

Message from the Co-Director

Warm greetings to all those about to commence postgraduate research and study at the SEI and welcome back to more long-standing SEI 'friends and family' both at Sussex and beyond.

The last few months have been a busy time for analysts of contemporary Europe with the EU has agreeing a new budget for 2007-13, agonising over the future of the constitutional treaty, uncertainty over the future of EU enlargement and important national elections in Italy and Ukraine. They have also an extremely productive time for everyone associated with the SEI and we have been more confident about our own enlargement and future than the EU. Our new 'SEI Diary' feature shows how SEI faculty continue to be involved in cutting edge research on contemporary European studies.



Professor Aleks Szczerbiak

A brief listing of some of research must include: an ESRC-funded seminar series on centre-right parties in Europe, a PSA sponsored conference non-social democratic left parties in government, and Nuffield and ESRC-supported research on the German Left Party; together with ongoing research projects on the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Nuffield and British Academy sponsored project on the

new MEPs. SEI faculty, research students and visiting fellows have also been busy presenting their findings at both major international academic conferences such as UACES, PSA and EPOP and more specialised events and SEI-hosted workshops and seminars.

Those of you commencing postgraduate study or research at the SEI this year can read from the accounts of recent and current Masters and doctoral students that you are joining one of the most vibrant and exciting contemporary European studies postgraduate research and training centres in Europe and beyond. As the report by my Co-Director, Professor Jim Rollo, on the Chevening Fellowship programme on European Political Economy (which we ran for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for the first time earlier this year) shows, as well as offering internationally renowned MA programmes, SEI also provides postgraduate training for practitioners whose work brings them into regular contact with the European integration process. Our closely-knit community of doctoral students has been also extremely active, presenting at academic conferences, publishing research papers and

Welcome to the new look SEI newsletter, 'Euroscope', edited by Dan Keith, e-mail D.J.Keith@sussex.ac.uk

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Euroscope thanks Joel Chant and joelchant.com for the photograph of Professor Aleks Szczerbiak. The photograph was originally published in the *Times Higher Education Supplement*.

plugging into - and organising their own research networks and events, such as June SEI conference on Turkish EU accession.

The Autumn term sees a number of important new arrivals at the SEI. I am particularly pleased to welcome back Dr. Lucia Quaglia, a political economy specialist who completed both her MA and DPhil at Sussex and returns as Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies having previously worked at Limerick and Bristol Universities. We also welcome Dr Sabina Avdagic who has been appointed as one prestigious RCUK-funded Fellowships in emerging global capitalisms and will be based in the SEI, and Dr Tania Verge who joins us from Madrid as a Visiting Post-Doctoral Fellow specialising in Spanish party politics. Building on the success of our Practitioner Fellow scheme, SEI has also established a new Visiting Academic Fellow network involving those scholars from beyond Sussex who are already involved in SEI research collaboration and teaching. This issue of 'Euroscope' includes a report from one of these new Fellows, John McCormick from Indiana, whom the SEI was delighted to host as a visiting Professor last Autumn.

On a personal note, I was particularly honoured to be appointed SEI Co-Director in August - jointly with Jim Rollo, who is on leave in the autumn term - and thereby follow in the footsteps of such distinguished scholars as Professor Helen Wallace (recently presented with a special award by UACES for her outstanding contribution to European studies) and Professor Jörg Monar. Given that my own research interests are primarily on the impact of European integration on domestic politics, rather than political integration at EU level, my appointment reflects the fact that the inter-face between the national and European levels of politics is now becoming one of the SEI core areas of research expertise.

SEI continues to publish a vibrant working paper series and has a lively research in progress seminar series. Highlights in the autumn term include distinguished visiting speakers such as: Professor Kenneth Dyson (Cardiff), Dr. Jeffrey Karp (Exeter) and Professor Karl Magnus Johansson (Södertörn University College, Sweden), together with our own faculty and research students presenting their ongoing research. The seminar series also includes a visit from Professor

Jörg Monar who is on a three year leave at the University of Strasbourg as an EU-funded Marie Curie Chair of Excellence (a letter from Jörg can be found in our new 'SEI Dispatches' feature). Politics faculty involved in the SEI-based Sussex Centre for Parties and Democracy in Europe also run a complementary research seminar series. The SEI-based international European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) continues to produce its influential briefing papers on the impact of European issues on recent elections in Italy, Ukraine and Slovakia.

Finally, I would like to add my particular thanks to 'Euroscope's dynamic new editor, SEI DPhil student Dan Keith. Well done Dan for the excellent job that you have done in revivifying 'Euroscope' (and many congratulations on your ESRC scholarship for the coming few years)! We hope that the new look 'Euroscope' is a useful guide to the new look SEI.

Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak

SEI Diary

A new regular feature highlighting SEI activities, compiled by Dan Keith

During 2006 members of SEI have been involved in many memorable activities connected to teaching and research on contemporary Europe.

January: Chevening Fellows

The year began with SEI welcoming the arrival of 12 visiting fellows under the *Chevening Fellowship scheme on European Political Economy*. Upon arriving in January, the fellows undertook a range of courses run by SEI during their 12 week stay.

As outlined by Jim Rollo's review of the Chevening scheme on page ten, the fellows experienced an array of activities during their stay. These included a conference held in SEI titled 'The New Member States and the Economic Agenda in the EU'.

To complement its successful *Practitioner Fellow programme*, SEI launched a

new *Visiting Academic Fellows scheme* in January, for those scholars with ongoing links with the SEI and who make regular contributions to its research and teaching, either at Sussex or from their home institutions. The first tranche of Academic Fellows includes Professor John McCormick (Indiana University Perdue University Indianapolis) who visited the SEI in autumn 2005 (see report on page twenty-four), Professor Paul Lewis (Open University), Dr Charles Lees (University of Sheffield) and Dr Sean Hanley (SSEES/UCL).

SEI DPhil students, Shilpa Modi, Iwona Piorko and Judith Watson completed their Doctorates in January.

February: Graduation

SEI students and teaching staff alike were able to celebrate as postgraduate students from 2004-2005, graduated from the SEI. This February, thirty-two students graduated from the M.A. in Contemporary Euro-

pean Studies programme, one student from the MA in Contemporary European Studies (European Public Policy) and 10 students from the M.A. in European Politics. Joint MACES prize winners were Christi Badiu & Julie Kjestrup who both won a £50 book token.

In February Jim Rollo and Peter Holmes also presented their study on "Evaluating Regional Trade Agreements: Deep and Shallow Integration" at the Department for International Development.

March: New EPERN Election briefings

The Ukrainian parliamentary elections in March saw the publication of the first of three new election briefings by the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN).

SEI DPhil student Nathaniel Copsey's briefing on the Ukrainian election was followed by both a briefing paper and an SEI Roundtable discussion by fellow DPhil students Simona Guerra and Emanuele Massetti on the Italian parliamentary elections in April. A third brief-

SEI at the PSA

April: The SEI was strongly represented by Faculty members, Visiting Fellows and DPhil students at the 56th Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association (PSA) between 4-6 April 2006. Papers that were presented included

Theodora Klountzou
'Determining Common Threats and Responses to post-9/11 European security challenges'

Dan Hough, Charles Lees
'Continuity and Change in the German Party System - The Case of the 'Party on the Left''

Mark Bennister 'John Howard and Tony Blair: Comparative

Predominance and 'Institution Stretch' in Australia and the UK'

Emanuele Massetti 'Regionalist Parties' Ideological Position: Do Structural Factors Matter?'

The papers can be obtained from <http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/cps.asp>

ing paper by Karen Henderson from the University of Leicester analysed the Slovakian parliamentary election of June 2006. Key points summarising all three new EPERN election briefings can be found on page thirteen.

Tim Bale and Paul Taggart presented their work on the New European Parliamentarians Project (see page twenty-three) focusing on the MEPs from the new member states in a paper entitled 'The Newest of the New? Accession state MEPs: Who They Are and Who They Think They Are' at a Federal Trust Workshop on 'the European Parliament and the European Political Space' 30 March 2006 in London.

During March two SEI DPhil students also presented papers on Public Opinion and EU Accession in Eastern Europe to the Political Studies Association's Communist and Post-Communist Specialist Group at the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham. The two papers were by Lyubka Savkova, titled 'Wedded to the European Idea: Patterns of Public Support for Europe in Bulgaria' and Simona Guerra's paper titled 'Polish Public Opinion and Political Cues after the EU Accession: a Never-Ending Distrust?'

Research student Mark Benister travelled to Australia in March to present a paper to a conference marking Australian Prime Minister John Howard's ten year tenure in office. The conference was organised by the Australian National University and took place in Canberra.

Mark's paper was titled 'Howard and Blair: Comparative Predominance and 'Institution Stretch'.

April: Wider Europe

This April the Wider Europe network held seminars bringing together both academics and practitioners to discuss the Ukrainian parliamentary elections. Nat Copsy, reports on the activities of the Wider Europe Network on page twenty-one.

Paul Taggart gave the JCMS Annual Review Keynote Lecture on 'Questions of Europe - The Domestic Politics of the 2005 French and Dutch Referendums and their Challenge for the Study of European Integration' at the University of Glasgow, April 24, 2006 and the article is published in the JCMS 2006 Annual Review.

In April, Adrian Treacher spent three days in Prishtina, Kosovo. He was there on behalf of the EU-funded European Agency for Reconstruction, as part of an international selection panel. The panel interviewed 30 young Kosovars, from the public and private sector, for 10 scholarship places. The scholarships would fund a one year Masters in European Studies

somewhere inside the EU. In return, the recipients would then have to work for the fledgling Kosovar government for a minimum of a couple of years. This was the second cycle of this initiative; four Kosovars from the first cycle completed the 2005-6 MACES programme here at SEI.

May: Appointments

May 6, SEI appointed Dr Lucia Quaglia as Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies, This autumn SEI welcomes Lucia as well as other new appointments Dr Tania Verge Post-Doctoral Fellow in the department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies (PolCES) and Research Councils UK (RCUK) fellow Dr Sabina Avdagic.

SEI also welcomes new SEI/PolCES coordinators Christine Kidman and Amanda Sims and new Graduate Programme Co-ordinator Nadia Pattenden. Profiles of Lucia, Tania, Sabina, Christine, Amanda and Nadia are included on pages seven-nine

In May Adrian Treacher, taught in Turkey at Sabanci University which is just outside of Istanbul. Adrian also lectured on the EU's Com-

New SEI Working Papers

May: Two new editions to the SEI Working Papers series were published by Ece Ozlem Atikcan and Aleks Szczerbiak. Ece's paper was titled 'Citizenship or Denizenship: The Treatment of Third Country Nationals in the European Union' and Aleks' paper was titled 'Social Poland' Defeats 'Liberal Poland': The September - October 2005 Polish Parliamentary and Presidential Elections'. Abstracts for both new Working Papers are included in this issue of 'Euroscope' on page twelve.

mon Foreign and Security Policy to students taking an MA in European Studies (taught in English).

Alan Mayhew lectured on 'The EU's Lisbon Agenda' at the Economics University, Poznan, Poland in May. Alan has lectured at the Economics University in Poznan since 1991. This year's lecture was on the subject of the EU's Lisbon Agenda, which had been the subject of the Union's European Council in March.

SEI DPhil student Corduala Stolberg also completed her Doctorate in May.

June: Brussels visit

Students from the M.A. in Contemporary European Studies programme went on a field trip to Brussels in June. Activities on the trip included a visit to the European Parliament, meetings with regional representations in the EU and meetings with SEI alumni and SEI Practitioner Fellows. MACES student Edlira Alku presents a reflection on the trip on page fifteen.

Alan Mayhew was also invited as a member of the OECD peer panel on 'Better Regulation' in Poland in June and for the Czech Republic in September.

The OECD, is evaluating the progress made by certain member states in promoting 'better regulation' practices in their administrations. As a Peer, Alan was involved in assessing policies and institutions in order to make regulatory impact assessments to help improve ad-

Turkey Workshop held in SEI

The SEI hosted a one day workshop on *EU Accession Negotiations with Turkey* in late June. The workshop brought together more than twenty scholars from across Europe to discuss the implications of Turkish Accession to the EU.

Zerrin Torun reviews the proceedings of the workshop on page nineteen.

ministrative coordination.

Alan also accompanied the OECD programme director for a week's liaison with officials from institutions within the member states. This process formed the basis of OECD reports on how to improve the member state's institutional performance.

In June Alan Mayhew and Aleks Szczerbiak presented briefings to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's *Lunchtime Discussion on Poland*. Alan's briefing was titled 'Does this Government have an EU policy' and Aleks' paper was titled 'How long will the current Polish Government last'.

July: Doctoral Studentships

The Department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies (PolCES) awarded three studentships to outstanding DPhil students. The studentships were awarded to Ed Maxfield, Monika Bil, and Emanuele Massetti. SEI DPhil student Dan Keith also won a ESRC studentship in the +3 competition.

Alan Mayhew's Co-authored report for the new Ukrainian Government called 'Ukraine's Future Relations with the European Union:

Policy Recommendations for the New Ukrainian Government'. Was published in July. The report was financed by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).

Peter Holmes and SEI DPhil student Anna Sydorak attended a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development during July, held in Istanbul.

August: SEI Merges with Politics

In August, SEI joined with Politics faculty at Sussex to form a new Department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies (PolCES). The new Head of Department is Paul Webb. SEI continues as an autonomous research and postgraduate training centre, headed up by Co-Directors Jim Rollo and Aleks Szczerbiak.

September: Conferences

Dan Hough and Michael Koss conveyed a 1 day conference titled *The Non Social Democratic Left and Government Participation*. The conference was attended by the Centre for European Parties and Democracy Political Studies Association's Specialist Group on Commu-

EPOP

Members of SEI presented papers to EPOP the specialist group of the Political Studies Association on Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, at the University of Nottingham, 8-10 September.

Tim Bale chaired 'The Party-media Nexus' panel, participated on the Roundtable on The POWER Inquiry and presented a paper titled 'What took you so long? Why the Conservative Party needed nearly a decade to come to its senses'. Tim presented a further paper with Paul Webb on 'Engaging with popular disengagement: A crisis of democracy or a failure of analysis?'. Paul Webb then chaired the panel on the Europeanisation of Political Parties.

SEI research students were also active at EPOP. Ed Phelps presented the paper 'Young people and declining electoral turnout', while Michel Koss spoke on the EPOP roundtable for Party Funding.

nist and Post-Communist Politics.

Several members of SEI including Tim Bale and Francis McGowan presented papers to the conference. Dan Hough provides Euroscope with a review of the conference and the days events on page twenty. Dan Hough's ongoing research with Visiting Fellow Charles Lees is also outlined on page twenty-two.

SEI research students presented several papers at the UACES *Exchanging Ideas on Europe 2006, Visions of Europe: Key Problems, New Trajectories* 36th Annual Conference and 11th Research Conference at the University of Limerick, 31 August - 2 September.

SEI DPhil students Sobrina Edwards, Simona Guerra and Lyubka Savkova, participated on the 'Supporting the EU: New Directions and New Research' panel. The students provide a review of the UACES Limerick Conference on page twenty-one.

Forthcoming

October sees the release of Dr Marie-Bénédicte Dembour's new book 'Who Believes in Human Rights? Reflections on the European Convention'. The book reviews classical critiques of the concept of human rights and analyses how their insights are reflected in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights.

During October SEI DPhil student Mark Bennister will also present a paper on the 'Personal Capacity of Prime Ministers' to the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies at University College London.

The Wider Europe Network holds a Conference on EU-Ukraine Relations at the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv from 5-7 October 2006.

Submissions to Euroscope

Euroscope welcomes submissions for its next issue. Please send information for the SEI Diary, short articles on ongoing research projects, reviews of events or alumni news updates to Euroscope by the deadline of 1 December. e-mail submissions to

eurocope@sussex.ac.uk

or e-mail Euroscope Editor Dan Keith

D.J.Keith@sussex.ac.uk

New Appointments

SEI Welcomes several new members of staff this autumn. Lucia Quaglia was appointed Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies, Tania Verge as a Post-doctoral Fellow, Sabina Avdagic as a RCUK Research Fellow. Christine Kidman and Amanda Sims are new SEI Coordinators and Nadia Pattenden is the new Graduate Programme Co-ordinator.

Dr Lucia Quaglia: Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies

B.A., M.A. (Padova), M.A., D.Phil. (Sussex). ESRC studentship (1998-2002), Jean Monnet Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence (2002-03). Lecturer at the University of Limerick (2003-04). Lecturer at the University of Bristol (2004-6), Senior Lecturer at the University of Sussex since 2006.

Lucia has three broad research interests: 1) the politics of monetary integration and financial regulation in Europe; 2) Central banking governance in Europe; 3) Euroscepticism, Europeanisation and European Union presidencies. Of particular interest to her are the interaction between politics, economics and law, making most of her research interdisciplinary. She is also intrigued by studies of 'technical' elites and 'ideational politics' (or the 'power of ideas') and has consolidated experience in interviewing elites across Europe.



Dr Lucia Quaglia

Research conducted by Lucia has been published extensively in several academic and practitioners' journals such as: *Governance*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Public Pol-*

icy, *West European Politics*, *Party Politics*, *Constitutional Political Economy*, *Comparative European Politics*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Banca Nazionale del Lavoro Quarterly Review*, *Moneta e Credito*.

A revised version of Lucia's doctoral thesis was published in 2006. Her second book, provisionally entitled *Central Banking Governance in the European Union: A Comparative Analysis of the Bank of England, the Bundesbank, the Bank of Italy and the European Central Bank*, is forthcoming with Routledge. Work on another book by Lucia and Prof Kenneth Dyson (Cardiff University) is also underway entitled *European Economic Governance: Key Documents on Economic and Monetary Union*, to be published by Oxford University Press. Aside from this, she has also contributed several chapters to edited volumes.

Research projects that Lucia is involved with include her role as a project partner in a FP6 'Integrated and United? A Quest for Citizenship in an Ever Closer Europe' (Intune). The project is one of the few Integrated Projects on the theme of Citizenship financed by the European Union and it involves 29 European Institutions and over 100 scholars across Europe. Lucia is part of the segment of the project studying 'experts' (or 'technical elites'). An extensive empirical fieldwork across Europe is planned in early 2007.

Dr Tania Verge, Post-Doctoral Fellow

Visiting Fellow at the department of Politics and Contemporary European Studies, doctorated in Political Science at Universidad Complutense (Madrid, Spain). Her research interests focus on representative democracy, particularly party and electoral politics, and gender representation. She has worked as research assistant in various projects centred on elections and representation. At the moment she collaborates in the project "*Political competition in multilevel government. Identities, parties and elections in the Spanish State of the Autonomies*" led by Universidad Pompeu Fabra, (Barcelona, Spain).

The research Tania plans to develop during

the visiting fellowship deals with the relationship between models of political parties and the quality of contemporary democracies. The theses sustained by the cartel party such as the growing distance between society and political parties, the increasing autonomy of party elites, the stratarchy among local and central levels of political parties, the intentional lack of competition, and the programmatic collusion entail extremely important consequences for the quality of democratic regimes. Nonetheless, some of these theses have been generally assumed without having been empirically demonstrated.



Dr Tania Verge

In Tania's doctoral dissertation support for the cartelization of Spanish political parties was not found. On the contrary, they seem to have moved closer to society in these decades. Notwithstanding, these results should be contrasted with the evidence found in other party systems. Spain is not characterized by a "politics of accommodation" but by "adversarial politics" which considering the cartel assumptions would have impeded the consolidation of the cartel. What have other non consensual democracies experienced? In the following months Tania will compare the Spanish case with the United Kingdom in the last decade (1995-2005) in order to see whether the cartel thesis can or can not be empirically sustained in non consensual democracies.

Dr Sabina Avdagic: RCUK Research Fellow

Prior to coming to Sussex, Sabina has been a post-doctoral research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies in Cologne (since 2003). She was also a Jean Monnet Fellow at the department of Political and Social Studies, and subsequently a research fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, at the European University Institute in Florence (2004-05). She

holds a PhD in Political Science and an MA in International Relations and European Studies from Central European University in Budapest, and a BA in Economics from the University of Zagreb.

Sabina's research interests are in the field of political economy and concern comparative capitalisms and theories of institutional development and change. Her research has been focused on causes and consequences of distinct modes of coordination between the state and organized economic interests in contemporary European capitalisms. Her recently completed book manuscript "Power Perceptions and Institutional Development: Government-Union Interactions in Postcommunism" explores reasons behind cross-national variation in the development and functioning of formally similar peak-level corporatist-type institutions in East Central Europe.

Currently, she is co-directing a comparative project on "Distributive Politics, Learning and Reform: National Social Pacts" (with Prof. Martin Rhodes, University of Denver and Prof. Jelle Visser, University of Amsterdam). The project comprises seven research teams exploring the conditions and mechanisms underpinning the emergence and subsequent evolution of social pacts in Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain. This project is funded through the EU Sixth Framework Program (2004-08) and part of the integrated project on "New Modes of Governance."

As part of the RCUK fellowship in Emerging Global Capitalisms, Sabina will work on a project concerned with the new capitalisms in East Central Europe. To explore whether these political economies are characterized by institutional complementarities that distinguish liberal from



Dr Sabina Avdagic

coordinated market economies in advanced capitalisms, she will develop a database on combinations of institutional arrangements in the spheres of industrial relations and corporate governance for six new EU member states. The central concern of the project is to discern the causes

behind the emergence of apparently different types of capitalism within East Central Europe.

Christine Kidman and Amanda Sims: SEI Coordinators and Graduate Programme Co-ordinator Nadia Pattenden

Amanda has worked at Sussex for approx six years and Chris five years. Amanda originally worked as the IRP assistant and Chris as the Economics assistant. From 2003 under the restructuring process they started as co-ordinators for Cultural Studies and Gender Studies on a job-share basis. Previous to joining the University they both worked for a major clearing bank as training managers. Amanda and Chris are located in EDB 226.

Nadia Pattenden joined the University on 29 August 2006 as Graduate Programme Co-ordinator, responsible for Sussex European Institute, International Relations and Social & Political Thought postgraduate courses. Prior to this appointment she worked as a Personal Assistant for a rural charity in Lewes and as Senior HR Assistant for East Sussex County.

Chevening Fellowship Programme on European Political Economy

Jim Rollo

SEI is host to the Chevening Fellowship scheme on European Political Economy until 2009. We ran a successful initial programme from January to April 2006 and the contract to provide the programme was extended by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) to the years 2007-2009.

The Chevening Fellowships are a new development in Chevening Scholarship Programme, the UK's primary tool for funding overseas scholars to study in Britain. Typically these have been for taught masters programmes or research degrees and focused on young people at the beginning of their careers or before they start work. The Chevening Fellows scheme instead aims at mid career professionals from priority countries nominated by British diplomats. Final selection is by a panel of academics and FCO and British Council Officials in the UK. The Fellows follow a 12-week programme in areas of strategic interest to the United King-



Left: The Chevening Fellows at No 10 Downing Street.

dom typically run out of a British university. These programmes range widely from Islam and Governance through Sustainable Development and Human Rights to Security the Rule of Law and Democracy as well as Economic Reform and Regulation.

The Programme at Sussex comes under the FCO priority of 'an Effective European Union' and was open to nominations from the post-2004 members of the EU, the Candidates for EU Membership and some of the EU

neighbourhood countries in Eastern Europe. In the end 12 fellows were selected of whom seven were women and two each came from Estonia, Hungary and Slovenia and the rest from Armenia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Latvia, Poland and Turkey. The Fellows came from Economics, Finance and Foreign Ministries, Prime Ministers offices, think tanks and trade associations.

“We all enjoyed meeting the Fellows and learned from a group of very impressive and committed professionals who both demanded and gave commitment in equal measure”

Some of them had studied or worked in Britain but for some it was their first extended stay.

The formal programme was a mixture of taught courses some taken from the MA in Contemporary European Studies (the courses on European Political Integration (taught by Jörg Monar) and on the Political Economy of European Integration (taught by Peter Holmes and Jim Rollo) array along with short purpose built courses on aspects of the European economic policy and reform (taught by a team of Peter Holmes, Francis McGowan, Alan Mayhew, Andrew Newell and Jim Rollo).

There was a programme of visiting speakers the highlights of which were Evan Davis (BBC Economics Editor) on whether there had been a British Economic Miracle, Vicky Pryce (Chief economist at DTI) on the need for economic reform on Europe and Tony Moore, Sussex Deputy Vice Chancellor on Innovation Policy. While the fellows were here, SEI also ran a conference on the Economic Policy Agenda in the EU after the fractious negotiation on the 2007-2013 EU Financial Framework which concluded with a

deal in December 2005. This conference was jointly sponsored with the Office of European Integration in Warsaw (UKIE) and with financial support from The FCO's Global Opportunities Fund. UKIE sent a team of 8 participants and the conference brought contributors from the LSE, the British Treasury and the FCO to speak alongside the Fellows who ran two sessions and Sussex faculty.

Finally there was a programme of visits and placements that included 5 days in Brussels visiting the European institutions, academic commentators and think tanks; 2 days in Edinburgh studying devolution and the Scottish Executive's interaction with Brussels and where; and a series of visits to London and round the country that included, the DTI, DFID, the FCO, the Treasury, the Cabinet Office, the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, a call on the PM's European Adviser at No 10 Downing Street (see photo), The Food Standards Agency, the South East Development Agency, The Innovation centre on the Sussex Campus, the CBI, Chatham House and the think tanks, the Centre for European Reform, Open Europe and the Federal Trust.



Jim Rollo

This was an exhilarating experience for all concerned at Sussex. We all enjoyed meeting the Fellows and learned from a group of very impressive and committed professionals who both demanded and gave commitment in equal measure. We are looking forward to the next batch of Chevening Fellows who will arrive in January 2007. While I directed the academic courses and visits the Programme ran as smoothly as it did because of the unstinting work of David Dyker and Ozge Aktas who provided practical, administrative and academic support above and beyond the call of duty. Thanks is also due to the Sussex Accommodation Office who found housing for 12 demanding professionals in the middle of the academic year.

SEI RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS

Autumn Term

Tuesdays 14.15 - 15.50

Arts C233

10 October

Roundtable on 'The future of EU enlargement'

Prof Alan Mayhew and Prof Jim Rollo, University of Sussex

17 October

European States and the Euro: Spatial and Temporal Patterns

Prof Kenneth Dyson, Cardiff University

24 October

Setting the pace? Private financial interests and European financial market integration

Dr Lucia Quaglia University of Sussex

31 October

The EU's "area of freedom, security and justice": A test-case of co-ordinating rather than integrating national systems

Prof Jörg Monar, University of Sussex/University of Strasbourg

07 November*

Comparing support for direct democracy in Europe, New Zealand and Canada

Dr Jeffrey Karp, University of Exeter

14 November

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in South Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine

Nat Copsey, University of Sussex

21 November*

Radical Parties and Governmental Participation: The Case of the Party of the Left in Germany

Dr Dan Hough and Michael Koss, University of Sussex

28 November*

The cartelisation of non-consensual democracies?: Testing some hypotheses of the cartel party model in the UK and Spain

Dr Tania Verge, University of Sussex

05 December*

International influences on political party formation and development in the Baltic States

Prof Karl Magnus Johansson, Södertörn University College, Sweden

(*Joint with Politics)

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

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 are two new additions to the SEI Working Papers series produced by Ece Ozlem Atikcan and Aleks Szczerbiak. The abstracts of the papers are presented below

- SEI Working Paper no. 85. Ece Ozlem Atikcan
e-mail ece.atikcan@mail.mcgill.ca

Citizenship or Denizenship: The Treatment of Third Country Nationals in the European Union

This paper concerns itself with the emerging membership structure of the European Union and its implications for the permanently resident Third Country Nationals (TCNs) in the Union. The decisive qualifying factor for European citizenship is set as the acquisition of Member State nationality, which resulted in the exclusion of approximately 12-13 million TCNs from the benefits of European citizenship.

As citizenship is the token of belonging in a community, this exclusion has serious repercussions for the membership in Euro-polity. Not only is the current treatment of TCNs legally problematic due to the absence of a Union denizenship clause, but also the political understanding of 'Europeanness' in the Union is incapable of justifying such treatment. It will be proposed that TCNs should be granted Union citizenship, but such a reform should in any case be coupled by the creation of Union denizenship.

- SEI Working Paper no. 86. Aleks Szczerbiak
e-mail A.A.Szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk

'Social Poland' Defeats 'Liberal Poland'? : The September — October 2005 Polish Parliamentary and Presidential Elections.

Although the 2005 Polish parliamentary and presidential elections were held on separate days the two campaigns 'contaminated' each other and the presidential largely overshadowed the parliamentary. For most of the campaign the dominant issue was probity in public life and parties competed on their ability to tackle corruption effectively.

The conservative Law and Justice party and its presidential candidate Lech Kaczyński emerged as unexpected winners by framing the contest as choice between 'social-solidaristic' and 'liberal' visions of Poland. The underlying ideological divisions between, and social bases of support for, Polish parties do appear to be in some flux and a realignment of the dimensions of party competition is one possible outcome. However, one should be cautious in assuming that this apparent 'social versus liberal' dichotomy will provide a long-term basis for political alignments in Poland and the old 'post-communist' historical-cultural divide still appears to be a significant point of orientation for a substantial number of voters.

All Working Papers are downloadable free of charge from the web — www.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): Election Briefing Papers

The network produces an ongoing series of briefings on the impact of European integration on election campaigns (produced jointly with the Royal Institute for International Affairs). 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.24
Nathaniel Copsey, Sussex European Institute
e-mail n.w.copsey@sussex.ac.uk

Europe and the Ukrainian Parliamentary Elections of March 2006

Key Points:

- ◆ The parliamentary elections consolidated Ukraine's democratisation, moving still further away from the managed democracy of the Kuchma years.
- ◆ The elections were the first to be held under the new constitutional arrangements that came into force on 1 January 2006.
- ◆ The Party of the Regions made a spectacular comeback to win first place by a large margin.
- ◆ No one party won a decisive victory, which complicated coalition-building.
- ◆ Patterns of voting by region remained largely unchanged since the presidential elections of 2004.



(Continued on page 14)

Politics Research in Progress Seminars (& The Centre for Parties & Democracy in Europe & SEI) Autumn Term

Wednesdays 2-4pm Room D109 (*unless otherwise stated), Weeks 2 and 5-10

11 October

Recent developments in Australian electoral law in comparative perspective

Brian Costar, Swinburne University, Melbourne

18 October

NO SEMINAR

25 October

NO SEMINAR

1 November

Political Participation among Young Citizens

Ed Phelps, University of Sussex

7 November*

Comparing support for direct democracy in Europe, New Zealand and Canada (tbc)

Dr Jeffrey Karp, University of Exeter

14 November*

Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in South Eastern Poland and Western Ukraine

Nat Copsey University of Sussex

15 November

Political party organizational change among post-communist parties in Western Europe

Dan Keith University of Sussex

21 November*

Radical Parties and Governmental Participation: The Case of the Party of the Left in Germany

Dr Dan Hough and Michael Koss, University of Sussex

28 November*

The cartelisation of non-consensual democracies?: Testing some hypotheses of the cartel party model in the UK and Spain

Dr Tania Verge, University of Sussex

5 December*

International influences on political party formation and development in the Baltic States

Prof Karl Magnus Johansson, Södertörn University College, Sweden

(*Joint with SEI)

- ELECTION BRIEFING No.25
Simona Guerra and Emanuele
Masseti, Sussex European Institute

The Italian Parliamentary Elections of April 2006

Key Points:

- ◆ The Centre-Left alliance (Unione) led by Romano Prodi won the April 2006 election against the Centre-Right government coalition (Casa delle Libertà) led by Silvio Berlusconi.
- ◆ The election was fought under a unique electoral system, introduced by the Centre-Right government coalition just few months before the election.
- ◆ The electoral campaign revolved around economy, with taxes in particular becoming the main issue in the very last days.
- ◆ Within the winning coalition, the results of the biggest parties, the Democratici di Sinistra (DS) and the Margherita (DI), were rather disappointing in the Senate where they ran separately, while they did better in the Lower House, united under the electoral list Ulivo.
- ◆ Forza Italia remained the biggest party in the Centre-Right alliance and in the country in terms of vote share.
- ◆ The Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e Democratici di Centro (UDC) was the best performing party of the Centre-Right.
- ◆ As usual, the EU was not a salient issue in the electoral campaign.

- ELECTION BRIEFING No 26
Karen Henderson, University of Leicester
e-mail kh10@le.ac.uk

*Europe and the Slovak Parliamentary Election
of June 2006*

Key Points:

- ◆ For the first time ever, the left, in the shape of Robert Fico's Smer-Social Democracy, won a Slovak election, gaining a third of seats.
- ◆ The election campaign focused strongly on economic issues, with Fico and Prime Minister Dzurinda the main pro-

tagonists.

- ◆ Dzurinda's Slovak Christian and Democratic Union polled far better than in the opinion polls, and the three centre-right parties of the former government were together stronger than Smer.
- ◆ The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, still led by three-times premier Vladimir Mečiar, slumped to 8.67% of the vote, but played a key role in coalition formation.
- ◆ Fico incurred the wrath of the Party of European Socialists and the Socialist International by forming a coalition with the far-right Slovak National Party (and Mečiar).
- ◆ Turnout sank to 54.67%, an all-time low for a Slovak parliamentary election.

All EPERN Election Briefing Papers, are available in full at

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



SEI Student Reports

Students from MACES, MAEP and DPhil Programmes reflect on their experiences of SEI over the last year.

'Our Field Trip To Brussels'

Edlira Alku (MACES 2005-6)

A few days ago, students of the 2005-2006 MACES programme said goodbye to each other. All of us sincerely believed that once our dissertations were finished, everybody would be happy to return home. But, we all felt very sad that a wonderful year at SEI was now over. However, memories are the unforgettable part of beautiful experiences. One of these, for me, was the Brussels study trip organized by SEI in June.

It was really exciting to finally visit the 'heart of Europe'. The reading lists during the year had helped us to learn a lot about the Brussels-based institutions, but visiting them in person was an altogether different feeling.

The schedule was a busy one, but we managed to visit a variety of institutions that make up the EU environment. Indeed, it was very pleasant and incredibly informative to meet people who work in Brussels on a daily basis. We all had the chance to talk to them and ask plenty of questions, many of which were related to our own countries' relations to the European Union. This was a fantastic opportunity to use, on a more practical level, the knowledge gained throughout the year.

This trip was extremely useful from an academic perspective but it was also a very enjoyable time spent in Brussels. In particular, I will never forget the last night and the reception held in a Greek restaurant near the Commission buildings. With the help of some wine, we talked the whole night and I learnt much more about the professors whose economics classes I personally had feared for so long.

In sum, the Brussels trip will always remain in my mind as one of the most unforgettable experiences from the 2005-6 MACES programme, even if it involved watching a DVD of 'Grease' on the coach back to Brighton!

'My Year at Sussex'

Domagoj Rogulj (MACES 2005/2006)

When thinking about my year at Sussex, I always remember being fascinated by the incredible amount of handbooks, brochures, guides, leaflets and other information materials I received during my first visit to the University. I remember asking myself: 'Do they seriously think that I have time to read all of these?'

Namely, I spent most of my initial time in Brighton purchasing household items in cheap suburban stores (my mother thought it would not be a good idea to fly over to England and help me with that), biting my fingernails in anticipation of a mysteriously belated bankcard, ordering a broadband connection from operators with incomprehensible accents and so on. But despite these time-consuming activities, my sense of responsibility urged me to at least flip through the numerous university publications I obtained. One brochure, as I recall, provided guidance for the students affected by the so-called 'cultural shock'. It emphasized, amongst other things, that English people could be quite reserved when they first met the stranger, but generally responded well when approached in a friendly manner.

My subsequent experiences, however, convinced me that this observation should be removed from official university publications. Namely, in no other country had I felt more at ease when communicating with people - from a salesman in the off-license store to random people in cafes, pubs, streets and parks. Thanks to friendliness and openness of its people, Brighton immediately felt like home, restricting my experience of 'cultural shock' to my inability to understand why English people drive on the wrong side of the road, prefer beer to lager and never add salt to their food (I genuinely believe that this peculiar practice should be blamed for unpopularity of the English cuisine).

From the very beginning, it was obvious that the University of Sussex would be a very pleasant place to study - a place that encourages its students to pursue their immediate academic interests, but also invites

them to taste and enjoy the university's scientific, cultural and lifestyle diversity; helping them to become more complete people.

Being a MACES student turned out to be truly rewarding. I did not only gain a valuable insight into the academic field of European studies; I also acquired skills that would be of great use in my day-to-day work in Croatian state administration. I learned how to be more focused and thoughtful; how to organize bits and pieces of read material into a coherent whole; how to defend my case in a more persuasive way. Having completed this programme, I feel better equipped to deal with my future job challenges.

But the year at Sussex has given me much more than that. I joined the local swimming team (watch out, Mark Foster!) and took weekly lessons in life drawing, trying to explore, with variable success, my neglected 'arty' side. I spent memorable weekends in the magnificent city of London, looking pensively at Duchamp's 'Fountain' in the Tate Modern; having face-to-face encounters with white sharks in the London Aquarium; pretending to be the captain of 'Cutty Sark' in Maritime Greenwich; joining anonymous crowds in Regent and Oxford Street, mesmerized by the neon lights and glittering shop-windows. And on top of everything, I met magnificent people - people who taught me new lessons of life, people who helped me to discover new dimensions of myself. Having returned home with all these experiences, I can say only one thing: I am a lucky man.

'MAEP: An Unforgettable Year'

Geron Kamberi (MAEP student 2005-2006 Funded by: OSI/Chevening Scholarship)

Attending a MA degree in European Politics at Sussex European Institute remains a fashionable experience from the academic and social point of view. As an postgraduate Albanian student in the academic year 2005-2006, the Sussex European Institute offered me an unique opportunity to obtain wide

ranging information about the 'EU project', its history, institutions and 'enlargement fatigue' towards the Western Balkans for which I am really interested.

The SEI has a strong reputation, especially for postgraduate study, being among the twenty-four Jean Monnet Centres of Excellence.

I enjoyed my time in the SEI very much and found the choice of courses good in all three academic terms. A really exiting experience for me the first presentation held on the " Making Contemporary Europe" course . It related to the dissolution of Yugoslavia and raised a lot of debates and questions amongst my classmates which then generated an open academic discussion.

SEI Research Progress Seminars held every Tuesday gave me the opportunity to share my views and acquire information about the recent developments in the field of European studies. Very often these Seminars were held by the well-known names that I had encountered on course reading lists and I enjoyed the chance to them directly about their views!

The SEI's resources are also impressive, I found that as a post-graduate student I was able to put the European Documentation Centre (housed in the University's Library) to good use. This was very useful in finding data on recent EU developments. One of the most valuable things during the year's study was the Brussels trip. It was a good example how you can enhance the "virtual reality" of the books and literature towards real experience of the EU institutions and the those working within them.

The SEI didn't only offer me an engaging academic environment but also a social one. The 'SEI social hours' provided the chance to socialise with our professors, who joined us in cross - country debates in which 'East met West' and ' West met East' in a sharing of opinions. Another unforgettable thing was our SEI football team which was "mixed gender" and played many memorable football matches in the Sussex Sport Centre and on Hove beach. The games on the beech ended with a nice barbecue!

‘A DPhil Student’s diary’

Katerina Tsoukala

(DPhil Student researching European Defence Industry Policy)

A.Tsoukala@sussex.ac.uk

The past academic year has been particularly fulfilling in terms of gaining a deeper understanding on European Defence Industrial Policy. Both fieldwork that I have undertaken and conferences I have attended have been extremely beneficial.

Last October, I attended the Wilton Park conference on the Future of the Transatlantic Security Link, in which I was able to reflect on the prospects of a transatlantic defence technology market. In November 2005, I was elected Editor of the Journal of Contemporary European Studies JCER and a member of the UACES Student Forum, a post which I will serve until November 2007.

I was also delighted to attend the Economist Defence Annual Conference in Paris. The theme was surprisingly relevant to my thesis as it dealt with the prospects of an Industrial Strategy developed to enhance the Consolidation of the European Defence Technology and Industrial Base (EDTIB) and it was particularly insightful regarding the perspectives from the industry as there were noteworthy presentations by the Chief Executives from the largest European and American Defence companies and the European Defence Agency.

During February, I interviewed staff from the European Defence Agency and the European Aerospace and Defence Industries Association (ASD) in Brussels with the interviews focusing on the potential marginalisation of Small Defence and Medium Defence Enterprises (SMEs) and the experience of countries in South, Eastern and Central Europe.

In March 2006 I attended the European Council of Doctoral Candidates and Young Researchers (Eurodoc) conference after being elected by the National Postgraduate Committee as the UK's female delegate. It was a unique experience to participate in such a vibrant organisation, sharing views with researchers from all over Europe and to participating in intensive problem-solving

workshops with Commission officials and Directors of Research of European University Associations. I was then able to convey my findings and proposals to the Sussex University Postgraduate Students Association, where I served as a Research officer till April 2005.

During March I also participated at the EU-Consent workshop on Enlargement and the EU Security Culture in Lisbon, where apart from the great weather and interesting presentations I met

“I began fieldwork in Brussels interviewing senior officials from the Commission, the European Defence agency, the European Council, and the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association.”

with like-minded research oriented students and we created the core of the ESDP research network, which currently numbers 15 students and 2 academics and we plan a series of workshops the following year.

In April I presented a paper on the Europeanisation of the Greek Defence Policy focusing in the latest developments on Greek Defence procurement and the consolidation of the Greek defence industry, questioning its place on a common European Defence Market (EDEM) at the PSA conference

at Reading and another paper on the Consolidation of the European Defence Manufacturing Base at the Annual UACES conference at Oxford.

At the end of my teaching commitments at the Department of International Relations at Sussex, I began fieldwork in Brussels interviewing senior officials from the Commission (DG Enterprise and Industry, DG Internal Market, RELEX), the European Defence Agency (Capability, Defence Industry and Market Directorates), the European Council, and the Aerospace and Defence Industries Association (AeroSME and Defence Technical Directorates). This time the focus was on the emergence of a security industry in the EU providing for the protection of the European citizen and how this trend can reverse the marginalisation of Defence SMEs.

As such, I benefited enormously by attending the Eurosatory expedition in Paris in June and the conference on Homeland De-

fence and the Security Industry in Europe.

In June I presented a paper on the Consolidation of the European Defence Technology and Industrial Base at the 10th Annual International Conference on Economics and Security. I benefited greatly from this through the feedback I received on the contested nature and definition of defence SMEs and discussions on the future of disarmament in Europe.

At the end of June, I attended the RUSI conference on the European Defence Agency where the Chief Executive and Directors of EDA presented the Agency's progress and plans for the future as well as the institutional and bureaucratic hurdles that the Agency still has to overcome and I am looking forward to presenting a paper on the obstacles to establishing a European Defence Procurement system at the UACES conference at Limerick at the end of August.

Conferences and Seminars

SEI members present a series of reports that outline several of the seminars and conferences that SEI has organised or been involved with. These include commentaries on the ESRC Seminar Series on the Contemporary Right in Europe; the workshop on EU Accession Negotiations with Turkey; September's conference on The Non Social Democratic Left and Government Participation; seminars held by the Wider Europe Network and reviews by research students who participated at the UACES conference in Limerick.

Successful ESRC Seminar Series on the Contemporary Right in Europe draws to a close

Tim Bale

This initiative was driven by the SEI's Tim Bale and Sean Hanley of UCL, and was generously funded by the UK's Economic and Social Research Council. It was set up deliberately to catalyse research by specialists from all over Europe, east and west, and to give both the chance to Interact and to meet with those who might be expected to help diffuse the results of that interaction. Its express purpose was to institutionalise a community able to define a research agenda and kick-start projects relating to it, both as analysts and as practitioners.

The centre-right of the political spectrum has been relatively, and surprisingly, ignored by political scientists. Despite their crucial importance to the post-war history and future prospects of the continent, centre-right parties have enjoyed nowhere near the scholarly attention of their centre-left (and now their Green and far-right) counterparts. This is not just a problem for academia, but also for policy-makers. The failure to fully appreciate the constraints on international negotiators imposed by domestic (inter-party and electoral) political considerations can prove very costly. It is also a problem for the par-

ties themselves: while many of them are members of 'internationals' (such as the European People's Party) the limited extent of their learning from each other (particularly in terms of policy transfer but also in terms of strategy) is striking - especially when compared with their counterparts on the centre-left.

Six seminars were held in all, with the final two taking place this year. The series actually kicked off in September 2004 at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, and was on



Tim Bale

'The new right in the new Europe.' Then we moved to Sussex at the start of 2005 for a seminar which asked 'What is (and is not) centre-right?' We stayed at Sussex for the fourth seminar, which took place in July 2005 and was on 'Motors of, or mixed feelings on, European integration and Atlanticism.' The last seminar of that year

took place at the Centre of International Studies at the University of Cambridge and discussed 'The post-cold war politics of identity and insecurity.' Three special issues of journals are planned as a result of those meetings.

The beginning of this year saw us meet at Leiden University in the Netherlands on the theme of 'Hollow cartels or embedded institutions?' The questions and issues under consideration included: are centre-right parties linked into civil society?; the connections between the parties and interest groups, NGOs and think-tanks; and the extent to which centre-right parties are more prone than even their centre-left counterparts toward the electoral-professional route. The seminar was kindly co-organised by Petr Kopecný, and included contributions from Dan Hough and Tim Bale from Sussex, as well as speakers from Norway, Germany, Italy, Slovakia and other parts of the UK. We were particularly pleased to have a paper from Tania Verge who takes up a visiting fellowship, funded by the Spanish foreign ministry at Sussex in September 2006.

In May, we were back in continental Europe,

courtesy of the University of Antwerp, Belgium, and co-organised on its behalf by Steven Van Hecke and Sarah de Lange. This time we were discussing 'The Challenge of the Extreme Right.' The radical, far and/or populist right, after all, seems here to stay. It presents both a challenge and an opportunity for the European centre-right. Should it compete, should it co-opt, or should it ignore and isolate it? Again, we were able to call on speakers with expertise in a number of European countries, including Belgium, France, Austria, and Hungary.

The series as a whole has, we feel, more than achieved its objectives and hopefully delivered value for money, too! We now look forward to seeing the publications arising from the seminars. Readers can get more detail on each of them, and on the presentations given at <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-9.html>

"EU Accession Negotiations with Turkey: Journey to an unknown Destination?"

Zerrin Torun

Sussex European Institute, in collaboration with UACES and the Sussex Centre for Global Political Economy, organised this timely workshop to analyse both the global implications and domestic politics of Turkish accession to the EU on 30 June 2006.

The workshop was a great success, bringing together twenty-two academics from nine institutions to discuss the wide-ranging dynamics playing out in the Turkish accession process. Two keynote speeches were delivered by Prof. Jim Rollo of Sussex European Institute and Prof. Atila Eralp of Centre for European Studies of METU, Turkey, setting out the state of affairs in the EU Enlargement Policy and the Turkish debate on the accession process, respectively.



Professor Atila Eralp at the Workshop

The roundtable on the domestic politics of the member states highlighted the significance of domestic politics of member states in the Turkish case, and facilitated the discussion by focussed presentations of distinguished academics and a PhD Candidate on Germany, Poland, France and the Netherlands. Two other sessions provided the much-needed opportunity to address the geopolitical context of the EU-Turkey integration process and the approaches of Greece and Cyprus to the issue.

Many participants expressed their satisfaction with the excellent presentations, fruitful discussions subsequent to these and way the workshop was organised. The active part taken by the PhD students facilitated by the funding and announcement of UACES was also much-appreciated. Moreover, the event provided the opportunity to discuss the prospects of future cooperation and joint research projects between SEI and CES, METU.



Zerrin Torun

for future research projects.

The briefing report of the workshop and a number of presentations will soon be available at the Sussex European Institute webpage, www.sussex.ac.uk/sei.

The Non Social Democratic Left and Government Participation

Dan Hough

Convened by Dan Hough and Michael Koß, a one day conference on the left parties and government participation took place on 12th September. The Conference was jointly hosted by the Political Studies Association's Specialist Group on Communist and Post-Communist Politics and the University of Sussex's Centre for European Parties and Democracy (CEPD).

Parties of the left regularly face challenges of whether, and under what circumstances, to enter into government with social democratic and socialist actors. There are, of course, plenty of internal and external variables that shape the political environment within which such decisions are made, but we know very little about how left parties themselves approach and deal with such issues.

The conference addressed three specific questions:

- (1) when, and under what conditions, do parties of the non-social democratic left opt to enter national and sub-national governments?
- (2) do left parties react differently across time and space to the challenges that government participation poses?
- (3) how true do they remain to their original aims and ideals?

There were eight papers presented at the conference. The papers included Tim Bale's *In from the cold? Left parties, policy, office and votes in advanced Liberal Democracies since 1989* and Francis McGowan's analysis of Green parties in established democracies, entitled *Getting used to the politics of compromise in coalition governments: kicking the sacred cows into the long grass or pushing at half-open doors?*

Alongside more conceptual contributions, case studies of individual left parties were presented. These included papers on left parties from France, Italy, Germany, Scandi-



Dan Hough

navia, as well as cases from Latin America. The conference made important inroads in discussing the country specific factors that can influence left parties' participation in government as well as in developing more general frameworks for understanding why left parties behave as they do.

For further information, please contact either Dan Hough (d.t.hough@sussex.ac.uk) or Michael Koß (m.koss@sussex.ac.uk)

Wider Europe Network Report

Nat Copsey

Sussex European Institute has been running a programme for the last three years on European Neighbourhood Policy and Eastern Europe, with particular reference to Ukraine. The project seeks to bring together those who have an interest in this subject. Our network consists of academics throughout Europe, key civil servants from the British Government and the European Commission as well as officials from the Governments of the East European countries.

We organise an international Conference on the subject each year. The first Conference, held at the University Conference Centre in Sussex in 2004, was opened by the Polish Commissioner, Danuta Hübner, and attended by Kim Darroch and other senior FCO staff. The second held in June 2005 in Warsaw was sponsored by the British Embassy, the European Commission and Pekao sa and was attended by the Polish Foreign and Europe Ministers, FCO staff, European Commission officials and former Prime Minister Bielecki, now CEO of Pekao sa.

We are holding our third Conference in this series at the Verkhovna Rada in Kyiv from 5-7 October 2006. The intention this time is to

concentrate on the implementation by both sides of the Action Plan and EU-Ukraine relations after the completion of the Action Plan. The Conference will be by invitation only and participants will come from the UK and Ukraine but also from continental Member States of the Union and from Belarus and Russia.

The Wider Europe programme also consists of a series of smaller seminars held between the major events. Over the past year we have held seminars in October 2005 in Lviv (in collaboration with the Ukrainian Catholic University) and in April 2006 at SEI following the Ukrainian parliamentary elections.

Exchanging Ideas on Europe 2006 Visions of Europe: Key Problems, New Trajectories

UACES 36th Annual Conference and 11th Research Conference

The 2006 UACES Annual Conference was hosted by the University of Limerick, Ireland. Sussex European Institute representation was this year an exclusively female and research student affair (in attendance Sobrina Edwards, Simona Guerra, Lyubka Savkova, Rasa Spokeviciute and Katerina Tsoukala).

The conference began with an opening speech by Professor Jo Shaw (UACES chair) which was preceded by an award to Elizabeth Meehan for her pioneering work in the field of political science in Ireland and an illuminating speech by Pat Cox, former President of the European Parliament. Both the plenary sessions and the JCMS Annual Review Lecture focused upon timely topics of concern for the study of European Integration. The plenary sessions included 'Communicating Europe with the Citizen', 'Europe: the view from other global regions' and 'Future trajectories', whilst the JCMS Annual Review Lecture was devoted to the apt discussion of 'The Governance Turn' in European Studies. The conference dinner held on the first night of the conference, included a joint special award for Professor Helen Wallace (founder of Sussex European

Institute) and Lord Wallace of Saltaire for their overwhelming contribution to the area of European Studies.

The quality and breadth of topics covered by the research panels adequately reflected the incredible diversity of the issues and concerns that are

studied under the umbrella of European Studies. Likewise the truly international selection of presenters and conference attendees reflected the trans-national nature of those that choose to study issues loosely pertaining to Europe.

Sussex European Institute was represented on two of these research panels – 'Supporting the EU: New Directions and New research' (Sobrina Edwards, Simona Guerra and Lyubka Savkova) and 'European Security and Defence Policy' (Katerina Tsoukala).



*The Conference Dinner:
Lybuka, Rasa and Simona*

Overall, this conference proved again to be a rewarding, friendly and stimulating conference.

For further details on this conference including a transcript of the speech given by Pat Cox please go to www.uaces.org

Contributors

**Sobrina Edwards, Simona Guerra,
Lyubka Savkova and Katerina Tsoukala.**



*Pre and post panel Guinness relief: Katerina, Sobrina,,
Simona and Peter Petrov*

Ongoing Research

This issue of Euroscope presents two outlines of ongoing research projects: Dan Hough and Charlie Lees' study of the Left Party in Germany and Paul Taggart and Tim Bale's research into the new Members of the European Parliament.

The Left Party of Germany

Dan Hough

I've recently, along with Charlie Lees from the University of Sheffield, been conducting research into the newly formed Left Party in Germany. The Left Party, officially formed in early 2005, surprised politicians and practitioners alike by entering the German parliament in September 2005 having polled 8.7 per cent of the vote.

We are investigating why and how new parties form and break into the established cartel of long-established political parties, thereby testing theories of new party formation with a real-time case study. We are also analysing whether the Left Party's recent successes are likely to be more short term in nature or whether it has the resources to be a sustainable actor to the left of the SPD. Initial findings show that the potential for survival is there, but the Left Party's leadership will have to skilfully deal with party activists with significantly divergent agendas.

Funding has been provided by the Nuffield Foundation; Small Grant for the *Party Formation in Theory and Practice: The Party of the Left in Germany* (with Charles Lees) and an ESRC Small Grant to research the *Government Participation and the De-Radicalisation of Left-Wing Populist Parties*.

This project assessed how left-wing politicians who campaign on programmatic platforms that clearly challenge the mainstream political consensus behave once elected to government. To be more specific, we aimed to test assertions that participation in government inevitably 'de-radicalises' the politicians of self-proclaimed left-wing radical parties.

The research was centred around two general questions.

(1) Given that some 'watering down' of 'radical' programmatic positions would appear inevitable once radical parties take office, to what extent can and do these parties remain true to the political agenda that helped them get elected in the first place?

(2) How does the participation of a radical party in a sub-national government affect the behaviour of politicians of the same party in other sub-national units? Is there a divergence in rhetoric and behaviour between parties across sub-national units or is the non-governing branch of the radical party able to maintain its radical line? Put another way, are the difficult compromises made in government transferred into other political/electoral arenas? Do the results of these hard choices appear to manifest themselves in party programmes across time and space? The findings will be published by Palgrave in a monograph in Spring 2007.

News from the New European Parliamentarians Project

Tim Bale and Paul Taggart

It is all too easy as a student of the EU to get hung up on the European-ness of the EP and so forget to think about it as a parliament. As a consequence of one of the reading groups run by the Centre of the Study of Parties and Democracy in Europe, we were struck by the possibilities for comparison of the newly enlarged EP. We decided to try and use the comparative parliamentary literature to approach the European Parliamentarians in a 'non-European' way and to take the MEPs seriously as parliamentarians as much as Europeans.

We have been working on a project in which we look at the way in which new members of the European parliament work as parliamentarians and to try to get an understanding of how they see themselves and how that self-perception and behaviour changes as

they spend more time in the EP. The project was funded for a first wave of interviews by the Nuffield Foundation and we completed a wave of 50 interviews with new parliamentarians to see what their first impression of the institution was and what sort of roles they saw themselves as taking. We did



Paul Taggart

this through a series of visits to the EP in Brussels and through the construction of a database, with the help of Dan Keith, on the characteristics of the parliamentarians as a whole.

We've reported on our early findings at conferences in Austin, Texas (EUSA) and Zagreb, Croatia (UACES), as well as events organised by among others, the Federal Trust, Leicester University and Indiana University in the US. We've also been asked to think about attending panels at next year's EUSA conference in Montreal and the joint sessions of the ECPR in Helsinki.

Recently we secured funding for the second wave of interviews from the British Academy and so have started returning to those we saw in the first wave with a particular eye to seeing whether they have either entrenched or changed their perceptions and roles that they take. It is early days but it is already clear that while first impressions matter, the possibility of radically re-evaluating the institution has come about for some MEPs even though they are only half-way through their term.

The overall project is designed to run through the life of the parliamentary term so we hope that the selected MEPs are not getting sick of the sight of us as we re-interview them. Our experience of the interviews has been incredibly positive and we get a real sense of very different understandings of this very different institution on the part of the parliamentarians. And a nice side benefit has been the fact that rarely does a visit go by without meeting one or more of the army of SEI alumni that seems to people the EP and its hinterland.

SEI Dispatches

An update on the activities of SEI members across Europe and beyond.

‘News From Brussels’

Michael Shackleton

Visiting Practitioner Fellow, European Parliament

A year can be a long time in the life of a European Parliament official. Until the spring of 2005 I had been looking after the negotiations between the Parliament and Council on disputed legislation under the co-decision procedure; since then I have been managing a project to set up a webTV channel for the Parliament. From the complexities of Article 251 to megabytes, prototypes and political oversight, thanks to the policy of staff mobility!

Leaving the legislative world behind looked like cutting me off from the world of decision making which had provided me with many of my ideas for academic writing and lecturing. Yet doing a different job can give you a different perspective and help you to start to have some new ideas.

Take that old chestnut, the democratic deficit. In my former job, the orthodoxy was to argue that the way to make the EU more democratic was to extend the scope of co-decision - hence the shock of the non-ratification of the Constitution. Where I sit now, there is a different orthodoxy, namely that the way to fill the democratic gap is to provide more information directly to citizens about what the EU institutions are doing. This is essentially what the Commission's Plan D is about.

I have always found it difficult to accept such orthodoxies. Europeans will not become more committed to the EU institutional framework simply because they have more information about it any more than they would because co-decision applied to twice as many areas of policy as it does at present. WebTV is in that sense not some sort of miraculous answer to the lack of connection between citizens and policy makers. Indeed it could provoke greater cynicism

about the political process as some studies suggest happened in the United States after C-Span was started in the 1980s and Americans could watch their legislators at work.

At the same time, I think it is reasonable to argue that European citizens do have the right to follow what is happening in their Parliament, using new technologies such as the web. They may or may not like what they see but at least the institution may start to seem a less distant, less alien entity. None of us can be sure about the precise impact of such a change in the way the Parliament is portrayed but I am confident it will provide some good discussion material for future talks with Sussex students.

So watch this space: <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/eplive/public/>.

‘The European Superpower’

John McCormick

Visiting Research Fellow

I spent the second half of 2005 on sabbatical at the Sussex European Institute, and a pleasant and invigorating experience it turned out to be. I am an expatriate Englishman, and my home institution (Indiana University in Indianapolis) is in the Midwest of the United States, a part of the world where Europeanists are thin on the ground, and where the locals have less awareness or understanding of the implications of European integration than they might - and this unfortunately often includes my academic peers in different disciplines.

So to spend time at SEI surrounded by colleagues with similar interests to mine, and to be able to have chats with people who did not start to panic at the mention of terms and acronyms like *cohesion*, *comitology*,

neofunctionalism, EMU, CAP, and ERDF made a welcome change. And while I was in Sussex primarily for research, it was a pleasure to participate in the MACES course and to mingle with students from multiple different European states – I learned at least as much from them as I hope they learned from me in our weekly tutorials. (If we could just somehow get the Easterners and the Westerners to start thinking of themselves as *Europeans*.....)

My sabbatical was designed to give me time to work on my book "The European Superpower", which is now finished and will be published by Palgrave Macmillan later this year (it is currently in production in China, the world's newest printing superpower). My book argues that the rise of the EU has combined with the decline of US credibility and changes in the international system to create a new bipolar order, in which the old ideological-military competition of the cold war years has been replaced by a new economic-civilian political competition between the EU and the United States. The thesis depends upon a redefinition of the notion of superpower, which in my view has for too long been tied to military means. In the new order of globalization, economic and political means are more telling, and the EU model is more distinctive and more highly-developed than many would admit.

This is different approach to understanding both the international system and the global role of the EU, and will have its critics I know. My time at SEI not only gave me the opportunity to try out some of my ideas on individual Europeanists, but also at lectures before audiences at Sussex, East Anglia, Manchester Metropolitan, and the College of Europe in Bruges. The responses – whether



John McCormick

positive or negative – helped me better define my argument, and SEI colleagues were particularly helpful in that regard. This even includes Aleks Szczerbiak, who – in front of a lecture hall full of MACES students – likened my logic to a presentation by Michael Moore (thanks Aleks!).

I'm now a Visiting Re-

search Fellow with SEI, will hopefully be back in Falmer for a spell next summer, and am meanwhile working on ways of building links between Indiana and Sussex. How we do that given the political and cultural differences that seem to be so much a part of transatlantic relations these days remains to be seen, but one of the best hopes lies in links of this kind.

‘Letter from Strasbourg’

Jörg Monar

Dear friends, colleagues and students,

After nearly a year of leave from the SEI for duties in Strasbourg I thought that I should perhaps give you a few impressions from my work in the cathedral city with its strong European credentials.

At first just a few words on why I am there for three years. Last year I was awarded an EU funded *Marie Curie Chair of Excellence* for research and teaching on EU governance in the internal security domain. These Chairs, of which around ten have been awarded every year across the EU during the last three years, are an instrument under the 6th EU research framework programme which allows a researcher with a leading reputation in a given field to make an input to critical mass building for research and postgraduate teaching excellence at a host institution where there are already some strengths in this field.

The instrument was originally designed for the natural sciences, hence its name after Madame Curie who would no doubt find it quite peculiar to see her name used for research on internal security issues. The *Université Robert Schuman* (URS) in Strasbourg has a longstanding expertise in this field with quite a number of colleagues from law and politics as well as several PhD students working on related issues so that its choice as a host was a fairly obvious one.

The first year at the URS has been largely taken up by putting into place structures and activities to meet the objectives of SECUR-

INT ("sécurité intérieure"), the Chair's project. A very important part is obviously my own personal research which has been focused throughout the year on the analysis of the use of EU governance instruments in the field (which meant, *inter alia*, going through 748 texts adopted by the EU Council – not always an exhilarating adventure) and EU strategy and implementation problems in key fields such as the fight against terrorism, organised crime and illegal immigration.

But the aim being that I contribute to critical mass building at the URS I have also been responsible for a host of other research related activities – comfortably funded by the EU – which have kept me pretty busy most of the time. These included the setting-up of a data-base and documentation centre on EU governance in justice and home affairs, the organisation of a major international research conference on the institutional dimension of EU measures in this field, the creation of an international experts group of academics and practitioners in the field (which met in Strasbourg to evaluate progress the progress of the EU's Hague Programme" and to provide advice on research priorities) and the creation of a book series on the subject.

An effective contribution to teaching is an equally vital part of my duties. I gave two courses and three modules at Masters level within other courses on issues ranging from

“a PHD student can prepare their doctorate under a joint supervision arrangement with another European university and be awarded with a doctorate by both...”

constitutional issues of EU action in the internal security domain over decision-making procedures to measures in the anti-terrorism domain. This was the first year the URS had fully implemented the 3 + 2 + 3 EU "Bologna model" which provides for two years of Masters level studies, the second of which can serve either as a preparation for a PhD or for a non-academic career path. Although there were quite a few teething problems the system worked reasonably well. I was pleased with the interest

and progress of the students, although they seemed much less willing to confront my views with theirs than this is part of the SEI culture.

I also spent quite a bit of time providing supervision to PhD students and trying to find candidates willing to take on other subjects in the SECURINT field. Although I had some success with that and although the fees are – unlike in the UK – rather symbolical, the



Jörg Monar

decision to embark on a PhD is quite a difficult one to take for French students as a PhD needs normally five years to be completed (I haven't yet seen a thesis of less than 500 pages) and makes usually only sense if you want to pursue an academic career (for which career prospects currently appear quite a bit worse than in the UK). The URS is one of the leading French universities as regards "co-tutelle" arrangements which means that a PHD student can prepare their doctorate under a joint supervision arrangement with another European university and be awarded with a doctorate by both after a defence before a mixed panel. This I have found a most interesting and truly "European" formula.

My Chair also involves what could be called a bit of public diplomacy in that I am expected to give public lectures on EU internal security issues inside and outside of the EU (which led me to Vienna, Rome, Lisbon, Canberra, Montreal and Toronto) and to organise public lectures with senior EU representatives (such as the responsible Commission Vice-President and the Chairman of the responsible European Parliament Committee).

Taking over a function with such a variety of activities is a challenge both for the chairholder and the hosting institution and requires permanent consultation and struggling to meet both EU and French university regulations. This will enrich my memory with a lot of lasting anecdotes about how much Europe is still "in the making", with some rather funny right from the start and others which will need some time to appear so.

There were quite a few occasions of surprise, such as when I was told that in spite of the comfortable rates provided for in my EU budget I would unfortunately only be able to reimburse even the most senior French speakers for hotel accommodation at a rate of around 25 pounds (which does not go far beyond the youth hostel rate in Strasbourg). Yet the effort made by the administration to accommodate me and my needs – some of which, especially as regards office space for me and my assistants, were no doubt considered to be a bit unusual by French university standards – has been a huge and much appreciated one. Colleagues have also been very welcoming and cooperative across disciplinary boundaries.

Overall it has so far been a most interesting and stimulating experience. Yet my thoughts often go back to SEI, and I have been able to following developments by occasional visits and being kept in the internal e-mail stream. My best wishes for all new students joining SEI and PolCES this year!

Until soon,

Jörg Monar

‘A Project in Paris’

Sue Collard

It is exactly a year now since I moved to Paris in order to continue my work on a research project that seeks to elucidate the decision-making processes that underpinned the conception and execution of François Mitterrand’s architectural projects in Paris, which constitute the most visible and most enduring aspects of his presidency. This move has been made possible by the combination of a term’s sabbatical leave from Sussex, and a Leverhulme Research Fellowship which has enabled me to ‘buy out’ my teaching duties for a period of two years.

My project revolves essentially around the consultation of a number of different sets of archives which together represent the most important institutional actors involved in the

“I have obtained special permissions (*dérogations*) to consult these archives, well ahead of the normal time restrictions of either 30 or 60 years...”

projects: first, the ‘presidential’ archives, or more precisely those of Mitterrand’s cultural advisors, which give valuable insights into the personal involvement of the President in the various projects.

Second, the archives of the Ministry of Culture: those of the two ministers concerned (Jack Lang and François Léotard) and the advisors in their *cabinets*, as well as those of the individual departments most closely concerned with the different projects. Third, the archives of the inter-ministerial ‘mission’, an *ad hoc* institution set up specifically to deal with the issues of coordination between the projects; and finally, those of the separate institutions (Etablissements Publics) set up temporarily for each new project in order to manage its construction and set in place the management structures for its future operation.

I have obtained special permissions (*dérogations*) to consult these archives, well ahead of the normal time restrictions of either 30 or 60 years (for the presidential archives) imposed by the law on national archives. This is thanks largely to the guidance and support of the *Comité d’histoire* of the Ministry of Culture, a small department of the ministry which is dedicated to fostering research into the history of its own relatively short existence since 1959 when André Malraux became the first incumbent of this new ministry created under de Gaulle.

Initially reticent to accept the idea that a foreigner (and a female one at that!) might be able to take on such a controversial dimension of the cultural politics of the Mitterrand years, members of the committee (some of them illustrious personalities in the French world of culture), to whom I am invited to address regular ‘research in progress’ presentations, seem now to have accepted that it is precisely because I have no vested interests in the political, institutional or cultural worlds to which they all belong, that I can provide a perspective which offers the best possible claim to neutrality, in addition to academic rigour. This is particularly

“existing published testimonies are always at least partly intended either to ‘settle accounts’ or to ‘send the lift back’ as the French say”

important in relation to the issue of ‘witness’: it has become clear to me that existing published testimonies are always at least partly intended either to ‘settle accounts’ or to

‘send the lift back’ as the French say, in order formally to recognise favours granted. Oral testimony, obtained through open interviews with key actors, is equally problematic: the inevitable desire to re-write history and the obvious problems relating to memory, even when prompted by archival evidence, are often inhibiting factors that complicate my task.

The support given to me in a range of practical ways by the *Comité d’histoire* is all the more laudable in that my conclusions so far do not ascribe to the Ministry of Culture the ‘heroic’ role in the *grands projets*; on the contrary, they tend to emphasise what could be seen as the ‘marginalisation’ of the Minister of Culture and his services in most of the key decisions, and in particular with regard to the Grand Louvre project which should technically have fallen totally under its authority as a National Museum.

The intended final output of this research is a book (in both English and French versions) which will synthesise my findings in relation to the *grands projets* as a coherent programme; however, given the massive volume of information involved, it is looking increasingly likely that I will set my sights in the first instance on a single volume on the Grand Louvre, which is incontestably both the most important and the most successful of all the projects.

Just as Mitterrand was driven on in his desire to pursue the *grands projets* by the constraints of the electoral calendar and his perception of the urgency to make them irreversible whilst still in office, the demands of the forthcoming RAE are an ongoing reminder to me of the need to complete and publish my own *grand projet* by December 2007...