- Following the referendum result, the president has renewed pressure for constitutional reform and early parliamentary elections.
- Romania's entry to the European Union on January 1 2007 formed a significant backdrop to the campaign and the likely impact on Romania's membership of the Union was widely referred to in campaign rhetoric.

• ELECTION BRIEFING No 37 EUROPE AND THE OCTOBER 2007 POLISH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

Aleks Szczerbiak
Sussex European Institute
A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

Key Points

- The Polish parliamentary election was held on October 21, two years ahead of schedule, following the break up of the turbulent coalition government led by the right-wing Law and Justice Party.
- Although Law and Justice increased both its share of the votes and parliamentary representation, it finished well behind the opposition liberal-conservative Civic Platform.
- The scale of Civic Platform's victory, on a relatively high turnout, came as a surprise as that the two main parties were evenly matched for most of the campaign.
- In spite of its impressive victory, Civic Platform fell short of an overall majority and had to form a coalition government with the Polish Peasant Party.
- European issues, and foreign affairs more generally, had a somewhat higher profile than in other recent Polish elections be-

cause they were an important component in determining attitudes towards the key election issue: support for or opposition to a controversial and polarising government.

- The new government will seek to improve strained relations with Poland's EU partners but will also be assertive in standing up for what it perceives to be Poland's national interests.
 - Although the election result means a more consolidated party system, Polish politics are still in flux with further realignments a distinct possibility.
- ## • ELECTION BRIEFING No 38 THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMEN- TARY ELECTIONS OF SEP- TEMBER 2007

Nathaniel Copsey
University of Birmingham
n.copsey@bham.ac.uk

Key Points

- Yulia Tymoshenko's Bloc dramatically increased its share of the vote and emerged as a credible All-Ukrainian political force, making her the favourite for the 2010 presidential elections.
- Yulia Tymoshenko's Bloc is most likely to enter into a coalition with the pro-presidential Our Ukraine-People's Self-Defence.
- Our Ukraine-People's Self Defence and the Party of the Regions maintained their share of the vote.



**Dr Nathaniel
Copsey**

- Oleksandr Moroz's Socialist Party failed to cross the necessary 3% threshold needed to enter the Ukrainian parliament.
- The elections marked the further consolidation of Ukraine's democracy.
- Little change is expected on European policy.

• **ELECTION BRIEFING No 39
EUROPE AND THE SWISS PARLIAMEN-
TARY ELECTIONS OF
21 OCTOBER 2007**

Clive H. Church
University of Kent
c.h.church@kent.ac.uk

Key points

- The election produced a fourth successive victory for the populist and anti-European Swiss People's Party [SVP] which won 29% of the vote and 62 seats in the National Council. However, it suffered damaging reverses in the elections to the Council of States and then governmentally. The Social Democratic Party [SPS] was the loser, giving ground to SVP and to environmentalists.
- Despite fragmenting, the mainstream Green Party [GPS] captured 19 seats and almost 10% of the vote, together with its first ever seats in the Council of States. A new centre right Liberal Green [GL] secession from the GPS also did well in both houses.
- On the centre-right the Christian Democrats [CVP] went some way to halting their long decline though they still remained behind the fading Radicals [FDP] in the National Council. They did well in the Council of States House elections and went on to become kingmakers in the December governmental elections.
- The October campaign was both increasingly virulent and more directly concerned with government formation than in the past, and this led to an unexpected upheaval on 12-13 December when Blocher was ejected and replaced by a moderate SVP representative.
- Consensus politics are likely to become increasingly strained as a result of the elections, with two conceptions of democracy in conflict in what is a very divided country.
- The results mean that it remains most unlikely that Switzerland will apply for EU membership but, after 13 December, new conflicts with the Union and a retreat from Europeanization are less probable than at first seemed likely.

**POLITICS RESEARCH IN PROGRESS
SEMINARS SERIES
(& THE CENTRE FOR PARTIES & DE-
MOCRACY IN EUROPE & SEI)**

Spring 2008

Wednesdays 2-4pm in C233

16 January

Representing Europe's Citizens? Electoral Institutions and the Failure of Parliamentary Democracy in the EU

Prof Roger Scully, Aberystwyth

30 January

Global Warming and the Media

Dr Neil Gavin, University of Liverpool

6 February

A new right for the new Europe? The case of Romania's Democratic Party

Ed Maxfield, University of Sussex

13 February

The emergence of Eurosceptic Political Movements

John FitzGibbon, University of Sussex

20 February

Paths to Power: Career Movements in Multi-level Parties

Dr Lori Thorlakson, University of Nottingham

27 February

Does the House of Lords Matter?

Dr Meg Russell, University College London

12 March

The European Debate in Bulgaria: A Comparative Case Study

Lyubka Savkova, University of Sussex

If you would like to be included in our mailing list for seminars, please contact Amanda Sims, tel: 01273 678578, email: sei@sussex.ac.uk

The role of Europe in the 2007

Polish election

Aleks Szczerbiak

The Polish parliamentary election was held on October 21, two years ahead of schedule, following the break up of the turbulent coalition government led by the right-wing traditionalist conservative Law and Justice Party (PiS). European issues, and foreign affairs more generally, had a somewhat higher profile in the 2007 campaign than in other recent Polish elections. There were a number of reasons for this.

Controversial foreign policy

Firstly, the Law and Justice-Party led government's foreign and EU policies were extremely controversial both in Poland and abroad among its EU partners, with a widespread and growing perception that Poland was turning into Europe's 'new awkward partner'. These increased tensions were highlighted during the election campaign when Poland blocked EU plans to hold a European day against the death penalty. For its part, Law and Justice made a virtue of the fact that it had significantly re-orientated Poland's approach to foreign policy which, it argued, needed to be 're-claimed' from a post-1989 establishment that had been over-conciliatory and insufficiently robust in defending Poland's interests abroad, especially in the EU.



Professor Aleks Szczerbiak

For example, it claimed that the government's negotiating tactics at the June EU summit, where it threatened to veto the negotiating mandate for the EU reform treaty, were effective in helping to secure a favourable deal for Poland by negotiating a ten-year extension of the EU voting provisions

contained in the 2001 Nice Treaty. The Nice voting provisions were felt to be more advantageous to Poland than the 'double majority' system contained in the new treaty, which was based on the number of countries and their population size and thereby favoured larger countries such as France and Germany. In the run up to the summit, prime minister and PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński argued that a population-based voting system was unfair because six million Poles had been killed by Germany during the Second World War.

Opposition parties, on the other hand, argued that, by poisoning relations with its EU partners, the Law and Justice-led government's rhetoric and unpredictable negotiating tactics were condemning Poland to ridicule and isolation in the international arena. During the election campaign, the main opposition party, the liberal-conservative Civic Platform (PO) argued that, although an assertive and determined approach to EU relations was necessary, this had to be conducted on the basis of competence and professionalism. For example, speaking at a Civic Platform election convention, former foreign minister and war hero Władysław Bartoszewski denounced the officials responsible for foreign policy under the Law and Justice Party as incompetent 'diplomomorons' (dyplomatołki).

The 'Left and Democrats' (LiD) - an electoral alliance of four centre-left parties anchored by the communist successor Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) but also comprising the Democrats, a small liberal party that included well-known figures from the Solidarity movement - also criticised Law and Justice for its apparent failure to build alliances with Poland's European partners and engage constructively in debates about the EU's future. However, the centre-left also tried to outflank Civic Platform as the most pro-European by pointing out that Mr Tusk's party had supported the government's threats to veto the reform treaty and high-

lighting the case for swift Polish adoption of the euro.

Lisbon summit timing

Another reason why Polish-EU relations played a more prominent role in this election was that the campaign coincided with the run up to an EU leaders meeting in Lisbon scheduled for October 18-19 that was due to secure agreement on the EU 'reform treaty'. Just as it had at the Brussels summit in June, Poland looked set to dominate the negotiations by pressing for a reference in the treaty text to the so-called 'Ioannina mechanism', whereby a small number of countries could delay an EU decision on new legislation temporarily if it felt its interests were at stake. The majority of EU countries only wanted to have the blocking clause mentioned in a separate declaration with less legal status. Indeed, at one stage it was feared that the timing of the summit, just two days before polling day, would make the Law and Justice-led government less willing to compromise and thereby disrupt plans to secure agreement on the treaty.

In the event, to the surprise of many observers, EU leaders actually reached agreement on the first day of their meeting. Poland accepted a deal whereby the decision blocking mechanism would be written into a declaration linked to a legally stronger protocol saying that the clause could only be modified by unanimous consensus of all EU leaders; in other words, that it could not be removed without Poland's approval. Law and Justice claimed that the outcome of the summit vindicated their European policy, while Civic Platform argued that the apparent strengthening of the 'Ioannina' blocking mechanism was of little real significance.

A civilisational choice?

In spite of the somewhat higher profile given to the EU and foreign policy in this campaign, they were still very much secondary to domestic issues in terms of party's electoral strategies and appeals. Although it is difficult to evaluate this precisely without detailed statistical analysis, it is also unlikely that they were of primary importance for most Poles when deciding how to cast their vote.

However, Europe probably was significant in

the sense that the 2007 election was, essentially, a plebiscite on the performance of a controversial and polarising government in which the way that EU relations and foreign policy had been conducted were an important component in determining more general overall attitudes towards that government.

For supporters of the Law and Justice Party, the new, more assertive foreign policy, and the fact that it exemplified a break with the policies pursued by the post-1989 political elites more generally, would have been an important factor contributing to their overall positive evaluation of the government.

For opponents of the government, on the other hand, the Law and Justice party's foreign and European policy exemplified its more general incompetence and confrontational style of politics that they rejected. Indeed, echoing themes from the 2003 EU accession referendum, at one point during the campaign Civic Platform leader Donald Tusk even attempted to frame the election as a 'civilisational choice' between East and West, arguing that under the Law and Justice government Poland was evolving more in the direction of Russia than a modern West European democracy.

Opposition wins clear victory

As **Table 1** shows, Civic Platform won a clear victory with 41.5% of the votes; with 209 (out of 460) seats in the Sejm, the more powerful lower house of the Polish parliament. However, the party fell short of an overall majority and had to form a coalition government with the agrarian Polish Peasant Party (PSL), which finished fourth with 8.9% of the vote and 31 seats. Although Law and Justice increased both its share of the votes and parliamentary representation, it finished well behind Civic Platform with only 32.1% of the vote and 166 seats.

The 'Left and Democrats' came in third with 13.2% of the votes and 53 seats, although this was less than the total combined vote for these parties in 2005. All the other political groupings failed to cross the 5% threshold including the Law and Justice party's two former coalition partners the radical-agrarian Self-Defence party and the clerical-nationalist League of Polish Families who secured only 1.5% and 1.3% of the votes respectively. At 54%, turnout was the highest

Table 1: September 2007 Parliamentary election results to the Sejm

	Votes	%	2005 (%)	Change (%)	Seats
Civic Platform	6 701 010	41.51	24.14	+20.97	209
Law and Justice	5 183 477	32.11	26.99	+5.12	166
Left and Democrats	2 122 988	13.15	17.74*	-4.59	53
Polish Peasant Party	1 437 638	8.91	6.96	+1.95	31
Self-Defence	247 335	1.53	11.41	-9.88	
League of Polish Families**	209 171	1.30	7.97	-6.67	

Source: Polish State Electoral Commission (<http://www.pkw.gov.pl/>)

*Combined vote for Democratic Left Alliance (11.31%), Polish Social Democracy-Labour Union (3.98%) and the Democrats (2.45%).

**As part of the League of the Right-wing of the Republic electoral alliance.

of any of the six parliamentary elections held since 1989 and this relatively large mobilisation - particularly among young, urban voters - was felt to have helped Civic Platform.

Still an awkward partner?

As far as Polish-EU relations are concerned, the new Civic Platform-led government and Prime Minister Donald Tusk are committed to bringing greater predictability and professionalism to foreign policy-making and shedding Poland's image as an 'awkward partner' within the EU. They will certainly adopt a more conciliatory tone and have a better sense of the subtleties of EU politics than its predecessor and have vowed to improve relations with Poland's EU partners, especially with Germany with whom the previous government clashed bitterly. Similarly, while the Law and Justice government was reluctant to set a target date for Poland to adopt the euro, the new government has talked of the accelerating the process, without giving a target date.

The incoming government is also fortunate that its predecessor signed up to a deal on the Reform Treaty, which means that Law and Justice is unlikely to oppose its ratification, while the more radical Eurosceptic parties such as the League of Polish Families, who opposed the treaty on principle, failed to secure re-election to the Sejm.

Indeed, the incoming government may make Poland the first country to ratify the Reform Treaty to symbolise its new positive approach to EU affairs.

However, while there may be changes in tone and style, with a Civic Platform-led government more predictable and less abrasive than its predecessor, much of party's critique of Law and Justice's approach to European policy was based on its alleged inconsistency and ineffectiveness rather than its substance. The presence of the Peasant Party as a junior coalition partner will also make it particularly difficult for the new government to agree to any deal that proposes substantial cuts in agricultural subsidies during the forthcoming EU budget review. The new administration is, therefore, likely to be no less assertive in standing up for what it perceives to be Poland's national interests within the EU.

For more on this read Aleks Szczerbiak's briefing paper on 'Europe and the October 2007 Polish parliamentary election' published by the SEI-based European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) and available at:

http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/documents/epern_37_poland2007.pdf

Polish Elections 2007 and OSCE/ODIHR Election Assessment Mission

Monika Bil

The 21 October pre-term general elections in Poland saw the highest turnout in democratic parliamentary elections since 1989. Furthermore, this was the first time in post-1989 Poland that the governing party won 5 million votes, although this was more votes it won in the previous elections in 2005 it still only managed to be the second largest party after the Civic Platform.

Fortunately, I was in Warsaw at the time of the electoral campaign for the pre-term parliamentary elections in Poland and had an opportunity to observe this interesting event thoroughly. Also, I was selected to work as a media monitor and an assistant in the Media Monitoring Unit of the Election Assessment Mission, OSCE, from 8 to 24 October 2007, held in Warsaw, Poland.

OSCE/ODIHR Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe/Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights is the leading agency in Europe in the field of elections observations. It co-ordinates and organizes the deployment of several observation missions to assess the compliance of elections in OSCE participating States in line with OSCE commitments, other international standards for democratic elections and national legislations.

An invitation for the ODIHR to observe the pre-term parliamentary elections in Poland of 21 October 2007 was issued on 2 October by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

The OSCE/ODIHR Assessment Mission consisted of 12 international experts from ten OSCE participating states. Though the mission was based in Warsaw, it deployed to Łódź, Poznań, Wrocław, Opole, Katowice, Krakow, Gdansk, Lublin, Torun and Białystok. The election experts met representatives of political parties, government officials, electoral authorities, the media, national minorities and civil society.

The Media Monitoring Unit I was working in was made of 7 media monitors who were examining daily media coverage continuously for over two weeks. Our team work included undertaking both qualitative and quantitative analysis of the various political entities in the broadcast and print media within the last two weeks of electoral process. Precisely, the coverage of six TV channels, five daily newspapers and two radio channels were analysed. In addition we were translating relevant items of media and doing research on law and media markets in Poland.

The preliminary findings of the OSCE report on Polish parliamentary elections, issued shortly after elections, pointed to 'the perceived disproportion in quantitative coverage by the public television broadcaster, exacerbated by the absence of effective mechanisms of oversight.' Furthermore 'media monitoring by the Assessment Mission for the last two weeks of the campaign showed a lack of qualitative balance by public television in the coverage of the three main contestants'. The National Broadcasting Council was also criticised as it 'was unable properly to discharge its constitutional responsibility due to deficiencies in its structure and disagreements flowing from its partisan composition'.

The outcome of the Election Assessment Mission is a report with a set of recommendation to improve the quality of the electoral process in Poland. The mission provides conclusions on all the states where elections are observed. The final report will be issued by the OSCE



Monika Bil

approximately two months after the completion of the election process.

Overall, this kind of experience allowed me to look at the electoral process from a wider perspective of diversified media coverage. I would recommend taking part in a similar project to anybody who is interested in the subject of both the media's impact on politics and the influence of politicians on media broadcasting.

In addition, one can verify theoretical knowledge concerning political entities and the coverage of media in the hot time of electoral campaign. Last but not least, the opportunity to observe the parliamentary elections through the coverage of diversified broadcasters provided a challenging insight into the issue of impartiality of media in the new democracy.

You can find out more about the OSCE report on pre-term parliamentary elections in Poland on the website http://www.osce.org/odihr/item_1_27483.html

SEI Student Report

New SEI DPhil student Stijn van Kessel reflects on his experiences of SEI this autumn.

‘Stijn's first DPhil adventures’

Stijn van Kessel

A few months ago my DPhil adventure started by driving away from Amsterdam with most of my belongings. Except for some delay at the French side of the Channel - a fully packed Dutch van driven by two youngsters looked a bit suspicious to the customs officers - the journey went smooth and easy. The Housing Office's room allocation also turned out to be very favourable for me, as my current room is far more spacious than any of my former residencies. So it is

actually not very appropriate to complain about the design of my curtains although they truly are evil-looking).



Stijn van Kessel

After

settling down it was of course time for some academic action, being supervised by Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak, who joined in later on. My research will focus on comparing populist parties in the European Union member states, and it seems that the research outline developed quite well during the first months. Hereby I could rely on the aid of my supervisors and other SEI staff, and of course I gained much inspiration from the conversations in the DPhil students office, which without exception reached outstanding intellectual levels. By the way, reaching the office by bike is still a daunting enterprise, although I can say I got quite used to surviving the apparently reckless driving-style of the local bus drivers.

Is it then only happiness that marks my first months? No, I miss Dutch cheese, a product which I already defended a bit too fervently at the SEI Christmas dinner. However, this problem has partly been solved by the fact that the visitors from my home country have so far provided me with a sufficient supply. Moreover, I found that most of my other beloved food products can be found somewhere in Brighton (and are just not that exclusive as us chauvinist Dutch folks tend to believe). Hence, it seems that I will not become undernourished during my years at the SEI, also in view of the culinary masterpieces of my DPhil colleagues, which are both nutritious and exquisite (Not that I was put under any pressure to emphasise this when writing about DPhil life in SEI).

So, all notable things considered, I am looking forward to your comments and criticism, as I will present my research outline shortly.

Conferences and Seminars

SEI members present a series of reports outlining several of the seminars and conferences that SEI has organised or been involved with during the summer term. Jim Rollo reviews the lecture held by SEI in Brussels to analyse competition policy in the EU. Ezel Tabur reports on the Turkey-EU Observatory Conference held in Lisbon between 8-9 November. Details are also provided of the conference on organised by SEI on 'Poland and the EU' held at the Polish Embassy in London between 16-17 November.

'Sussex in Brussels' Jim Rollo

Sussex University hosted a lecture on new horizons in competition policy in Brussels on 18 October. The genesis of the event was jointly in SEII and the Development and Alumni Relations Office, which negotiated sponsorship from SJ Berwin via one of its partners (Stephen Kon, who is a Sussex law alumnus and a former member of faculty). The intention was to raise the profile of Sussex as a major international University in Brussels and to offer Sussex Alumni in Brussels a reminder of their Alma mater.

The event uniquely brought together two Director Generals of the European Commission: Philip Lowe (Director General for Competition) and Sussex alumnus Jonathan Faull (Director General for Freedom, Security and Justice) and a former official in DG Competition and a notable competition law expert in his own right.

The audience, made up of members of the European Commission, academia, industry and the legal profession, heard about the role that EU Commission play in safeguarding fair competition. This is a highly controversial subject as recent comments from the Sarkozy administration accusing the Com-

mission of being naïve in its pursuit of competition at the expense of European industrial champions demonstrates.



And it matters to consumers and taxpayers. Earlier this year, Philip Lowe reported, his directorate fined four of the world's biggest lift makers (ThyssenKrupp, Otis, Schindler and Kone) a record total of £666 million for carving up the market. The lift companies were found to have rigged contracts for hospitals, railway stations, shopping centres and commercial buildings in Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex, Professor Michael Farthing, gave the welcoming speech. Reflecting on the lecture, he commented: "An event of this stature reflects extremely well on both the University of Sussex and SJ Berwin."

Turkey - EU Observatory 2007 Lisbon Conference

Ezel Tabur

The Turkey-EU Observatory as a 'civil dialogue project' brings together various stakeholders from Turkey and the European Union (EU) to discuss the 'challenges and opportunities' of Turkey's EU membership. The last Observatory meeting was organized in Lisbon by the *Istanbul Policy Center (Sabanci University)*, in collaboration with *Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Portugal*, the *European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMED)* based in Barcelona and the *Institute for Strategic and International Studies (IEEI)* based in Lisbon on 8-9 November 2007.



Ezel Tabur

The Lisbon Observatory dealt with the issues regarding Turkey's progress in accession negotiations and discussed the main agenda elements regarding Turkey and the EU.

The opening session started with a discussion on the broader geopolitical

and regional security concerns that the EU and Turkey have been facing. The participants highlighted the importance for Turkey of confronting broader regional challenges. The discussion was followed by evaluation of Turkey Progress Report 2007 that was published on 6 November 2007. The participants affirmed that the Commission's Report emphasizes Turkey's progress as it inches towards accession. Developments in Turkey such as the presidential and parliamentary elections followed by the constitutional reform process were noted by the Commission as being positive developments. The conclusions of the 2007 Progress Report were deemed as considerably positive, compared to the previous Strategy Paper that was released at a time when accession negotiations between Turkey and the EU were on the verge of being frozen.

Participants at the Conference made a point to stress that 2007 Strategy Paper made clear reference to the significance and role of Turkey with regard to establishing and promoting security in the region, the role of Turkey in supporting the EU and NATO missions in conflict regions, and in addition as a key player in Europe's energy security and as a potential energy route for Europe. The role of Turkey in the region and its position as a key partner in forwarding EU interest in the region was also underlined by the participants.

It was affirmed that Turkey already being in the Customs Union and as a member of NATO, has close relations and ties with EU countries and this in itself justifies the Europeaness of Turkey, which is otherwise often

questioned.

The participants also referred to the positive remarks made by the Commission in the 2007 Progress Report, with regard to Turkey's economic potential and improving macro economic indicators such as strong Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows and declining public debt. Another important achievement on the economic front is that Turkey is now considered a fully functional economy by the EU. The participants affirmed that Turkey's membership will supplement and in ways add to the flexibility and dynamism of the EU's economy.

From the point of view of some participants, the open-ended path toward Turkey's accession to the EU leads to declining public support regarding EU membership in Turkey. Evaluation of the 'conditionality principle' revealed that the EU does not offer visible awards to Turkey, and it was argued that the uncertainty of the process is an impediment to the successful implementation of the conditionality principle by the EU towards Turkey. Concerning public support for the EU in Turkey, it was stated that the prosperity of the EU, expectations for increased employment opportunities, improved human rights and civil liberties are the primary prospects that attract public support in Turkey regarding EU membership. However despite this support, opinion polls show that support for EU membership in Turkey is on the decline mainly due to the uncertainty of the process. Another issue that was highlighted was the necessity to tackle with the negative perceptions in the EU public towards Turkey's EU membership and work towards a better understanding of Turkey.

The participants discussed recent developments in regards to the issue of Cyprus. One of the main concerns mentioned was the need to open direct trade negotiations with Northern Cyprus. It was stated that the EU should not neglect the fact that the Turkish part of the island supported the United Nations Plan in 2004 regarding re-unification of the Island. The participants suggested that Turkey, along with all the parties involved in the Cyprus issue, should try to provide new solutions for the problem and attempt to reach a resolution. It was also recommended that the Greek Cypriot side has to be further encouraged to engage in negotiations.

The participants also discussed issues regarding the prospect and importance of boosting regional cooperation and integration in the Mediterranean region. The participants concluded that the policies towards the Mediterranean region are significant both for the European Union and for the United States and also for Turkey. The participants confirmed that Turkey's role in the Mediterranean region is highly important due to various reasons such as enhancing security in conflict regions in the Mediterranean, and supporting dialogue between 'the West and the Muslim world' as well which was also stated and highlighted by the European Commission in the Strategy Paper 2007. However, the participants also affirmed that for Turkey, EU membership and further integration with the EU has been always central to Turkish foreign policy, and thus this could be considered as a reason why the involvement of Turkey in the Mediterranean region has remained underdeveloped.

Concerning the 'Mediterranean Union' project proposed by the French president Nicholas Sarkozy to be given a start in 2008, the participants highlighted that it is yet ambiguous how the Mediterranean Union project will relate itself to existing EU policies introduced in the region. It was also affirmed by the participants that it is debatable whether an entirely intergovernmentalist approach will be lucrative to boost development and create dialogue in the Mediterranean region.

At the Conference, strong emphasis was put on the need to maintain the continuity of the Turkish accession negotiations process. The participants stated that there is also a hidden criticism of the EU member states in relation to keeping the commitments made to Turkey by the EU in the Strategy Paper. The participants highlighted that the Strategy Paper clearly recommends to the EU member states that the negotiations should be 'kept on track' and the screening process should continue. Conference participants affirmed that Turkey's accession to the EU would take time, but it is vital to continue to make progress and move the process forward.

SEI sponsors major London conference on Poland and the EU

On November 16-17th, one hundred and twenty people attended a major international conference at the Polish Embassy in London sponsored by the Sussex European Institute (SEI) on 'Poland and the EU: evaluating the first three years of membership.' The conference was extremely timely, coming as it did only four weeks after an important parliamentary election in Poland in which the previous government's approach to European policy was a source of much controversy, both within the country and among its EU partners.

The conference, which was opened by the Polish Ambassador HE Barbara Tugerecinska, brought together a broad range of academics working on both Poland and contemporary Europe, together with policy makers, journalists, business analysts and representatives from the Polish community. It included sessions on the impact of the EU on Polish politics and the economy together with Poland's impact on EU institutions and its future policy agenda. Speakers included both leading academic specialists from both Poland and UK, and representatives of key Polish ministries involved in the European integration process including agriculture and regional affairs, together with the Polish par-



SEI Co-Director Professor Aleks Szczerbiak talking at the Conference on Poland and the EU at the Polish Embassy



SEI DPhil student Simona Guerra addressing the Conference

liament, the government Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE) and the National Bank of Poland.

The conference was organised by SEI Co-Director Prof Aleks Szczerbiak, SEI Visiting Professorial Fellow Alan Mayhew and Dr Nat Copsey, a research fellow at the University of Birmingham who recently completed his doctorate at the SEI and remains a Sussex Visiting Fellow; all of whom presented papers at the conference. SEI has provided training on European integration to Polish officials for a number of years, both before and after EU accession. In addition to the SEI and the Polish Embassy, the conference was sponsored by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and the Central and East European Language Based Areas Studies network (CEELBAS).

Prof Szczerbiak - who, although he was born in the UK, has Polish parents - commented: "SEI has always a strong interest in the eastward enlargement of the European Union which reflects our long-standing commitment to a broad and holistic approach to studying and researching contemporary Europe. We also have particularly strong academic (and, in my case at least, emotional) links with Poland, so I am delighted that we have been able to organise this important conference which has given us an opportunity to showcase our research in this area. All the participants that I spoke to said that they came away with a much clearer understanding of what kind of EU member Poland is and what role it is likely to play in the future."

Ongoing Research

This issue of Euroscope presents reports on the current research projects being worked on by Tim Bale, Sally Marthaler, Gemma Loomes, Emanuele Massetti and Jim Rollo.

Europe's Centre Right Parties and Migration Policy

Tim Bale

On 14 December 2005, a group of academics from the UK and Europe met for a seminar at the University of Cambridge's Centre of International Studies (<http://www.intstudies.cam.ac.uk/>). It was held under the auspices of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) seminar series on the Contemporary Right in Europe that I convened (<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/polces/profile92320.html>). From that seminar emerged a plan to publish a collection of papers on Europe's centre right parties and migration policy.

With the help of Reading University's Andrew Knapp, one of the participants, contact was made with Jeremy Richardson, the editor of the prestigious Journal of European Public Policy (<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/routledge/13501763.html>). Jeremy, who after some time at Nuffield College, Oxford is soon to be based at the National Centre for Research on Europe at New Zealand's University of Canterbury (<http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/>), suggested a formal proposal for a special issue of the journal. I got this together, supplementing the roll-call of those who gave seminar papers with other experts who couldn't be there on the day but who had expressed an interest. The formal proposal was duly considered and accepted, and, after a year or so of further research and writing, the special issue was delivered and will be out early in 2008 as Volume 15, Issue 3. Plans are also afoot to publish it as a book with Routledge, part of the same Taylor and Francis group

that produces JEPP. Both special issue and book will be titled *Politics Matters: Centre-Right Parties, Immigration and Integration Policy in Europe*.

The role of political parties in immigration control and integration policy in Europe is underestimated, and parties on the centre-right are particularly important and interesting in this respect. They make up many European governments and therefore help determine state and EU policy. Moreover, even before the rise of the populist radical right, immigration and integration were matters of genuine ideological and practical concern for Europe's market liberal, conservative and Christian democratic parties. Exploiting such issues for electoral gain may make superficial sense, but too hard a line risks alienating their supporters in business and in civil society, as well as undermining party unity. It is a difficult balance, but one that makes a big difference both to the parties involved and the public policies they help produce. This volume brings together experts on both migration and political parties – fields that have not always interacted as much as they could or should have done – in order to study the impacts, dilemmas and trade offs involved.

The volume contains contributions by the following: Andrew Geddes on Italy; Christoffer Green-Pedersen and SEI old-boy Pontus Odmalm on Denmark and Sweden; Fraser Duncan and Steven Van Hecke on European transnational federations and EP groups; Julie Smith on the UK and Ireland; the SEI's own Sally Marthaler on France; Kees van Kersbergen and André Krouwel on the Netherlands, and Christina Boswell and the SEI's own Dan Hough on Germany. As well as providing an overview, I provide a conclusion, and the volume also contains a transatlantic perspective from New York University's Martin Schain, who also reviewed all the papers.

As editor of the volume, I would like to thank all those involved, including Jeremy Richardson, along with the help provided along the way by UCL's Sean Hanley, who is a Visiting Research Fellow at SEI, by Sheffield's Charles Lees (also an SEI Research Fellow), by the SEI's James Hampshire, and by Groningen's Paul Lucardie and Aberystwyth's Roger Scully. I would also like to thank the ESRC, once again, for funding the

seminar series that started off the whole project in the first place. Details of the series can be found at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-9.html>.

In fact, 2008 looks like being a productive one for me, book-wise. This spring also sees the publication by Palgrave Macmillan of the second edition of my textbook *European Politics: a Comparative Introduction*, more detail on which can be found on its website <http://www.palgrave.com/politics/bale/guide.htm>.



Dr Tim Bale

**SUSSEX EUROPEAN INSTITUTE
(DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & CONTEMPORARY
EUROPEAN STUDIES)
Paul Taggart**

Research Student Professional Development Workshops Spring Term 2008

This is a series for research students in the SEI aimed at issues of professional development and taking place throughout the Autumn and Spring terms every two weeks. The workshops are designed as informal workshops with faculty and researchers and are aimed at all research students in the SEI.

Week 4: Wednesday 30th January 11-12.30

Workshop 5: *How to Actually Complete a Doctorate on Time*

Gemma Loomes

Week 5: Wednesday February 06th 12-13.30

Workshop 6: *Fieldwork Experiences*

Monika Bil & Emanuele Massetti

Week 7 Tues February 19th 16.00-17.30

Workshop 7: *Elite Interviewing*

Dr. Lucia Quaglia

Week 9: Wednesday 5 March 5th 11.30-13.00

Workshop 8: *A Guide to Academic Conferences*

Dr. Tim Bale

ESRC grant to fund joint University of Sussex-University of Bristol research project on 'Gender and the Conservative Party'

Sally Marthaler

The [Economic & Social Research Council](#) of the UK has awarded a research grant of £483,008 to Professor Paul Webb, Director of the Centre for Parties & Democracy in Europe at Sussex, and Dr Sarah Childs, Senior Lecturer in Politics at the University of Bristol, for research into 'Gender and the Conservative Party'. The project will run for three years from October 2007 and marks a major success for both university departments. Dr Sally Marthaler is research officer on the project.

The research will focus on two dimensions of the feminisation of British politics: firstly the integration of women into formal political institutions (descriptive representation) and secondly the integration of women's concerns and perspectives into political debate and policy (substantive representation). While much of the existing research on women's representation, including a substantial body of academic work by Dr Childs, has focused on the Labour Party, the feminisation of the Conservative Party is as yet an under-researched area of politics: existing gendered accounts of the Conservative Party



Dr Sally Marthaler

are few in number and often historical in their approach. However, since the election of David Cameron to the party leadership in 2005, a greater feminisation of the Conservative Party has been apparent and this research will provide systematic and comprehensive gendered analysis of the con-

temporary Conservative party in order to assess this feminisation. In particular, it will examine the attitudes, behaviour, roles and influence of women and men in the parliamentary, extra-parliamentary and professional Conservative Party, as well as evaluating the party's policies relating to women.



Dr Sarah Childs

The project, which is officially sanctioned by the Conservative Party, will employ a range of political science research methods, both qualitative and quantitative. These will include postal surveys of party members, Conservative MPs and Peers; semi-structured interviews with Conservative MPs, Peers and party professionals; focus groups of party members and non-partisan and floating voters; analysis of parliamentary behaviour on 'women's legislation' and of Conservative policy over time; and secondary data analysis of British Representation Studies, the Comparative Manifesto Project and comparative literature on women's political representation in European centre-right political parties in France, Germany, Italy and Scandinavia.

The research will be of interest to academics, political parties, feminist campaigning groups and women's equality advocates, and to women in society more generally. It will also be of use to journalists who are interested in communicating academic research

on women's political participation and representation to mass audiences. Reflecting the varied interest this research is likely to invite, the dissemination strategy is multiple and includes a designated website. The research will be widely disseminated to the academic community in the UK and abroad through publications (research monograph and articles) and conference papers. Presentations on political recruitment and policy development will be offered to the Conservative party leadership and there will also be presentations to practitioners in the Associate Parliamentary Group for Sex Equality; the Fawcett Society; the Hansard Society and the Equal Opportunities Commission.

Party strategies and party system change

Gemma Loomes

The doctoral research I have been conducting assesses the roles that political parties can play in the process of party system change and the ways in which they engage in strategies in order to consolidate and improve their systemic positions. Much of the literature on party system change views system change as a direct result of electoral change: when the preferences of the electorate change, the party system also changes. The work of socio-structuralists such as Ronald Inglehart (1977) and Dalton, Flanagan and Beck (1984) assumes that changes occur in society which affect voting intentions, and thus party systems also change. Yet, these interpretations of party system change ignore the agency of political parties. This research seeks to investigate the role that parties can play to disrupt this causal flow and influence the party systems in which they compete.

Parties can attempt to control their own fates within party systems by engaging in strategies. They can engage in strategies relating to their relationship with the electorate and voters (in line with vote-seeking models of party behaviour), or they can seek to engage in strategies relating to the state and formal institutions (in line with the office-seeking models of party behaviour and

the 'cartel' thesis of Richard Katz and Peter Mair). Each of these strategies will be expected to bring about certain measurable systemic results. Parties that engage in electorate-orientated strategies would expect to achieve high levels of dominance within the electoral arena, as the parties are attempting to engage in strategies that they believe will be favourable to the electorate. Conversely, parties that engage in institutional strategies may expect their success to come in terms of governmental dominance. These parties place less priority on responding to the needs of the electorate and instead focus on relations with the state, ensuring that the institutional structure is favourable to the larger, dominant parties within the party system thus reinforcing the status quo.

In order to understand to what extent parties engage in these strategies, we need to break down the concept of strategies into measurable 'dimensions'. We may expect parties that engage in electorate-orientated strategies to seek to change ideologically in order to fulfil the needs on the median voter, according to a Downsian perspective on party behaviour. We may also expect these parties to form governments that closely reflect electoral shares of the vote. Parties may be expected to incorporate anti-establishment parties into coalitions to signify that no party is excluded from government. A propensity to create pre-electoral coalition agreements and to construct long, written coalition agreements are also features that we may expect from parties seeking to be responsive to the perceived desires of the electorate.

In contrast, we can expect parties that engage in high levels of institutional strategies to engage in somewhat different behaviour. We would expect that in countries where parties engage in high levels of these strategies, the institutional arrangement would strongly favour the established parties. Therefore, the electoral system, the system of state subsidies, television advertising rules and electoral laws should all favour the established parties in a system where parties engage in high levels of institutions strategies. My study investigates the types and levels of strategies employed by established parties within seventeen Western European democracies between 1950 and 2006. The results of the study show that parties are not necessarily self-interested actors seeking

to construct structures to favour their own needs. Indeed, in many countries, established parties engage in behaviour that is highly responsive towards the needs of the electorate (especially in Portugal and Germany), and in other countries, parties construct institutional structures that do not favour the established parties, and indeed in some instances, favour the smaller and newer parties within the party system (for example, in Ireland and Denmark). However, in some countries, parties engage in strategies that are unresponsive to the electorate (in particular, in Switzerland and in Luxembourg), and in other countries, the institutional arrangement strongly favours the established parties and acts as a barrier to new or small party system entrants (principally in Greece and France). The range of findings appears to challenge the assumption of Downs that parties are essentially vote-seeking organisations, and also the cartel thesis of Katz and Mair, which posits that we should find parties shaping the institutions of the state in order to protect their own interests.

But what impact does the engagement in different types of strategies have on the established parties within their national party systems? It was hypothesised that parties that engaged in high levels of electorate-orientated strategies should achieve dominance within the *electoral* arena of the party system, whereas parties that engage in high levels of institutional strategies should achieve success within the *governmental* arena of the party system. The results of the impact of strategies on party system dynamics do appear to lend partial support to these hypotheses. In Portugal and Germany,



Dr Gemma Loomes

where we expect to find high levels of electoral dominance, we find that the established parties in Germany dominated the party system until the early 1980s, consistently achieving 94% or more of the vote until 1987. Yet, since then, the established parties have been challenged by the Greens and the for-

mer Communists, reducing the established parties' electoral dominance. In Portugal, the established parties played an important role in consolidating the democratic system and the Socialists, the Social Democrats and the People's Party have achieved increasing levels of electoral success since the advent of Portuguese modern democratic state in 1975. We can contrast the relative success of the established parties in Portugal and Germany with the electoral performance of the established parties in Switzerland and Luxembourg. In Switzerland, the established parties have never been able to monopolise the electoral arena, despite their monopoly of government, and in 1991, the four governing parties received a combined vote share of only 69.7%. Although this figure has increased recently due to the success of the Swiss People's Party, the Swiss established parties have found their success within the governmental arena as opposed to the electoral arena.

A similar story emerges in Luxembourg, where the three established parties monopolise the governmental arena, but do not achieve the same electoral success as was found in Germany and Portugal. The findings suggest that party strategies have some impact on the location and extent of success that parties achieve within their national party systems.

The findings based on the study of institutional strategies are less conclusive. In France, where the highest levels of institutional strategies were found, the established parties have not been able to monopolise the governmental arena, as the Communists and the Greens have both taken part in coalition governments over recent years. In Greece, the established parties have more successfully managed to dominate the governmental arena, and either PASOK or New Democracy has governed since the construction of the Greek constitution in 1975, except for a brief period of systemic instability in 1989, when the Communists participated in a grand coalition government. In Ireland and Denmark, it was expected that the established parties should achieve less success in the governmental arena than the established parties of France and Greece. In Ireland, Fianna Fáil dominated the post-war Irish party system, and alternated in government with a Labour and Fine Gael coalition until 1989, when the Progressive De-

mocrats entered government. But in general, we find that governing options have been shaped by Fianna Fáil in the post-war Irish system, and the three established parties have dominated the governmental arena. In Denmark, the Social Democrats have been the key governmental actor, but the party has not been able to dominate the governmental arena due to the multitude of other parties present within the Danish party system. During the post-war period, seven parties have taken part in government, and coalitions have been fluid, with the Centre Democrats in particular acting as willing coalition partners for both the centre-left and the centre-right. The study of institutional strategies appears to support our hypotheses as far as the Danish and Greek party systems are concerned, but do not seem to hold for the French and the Irish party systems.

The study into the impact of party strategies on the fates of established parties appears to show that, for most of the countries studied, party strategies do make a difference. When all seventeen countries are studied comparatively, we find that there is an important relationship between high levels of electorate-orientated strategies and electoral arena dominance, and also high levels of institutional strategies and governmental arena dominance. Intervening factors such as the importance of a country's history, the importance accorded to political parties within the political system and unique institutional features must also be taken into account when investigating the impact that parties' strategies can have on their own fates. But the study shows that some political parties do engage in strategies that they believe will be beneficial, and the evidence suggests that parties often succeed in securing their dominant position within party systems through engagement in certain strategies.

References

- Dalton, R., S. Flanagan and P. Beck (eds), (1984) *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Downs, A. (1957), *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Inglehart, R. (1977), *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among*

Western Publics, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Katz, R. and P. Mair (1995), 'Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party', *Party Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-28.

“My autumn term at EUI”

Emanuele Massetti

My doctoral research on regionalist (or minority nationalist) parties consists of four case studies: the Scottish National Party and *Plaid Cymru* (in Britain) and the Northern League and the South Tyrolean People's Party (in Italy). Although a strong emphasis is put on the comparative character of my study, I also aim to provide in depth knowledge on the four individual cases. For this reason I decided to take leave from teaching for a term and to conduct fieldwork in the regions I am interested in.

The last autumn term (October-December 2006) I was doing research in Scotland and Wales. During that experience I found it very useful to be based at Universities (Edinburgh, Aberystwyth and Cardiff). This gave me the opportunity to use their facilities and get my work (and myself) known outside of the PolCES Department at Sussex. So when I planned my fieldwork for the two 'Italian' cases I thought it would be good to try and be based at one or more universities in Italy. Initially I thought that the University of Trento would be the best option, being midway between Milan (where the head-quarter of the Northern League is) and Bolzano/Bozen (where the head-quarter of the South Tyrolean People's Party is). However, I soon realized that many of the people I wanted to interview spend most of their time in Rome, being MPs in the Italian Parliament. So I changed my mind and applied to study at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence as a visiting student for the autumn term (October-December 2007). The idea of spending some time in the most prestigious institute for social and political research in Europe (and amongst the best in the world)

was very attractive, independent of its geographical position. So, when I knew I had been accepted I was very happy and looking forward to starting at EUI.

My enthusiasm for having the chance to be at the EUI and my willingness to take advantage of this opportunity as much as possible led me to overestimate the amount of time I could actually spend in Fiesole. I signed up for attending three courses: *Research Methods* run by Michael Keating (the person which I was assigned as visiting student); *Comparing Democracies* run by Alex Trechsel and Peter Mair; and *Theories of Nationalism* run by Rainer Baubock. However, as my research developed and I had to increase my travels to Rome, Milan and Bolzano and unfortunately I had no choice but to give up two of the courses due to time constraints. I decided to keep attending the course on *Theories of Nationalism* for three reasons. First, it was the course most directly linked to my research; second having previously done courses similar to the others I found it the most challenging course; and third, the normative debate on nationalism and self-government were quite new to me.

I am very pleased with my time at the EUI. Although, I could not spend all the time I would have liked in Fiesole and exploit all the opportunities that the EUI provides, especially in terms of thematic seminars and workshops, it gave me the opportunity to enrich research by talking with authoritative and friendly experts from the field, including Prof Keating and Prof Baubock. In addition, I was able to use the extraordinary library at the Institute, which never lets you down (not once did I find difficulties in finding the books I was looking for). Last but not least,



Emanuele Massetti

I enjoyed the beauty of Fiesole, the Tuscan countryside and the wonderful view of Firenze that you get every time climb the hill to the Badia. They are really amazing and beautiful places.

The Case for an Advisory Centre on Regional Trading Arrangements (ACORTA)

Jim Rollo

Regional trading arrangements (RTA) are particularly challenging to negotiate for developing countries and they impose costs on the rest of the trade system irrespective of their impact on the RTA members. Developing countries need advice on negotiating RTA that minimise costs and maximise benefits and the international system needs its interests to be taken into account. To help with the first of these, economists at Sussex have developed the Sussex Framework (see <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/caris/wps/Carisbp01.pdf>). It is a logical framework for assessing RTA that is parsimonious with time, data and analytical methods but gives outputs that are consistent with more sophisticated methods.

The Sussex Framework demonstrates that such an approach to assessing RTA is both feasible and effective. The asymmetry of information and the negative impact on the trade system justify international intervention. To those ends I have recently proposed a small new international institution (see http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/region_e/con_sep07_e/rollo_e.pdf) ACORTA that would employ a small team of economists to design and implement a framework to help developing countries negotiate RTA that maximise net benefits to them and minimise the costs to the rest of the world; to train developing country officials to use the framework; to train and certificate other providers (academics or economic consultants) to use the framework; to provide negotiating advice; and to certificate other providers as capable of providing such advice to developing countries. This advice could be provided free to least developed countries and perhaps subsidised to other developing countries. The cost would be modest – in the range of \$2-3m pa for the organisation and the benefits to developing countries and to the trade system substantial.

Professorial Lecture on European Economic Integration

Jim Rollo gave his Professorial Lecture on 'Regionalism and deep integration: the challenges for economic policy and economic analysis' on the 27 November, at the Chowen lecture theatre, BSMS. An abstract of the lecture is below and a podcast of the lecture can be found at:

<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sussexlecturesarchive/lectures2007>

Abstract

Over the last 50 years the European Union has created the largest regional trading bloc in the world. It has done this both by shallow integration (removing frontier barriers among its member states) and deep integration (removing domestic regulatory obstacles to trade by harmonisation and mutual recognition among its member states). Worldwide, regional trading blocs are emerging in Latin America and South and East Asia. Further, driven by market trends, - integrated global supply chains and increased foreign investment, trade in services and movement of people, these agreements increasingly contain elements of deep integration. The EU is encouraging such regionalism with deep integration in its relations with countries in its neighbourhood and among the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of developing countries. The lecture focused on the problems these agreements throw up:

a) For policy makers where their complexity and differences with one another are a drain on scarce analytical and negotiating resources as well as a distraction from multi-lateral negotiations in the World Trade Organisation;

b) For trade and development economists particularly in the case of deep integration where the analytical tools are much less well developed than is the case for shallow integration but where the potential for substantial economic benefits is greater.

The lecture draws on a programme of work by a team of colleagues in SEI and CARIS (Centre for the Analysis of Regional Integration at Sussex).

SEI Dispatches

An update on the activities of SEI members across Europe.

'Update from Edinburgh'

Pontus Odmalm University of Edinburgh

Getting asked to write this feels somewhat ironic (in the American use of the word). Not only was I asked but also gently nudged a few times to get on with it and submit something. The irony is that I used to be the one asking and nudging people to write stuff for Euroscope a few years ago (together with Nick Walmsley. Has he been asked/nudged yet?). Anyway, Paul Taggart e-mailed and said - 'Please write some stuff about what you are doing'. Now, writing a thesis is difficult but being asked to write about current goings on is no easy task either. A number of questions come up. What to include? (Is buying a flat relevant from a political science/contemporary European studies point of view?) How detailed should it be? (Why am I thinking of joining a comparative politics group on Facebook?) What are the cut-off points? I guess the starting point would be August 2006 when I moved up to Edinburgh, after seven years at Sussex, and joined the Politics subject group (although now we're called the Department of Politics and International Relations).



Dr Pontus Odmalm

Turns out Politics was filled with old Sussex people (well, two and one has now left) - and here I was thinking that I was the only southerner! I started teaching a course in Comparative Politics and lobbied (with Christina Boswell) to get a migration course running

which has started this term. I also got round to finishing an old research grant application which has been hanging around since before the fifth EU enlargement (part 1). This was re-drafted, moved around and sandpapered so many times that the only things remaining from the original were my name and a reference to *Opposing Europe*?

The proposal has just been submitted as an ESRC First Grant and is an attempt to move away, or at least on, from my usual research habitat. Basically, I want to become a bit more 'Parties' focused in my research. The proposed project focuses on party competition and positioning on immigration and EU membership. A first step towards partisanship my research comes in the form a forthcoming piece (with Christoffer Green-Pedersen) in the special issue of *Journal of European Public Policy*. The issue is edited by Tim Bale showing how I still have many links with Sussex and the Department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies.

Obituary

Prof Bruce Graham

Bruce Graham, Research Professor of Politics, at Sussex died suddenly on 3 October 2007 from a heart attack.

Bruce had been at Sussex almost from the outset, coming to Sussex in 1964 and during that time he had played a key role in building up Politics at Sussex. He was later involved with the establishment of the Sussex European Institute and as part of the School of European Studies Bruce was part of the wider European Studies profile of Sussex.

As a scholar he was unusual in making substantial contributions to the study of French and Indian politics (as well as his early work on Australian politics) and, as a consequence Bruce moved from his original appointment in the School of African and Asian Studies to the School of European Studies, from where he retired in 1997. In between, Bruce served as Director of the Graduate School and then as Senior Pro-Vice Chancellor for the University.



Professor Bruce Graham

As a person Bruce was incredibly gentle and patient. He dealt with everyone the same way, with real thoughtfulness and with politeness and he generated real affection from faculty, staff and students alike. He would produce pages of typed comments on the shortest of essays for students and was unfailingly generous with his time and energies in teaching students and with his colleagues. In retirement Bruce was in his element. Working each day on his research with the company of his wife Naomi, he finally had the chance to work uninterrupted on what he enjoyed the most.

Bruce leaves a legacy of Comparative Politics scholarship at Sussex. For the European party scholars in SEI and in Politics, Bruce's contribution as a theorist of parties and as a true empirically-driven comparative scholar is still evident. He also leaves an abiding sense of affection from those that knew him in SEI and we plan to honour his academic contribution in a forthcoming event at SEI.

By Paul Taggart

Submissions to Euroscope

Euroscope welcomes submissions for its Summer-Term issue. Please send information for the SEI Diary, short articles on ongoing research projects or reviews of events by the deadline of 1 April. E-mail submissions to Euroscope:

euroscope@sussex.ac.uk