

# EUROSCOPE

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# EDITORIAL

And so the table is set for a new academic year. As we write, the final touches and preparations are being made to welcome our new students and serve them up the best of what the SEI has to offer over the coming year. The summer past was marked by an occasion on which a good number of those who have sampled the delicacies of SEI over the last decade were able to reunite in the name of celebration. Our ten-year anniversary was a feast of memories bringing together as it did so many of the people who have made SEI the exotic dish it is today through their contributions since 1992. In particular, our alumni turned out in force to taste the nostalgia of time well-spent in our corridors and toast old friends and colleagues. Here at *Euroscope*, perusing the diverse menu of academic and practitioner dishes that characterised the festivities, we set out to create an additional hors d'oeuvre that would mark the occasion for our past students. We were delighted to be able to whip up a spicy side-dish for the festivities, the ingredients of which were provided by a large number of SEI alumni. In the end, the resulting recipe produced the aptly titled '10 Year Anniversary Special Issue'. The articles we received and the three days of celebrations clearly showed how much a stay at the Institute has meant to so many people. For all of them, both on a professional and personal level, the contacts and experiences which have come out of time spent here have proved invaluable. On taking over the editorial role of *Euroscope* last year we were keen to play a part in regenerating the relationship between the SEI and its alumni. We hope the Special Issue contributed in this direction. It is also an aim we will continue to pursue over the coming issues. With these connections in mind, we welcome our new MA and DPhil students who now sit down to eat their fill at the Institute's table. Your slice of SEI pie awaits with all its accompaniments, but your fellow dinner guests will no doubt supply the lasting memories - whether your stay is only a year or something more. We look forward to meeting you and receiving your articles in the future either as current students or as the next generation of alumni.

As for this issue, we set off on the right foot with the traditional message from our co-director, Jim Rollo who casts a thoughtful eye over recent developments at home and abroad. In what has been a time of elections, we pass up the chance of covering the important Swedish vote to bring you analysis of the eagerly awaited and hotly contested German elections. On page 4, specialist Dr. Charles Lees, recently returned from overseas, brings us the 'whats' and the 'ifs' of the recent results. No *Euroscope* would now be complete without an update from OERN, and Aleks and Paul don't disappoint as they recount the latest and greatest of a packed schedule of events since the last issue on pages 6 and 7. Hot on the heels of OERN and returning from an 18 month sabbatical in the USA, Paul Taggart reveals the view from across the pond and his experiences at Georgetown University on pages 8 and 9. Conference reports feature on pages 10 and 11 with the welcome return to contributing form of Panos Hatziprokopiou giving a summary of the Sussex Migration Centre's special conference on Albanian migration. Our very own Peter Holmes maintains a presence on our pages with comment on the Annual World Trade Forum. Dr. Taggart features again on page 12 with a few well-chosen words for those about to get to grips with SEI's renowned "Research Skills and Methods" course - read or regret. 'In Brief', SEI Publications, the ever-popular 'sports feature' from a Dr. Adrian Treacher and coverage of last term's trip to Brussels by Ourania Erimaki and Sonila Danaj round off a well-proportioned issue. We thank all our contributors again for their continued efforts and support and stress for all those new to the publication that all SEI staff, faculty and students are encouraged to submit material for our pages. Remember - no contribution is too small.

Nick Walmsley and Pontus Odmalm  
Co-Editors



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

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## Message from the Co-director

The pace of life in SEI does not let up. As this edition of EurosCOPE reveals the past summer has been hectic. Above all the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary conference was a great success bringing a rich mix of alumni, distinguished visitors, analytical rigour and sheer old-fashioned sentiment. The graduate student conference was for many of us the highlight with excellent research work being showcased and SEI students standing comparison with the best in Europe. The annual conference of the 'One Europe of Several?' research programme which is directed from SEI ran alongside the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary conferences and brought a stellar group of academics and practitioners. It all made for an enormously invigorating intellectual feast in SEI. But, boy, was it hard work for the home team. Thanks for work beyond the call of duty go to Viga Nicholson, Fiona Allan, Glynis Flood, Lisa Elvy and Laura Dunn among SEI staff; to Pontus and Nick for the special EurosCOPE; to Nick for the graduate student conference and to the team of student helpers and note takers as well as to SEI Faculty.

The summer term also featured a UACES graduate student workshop hosted by SEI (Nick again) as well as papers given at conferences in Bern, Belfast and Bordeaux by SEI faculty and research students. Finally under auspices of the 'One Europe?' programme we ran a one-day conference on 'Policy Challenges in the New Europe' in Warsaw at the College of Europe. Speakers to this, as well as 'One Europe?' researchers, included two Polish ministers closely engaged in the EU accession negotiations - Mrs Danute Hubner and Minister Jaroslaw Pietras (also an SEI Practitioner Fellow). Jörg Monar and I spoke to a Polish government sponsored forum on the 'Future of Europe' attended by some 70 people (including lots of SEI Alumni) in Warsaw on 4 September and chaired by the Polish Chief Negotiator to the EU, Minister Truszczynski.

The policy environment has been equally hectic. Above all the question of Iraq and all the issues tied to it in the Middle East, on the war on terrorism and in transatlantic relations with the most important country in Europe, Germany, disagreeing deeply with the USA. I will make no comment on substance but it is clear that Europe as a 'soft power' does not carry enough weight to affect issues in its immediate region - and on its putative border when Turkey joins the EU. In the horrible American aphorism the Americans cook the dinner and Europe does the dishes. The issue of the EU's ability to project itself beyond its borders is the theme of next term's Research-In-Progress (RIP) seminars (Tuesdays at 14.15 from 14 October) and we hope to explore aspects of these issues. Suffice it to say that the need for coherent foreign and defence policies at EU level is now more pressing than ever along with the capability to back them up.

The Convention on the Future of Europe is expected to move up a gear in the Au-

turn. SEI will hold a round table on the story so far in the member states, among the Candidates and within the convention itself on 14 October as part of the RIP series. Gisela Stuart MP who is a member of the Convention from the British Parliament will give an RIP seminar on 5 November on the view from the inside.

In Britain the question of EMU membership slips on and off the front pages. Popular support for membership is weak, to say the least. Yet the government still plans to carry out studies on the 5 tests by May 2003 with a possible target referendum date of October 2003. Leaving aside the questions of whether the referendum is winnable (and why would any government volunteer for a referendum it thinks it will lose), the issue raises important questions of the choice of macro-economic policy frameworks for Britain. I explore these in a forthcoming paper in the *Journal of Public Policy* (a preliminary version is available on the SEI website at [www.sei.ac.uk/people/rollo.html](http://www.sei.ac.uk/people/rollo.html)). The monetary policy and fiscal policy regimes are subtly different in the UK and EMU but I conclude that the targets are not so different as to present an big shift in outcomes. In any case the fiscal regime in Euroland is moving in the British direction. The real question is performance. Since 1992, and significantly so after 1997, the UK macro economic policy regime has been the best performing in post-war history. Inflation is low, slightly under target even, growth is more stable and higher relative to long term trend than in any comparable period in the past and unemployment is low even though the trade sector has gone through a torrid time. This stability of Macro economic variables has been long sought for in Whitehall and Threadneedle Street. At the same time the EMU framework is proving less successful with a collapse in the Euro, inflation above target, growth stagnant in Germany and Italy and now to a degree France, albeit with lower, but still high unemployment. The only reason to move regimes on performance grounds is to judge it over a much longer time period. Judging EMU as an extension of the German "stability culture" and comparing it with the whole of British post war economic performance one would be forced to go with Germany/EMU as the best option. Judged over the last 3-5 years the British Framework comes out ahead. If the last 3 years are the best forecast we have of the future then EMU membership does not offer better outcomes. Over the long haul the continental policy record wins hands down.

Finally let me mark with some sadness and a lot of pride and pleasure the cohort of MA students just leaving SEI. You have been great fun to teach and work with and you will have great futures ahead of you.

To the new MA students let me say welcome. SEI is an exciting and demanding place. You will study hard and have fun, intellectually and socially. We look forward to working with you.

Jim Rollo



# The Fischer King: How Joshka saved the Red-Green Coalition in Germany

**Charles Lees**

*The September 22 Bundestag Elections were the closest in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, and also probably the most exciting. This was not just because of the closeness of the result itself but also because of the high levels of volatility evident in the months running up to election day.*

This time last year the Social Democratic SPD was riding high in the polls, with their coalition partners the Greens doing less well but nevertheless polling enough to indicate that they would probably surmount the Federal Republic's 5% hurdle to representation in the Bundestag. However by mid-Summer the SPD and Greens were up to 12 percentage points behind the CDU/CSU-FDP opposition, despite the personal popularity of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and his Green

Foreign Minister Joshka Fischer. By early September the popular mood had shifted again, with the SPD once more ahead of the Christian Democratic CDU/CSU. At the same time, polls indicated that up to a third of the German electorate were still undecided as to which party they would cast their vote for. In the last week before the election the gap closed again, with unpublished polling indicating that the CDU/CSU might even have pulled ahead of the SPD. Finally on Sunday 22 September Germany went to the polls and we were all put out of our misery. The results of the Bundestag elections are shown in the table below.

Germany has an Additional Member System (AMS) of voting. Two votes are cast by each elector. The first vote (*Erststimme*) is for a constituency seat, with the candidate gaining the most votes deemed the winner. The second vote (*Zweitstimme*) is cast for a party list, with

**Table: Final Result of Bundestag Elections (Second Votes), 22 September 2002**

	Bundestag Elections		Bundestag Elections		Bundestag Elections	
	22/09/02		27/09/98		16/10/94	
Electorate	61,388,671		60,762,751		60,452,009	
Number of Votes	48,574,607		49,947,087		47,737,999	
% Turnout	79.1		82.2		79.0	
Valid Votes	47,980,304		49,308,512		47,105,174	
		%		%		%
SPD	18,484,560	38.5	20,181,269	40.9	17,140,354	36.4
CDU	14,164,183	29.5	14,004,908	28.4	16,089,354	34.2
CSU	4,311,513	9.0	3,324,480	6.7	3,427,196	7.3
Greens	4,108,314	8.6	3,303,624	6.7	3,424,315	7.3
FDP	3,537,466	7.4	3,080,955	6.2	3,258,407	6.9
PDS	1,915,797	4.0	2,515,454	5.1	2,066,176	4.4
Others			2,899,822	5.9	1,698,766	3.6
(of which)						
REP	280,735		906,383	1.8	875,239	1.9
Schill	399,757					

Seats: SPD 251 (298); CDU/CSU 248 (245); Greens 55 (47); FDP 47 (43); PDS 2 (36) (Total 603)

Source: dpa

each party receiving seats in the Bundestag based on their percentage of the vote. As in most cases constituency seats are effectively straight fights between the SPD and CDU, supporters of the Greens and liberal FDP will often give their first vote to one of the bigger parties (usually the SPD for the Greens' supporters and the CDU for FDP supporters). At the same time, many SPD supporters will give their second vote to the Green list and CDU supporters often do the same thing for the FDP. This is known as 'split ticket voting' and has grown considerably since it was first flagged as a significant development in the 1970s.

### A Fischer Price for Schröder?

The table is based on second votes and shows that the elections resulted in losses for the SPD (-2.4%) and post-communist PDS (-1.1%), which failed to get 5% of the vote, but did win two direct mandates on the first vote. The SPD also picked up four 'overhang seats' (*Überhangmandate*), which are apportioned after the election on a territorial basis. The CDU/CSU picked up 3.3% (and one 'overhang seat'), although it should be noted that the Christian Democrat's improved showing was almost all due to the performance of the CSU (the CDU's sister-party in Bavaria). The FDP did better than in 1998 (up 1.1%) but worse than expected and nowhere near the party's target of 18%. However the big winners in relative terms were the Greens. The party increased its vote by 1.9%, which in relative terms is approximately 20% higher than its vote in 1998. It also won its first ever direct mandate in the inner-city constituency of Berlin-Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg-Prenzlauer Berg-Ost. The Greens' slick and often very funny election campaign was highly focussed on Joshka Fischer, who 'played a blinder' throughout. In this sense Fischer saved Schröder and the Red-Green coalition.

All in all, the Red-Green coalition was returned with a reduced majority. Thus in a Bundestag of 603 seats, it has a majority of nine over all other parties: making it not only the minimal-

connected-winning coalition but also the minimal-winner as well. In coalition theory, such small majorities are often considered to be desirable, because the spoils of office are not spread so thinly as they are with larger majorities. However in practice this is often not the case, because they also allow relatively small factions to hold the whole coalition to ransom. The SPD's parliamentary party is highly disciplined but the Greens are less so. Moreover the Greens' one direct mandate is held by Christian Ströbele, an old-style hard-liner. Ströbele is no fan of Fischer and certainly not of Schröder. In addition his direct mandate gives him a certain moral authority and makes him less susceptible to the kind of pressure that can be put on list-based politicians. He could easily become a focus for dissent and my guess is that he will be quite a thorn in the coalition's side over the next few years.

### Possible need for vote fishing?

There are other worrying trends for the SPD in particular. The party's vote fell by 4% in western Germany, although this was cancelled out to some extent by picking up 4.6% in the east (no doubt at the PDS' expense). It also lost 5% amongst male voters and core working class voters. These voters appear to have gone straight across to the CDU (which gained 6% and 8% in these respective categories of voters). The only plus point is the enduring popularity of Chancellor Schröder, who led his CDU/CSU challenger Edmund Stoiber in the polls throughout the year. Without Schröder, the SPD's share of the vote might have been far worse than it was. It is not clear that Schröder will run for Chancellor in four years time. What is clear is that the Red-Green coalition was saved this time by the Greens and Fischer in particular. Assuming that the coalition lasts another full term (which is quite a big assumption), the SPD has some ground to make up - particularly amongst its core voters - over the next four years.

## Opposing Europe Research Network Update

### Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart

It was a busy summer 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 now numbers more than seventy scholars researching Euroscepticism in EU member and non-member states.



#### East meets West at the Leicester and Warwick seminars

On June 21st the third in a series of five ESRC-funded OERN workshops was held at Leicester University organised by Karen Henderson. The seminar began with a paper from Karen herself who discussed the potential problems and pitfalls of comparing party-based Euroscepticism in the post-communist candidate states with that in the current member states. The rest of the seminar focused on Southern European country case studies. Krassimir Nikolov (Institute for European Studies and Information, Sofia) outlined the contours of the very limited Euro-debate in Bulgaria, one of the countries identified by OERN as having very low levels of party-based Euroscepticism. Dr Susannah Verney (University of Athens) analysed party based Euroscepticism in Greece, particularly focussing on PASOK, an interesting case study of a party that appears to have undertaken a complete ideological volte face on the issue of European integration. Finally, the SEI's very own Dr Lucia Quaglia (currently based at the EUI in Florence) presented a paper on the topical subject of Italian party-based Euroscepticism, particularly focussing on Forza Italia, the National Alliance and the Northern League. In addition to academic researchers, the 20 workshop participants included representatives from the Bulgarian Embassy and Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

On September 24th the University of Warwick hosted the fourth of these seminars organised by Dr David Baker (University of Warwick) and Professor Mark Aspinwall (Robert Gordon University). The focus of this seminar was party-based Euroscepticism in the UK. Mark Aspinwall introduced the seminar with a paper on the extent to which the British electoral system empowers or inhibits Euroscepticism. Dr Russell Holden (Cardiff University) then considered the degree to which the Labour Party under Tony Blair is fully committed to EU integration. The afternoon session began with a paper from Dr Anthony Forster (King's College, London) questioning whether contemporary British Euroscepticism has roots in older arguments. The final paper from Dr Philip Lynch (Leicester University) explored the importance of concepts of sovereignty and nationhood in Conservative Euroscepticism. Once again, the audience of 20 consisted of both academics and practitioners from organisations such as Britain in Europe.

In addition, a smaller brainstorming seminar without any formal papers in sight was held at the LSE on July 31st to specifically discuss theoretical issues focussing on the questions of definition and causality. Briefing papers summarising these (and two earlier) seminars are available from the OERN website (see below for address).

#### New working papers – one, two...three?

The summer months have also seen the publication of no fewer than three new SEI/OERN working papers. The first of these, published in May by Dr. Paul Taggart and Dr. Aleks Szczerbiak, presents results of nearly two years research into party-based Euroscepticism in the twenty five EU Member and Candidate States. After offering a conceptualisation of Euroscepticism and of two different forms of it, the paper maps the incidence of parties expressing Euroscepticism and, using this data, made comparisons between the member and candidate states as well as across the range of states. The paper shows that the patterns of Euroscepticism in member and candidate state party systems

are remarkably similar and that support for Eurosceptical parties is an established component of European politics across Europe. The paper also demonstrates a significant misfit between popular levels of Euroscepticism and support for parties expressing Euroscepticism.

In the second working paper, also published in May, Aleks Szczerbiak examined the Polish euro-debate after the September 2001 parliamentary election and in the run up to the negotiating endgame and 2003 EU accession referendum. Recent years have seen a significant fall in support for Polish EU membership and the emergence of a sizeable bloc of anti-EU public opinion. However, the paper argues that it would be wrong to interpret the 2001 election as a Eurosceptic backlash. Moreover, the new government has adopted a more flexible approach to the accession negotiations. This produced a mixed public reaction and the fact that the former communists have been forced into a coalition with an agrarian party will constrain the government's room for manoeuvre during the negotiating endgame. Nonetheless, overall levels of support for Polish EU membership appear to have consolidated at a relatively high level and it is extremely likely that most Poles will vote 'Yes' in the 2003 accession referendum. The greatest concerns for the pro-EU camp are that the referendum turns into a broader plebiscite on the socio-economic transition as a whole or fails to achieve the turnout required by the Polish Constitution for it to be valid.

In the third paper, a Dr. Charles Lees (University of Sussex) argues that there is a latent potential within the German polity for the mobilisation of what remains a significant level of popular unease about aspects of the ongoing process of European integration. However, at present this potential is unfulfilled and, as a result, Euroscepticism remains the 'dark matter' of German politics. The absence of a clearly stated Eurosceptical agenda is not due to the inherent 'enlightenment' of the German political class about the European project, but is rather the result of systemic disincentives shaping the preferences of rational acting politicians. The paper argues that the institutional configuration of the Federal Republic provides poor returns for party-based Euroscepticism and the mobilisation of popular unease about aspects of European integration remains an unattractive option for rational acting political agents.

### **'In Brief' on elections**

A major new innovation introduced in the last few months was the OERN election briefing series: reports on recent elections particularly focussing on the impact (or non-impact) of European issues. The series began in April with a briefing on the Hungarian election by Agnes Batory (Cambridge University). This was followed by briefings on recent elections in Ireland by Dr Karin Gilland (Queen's University Belfast), Dr Robert Harmsen (Queen's University Belfast) on the Dutch elections, Dr Catherine Fieschi (Nottingham University) on the French parliamentary and presidential elections and Dr Sean Hanley (Brunel University) on the Czech election. These election briefings have created a lot of interest and we are delighted that the Royal Institute for International Affairs has agreed to publish them jointly with OERN in the future!

### **OERN looking ahead...**

OERN already has a range of activities already planned for the rest of the year. The network will be organising two panels at the ECPR EU Standing Group Conference at Bordeaux at the end of September. The final ESRC funded seminar will be held at the LSE on December 6th with a conceptual paper on referendums and party systems in Denmark, France and Ireland, and country case studies on the Czech Republic and Turkey. Working papers on party-based Euroscepticism in Italy by our very own Lucia Quaglia and Switzerland by Professor Clive Church (University of Kent at Canterbury) have also been accepted for publication and will appear shortly. Briefings on the Swedish, German and Slovak elections, together with a special briefing on the Irish Nice referendum, are all in the pipeline.

Finally, congratulations to OERN member Dr Nick Sitter (Norwegian School of Management) for winning the Vincent Wright Memorial Prize for his West European Politics paper on 'The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-Scepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?' (Vol. 24 No 4, 2001). We are planning to publish an OERN working paper that further develops some of the ideas Nick set out in this earlier paper. Well done Nick!

For further information on this eurosceptic Klondike or if you just want to keep up-to-date with all these 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/SEL/>

## An Englishman in Washington DC

Paul Taggart

Going to the USA to do research on Europe may have seem to be, as they say, geographically challenged but after an eighteen month sabbatical in Washington DC, I am happy to report that it was extremely useful and even quite European. My initial fears about being isolated and the only person interested in Europe were quickly allayed.

My home base as a visiting scholar was at the BMW Centre for German and European Studies at Georgetown University. And I would like to extend my thanks to them for being such gracious and generous hosts. The BMW Centre is reminiscent of SEI as a centre built around a small core of faculty with a selected few from other departments with a vibrant Masters programme pulling in students from across Europe as well as the US. In other ways, such as endowment, fee levels and a stronger focus on humanities, it was quite different. But it was a wonderfully welcoming environment and the perfect place for me to gain the measure of Washington. I also became adjunct faculty at the School of International Service at American University and this gave me the chance to try out an extremely ambitious core course on Europe that I had been planning for a while.

There is quite a European research scene in Washington and my first few months were spent meeting with these people and soon it become clear that there was a whole host of good researchers. My contribution was to form

a reading group (similar but also different to our renowned RDG's) on the EU. However, what struck me, and most of all them, was how rarely they met as a group. The Washington scene has many parts but is quite fragmented as many of the researchers have different constituencies with different government agencies and think tanks.

### Where have I seen that face before?

One of the first people I sought out was an old friend of SEI, Maria Green Cowles. Maria's research on the European Roundtable (ERT) has become the definitive research on the subject and her work on Europeanisation with Thomas Risse and James Caporaso has set the agenda for the research into this oft-talked about subject. Maria is at American University and after tackling the small matter of *The State of the European Union: Risks, Reform, Resistance and Revival* (OUP, 2000)

*"...what struck me, and most of all them, was how rarely they met as a group. The Washington scene has many parts but is quite fragmented ..."*

for ECSA, is now conducting some groundbreaking and less alliterative work on the nature of the global regulation in the world of e-commerce. Michelle Egan, a colleague of Maria's at AU, is following up her recent book *Constructing a European Market* (OUP, 2001) with a very wide-ranging comparative historical project on the formation of single markets in the US and the EU.

At home at the Centre at Georgetown, Greg Flynn's work takes a social constructivist approach to European his-



tory and his current project is an incredibly thoughtful and sweeping take on the Europe state and its position in the international system. For the first

period of my time there I overlapped with Orfeo Fioretos, who was on leave from the University of Madison, Wisconsin. Orfeo's work is focused on the political economy of European integration but

has a strong - if soft - rational choice line and has involved extensive archival research in the UK, Germany and Sweden (which does not always seem to be the norm for any end of rational choice research). Sam Barnes was in his final year as Director of the BMW Centre, but is still working actively on citizen politics in East and central Europe so following up his contribution to the seminal *Political Action* study of the 1970s which set the stage for many of us comparative politics scholars. His successor as director of the Centre was also someone with whom I overlapped as a Visiting Professor at the Centre and this is Jeff Anderson. Jeff's prize-winning work on *German Unification and the Union of Europe*

*"...a lot of European research was very wide in scope and in many ways more global in aspiration. Europe was seen more in terms of a case than as something intrinsically interesting."*

(CUP, 1999) takes an approach that broaches the IR and comparative politics divide and in the same vein he is currently conducting some fantastic comparative politics research into the effects of Europeanisation on political institutions. Des Dinan at George Mason University is a key figure among EU researchers and seems to be continuing in his vein of covering everything as he is currently constructing a his-

tory of the EU.

### I say collective research, they say individual research

The research I came across seem to be marked by three features. First, much of the research was, as we would expect, methodologically or ontologically much more self-conscious than European generated research. Whether this is a good thing or a bad thing is a matter of taste (I tend towards the good as I always do). The second difference seems to be that a lot of European research was very wide in scope and in many ways more global in aspiration. Europe was seen more in terms of a case than as something intrinsically interesting. The third

aspect that struck me was how individualised the US scene that I came across was. The idea of collective research projects seemed to be more unusual – maybe there is something in the water? “

maybe there is something in the water? Again, whether this is good thing or a bad thing depends largely on how we would prefer to work ourselves but it certainly does change the shape of the field.

I suppose I should mention what I did for my part in passing. I worked hard on the *Opposing Europe* project (of which more elsewhere in this Euroscope) and on a research methods textbook but I could not help feeling that the real achievements were experiencing September 11 and the aftermath and starting another small but ambitious transatlantic project.



## Conference reports

### **Albanian Migration and New Transnationalisms**

**Meeting House, University of Sussex**

**6-7 September 2002**

**Report by Panos Arion Hatziprokopiou**

Convened by the **Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex** and the **Albanian Studies Programme (School of Slavonic and East European Studies), University College London**, the International Conference on “Albanian Migration and the New Transnationalisms” was held on September 6-7, 2002, at the University of Sussex. Twenty-four participants, coming from a variety of social science disciplines, had the chance to discuss the outcomes of their ongoing research on different aspects of the multifaceted phenomenon that is the migration of Albanian people. The effects of rural-urban migration, emigration, remittances and return migration on the Albanian economy and society, Albanian politics and the destination states’ (Greece, Italy) were covered alongside issues relating to immigration policies, the formation of ethnic Albanian communities and the problems of incorporation of Albanian migrants in the host countries (USA, UK, Greece, Italy). Presentations on the operation of migration networks and some questions of identity were the principal issues discussed in the papers delivered. The cross-disciplinary focus of the presentations covered a rich amount of topics, from macro-studies of statistical trends and micro-approaches on place-specific cases (villages of origin and cities of destination) or ethnic groups’ experiences (Vlachs, Roma, Aberesh, Kosovars).

#### **First sessions first**

More precisely, on Friday 6<sup>th</sup> September, the conference started with a first session focusing on migration policy, labour markets and the brain drain, with presentations by Kosta Barjaba (University of Shkodra and Department of Emigration, Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, Tirana), Ilir Gedeshi (Centre for Economic and Social Studies, Tirana), Gerasimos Konidaris (University of Sheffield, UK) and Bernd Fischer (University of Indiana, USA). The second panel hosted papers by Etleva Germezi (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium), Christin Cogley (CESS) and Flavia Piperno (Centro Studi Politica Internazionale, Rome), covering aspects of the issue of remittances as a homebound subsistence strategy. Finally, Harry Papapanagos (University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki), Mirela Dalipaj (SSEES/UCL, London), Emila Markjonaj (IOM, Italy) participated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> panel with presentations on migration, trans-border dynamics and socio-cultural change in Albania.

On Saturday, the 4<sup>th</sup> panel on media representation and identity and social antagonism hosted the works of Gazmend Kapllani (University of Panteion, Greece), Maura Misiti (IPSPR, Italy), Penelope Papailias (University of Thessaly, Greece) and Gilles de Rapper (CNRS-IDEMEC, France). Later on, Ankica Kosic (EUI, Italy) and Iordanis Psimmenos (University of Panteion, Greece) presented a joint paper on the negotiation of identity in the host countries of Italy and Greece.

The 6<sup>th</sup> panel uncovered the dynamics of the newly-formed and old Albanian “Diasporas”, with the articles of Isa Blomi (New York University, USA), Denisa Kostovicova (SSEES/UCL, UK), Eda Derhemi (University of Illinois, USA), Nadege Ragaru (IRIS, France).

Finally, after an exploration of the relationship between migrant networks and identity by

Pierre Sintès (Ecole Française d'Athènes, Athens), two papers on the processes of social integration of Albanian immigrants in Greece and Italy were presented, by yours truly, Panos Hatziprokiou (University of Sussex, UK) and Corrado Bonifazi (IPSPR, Italy) respectively.

All the papers presented in the conference are expected to be published: some in an edited volume with the conference proceedings and some in a special issue of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies focusing on Albanian Migration. In conclusion, the conference succeeded in bringing together scholars, researchers and DPhil candidates from different countries and different fields and giving them the opportunity to meet and discuss all things Albanian. The overall result is that this conference provided a basis for the potential establishment of a vast network of social researchers, for the exchange of knowledge and research experience on the variety of topics related to the Albanian migrations. Such a success would have been impossible without the patience, insistence, and the intellectual and material contribution of the persons involved in the organisation of the conference: Russell King, Nicola Mai and Jenny Money from the University of Sussex, and Stephanie



## **Annual World Trade Forum of the World Trade Institute**

**Berne, Switzerland**

**16-17 August, 2002**

**Report by Peter Holmes**

On August 16th and 17th the World Trade Institute in Berne held its annual World Trade Forum, this year focussing on the WTO dispute settlement mechanism. The conference participants were mostly academic and practising trade lawyers, including Klaus Ehlerman and Juan Lacarte- Muro of the WTO Appellate Body, the latter being the Uruguayan chief negotiator for the Uruguay Round as well as a negotiator of the original GATT 1947. In addition to papers on economic issues by Simon Evenett of the WTI, and Robert Rogowsky of the US ITC, Peter Holmes, Jim Rollo and Alasdair Young presented a joint paper looking at some quantitative aspects of the DSM. Our paper found that some of the earlier findings of researchers about trends in the DSM may no longer be relevant. Despite the very high profile of big cases between the EU and the US (see Euroscope 23 on the steel case), the number of cases brought by these two parties is falling, whilst at the same time newly industrialised and developing countries (though

not the least developed) are bringing more cases. Interestingly for the "legitimacy" of the system it seems that most of these new cases, which account for a high proportion of the total are not the highly controversial type of case where one country challenges a health and safety measure in another as a trade barrier (as happened in the Canada EU-Asbestos case [add reference]). Rather we see developing countries attacking classic trade restrictions put on their exports by industrial countries, especially the US, very frequently with great success. Indeed participants at the conference were slightly concerned that the commendable zeal with which the WTO panels and Appellate Body are forcing the US to live up to its own free trade rhetoric may actually lead to a negative backlash in Congress. The Holmes, Rollo & Young paper is being developed further and will shortly be available as a discussion paper and comments will be very welcome.



## Research Thrills and Methods—one man's crusade

**Paul Taggart**

I *hated* taking Research Skills courses and that is why I am teaching the SEI course *Research Skills and Methods*. Does this sound like a contradiction? At first glance perhaps, but there is usually two sides to every story. I had plenty of opportunity to hate these classes. I managed to move far too often than is good for you as a graduate student and ended up with three degrees from three different institutions (note for students: don't buy a used car from someone with three degrees in said subject). They all had a research methods class and I hated each of them. By the final one I was beginning to nurture a strange regard for the tutor who was imposing this torture on me. I realised that, despite my difficulty in mastering multivariate regression, he was trying *so* hard to make this work. My strong suspicion was also that he had volunteered to teach this course. I did have flashes of comprehension but these were invariably in the class and never at the point that I was trying to complete the assignment. I hated the courses because I was not good at the methods they suggested but, in retrospect, I wish I had confused my inability with their uselessness.

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*'Just because we cannot measure it, doesn't mean it cannot be studied'*

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I realised that these classes were important but this came later – usually *after* constructing research and certainly after finishing my doctoral experience. When I read in the newspapers about how they are assessing the impact of the Euro on prices, I think about measurement. When I calculate the mark on students' assignments

and have to think about how to average a B and two Cs, I wonder about mode, median and mean. Sometimes when I can't fall asleep, I think about what the dependent variable is. Nine times out of ten, it helps.

The SEI experience is different from many other comparable courses. It is interdisciplinary and this means that a Research Methods course covers a much wider range. You will not be forced (as I was) to learn how to do multivariate regression. You will not be forced to learn participant observation. You will not be forced to undertake a mass survey, a discourse analysis, a content analysis or a battery of elite interviews. But you will be given the chance to learn them. And you will probably use at least one of these methods in your research. You will almost certainly also use other methods in your subsequent working lives as life tends to be multi-method rather than a single approach.

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*'Well, yes and no—it depends on how you look at it.'*

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When I started at SEI I made the offer to teach Research Skills. I think Helen Wallace, my then director, thought it was Christmas. She was limbering up to persuade and cajole me about how I should as (then) MA and DPhil convenor, see this as something to be borne with a sense of duty. I wanted to teach it. I could not think of anything more challenging than teaching a course that is invariably difficulty for both students and tutors.

My experience of teaching methods to SEI students has been, to many people's slack-jawed amazement, great

fun and very fulfilling. I have found the high quality of SEI students mean that they are prepared to consider and even learn wholly new approaches. I have found that the opportunity to try and make what is difficult and awkward, useful and (occasionally) fun is rewarding.

Understanding how research is conducted and should be conducted is simply something that we should spend time thinking about. We may come to very different conclusions about how we want to do things but too often research is conducted without thought about these things. Methods are usually chosen as a sort of statement of who you are rather than in terms of what is the best research you can do. I do not mind if you end up doing what you started off wanting to

do, but I do think you must explore the *possibility* of doing it differently or, even more radically, of doing it better.

It is one of the defining features of a graduate experience that you are shifting from being merely consumers of researchers to be producers, and that is why the Research Methods course in SEI is a core course for all MA and doctoral students. You need to think differently about what you read and what you write. You will probably not thank me for this course on Monday mornings but I promise it will make you better researchers. And, trust me, it is important. More important than I ever knew when I hated research methods.



## SEI Publications



### Aleks Szczerbiak:

(with Paul Taggart) "The Party Politics of Euroscepticism in EU Member and Candidate States", *SEI Working Paper No 51/Opposing Europe Research Network Working Paper No 5*, April 2002

"After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-debate in the run up to the 2003 EU Accession Referendum", *SEI Working Paper No 53/Opposing Europe Research Network Working Paper No 6*, June 2002

"Dealing with the communist past or politics of the present? Lustration in post-communist Poland", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 54 No. 4, July 2002.

Review of Paul G. Lewis, "Political Parties in Post-communist Eastern Europe", *Party Politics*, March 2002.

"Poland's Unexpected Political Earthquake: The September 2001 parliamentary election", *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, forthcoming, September 2002

Review of Mitchell Orenstein, "Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Post-communist Europe", *Perspectives on European Politics and Societies*, forthcoming, October 2001

"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, forthcoming, 2002



## 'In Brief'

In May, **Adrian Treacher** presented a paper called "Understanding the emergence of the EU as a military actor" at the Fifth Biennial Conference of the European Community Studies Association in Toronto, Canada. He also gave an interview to the Brighton Argus newspaper on the French Presidential election.

For the SEI Tenth Anniversary Research Student and Alumni conference in July – he organised, with the help of Nick Walmsley, the "Policy Challenges in a Changing Europe" workshop.

A bit later on, in September he presented a paper entitled "From civilian power to military actor: the EU's resistible transition" at the European Consortium of Political Research Standing Group on the EU's conference in Bordeaux, France.

He also reviewed an article for The British Journal of Politics and International Relations called "Franco-German Relations and European Integration: What's Under the Labels?" and managed to do some book reviews for the European Foreign Affairs Review, West European Politics.

In a similar vein, Adrian has also acted as a book referee for Taylor & Francis Ltd. and carried out book reviews for the University of Sussex's Global Site.

**Maryla Maliszewska**, SEI DPhil student presented a paper on 'Regional employment in Poland: the role of agglomeration externalities' at the Workshop on Agglomeration and Regional Labour Markets at the DIW in Berlin in April 2002. Another paper on "Eastern EU Expansion: Implications of the Enlarged Single Market for current and new member states" was presented at the Fifth Annual Conference on Global Economic Analysis organised by the GTAP Network in Taipei in June 2002. She would like to take this opportunity to express her gratitude to the SEI for its contribution towards the costs of her attendance at this conference.

**Anna Gwiazda** is a Marie Curie Fellow currently visiting the Sussex European Institute where she has been participating in the research project entitled 'Policy Challenges in a Changing Europe.'

Anna is a PhD candidate in Political Science at Trinity College, Dublin. Her research focuses on Europeanisation and Polish competition policy. She examines the external and internal pressures that pre-accession states face, and what determines their political ability to comply with EU regulations; in particular in the field of antitrust and state aid policies.

Over the past months she has taken the advantage of numerous opportunities SEI has offered. She participated in the conference "After Laeken: The debate on the Future of Europe" held at the Sussex European Institute in February and the SEI 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference in July as well as the "One Europe or several?"-conference which took place at the College of Europe, Natolin, Poland in September. Moreover, she participated in the SEI alumni meeting in Warsaw.

Furthermore, as a participant of the European Political Economy Consortium (EPEC) she presented her research at two advanced research workshops held at the European University Institute in Florence in May and September. In addition, she took part in the Oslo Summer School in Comparative Social Science Studies in August.

On May 24th-25<sup>th</sup>, **Aleks Szczerbiak** participated as an external specialist adviser in a seminar on 'Policy Transfer and Programmatic Change in the Communist Successor Parties of East Central Europe' at the Institute of German Studies, University of Birmingham.

On June 8<sup>th</sup>, two days after the Swedish national day celebrations, he organised and chaired the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association Specialist Group on Communist and Post-communist Politics, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London

On June 20<sup>th</sup>, Aleks participated in an East Midlands Eurocentre roundtable on 'Who's Afraid of Europe?', Leicester University.

The following day and a few departments away, he joined in and participated in the third of a series of five ESRC funded Opposing Europe Research Network seminars on 'The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism in Contemporary Europe', Leicester University. (**see report**)

A couple of days off and then on July 9<sup>th</sup>, Aleks presented a paper on 'The Post-Communist Right: Development, Nature, Trends, Strengths and Weaknesses,' at an Foreign and Commonwealth Office Research Analysts Conference on The Central European Right and EU Enlargement, FCO (**see report**)

Who can forget the SEI Tenth Anniversary events on July 11th-13<sup>th</sup>? Here, Aleks participated in and chaired sessions and the ESRC One Europe or Several? Programme Annual Conference, SEI

Later on in July, Dr. Szczerbiak was appointed as an Associate Fellow, Royal Institute of Institutional Affairs European Programme.

Even later, on July 31<sup>st</sup>, he presented a paper on 'Theorising Party-Based Euroscepticism: Causes and Definitions' at an ESRC funded Opposing Europe Research Network seminar, LSE. (**see report**)

The One Europe-people went to Poland on September 6th-7th but that didn't prevent Aleks from participating in the ESRC One Europe or Several? Programme conference on 'Policy Challenges in the New Europe', College of Europe, Natolin, Poland.

It ain't over 'til Aleks participates in the fourth in a series of five ESRC funded Opposing Europe Research Network seminars on 'The Comparative Party Politics of Euroscepticism in Contemporary Europe', University of Warwick, which happened on September 24<sup>th</sup>. (**see report**)

**Dr. Lucia Quaglia** not only attended the ECSA-Canada Bi-Annual Conference at the University of Toronto (31 May-2 June) but did also present a paper titled 'Italy's Policy Towards European Monetary Integration: Bringing Ideas Back In'. A revised version of this paper was also presented at the Research Students and Alumni Conference at the University of Sussex on 13 July. On 21 June she gave a seminar on 'Italian Euroscepticism amongst centre-right political parties 1994-2002' in a workshop organised by the OERN at the University of Leicester. She presented a paper co-authored with Ivo Maes (National Bank of Belgium) on 'The process of European monetary integration: a comparison of the Belgian and Italian approaches?' at the UACES Annual Conference at the University of Belfast (2-4 September) and a paper titled 'The Two-Level Game And Italy's Policy Towards European Monetary Integration' at the Annual Conference of the Italian Political Studies Association, University of Genoa, 19-21 September. Lucia has now moved to the RSCAS at the EUI undertaking a new thrilling research project on 'The Bank of Italy: Authority, Competence and Autonomy'.

## 'In Brief' continued

Nicolò Conti, is a PHD candidate in Comparative and European Politics at the University of Siena, Italy, and this year he will be a Marie Curie fellow at the Sussex European Institute from October to the end of March.

Previously, he has been working extensively on the topic of Europeanisation of the Italian political system. The focus of his dissertation is on the attitudes of Italian parties to European integration, in particular he is exploring attitudes throughout the last decade. The Italian case is an interesting one since it has remained under-explored from this point of view and is usually associated to an image of long-established party support to European integration. Nevertheless, with the political turmoil starting in 1992, the fall of the old party system and the birth of new parties, European integration has become a more problematic issue for Italian parties.

His analysis is two-fold: on the one hand his aim is to define attitudes to European integration at the individual party level, while on the other hand patterns of party positioning on EU will be explored with reference to the Italian party system and compared with cross-national patterns.

### OFFER OF THE ISSUE

The slick and stylish SEI T-shirts are available from Viga or Fiona priced £5 (+£1 p&p if required)

Design as shown—blue shirt/yellow print



## SEI Research in Progress Seminars

### RIP Seminars

Autumn Term 2002

### Timetable

Tuesdays 14:15-15:50

Room A71, SEI



15th October	<b>Jörg Monar, Jim Rollo, Aleks Szczerbiak</b> , SEI <i>The Convention on the Future of Europe: The Story So Far</i>
22nd October	<b>Jim Mathis</b> , University of Amsterdam <i>The European Union's External Regional Policy</i>
29th October	<b>Richard Whitman</b> , University of Westminster <i>The Europeanisation of EU Member States' Foreign Policies</i>
5th November	<b>Gisela Stuart MP</b> , Member of the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee & House of Commons Representative to the European Union Convention on the Future of Europe <i>The EU's Convention: A View from the Presidium</i>
12th November	<b>Mark Weber</b> , University of Loughborough <i>Russia and European Security: The Inclusion/Exclusion Dynamic</i>
19th November	<b>Gabrielle Marceau</b> , Legal Affairs Division, WTO <i>The WTO and the Ongoing Doha Development Agenda</i>
26th November	<b>Stuart Croft</b> , University of Birmingham <i>NATO Enlargement after Prague</i>
3rd December	<b>Adrian Treacher</b> , SEI <i>Accounting for the EU's Emergence as a Military Actor</i>



## Brussels trip coverage

### Episode I...

#### Ourania Erimaki, MOAFE

I met Viga a couple of times prior to the trip. Her excitement and the extent of her engagement made me think: What's going on here? I was thinking that maybe she cares a bit too much about a shorter trip to Brussels. Being on the trip, I soon changed my mind. I realised the degree of organisation it requires and I was amazed by the wide range of speakers we had. Men and women, old and young, from various countries working for a wide range of EU and non-EU organisations. The meeting with the alumni was also much more interesting and useful than I had anticipated. They were all very enthusiastic, intriguing and extremely helpful. If you put all these pieces of evidence together, you a fairly complete picture of what is going on in Brussels other than what makes the headlines. Well done and thank you Viga!

#### Brussels – so much to answer for

Although most of my 'travelmates' did not like Brussels (at least aesthetically) that much, I absolutely loved it. I found it has the most genius combination of old and new that I have ever seen (possibly with the exemption of Thessaloniki). I mostly enjoyed getting lost with Anne-So in the residential areas in the outskirts of the city. The most amazing thing about it is that in the most unlikely corner of the seemingly most boring neighbourhood you can be surprised by the unprecedented statue, by the little green areas and flowers, by the mosaic wall, by the sophisticated Japanese furniture shop. I also found dislikes that seemed to bother no one else. In many place you have to pay to go to the toilet and for a glass of water! No wonder people are Eurosceptic.

Finally, the trip to Brussels is a unique opportunity to see the rest of the wardrobe of the MACES and other SEI students. Adrian didn't seem to bother with that though! Speaking of

said course convenor, it was very enjoyable to see him missing Jim and Jorg at speech times. Adrian was also indispensable when we ran around Brussels like a bunch of headless chickens – a father figure and a friend. Javier, the token Chilean-Swedish guy on the course, was an absolute sweetheart to make the speech he did. It seemed that being together in another place brings out hidden sides to people you thought you knew well.

#### An Anthropologist on the trip?

Not really, there were just two of us. Jurai had the trip paid for by his scholarship and, of course, he did not regret it - whereas I, without a silver spoon in my back pocket, had to do manual work in the service sector to raise the fee. Although I had other things to do instead and did not think it would be worthwhile for my studies, it was actually very useful. It became food for thought for my dissertation and it had me thinking all the way through. I did not meet any anthropologists, but anthropological questions are easily formed in environments where anthropologists are absent. And these were the overarching questions in the end: Why is anthropology so marginalized, what can anthropologists do in the EU, and how can that change emerge?

#### Tips for those going this year.

Bring a towel or two, as there are some sold in the hostel, but they are expensive, tiny, and not very useful for drying! Above all, always carry some mints, chewing-gum, or any other sweet – preferably chewy. It is immensely difficult to keep your eyes open in the first morning lecture and the first after lunch. The others are very tiring too, but not as dangerous. This is not by personal experience alone. *Everyone* had trouble more or less often. Maybe you should consider vitamins.

## Episode II...

### Sonila Danaj

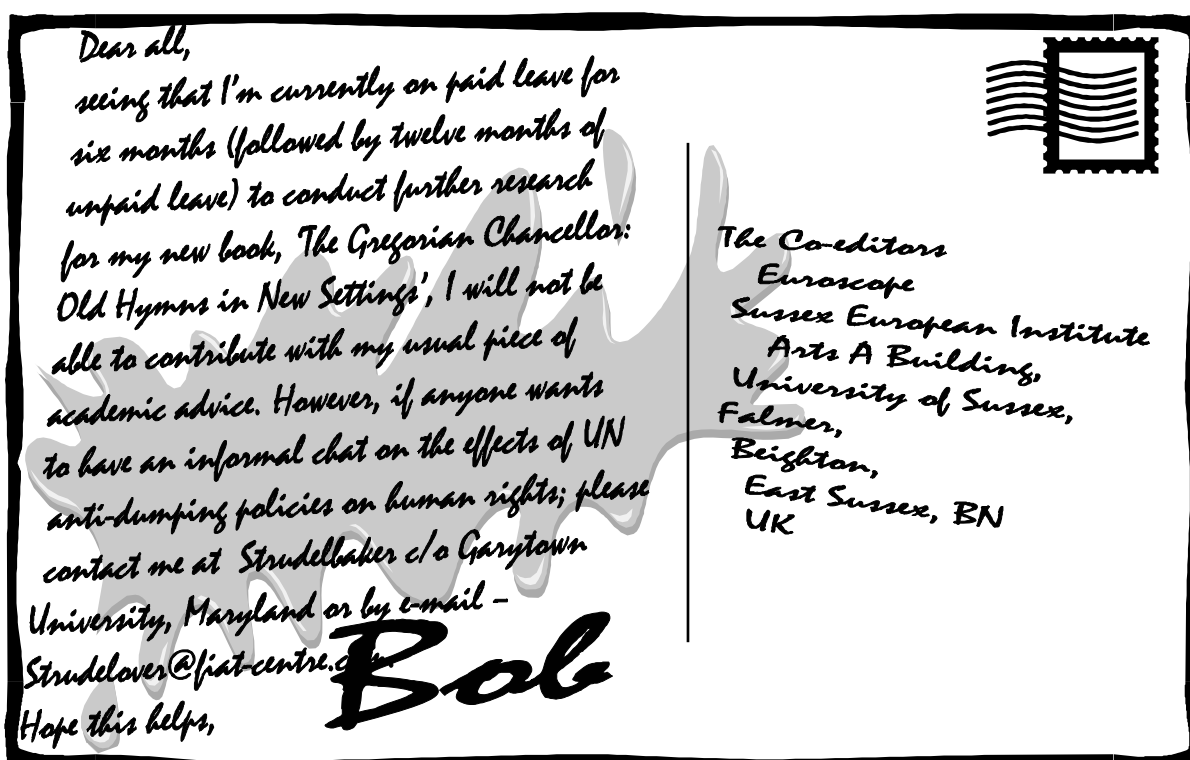
Everything started on a rainy Sunday morning, when the MACES got on a bus to embark on the eagerly awaited trip to Brussels. This one-week trip to the headquarters of the European Union's institutions and representatives is part of the MACES programme and which this year took place on 16-22 June 2000. It also happened to coincide with the Football World Cup semi-finals. This trip is an annual activity organized by SEI to give students the opportunity to get hands on experience of the working procedures of the institutions we have been studying throughout the year.

The European Studies programme covers a wide range of fields, which meant that the schedule included a variety of meetings, which would be of some relevance to our individual fields of research and academic orientation. I can mention the visits to the different DGs such as the one on Agriculture and the Regional Development as well as other international organizations such as ECHO and NATO headquarters. Not only did we get the opportunity to listen to the speakers, but also to ask them questions and have an open discussion. I would like to highlight Nigel Nagarajan's - the Administrator's in DG ECFIN - talk on Economic and Monetary Union. Graham Meadows, Director of the Regional DG gave an interesting speech on policy delivery for the 21 century. Michael Shackleton and the MEP Cecilia Malmstrom described the European Parliament along with her actual

work as a MEP. Susan Hays, Deputy Head of Unit Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), gave a presentation on the EU as a humanitarian actor and James Appathurai - from the policy planning and speech writing section in the NATO headquarters - gave a briefing on European Security and Defence Identity, which I particularly enjoyed.

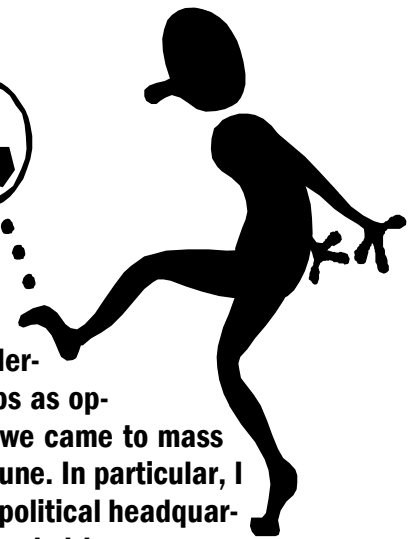
However, the official meetings were not the only activities we engaged ourselves in. The trip wouldn't have been the same without the tension of waiting for the results of the football matches and our concern is understandable considering that Blair himself postponed the meeting in Seville just to watch England play against Brazil. There was also a regular meeting at the Gran Place every evening where we enjoyed the good Belgian food, as well as the chilled Belgian beer such as Kwak, which we all tried, particularly for the unusual shape of the glass. We also had a friendly meeting with a couple of Sussex alumni, who gave us tips about Brussels job opportunities. On Friday night, we had joint dinner at Leon's, kindly suggested by Nicolas. On Saturday, we had the chance to visit Brugge, which I would define as the paradise of all chocoholics like me.

All in all, I would define the trip as a very interesting and enjoyable experience from which I learnt considerably. And I believe other students felt the same.



## Dr. Treacher's Sports Feature

For those of you new to SEI, this particular item has now become a standing EurosCOPE feature. SEI regulars will know that this feature only occasionally deals with real-life observations of the sporting life in this illustrious Institute. More commonly, it is a speculative column on what we could achieve if we got ourselves together.



This issue's piece will cover both of these scenarios. SEI students undertook sport a plenty over the summer but it tended to be in small groups as opposed to the great 15-a-side football epics of yesteryear. The closest we came to mass participation was during the annual MA study trip to Brussels back in June. In particular, I refer to some 25 of us reclining in comfy chairs in the centre of NATO's political headquarters watching England against Brazil in the football World Cup surrounded by some no-doubt very senior officials. A most surreal moment I can tell you. Incidentally, the majority of the students, with complete disregard for the consequences of displeasing the MACES Convener (i.e. me) as well as risking to fail their MA, chose – a bit too loud – to cheer for Brazil.

But wait! How could I have forgotten? There's more! Another collective SEI sporting moment that took place since the last issue was the annual SEI ten-pin bowling event held in Brighton Marina. I ensured an impressive turnout from the students, in part at least, by promising to be a flamboyant bowler. I duly delivered by proceeding to fall over in an undignified heap during my first throw - fortunately all too quick for any lurking cameras - and then following that with a strike. My form throughout the evening then mirrored this eccentric opening. I stumbled through to the final but that was my peak. Congratulations to Ilias representing Greece – the cradle of democracy - for his fine victory!

So here we are at the dawn of a new academic year and you can just feel the sense of anticipation. To all you newcomers, I exhort you to attain new sporting heights. Last year students did volleyball, basketball, squash, badminton and mixed but indoor football. The latter was particularly hysterical I can tell you. Our ultimate goal must be to put the non-event of 2001-2 behind us and once more attain footballing glory by beating our deadly rivals over in IDS (not the bar staff but the institute) at 11-a-side outside on the grass next summer. In order to do this, we need to start training - now! So, if any of you wish to organise SEI football (preferably once a week, indoors is fine but so is outdoors) - please feel free to do so. Your reward will be to see me humiliate myself on a regular basis as I pretend to show that I can play the game. Ilias, who is not only from Greece but also a second-year research student, will be happy to help you with the organisation. Won't you, Ilias?! And I should stress that this is open to boys and girls alike – it's a great laugh, I promise you.





## Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies

1. Vesna Bojicic and David Dyker June 1993  
*Sanctions on Serbia: Sledgehammer or Scalpel*
2. Gunther Burghardt August 1993  
*The Future for a European Foreign and Security Policy*
3. Xiudian Dai, Alan Cawson, Peter Holmes February 1994  
*Competition, Collaboration & Public Policy: A Case Study of the European HDTV Strategy*
4. Colin Crouch February 1994  
*The Future of Unemployment in Western Europe? Reconciling Demands for Flexibility, Quality and Security*
5. John Edmonds February 1994  
*Industrial Relations - Will the European Community Change Everything?*
6. Olli Rehn July 1994  
*The European Community and the Challenge of a Wider Europe*
7. Ulrich Sedelmeier October 1994  
*The EU's Association Policy towards Central Eastern Europe: Political and Economic Rationales in Conflict*
8. Mary Kaldor February 1995  
*Rethinking British Defence Policy and Its Economic Implications*
9. Alasdair Young December 1994  
*Ideas, Interests and Institutions: The Politics of Liberalisation in the EC's Road Haulage Industry*
10. Keith Richardson December 1994  
*Competitiveness in Europe: Cooperation or Conflict?*
11. Mike Hobday June 1995  
*The Technological Competence of European Semiconductor Producers*
12. Graham Avery July 1995  
*The Commission's Perspective on the Enlargement Negotiations*
13. Gerda Falkner September 1995  
*The Maastricht Protocol on Social Policy: Theory and Practice*

14. Vesna Bojicic, Mary Kaldor, Ivan Vejvoda  
*Post-War Reconstruction in the Balkans* November 1995
15. Alasdair Smith, Peter Holmes, Ulrich Sedelmeier,  
Edward Smith, Helen Wallace, Alasdair Young March 1996  
*The European Union and Central and Eastern Europe: Pre-Accession Strategies*
16. Helen Wallace March 1996  
*From an Island off the North-West Coast of Europe*
17. Indira Konjhodzic June 1996  
*Democratic Consolidation of the Political System in Finland, 1945-1970:  
Potential Model for the New States of Central and Eastern Europe?*
18. Antje Wiener and Vince Della Sala December 1996  
*Constitution Making and Citizenship Practice - Bridging the Democracy Gap in  
the EU?*
19. Helen Wallace and Alasdair Young December 1996  
*Balancing Public and Private Interests Under Duress*
20. S. Ran Kim April 1997  
*Evolution of Governance & the Growth Dynamics of the Korean Semiconductor  
Industry*
21. Tibor Navracsis June 1997  
*A Missing Debate?: Hungary and the European Union*
22. Peter Holmes with Jeremy Kempton September 1997  
*Study on the Economic and Industrial Aspects of Anti-Dumping Policy*
23. Helen Wallace January 1998  
*Coming to Terms with a Larger Europe: Options for Economic Integration*
24. Mike Hobday, Alan Cawson and S Ran Kim January 1998  
*The Pacific Asian Electronics Industries: Technology Governance and  
Implications for Europe*
25. Iain Begg August 1998  
*Structural Fund Reform in the Light of Enlargement*  
Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 1
26. Mick Dunford and Adrian Smith August 1998  
*Trajectories of Change in Europe's Regions: Cohesion, Divergence and Regional  
Performance*  
Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 2

27. Ray Hudson August 1998  
*What Makes Economically Successful Regions in Europe Successful? Implications for Transferring Success from West to East*  
 Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 3
28. Adam Swain August 1998  
*Institutions and Regional Development: Evidence from Hungary and Ukraine*  
 Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 4
29. Alasdair Young October 1998  
*Interpretation and 'Soft Integration' in the Adaptation of the European Community's Foreign Economic Policy*  
 Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 5
30. Rilka Dragneva March 1999  
*Corporate Governance Through Privatisation: Does Design Matter?*
31. Christopher Preston and Arkadiusz Michonski March 1999  
*Negotiating Regulatory Alignment in Central Europe: The Case of the Poland EU European Conformity Assessment Agreement*
32. Jeremy Kempton, Peter Holmes, Cliff Stevenson September 1999  
*Globalisation of Anti-Dumping and the EU*  
 Centre on European Political Economy Working Paper No. 6
33. Alan Mayhew March 2000  
*Financial and Budgetary Implications of the Accession of Central and East European Countries to the European Union.*
34. Aleks Szczerbiak May 2000  
*Public Opinion and Eastward Enlargement - Explaining Declining Support for EU Membership in Poland*
35. Keith Richardson September 2000  
*Big Business and the European Agenda*
36. Aleks Szczerbiak and Paul Taggart October 2000  
*Opposing Europe: Party Systems and Opposition to the Union, the Euro and Europeanisation*
37. Alasdair Young, Peter Holmes and Jim Rollo November 2000  
*The European Trade Agenda After Seattle*
38. Slawomir Tokarski and Alan Mayhew December 2000  
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