

The Newsletter of the Sussex European
Institute

*A Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence
A Marie Curie Research Training Centre*

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Message from the Co-Director

The term past was one of changes. The university has appointed Professor Jörg Monar, University of Leicester, to be Professor of Contemporary European Studies from 1 October 2001, he will also become Co-Director of SEI from the same date. Jörg will take over from Helen Wallace who will depart to direct the Robert Schuman Centre in Florence from 1 September 2001. I look forward to working with Jörg and to developing SEI further as a premier Institute of European Studies in Britain and Europe. There will be more on this in the next Euroscope.

Paul Taggart is on leave at the BMW German Studies Centre in Washington. Paul is a key part of the SEI team not only in terms of delivering our teaching but also as an unfailing source of original and exciting ideas for developing teaching and research in SEI. We look forward to his return.

While he is away, Paul will be preparing the handbook on Research Methods and Analysis for our new MA in Contemporary European Studies (European Public Policy). This MA, convened by Dr Aleks Szczerbiak, is

specifically designed to allow graduates from the Diploma in Contemporary European Studies to uprate their Diploma to an MA. It consists of two elements. A course in research skills and analytical methods and a thesis of 15000 words on a public policy topic. These two elements will be distant taught and supervised through e-mail, telephone and fax, allowing students already in employment to complete them without losing salary or having to visit Sussex. Students will have to complete each element in the period of one term but may take up to 2 years to finish both. For the moment, the entry qualification is the Diploma in CES. We hope that in the longer term this MA will become a template for more distant taught and supervised degrees. This will allow students, for whom a long stay in Britain is impractical, to obtain a Sussex degree in SEI.

As I write, the 2001 Diploma cohort has just left Sussex. Once again it has been an exciting experience for all in SEI. The injection of 25 high achieving practitioners from EU candidate states in Central and Eastern Europe, all with high expectations and energy, has not only provided us with a better understanding of the evolving relationship between the EU and the candidates but also given us an

opportunity to get to know these students at a personal and intellectual level. The course has been very intensive and the students have left exhausted but we hope that they are now better equipped to deal with the process of accession to the EU. We wish them all well and will do all we can to keep them as part of the SEI family and to encourage them to sustain the cross-country networks which they have developed at SEI. These networks may turn out to be the most lasting and, indeed, the most important legacy of their time at SEI.

Speaking of accession negotiations, it is perhaps worth noting that EU and Slovenia closed the Environment Chapter in the negotiations on terms that will allow Slovenia up to 15 years to comply with all aspects of the EU Environmental acquis. This is good news. Friends and former students of SEI will know that it has been a concern of many in the Institute that the EU would demand too rapid compliance with EU environmental norms. This would be expensive (investment equivalent to 30% of GDP is estimated to be required to bring Poland up to EU standards for drinking water and waste water). For those environmental problems which have little or no impact on other member states these are investments with potentially high opportunity cost and whose implications for the single market are relatively minor.

Finally, some thoughts on agricultural policy. As Britain struggles to contain foot and mouth disease, the aftermath of the discovery of BSE has brought the EU in general and Germany in particular to contemplate a radical appraisal of long held attitudes towards agricultural policy.

The two are linked through the issue of trade and I will return to that. First, however, one should not underestimate the importance of shifts in German thinking about the CAP. The CAP in its origin and

in its traditional instruments is essentially the transmission of pre-existing German agricultural policy to the European Community level. The initial price levels were somewhat lower than prevailing German levels but much above levels then in the rest of the EC-6. The purpose of the CAP on this reading was to allow free internal trade in the EC while sustaining German agricultural output and protecting German farmers against competition from low price neighbours - notably France and the Netherlands.

To talk therefore of the re-nationalising of at least some of the CAP and changing it to a more localised policy subsidising organic farming, as many in Germany are, is to break a very long-standing bargain in the EU. Also, a reversion to national policy financing leaves those with deep financial pockets able to out-subsidise poorer or more budgetarily strapped member states. This potentially threatens the single market with pressure on the state aids regime. Such pressures will particularly affect those candidate members who are not able to afford a subsidy race. A fragmented European agricultural policy might also, and perhaps fatally, undermine the WTO negotiations.

Is there a way out of this possible impasse? One approach would be to shift support for agriculture to non-trade-distorting direct income aids aimed at sustaining small farmers in business and allowing market incentives to generate demand for organic or other extensive means of producing food in Europe. It would also allow free imports from the rest of the world at low prices. This would in turn allow poorer consumers to afford higher quality produced food than they can now under the CAP dear food policy.

Had such a low price/direct aid policy been in place over the life of the EU, it would have encouraged extensive artisanal agricultural production. In these

circumstances the BSE scandal could probably have been avoided. Equally there would have been few, if any, European agricultural exports because there would be no export subsidies to sustain them. With no export trade to protect, a vaccination policy against foot and mouth would have been possible and the shambles of a million and the rising number of healthy animals being slaughtered been avoided. All for no other reason than to protect an export trade that only exists as a result of agricultural protection and subsidy.

Jim Rollo

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Trade and Competition under Table Mountain

Peter Holmes

In February the WTO Secretariat, with the support of the UK Department for International Development, held a Regional Conference on Trade and Competition for Anglophone and Francophone African States. The meeting was in Cape Town and was attended by delegates from almost all parts of the Continent, along with a scattering of “resource persons” of whom I was one.

The aim of the meeting was to present the issues in the Trade and Competition debate for government officials who might be new to the area and to facilitate a general discussion and debate. Many African countries cannot afford full time staff to follow the WTO. This meeting was the second of its kind, the first being for Asian countries in Phuket which was held the previous summer. It was partly a response to a plea from the South African government for technical assistance to be provided before rather than after any negotiations on new issues. South Africa is clearly seen by the EU as a key potential ally in getting a new round under way, especially with regards to the influence the country has among other developing countries, an influence which South African officials at the meeting insisted they could not risk over playing.

The EU – South Africa connection

The Meeting was opened by the South African Trade Minister, Alec Erwin, who argued that South Africa had discovered the importance of the trade and competition link almost by accident after the end of Apartheid. The old regime had been closely linked to a small number of powerful concentrated concerns and had

developed an interest in anti-trust as a way of dispersing economic power and in particular promoting black economic development. It became quite clear however that they could not ignore the international dimension: they were aware of the need to keep their firms and markets “competitive” in both senses of the term, i.e. avoiding local abuses of dominance and ensuring their firms exporting capabilities. In addition, some major South African gold and diamond producers who are big players on other markets are now subject to merger and competition rules. The Trade and Competition issue has thus forced itself on South Africa, and therefore South Africa shares the concerns of the EU in this area, although its interests are not always identical. South Africa has in the last few years set up quite a sophisticated Competition Policy with a Competition Commission to investigate cases and an independent Tribunal to adjudicate. The chairman of both these bodies attended the conference and reported on their experience. In the background many participants were eager to get information on the state of play between South Africa and the pharmaceutical industry. The case, which made the big headlines (see box below), only really started after the conference but there is a whole series of cases occurring between the South African government and the pharmaceutical industry; in particular accusations are made that their marketing practices are abusive. In a very recent case, Merck and Astra had been accused by the Natal Wholesale Chemists of breaking the law by setting up their own exclusive distribution arrangements, allegedly cutting out traditional wholesalers. The Tribunal ruled that damage to other firms was not relevant, only harm to consumers, and though it had been alleged by the wholesalers that the aim of the new set-up was to destroy channels through which generic drugs might be sold, and allow branded goods prices to be rigged, there

was no proof of this (Case No. 98/IR/Dec00, see <http://www.comptrib.co.za>)

The Tribunal decided, “we conclude that...the evidence is not sufficiently strong to sustain the allegation that the distribution arrangement has been put in place to facilitate collusion”. This decision showed not only how scrupulous the South African legal system can be, but also how important the international dimension in cases like this is. If there were evidence that multinationals were setting up a joint facility in order to fix prices, it would most likely be located outside of South Africa.

It is also worth noting that the recent EU - South Africa free trade agreement contains provisions similar to those in the Europe Agreements. However, there are some crucial differences which requires both parties to prevent restrictive business practices which distorts trade flows between them. In this Agreement, of course, the EU could not go as far as it did in the EA's to insist that all issues be settled in accordance with the principle of the Rome Treaty. At the conference, the EU and the US delegates differed sharply over whether the cross border impact of competition problems required a binding international agreement or voluntary co-operation, the US favouring the latter. The EU delegate tried to swing opinion in the meeting towards an international agreement by saying that the EU had indeed learned a lot since the early years of the Europe Agreements. The EU, he acknowledged, had begun its campaign to secure an international competition policy agreement, inspired rather too much by the desire to secure market access for its own firms and seeking to get others to do things the EU way. He argued that the EU had come a long way since the mid-1990s and was ready to promote an agreement on international competition policy that would really favour the interests of

developing countries. He did not however commit the EU to policing anti-competitive behaviour by EU-based multinational firms in LDC markets.

Monopoly during crisis

What did the delegates from the rest of Africa make of all this? There were major contributions at the Conference from Zambia and Tunisia. Both countries have real experience in this area and on the whole there was a good deal of sympathy for the idea that competition policy was an important ingredient in the process of liberalisation of economies which had for many years been dominated by para-statal and licensed trading monopolies. But a delegate from Sierra Leone asked: "What is the use of competition policy to us in a civil war?" The response was that in such circumstances you must at least try to avoid anyone getting a monopoly on food distribution. But it is unclear how far this general sympathy is likely to translate into support for a binding WTO agreement that requires countries to go further in introducing a competition law than they would otherwise wish.

The Pharmaceuticals case in the South African Constitutional Court.

In the case which is currently receiving considerable attention, 39 pharmaceutical firms are contesting the validity under the South African constitution of a clause in the 1997 Medicines Act which would allow the government to do a number of things to reduce the costs of medicines. These would include, as I understand it, substitution of (legal) generics for branded medicines and parallel imports of licensed branded items that had been sold cheaper elsewhere. "Compulsory licensing" is not yet an issue. The firms also claim that the law would violate their rights under the WTO TRIPS agreement, but this is almost incidental. There is no case against South Africa before the WTO and the US

administration has withdrawn its endorsement of the companies' action: many other governments have expressed their view that the South African Medicines Act is consistent with the WTO. The issue in this case appears almost entirely to do with the strong protection of civil rights under the South African Constitution which the firms are seeking to exploit.

For full details see -

<http://www.cptech.org/ip/health/sa/>

Rives-Manche Economic Observatory

Alexandra Bollard

The last months have seen the continuation of Economic Observatory activities through the publication of further bulletins, a thematic report, and the organisation of another crossborder seminar.

Bulletin 8 on the Electronics sector has been published, and the next, on Recruitment, will be produced over the coming weeks. The report, "Institutions in the Rives-Manche area" has now been printed and is available. This is a useful reference source for those wishing to find out more about the institutional and governmental structure of East Sussex and the South East region and its counterparts in northern France. Plans have begun to commence the next Thematic report, which will examine Economic Development projects under the current Interreg program. Organisation of the Observatory's second cross-border seminar is underway, where local multi-media companies will be taken to the annual RITH trade exhibition in Rouen, this May.

The Economic Observatory's new website, www.rivesmanche.com is to be launched shortly. All of the Observatory's studies, as well as links to other sources of economic information will be available on the website. As the Interreg II programme approaches its close, plans and discussions have begun to decide the future of the Economic Observatory under Interreg III.

Academic Initiatives for Integrating International Regions

Dr. Kentaro Hayshi

My initial six months as a visiting research fellow at SEI has so far proved to be a very exciting and fruitful opportunity for me. I have indulged in happy days of research looking at the historical background of further integration of the EU - a subject which has raised many interesting scientific issues and questions. Actually, this is my third time as a visiting research fellow at Sussex. I studied Thatcherism in 1985, and several years ago I researched the re-capitalisation of Central and Eastern Europe, on both occasions at the School of Social Sciences. This time my work is done at SEI. However, I cannot remain simply as an observer. I have a vast amount of interest in these issues, not only regarding questions of how to achieve a successful integration of the EU but also in terms of contemporary international issues in which academic initiatives have become an indispensable factor. To clarify this proposition, I would like to make some comments based on my own experiences.

EU and North-East Asia.

Radical changes in global society during the last decade have influenced my current research. Firstly, from the late 80's hard but human challenges of reconstructing society in Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union have taken place. Similar problems could be found in the restructuring of a peaceful and sustainable society in the North-East Asia international region, even though it still contains influences of the east-west confrontation, having stayed geopolitically as a peripheral region in world affairs. We organised a three year (1995-97) joint research programme between Pan-Sea-of-Japan Project (Ritsumeikan University) and Sussex European Institute. It was entitled "Newly Emerging International Regions in Europe and North-East Asia: Academic Initiatives for Transnational Socio - Economic Development". Even though the purpose of this workshop was mainly to learn from the experiences of European integration, we also shared the subject of restructuring the post-World War II system with new perspectives of globalisation and local responses to it. I successfully organised the "International Academic Forum in Pusan (Korea)" and its "Youth Forum" in March 2001, gathering more than 200 participants from industry, academia and local government who were willing to develop mutual transnational networking. It is worth noting that recent EU documents like "Agenda 2000" or "Strategic Objectives 2000-2005" have stressed the role of international regional integration in the era of globalisation. From this respect, the Charter of Fundamental Rights could be regarded as the basic standard of public policy in the EU. The charter is designed to meet the challenge and guard efficiently against the negative impacts of globalisation.

Bridging Knowledge and Policy

The "IT revolution" has brought another structural change, essentially increasing the weight of intellectual activities. In this perspective, one should pay attention to the social role of the universities as higher education and research organisations. Not only in terms of the R&D functions of high-technology, symbolised for example by the Cambridge phenomenon, but also the more comprehensive competence of universities has become expected in order to contribute to the social development including human development at its core. Universities will undoubtedly be the most indispensable infrastructure in the 21st century and bridging knowledge and policy via universities will become a most important factor in social development. As the keystone of the bridge, universities will come to shoulder intellectual exchange functions more consciously. In this respect, we should remark that the universities' participation in EU policies, like the Framework Programme or the Erasmus strand of Socrates, indicate that they are taking positive initiatives towards this end. Recently, the World Bank started to support the construction of the Global Development Network. For this purpose, the first international conference, in which I participated, was held in Bonn two years ago, and the second one was held in Tokyo last December. The main mission of the World Bank is to financially support development programmes in the developing countries. However, it became indispensable to form each programme more comprehensively and more locally, for example, in response to the increasing pressures from environmental or cultural preservation groups. Replacing dependence on the top-down policy from Washington by constructing local academic infrastructure linked to the global network, each policy became much more directly and efficiently aligned with local needs. It was clear that bridging knowledge and policy came to make more

sense, especially under the current co-operative initiative by the World Bank and the IMF. The heavily indebted nations were asked to form their own comprehensive development framework as a precondition for adopting poverty reduction strategies. You might be able to find similar characteristics in PHARE or TACIS programmes for the transition societies.

SEI as an excellent networking pillar

Even though I recognise that the research areas of SEI are generally not limited solely to that of EU policies, it is well known that SEI is one of the excellent pillars which could shoulder networks designed to bridge knowledge and policy for European international regional development. In this respect, SEI is expected to develop more pragmatic research both demand-oriented and also productivity-oriented, of course being based on a stable theoretical ground. I also think we should be confident about the key role of SEI's sophisticated graduate courses, which could develop a mass of highly talented human potential for the creation and exchange of knowledge contributing towards a new society.

Dr. Kentaro Hayashi is a Visiting Research Fellow at SEI and Professor at Ritsumeikan University, Japan.

Enlargement, Roy Perry and British public transport metaphors

Hannah Bullock, MACES

At the well-attended lecture on European enlargement given by MEP Roy Perry, it

seemed that yet another British politician was several paces behind the rest of the Europeans. Whilst sharing his insights as a member of several joint parliamentary committees focussing on candidate countries, he did in fact not stray far from the party line even when addressing an audience of clued-up students, officials and business representatives from both Eastern and Western Europe. 'Slowly, slowly' was the catchword of the day. After the customary party political campaign, rather wasted on his listeners since a majority of them would not even be voting in the next European election, let alone the British one, Roy Perry turned to the burning issue of the day – enlargement. Why, who and when? Following in the footsteps of Margaret Thatcher, he stressed the moral responsibility of the West Europeans to safeguard the borders of our wonderful continent. Several DICES students reminded our speaker of the failed obligation towards the East at the Yalta conference, suggesting further that perhaps the real motivation behind enlargement was rather the penetration of the West into new markets. Whilst accepting the diplomacy of the 1940s as a 'gross mistake', he explained that today European enlargement with its financial aid to the East should rather be seen as a new Marshall Aid. This aid would of course be more beneficial for the donator, but would also greatly help the recipient. As for the final perimeters of the European Union, a gradual approach was prescribed for deciding eventual members, especially regarding South - Eastern Europe. A few strong words were spoken on the danger of the implicit conditionality of Christianity that seems to colour the way the EU deals with hopeful, but frustrated, candidates like Turkey. However, the most pressing question of the day was - *when* will enlargement actually take place? Perry believed that a 'wait and see' - approach on the part of political leaders in both the East and West was more helpful in the

long run than the broken promises of unrealistic deadlines. He doubted that enlargement would take place before the European elections in 2004, as announced at Nice, placing his bets on a date towards 2010.

Euroscepticism in the UK?

Europe was presented by Roy Perry as an organisation floundering 'at the crossroads' in the vacuum of the post-Cold War. The EU must not only manage its enlargement, but also decide upon its *finalité politique*. Following many other British politicians, Roy Perry warned of the dangers of ploughing ahead without a fixed direction, quoting a slogan: 'If you don't know where you are going, it's for sure that you won't get there.' He lamented the fact that there were no longer any great European statesmen to construct a vision of Europe to capture the imagination of the citizens. However, he did not accept a proposal from the audience that the lack of enthusiasm for Europe amongst *British* citizens stems from the absence of European-minded politicians in the vanguard (unless of course that involved criticising the present leadership, and reminding us that it was in fact his own party, the Conservatives, that had led Britain into the Community.) Instead, we were presented with the usual list of justifications for British cynicism (quite distinct from its unhealthy cousin, Euroscepticism, our speaker assured us). Our island mentality, our thousand years of independence, our invigorating experience of the war as compared to that of the Continentals and our perception of the EU as economically unviable were dusted down and paraded yet again. Although Roy Perry conceded that an anti-European media monopoly in Britain has a dangerously firm grip on public opinion, he doubted whether British political leaders should take the helm. 'Politicians can be two or three steps ahead of the

people, but they cannot afford to be twenty steps ahead', he quoted from Douglas Hurd. That old British chestnut – keep your options open – was the order of the day: Let us enlarge slowly but surely, let us wait to see how the others get on with the Euro, but dare not set foot beyond the boundaries of public opinion. To sum up his vision, Roy Perry described the ideal pace of European integration as one which would 'not be so slow that the bicycle

toppled over, but not so fast that the train veered off the rails' – a rather unfortunate metaphor considering the current state of affairs in the British transport system!

What Roy Perry did not probe deeply enough was whether those queuing up for the train will be given first- or second-class seats. And what's more, where will Britain decide to sit?

Conference Reports

'OPPOSING EUROPE' IN MANCHESTER

**Political Studies Association Annual
Conference, 9-12 April, University of
Manchester**

Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart

The 'Opposing Europe' network took to the road at a recent conference. This year's Political Studies Association Annual Conference was hosted by the University of Manchester between 9-12 April 2001. Three panels were organised by the 'Opposing Europe' network that was set up by Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart at an SEI workshop in June 2000. The objective of the network is to bring together an international group of researchers working on party-based Euroscepticism to produce pan-European comparative research that charts the divisions over Europe that exist in both East and West European party systems. The network is making an effort to use a series of academic conferences as ways of bringing researchers together. The Political Studies Association represented the first conference and was a great success.

The first panel of the three 'Opposing Europe' panels began with Aleks Szczerbiak (SEI) and Paul Taggart (SEI) setting out a comparative framework for analysing party-based Euroscepticism and then applying it to the ten Central and East European candidate EU states. In an attempt to develop comparative lessons they presented research into the location, electoral strength and type of Eurosceptic parties in these countries. They then used this data to examine a series of propositions about the relationship between party-based Euroscepticism and the left-right ideological spectrum, prospects for accession, 'hard' and 'soft' Euroscepticism and state longevity. The conclusion was that extending the scope of the study of Euroscepticism to the candidate states both deepens understanding of Euroscepticism more generally, brings new insights into the emerging Central and East European party systems and offers some clues about the future effects of EU enlargement.

In the first case study, Agnes Batory (Cambridge University) examined the extent to which party identity and ideology were reliable guides to their attitudes towards European integration in Hungary.

Having established the nature of the ideological space in the Hungarian party system she then provided a brief overview of party attitudes towards European integration. She argued that while party ideology did not account for the clear-cut choice between support and rejection of EU membership, it was a necessary explanatory variable when considering the basis and strength of a Hungarian party's European orientation.

The first panel concluded with a paper from Jacek Kucharczyk (Institute of Public Affairs, Warsaw) who drew on public opinion research conducted before and after the October 2000 Polish presidential election to consider the possibility of an anti-European trend emerging in Poland during the pre-accession period. He argued that, in spite of a recent fall in support for accession, Poles were not becoming more anti-European and that there was still a 'permissive consensus' in favour of EU membership. Nonetheless, he went on to argue that there was remarkably little 'connection' between individual interests and European integration and that this could, potentially, threaten popular support for EU membership in the run up to an accession referendum.

The second 'Opposing Europe' panel began with Nick Sitter (Norwegian School of Management) arguing that the translation of issues related to European integration into Danish, Norwegian and Swedish domestic party politics was driven by the dynamics of long and short term government-opposition competition. Party-based Euroscepticism in these three countries was, he argued, usually linked to one or more of three dimensions of opposition centred on material costs and benefits, questions related to identity and democracy and foreign policy. The author argued that party-based Euroscepticism in these countries was, therefore, a function of how the governing parties addressed these issues and the strategic and tactical

decisions made by both mainstream opposition and third parties or dissenting factions.

In the second paper, Aleks Szczerbiak returned to the Polish case and argued that although the European issue had certainly assumed a somewhat higher profile in the October 2000 presidential campaign than in any previous Polish election, it did not really feature as a major issue. While there were clear differences of approach and nuance, the campaign did not produce a significant pro versus anti-EU cleavage. While some of the minor candidates were more openly anti-EU and made it a more prominent feature of their campaigns they received a derisory share of the vote. He concluded that while the EU had become a more salient issue it was unlikely to provide the basis for a realignment in the Polish party system.

Presenting a joint paper co-authored with Cosmina Tanasoiu (University of the West of England), Madalena Pontes-Resende (LSE) examined the changing patterns of European discourse in the EU and NATO applicant states. Focussing particularly on the Polish and Romanian cases, she argued that the EU and NATO's enlargement methodology had reshaped political and public discourses replacing an affective attachment to Europe by a more utilitarian approach. In other words, "Europe" had changed from a catch-all political symbol into a much more restrictive and pragmatic concept coloured by the ideological jargon of the party employing it.

The third panel began with a paper from Simon Usherwood (LSE) examining how opposition to the EU had developed in the UK since 1973 and the strategies that political parties employed to manage that opposition. He argued that since public opinion did not rank European integration as a particularly salient issue, British parties attempted to divert their internal divisions on this issue out of the main

political arena. By balancing a desire to actively engage with the EU with the requirements of internal party management, they thereby contributed to the creation of radicalised non-party anti-EU groupings, a process that, in turn, created further tensions in the long-term.

Finally, Karen Henderson (University of Leicester) argued that the issue of EU membership interacts with Central and East European party systems in a fundamentally different way from patterns familiar in the current member states. Focussing particularly on the Slovak case, she argued that the symbolic and real importance of EU membership was far greater than in West European states that had established market economies and citizens with a clear notion of their own social and economic location. She also argued that the constellations of political and economic interests were fundamentally different in these states and concepts of 'left' and 'right' had less significance than the distinction between transition 'losers' and 'winners.'

Using the forum of an already existing conference worked extremely well. The three panels attracted sizeable audiences and some interesting discussions were generated concerning the definitions of Euroscepticism as well as the comparative challenges of integrating the study of member and candidate states. It was notable that themes began to emerge through all panels and it was very positive to see that references were made to different sessions with papers building up both a battery of case studies and framing ideas. A fourth informal session emerged with a collective visit to one of Manchester's bars. Clearly a template emerged.

Following on from the successful PSA sessions the 'Opposing Europe' network will also be hosting more panels at the European Community Studies Association

Conference at Madison, Wisconsin in June and the American Political Science Association conference at San Francisco in September.

If you would like more information about the network or are a researcher interested in participating then please Dr Aleks Szczerbiak (a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk) or Paul Taggart (pt35@georgetown.edu). If you would like a copy of one of the individual papers presented at the PSA conference then you can either download them from the PSA website (PSA members only) or contact one of the convenors who will forward your request to the authors.

Paul Taggart (Georgetown University) & Aleks Szczerbiak (Sussex European Institute) - 'Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe'

Agnes Batory (University of Cambridge) - 'Hungarian Party Identities and the Question of European Integration'

Jacek Kucharczyk (Institute of Public Affairs, Poland) - 'Club Class Europe? Popular Perceptions of the Role of Political and Economic Elites in Poland's Integration with the EU'

Aleks Szczerbiak (Sussex European Institute) - 'Europe as a Re-aligning Issue in Polish Politics?: Evidence from the October 2000 presidential elections'

Nick Sitter (Norwegian School of Management) - 'The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?'

Madelena Pontes Resende (London School of Economics) and Cosmina Tanasoiu (University of the West of England) - 'Europe as a Political Symbol in Central Eastern Europe'

Simon Usherwood (London School of Economics) - 'Opposition to the European Union in the UK: The Dilemma of Public Opinion and Party Management'

Karen Henderson (Leicester University) - 'Euroscepticism or Europhobia: Opposition Attitudes to the EU in the Slovak Republic'

Global Norms Creation and Norms Competition

**Centre on European Political Economy
of the Sussex European Institute,
2 March, University of Sussex**

Carmen Cacho

The Centre on European Political Economy of the Sussex European Institute organised a one-day workshop on 2 March. The main discussion addressed the work in progress on a research project sponsored by the European Commission's DG Trade entitled '*Global Norms Creation and Norms Competition*'. Although informal in character, the discussion proved to be an invaluable step towards clarifying the main elements of the project and setting up objectives for the upcoming months.

Jim Rollo, Director of the Centre on European Political Economy and Co-Director of the Sussex European Institute, welcomed the participants and explained the origins and subsequent development of co-operation in the project. To introduce the discussion, Professor Rollo gave an overview of the different normative approaches to regulation with the aim of developing an analytical framework that may suggest which regulatory problems should be tackled, at what level of governance, and how to apply the framework to global regulation.

Peter Holmes, Jean Monet Reader in Economics at Sussex discussed the question of when norms acted as trade barriers and when they served as trade facilitators. His conclusions showed that they will most likely have effects simultaneously - given the difficulty in unambiguously distinguishing between legitimate domestic regulation and

differences in local norms which amount to an unjustified 'obstacle' to trade.

The discussion was further clarified by Alasdair Young, of the Centre on European Political Economy fame, now a Jean Monet Fellow at the European Institute in Florence, who presented a preliminary comparison of modes that reduce regulatory barriers. The comparison was then applied to the practice of three different models of market integration with reference to the EU, NAFTA and the WTO.

At a more specific level, David Evans, professor in the IDS and Yiannis Zahariadis, PhD student in the SEI, illustrated the impact of regulatory barriers by presenting some initial calculations on the effects of liberalisation of the global telecommunications sector. Their findings were received with great interest, followed by an animated discussion.

The day finished with a discussion of objectives for future plans, which will culminate in May with a final report and a presentation at a European Commission seminar.

LUSTRATION IN CAMBRIDGE

**British Association for Slavonic and
East European Studies Annual
Conference, 7-9 April, Fitzwilliam
College, Cambridge**

Aleks Szczerbiak

This year's BASEES Conference was held in its usual venue of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge on 7-9 April. With nearly 70 panels and a wide range of international guest speakers the programme covered a broad range of topics covering all the social science and humanities disciplines and many of the states of both the former

Soviet Union and the former communist bloc in Eastern Europe.

SEI's Aleks Szczerbiak organised a panel on the theme of 'Dealing with the communist past? The politics of lustration and de-communisation in East-Central Europe'. In addition to his own paper on lustration in Poland (outlined below), the panel included papers from Kieran Williams (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London) on the Czech Republic and Brigid Fowler (Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham) on Hungary. The objective was to use the three case studies to contribute towards the development a comparative analytical framework for understanding how and why former communist states deal with their non-democratic past. In particular, the three papers examined how and under what circumstances the three countries approached the issue of lustration: the vetting (and sometimes exclusion) of public officials for links with the communist-era security services (and sometimes for communist party membership itself).

Aleks Szczerbiak's paper on 'The Politics of Lustration in Post-Communist Poland'

argued that while the political salience of the lustration issue had varied during the post-communist era, a clear majority of Poles consistently supported vetting a wide range of public officials for their links with the communist-era security services. As the Polish political scene polarised around attitudes towards the communist past in the mid-1990s, lustration became instrumentalised as part of the political power struggle. Eventually, in 1997 a 'centrist' coalition of forces coalesced around a moderate or 'civilised' lustration law that involved vetting officials for links with the communist security services but (unlike in the Czech case) did not lead to their automatic exclusion from office. Moreover, the intention of the law was more to facilitate public openness, protect national security and prevent 'wild' lustration than provide a means of coming to terms with the communist past.

It is hoped that the three papers, together with a joint comparative piece, will all be published in some form eventually. However, if you would like a copy of Aleks Szczerbiak's paper in the meantime then please contact him directly (a.a.szczerbiak@ssees.ac.uk).

'In Brief'

Matt Browne attended the International Studies Association's Annual Conference in February in Chicago where he presented a paper on "The Notion of Employability: Re-conceptualising Competitiveness in Europe". In February he also presented a paper on the UACES Panel at the European Voice Careers faire. He participated in a Franco-German conference organised by the German Federal Chancellery and the Notre Europe think tank (11 & 12 April in Berlin). The conference theme was "Towards a New Social Contract in Europe"

Jane K. Cowan, SEI Social Anthropologist, participated in two conferences over the Easter vacation period. At the Association of Social Anthropologist's conference on 'Rights, Claims and Entitlements', held at Sussex on 30 Mar- 2 Apr, she presented a paper entitled 'The Context and Decontextualisation of Minority Rights Claims: Reflections on Consequences of "Righteous" Moral Outrage' on a panel on 'Human Rights and Morality'. At the convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) at Columbia University in New York on 5-7 April, for the panel 'Macedonia Through Other

Eyes: 1900-1934', she presented a paper based on her current research on the interwar minorities treaties supervision, entitled 'Appealing Macedonia: Petitions for an Autonomous Macedonia to the League of Nations, 1920-1927'.

Marie-Benedicte Dembour has been granted a two-year Leverhulme Research Fellowship to work on a project entitled: 'Problematizing Human Rights: The European Convention in Question' - starting next October.

Russell King gave the keynote address to a conference held at the University of Dundee 17-19 March. The conference was entitled 'Strangers and Citizens: Challenges for European Governance, Identity and Citizenship'. His paper was called 'Towards a new map of European migration'.

Lucia Quaglia attended the 3rd EPIC (European Political Economy Infrastructure Consortium) workshop in Corfu 22-26 February where she presented a paper 'The Domestic Political Economy of European Monetary Integration in Italy'. She will attend the PSA (Political Studies Association) Conference, 10-12 April University of Manchester to present a paper titled 'The Italian Road from Maastricht'.

Jim Rollo presented a paper on 'EMU and Macro-Economic Policy Co-ordination' at EUI, Florence. On 2 March he took part in the workshop on Global Norms Workshop at SEI (see article on page 12). On 22-24 March he attended the 51st Königswinter Conference organised by the Deutsch-English Gesellschaft. On 28 March he ran a Banana Negotiating Exercise at the Civil Service College, Sunningdale with Jeremy Kempton. On 29-30 March he gave a paper on 'EU External Policy in the Next Decade' at the WIIW Annual Conference in Vienna.

From 9-10 April he was teaching at the College of Europe, Natolin, Poland.

Aleks Szczerbiak participated in a seminar on 'Poland and the EU' for senior UK Government officials organised by the Downing Street Policy Unit (7 February). He organised and chaired the Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Communist and Post-Communist Politics Annual Conference at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London (10 February). He organised a panel on 'Coming to terms with the communist past? The politics of lustration in East-Central Europe?' and presented a paper 'The politics of lustration in post-communist Poland' at the British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies Annual Conference, Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge (7-9 April). See the report on page 9 of this issue. He organised three panels for the 'Opposing Europe' network at the Political Studies Association Annual Conference, University of Manchester (10-12 April). Presented a paper (with Paul Taggart) on 'Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the EU Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe' and a paper on 'Europe as a realigning issue in Polish politics? Evidence from the October 2000 presidential election'.

Helen Wallace spoke at Wilton Park on 12 Jan and to the European Commission Seminar on European Governance on 25 Jan. She then spoke at EIPA, Maastricht, on the treaty of NICE on 29 Jan. On 29 March she gave a talk at the Federal Trust Seminar on the 2004 IGC agenda and on 4 April spoke at the Institute of European Affairs, Dublin on the future of Europe. She addressed a meeting of US Foundations at Bellagio on 21 April. She also organised various ESRC One Europe or Several? Programme events, including a workshop to prepare a special edition of the *Journal of Common Market Studies* on 'The Changing Politics of the EU'.

SEI Publications

Jane K. Cowan, SEI Social Anthropologist, would like to draw attention to the recent publication of her edited volume, *Macedonia: The Politics of Identity and Difference* (Pluto, December 2000).

With contributions from seven anthropologists and one historian, the volume focuses on the ways Macedonia as place and as concept is forged within a transnational network of diasporas, local communities, states and international institutions. The contributions examine the increasingly important role of transnational bodies—including the European Union and human rights NGOs—in regulating relationships between states and minority groups, as well as in promoting multiculturalism and civic participation. They consider the role of media and scholarship in defining Macedonia and its inhabitants. They draw attention to the struggles of individuals in constructing, negotiating and even transforming their identities in the face of competing nationalisms and memories. In the process, they re-evaluate ‘ethnicity’ as a conceptual tool for understanding difference in the region, and raise questions about the implications of recognizing, and not recognizing, difference at the political level. The book is available through Sussex University Bookshop.

Jane K. Cowan teaches on the Anthropology of Europe MA and supervises several doctoral students in SEI.

Jeremy Kempton published an exciting piece on 'Anti-Dumping and the Consumer Interest' in Consumer Policy Review Vol. 10(6) Nov/Dec 2000

Russell King., De Mas, P. and Mansvelt Beck, J., eds. (2001) *Geography, Environment and Development in the Mediterranean*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, pp. xii + 292.

- King, R., ed. (2001) *The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press (Liverpool Studies in European Regional Cultures 9), pp. x + 307

- King, R. and Wood, N., eds. (2001) *Media and Migration: Constructions of Mobility and Difference*. London: Routledge, pp. x + 192.

Jon P Mitchell, SEI Social Anthropologist and co-convenor of the MA Anthropology of Europe, would like to give advance warning of the forthcoming publication of his monograph, *Ambivalent Europeans: ritual, memory and the public sphere in Malta* (Harwood, 2001).

Ambivalent Europeans examines the implications of living on the fringes of Europe. In Malta, where public debate is dominated by the question of Europe, both at a policy level – whether or not to join the EU – and at the level of national identity – whether or not Maltese are ‘European’. The book identifies not only a profound ambivalence towards Europe, but also processes of ‘modernisation’ more broadly. It traces this ambivalence through a number of key areas of social life – gender, the family, community, politics, religion and ritual. In a country where Roman Catholicism has historically been dominant, ‘modernisation’ and ‘Europeanisation’ are seen to threaten ‘traditional’ values even as they promise

greater affluence and greater economic stability.

This ambivalence is explored in relation to three major themes:

Firstly, the particular dynamics of Maltese public life. Shaped by social stratification and political processes, the Maltese public, in which debates about national identity take place, is characterised by an articulation of face-to-face communication and more attenuated communication in the broadcast media. The book examines the implications of this 'semi-transformed' public sphere for Maltese society.

Secondly, the pervasive nostalgia, or sensitivity to the historical, that characterises contemporary Malta. The book proposes a new typology of memory that eschews the over-generalising tendencies of much contemporary work, and demonstrates how this can improve our understanding of the past in the present.

Finally, the potency of ritual and the contentiousness with which processes of ritualisation are debated in Malta. The book examines the feast of St Paul – the national patron of Malta – showing how arguments over the ritual relate to the central ambivalence of 'tradition' and 'modernity'.

Although located in Malta, the book makes a number of contributions to contemporary theoretical debates, and highlights processes that may be observed elsewhere. To this extent, it furthers our overall understanding of European integration, and how Europe is viewed from its margins.

Jon Mitchell was recently elected Chair of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA).

Martin Shaw, professor of International Relations & Politics and editor of a new politics, society and culture site has published the book 'Theory of the Global

State: Globality as Unfinished Revolution' (Cambridge University Press 2000).

The website, www.theglobalsite.ac.uk was launched last year.

The editors of Euroscope are Pontus Odmalm and Nick Walmsley. All SEI affiliated faculty, students and staff are encouraged to submit information for all sections. Longer, substantive pieces are especially welcome. All items for the Autumn Term issue on disk or via email, please, to the editors by the last week before term start.

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Tuesdays 2.15 - 3.50 pm - A71, SEI

01.05.01

Philip Budden, FCO

Public Diplomacy: Engaging the Public In European and Foreign Policy

08.05.2001

Mick Dunford, School of Economic Studies, University of Sussex,

Regional Evolutions in Italy

15.05.2001

Michael Shackleton, European Parliament

EU Parliament – Commission Relations

22.05.2001

Henrike Mueller, DPhil, SEI

Creating Conditions for competition? The Single Market Risk Regulation and the European Insurance Industry

29.05.2001

Lucia Quaglia, DPhil, SEI and Central Bank Aficionado

Italy and EMU: Domestic Politics and EU policy-making

05.06.01

Peter Czaga, DPhil, SEI

Interest Groups and the Eastern Enlargement of the EU

12.06.01

Danute Budreikaite, Visiting Fellow, SEI

Lithuania's Economic Integration into the EU Single Market

19.06.2001

Thomas Poguntke, School of Politics, IR and the Environment, Keele University

Parties and Society in Western Europe: Is There Empirical Evidence for the Cartel Party Thesis

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