Editorial

Before we bite into the prime peach that is the spring term issue of your tried and trusted newsletter, we would like to wish you all a very happy new year and continued success in all SEI relevant research fields. As usual we are delighted to offer you an issue packed with fun and interesting material which we hope will bring an academic smile to staff, faculty and students or anyone else with a soft spot for all things European.

As the new co-editors of Euroscope, our intention was to make the newsletter more accessible to our readers and we were particularly keen to broaden our list of authors to bolster our regular contributions. Continuing our efforts of the last issue and keeping the promise of involving current and past students we are happy to include three articles by SEI alumni as well as a piece by a current MACES student, Sonila Danaj. Our alumni articles are a mixture of memories, experiences and current activities which prove that there is fruitful life to be had after SEI and also that study here is time well-spent.

In addition to this, our special forces have managed to locate and smoke out this year’s new research students from their mountain hideouts where they have been holed up since October preparing their research outlines. We believe it to be very important to highlight research student activities for a wider audience and here we give them an opportunity to present themselves and their work.

What’s more, our diplomatic efforts to engage SEI top-dogs in the contribution process have resulted in a sealed deal. The culmination of these intense negotiations was an agreement with one of SEI’s main men who has blessed us with his article concerning SEI’s sporting achievements. We hope this column will occupy a regular slot...
in future issues as a section that we are proud to entitle - Dr. Treacher’s Sports Feature.

We also have an update on what the ‘Opposing Europe’ guys have been up to since the last issue and full details can be found in Aleks Szczerbiak’s piece on page 5. Meanwhile on page 10, Rachel Thompson gives us an insight into what happens at major trade negotiations in an extract from her Doha diary.

All these new entries do not mean that we have forgotten our regular columns of new SEI publications, the message from the Co-Director, forthcoming events and shorter notifications in ‘In Brief’.

One late entry into this term’s issue is a piece contributed by Robert ‘Bob’ Strudelbaker. Dubbed (some would argue unfairly) by many of his contemporaries as a ‘struggling academic’, Bob has made the trans-atlantic leap to join us at Sussex for a period of study. Whilst the main aim during his stay is to complete his thesis, he has offered to turn his attentions to some ‘doorstep’ issues here on campus. In a series of articles for Euroscope we hope to give Bob the chance to air some of the results of his challenging approach. Find out more about Bob and his work on page 24.

Finally, we would like to thank everyone who has contributed to this issue while at the same encouraging everyone else who might be interested to do future work for Euroscope to contact us via email at euroscope@sussex.ac.uk. Remember, publish or perish - no contribution is too small.

Pontus Odalm & Nick Walmsley
Co-Editors

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Message from Jim Rollo

First let me welcome the fourth cohort of the Diploma in Contemporary European Studies. The 19 young practitioners from candidate states in Central Europe begin this 12 week course on 7 January. This is a major event in the SEI diary. The course is intensive but past students have been dynamic and I am sure that this will continue to be the case this year adding a buzz to the corridors of SEI. The students bring the real concerns of candidate states into our daily life and add an immense amount to the life of the SEI. We are grateful to the FCO whose scholarship make this possible.

For the first time this year, we are also running an MA in Contemporary European Studies (European Public Policy) which is designed to follow on from the Diploma. This is novel in that it is distance taught with Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczepanik managing the process. We are, as they say, learning by doing.

SEI was lively last year. There were two major events during the autumn term. First, a conference on Germany in Europe run in conjunction with the ESRC ‘One Europe or Several?’ research programme which was opened by the presence of the German Ambassador to the United Kingdom, Hans Friedrich von Ploetz. The Ambassador gave a keynote speech on German views on the future of Europe. Other sessions covered the role of the Länder in German European policy; the outlook for structural reform of the German economy; opposition to Europe in the German political process; German attitudes to enlargement with a focus on free movement of labour. This was an important and illuminating event for all present.

The ESRC funded research network, "Opposing Europe", run by Aleks Szczepanik and Paul Taggart had a major meeting on 7 December 2001 which is reported later in this issue (see page 5). I think this is one of the most important research initiatives originating in SEI. The debate on the future of European governance which will culminate in an intergovernmental conference in 2004 is predicated on varying views about the nature of the perceived malaise about the EU among its citizens. This research will bring new insights to the analysis of these dissatisfactions.

This year marks the 10th anniversary of SEI. We plan a celebratory conference on 11-13 July so mark that in your diaries now and watch out for details in the next edition of Euroscope. The celebrations will begin with the Winter Graduation on 21st February. Honorary Degrees will be conferred on Professor Joseph Weiler of NYU, a Sussex alumni and world famous scholar of the EU legal system and constitution; Professor Helen Wallace, founding Director of SEI; and Lord Cockfield, former Vice President of the EU Commission and through the Lady Monica Cockfield Memorial Trust a benefactor of students in SEI. Degrees will also be conferred on the 2000/2001 MACES and DICES classes.

This anniversary is also an occasion to take a deep breath, lean back and look forward. The arrival of Professor Jörg Monar as Co-Director of SEI is also an opportunity for a re-examination of what SEI is and what it might become. To begin that process we held an awayday in December. This included members of SEI, staff, students plus faculty from other parts of the University and friends from outside the
University, notably Professor William Paterson, Director of the Institute of German Studies, University of Birmingham and David Bostock, member of the EU Court of Auditors and SEI Practitioner Fellow. The opening session was chaired by the Vice Chancellor, Professor Alasdair Smith. Jörg and I are grateful to everyone who contributed. We now begin the process of considering the outcomes and planning implementation.

Looking ahead to the spring term, there will be a seminar organised jointly with the ESRC 'One Europe or Several?' research programme on the EU governance debate after the Laeken summit. This will include a keynote address by the Belgian Ambassador to the UK representing the Presidency at Laeken plus a range of academic commentators. The Research in Progress seminars will also cover a number of EU integration issues.

My contribution to the last Euroscope was written in the immediate shadow cast by the atrocity in New York City on September 11th. At that point it was difficult to see beyond the immediate horror. I suggested that the WTO Ministerial in Doha might be a victim of the shock and understandable fear of travel, particularly to the Middle East. In that, I must confess, I was wrong. The Ministerial took place - with many fewer attendees than expected - and was, if not a triumph, at least a success. There was an agreement and negotiations on the future of the world trading system were launched. Something not many would have predicted ahead of September 11th (for a flavour of how that success was gained read Rachel Thompson's Doha Diary, an excerpt of which can be found on page 10). It may be that September 11th has shifted the US Administrations onto a more multilateralist stance (but not necessarily the US Congress) on trade and perhaps other things in a way not seen since the Cold War, and for similar reasons.

I also commented on the potential for a shift in relations with Russia. This process has seemed to advance in the last 3 months. Relations with the EU are on a more intensive level than we have ever seen. Russia and Nato are coming closer together. Indeed Russian membership of Nato while still extremely unlikely, cannot be excluded. All of this despite severe misgivings in the EU and among Nato members about human rights abuses in Chechnya.

EU internal security co-operation has also increased at a rate that would have been impossible prior to September 11th. In particular the approval of the European arrest warrant and increased likelihood of much closer co-operation on extraditions between the EU and the US have moved ahead at breathtaking speed. We had two seminars on the subject of Justice and Home Affairs co-operation this term from Jörg Monar and from Mrs Lesley Pallet from the British Home Office, both of which underlined the breadth of the integration agenda as well as its rapidly increasing speed.

Finally, I cannot let the introduction of the Euro notes and coins pass without comment. This is an immensely important event both symbolically and substantively. The introduction of new currency across different domains - is not entirely unprecedented altogether (the German Silver Union and the Latin Gold Union of the 19th century are precedents of a sort). The scale and the fact that, for the foreseeable future, the economic part of EMU is based on
intergovernmental co-operation is however unprecedented. And the currency, added to the flag and anthem (though not yet the football team, unless one counts Chelsea F.C.), does add the symbolism of political unity. It does so practically also. European citizens seem to be keen to drop the old and bring in the new and the former national currencies may disappear more rapidly than the planners allowed for. Once in place it cannot but be that European citizens will be even more aware that the EU (& EMU) is a political project and not only an economic one. It will also have implications for the ‘outs’ which I will discuss in the first Research in Progress seminar on 17 January.

SEI Kicks Off Opposing Europe Seminar Series

ESRC/Opposing Europe Research Network seminar, SEI, December 7th 2001

Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart

Researchers at the Sussex European Institute have been awarded a grant from the Economic and Social Research Council to run a series of research seminars on Euroscepticism. On December 7th the SEI hosted the first of these seminars on ‘The Comparative Politics Party Politics of Euroscepticism’ bringing together academic researchers and policy practitioners. The grant and workshops are organised through the Opposing Europe Research Network (OERN). OERN was set up by Dr Aleks Szczerbiak and Dr Paul Taggart in June 2000 and now includes an international contact list of over 60 scholars working on various aspects of Euroscepticism in current and prospective EU member states.

One Seminar – Twenty-five Participants

This was the first in a series of five seminars funded by the ESRC with the primary objective of institutionalising and extending what is currently a ‘virtual’ community of scholars. It was attended by twenty five people drawn from the OERN network itself but also including practitioners from the Foreign Office and the European Commission together with a representative from the Romanian Embassy. The country specialists included France, Hungary, Poland, Switzerland, Denmark, the European Parliament, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Italy, Romania and, not surprisingly, the UK.

The Fine Line between Hard and Soft Euroscepticism

The seminar began with an introductory session by the co-convenors. Paul Taggart (SEI) explained the agenda and objectives of the seminar series and Aleks Szczerbiak (SEI) set out a conceptual and analytical framework for studying party-based Euroscepticism in a
comparative context for the case studies. In doing so he put forward a
distinction between Hard Euroscepticism, opposing the
European project as it currently finds
expression through the EU in principle,
and Soft Euroscepticism, using the
discourse of contestation in a way that
falls short of such principled
opposition. He then went on to present
the findings of research undertaken by
OERN members on party-based
Euroscepticism in EU member and
candidate states, drawing out the
common and distinctive features and
highlighting the key issues for future
research that emerged from this. A key
finding was the way that the vote for
hard Eurosceptic parties systematically
understated the level of public
opposition to EU membership in
virtually every country which, he
argued, could be accounted for by the
low level of salience of the European
issue in elections. This seminar
foreshadowed the return of this
important issue in the afternoon.

Laurentiu Stefan-Scalat from the
University of Bucharest gave a
presentation on party-based
Euroscepticism in Romania in the
second session of the day. One of
the objectives of the seminar series is to
provide data on under-researched cases by bringing in experts from the
countries themselves. Romania is
precisely such an example of an 'unusual suspect' with low levels of
Euroscepticism and low prospects of
imminent EU accession. Stefan-Scalat
gave a comprehensive survey of how
the EU issue had impacted on
Romanian politics and examined the
factors that accounted for the very low
levels of Euroscepticism in this
country. This included a detailed
examination of the programmes and
statements of the Romanian two parties
that came closest to using (albeit ultra-
soft) Eurosceptic rhetoric in the most
recent parliamentary election: the
Social Democrats and the Greater
Romania Party. He rounded off with a
brief survey of public Euroscepticism
in Romania and posited the fascinating
(and counter intuitive) notion that high
levels of support for EU membership
in Romania were linked to low levels
of trust in the political elite. Many
Romanians saw the EU as a
trustworthy external guarantor that the
transformation process would make
progress and stay on track.

The afternoon session began with a
presentation by Professor Hans-
Joergen Nielsen from the University of
Copenhagen on the impact of the EU
on Danish party politics. Denmark has
gained somewhat of a reputation for its
potent mix of public Euroscepticism
and referendum rejections of aspects of
European integration and, therefore,
offers the opposite case of how the
European issue can have a powerful
impact on domestic politics. However,
Professor Nielsen argued that the EU
actually had very low salience in
Danish parliamentary elections,
because the use of referendums
removed the issue from normal party
politics while the large, single issue
anti-EU groupings only competed in
European Parliament elections. Most
Danish parties were happy to collude
in this de-politicisation of the
European issue. Moreover, Danish
public support for EU membership was
actually slightly above average. The
close referendum results were
accounted for by the fact that the great
bulk of Danes were simultaneously
supportive of EU membership but
hostile to deeper European integration.
If Euroscepticism is the dependent variable, how do we measure it?

To close the day the seminar had a final paper designed to discuss one of the key difficulties in understanding Euroscepticism. One of the difficulties in comparing the incidence of Euroscepticism in party systems comes from the different levels of salience of the EU issue in particular countries. The seminar, therefore, concluded with a paper from Professor Paul Webb from the University of Sussex on the methodological and conceptual issues associated with any systematic comparison of the salience of party-based Euroscepticism. Professor Webb began by outlining a causal model of how Europe can impact on patterns of electoral support. He argued that in order to assess the impact of the European issue, researchers had to measure its salience in three dimensions: party discourse, media discourse and voter attitudes. He then went on to critically examine the various methodologies which could be used to operationalise these variables: expert surveys, content analysis of party programmes, surveys of media coverage and polling data on how voters rank the importance of certain issues.

The seminar generated a lot of discussion and the mix of cases involving both EU member states and candidate states provided some useful comparative points. In sum, the seminar was a great success, not least because of the wide range of expertise represented by, and therefore extremely high quality of contributions from, the other participants. The next seminar will be held on Friday January 18th at the University of Cambridge with future events being held at the Universities of Leicester and Durham and the LSE throughout 2002. If you would like further information about the Opposing Europe Research Network then please visit its website at www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI/areas/index.html or contact Aleks Szczerbiak (a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk) or Paul Taggart (pt35@georgetown.edu) directly.

The Recognition of Albania’s Greek Ethnic Minority and the Right to Education

Sonila Danaj, MACES

The Balkan peninsula has always suffered from and still endures international conflicts. As a bridge connecting the East with the West, the Islamic world with the Christian, and Catholicism with Orthodoxy, it has seen endless interpersonal conflicts. Most of these disagreements involve unsettled territorial disputes. These claims are often based on the existence of several ethnic and minority groups living in neighboring states. Such minorities are found in every Balkan state, as they are elsewhere in Europe, largely as a result of the manner in which borders are drawn.

Despite international observation and efforts to protect minority rights, it is the state with its laws and constitution,
which defines those rights. Many times laws are not clear, or written in an unclear manner resulting a variety of interpretations according to the interest of those in power. In this article, I will look at the extent to which these rights satisfy the needs of the largest ethnic minority in the country, the Greeks.

One Minority or Several?

Since Albania does determine nationality, as opposed to only recognize citizenship, it is clear that the Albanian state does recognize the existence of some minority groups. As stated above, their rights on paper seem to be the well-respected. But the reality is different. The majority of the Albanians generally claim that minority rights are fully respected, much more than in other countries. Greeks often have a different view. As far as public pronouncements are concerned, one sees that ethnic minorities and the state make different declarations, while the general public is confused about what is happening. This confusion is due to a lack of information in the national media, the complete lack of books about ethnic minorities, and a lack of education on this subject in the public schools. Moreover, minorities cannot exercise their rights to the same extent as the majority population.

During the Communist regime, some minority groups enjoyed a few rights, for instance using their mother-tongue as first language at school. Those rights, however, often changed according to Albania’s relations with neighbouring countries. Religion was even more problematic. It was denied to all minorities, as it was to the whole Albanian population. This institution could be used as an important instrument in order to preserve traditions. The Greek minority, for example, identify their culture and tradition through the Orthodox religion. The main ethnic and minority groups in Albania are the ethnic Greeks, who are also the most organized and receive the most attention and assistance from abroad. The Greek community is centered in the south-east of Albania. But during the Hoxha regime there were periods when the Greek minority was targeted because it was considered a threat to Communism. Some members were uprooted from their traditional home regions and resettled in other parts of the country. Where there are large concentrations, as one sees with the Greeks in the South, they are granted the right of being educated in their mother-tongue at most levels of education.

In many respects, the Albanian authorities have made efforts to accommodate the Greek minority as it seeks to maintain and develop its culture. Nevertheless, Greek activists have made several complaints. One of them concerns the lack of ethnic minority specific education for those Greeks who have moved or been moved to other parts of the country. In response to this, the Albanian government, while supporting minority-language schools only where there is a sufficient student body, has stated its commitment by permitting the establishment of private minority-language schools anywhere in the country. There is a problem of justice in that many of the Greek minority members who are scattered in central and northern Albania did not move there voluntarily. Nevertheless, the Albanian government has few funds to make reparations for the many wrongs in its recent history and uses this lack of funds to justify the lack of Greek

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schools in cities such as Tirana and Durrës.

Members of the Greek community have also raised complaints about the ways in which the existing schools are maintained. The problems are caused by individuals, not by any laws or government regulations. There is a great contradiction between what is claimed by the minority representatives and by the representatives of the Albanian Government. In our attempt to interview the Chief Director of the Greek department at the university, we noticed his reluctance to answer this question, at the end accepting to answer questions regarding only the Department of Greek Language and Literature, where he admitted that the university principal and other institutions like the national Ministry of Education had been cooperative. He explained his reluctance to be interviewed by saying that: “We have the same problems as the other departments have. We should not find negative points, where they do not exist! What we ask for is not to be used as propaganda!” He continued by restating that the other levels do have problems, without specifying what these problems are.

Compared to other minorities, Greek schools and the Greek minority is presently the most privileged ethnic minority. Nonetheless, it still has raised many complaints regarding education, as well as political and social matters. According to the Albanian educational authorities, the situation is relatively positive: schools provide mother tongue education up to the highest levels such as the university and one can find private schools that are recognized by the Albanian Education Ministry, completed by a state written test which will allow primary school finishers to take an examination in Greek rather than in Albanian, which is more than is given to other groups within Albania. For other ethnic groups, the right to education in the mother tongue ends with primary education, if it exists at all. In the words of one educational inspector, “[Greeks] have the right to make requests but not complaints, because we as an institution are offering them what we can. Their complaints, are based on the comparison they make with what the situation is in their nation, which is, of course, far better, and Albania is trying hard to keep the pace, but there is still much more to be done'.

A longer version of this article can be found in 'Participation and Transparency at the Turn of the Century', International Student Conference, Civic Education Project, 2000, Hungary.
Doha Diary: the WTO Ministerial at work

Rachel Thompson

Rachel Thompson is Associate Director of the Global Trade practice of APCO Geneva and collaborator with SEI in trade policy training. She is a former Australian trade negotiator and with Jim Rollo is co-founder of the Free Trade Writers Group (www.freetradewritersgroup.org).

What follows is a heavily edited version of the last day of her Doha diary which gives an immediate and vivid insight into what happens at major trade negotiations from an insider/outsider point of view. The full texts are on the website above.

The Last Day: Reaching Agreement

After a few hours sleep it’s back to the conference centre around 8am. Along the way I get a call from a panicking journalist who has slept in and is worried she has missed The End-Game. No chance, I tell her – this will go on most of the day. India will want to make everyone wait for it to pronounce its verdict, probably at sundown. There’s an innate drama to these things, once they go into “overtime”.

And there is indeed a new text which I’m able to check out quickly over the shoulder of a couple of journalists in the media centre. The main changes seem to be in agriculture (a new phrase “without prejudging the outcome of the negotiations” has been inserted before the language on phase-out of export subsidies); new text on environment regarding negotiations on the Multilateral Environmental Agreements-WTO relationship that looks to contain quite a lot of caveats; and negotiating mandates on the “Singapore issues” (investment, competition, government procurement and trade facilitation). There’s also tightly worded language on negotiations on anti-dumping and other trade remedies. In the implementation text, the textiles issues have remained split so no joy there for India and the other textiles exporters. No changes on labour standards or on the “single undertaking” concept for management of the negotiations. It looks like a few “wins” overnight for the EU.

Now to see how the developing countries react -- this certainly won’t be over quickly! I head up to the Delegates Lobby area to gauge reactions. The Thai Ambassador tells me they have made a breakthrough on the EU-ACP waiver issue via a side-letter from Pascal Lamy. A few negotiators and Secretariat staff tell me that once the waiver is done the Committee of the Whole will resume to review the new text. That will take a while if previous days are any guide. Developing countries aren’t happy about the immediate negotiating mandates on the Singapore issues. The Africans in particular have really moved centre stage at this meeting.

Up to the Delegates Lobby and one of Mike Moore’s (WTO Director-General) staff tells me that, although the ACP waiver issue is now resolved, it will take an hour or so to go through the voting formalities. Meanwhile the ‘situation with the new Work Program (which defines the shape of future negotiations) text is unstable and there will need to be changes’.
Back on the media terrace I fall into conversation with Barry Coates of the World Development Movement who asks me, what’s in this for developing countries. Ah, where to start?

- Half their implementation problems resolved now, the other half to be addressed over the next 12 months (and they can halt the new Round if they don’t see progress).

- The recognition they wanted of the need for a flexible approach to drug patents, in the context of public health policy.

- The targeting of the agriculture negotiations directly at the trade-distorting and subsidy practices of rich nations.

- The breakthrough agreement to negotiate limits on European fishing subsidies that are wreaking havoc with fish stocks and local livelihoods

- The recognition of the right to regulate, and re-regulate, service industries.

- The focus of the environment agenda on issues that matter to developing countries.

- The working groups on small economies and transfer of technology.

- The commitment to tackle tariff peaks and tariff escalation that affect exports of manufactured products from developing countries.

So come on Barry – this is a different kind of Trade Round that has development at its core. Pursued adroitly it offers the first chance in decades to really focus on removing rich country trade barriers against poor countries. That’s clearly how the developing countries see it.

Later the terrace is full of journalists who have filed earlier that a result is close but the afternoon is disappearing with no sign of progress. I joke that the Indian Minister is waiting till it gets dark so he can say he held out for a full extra day on his own. I go up to the delegates lobby to see what’s going on. And I run straight into the Malaysian Ambassador and the Brazilian chief negotiator, who are looking very relaxed and cheerful. Plenary in 30 minutes, they say. PLENARY? What about the Committee of the Whole? Done. India is about to agree based on a reinterpretation on the Singapore issues. Apparently it was clear in the ministerial committee of the whole by mid afternoon that the "Singapore issues" negotiating mandates had to be made more flexible if India and some other developing countries were to sign on. So Mike Moore got them into a room together with the US and EU to work out some language to put back the decision on how those negotiations will take place by 2 years. That is the only change to this morning’s text.

Lots of delegates are milling around now, waiting to go into the big plenary room. The media are allowed through, to go up to the gallery; NGOs, for whom a few rows of chairs at the back have been reserved, have to wait until last. No stunts permitted. On the platform are the Sheikh (Qatari Finance minister and Chair of the Conference), Mike Moore, and the deputy heads of the WTO secretariat. Your typical all-male podium at world trade meetings.

The Sheikh opens the plenary meeting. He outlines the items for decision. One by one they are taken, the Sheikh reading out the document numbers, and...
dropping his gavel as he says “the Ministerial Conference so agrees”. A long wave of applause.

Back in my room I stand on the balcony looking at the night sky, I’m quietly elated by what I have witnessed in these 5 days in Doha. True cooperation and common purpose. Now to make of it something solid.

Alumni Section

Sunday thoughts

Adam Lazowski, Warsaw

The older you are the less you remember, or to put it another way, as you get older you only remember the good things. That is what a friend of mine told me a couple of years ago. And, in my case, that is exactly what has happened. It is now three years since I came to Sussex to join the group of other students from Central and Eastern Europe participating in the Diploma for Contemporary European Studies course (usually known as DICES). It doesn’t seem that long ago, however since then I have managed to complete my undergraduate legal studies, publish a textbook for students and finally defend my PhD. Many things have happened since 1999 but I still remember my studies at the SEI very well. And every September I am given a great chance to refresh my memories while meeting the future DICES at the British Council in Warsaw. As I have recently noticed I still have problems being objective about it! What I really want to achieve while meeting these groups of young people is to make them feel as comfortable as possible before they take their early January flight to Heathrow. Last year, however, it was different. It was 12 September. As a result, everything was overshadowed by the tragic events we had witnessed the day before. Without pretending that nothing had happened, I knew that we had to go on. So on this occasion my speech concentrated basically on good things only. I was trying to tell the new DICES how fantastic it was three years ago when I was preparing for this trip and what a great time we had in Sussex. Of course, I had to mention that it was very intensive work that they were facing but it did not sound as bad as it might have done. And I found out that the life wisdom that I had received from this particular friend of mine was basically the truth. I have tried to refresh my memory to those things which might have been bad during my stay in Sussex. And believe it or not I could not find many of them. So I really don’t know what I am going to tell to the new DICES group next time round (that is, of course, if the British Council still wants me to give a speech!). Definitely, I am going to tell them the one thing that I forgot this year. If there is anybody who wants to resign from coming to SEI, please let me know, I will be delighted to take his/her place and do the course again!

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Kebabs at 4 o’clock?

Graham Hendry

Looking back two years ago, when the social and intellectual frenzy of the first term of the MACES course was drawing to an end, and the prospect of going back to exams was taunting our festive calendar, I remember considering what I saw myself doing a year from then. What would I like to study in greater depth? Where would I be working? Would I ever remember to bring that overdue book back to the library? The usual sort of thing. It later turned out that around 50% of the class felt the same way; dazzled by the doors that had opened to them since studying at the SEI, but really not too sure what area to specialise in, if any at all. Of course, the motivation to move to Brussels was always there, with its multicultural atmosphere and tantalising selection of beers. But finding an interesting and remunerating avenue of work turned out to be a different story. How would I pay the driver when I fell out of the taxi, kebab in hand, at 4am? But, more importantly, how could I contribute with what I had learnt about the ever evolving process of European integration?

A few months later, whilst working on other projects, the way to do this became more obvious. I had noticed that there was going to be an international cycling conference taking place in Glasgow and Edinburgh later that month. It seemed a good opportunity to find out more about a sport and a form of transport that plays a part in my day-to-day life, and, as there was also a European angle on many of the presentations, I made enquiries about attending. It turned out to be a lively and enlightening experience, with bicycle enthusiasts from all around the world meeting to talk shop, whether they were technical people, policy people or just people along for the ride. I met several cyclists with fascinating stories of their exotic travels round the world, and quite a few more with not so exotic tales of mending punctures on Sauchiehall Street.

And so, when the opportunity came to work with the European Cyclist’s Federation in Brussels, I knew that it was an ideal way to experience an internship and to spend some time living and working on the continent. I suppose I was lucky in a way, because my internship coincided with the publications by the European Commission of White Papers on transport and on governance, both of which enabled us to submit official replies. But there has also been the opportunity to represent the ECF in conferences and events, to attend plenary sessions of the Parliament and to help with work on their website. Working on a daily basis in the environs of EU policy making has undoubtedly allowed me to understand in a little more depth the way it all fits together.

The strongest impression that I have is that there is gathering momentum for institutional reform. Of course, there was the Laeken summit last week, and the mostly peaceful demonstrations that are now associated with these events. But there has also been a lot of talk about the Governance White Paper and the measures that have been suggested from within the institutions. And, indeed, there have been a lot of them. Looking through the document, there are several innovative and progressive measures to enhance communication between the civil servants of Brussels and the civil
society of Europe. The intention to establish a permanent internet forum for the discussion of social and political developments looks to me as being the most far reaching.

But there are also some that, at least from where I’m typing, don’t seem to be as thoughtful. The setting of minimum standards and other procedural conditions for consultation with the Commission is a worrying one. As well as stipulating the criteria by which its own legitimacy can be assessed, by only recognising some organisations, and therefore, in the words of George Orwell, making some more equal than others, the creative and organic development of European civil society may be hampered. A preoccupation with the identity of a contributor to a debate makes it harder to follow what they are saying. Not a trend that an institution asking to be legitimised would be expected to follow. It is more likely that it is in open forum such as the interactive site on the Europa server that ideas about the course of European integration can be shared on equal terms, whether they concern the nature of an emerging European identity, the trend towards the legalisation of cannabis, or the improvement of transport provision in our cities. As with research institutions specialising in European themes, the wider and the more open communication is, the greater the chance that people will be able to articulate on the issues that interest and concern them, aside from whether they are being approached from an empirical or a more normative angle. Which, in a way, brings me back to a previous point. Though it still leaves the daunting task of tracking down that library book….

The Sussex Experience

Agnieszka Ostrowska, DICES 2001

I am a Polish journalist who writes about EU and produces screenplays, films and programmes for TV. Before coming to Brighton to study Contemporary European Studies, I had realised on many occasions that I should have known more about various aspect of European integration to better understand the mechanisms of the EU functioning, and, consequently, to communicate messages for the general public in a more knowledgeable way. However, having been frantically busy I had hardly had time to study European issues in a more profound “academic” way.

At Sussex University, far away from my everyday duties, I finally had time to sit down and concentrate upon things I needed to learn about in more depth: the practice of EU administration, balancing national and Community interests in negotiations, political economy of European integration, evolution of relations between the EU and Central and Eastern European Countries. I appreciated very much the high quality of teaching at Sussex, as well as the easy access to various publications and documents. Being a practitioner, I found it very useful to be able to talk to other practitioners who were invited to our lectures. I took advantage from numerous visits, and especially a meeting with Head of Information Unit of European Commission, Tom Glaser (during a study visit to Brussels) with whom I had a chance to talk about the Commission’s new Communications Strategy for Enlargement.

During our professional discussion on how to inform about European issues
in an interesting and effective way, little did I know that I would be involved in the implementation of the Commission’s strategy myself. A couple of months after my return from Sussex, I was invited as a Publications Expert by a Polish company that bid for a tender for the "EU Information and Communication Programme in Poland". Earlier this month, we won this tender and we are just about to start to provide advice and technical assistance to the Delegation of the European Commission in Warsaw.

At the same time, I got involved in the launch of a post-graduate European Integration Course at the College of Marketing in Warsaw. The first edition of a one-year course designed for people who want to get basic knowledge about the EU and Polish-EU relations started in October. The classes are held every second week, and among the lecturers are people that are professionally involved in European integration, as well as renowned academics and politicians. So far, our guest speakers have been: Jacek Saryusz Wolski, former Secretary of Committee for European Integration, Jan Kulakowski, former Chief Negotiator and Jerzy Buzek, former Polish prime minister. I was offered to become a co-ordinator of the course, I do hope I will be able to invite my tutors from Sussex University as guest lecturers.

In my case, the Sussex experience was not only educational, but also useful for professional development. Right now, I am all into European issues, and the process of research I did in Brighton makes me more competent to deal with them. But I do not intend to stop at this point. I would like to apply for a doctoral grant at the European University Institute in Badia Fiesolana near Florence. The subject of my PhD thesis is, of course, connected with informing people about the EU. The studies last three years, which is quite a long time, and I am a bit worried about that. On the other hand, if I manage to get there, I will quickly get used to the new surroundings. Especially since Prof. Helen Wallace is already there.

New Kids On The Block:
SEI’s 2001 Research Student Intake

Iwona Piorko, from Poland, is currently based in Brussels and working on a thesis called 'European Union external border controls, visas and immigration in the context of enlargement: The case of Poland'. Iwona is technically not in her first year since she has just transferred to Sussex from the University of Leicester, where she started her studies under the supervision of SEI co-director Professor Jörg Monar last year. Previously, she studied at the University of Warsaw and the College of Europe, Natolin. Iwona has also.
worked as a research assistant at the College of Europe (Politics & Administration).

**Ilias Meintanis** is from Greece and his research focuses on immigration politics in the EU. He is particularly interested in the way in which Greek civil society actors (such as Trade Unions and Employers Associations) are involved in the debate on immigration and the way European integration affects the way they try to influence immigration policy outcomes. His first degree was in European Economics from the Economic University of Athens and he has an MA in EU studies from the University of Reading. To improve his C.V., Ilias worked for a newspaper for some months, so he also has "numerous publications", mostly concerning other peoples funerals, but can nevertheless say that "I have published extensively" - even though it might not be connected with his academic credentials.

**Andrea Molinari** has studied Economics in Argentina at the Universidad de San Andrés, Buenos Aires and holds an MPhil in Economics from the University of Oxford. She has recently started her DPhil at SEI, working on EU labour mobility and economic integration under the supervision of Alan Winters and Michael Gasiorek. Her main field of interest is international economics, especially referring to economic integration, trade and labour issues. As for professional experience, Andrea has worked in both governmental and international organisations, such as the Central Bank of Argentina and the World Bank. She has also taught international economics, macroeconomics and microeconomics at the University of Oxford and the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Argentina.

**Ioannis Manos** is Marie-Curie fellow currently visiting the SEI where he will carry out the last year of his doctoral studies. Ioannis is a PhD candidate in Social Anthropology at the Institute for Social Anthropology at the University of Hamburg in Germany. He holds a respectable degree in History from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in Greece and an MA in Social Anthropology from the University of Hamburg. As a Marie Curie fellow, he participates in the research project entitled ‘Policy Challenges in a Changing Europe’ in which he examines issues of nationalism, identity and cultural rights in the Florina region, a border area in northern Greece. His research focuses on dance as a means for the construction of identities and an aspect of identity politics.

**Sobrina Edwards** is a part-time research student, whose topic is centred around the idea that Europe needs a sense of commonality and of belonging at a societal level. The title so far is ‘A European civil society and public sphere’. The title suggests that there needs to be work done concerning positive understandings of being ‘European’ that go beyond institutional frameworks, exclusionary trends of Fortress Europe and attempts to recreate a national type European identity. To develop the idea of the European citizen and to highlight the trends of a European consumer, her hypothesis will be that a European civil society and public sphere holds the potential to foster and encourage a democratic and cultural common identity, and hope to look at the ways in which this potential may or may not be realised.
‘In Brief’

Marie Curie Fellows at SEI

Following in the footsteps of SEI’s first European Commission funded-MC Fellow, we are delighted to welcome three new Fellows to the Institute at the beginning of this spring term. Ioannis Manos has been with us since September and will be here until May. He is now joined by:

Anna Gwiazda – Polish and studying for a DPhil at Trinity College Dublin. For the next 12 months, she will be investigating the Europeanisation of regulatory policies in Poland under the supervision of Alan Mayhew.

Daniel Naurin – Swedish and studying for a DPhil at Göteborg. For the next five months, he will be looking at the effect of transparency on interest group pressure in the EU under the supervision of Jörg Monar.

Francesca Vassallo – Italian and studying for a DPhil at Georgetown University, Washington. For the next eight months, she will be researching Europeanisation with regard to British political activism under the supervision of Paul Webb.

In the near future, we will also be joined by a further MC Fellow, Fredrik Rakar. He is Austrian and is currently studying for a DPhil at the University of Osnabrück. At SEI, he will spend 9 months looking at the role of civil society organisations in Slovakia and Hungary under the supervision of Zdenek Kavan.

We hope they will all enjoy their time here and find the experience to be a most fruitful one.

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Jane Cowan attended the American Anthropological Association meetings in Washington, DC on Nov. 29 - Dec. 2, where she presented a paper on 'Race, Language and Nationality in the Construction/Contestation of European Minorities at the League of Nations, 1920-1939' for a panel on 'Constructing European Difference: Gender, Race, Class...and Culture Revisited'. She then set sail for the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor to give an invited lecture entitled 'Fixing National Subjects and Modern Subjectivities in 1920's Macedonia: The Everyday Work of the League of Nations Minorities Treaty Supervision'. Her co-edited book, Culture And Rights: Anthropological Perspectives, (with Marie-Bénédicte Dembour and Richard Wilson) in which she has a paper on 'minoritisation' and the movement for Macedonian Human Rights in Northern Greece, has just been published by Cambridge University Press (see 'SEI Publications in this issue').

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Aleks Szczerbiak organised and participated in a round table discussion on “The End of an Era? The 2001 Polish Parliamentary Election”, on 28th September at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London hosted by the SEI, ESRC One Europe or Several? programme and SSEES/UCL.

On 20th November, he presented a paper on “Opposing Europe: Patterns of Party-based Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States”, at the SEI Research in Progress seminar, SEI, University of Sussex.
On 23rd November Aleks once again presented a paper in SEI entitled “German Euroscepticism in Comparative Perspective”. This was given as part of the SEI Conference on ‘Germany and the New Europe’ held at the University of Sussex.

Finally, on 7th December working with Paul Taggart, Aleks organised and chaired the first in a series of five ESRC funded Opposing Europe Research Network seminars on 'The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism in Contemporary Europe', SEI, University of Sussex (see report in this issue p.5).

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Iwona Piorko participated in an expert seminar on 'Belarus-EU Relations' organised by the Trans European Policy Studies Association & the Federal Trust in Brussels on 5 November.

On 7&8 December she also participated in a seminar of the Centre for European Policy Studies academic network on 'Justice and Home Affairs in an Enlarged Europe' organised in Brussels.

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In October, Russell gave a paper on European student migration to a conference to celebrate the work and retirement of Professor Hans van Amersfoort at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES), University of Amsterdam and which will be published in a Festschrift for van Amersfoort.

In November, Russell participated in a European Science Foundation Research Network Workshop on the problem of the older migrants in Europe, held at the University of Pisa.

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Rives-Manche Economic Observatory

Alexandra Bolland, SEI

The final months of the Economic Observatory under the INTERREG II programme has been spent finalising the remaining outputs for the project and preparing for a future submission under the INTERREG III programme, due to commence in the early part of 2002. Two thematic reports analysing economic development within the INTERREG II Rives-Manche programme have been completed. These reports have assisted project leaders and programme managers in their preparations for the next programme. Bulletin 10 on Telecommunication Networks has been published and explains the different forms of broadband networks available in the Rives-Manche region. The Annual Report for 2001 has been published and provides an in depth analysis of the industrial sectors of the Rives-Manche and its employment structure. As the project draws to a
close, the Observatory is developing potential partnerships with other economic actors in the enlarged Interreg III area (which includes Kent and Nord Pas-de-Calais) and is identifying the activities it will be involved in if successful in its submission under INTERREG III.

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In February 2000, Ioannis Manos participated in the second annual Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Student Workshop on Southeastern Europe at the Harvard University in the USA.

In July, he presented papers to the 21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, held in Croatia and organised by the International Council For Traditional Music (ICTM), and the workshop 'States and their Borders: Subversion and Support at International Boundaries’ held during the 6th Biennial Conference of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) in Krakow, Poland.

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Finally, our congratulations must go to André Filipe Zago de Azevedo who has been successful in obtaining his Dphil following his viva at the end of last year. His thesis entitled ‘The Economic Effects of Mercosur: An Empirical Analysis’ examines the static effects of Mercosur on the international trade and welfare of its members and non-member countries with an emphasis on trade creation and trade diversion.

SEI Publications

Aleks Szczerbiak has published seven pieces since the last issue. These are:


Poles Together? The Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland, Central European University Press, 2001 (see abstract below p.).


(with Paul Taggart) "Europeanisation, Euroscepticism and Party Systems:


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In October, **Iwona Piorko** together with Kataryna Wolczuk, Lecturer from the Centre for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, published a paper entitled 'Beyond the External Border: JHA in the Context of Relations Between Poland, Ukraine and the EU' in 'Challenge Europe', publication of the European Policy Centre, Brussels, this time devoted to 'Building An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice'.

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**Ioannis Manos** will have a paper published by the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Croatia in the Proceedings of the 21st Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology. The paper deals with the political aspects of dance. Two papers on issues of the politicisation of culture and a book review on a volume edited by Dr. Jane Cowan on Macedonia are to be published in the coming months in the USA and the UK.

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Last, but not least, he edited 'The Mediterranean Passage: Migration and New Cultural Encounters in Southern Europe', Liverpool University Press.

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**Poles together? The emergence and development of political parties in post-communist Poland**

Aleks Szczersbiak

Central European University Press, 2001

November 2001 saw the publication of *Poles Together? The Emergence and Development of Political Parties in Post-Communist Poland* a new book by the SEI Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies, Dr Aleks Szczersbiak. The monograph is based on his School of Slavonic and East European Studies doctoral thesis submitted in 1999 and which he completed during his first year working at the SEI (allegedly on the lap top computer on the London-Brighton train!).

The book fills a gap in the existing literature on how parties and party systems are developing in the new democracies of post-communist Central and Eastern Europe. It provides the first detailed, empirically based examination from a structural and organisational perspective of the new parties and political groupings that
have emerged in Poland since the collapse of communism in 1989.

Aleks develops his argument on the basis of an analysis of five key structural variables: the internal distribution of power and modes of representation within the parties; the role of the party bureaucracy; the relationship between parties and their electorates; the development of parties as membership organisations; and the relationship between parties and the state.

As the first in-depth, empirically grounded single-country study of party structure and organisation in post-communist Eastern Europe, the book provides an opportunity to draw broader conclusions about the process of Central and East European party development and thereby contributes significantly towards the development of a post-communist political party model. In doing so it sheds light on an important aspect of the more general process of post-communist democratisation in the region and contributes to one of the least explored areas of the democratic transition.

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Two new SEI/Opposing Europe Research Network working papers were published in Autumn 2001.

The first by Agnes Batory (University of Cambridge) is on 'Hungarian Party Identities and the Question of European Integration' (SEI Working Paper No 49/OERN Working Paper No 4). The paper assesses the extent to which party identity and ideology are reliable guides to political parties’ attitudes to European integration in one of the Central European applicant states. Starting from general propositions regarding the relationship between particular ideological strands and orientations towards Europe, the paper establishes the nature of the ideological space of the Hungarian party system and of the main parties’ location within it. Finally, a textual analysis of election manifestos and other policy documents provides a brief overview of party attitudes to integration. The Hungarian case suggests that while ideology does not account for the clear-cut choice between support and rejection of EU membership by parties, it is nonetheless a necessary explanatory variable in the context of the basis and strength of parties’ European orientations.

The second paper by Karen Henderson (University of Leicester) is on 'Euroscepticism or Europhobia: Opposition Attitudes Towards the EU in the Slovak Republic' (SEI Working Paper No 50/OERN Working Paper No 5). The paper argues 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, the paper argues that the symbolic and real importance of EU membership is far greater than in West European states that already have established market economies and citizens with a clear notion of their own social and economic location. It also argues that the constellations of political and economic interests are fundamentally different in these states and concepts of 'left' and 'right' have less significance than the distinction between transition ‘winners’ and ‘losers’.

Both working papers can ordered from the SEI or downloaded from the SEI web site.
Jane Cowan would like to alert Euroscope readers that Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives, which she co-edited with fellow Sussex anthropologists Marie-Bénédicte Dembour and Richard Wilson, has just been published by Cambridge University Press (November 2001), and is now available at the Sussex University Bookshop. The book considers the changing relationship between 'culture' and 'rights' over the past half century in struggles for social and political change. Not so long ago, culture and rights were seen as opposed, as charted in the debate between universalism and cultural relativism with respect to the application of human rights. Today, international rights institutions proclaim their support for multiculturalism and the defence of cultural difference, while indigenous groups and ethnic minorities increasingly make culture the object of rights claims. The book critically examines the problematic ways 'culture' is understood by political theorists and legal institutions and attempts to reformulate relations between rights, culture and citizenship and argues that such retheorisation must engage with empirical, contextual studies of actual rights-claiming processes. Through case studies based in France, Greece, Nepal, Botswana, Hawai'i, Canada, Guatemala, Thailand and the UN organisation, UNESCO, the book examines the varied and often ambiguous consequences of culture and rights talk for people's lives.

Forthcoming Events

Social Theory Conference Announcement

The International Social Theory Consortium is an association of programmes and individual scholars with interests in Social Theory across the social sciences and humanities. The group includes many of the 50 Programmes world-wide devoted to teaching and research in social theory, but welcomes everyone with an interest in social, political, and cultural theory.

The Consortium's third annual meeting will take place at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, Croatia, on 1-4 July 2002. The meeting will be sponsored by the Centre for Social and Political Thought at the University of Warwick, UK.

Paper and session topics on all areas relating to social theory are invited. We especially welcome proposals that capitalise on the Central-Eastern European setting of the conference. All submissions must include at least a
200-word abstract and relevant contact points, including e-mail addresses. Full papers are desirable but not necessary. The deadline for papers and proposals is 1 February 2002. We expect to issue registration forms shortly after that date. Send submissions (preferably by e-mail) to Ms Frances Jones, Research Secretary, Dept of Sociology, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, UK. E-mail: F.Jones@warwick.ac.uk. Fax: +44 2476-523-497. Please clearly state 'Social Theory Consortium' in your subject header.

There will be a conference fee of 75 US dollars, which includes consortium. The fee may be waived under exceptional circumstances. There may also be travel funds for needy scholars.

For more information about the Social Theory Consortium, see http://www.socialtheory.org. For more information about the Inter-University Centre, see http://www.hr/iuc

**UACES Student Forum Regional Conference Announcement**

SEI is to host the Southern Regional Conference of the UACES Student Forum on Saturday 11th May. These conferences are intended to provide an opportunity for research students to present their work to their peers in a friendly and informal environment. A call for papers will be issued soon and more details will appear in the next Euroscope. For more information on the UACES Student Forum see their website at: http://www.uacesstudentforum.fsnet.co.uk

**Migration Workshop Announcement**

The SEI and the Sussex Centre for Migration Research are organising a workshop on the 15th of February in A71, 10-17. The title is 'New Patterns and Impacts of European Migration'. Speakers include both international as well as local talents. Don't miss it.

**Dr. Treacher's Sports Feature**

Any recent observer of all things SEI might be forgiven for concluding that our beloved Institute had forsaken its status as a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence and had instead set itself on
a course towards becoming a centre of sporting excellence!

From a very sleepy start, or perhaps due to the initial enthusiasm of the new students for academic study, we were awoken from our slumber by an explosion of balls. A one-off gathering for a beginner’s guide to volleyball rapidly evolved to basketball and further volleyball sessions. And perhaps the most surprising development has been the institutionalisation of weekly indoor football.

Now for anyone who has not yet witnessed this spectacular phenomenon, let me try and set the scene. Two ethnically and gender-mixed teams of around 10 goal-hungry individuals each rush around screaming, kicking, elbowing and tripping each other and, sporadically, making contact with the ball. There is, as yet, limited understanding of the rules; indeed, these count for little. Team-mates will often tackle each other, with only occasionally the ball being in the remote vicinity. The women especially tend to hunt in packs and frequently loiter on the opposition’s goal-line.

And yet, out of all this apparent chaos and mayhem flashes of brilliance have emerged. The continuation of the indoor winter season next term will no doubt refine this budding talent so that SEI will blaze a trail into the outdoor summer season. IDS, the arch nemesis, must already be quaking in their boots. The prospect of releasing SEI’s burgeoning football talent with their take-no-prisoners attitude onto the wide-open spaces of the University’s grass and artificial pitches is a mouth-watering prospect! Volleyball and basketball, meanwhile, will, presumably follow this inspirational path. We can soon look forward to SEI teams taking on all-comers on the sun-soaked courts on Brighton beach.

It’s not too late to become part of this sporting odyssey, but competition for places is now fierce!
Robert ‘Bob’ Strudelbaker’s ‘Academia on your Doorstep’

Robert ‘Bob’ Strudelbaker is a visiting research fellow from the University of Punxsutawney, Pennsylvania. Bob has worked extensively in a number of academic disciplines but has unfortunately been unable to find his intellectual niche. In an attempt to ‘find himself’ academically, Bob has crossed the pond and will be based in Arts A for the next ten to fifteen years until his thesis is finished. The working title so far is ‘19th Century Russian Literary Influences on Western Europe’s Economic, Political and Social Development: The Case of Eco-Cultural Diversity in Pre-Industrial Peripheral Regions’. Though seemingly wide in scope, Bob defies conventional wisdom when quizzed about his thesis objectives commenting: “'Begin broad – finish focused’ that’s my motto and it’s never failed me yet.” So, over to you Bob.

Bartering and Anti-Dumping hits Sussex campus: The case of the IDS bar

Robert Strudelbaker, University of Punxsutawney

In the light of the current rapid developments in this dynamic field, academics as well as local representatives have tended to ignore the local arena with regard to this highly relevant topic. This shorter article is based on extensive theoretical modelling in which we try move beyond the eclectic understanding of unique assets as well as to unravel some of the a priori assumptions on what constitutes human behaviour in relation to anti-dumping activities executed by three on-campus pubs.

The IDS bar has recently enjoyed a locational advantage in relation to the numerous surrounding academic sub-units which constitute the university campus. However, after the last period of crisis, debate emerged on how to accumulate more human capital focusing primarily on bringing external capital into the corporation. Naturally, a number of problems arose when trying bypass the CEFTA agreement of 1992, reversing the capital flows into a east-west direction which was something that caught SEI economists by surprise and prompted several weeks of intensive data reshuffling. Further events, surprised practitioners even more. The IDS initiated a long-standing process of so-called switch trading which involved bartering with not only the well reputed Falmer Pub but also with the less renowned Grapevine Bar. The question was how could the elasticity of demand for Carlsberg beer be pinpointed.

Given this brief background, the
research conducted by myself has yielded the following policy guidelines. The three on-campus establishments should establish a relationship which primarily resembles a customs union rather than an independent trade policy. The rational behind this is based on the general opinion that any economic integration should be beneficial if we want to avoid persistent dumping. I have suggested that the parties involved should pay closer attention to the following formula:

\[ MPL \times \Delta L = MP C x - \Delta C \]

Hope this helps,
Bob.
**Sussex European Institute**
**Research in Progress Seminars**

**Spring Term 2002**
Tuesdays 2.15 - 3.50 pm - Room A71, SEI

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