

# EUROSCOPE

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# EDITORIAL

Welcome to the Spring term issue of your tried and trusted newsletter, Euroscope! We hope that staff, faculty and students have had a well-deserved and relaxing break and taken full advantage of the pleasures that this festive season has to offer. But now it's high time to finish off that mince pie and pack up your baubles and tinsel as we move over to the important stuff that is the first issue of the new year. In keeping with the 'out with the old, in with the new' feel which traditionally accompanies this time of the year, our editorial resolution is to continue to give you – the reader – a couple of new features alongside the familiar ones that you have come to love and respect. New for this year is a series of MACES impressions and thoughts that outline the MA experience over the year. Since it is commonly considered that it is better to give than to receive, we have passed this particular parcel to our very own MACES' eyes and ears – Liljana Rek and Levente Csaszi – who present a gift-wrapped and ribboned account of the autumn term goings-on on pages 13 and 14. Much like the trusty Christmas jumper, this gift will continue to be enjoyed over the next few months since Lili and Levy are sub-contracted until the end of the academic year to supply a further two articles. In addition, we are delighted to introduce our very own new year's honours list which we have appropriately called 'Who's who in the SEI'. Here we aim to provide the readership with some previously unknown facts about famous SEI characters. Much like Dr. Treacher's Sports Feature, this will be a standing inclusion from now on. We have also managed to track down some of our alumni and on pages 8-10 we get the chance to find out what they have been up to and also what awaits SEI graduates once their thesis is handed in. Boyan Hadjiev, a former DICES student, is now the third secretary to the mission of Bulgaria to the EU and here we can take part of the day-to-day activities in Boyan's life. A bit closer to home base, we find Viljar Lubi, also a former DICES student, who is now an economic diplomat at the Estonian Embassy in London.

So much for the new. As for the old, we still have our regular features – a conference report by one of the co-editors, an OERN update, an RIP coverage by Emily Palmer (MACES) and some well chosen words by co-director, Jim Rollo. Finally, we would like to give a warm welcome back to our favourite academic pundit, Robert 'Bob' Strudelbaker who is more or less done as a visiting scholar in Garytown, Virginia. As usual, a sincere 'thank you' to all our contributors. We continue to count on your support in giving your time and effort to supply the articles which fill these pages – it is greatly appreciated.

Nick Walmsley and Pontus Odmalm  
Co-Editors



**...and, of course, our other regulars:**

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## Message from the Co-director

**A** Happy New Year to all SEI's friends and colleagues! The year ahead comes with significant risks: war in Iraq and the faltering European and world economies above all. War may be avoided and the economy may bounce back but the odds on both these propositions are no better than 50:50 as I write. In both cases the EU policy processes are under stress.

EU countries have no common position on Iraq. German and French uncertainties about the war promise interesting times in the UN Security Council as Germany rotates onto it. Britain and Italy are more clearly committed to supporting the US if it comes to war. This has prevented either Solana or Patten making any headway in crafting an EU position. Meanwhile citizens across Europe are much more opposed to a war than their counterparts in the US. Taken with the marginality of Europe in the Israel-Palestine crisis, this is a major setback for a common European foreign policy stance and may also underlie the lack of progress on defence co-operation which looked to have taken a leap forward after the Anglo-French agreement at St. Malo in 1998.

Similarly the poor performance of the Eurozone in particular threatens the credibility of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), which governs fiscal policy in EMU. The risk is that a vicious circle of lax fiscal policy followed by tighter monetary policy is kicked off as the ECB reacts to perceived non-compliance with the SGP by major member states (France and Germany in particular). To prevent this requires some explicit policy co-ordination between the ECB and Eurozone governments. This seems to be prevented by the ECB's desire to guard its (perceived) independence by refusing all direct contact with governments. The recent Eurozone interest rate cut was long overdue and in my view more of the same is needed, but it must be part of a package that includes a credible and linked fiscal programme that shows fiscal positions coming back towards sustainable levels in the medium term. Otherwise we risk capital markets driving up long term interest rates, in particular in response to ballooning government debt levels, undercutting any benefits from monetary relaxation. The ECB however, has to have the self-confidence to come down from its Frankfurt Tower and speak (rather than shout from afar) directly to governments about the need for co-ordination without feeling that by so doing its independence is somehow destroyed.

But there is good news. The Union has, at last, taken the enlargement decision. This has been long looked for and the reuniting of Europe that began in 1989 when Central Europe became free again will now take on an institutional reality when, as we hope, the eight new Central European members take their seats in the Council of Ministers in May 2004. Malta and Cyprus also joining will reinforce the increasingly important Mediterranean dimension of the EU. The division of Cyprus remains unresolved as I write but there is some hope, as a result of the new government in Ankara and the willingness of the Greek government to work for an early opening of membership negotiations for Turkey at the Copenhagen Council. Movement may take place even there.

Of course, it is possible to see clouds. Populations in the candidates are increasingly sceptical about the benefits of membership. The mealy-mouthed and financially mean approach of the EU member states as they forced themselves to do the right thing at Copenhagen will make it harder to win referendums in the candidate states. The major challenge of enlargement which is to ensure that membership facilitates growth and convergence of incomes (as it has done in Ireland and Portugal and more recently in Greece) in the new member states (but with significant benefits for exiting members) is not even addressed.

But enough, this is an occasion for rejoicing. SEI has had the accession of the Central Europeans to the EU as a major focus of its research and teaching over the last decade. We think we have made some contributions to the process. Alan Mayhew in particular has been deeply engaged in helping successive Polish administrations deal with the EU – his achievements were properly rewarded in my view by the award of an OBE in the New Year's Honours List and all at SEI congratulate him on that.

SEI remains committed to making enlargement work and to facilitating future accessions especially to the south and east. To that end I welcome Croatian and Turkish young practitioners who are taking our Diploma in Contemporary European Studies this term.

Jim Rollo

## Opposing Europe Research Network Update

### Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart

The Autumn Term was another busy one for the SEI-based Opposing Europe Research Network (OERN). Set up at an SEI workshop in June 2000 and convened by Dr Aleks Szczerbiak and Dr Paul Taggart, OERN is an international network numbering nearly eighty scholars researching Euroscepticism in EU member and non-member states. The Network has continued an active programme of publications and meetings during the last few months.



### Opposing Europe in Bordeaux, France

One activity was the attempt to build on the question of the salience of European integration for domestic politics. The issue has been raised at a number of OERN events and so the network put together two panels for the first ECPR Standing Group on the EU conference in Bordeaux as a way of exploring further the ideas raised. The first panel introduced a paper jointly authored by the Sussex team of Dr. Paul Taggart, Dr. Aleks Szczerbiak and Prof. Paul Webb offering methodological questions raised in looking at salience. This was followed by a case study of the salience of Europe in Greece party politics by Dr. Susannah Verney (University of Athens). And then there was a quantitative study of the role of different citizen information levels on the salience of Europe 'Intermediary Institutions and Information about the European Union' offered by Dr. Leonard Ray (Louisiana State University).

The second panel, appropriately enough for the venue, brought together three papers on France. Nick Startin (Brunel University) offered a paper on 'Increased Salience and Opposition: The Evolution of 'Europe' as an Issue in French domestic politics. Simon Usherwood (LSE) then offered a paper on 'The European Union as an issue in French politics'. Sally Marthaler (Sussex European Institute) presented her findings from qualitative and quantitative research on 'Europe and the French Electorate in 2002'. Professor Gérard Grunberg (Sciences Po) acted as both chair and discussant.

### Election briefing series continues

Autumn 2002 saw a series of important European elections and the OERN covered these in its election briefing series. The briefings, which are published jointly with the Royal Institute for International Affairs, particularly focus on the impact on the impact (or non-impact) of European issues. A briefing on the Swedish election by Dr Nicholas Aylott (Umea University), was followed by reports on the elections in Slovakia by Karen Henderson (Leicester University) and Germany by a Dr Charles Lees (University of Sussex). OERN and RIIA also produced a special briefing on the second Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty held in November by Dr Karin Gilland (Queen's University Belfast).

## **New working paper**

The autumn months also saw the publication of a new SEI/OERN working paper by Nick Sitter (Norwegian School of Management BI) on 'Opposing Europe: Euro-scepticism, Opposition and Party Competition'. Developing themes that Nick has explored in OERN conference panels and in an award winning West European Politics article, the paper sets out a model that casts Euroscepticism as the 'politics of opposition', rejecting suggestions that it represents a cleavage of a single issue.

Hard (principled) Euroscepticism and soft (contingent) Euroscepticism is, it is argued, driven by a combination of a party's identity, policies, electoral strategy and quest for office, in the context of the party system in question. The first pattern of opposition, competition between catch-all parties, is not associated with Euroscepticism, and if at all only of the soft variety and then in opposition. Parties that adopt the second pattern, cross-cutting opposition based on values or interest, have a greater propensity towards Euroscepticism, but this may be mitigated by electoral or coalition strategy concerns. Third, opposition at the flanks of the party systems links the far left and right to Euroscepticism in terms of anti-system protest. However, party-based Euroscepticism among flanking parties depends partly on whether other parties have crowded out the Eurosceptic space. The extent to which changes in strategy and tactics affects policy stances provides a dynamic element that explains changes in party stances on European integration better than merely relying on policy. Party based Euroscepticism is, therefore, presented as a product of party strategy or 'the politics of opposition'.

## **LSE seminar**

The highlight of last few months was undoubtedly the OERN workshop held at the LSE on December 6th, the fifth in a series of ESRC funded seminars. The objective of the seminar series was to move forward the debate on party-based Euroscepticism through discussion of theoretical papers and case studies of less well-examined countries. (Reports of the previous seminars held at Sussex, Cambridge, Leicester and Warwick are available on the OERN website - see below.) In addition to academic researchers, the 25 workshop participants included representatives from the Turkish Embassy.

The seminar began with a paper from Ayse Ayata (Middle East Technical University, Ankara) who examined party based Euroscepticism in Turkey. Turkey is one of the most enthusiastic candidates for EU membership in which even the new government that has an Islamist past has claimed integration into the EU as its primary target. Mads Qvortrup (LSE) then presented a paper examining the polarising effects of referendums on EU issues and their implications for our understanding of the party politics of Euro-

scepticism. The third paper from Petr Kopecky (University of Leiden) considered the case of the Czech Republic as a potentially "awkward newcomer" in which party-based Euroscepticism has become increasingly well entrenched during the 1990s. In the final session, Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart reflected on the broader lessons of the seminar series and how it has taken forward research on party based Euroscepticism. Together with other OERN activities, the seminars have built up our empirical knowledge base on the subject and changed our notions of how we conceptualise it and what causes party-based Euroscepticism. The key research challenge was identified as locating party-based Euroscepticism within a broader study of the party politics of European integration. This opened up a broader discussion on the future of OERN.

### **The future's bright, the future's OERN**

OERN has a number of initiatives and publications in the pipeline. Working papers are planned on Italy and Switzerland together with a paper on theoretical issues arising from the LSE seminar. The election and referendum briefing series will continue starting with a report on the Dutch election in January 2003. We are also hoping to draw on the Network's expertise to organise some events and publications specifically on the 2003 EU accession referendums. All of this activity will culminate in the two-volume book on *Opposing Europe? The Party Politics of Euroscepticism*. We see the publication of the book as the natural culmination of the first wave of the OERN's activity.

Beyond that, having pulled together so much expertise in a field that was previously under-researched, we are keen to build upon the success of OERN. However, we also want to broaden the Network's focus so that the party politics of Euroscepticism becomes one strand of a research agenda that examines the domestic politics of Europe more generally. This will obviously involve some element of 're-branding' (we have trouble being mistaken for a 'network of Eurosceptics' rather than a 'network that researches Euroscepticism', as it is!). There was broad support for this approach at the LSE seminar, with particular interest in broadening out from a focus on parties to encompass social movements and public opinion (especially the politics of European referendums) more generally. Watch this space (or, better still, visit the website) for more news!

All our publications and latest news of our activities is available from the OERN website. For further information or to keep up with the latest developments, contact the convenors (a.a.szczerbiak@sussex.ac.uk or p.a.taggart@sussex.ac.uk) or visit the OERN homepage at:  
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Units/SEI/areas/OpposingEurope.html>



## **Conference Report**

# **The City and the State. Ethnicity, Migration and Citizenship**

**20-22, November 2002, Campus Norrköping, Sweden**  
**Pontus Odmalm**

This three day conference marked the seventh consecutive migration event co-organised by the Centre for ethnicity and urban studies (CEUS), Tema Etnicitet (University of Linköpings) and National Institute for Working Life (University of Norrköping). The conference brought together an interesting mix of established academics, practitioners and research students. The conference encompassed eight workshops ranging from Working Life Diversity, Integration and Anti-Discrimination Policies and Education, Gender and Ethnicity to The City's Ethnic Division and Urban Politics. The focus was primarily on the Swedish case but did also include several presentations on the increasing importance of the EU as an important actor in terms of influencing the scope of migration in the future Europe. Two key-note speakers had been invited to kick off the conference. The first of these being Tomas Hylland Eriksen from the Department of Social Anthropology at Oslo University who addressed the issues of identity and national sentiments and their relation to the diasporic experience. Nira Yuval Davis, from the University of Greenwich, discussed the complex issues of multiculturalism, multi-layered citizenship and the politics of 'social cohesion' in the British context, invoking also some criticism on the recent British multiculturalism White papers.

The workshop attended by the author focused on migrant organisations and civil society. Here, a number of interesting papers were presented and issues discussed. A majority of the papers were doctoral research in their early - and occasionally - later stages but with the common denominator of focusing on the role and function of migrant associations as partners in the political process. To highlight just a few, Gunnar Myhrberg, from the Political Science Department at the University of Uppsala) presented an outline dealing with the precarious relationship between political participation and association membership. This paper linked in nicely with Magnus Dahlstedt's (Department of Ethnic Studies, Linköping University) discussion on the mono-cultural status of Swedish political party life, in which the concept of representation was put under the critical magnifying glass and with Osman Aytar's (Department of Sociology, Stockholm University) analysis of the communication process between said organisations and the state. Apart from providing some stimulation for an interesting debate and the exchange of new ideas, this particular workshop sowed the seed for a potential future research network on the increasing importance of migrant and ethnic organisations in Sweden and elsewhere.

## SEI Alumni Updates

It is one of the aims of *Euroscope* to encourage SEI alumni to keep in touch with the Institute, its staff, faculty and students past and present. With this in mind, as this year's DICES students arrive at SEI to get to grips with the challenging course which lies ahead, we have asked two of our DICES graduates of recent years to give us an update on what they are doing now and how their time at SEI benefited them and their careers.

### **Boyan Hadjiev, DICES 2000** **Third secretary** **Mission of Bulgaria to the EC**

At the end of 1999 I had already been working for two years as a diplomat in the European Integration Directorate of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Within the ministry, the SEI had an excellent reputation and the director supported my application with great enthusiasm. I was extremely happy to receive a positive reply.

My studies at SEI in 2000 coincided with the start of the negotiations for the accession of Bulgaria to the EU. I knew that I had to grasp this opportunity and use my time in Sussex to better prepare myself for the future challenges. I cherish precious memories of my stay in Sussex University, of SEI professors and staff, of my fellow students and of the walks along Brighton beach. I am convinced that my studies at SEI were very useful and stimulating both for my personal development and for my career. SEI gave me a better understanding of the highly complicated architecture of the European Union and the driving forces behind the European integration process.

After my graduation, I came back to

Sofia more confident and, I believe, more competent. My DICES semester was duly appreciated by my superiors and I was entrusted with bigger responsibilities and more issues to deal with. I was dealing with the EU policy in the Western Balkans and the accession negotiations under Chapter 6 "Competition policy" and Chapter 9 "Transport policy". The European Integration Directorate is the structure responsible for the coordination of the accession negotiations within Bulgaria's administration and thus I was directly involved in the management of these two highly important areas of the negotiation process. These responsibilities gave me the opportunity to apply my new knowledge and to put my new skills into practice.

Since October last year I have been posted at the Bulgarian Mission to the EU in Brussels as third secretary. Currently I am dealing with the European Convention on the Future of Europe and with the negotiations under Chapter 24 "Justice and Home Affairs". I participate in the meetings of the Council's working groups on illegal immigration, trafficking, drugs, asylum, Europol and Schengen and consular cooperation with the accession countries, thus gaining valuable experience



and better understanding of the work in the Council of the EU.

In the beginning of December I applied for upgrading my DICES to a Masters in Contemporary European Studies (European Public Policy). I expect that the new SEI Professional and Analytical Research Methods course will develop my research methods and analytical techniques thus providing me with new tools in my work. I hope this will be another important step in my life and a wonderful occasion to once again meet the SEI tutors and staff. Furthermore, I am confident that the continuation of my studies at SEI will be of great im-

portance for my future diplomatic career and will prepare me better for the challenges ahead, the most important of which is the EU membership of Bulgaria in 2007.

I would like to thank Euroscope for this opportunity to express once again my deep respect and gratitude to the people working at SEI as well as to say "Hi" to my fellow students from DICES 2000. Finally, allow me to give some advice to the future SEI students: try and take advantage of the excellent expertise and knowledge of the SEI tutors and you will achieve great results in your future jobs!

## **Viljar Lubi, DICES 2001**

### **Economic diplomat Estonian Embassy in London**

The British education system is somewhat different from the Estonian one. In the UK there are less lectures and more individual work. This is also good opportunity to spend lots of time on the issues that you are most interested in. During my time at Sussex I could spend days in the library reading extremely interesting articles from the outstanding variety of resources the library has. Unfortunately in Estonia, our possibilities are much more limited so I am very grateful that we had access to these resources for a short time and sad that we do not have it anymore.

Beside those written sources we had an exceptional opportunity to attend lectures and seminars conducted by outstanding people who are well

known, not only among their own students, but also among a much wider audience. Thus, there are several reasons why studying in Sussex was time well spent.

However, these were not the aspects I valued the most while spending a semester in Sussex. When I was first offered this possibility, I was really happy and flattered. I had always wanted to study in Britain, but since I had not studied abroad before I did not know what to expect. I do not think that the quality of education is always higher in western European or North American universities than in Estonia, but there is at least one very important aspect that you most probably miss while studying only in your own country - international contacts. This is extremely important and something

that should not be underestimated.

I made a lot of good friends from different countries whom I have already visited and who have visited me. I don't think I am mistaken in arguing that Western European people used to think that all Far Eastern people look the same. Actually they think the same about us. They believe that we are all the same without any difference - Europeans (let's leave North Americans and Australians out for the moment). Both sides are wrong! Although Europeans have lots in common we are also very different. Sometimes we are more different than we think. And this difference usually startles us when we first meet a person from another country. I personally prefer that people are not the same everywhere, but quite often people do not like people who are different. They do not understand why somebody does something differently. They think it's weird and wrong. Think again! This is just our ignorance. There is always a logical explanation.

When I came to work to Britain I had to get used to many aspects of life I consider(ed) strange. That is why it is good to spend some time together with people from other countries and cultures - just to learn to understand them. Time spent in Sussex helped me understand several things, and even if you cannot see the logic of it at least you learn to respect other people's values. Do you know why the British drive on the left side of the road? It is strange for most Europeans, we tend to think that the British are strange and they just want to be different. But there is a logical explanation. In the times when people used to get about on horseback, they passed each other

from the left, so that in case of any unfriendly attack from the fellow road user they had their right hand (with a sword) closer to the enemy to protect themselves. So, is it not stranger that we drive on the right on the continent?

Therefore, I find it useful to live and study in different countries than your own. You have an excellent chance to improve your knowledge in your own field of interest and also to get a better understanding of other countries and their habits, you learn to listen to what other people have to say. For example, it is wrong to accuse Poland of being arrogant during its negotiations with the EU without actually knowing the background. There can be much more than we can read from the newspaper. Having good friends in Poland, I always have the opportunity to call them and ask what they really want and what are their arguments.

These are just a few reasons why I am grateful for having had a chance to study at Sussex. I am sure that it has helped me greatly in my current job that involves lots of communication with different people from different countries. I hope that all the current students take away similar positive experiences from their time spent at SEI.

*As ever, we are always happy to receive news and updates from our alumni for publication in Euroscope.*

*If you would like to get in touch or offer us an article—long or short—for one of our issues,*

*please do not hesitate to email us:*

*euroscope@sussex.ac.uk*



## **SEI Research In Progress Seminar Reports**

### **Gisela Stuart and Danuta Hubner visit SEI**

**Emily Palmer**

On 5 November 2002, Gisela Stuart, House of Commons Representative to the European Convention on the Future of Europe, kindly gave a presentation on the progress of the Convention so far. She spoke very positively of the Convention and believed that the work of the presidium really was going to make a difference to the shaping of the future of the EU, both in terms of its institutional structure and in improving its relationship with EU citizens.

The speaker briefly outlined the purpose of the Convention in proposing a new framework and structures for the EU for its development in a changing international environment. It was created following the Laeken European Council at the end of 2001 and is scheduled to run until June 2003. The Convention is composed of one government representative and two parliamentary representatives of the current 12 Member States and the 13 states that have applied to be members of the EU as well as members of the European Parliament. At present, the meetings are scheduled at once per month, with working groups meeting more frequently.

The members of the Convention are working towards creating a draft constitution for the EU, which they hope will be adopted by the Member States at the intergovernmental conference in 2004. This will be in the form of a document simplifying the current treaty provisions, merging the two basic treaties and possibly incorporating the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights. In creating the constitution, the presidium is working towards the creation of a unique European identity, so that EU citizens can relate more easily to EU institutions and the decision-making process. This is largely dependent on the degree of consensus among its members.

Gisela Stuart described the earlier phase of the Convention as the "socialisation process", an opportunity for all members to express their visions of the EU. From her personal viewpoint the EU should be considered as "neither a nation state nor a loose federation", but instead a permanent mixture of intergovernmental and communitarian elements. She is not only in favour of giving the EU more powers in some fields such as Common Foreign and Security Policy, but also of creating a mechanism whereby certain competences can be returned to the Member States.

As chair of a working group examining the role of national parliaments, Gisela Stuart presented the conclusions reached so far. The group has analysed the importance of national parliaments in holding their own executives to account by scrutinising national ministers at the European level. They have also reviewed the application of the subsidiarity principle, with national parliaments playing more of a role in deciding whether actions are to be taken at national or EU level. According to Gisela Stuart, there is a general consensus that national parliaments do not have enough involvement in the Commission's annual work programme.

However, many of these conclusions seem close to the strategic interests of Great Britain. Yet Gisela Stuart argued that the increased influence of national parliaments on the Commission's agenda would not lead to a more intergovernmental Europe, but would strengthen the EU and reduce the scope for conflict. One SEI student questioned the reaction of the Convention members of the other countries. For example, as Germany is a federal state, the national parliament would not be able to play such a

role in all policy areas, as the Laender already have direct contact with the Commission, independently of the national parliament. Gisela Stuart, however, stuck to her argument that all national parliaments should be strengthened in the EU decision-making process.

Gisela Stuart explicitly stated her belief that the Convention continues to be a success and the close cooperation between the members leads her to believe the conclusions drawn will have an important impact on the shaping of the future of the EU.

\* \* \* \* \*

On 25 November 2002, the SEI was fortunate to receive a visit from the Polish Minister for Europe, Danute Hubner, who has also been participating in the Convention on the Future of Europe. Firstly, she outlined the aims of the Convention and then went on to comment on the major challenges faced in the production of a draft constitution for the EU. She finally answered questions posed by SEI members, all very much eager to find out the position of Poland as a large future Member State of the EU.

She has been impressed by the Convention's aim to make a step forward in the reform of the EU. All applicant member states are on an equal footing in the Convention and have the right to communicate in their own language. She praised the Convention for the openness of its meetings and special conferences. Members of the Convention have been working successfully as a team and alongside national governments in order to stimulate national debate prior to the IGC in 2004, which will determine whether or not EU Member States will accept the draft constitution.

According to the speaker, the Convention is facing two major challenges: the issue of reconnecting the EU with its citizens and the question of the EU's capacity to deliver. She spoke of the Convention's attempts to

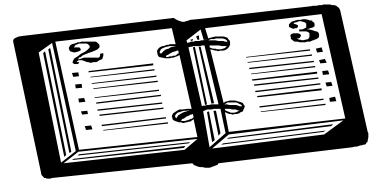
simplify the EU's treaties and procedures for all EU citizens to be able to relate to them and of the need for clarification of the decision-making process. The Convention has been working on trying to define which areas of policy should remain under the control of national and local government. The principle of subsidiarity should not however only be applied to the downward devolution of powers, but also lead to clarification of which policy areas are to be the responsibility of the EU.

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of the Convention, has already proposed a structure for the draft constitution that consists of two parts. The first part of the constitution would lay out the fundamental principles of the treaties so far, which would need ratification of all Member States. The second part would be more operational and could be revised, with no ratification required. Although many of the members of the Convention have criticised this structure for referring too little to the EU citizens themselves, a general consensus has been reached that recognises the need to strengthen all of the present EU institutions to make them more democratic, transparent and efficient.

Finally, many SEI members were keen to find out about Poland's position as the largest among the future accession countries. Danute Hubner claimed that although Polish foreign policy was different to that of the smaller applicant countries, it would be prepared to compromise and accept loss of national sovereignty over some policy areas such as defence. Poland is also in favour of a strengthened Commission. Danute Hubner also alluded to the fact that Polish members of the Convention had been working very closely with the British members, which might be very interesting to analyse the influence on majority voting in the Council of Ministers in the future enlarged union.

## MACES diary—Autumn Term 2002

**Liljana Rek**



Any MACES student past or present will tell you just how hectic a year spent at the SEI is. With so much going in such a short space of time it's easy to forget all that happened. With this in mind, we have commissioned a series of three pieces from two of this year's Masters students in which they will give a term by term appraisal of their academic year. In this and the next two issues of Euroscope, Ljiljana Rek and Levente Csaszi will recall some of the memories and experiences of the term past and remind us of the skills needed to juggle social and academic commitments in a successful MACES year.

Writing about the past term in SEI is not an easy task. Not everything can be said in such a small space, nor can every experience be described. Most of them are carried within our hearts as a set of memories, feelings and emotions. However, for the purpose of this article I will try to reflect briefly on some of the SEI working - and some less work related - moments of the autumn term.

The autumn term began in a very relaxing way. Welcome parties hosted by SEI faculty, by the vice chancellor for new postgraduate students, and by the student union representatives marked the beginning of the new school year. One of the things that struck me immediately in a positive sense was the friendly atmosphere in SEI and the informal relationship between the students and the teachers.

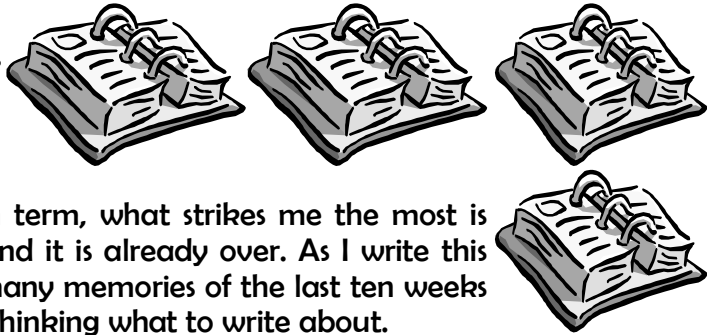
Working days passed quickly. Core course lectures, tutorials, research skills (or thrills) and methods and research in progress seminars tackled what we know and where we would like to expand our knowledge. Discussions often started in the classroom and usually carried on outside. Students and teachers from a variety of professional and cultural backgrounds enhanced the idea of exchanging knowledge and experience.

But not everything in SEI is about studying. It is also about socializing, going out, dancing, singing (I should stop here). One of the best opportunities to meet other SEI students and teachers is the Tuesday night fever in the IDS bar. IDS is a place where true colors come to the fore. Discussions conceived in classroom, mixed with episodes from our private lives, spiced with a pint of Guinness (oh how I miss Croatian wine) in a bohemian, dimmed atmosphere. And if that is not enough, there is always a party to go to. (Natasha, I hope you will continue the tradition).

Sport plays an important role at Sussex as well. The sports centre has been visited twice last term by the majority of SEI students and one t(r)eacher. The occasion was - social soccer! Regardless of whether you are a boy or a girl, if you know how to play or if this is your first time, once you are on the field, the only rule is that there are no rules. And some of us took it literally (Tamara, be gentle next time).

Considering the amount of work and variety of other social and cultural events in Sussex and Brighton, the first two months passed quickly. The autumn term ended with an international Christmas party. Maltese sandwiches, Russian salad, Polish pancakes, English pudding, French cheese, Croatian hake salad and many other dishes were on the SEI-menu in A71. Jorg's speech followed by a toast made us all mellow and marked the end of episode one of MACES/MAELS/MAAofE 2003/03.

## More MACES diary... Levente Csaszi



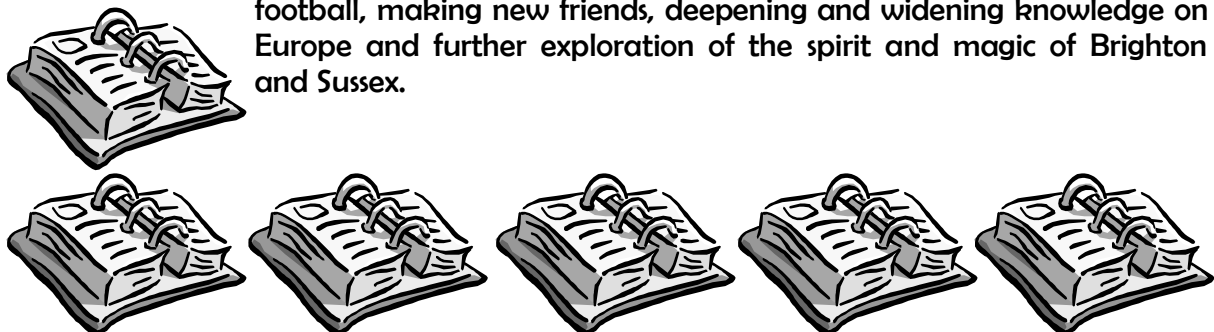
When looking back at the autumn term, what strikes me the most is that it seems just to have started and it is already over. As I write this the exams are almost upon us. So many memories of the last ten weeks crawl up from my mind when I am thinking what to write about.

First of all we can feel very lucky to be in the right place at the right time. Since October contemporary European developments have been very exciting, I would dare to say even historic, and SEI is probably one of the best places to be if one really wants to understand what is going on in Europe. We saw NATO welcoming seven new member states, and EU enlargement seems unstoppable following the (controversial as usual?) outcomes of the Copenhagen summit. We were lucky enough to have had some insight into the Convention's work due to our incredibly interesting R.I.P. seminars.

But these sometimes seem negligible and insignificant compared with what has been going on at the SEI. All the lectures in A71, the social (always-more-than-an-) hour in the IDS bar every Tuesday night, all the other 'socialising events', Paul Taggart's Monday morning jokes (either waking me up or knocking me out), the presentations and essays proving your (not really *my*) academic excellence, Adrian Treacher's football skills and Miriam's extraordinary equaliser in the last seconds of our first social footballing event (the result was 15:15), the SEI parties, the R.I.P. seminars in the always crowded room, queuing for books in the library (and never getting them in time...), the German and French circles, and how could we forget Natasha's party (and of course mince pie!) and Aliksandr's piano skills and all the rest.

All in all a lot has happened since October. If you ask me, my life has been transformed. I used to be a miserable land-locked guy (from my beloved country which at least / *think* is in the heart of Europe) and now I open my eyes in my Kings Road residence in the morning (in the afternoon?) and what I see is the sea and the sunrise (sunset?) if not something even more beautiful. Instead of taking the crowded Budapest tube in the morning I jump on my bike hearing the seagulls and arrive at the green campus and never mind getting soaked to the bone in the pouring rain on the way. Because where you arrive is the most friendly Sussex European Institute with an exceptional staff and I believe it is always the people – both the staff and the students – who make this place so special. I have learnt something from everyone and there is more to come.

It has been fun so far. Let us hope for a similar continuation, EUforic referenda in the accession countries, regular SEI social sports and maybe some outdoor football, making new friends, deepening and widening knowledge on Europe and further exploration of the spirit and magic of Brighton and Sussex.



## SEI Publications



Aleks Szczerbiak:

“Poland’s Unexpected Political Earthquake: The September 2001 parliamentary election,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, September 2002

Review of Mitchell Orenstein, “Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Post-communist Europe”, *Perspectives on European Politics and Societies*, October 2002

“The Political Context of EU Accession in Poland”, *Royal Institute for International Affairs European Programme Briefing Paper*, November 2002

“A Prize for (Almost) Everyone” (Analysis of the October-November 2002 Polish Local Elections), *Transitions On Line*, November 2002

“Chaos out of Order? Polish Parties' Electoral Strategies and Bases of Support,” in George Kolankiewicz and Tomasz Zarycki, eds, *Regional Issues in Polish Politics*, SSEES Occasional Papers. London: SSEES, 2002



## ‘In Brief’



Aleks Szczerbiak:

October 11th - chaired an SEI/SSEES/ESRC One Europe or Several? Programme roundtable on “Central Europe after the Elections”, SSEES/UCL, University of London

October 15th - participated in an SEI Research in Progress seminar on “The Convention on the Future of Europe: The Story so Far”, SEI

November 15th - participated in an SEI/SSEES/ESRC One Europe or Several? Programme roundtable on Poland after the Local Elections: Politics, Economy, Society and Prospects for EU Accession, SSEES/UCL, University of London

December 6th - participated in and presented a paper on “Researching Party-Based Euroscepticism: Where have we got to and where do we go from here?” at the fifth in a series of five ESRC funded Opposing Europe Research Network seminars on “The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism in Contemporary Europe”, LSE. (see report p.4)



## New SEI Research Student Workshops

Picking up on the proposition by a Dr. Paul Taggart, the lively SEI research student community initiated a research-in-progress workshop during the autumn term. This consisted of a series of bi-weekly, semi-formal, student led gatherings in A183 on Friday afternoons. The rationale behind said senior lecturer's suggestions was to provide a forum for the diverse research interests of the SEI's doctoral students to present their work in progress in front of a small and remark friendly crowd. The workshop is co-ordinated by this year's research student representatives, Ilias Maintenance (from Greece) and Andrea Molinari (from Argentina) and brought together a healthy mix of Phd-work nearing its grande finale and research in its early stages as well as the odd presentation from our Marie Curie-fellows. As with the more formal RIP seminars, these sessions have provided SEI's junior researchers with some stimulating responses and comments to their work in progress. This has also been a useful experience for future – perhaps more formal – conference and panel workshop presentations. The overwhelming opinion of all those involved is that these workshops have been a great success and an invaluable experience. This was a much welcomed initiative from ex-co-ordinator of MACES and research students, Dr. Paul Taggart. As he rightly observed upon his return from his Stateside stay in Georgetown, there has been a blank spot on the research student activity map which has now been adequately filled. All participants and co-organisers hope that this will continue and go from strength to strength not only over the next two terms and beyond.

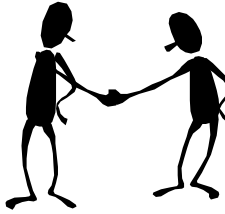
## SEI Research in Progress Seminars

RIP Seminars Spring Term 2003 Timetable  Tuesdays 14:15- 15:50  Room A71, SEI	14th January	<b>Professor Jorg Monar, Professor Alan Mayhew (tbc), Dr Aleks Szczerbiak</b> , SEI, University of Sussex <i>Roundtable on 'Where next after the Copenhagen Summit'</i>
	21st January	<b>Professor Frank Gregory</b> , University of Southampton <i>EU Responses to 9/11</i>
	28th January	<b>Dr. Mary Dembour</b> , University of Sussex <i>Poland before the European Court of Human Rights: Five Years of Case Law</i>
	4th February	<b>Ms Lesley Pallett</b> , Head of European International Unit, Home Office <i>Development perspectives for the 'area of freedom, security and justice'</i>
	11th February	<b>Dr. Phillipa Sherrington</b> , University of Warwick <i>The politics of EU co-decision making ten years on</i>
	18th February	<b>Dr. Tony Bray</b> , Strategic Economic Development, East Sussex County Council <i>Towards a Local Europe: Transnational Integration Across the Channel</i>
	25th February	<b>Zdenek Kavan</b> , University of Sussex <i>Dealing with the past and its impact on human rights in post-communist Central Europe</i>
	4th March	<b>Ambassador Matussek</b> , Germany Embassy, London Title to be confirmed
	11th March	SEI Plenum





## Who's who in the SEI



*Name: Glynis Flood*

*Time in the SEI: 3 years 3 months*

*Role in the SEI: Admin Assistant, Graduate Studies Office*

*What attracted you to the SEI? Gratitude. After 6 years at home with children, they thought I was employable!*

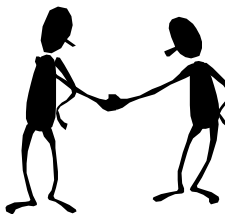
*What makes the SEI a unique research centre? Its informality and dress sense. Staff and students aren't bad either.*

*Favourite administrative memory: The smooth running of the 10th anniversary conference*

*Worst administrative memory: Being told we have to organise the 10th anniversary conference*

*Random fact about yourself: I once gave a man directions in Red Square—in Russian!*

*Favourite SEI-related movie: Enemy of the nation-*



*Name: Dr. Paul Taggart*

*Time in the SEI: Nine years*

*Role in the SEI: Teacher of Research Skills and Methods and ex-co-ordinator of MACES*

*and research students.*

*What attracted you to the SEI? A chance to work in a dynamic research centre with great colleagues and to teach some of the best postgraduate students I have taught. And the strange allure of the green carpets.*

*What makes the SEI a unique research centre?*

*The people, the pluralism and the ..*

*Favourite academic memory:*

*Worst academic memory: Mine.*

*Random fact about yourself: Had short stint as a professional surfer in North London before entering academia.*

*Name: Panos Arion Hatziprokopiou*

*Time in the SEI: Since October 2000*

*Role in the SEI: Research student & DPhil candidate*

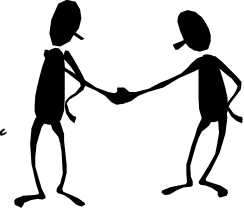
*What attracted you to the SEI? It's interdisciplinary character*

*Favourite academic memory: Is the 2000 Christmas Party considered "academic memory"?*

*Worst academic memory? I don't think I had any really bad experiences...*

*Random fact about yourself: To be or not to be?*

*Favourite SEI-related movie: Kremlins*



*Name: Andrea Molinari*

*Time in the SEI: Almost two years*

*Role in the SEI: DPhil student*

*What attracted you to the SEI? I like to be in contact with EU issues and with people from other disciplines.*

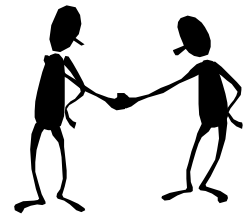
*What makes the SEI a unique research centre?*

*The people they invite for seminars, and the network created on European issues is a very valuable asset.*

*Favourite academic memory: I really liked Aleks teaching us how to research in Eastern Europe (Research in Progress classes)*

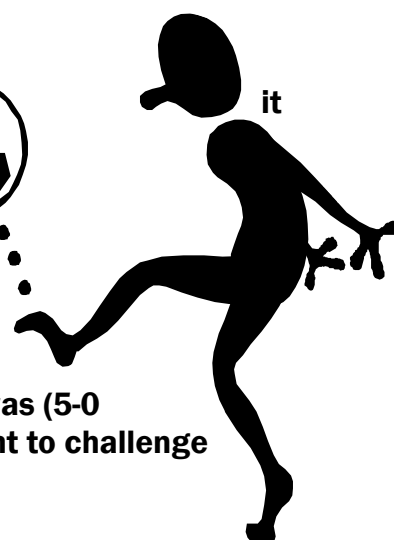
*Worst academic memory: Not sure...*

*Random fact about yourself: I do enjoy talking about things that don't concern my field—economics—and I find SEI a very good place for this. It's also interesting and challenging to try to convince non-economists that we're not all as inhuman as most believe!*



## Dr. Treacher's Sports Feature

Despite a lot of bravado and declared good intentions, took SEI's motley crew of students until week seven to finally get it together and play a game of football (at least I think that's what we were doing). Prior to that, my only sporting encounter of the term had been on the badminton court. Foolishly, a certain young Greek research student had challenged me to a game, no doubt thinking that Dr T was passed his prime and therefore easy prey. Passed his prime? Well maybe. Easy prey? Just ask Ilias what the score was (5-0 to me in case he can't remember). Strangely, he has not sought to challenge me again.



But undoubtedly, the sporting pinnacle of last term was our assault on the 'beautiful game', otherwise known as football. I'm more of a rugby man myself, and believe you me some of the scenes in the sports hall during our two matches did more resemble rugby than anything else! For many, this was their first experience of football and took them a while to realise there was a ball involved. They seemed more intent on laughing and screaming, and on employing their full array of kicks and elbows on each other. My knee was lucky to escape with just bruising after one such attack (thanks Tamara!).

Eventually in the first game, it became clear to most what the purpose of the ball was and a thrilling, nail-biting match ensued. My team performed heroics to claw the final score back to an epic 15-15 draw, not least thanks to a superb last-second equalizer from Miriam who in the process guaranteed herself a Masters. Chris T, I believe, may have photos of this auspicious event. There is some malicious gossip circulating that my team lost the second match, but my selective memory tells me otherwise.

So now we look ahead to 2003 and to the prospect of further sporting adventures. I for one, on New Year's Day, set you an inspirational example. Yes! I gallantly took part in a tug of war match across a canal! Well ok, truth is, I agreed to do this whilst under the influence of some New Year's Eve drinks. Anyway, my bulging muscles and all-round awesome physique helped my team to victory and to the opponents being pulled into the freezing water. Instead of basking in the glory however, I then proceeded to lose the plot and duly jumped into the canal too. Oh well, here's to a fabulous 2003 and a lot more laughter.







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