SUSSEX EUROPEAN INSTITUTE

euroscope

Summer 2007
The Newsletter of the Sussex European Institute

Issue Number 34

Message from the Co-Director

The first few months of 2007 have been a busy time for the European Union. The most high profile event was the signing of the 'Berlin Declaration' at a March summit of heads of state marking the EU's fiftieth birthday. The German government, which currently holds the rotating Presidency is clearly hoping that this will kick-start debate over the EU constitutional treaty, which stalled when French and Dutch voters rejected it in ratification referendums in 2005. SEI is holding a round table on June 12 in which our faculty Dan Hough, Lucia Quaglia, Alan Mayhew and Jim Rollo will evaluate how successful the German government has been in pushing forward with the ambitious programme that it set itself for its Presidency, including its attempts to break the current deadlock over the constitutional treaty. I have no doubt that this will be one of the highlights of the SEI's summer term research seminar series.

Another important aspect of the German Presidency's six-month agenda has been the attempt to develop a common EU energy policy, apparently endorsed by another March summit. In this issue of 'Euroscope' SEI faculty member Francis McGowan places this latest attempt to develop an EU-wide approach to energy within its historical context and discusses the prospects for success this time around. As Francis shows, although the package of measures agreed at the March summit may herald a more co-ordinated approach than has previously been achieved, there are still major differences between the EU member states on this issue. Past experience suggests that overcoming these, and then getting countries to stick to agreed objectives, will be a formidable task.

Inside **page**

The 2006-07 Chevening Fellows

French elections

However, the event that may end up having the most significant impact on European developments this year could well be the outcome of the French presidential election. The first round is scheduled for April 22 with a second round run off on May 6 between the two leading contenders if no candidate secures more than 50% of the votes. Our main feature article in this issue of 'Euroscope', by Sally Marthaler, is devoted to an analysis of this critical election. Together with other SEI faculty members Sue Collard, currently working in Paris on research leave, and Adrian Treacher, a specialist in French foreign and security policy, Sally will take part in an SEI round table on May 8 analysing the election results and their impact on European integra-

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Co-directors Professor Jim Rollo & Professor Aleks Szczerbiak

tion.

Although Europe is not a priority issue for voters in the elections, the outcome is likely to play a significant role in determining future progress on the EU constitutional treaty. It is certainly difficult to see much progress being made on reviving the treaty until the election is over. The presidential election, together with the 'No' votes in the 2005 referendums, highlight how developments within domestic politics can have major implications for the progress, or lack of it, of European integration. This is why one of the SEI's most important current research agendas is exploring the inter-face between European integration processes and national politics. The focal point for our activities on this issue is the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN), a 70-strong international network of scholars working on various aspects of the domestic politics of European integration which I co-convene with my colleague Paul Taggart. EPERN's activities include producing authoritative analyses of the impact of European issues (or lack of it) on European elections. As you can see in this issue, the network published a briefing on the 2006 Austrian election recently and will certainly be publishing one on the French election. Check the EPERN website (http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-2.html) for the latest news and developments.

The future of EU enlargement

Another highlight for the SEI in the spring term was the 2007 Sussex University Lecture in London given by one our most distinguished Practitioner Fellows, Alan Mayhew, on the topic 'Can European integration survive eastern enlargement?'. In his talk, which was also his professorial lecture, Alan contrasted the overwhelmingly positive impact of EU eastward enlargement on both old and new member states with the current lack of popular and elite support for further expansion of the Union. You can read a report of Alan's lecture in the 'Conferences and Seminars' section. The full version has also been published as an SEI working paper downloadable at http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-10-1.html.

Alan Mayhew's seminal work on economic transition and integration in central and eastern Europe, reflects the SEI's broader commitment to breadth and inclusivity in contemporary European studies and particularly engagement with the former communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. Building upon this well established area of SEI expertise, there will be an SEI conference on May 11 on the opportunities and challenges arising from Bulgaria's accession to the EU, organised by SEI doctoral student Lyubka Savkova.

Chevening fellows programme

Another highlight of the spring term was the second, extremely successful run of the SEI-run Chevening Fellowship programme on political economy run by my Co-Director Jim Rollo. This 12-week programme funded by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office is aimed at mid-career professionals from the post-2004 members of the EU, EU candidate states and some of the EU neighbourhood countries. Of this year's cohort of 13 fellows, three came from Hungary, two from Bulgaria, and one each from Armenia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Slovenia and Turkey; you can find a reports on their experiences elsewhere in this issue of 'Euroscope'. One of the most important events of their packed programme of activities was the annual SEI international seminar on political review held in mid-March. The subject of this year's seminar was the EU budget and policy review, which is being prepared for 2008-9, with the keynote address given by EU budget commissioner Daila Grybauskiaite. You can read a report of the seminar in the 'Conferences and Seminars' section.

Lord Cockfield

Finally, on behalf of everyone at SEI, I would like to pay my respects to Lord Cockfield who died in January 2007. Lord Cockfield is best remembered as the architect of the European single market, one of the EU's greatest achievements, but he was also a great benefactor to SEI post-graduate students. There is a warm tribute to Lord Cockfield from my Co-Director Jim Rollo on the back page of this issue.

Professor Aleks Szczerbiak

Prof Aleks Szczerbiak

SEI Diary

During spring 2007 members of SEI have been involved in many memorable activities connected to teaching and research on contemporary Europe.

January: SEI Welcomes the Chevening Fellows

In January the second year began of the Chevening fellowship programme on European Political Economy (ran for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office). Under the programme SEI welcomed thirteen new fellows who attended courses within SEI and events organised by SEI. These included visits to Chatham House, 10 Downing Street and the Scottish Parliament.

The Chevening Fellowship programme aims to develop opportunities for mid career professionals from the post-2004 members of the EU, the Candidates for EU Membership and some of the EU neighbourhood countries in Eastern Europe with the aim of promoting an effective EU. Reviews of the Chevening programme can be found on page 8.

Prof. Helen Wallace, the founding Director of SEI returned to Sussex on 23 January to hold a SEI Research in Progress Seminar. Prof. Wallace, currently at the European University Institute in Florence spoke on 'Consensus and contestation in EU decision-making'.

SEI Co-Director Jim Rollo and the Chevening fellows attended the Fabian Society policy conference on 'Making EU Enlargement Work: the Accession of Romania and Bulgaria' on 24 January in Westminster. The event – held in association with Policy Network addressed whether the 2007 EU enlargement can benefit new and existing member states and analysed how this will affect future enlargement of the EU.

The keynote speech at the conference was given by Geoff Hoon MP, Minister for Europe on the strategic importance of EU enlargement and the political challenges of keeping and rebuilding political and public support for EU enlargement.

During January SEI Research students held a new series of 'SEI DPhil student Seminars'. The seminars provided further opportunities for SEI Doctoral students to present and discuss their research to one another. A review of the seminars by Dan Keith and Ed Phelps can be found on page 35.

This term SEI Staff and students met up on Fridays to participate in a new five a side football fixture. (Please contact Adrian Treacher if you are interested in playing in the summer term: a.h.treacher@sussex.ac.uk)

In late January SEI students and teaching staff alike were able to celebrate as post-graduate students from 2005-2006 graduated from SEI. This January, thirty-three students from the M.A. in Contemporary European Studies (MACES) and six students from the M.A. in European Studies graduated.

This years MACES prize winner for best overall mark was Aleksandra Parteka who won a £100 worth of book tokens. In addition, two SEI DPhil students: Sally Mar-

SEI post-graduate students at graduation

Sally Marthaler receiving her doctorate from the Chancellor Lord Attenborough

thaler and Laura Halpin completed their doctorates in January.

Paul Webb was invited to speak at the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Conference on 'Political Parties in Young Democracies', Petersberg, Bonn, 29-30 January 2007. Paul is writing a short article based on this talk for a published collection of the conference proceedings.

In January SEI's *Wider Europe Programme* published a *SEI Seminar Series* paper titled *European Neighbourhood Policy: the Case of Ukraine* edited by Nathaniel Copsey and Alan Mayhew. This presents a collection of papers given to the annual conference of the *Wider Europe Network* in Kyiv in October 2006.

In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of the Wider Europe programme, the *Seminar Series Paper* includes six papers on Ukraine: focusing on law, political science and economics. An abstract of the paper can be found on page 12.

February: 'The Sussex Framework'

On 15 February members of SEI participated in a team of scholars from the University of Sussex to present 'The Sussex Framework for Assessing Preferential Trading Agreements' at the Department for International Development. The framework, developed with DFID support was presented by David Evans, Michael Gasiorek, Peter Holmes, Sherman Robinson and Jim Rollo. David Evans outlines the Sussex Framework on page 22.

In February Paul Webb authored a pamphlet entitled 'Political Parties and Democratic Disconnect' for the Hansard Society's 'Democracy Series'. Paul was the main speaker at the launch event for this, held at the House of Commons on 22 February.

A a new paperback edition of Paul's co-edited book with Thomas Poguntke 'The Presidentialization of Politics: A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies' (first published in hardback by Oxford University Press in 2005) was also published this spring.

In February Lucia Quaglia and Kenneth Dyson (University of Cardiff) began a series of interviews with members of the Economic Policy Committee and the Economic and Financial Committee, as part of the activities of the FP6 project INTUNE: Integrated and United: A quest for European citizenship (co-funded by the European Commission). A new research assistant, Katja Seidel (University of Portsmouth), who will be based at the University of Cardiff, has also joined the team working on Economic and Monetary Union.

On 20 February Tim Bale presented his co-authored paper with Richard Dunphy 'In from the cold: left parties, policy, office and votes in advanced liberal democracies since 1989' at a research seminar at l'Université Libre de Bruxelles.

SEI-based scholars, Dan Hough and Lucia Quaglia, have contributed an essay to a special issue of *Foreign Policy in Dialogue* on the German Presidency of the European Union in 2007, which was published in mid-February. The volume edited by Marco Overhaus, Hanns Maull and Sebastian Harnisch discusses the priorities of the German presidency, as well as the challenges facing it and then

examines the German presidency from the perspective of other member states.

Dan and Lucia consider the perspective of Italian policy makers, arguing that on several issues, first and foremost the Constitutional treaty, the German and Italian authorities share similar objectives. However, such objectives are likely to prove over ambitious, given the structural constraints that limit the room for manoeuvre of the Presidency in office.

For a copy of this publication follow the following link:

http://www.deutsche-aussenpolitik.de/newsletter/issue21.pdf

Jim Rollo attended a workshop held at Chatham house for the National Association of Gifted and Talented Youth on 20 February. The workshop was held for around eighty 14-18 year old students on the topic of 'Europe at 50'. Jim Rollo addressed the students on the economic side of European integration.

At the workshop Lord Wallace held both a lecture and a question and answer session for the students; and Chevening Fellow and journalist for *Magyar Hirlap* (Hungarian daily newspaper) Nora Rockenbauer spoke on Hungarian politics. Sussex alumni Mina Tokshowen now working for the Standard Bank also spoke on the enlargement issues surrounding Turkish membership of the EU.

In Late February Paul Webb presented a paper on 'Europe and the attitudinal cohesion of British political parties' to the International Studies Association 48th Annual Convention, Chicago, 28 February — 3 March, 2007.

Congratulations from everyone at SEI go to Nat Copsey on his appointment as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Polish Foreign Policy at the University of Birmingham.

March: EU Budget Review

On 14 March Professor Alan Mayhew from the Sussex European Institute gave the 2007 University of Sussex Lecture, on the subject of 'The future of European enlargement'. The lecture was held in Westminster and was attended by more than 150 guests, including VIPs, members of Council and Court, alumni, members of SEI, the Chevening Fellows and friends of the University. Further details about the lecture can be found on page 21.

SEI held a conference on 'Reforming EU policies: Looking Forward to the EU Budget Review' on 15 March. Papers were presented by Jim Rollo, Alan Mayhew, Mick Dunford, David Dyker as well as the Chevening Fellows. Other speakers included the EU Commissioner for the Budget, Dalia Grybauskaité who gave a key note address on 'The Future of the EU Budget', Jean-Christophe Gray HM Treasury, SEI founding director Prof. Hellen Wallace (EUI) and Prof. Iain Begg (LSE).

A review of the conference is provided by Alan Mayhew on page 20.

In March the European Parties Elections and Referendums Network (EPERN) published a new addition to its Elections Briefing Paper series written by Franz Fallend, University of Salzberg titled 'Europe and the National Parliament Election

New SEI Working papers

During the spring term there have been three new additions to the SEI Working Papers series. These are

- Tim Bale and Aleks Szczerbiak's paper *Why is there no Christian Democracy in Poland (and why does this matter?)*
- Edward Phelps' paper *Young Adults and Electoral Turnout in Britain: Towards a Generational Model of Political Participation*
- Alan Mayhew's paper *Can European Integration Survive Eastern Enlargement?*

Abstracts for all three new SEI Working Papers are included in this issue of *Euroscope* on page 10.

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in Austria, October 1 2006'. An abstract of the paper and further details about the series is on page 12.

During the last week of March Lucia Quaglia conducted fieldwork in Brussels, interviewing senior officials at the European Commission, EU level business associations, and Members of the European Parliament. The following week she conducted interviews in London with current and former officials from HM Treasury, Financial Services Authority and business associations.

These interviews are part of a joint project with Dimitris Christopoulos (University of the West of England) applying formal social network analysis to the study of policy making in the financial sector. Some of these interviews were also used to gather a better understanding of the so called Lamfalussy architecture and the functioning of the Lamfalussy committees.

Francis McGowan has obtained a British Academy Small Grant Award to fund his research into earlier attempts to formulate a Common European Energy Policy. The grant will fund historical research into the response of the European Commission and Council of Ministers to the energy crisis of 1973/4. The aim of the project is to analyse why the 1970s debate on European energy policy produced such limited results and to consider what lessons can be learnt from that experience.

The third annual trip to Berlin for students of German politics took place in the March. 16 students and 2 members of staff (Dan Hough and Tania Verge) spent three days in the German capital, discussing various aspects of Germany's contemporary political scene with a number of well known German politicians as well as prominent academics.

All of the students had either taken the course entitled 'Political Change: Modern Germany', or they are currently taking 'Political Governance: Modern Germany' course.

Sussex students in Berlin's Bundestag

Forthcoming

April

The 3rd EU-CONSENT PhD School is between 23-26 April, and there is a conference on CFSP: Issues of Representation and Responsibility between 26-27 April 2007. SEI was a founding partner, in 2005, of the EU-funded EU-CONSENT network of excellence. This promotes joint research and education activities among participating partners.

The current focus of EU-CONSENT is 'Wider Europe, Deeper Integration?' and this is split into various

SEI at the PSA

SEI was strongly represented at the 57th Political Studies Association Annual Conference, 11 -13 April 2007 at the University of Bath. Papers that were presented included:

Tim Bale
In from the cold: left parties, policy, office and votes in advanced liberal democracies since 1989

Mark Bennister
Political Leaders Matter: Tony Blair and John Howard: Predominant Prime Ministers Compared

Maria Cheiladaki-Liarokapi
Re-Conceptualising Power in the EU Policy Process Through the Lens of Path Dependency: The Case of Student Mobility

Simona Guerra
Poland: Looking Eurosceptic, voting Eurosceptic, Being Euroenthusiast

Edward Phelps
Declining Youth Turnout in the UK: A social class, social capital and political knowledge explanation

Tania Verge
From outsider confrontation to partnership appeals: the case of the United Left and the end of the Spanish exception

Papers can be obtained from http://www.psa.ac.uk/2007/findname.asp

working groups. SEI is part of the External Relations working group (looking at the impact of the recent and future enlargements on EU external relations).

In addition to holding working group conferences, EU-CONSENT also emphasises the advancement of doctoral students from participating partners. To this end, it is running a series of PHD Schools. SEI's Katerina Tsoukala attended one in Lisbon, while Rose Azzopardi and Rasa Spokeviciute went to another in Dublin. Rose and Rasa's review of this can be found on page 18. You can find out more about EU-CONSENT at **www.eu-consent.net**. SEI's contact person is Adrian Treacher.

May

On 4 May students from the 'Transformation of Contemporary Europe' course are visiting the European Commission and European Parliament offices in London with Francis McGowan and Simona Guerra.

Conference on Bulgaria's Membership of the EU

On 11 May SEI is holding a one day conference on the Opportunities and Challenges from Bulgaria's Membership to the European Union. See page 19 for further details.

In May Mark Bennister will be attending the ECPR Joint Panel Workshops at Helsinki University. He will be presenting a paper entitled 'Ripping the lattice? How John Howard's dominance impacts on Australia's governance' to the Political Power in Parliamentary Executives Panel. This paper will be based on the interview data and research he conducted in Australia.

Jim Rollo is speak about the agenda for the EU budget at the Institute for World Economy on the 18-19 May.

Paul Webb and Tim Bale are attending the Connex Thematic Conference on Political Representation at the European University Institute in Florence, May 25-26.

July

Paul Webb's co-edited book with Stephen White titled 'Party Politics in New Democracies' is to be published by Oxford University Press. See page 25 for an outline of the research.

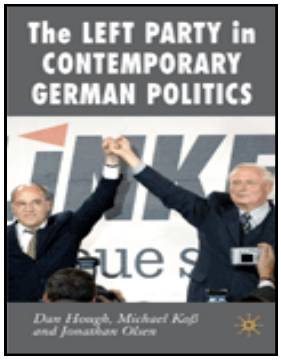
September

SEI DPhil students Zerrin Torun, Elias Antoniou, Dora Klountzou and Maria-Cheiladaki-Liarokapi are presenting papers at the UACES Annual Conference titled Exchanging Ideas on Europe: Common Values - External Policies at the University of Portsmouth (3-5 September). Zerrin, Elias and Dora are part of a panel chaired by Adrian Treacher on 'The EU As a Global Actor: Analysing Out-Of-Area Missions'. By taking three case-studies, two in Africa and one in former-Yugoslavia, this panel will provide an analysis of the dynamics behind recent out-of-area missions undertaken by the EU. Maria's paper is titled 'Comparing the Influence of Supranational Institutions in the Policy-Making Processes of Student and Patient Mobility'.

In September, Paul Webb is giving a paper on Two-Party Systems and Political Representation for a Symposium on Party Systems and Representation at the ECPR Conference in Pisa.

Mark Bennister has had an article accepted for publication in the British Journal of Politics and International Relations. The article entitled 'Tony Blair and John Howard: Comparative Predominance and Institutional Stretch in Britain and Australia', is due to be published later this year.

Dan Hough's co-authored book with Michael Koss and Jonathan Olsen titled 'The Left Party in Contemporary German Politics' is due to be published by Palgrave MacMillan in September. This is the first book in either English or German to analyse the development of Germany's newest political party, the Left Party.



Submissions to Euroscope

Euroscope welcomes submissions for its Autumn-term issue. Please send information for the SEI Diary, short articles on ongoing research projects or reviews of events by the deadline of 1 September. E-mail submissions to Euroscope:

euroscope@sussex.ac.uk

‘It is nice to be a Chevening Fellow’: My experiences of 3 months in the UK

Attila Póth, Budapest

3 months in the UK? What a great opportunity. Learning about the European Political Economy? Challenging, but even better- even if I don’t have a strong economics background. And finally: maybe I can taste the famous Yorkshire Pudding as well, that I read about in Agatha Christie novels many years ago. These were my first thoughts when I received a letter last September from the British Embassy in Budapest that informed me that I was chosen for the Chevening Fellowship. And the good news arrived just one day before my birthday!

Even though I had couple of months, I felt like there was not enough time to prepare for the great adventure I was going on. Till the departure. Thanks to the website chevening.com it was pretty easy to find out some information about the fellowship before departing. The reading list scared me at first, but I said: if it’s necessary, I can do it.

The departure was not without problems: our flight was delayed for almost two hours. They had some problems with a drunk passenger. And we were not informed about what is happening on the plane. I thought, it might be a bad sign! But it wasn’t. When we landed in the UK everything was fine, well organized, well prepared- thanks to the hard work of those organising the programme.

Attila Póth

The first week gave us a comprehensive introduction to the programme. Our time was spent finding our way around the university campus, familiarising with the facilities, picking up laptops, finding the textbooks, etc. It was a nice week, because we had time to acclimatize. And then… the courses started! To tell you frankly, as a journalist I had some doubts as to whether the lectures and seminars would be really interesting. I was prepared for ‘sit, listen and write styled lectures. But it wasn’t like that. The British system is totally different from ours in Hungary. Here I experienced a very good interactivity. We could really take part in the classes, there were real discussions, debates, and the atmosphere was very engaging. I can say it was really fraternal. I enjoyed discussions with Jim Rollo, Peter Holmes, David Dyker and Alan Mayhew, not to mention all of those speakers, academics and think tanks that we met in Sussex University or in London.

I also have to mention that all the visits to London were really exciting as they provided opportunities for a journalist like me to meet officials, high-level ministry experts and to acquire in-depth information about UK’s European Union policies and goals. It was a good experience to be on another side of the microphone, to see how things are actually working inside big ministry buildings, to be on the backstage of the policy making.

The Chevening Fellows visiting London

In Europe, or as you say here: overseas, most of the people think that UK is a eurosceptic, or a non pro-EU country. After 3 months I feel that it is only partly true. Of course there are many critics about the EU- but a range of opinions can be useful to make the Community more effective. On the other hand I think Brits do like the EU, and the membership- if nothing other than to blame problems on someone else…

We had a short trip to Scotland as well. Met Scottish executives, SMP’s, think thanks, as well as representatives from the European Parliament the Commission. And here I learnt that UK is very fractioned. From outside it seems like Great Britain is one country, but in Scotland we found that there are important divisions. We had heard people arguing in favour of Scottish independence

and those arguing against it. It left me wondering what Welsh people think about the UK!

In March we went to Brussels for one week. We had all heard about Eurocrats. But found people who are working hard to make the EU a better place. Here we've met lot of speakers: I even arranged a meeting with the Hungarian Commissioner, Mr. Kovács. The 3 months passed away very quickly. We enjoyed one another's company and participated on a very good course. Not to mention those discussions we had after the official meetings in some nice pubs, or at parties. Because of the informality that conversations were even more thrilling.

There is only one thing I still miss: I didn't try the Yorkshire Pudding… So, I think, I have to come back soon to taste it.

'The Chevening Experience'

Nora Rockenbauer, Budapest

As a journalist I have always been known to have a lot of questions and a critical mind. However, after participating in the European Political Economy program at the European Institute at Sussex University, I have a million more questions to ask and a lot more ideas to consider when I approach the topics I cover.

It was a refreshing experience to be treated on an equal footing by the professors and by most of the UK government officials – not like being a student: whose job is to read books, listen to the lecturers and learn the theories presented to them; or as hated journalists whose questions are only giving headaches to officials. We had been involved in exciting discussions; the professors were keen to listen to our views or experience from home.

Officials and politicians were open with us under the Chatham house rules, and often asked us about how things were in our countries. Despite of all the stories we have been reading in the papers about the cash-for-honour affairs, the scandal surrounding the BAE Saudi arms deal, or the problems of CAP-payments to UK farmers, this country's political system felt so much more transparent and a lot less corrupt then ours.

But the most interesting experience for me was when we looked at different European issues by analysing them through the lens of political and economic theory to see how controversial each of them could be. A good example of these was the case of the structural funds. We, from the new member states, tend to look at them only as something that the old member states are obliged to give us in the name of solidarity. As a journalist I had had to understand the different political motivations and the impossible situations that domestic politics puts politicians in, I had heard of the spill over effects and issue linkages. But in the program we also looked at economic theories like fiscal federalism that could justify either a bigger or a smaller budget for cohesion and theories of competitiveness that could even justify the complete abolition of the EU's cohesion policy.

Of course as a journalist I should never use any of the above mentioned taboo phrases such as 'fiscal federalism' in my articles. Yet, now I feel able to develop more balanced and better informed reports to my audience in Hungary.

Aside from the vocational side of the programme one of the most rewarding aspects of the Chevening fellowship was the time we spent together and with Jim (Rollo) and David (Dyker) in the IDS kitchen or in the pubs in Brighton and London. We could not stop talking about all the important issues affecting Europe: learning, for example, what a half and half pint in Scottish meant or how preoccupied the Slovenians were with the preparation for their first EU presidency.

Nora Rockenbauer

After spending all this time together, I believe we have all gone home feeling a lot more European. But keep this as a big secret from all those poor eurosceptics.

SEI Working Papers in Contemporary European Studies

SEI Working Papers present research results, accounts of work-in-progress and background information for those concerned with contemporary European issues. There are three new additions to the SEI Working Papers Series. The abstracts of the papers are presented below

- **SEI Working Paper No.91**

Why is there no Christian Democracy in Poland (and why does this matter)?

Tim Bale and Aleks Szczerbiak

Sussex European Institute

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Abstract

Despite the fact that almost all Poles are Roman Catholics and that religion has played an important part in post-communist Polish politics, no self-declared Christian Democratic party has been successful in post-1989 Poland. None of the currently successful Polish centre-right parties profile themselves as Christian Democratic, nor can they be labelled as such objectively. While superficially Poland looks like fertile ground for Christian Democracy, the factors that were crucial to the formation and success of Christian Democratic parties in post-war Western Europe were largely absent during the emergence of democratic, multi-party politics in post-communist Poland.

Indeed, it is unlikely that such a conjuncture will ever occur anywhere in Europe again, re-inforcing the need for the continent's existing Christian Democratic parties to modernise if they are to survive and prosper. Of course, parties are never simply produced and sustained by 'cleavages': they are more than institutional responses to some kind of social demand. The formation and success, or otherwise, of Christian Democratic parties owes much to the interplay between social realities and sponsors, on the one hand, and the institutional and ideological crafting of entrepreneurial politicians, on the other.

Dr Tim Bale

- **SEI Working Paper No.92**

Young Adults and Electoral Turnout in Britain: Towards a Generational Model of Political Participation

Edward Phelps

Sussex European Institute

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Abstract

Since 1992 the proportion of young citizens turning out to vote at British general elections has declined dramatically. This paper argues that there is a strong case to suspect that long-term factors are involved, not just those factors associated with life-cycle explanations of political participation.

What makes this issue important is that if the electoral characteristics of today's young people adhere to them as they age, then through cohort replacement their participatory characteristics are likely to become the norm rather than the exception. The second part of the paper tests civic voluntarism, equity fairness, social capital, cognitive mobilisation and general incentives models of electoral turnout revealing factors specific to *young* citizens decision to vote. The findings show that in 2001 and 2005 young citizens decision to vote was conditioned by their social class position, levels of political knowledge and social capital.

Edward Phelps

- **SEI Working Paper No.93**

Can European integration survive eastern enlargement?

Alan Mayhew
Sussex European Institute
a.mayhew@sussex.ac.uk

Abstract

This paper argues that extending the area of peace and stability in Europe is the great gain from enlargement. To stop enlargement now, as some are demanding, would be to deprive both the EU and the accession candidates of these benefits. Opposition to further enlargement both from the elites and from the voters must be taken seriously. The elites are concerned with the widening-deepening dilemma and with potential institutional gridlock. The citizens are more worried about immigration and above all competition for jobs in a situation where unemployment is already high.

There appears to be little real truth behind the widening-deepening dilemma, both having always gone on side-by-side. The institutional questions are more complicated. It is suggested that there are large efficiency reserves which can be mobilised in the Institutions to ensure that they continue to operate well with larger numbers of member states. More radical changes may however be necessary.

The economic problems perceived by the voters are frequently nothing to do with enlargement but rather with the lack of economic reform in the member states, which keeps unemployment high. Implementing the Lisbon Reform Agenda will remain therefore a key issue in the Union for the coming years.

All Working Papers are downloadable free of charge from the web:
ww.sei.ac.uk

Otherwise, each Working Paper is £5.00 (unless noted otherwise) plus £1.00 postage and packing per copy in Europe and £2.00 per copy elsewhere. Payment by credit card or cheque (Payable to 'University of Sussex')

SEI Research in Progress Seminars

Summer Term 2007
Tuesdays 14.15 - 15.50
Arts C233

17 April*
The government participation of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe: a formal theoretical approach
Sarah de Lange, University of Antwerp

24 April
The dilemmas of single issue Eurosceptic party: the case of the UK Independence Party
Dr Simon Usherwood, University of Surrey

1 May
How problematic is the pillar structure for EU foreign policy making?
Elias Antoniou, University of Sussex

8 May
SEI roundtable on the 'French Presidential Election'
Dr Sue Collard, Dr Sally Marthaler and Dr Adrian Treacher, University of Sussex

15 May
The Europeanisation of Central and Eastern Europe: the EU's impact on candidate countries
Dr Ulrich Sedelmeier, London School of Economics

22 May
The EU as a security actor: Is it only what member states make of it?
Zerrin Torun, University of Sussex

5 June
Interest intermediation within a policy community in the EU
Dr Dimitris Christopoulos, University of the West of England

12 June*
SEI roundtable on the 'German Presidency of the EU'
Dr Dan Hough, Dr Lucia Quaglia, Prof Alan Mayhew and Prof Jim Rollo, University of Sussex

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

SEI Seminar Paper

- **No 1 European Neighbourhood Policy: the Case of Ukraine**

Edited by
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Abstract

Sussex European Institute's Wider Europe Programme has followed the growth and development of the European Neighbourhood Policy since its inception. Our aim over the past few years has differed slightly from a conventional academic research project in that we wanted to build an interdisciplinary network of scholars and practitioners working in this field. Thus the Wider Europe Network includes economists, lawyers, civil servants, political scientists and politicians.

During the first few years of the Wider Europe Programme, we have focused our attention on Ukraine. We decided to do so as a result of that country's size – both geographically and demographically – its enthusiasm for European integration, its steady progress in democratization, and its pivotal strategic position between Russia and the Union. Over the past three years we have held three large annual conferences on the subject of European Neighbourhood Policy in general and Ukraine in particular: in 2004 at Sussex University, in 2005 in Warsaw at the College of Europe, and in 2006 at the *Verkhovna Rada* in Kyiv. These large annual events have been interspersed with smaller seminars, held at Sussex University and in Ukraine, to review Ukraine's progress in European integration bi-annually.

The symposium of papers that this introduction precedes is the product of our most recent annual conference in Kyiv in October 2006. In keeping with the interdisciplinary nature of the Wider Europe programme, the six papers include law, political science and economics.

First, Nathaniel Copsey's paper provides a contextual overview of political events in Ukraine in the run-up to and following the most recent parliamentary elections, the first to be contested under the new rules that came into force following the constitutional changes brought by the Orange Revolution of 2004. Second, Marise Cremona and Christophe Hillion explore the potential and limitations of the European Neighbourhood Policy from a legal perspective. Third, Sarah Whitmore looks the role of the Verkhovna Rada in European integration, with a focus on its institutional capacity and legislative process.

Fourth, Roman Petrov examines the progress made by Ukraine in approximating Ukrainian legislation to that of the EU before and since the Orange Revolution. Fifth, Igor Burakovsky, Andrii Goncharov and Alan Mayhew look at the current economic relationship between Ukraine and the European Union. It examines the issues of WTO accession, energy relations with Russia, the Action Plan and the role of Europe in the modernisation of Ukraine's economy, before making recommendations on future action. Finally, Alan Mayhew's paper looks at the role of foreign direct investment (FDI) in the modernisation of Ukraine's economy.

European Parties Elections & Referendums Network (EPERN): Election Briefings

The network produces an ongoing series of briefings on the impact of European integration on election campaigns. There is one new addition to the election briefing paper series by Franz Fallend. Key points it are outlined below. All EPERN briefing papers are available free at www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/1-4-2-8.html

- **Election Briefing No 31 Europe and the National Parliament Election in Austria October 1 2006**

Franz Fallend
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Key points

Franz Fallend

- In the 2006 general elections in Austria, the ÖVP Austrian People's Party-led centre-right coalition came to an end. The growing unpopularity of the government's neo-liberal policies and the intra-party confusions of the ÖVP's People's Party's coalition partner were the major reasons for this development.
- In 2005, the right-wing populist FPÖ Freedom Party of Austria, which had taken part in government since 2000, split because it was not able to continue its vote-maximising politics of the past. A new party, the BZÖ Alliance for the Future of Austria, was formed, which from then on became coalition partner of the ÖVP People's Party.
- In spite of the government troubles, the SPÖ Social Democratic Party of Austria, the major opposition party, seemed not to be able to use the opportunity to win the elections, after a major bank, owned by the SPÖ (Social Democrat) dominated trade unions, almost went bankrupt.
- Yet, contrary to predictions of opinion polls, the SPÖ Social Democrats led a successful campaign, relying on social issues, and overtook the ÖVP People's Party, which failed to mobilise voters with its 'feel good' campaign.
- European issues did not play a decisive role in the elections, except for the issue of the EU accession of Turkey, which was used by BZÖ Alliance for the Future of Austria and FPÖ the Freedom Party to attract voters as part of a general anti-foreign and anti-EU dicourse.
- As neither a centre-right nor a centre-left coalition reached a parliamentary majority, SPÖ the Social Democrats and ÖVP the People's Party revitalised a tradition of the country and formed a 'grand coalition' after the elections.

EPERN
European Parties Elections and Referendums Network

POLITICS RESEARCH IN PROGRESS SEMINARS
(& THE *CENTRE FOR PARTIES & DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE* & SEI)
SUMMER TERM 2007

Wednesdays 2-4pm in C233
*** Held jointly with SEI; Tuesdays at 14.15-15.50**

17 April*
The government participation of radical right-wing populist parties in Western Europe: a formal theoretical approach
Sarah de Lange, University of Antwerp

25 April
21st Century Democracy's Unwelcome Visitor: Populism in Europe
Dr Daniele Albertazzi, University of Birmingham)

9 May
Supranational Institutions, Path-Dependency and EU Policy Development: The Cases of Student and Patient Mobility
Maria Cheiladaki-Liarokapi, University of Sussex

16 May
Reading Group: Lewis & Mansfeldová's 'EU & Party Politics in Central and Eastern Europe'

23 May
The Debate about Europe in Bulgaria
Lyubka Savkova, University of Sussex

6 June
Europe and the European: Definition, Redefinitions, Identity and Belonging
Sobrina Edwards, University of Sussex

12 June*
SEI Roundtable on German Presidency of EU
Dr Dan Hough, Dr Lucia Quaglia, Prof Alan Mayhew and Prof Jim Rollo, University of Sussex

20 June
John Howard: A study of prime ministerial predominance
Mark Bennister, University of Sussex

The 2007 French Presidential Elections

Dr Sally Marthaler

On Sunday 22 April, the French will go to the polls to cast their vote in the first round of the 2007 presidential elections. Voters will be able to choose from an array of twelve candidates, fewer than the record sixteen standing in 2002 but still spanning a broad political spectrum from far left to far right and including one Green candidate and one anti-globalisation candidate (José Bové). Of the twelve, however, only four are in serious contention: on the centre-left, the socialist Ségolène Royal; on the centre-right, Nicolas Sarkozy (UMP) and François Bayrou (UDF); and on the far right, Jean-Marie Le Pen (FN), who in 2002 unexpectedly eliminated the socialist candidate, Lionel Jospin, in the first round, creating a nightmare scenario which still haunts the French political class.

President Chirac, who has served two presidential terms and achieved the lowest popularity ratings of any president under the Fifth Republic, has decided not to run again. His twelve years in power have left a bleak legacy of high youth employment, massive public debt and economic stagnation, and he has signally failed to fulfil his 1995 campaign pledge to mend France's 'social fracture', most evident in the troubled *banlieues* (inner suburbs). The rejection of the EU constitutional treaty in the 2005 referendum dealt a final humiliating blow to Chirac's authority and credibility.

A break With the Past

Conscious of the sense of crisis and popular malaise in the country, both of the two presidential frontrunners, Sarkozy and Royal, representing a new generation of politicians, have spoken of the need for a break (*rupture*) with the past and both have shown interest in adopting a more Blairist approach. They are faced with a delicate balancing act, competing not only with each other but also for votes at the extremes and the centre. So far in the campaign the greater challenge has come from the centrist Bayrou than the far right's Le Pen.

The sudden and spectacular rise in support for Bayrou has been one of the most interesting and unexpected aspects of the campaign. As leader of the UDF and a former education minister, he is a familiar and established player on the political scene whose party has previously had electoral alliances with Chirac's neo-Gaullists but whose own electoral success has been limited. In the 2002 presidential elections, Bayrou polled a mere 6.8% of the vote and in the subsequent parliamentary elections his party won only 29 seats.

Despite being part of the political elite, he has managed to distance himself from the two dominant mainstream parties and project the image of an 'outsider' by following a more independent course and winning a reputation for integrity and plain speaking. He has tapped into a public mood of disaffection with and distrust of the traditional parties and his pledge to do politics differently by, for example, introducing a form of coalition or 'unity' government composed of political figures from both the centre left and right, has clearly appealed to an increasingly sceptical and disengaged electorate, two-thirds of whom say that they trust neither the left nor the right to govern the country.

However, support for Bayrou is less committed than that for Sarkozy or Royal: around 50% of those who are currently planning to vote for him say that they might change their mind, compared with 60-70% of those supporting Royal, Sarkozy or Le Pen who appear to have made firm commitments. This suggests that one element of Bayrou's support is the kind of 'anti-system' protest voting which the French have increasingly resorted to in recent elections to express their dissatisfaction with the political establishment. In polls, the main motivation given for a Bayrou vote is opposition to the traditional left-right divide rather than approval of any specific policy issue. Nonetheless, voting intentions have put him at over 20% of the vote, in strong contention with the two frontrunners, but drawing his support more from the left than the right and thus presenting a greater threat to Royal

than Sarkozy.

Ségolène Royal is the first female presidential candidate for a major party in France and the sole candidate of the moderate left. (Jean-Pierre Chevènement, the infamous 'third man' in 2002, is on her campaign team.) She has placed great emphasis on 'listening to the people' and before drawing up her proposals spent several weeks consulting French voters in 'citizen juries' as part of a process of participative democracy. In the 100-point programme which emerged from these consultations, Royal sets out traditional socialist policies on poverty and insecurity, public services and the integration of ethnic minorities, but also appeals to the centre ground with references to modernising France and creating a more dynamic business environment.

Nicolas Sarkozy has presented an economically liberal programme in which greater emphasis is placed on individual effort, with a 35-hour week as a minimum rather than a maximum and a less regulated employment market in a more entrepreneurial, property-owning and Atlanticist France. Sarkozy has an image as a strong and charismatic leader but is also seen as divisive and provocative. He wins support from all sections of the population but his economic reform plans also generate widespread concern. His tough stance on immigration and youth crime is seen as a deliberate strategy to compete with the far right and he has controversially proposed a new ministry of 'Immigration and National Identity'.

Important Issues

Europe is not a priority issue for voters in this election. Their primary concern is with domestic economic and social matters. Nonetheless, 26% say that a candidate's position on the European constitution will carry a lot of weight and 29% that it will carry some weight in their voting decision. Given the strength of the 'no' vote in the 2005 referendum, each of the three main contenders has set out their proposals for dealing with this divisive issue. Sarkozy talks about a 'simplified treaty' including Parts I and II of the original text which would be ratified by parliament rather than by referendum. Royal wants a new treaty to be negotiated and put to a referendum, before or during the next European elections in 2009. Bayrou, the most pro-European of the three, proposes an IGC to draw up a shorter and more transparent treaty which would also be put to a new referendum in 2009. Both he and Sarkozy reaffirm their outright opposition to Turkey joining the EU.

Dr Sally Marthaler

Jean-Marie Le Pen, whose electorate is notoriously reluctant to admit its support to pollsters, is currently in fourth place, with less than the 18% he polled in the first round of the 2002 elections but in a stronger position than he was at an equivalent point in the last presidential campaign. Le Pen's appeal should not be underestimated. His proposals have found growing acceptance among the French public, a third of whom now say that they agree with his ideas. However, should he once again succeed in winning enough votes to go through to the second ballot, this is likely to be a re-run of 2002, in which a 'Republican front' would vote for the candidate of the mainstream party.

Turnout

The elections for the presidency are the jewel in the French political crown and attract the highest turnout. In polls, 95% say that they are either certain or very likely to vote. Interest is also relatively high this year: three-quarters of voters say that they are interested in the presidential election. In part, this is a reflection of the closeness of the contest and the unpredictability of the outcome with three of the candidates running neck and neck.

Around half of the French electorate is still undecided about how to vote and turnout will also be a significant factor in the result. While the most likely scenario in the second round on 6 May is a run-off between Sarkozy and Royal, which Sarkozy is the favourite to win, current voting intentions indicate that if Bayrou did get through to the second round, he would beat either of his opponents. In other words, the race is wide open and competition for the votes of a volatile electorate will be intense. France is expecting the unexpected.

The EU and Energy – Déjà vu all over again?

Francis McGowan

For about a year and a half the European Union has been debating the development of an "Energy Policy for Europe". Such a policy, it is hoped, would provide a way of reducing the Union's contribution to climate change and its reliance on external supplies. The "Spring Summit" of Heads of State appeared to endorse some of the main objectives of such a policy and the means to carry it out. However, this is not the first time that such a policy has been attempted – discussions about such a policy (albeit for a different mix of reasons) date back to the 1950s. What are the chances of such a policy working this time?

One driver of the new debate is the perception that energy use is a major contributor to global warming and that policy needs to reduce that contribution (see below). The other factor which pushed energy policy up the EU agenda was concern over security of supply: higher energy prices in recent years, compounded by disruptions to supplies of Russian gas to the Union and the longer term profile of the EU as increasingly dependent on external sources for its energy needs, increased the perception of an EU vulnerable to energy shocks. A coordinated European energy policy, many argued, would help tackle this vulnerability as well as limit the EU's contribution to the Greenhouse Effect.

National Sovereignty over Community Interest

The moves of the last few weeks, however, have not been the first time that the EU or its predecessors have attempted to develop such a policy - and the past record has been at best mixed. For much of its history, particularly during the "energy crises" of the 1970s when the then "9" sought a collective and solidaristic response, the results exposed differences and a tendency to defend national interests at the expense of joint action. Energy, it appeared, was a sovereign issue. That concern with sovereignty and control was reflected in the way the member states' energy industries were organised: with the heavy involvement of the state as an owner, 30-40 year investment and planning horizons and price controls, the sector was more akin to the planned economy than anything else.

That model changed in the 1980s and 90s as the processes of market liberalisation and privatisation impinged upon the energy sector. Coinciding with historically low energy prices, it was possible for policy makers to consider energy as just another commodity (this was particularly true in the UK though we were rather unique amongst developed economies in being effectively a net exporter for much of both decades). One consequence of this turn to the market was to place energy under the purview of EU rules on market integration: the conduct of firms and their relations with governments were increasingly viewed from the perspective of the Single Market and Competition policies. To be sure, the full application of such rules was to take the best part of another twenty years (EU rules to open up electricity gas markets will be extended to all consumers later this year, twenty one years after the policy was first proposed) but in the interim, the EU has become a significant player in the restructuring of the energy sector.

Moreover, while the Single Market and Competition policy lent a "liberalising" dimension to energy policy, there were other ways in which "Europe" impinged upon national energy policies whether in making rules, granting funds or setting targets.

Why the Shift?

So what has now changed? Partly there is a perfect storm of policy problems (global warming, supply security, ineffective markets) which many feel can only be addressed collectively. Partly there is a political leadership in much of the EU which is prepared to accept such collective action. The Commission sees there is an opportunity to be seized which could in the process deliver the "Europe of Results" which President Barosso believes is the key to a broader rekindling of integration. At the member state level, an important role has apparently been played

by (at the time of writing) Prime Minister Blair who appears to have led a U-turn in the UK stance on EU energy matters, calling for EU action in areas which previously had been opposed by British officials.

What is Proposed?

Following consultations in 2006 the Commission produced its "Energy Policy For Europe" in January of this year. This outlined a draft Action Plan which the Heads of State broadly endorsed at the Council's Spring Summit in March. Amongst the measures agreed were:

- a commitment to cut greenhouse gas emissions by 20% of their 1990 levels by 2020 (this target could be raised to 30% if the EU is able to agree a tougher settlement with other industrialised countries in international negotiations)
- a goal of a 20% reduction in energy consumption to be achieved through increased energy efficiency, also by 2020
- a target to increase the share of renewable energy in energy supply to 20% by 2020 (current average share is 6%)

This last target was the most difficult to agree upon, not least because it was proposed as a binding obligation which could be legally enforced. (By contrast the energy efficiency "target" is more of an aspiration while the greenhouse gas reductions are less specific and in line with what many states were already planning.). In the run up to the Council it appears that the member states were fairly even split for and against a binding target. Amongst those in favour were Germany, Sweden and Italy while opponents included France (who wanted nuclear power factored into the target), the East European states (who were concerned at the cost and feasibility of the target) and the UK (who were wary of a binding target in principle and would face an uphill struggle to meet it with less than 2% of energy currently being met from renewable sources).

That the Council eventually agreed to a binding target appeared to be due to the German government's diplomatic efforts, a U-turn by the British government and some constructive ambiguity on all parts as to what the target might eventually take into account. Given that the agreement was on the principle rather than the detail there is plenty of room for member states to revisit the issue once bargaining on legislation begins:

- one important issue is how the overall target of 20% will be allocated. The Commission made it clear that the target would be met by some "burden sharing" amongst the member states. It is likely that the new member states in particular will be given lower targets though correspondingly other states will have to exceed the target. How these matters are finalised will be very delicate as the Commission has assured member states that targets will not be imposed and the precise legal basis for legislation is as yet unclear.
- lurking in the background is the nuclear issue. While Chancellor Merkel and President Barosso were explicit in declaring that nuclear power was not a renewable source, President Chirac (and according to some reports Prime Minister Blair) indicated that nuclear power would be taken into consideration in this calculation. In any case this most sensitive issue appears to have been given a higher profile in the Council Conclusions as a quid pro quo.

Overall the Council agreement marks an important stage in the development of EU policy and it may even herald a much more coordinated and common policy than has previously been achieved. However it is clear that there are major differences between the member states, differences which have in the past slowed down or scuppered EU decisions in this area. Moreover, even if agreed the prospects for the targets themselves are not good if the past experience of the Union is any guide. The EU has a bad habit of setting targets which are then not met. In energy policy itself, a variety of targets were set and largely missed between 1975 and the 1990s. More recently, the 2001 Renewable Directive's voluntary target of 12% of total energy use by 2010 looks like being missed by most states. The challenge facing the Commission and the member states will be to find ways of making these new targets stick and of sustaining the momentum behind policy more generally. The past experience suggests that this will be easier said than done.

Francis McGowan

Conferences and Seminars

SEI members present a series of reports outlining several of the seminars and conferences that SEI has organised or been involved with during the spring term. Lyubka Savkova reviews the European Studies Research Institute's conference on the EU's South Eastern Enlargement; Rasa Spokevicute and Rose Azzopardi comment on the latest EU-CONSENT PhD school; Professor Alan Mayhew reflects on the SEI seminar on the EU budget and an outline is given of the 2007 University of Sussex Lecture.

The EU's South-Eastern Enlargement: Romania and Bulgaria in Comparative Perspective

Lyubka Savkova

A three day academic conference on the topic of the 2007 EU enlargement of Bulgaria and Romania took place at the University of Salford between the 26-28th of January. The conference was organised by Dr. Cristina Chiva and Debbie Hughes from the European Studies Research Institute and sponsored by the European Commission's Jean Monnet programme.

The event was highly successful in output and drew together researchers from around the world on a number of themes related to the recent enlargement of Bulgaria and Romania. The first day examined and compared the road to accession of both states in a series of closely-knit panels. It considered the impact of the enlargement on the Balkans and the shifting grounds of EU conditionality in respect of future member states. This naturally moved the debate to EU's foreign policy, the institutional impact of the EU on the two newcomers, as well as lessons learnt from the accession negotiations and post-accession compliance of Bulgaria and Romania with the conditions for membership.

Lyubka Savkova

The rest of the conference considered the political dimension of the recent enlargement and its impact of a number of policy areas. Some of the questions posed by the panels were how Europeanised were the Bulgarian and Romanian party systems as a result of EU membership; what was the level of public support for European integration in the two member states and how Bulgaria and Romania's accession may influence the prospect for Turkish membership. There were also papers on regional and environmental policies and nuclear safety and energy preferences in Bulgaria.

The conference gathered over 25 scholars from 10 countries. Delegates from the UK included among others Ulrich Sedelmeier with a paper on "Post-Accession Compliance in the New Member States after the 2004 Enlargement"; Paul Lewis on the "Impact of EU Enlargement on Party Politics in Central Europe"; Karen Henderson on " The Influence of Party Politics on EU Decision-Making: the Case of Slovakia" and Cristina Chiva on " EU Enlargement and the Bulgarian and Romanian Party Systems".

PhD School and Expert Workshop, University College Dublin, 19-23 February 2007

Rasa Spokeviciute
Rose Azzopardi

The second EU-CONSENT PhD School *The Dynamics of European Integration: Trends and Turns in the Theoretical "Acquis Académique"* was held in Dublin (18-23 February 2007) and was organized by the University College Dublin, the University of Cologne and Budapest Corvinus University.

The theme of this PhD School was to examine and to assess both classical and more

recent theoretical approaches to the process of EU deepening and widening from different disciplinary backgrounds (political science, economics and law). The School discussed the questions of how dominant theoretical approaches in the field of EU studies may be applied to the analysis of EU deepening and widening, and how interdisciplinary insights can be gained from them. Since this School was organized under the project's work package *Constructing Europe: Theories and Approaches*, the majority of papers presented were from the political science perspective, and there were only one from economics viewpoint and two from the legal field.

The sessions of the PhD school consisted of presentations from leading researchers (such as Prof. Brigid Laffan, Prof. Antje Wiener, Prof. Kenneth Dyson and others) on approaches in political science, economics and law and then the PhD students made their presentations. Discussions regarding the papers presented and the PhD projects followed. The School was especially useful for those who are in the first years of their research. In fact, most of the discussion focused more on research questions, hypothesis formulation and research design. Social and cultural activities were also organised and this helped to create a very friendly and familiar atmosphere during the presentations and discussions.

Twelve participants from different universities presented their papers on the following subjects: Theories or representation and multilevel governance theories, Turkey's accession to the European Union: two logics of integration, the rule of law: a privileged perspective of the enlargement dynamics, environment as a challenge in accession negotiations between Croatia and the EU, the European Union's identity as a foreign and security actor in global politics, power in the enlarged EU – game theoretical insights. Rose Azzopardi presented her paper *Mapping out the Development of Trade Theory,*

Conference on the Opportunities and Challenges from Bulgaria's Membership to the European Union

Sussex European Institute 11th May 2007

Provisional Schedule

10:00-10:30 SEI Address : Prof. Aleks Szczerbiak (University of Sussex)

Panel 1:*Opportunities from Bulgaria's Membership to the European Union*

- **HELEWISE ELFFERICH** (European Commission, DG Enlargement)

""Lessons from the Pre Accession Monitoring of Bulgaria" (TBC)

- **Keynote Speaker: H.E. DR. LUCHEZAR MATEV** Ambassador of Bulgaria to the UK

Panel 2: *Challenges for Bulgaria Arising from EU Membership I*

- **JULIAN POPOV** (Bulgarian School of Politics)

"Bulgaria as a Stepping Stone to Turkish Membership"

- **DR. MARIA SPIROVA** (University of Leiden)

"Bulgarian Political Parties and EU Accession: the Europeanization of the Bulgarian Party System"

- **DR. MILENA BORDEN** (University of Reading)

"The Bulgarian Nation in Europe- no Provincial Laggard"

- **KALIN IVANOV** (University of Oxford)

"EU Accession and the Politics of Anticorruption in Bulgaria"

Panel 3: *Reflections on Bulgaria's Accession*

- **CRAIG OTTER** (Economist Intelligence Unit)

"Bulgaria: Economic Performance, prospects and risks"

Closing Keynote: **Geoffrey Van Orden** (European Parliament) (TBC)

Wine Reception

For more information contact Lyubka Savkova:

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Barriers to Trade and Levels of Economic Integration. Rasa Spokeviciute presented her paper *Explaining the Negotiations on EU Financial Framework: Theoretical Approach*.

SEI is a founding partner of the EU-CONSENT project and is involved in the External Relations working group which looks at the impact of recent and future enlargements on EU external relations. The next PhD School will be organised in Cambridge jointly by the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge and Budapest Corvinus University, from 23 April 2007 to 26 April 2007. The theme of this third school will be the effectiveness of the CFSP/ESDP as a system of collective diplomatic interaction, and its dealings with other Intergovernmental Organisations. Zerrin Torun from SEI has been accepted to give a paper during this event. You can find out more about EU-CONSENT on the website www.eu-consent.net

SEI International Seminar on the European Union's Budget

Prof Alan Mayhew

The annual SEI international seminar on political economy was held at the University on March 15-16, 2007. The subject this year was the EU budget and policy review, which is being prepared for 2008-2009.

The highlight of the two day meeting was the speech given by the European Commissioner responsible for the budget, Dalia Grybauskaite, who had come over from Brussels especially for this event.

The participants included officials from the French Trésor, the Polish Ministry for Europe and the Polish Permanent Representation in Brussels, the British Treasury, Foreign Office and the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. SEI's Chevening Scholars also attended including officials from the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, the State Chancellery of Estonia, the Croatian Central Office for Development Strategy, and from Economics or Finance Ministries of the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Latvia, Turkey and Slovenia, as well as three journalists from Hungary who specialise on EU affairs.

Commissioner Grybauskaite

Professor Jim Rollo (SEI), the organiser of the seminar, welcomed the participants, underlining the hope that the EU would take the opportunity of the budget review to make fundamental decisions regarding future policies. The seminar opened with a discussion of the main economic policy challenges facing the EU in the coming two decades. It was followed by a series of presentations on the key issues of budget reform, including the Common Agricultural Policy, the Structural Funds and the British budget rebate.

Officials from France, Poland and the UK presented the positions of their countries on budget reform, which provided a lively session! Professor Helen Wallace, a co-author of the Sapir Report, gave her analysis of the main weaknesses in the existing budget, including severe doubts on the efficiency of budget implementation.

Commissioner Grybauskaite, in a typically robust and honest presentation ignoring political correctness, discussed the plans of the European Commission to structure the debate on budget reform and pointed out some of the possible roadblocks to fundamental change, which would have to be overcome if the Union was to have a budget corresponding better to its real needs.

Professor Rollo closed the seminar underlining the active role which SEI had always played both in the development of integration theory and in the practical politics of the European Union. He underlined that Sussex European Institute will continue to be at the forefront of research and debate on the economics and politics of European development. Contact: j.rollo@sussex.ac.uk

The Sussex University Lecture: A certain idea of Europe: can European integration survive eastern enlargement?

The 2007 Sussex University Lecture in London was given this year by Professor Alan Mayhew from SEI, on 14 March'. The lecture was held at One Birdcage Walk in Westminster and was attended by more than 150 guests, including VIPs, members of Council and Court, alumni and friends of the University.

Prof. Mayhew is an economist specialising in problems of economic transition and integration in central and eastern Europe as well as economic policy and budgetary issues in the European Union (EU). His lecture asked, 'Can European integration survive eastern enlargement?'

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the EU has more than doubled in size; two more countries are negotiating for accession and a further four in the western Balkans have been promised membership in the future. And that still leaves Ukraine and others in eastern Europe waiting to join.

Prof. Mayhew analysed the extent to which the EU has followed a consistent policy towards the east and how that policy has evolved over the last decade and a half. He then questioned whether we have now reached a turning point in EU openness, with the debate about the Union's absorption capacity, and if so why now when the Union might be in sight of its goal of re-uniting Europe.

Professor Alan Mayhew

The lecture considered if there is any alternative to further enlargement in the future and what a larger membership might mean for the type and quality of integration in Europe in the coming decades.

Prof. Mayhew analysed the impact of past enlargement on the Union and notably of the last enlargement, which brought more countries from central and eastern Europe into the Union. The overwhelmingly positive impact on both the old and the new member states of the Union contrasts with the current lack of public or elitist support for further enlargement.

The reasons for this were explained, important amongst which is the poor economic performance of key old Member States, leading to high unemployment and a feeling of economic insecurity amongst the public. For the elites the institutional challenges are also a major problem.

Policies were needed which tackled these problems, Prof. Mayhew outlined the possible reforms to institutions which would maintain efficiency in decision-making and underlined the need for policies to help those affected by globalisation to retrain and find new employment in expanding sectors.

The lecture prompted a lively discussion in the question-and-answer session that followed. Alan was asked whether further integration (e.g. Turkey) would set a precedent for other countries (such as Syria) that do not share much common ground with the rest of the EU to seek admission. What constitutes Europe is open to interpretation, replied Alan; if we ignore other countries' claims to join the EU we neglect them at our peril.

The University of Sussex Lecture is organised by the Development and Alumni Relations Office, as part of a programme of events to promote the excellence of Sussex research to a wider audience and to engage with alumni and friends of the University. Corporate Events Manager Sue Hepburn said: "The event attracted a great deal of interest and was thoroughly enjoyed by all who attended."

The lecture can be downloaded from the SEI website: www.sussex.ac.uk/sei

Ongoing Research

This issue of Euroscope presents reports on the current research projects being worked on by David Evans, Susan Milns, Dan Hough and Paul Webb.

The 'Sussex Framework'

Dr David Evans

Recent years have seen a dramatic rise in the number and range of regional or Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs). The EU is currently deep in negotiations with the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries on a new set of trading arrangements, known as the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs); with countries in the neighbourhood notably Ukraine but also countries in North Africa; and proposes negotiations with India, ASEAN, and South Korea. These negotiations are proving to be difficult and contentious. EPAs for example, if signed, will at a minimum include full market opening on both sides covering "substantially all trade"; but may also include measures of "deep integration" and development assistance. These agreements are likely to be important for the ACP states and their future development paths, and hence it is important to provide sensible and clear analysis in order to inform the negotiations as well as to consider the likely outcomes of any agreement. Given the complexity of these agreements it is important to provide economic analysis of their likely outcomes and ensure that they are "development friendly." While market simulation models are very useful for assessing PTAs they are labour and data intensive and require a high level of expertise. Similarly econometric analysis does not provide enough detail to analyse the effects of any given PTA.

Dr David Evans

With support from the DFID over the last 3 years, 5 researchers from SEI, the Economics Department and IDS have developed a framework called the "Sussex Framework" which allows the user to set out the elements of any proposed agreement, derive a set of diagnostic statistics from readily available trade and tariff databases, and using "rule of thumb" guidelines, make an overall judgement on the likely balance of economic welfare effects, taking into account both shallow and deep integration (see box). The "Sussex Framework" has been shown to give very similar results to the more sophisticated modelling work on the key issue of the balance between trade creation and trade diversion. It has been applied to the Cariforum EPA negotiations, the EU-Egypt Association Agreement, and to the potential EU-India free trade area. The "Sussex Framework" provides researchers and policy makers in both developed and developing countries a valuable tool-kit for assessing both the viability and welfare effects of PTAs in situations where negotiating and analytical resources are scarce.

Shallow Integration

Shallow integration involves the removal of border barriers to trade, typically tariffs and quotas. Any PTA involves shallow integration in the first instance. However the potential net benefits of this are ambiguous because they involve both trade creation, where more efficiently produced imported goods replace less efficient domestically produced goods, leading to welfare gains, and trade diversion where sources of supply switch away from more efficient non-partner countries to less efficient partner countries, thus reducing welfare.

Deep Integration

Deep integration involves policies and institutions that facilitate trade reducing regulatory and behind-the-border impediments to trade such as customs procedures, differing product standards, competition policy, etc. Welfare gains from deep integration are likely to be substantially higher than losses from shallow integration. These gains depend on the extent to which the PTA creates a "common economic space" amongst partner countries, leading to technology transfers and diffusion, pro-competitive gains from increased competition, increased geographical dispersion of production and externalities arising from institutional changes that lead to a wide increase in productivity.

JURISTRAS

The Strasbourg Court, democracy and the human rights of individuals and communities: patterns of litigation, state implementation and domestic reform:

Prof. Susan Milns

In 2006 Sussex Law School began its involvement in the European Community funded JURISTRAS research project which is a three year Framework Programme 6 STREP (Specific Targeted Research Project) involving a network of nine partner universities throughout the European Union and candidate countries. Bringing together an interdisciplinary team of lawyers and political and social scientists from the UK, Belgium, Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Austria, Turkey, Germany and Greece, the aim of the project is to investigate the relationship between courts and politics, and the link between judicial review of human rights at the supranational level and domestic politics and policies aimed at the protection and promotion of fundamental rights.

In the past fifteen years the European Court of Human Rights has witnessed a remarkable expansion of its case load (the number of individual applications lodged between 1990 and 2002 saw a nearly nine-fold increase). If a growing flow of cases allows a court to expand its legal interpretations and influence in a variety of practical contexts and to gain political capital by performing a needed function, then it might be suggested that a fundamental transformation of the Strasbourg based judicial system of human rights protection has been underway. Bearing this suggestion in mind, JURISTRAS explores from a comparative perspective processes of human rights litigation and state implementation of European Court of Human Rights judgments, as well as the effects of the latter in national legislative reform and policy making.

In response to Court judgments, national authorities may seek to evade or contain compliance, but they may also undertake broader reforms to pre-empt recurring infringements of human rights provisions. JURISTRAS examines under what conditions Strasbourg Court judgments that find state authorities to have breached European Convention provisions promote broader domestic reform or policy changes and expand justice for individuals and communities. Over its three year duration the project will explore the hypothesis that patterns of state compliance and national implementation of Court judgments centrally depend on and are mediated by domestic processes of societal mobilisation, public support and elite learning.

Project partners, investigating cases brought against their home state, will examine the Court's growing jurisprudence pertaining to the civil rights of individuals and groups and their participation in the public sphere in a democratic setting. Such case law has primarily grown out of specific categories of cases bought to the European Court of Human Rights, in which individuals claim a violation of their right to privacy and family life, religious freedom and conscience, freedom of expression, assembly and association and discriminatory treatment.

In the context of the protection of fundamental rights in the United Kingdom, the task of the Sussex research team is to document the impact of Strasbourg case law against the UK and to revisit this record in the context of the recent domestic 'rights revolution', involving in particular the introduction of the Human Rights Act 1998. This legislation, which for the first time ever incorporates the Convention into national law, permits litigants to raise previously unarticulated human rights arguments before the national courts and allows national judges to pronounce upon the compatibility of legislation with the rights guaranteed under the Convention,

Prof. Susan Milns

The collective mission of the JURISTRAS project team is to identify best practices concerning the establishment or improvement of national and European level mechanisms for addressing human rights claims and resolving

disputes between individual rights and State interests. The team will also formulate policy recommendations concerning the rights of religions, ethnic, and immigrant minorities, the combating of discrimination and protection of personal privacy and will publish its findings in a series of working papers and collections of essays.

For more information please see the JURISTRAS web site:

http://www.eliamep.gr/eliamep/content/home/research/research_projects/juristras/en/

or contact Professor Susan Millns, Sussex Law School (email: S.Millns@sussex.ac.uk).

The Left Party in German Politics

Dr Dan Hough

Two Sussex scholars have recently been active in Germany, disseminating their ESRC funded research into left parties in government. Dr Dan Hough, Senior Lecturer in Politics, and Michael Koß, former Postdoctoral Fellow in PolCES, recently completed a monograph on Germany's soon-to-be-officially-formed Left Party ('The Left Party in Contemporary German Politics', London: Palgrave, 2007, see

http://www.palgrave.com/products/Catalogue.aspx?is=0230019072).

They discussed their research with Left Party members, activists and politicians on 8th December 2006 in Berlin. The session formed party of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation's (RLF) series of briefing sessions on parties, party systems and social movements. These sessions aim to bring practitioners from Germany and beyond together with academics analysing left wing politics.

Hough and Koß discussed not only the reasons that they felt were significant in understanding how the Left Party's predecessor, the Party of Democractic Socialism (PDS), survived the collapse of communism and German unification, but also how it slowly began to flourish in what should have been an alien political system.

Dr Dan Hough

The PDS's heritage as the successor of the party that dictatorially ruled the GDR for 40 years was slowly overcome as the party reshaped itself as an articulator of eastern German protest and distinctiveness.

Hough and Koß illustrated that the German Left Party will be – thanks to a planned merger (scheduled to be completed in mid-2007) with a western German protest party – able to poll significantly more than the five per cent of the vote needed to enter parliament and that political scientists should not be scared to analyse its successes, failures, ideas and programmes in much the same way as they do other parties. They made a strong case that left parties should indeed be brought in from the academic doghouse.

The Sussex scholars used the well known 'policy, office and votes' framework to attempt to understand the party's aims, before comparing and contrasting the Left Party's road to institutionalisation with that of the German Greens. Finally, the authors assessed the performance of the Left Party's in two sub-state governments since 1998, arguing that the rhetoric might be radical, but the practice is increasingly pragmatic.

Members of the RLF's working group greeted the two British-based scholars warmly and both of Hough and Koß will be returning to Berlin later in 2007 to discuss their research with broader groups of listeners in the run-up to the Left Party's founding conference in the summer of 2007.

Party Politics in New Democracies

Prof. Paul Webb

The academic study of parties in young democracies is alive and well, if the number of articles published on the topic in *Party Politics*, of which I am co-editor, is anything to judge by. Overall, nearly 30% all *Party Politics* articles have been dedicated to new democracies; of these, nearly half have focused on the post-communist states in Eastern Europe. My own personal contribution to this literature comes in the form of a new book, co-edited with Stephen White of Glasgow University (Webb and White 2007). This is actually the sequel to a volume on political parties in the world's longer-established democracies, that I co-edited with others several years ago (Webb et al 2002). As far as possible, the two books adopt similar analytical frameworks. The key research questions are:

- How relevant and vital are political parties in contemporary democracies?
- Are they embedded securely in society?
- Are they organizationally viable?
- Are they performing the tasks that observers and citizens alike have expected of them? Or are they failing or redundant in various senses, as critics are apt to suggest?

While these issues are approached from the perspective of the 'party decline' critique in the case of established democracies, the emphasis is on whether parties and party systems are institutionalizing and consolidating in the newer democracies. The concept of 'institutionalization', which is often referred to by scholars of parties in democratizing or new party systems, is described by Mainwaring and Torcal (2006: 206) in the following terms:

> *An institutionalized party system, then, is one in which actors develop expectations and behavior based on the premise that the fundamental contours and rules of party competition and behavior will prevail into the foreseeable future. In an institutionalized party system, there is stability in who the main parties are and how they behave.*

In addressing the institutionalization and consolidation of party politics in recently democratized polities, it is important to engage analytically with both parties and party systems, which we have tried to do in our research. We chose to limit our focus to two major geopolitical regions of the world: Eastern European and Latin America, and our analytical framework incorporated 3 dimensions: the 'popular legitimacy' of parties; the organizational development and strength of parties; and the functional performance of parties on behalf of the overall political system.

The Popular Legitimacy of Political Parties

This dimension is concerned with the vibrancy and health of linkages between parties and society at large. The central questions are: How stable and deep are links between party and society? To what extent are parties generally held in esteem by citizens? Is there evidence of widespread anti-party sentiment? We reviewed evidence on a range of indicators, including:

- Survey evidence of antipathy or apathy towards political parties in general
- Survey evidence of levels of partisan loyalty and identity
- Electoral volatility
- The 'Effective Number of Parties' (a measure of party system fragmentation)
- Rates of party membership
- National election turnout rates.

In an ideal-type successful transitional democracy, in which parties are well-institutionalized, we would be looking for steady and high electoral turnout, falling or generally low electoral volatility, a low to moderate effective number of parties, rising or stable levels of partisan identification and party membership among voters, and limited evidence of anti-party sentiment; some criticism of parties can be accepted as virtually inevitable in any democratic system, but it is important that the major part of the citizenry regard them as necessary to the func-

tioning of democracy. The first thing to note about our findings is that nowhere does this ideal-type of a fully institutionalized democratic party system seem to exist, in the terms set out above. Then again, it might reasonably be pointed out that this would be equally true of the established democracies, so this is hardly a damning finding in itself. To give a broad summary of the picture regarding the popular party legitimacy of political parties, we can say the following:

- New democracies remain more electorally volatile and fragmented than established democracies, while electoral turnout, partisan identification and party membership rates are lower.
- Anti-party sentiment is universal in democratic society, though this is often about 'soft' lack of trust in parties rather than a deep-rooted hostility.
- Where antipathy towards parties is harder, it is not always associated with a preference for authoritarianism, but rather, for a personalistic form of democratic leadership. This is especially true of the presidential systems of Latin America, such as Brazil or Argentina.
- Overall, some of our indicators suggest that the Latin American parties are a little more consolidated than the East European ones. This may derive from the generally greater passage of time since transition and the fact that a number of major parties in Latin America have substantial historical roots, despite the numerous incursions of dictatorship.
- Democratic party politics seems most institutionalized in Hungary among the East European cases: electoral volatility and party system fragmentation have fallen there recently, while electoral turnout, partisan identification and party membership have increased. Russia and Ukraine fall at the opposite end of the spectrum.

Party Organisational Strength

The central question here is: are parties developing into viable well-resourced organizations? It should be said that it is harder to summarize the information on the development of party organizations, given the patchy or imprecise nature of the data which are sometimes available. However, a number of points are fairly clear.

- The major parties are reasonably well funded in all of the countries and both of the continents we have examined in detail in the book.
- State funding of parties is virtually universal in these countries now, although in cases such as Chile it has come in only recently.
- Clientelism is a very significant factor in some cases, especially Brazil and Argentina, and candidate-centred or personalistic relationships are widely present in these and other countries in Latin America.
- The professionalization of staffing – that is, the centrality to party organizations of those with specialist skills in marketing, public relations or opinion research – is increasingly common, especially in Eastern Europe.
- In the latter region also, the former Communist parties have inherited and sustained relatively strong organizations, at least in terms of member-based resources.
- Finally, Russia and Ukraine are somewhat distinct from the other countries we have examined in Eastern Europe, in having parties that are more dependent on members and donors for income, and in sustaining state media organizations that are biased towards parties favoured by the presidential executives.

The Systemic Functionality of Political Parties: Implications for Democracy

What might the empirical indicators of party legitimacy and organizational strength imply about the broader utility of parties for the political system? We reviewed the record of political parties in Latin America and Eastern Europe in respect of the following classical political functions:

- Providing governance
- Facilitating political recruitment
- Articulating and aggregating interests
- Providing channels of political communi-

cation and education
- Fostering political participation.

First, we must recognize that parties are simply not central to mobilizing political participation any more, in either established or new democracies. The world has now left behind the era of the mass party. However, it is worth emphasizing that just because this is so, it does not mean that parties or democracy are somehow 'failing'. Rather, a particular historical phase of democratic development peculiar to the twentieth century entailed highly mobilized socio-political cleavages, which found expression in high levels of partisan membership, identification and electoral turnout. The near-universal slump in each of these indicators should not be taken as evidence of democratic crisis, but as the consequence of transition to a different era of democratic politics. By and large, the world's younger democracies have simply bypassed the mass party phase and its attendant expressions of partisan commitment.

Secondly, it should be regarded as entirely natural that parties will be severely challenged as sources of political information in the context of modern mass communications and pluralistic democracy. This may be regarded as essentially healthy from a democratic perspective, rather than as a sign of the weakness. By contrast, where parties or candidates are able to retain excessive political control over the media (as in Russia and Ukraine), this can hardly be presented as a positive development for democracy. Thus, the incessant contest between parties and the media over the dissemination and interpretation of political information, and the consequent 'professionalization' of the relevant sections of party organizations, is seemingly an inevitable component of modern democracy.

Third, parties are at their most feeble in those recently transitional democracies characterized by personalistic, candidate-centred forms of presidential politics. These countries are associated with weakly institutionalized party organizations, low levels of legislative party cohesion, undue executive encroachment on the media, clientelistic linkages and 'rent-seeking' exploitation of state resources. In such cases, parties generally fail to play central roles in the articulation and aggregation of interests, and the party government model does not apply: to the extent that a democratic system of accountable government holds, it operates in a candidate-centred way. This is not necessarily pathological for democracy, but there are risks. Politics without stable structures of partisan conflict can be more susceptible to the dangers of populist demagoguery, and in the absence of popular or charismatic leaders, the resultant power vacuum can be sufficiently destabilizing to encourage support for 'non-political' forms of government.

Professor Paul Webb

Elsewhere in the recently transitional democracies parties are showing signs of stability and institutionalization – especially, but not exclusively, in the parliamentary systems. Even if it would not be entirely accurate to describe all of these countries as matching up to an ideal-type of party government (Katz 1986), nonetheless in every case parties make important contributions to the governance, recruitment, articulation and aggregation functions, albeit not without challenges and constraints.

To this extent, at least, we may conclude that, as in the established democracies, parties in some of the newer democracies can help facilitate a meaningful degree of popular choice and control (Webb 2002: 453-4). While these criteria will not fully satisfy those whose ambitions extend to radical participatory forms of democracy, they nevertheless remain substantial achievements in normative terms. Democracy is most appreciated and best consolidated in those places where party politics is most institutionalized. Wherever party politics is more weakly institutionalized, political inequality tends to be greater, commitment to pluralism less certain, clientelism and corruption more pronounced, and populist demagoguery a greater temptation.

SEI Dispatches

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

Making our intellectual contribution to Europe's Cohesion Policy

Graham Meadows

Special Adviser to the European Commissioner in charge of Social Policy, SEI Practitioner Fellow

Political cycles are usually predictable. They have a regular form – a new policy is introduced and put into practice and then, after a period of years, reviewed and revised. But the current cycle for European Cohesion Policy is proving to be different. Very different.

The latest revision of the policy was agreed in December 2005 to come into force at the beginning of this year, and to last until 2013. In the usual cycle, the emphasis this year and the next, and in 2009, would be on the new policy's implementation. Ironing out hiccups and getting the policy working as intended, or as near as possible. Then, in the usual way of working, policy-makers would have stood back, evaluated their creation and begun to think about improvements for post-2013.

This time policy-makers are impatient. New development programmes for the years up to 2013 are still being approved and most have still not entered into force. But they are already thinking about the shape of the policy which will take over when these brand new programmes end in eight years' time.

Graham Meadows

The European Commission undertook as part of the EU budget deal agreed under Tony Blair's leadership in December 2005 to put forward in 2008 a review of the EU's spending policies. Such reviews take time to prepare and deep thinking is already well under way.

The first signs of this for European Cohesion Policy are already evident. Commissioner Danuta Hübner will launch in June a paper setting out her thinking for the medium-term. The, just after the summer, she will launch a Europe-wide public debate on her suggestions. Her plan is to bring the public consultation to a close early next year so that she can use its fruits in her policy input into the 2008 spending policy review.

Perhaps the SEI will make a submission in this consultation process ? Here are a few of the issues we might consider.

- At the moment European Cohesion Policy has two very different scenarios. For regions which have an income per head of less than 75 per cent of the EU average, the policy reserves about 80 per cent of its funding. All others share another 15 per cent between them. The difference on the ground is stark: some regions receive high intensities of EU financial support, others very low. Is this still the right way to share out the EU budget funding ?

- Many regions in the new Member States are already close to, or even beyond, the 75 per cent tipping point. This would mean for them a sudden and sharp drop in EU finance at the end of 2013. Should such transitions be softened more in future than they were at the end of last year ? What's so special, anyway, about two categories of regions, the very poor and the rest ? Would it not be better to move to three categories – the very poor (income below 75 per cent of the EU average), the poor (say 75-85 per cent of the EU average) and the rest ?

- Is GDP per head still a satisfactory measuring stick for the economic and social welfare of regions ? Shouldn't the Union base the policy on a more rounded 'happiness indicator' ?

- Many studies indicate that the capital which counts most for development is the capital represented in people. Is the Union making the right investments in training its citizens ? Should physical investments and those in people be better co-ordinated ?

- European Cohesion Policy still operates to a large extent through grants. Shouldn't a modern development policy make more use of loan schemes, which have the advantage that public funding is recycled, as Germany and Austria are still recycling Marshall Aid ?

- Or, finally, are all of these questions superfluous ? Wouldn't it be best discontinue Cohesion Policy for all but the very poorest regions and encourage everyone else to stand on their own economic feet ?

Six questions but many more, probably much more incisive, can be asked. If we in the SEI want to make our contribution, we have until the end of the year to do so. No time to lose.

Graham Meadows has been a Practitioner Fellow at the SEI for a number of years. He recently retired from his position as Director General responsible for the Commission's Directorate General for Regional Policy and is now a registered DPhil student at Sussex, supervised by Donald Winch and Knud Haakonssen in the Department of Intellectual History. He remains a Practitioner Fellow at SEI and is also a Special Adviser to the European Commissioner in charge of Social Policy, Vladimir Spidla.

The New Right in the New Europe

Seán Hanley

Lecturer in East European Politics at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, UCL, Visiting SEI Research Fellow

For me the past year has seen some research projects move towards completion and others start to emerge sketchily onto the drawing board. In December I finally finished a book on right-wing politics in the Czech Republic, a subject that has held a continuing fascination for me since the early 1990s. Although the Czech lands had perhaps the strongest social democratic traditions in Central and Eastern Europe, in Václav Klaus's Civic Democratic Party (ODS), they gave rise to the region's strongest and most stable free market party. As many observers quickly noted 'Thatcherism Czech-style' was more Thatcherite in rhetoric than reality.

Under Klaus the Czech state retained an enduring (if weakly exercised) control of both markets and economic assets and privatized in a way which was both bureaucratic (and hence vulnerable to corruption) but also overly reliant on the voucher method of privatization, which empowered fund- and enterprise managers at the expense of small shareholders. As the already rich literature on Czech economic transformation has shown, the unintended consequences of mass voucher privatization combined with the Czech right's aversion to regulation and penchant for doomed and dubious buyouts by would-be Czech captains of industry led to economic underperformance and corruption.

The early political dominance of the Czech right also rapidly unravelled as the Czech centre-left gradually reasserted itself. Only deep splits between the Czech Social Democrats and the hardline, unreconstructed Communists prevented Scandinavian style marginalization of the liberal right. Instead in the decade since 1996 the Czech Republic experienced ever more refined forms of political stalemate: minority coalitions, care-

taker governments, precarious parliamentary majorities and numerous types of ad hoc left-right co-operation.

Many expected the June 2006 elections, which took place as I was finishing book the manuscript, to break this pattern. Faced with disunited and scandal-hit Social Democrat-led coalition, the right seem set to sweep back into office with the Civic Democrats promising a radical programme of tax and welfare reforms. However, their apparent triumph at the polls in June - which saw the party receive its highest ever share of the vote - was a distinctly Pyrrhic victory. Even in unlikely new alliance with the Greens, the parliamentary arithmetic left the party unable yet again form a majority centre-right administration. Ignoring President Klaus' injunction to form a Grand Coalition with the outgoing Social Democrats, the Civic Democrats squeaked into office this January this year in a minority coalition government with Christian Democrats and Greens, helped out at the crucial moment by the abstention of two dissident Social Democrat MPs in a parliamentary vote of confidence.

Much academic writing on the Czech right has been characterized by a fascination with the personality of Václav Klaus and a concern to engage critically with neo-liberalism. Some discussions centred almost to exclusion of all else on the personality and career of Klaus, stressing the former Prime Minister and current President's charisma and 'political skill' as key factor in steering Czech transformation. Others conjured up hyperbolic condemnations of Klaus as a 'Lenin for the bourgeoisie' leading a 'vanguardist party' or showed more subtle biases in, for example, a sometimes uncritical reliance on Klaus' former political opponents as sources of authoritative information and interpretation. However, depictions of Czech politics as 'Havel vs. Klaus' Clash of the Titans often unconsciously echo the right's propagandistic depiction of Klaus as a political superman who single-handedly shaped Czech transformation. Similarly, critical debunkings of the pseudo-Hayekian policies and ideology of the Czech right tend to overlook its ambiguity, complexity and inherent interest as a phenomenon in comparative politics.

Without offering an apologia for the failings of the Czech right, my new book, *The New Right in the New Europe: Right-Wing Politics and Czech Transformation, 1989-2006* (Routledge Curzon July 2007) seeks to offer a mild corrective to both trends. It places the post-1989 Czech right in historical and social context by tracing it origins to the reactions of dissidents and technocrats to the collapse of reform communism after the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia and their responses to imperatives of market reform and decommunization both before and after 1989. Subsequent chapters consider the emergence of -right--wing forces in the disintegrating Civic Forum movement in 1990-1, the foundation of the Civic Democratic Party and the right's period in office under Klaus in 1992–97. It then explores the subsequent divisions and decline of the 1997-2006 period when elite-grassroots tensions and uncertainties as to whether the right should be a vehicle for middle class development, further market reform or Hungarian style national populism put party unity under increasing strain even after the departure of Klaus as leader in 2002.

Seán Hanley

The book concludes with assessment of ideology of the Czech Right and its growing (but evolving) euroscepticism. Ultimately, it concludes the Czech right created by Klaus and his co-thinkers can plausibly lay claim to be a new force in Czech politics, breaking with many previous patterns, but like its distant ancestors a century earlier is perhaps as national-liberal rather than neo-liberal.

The New Right in the New Europe also seeks to use the Czech case to reflect more broadly on the nature of centre right forces across Central and Eastern Europe. The importance of -the centre--right in the region has often been overshadowed in both media coverage and academic research by preoccupations with extreme nationalism, sinister populism and the afterlife of former ruling parties. This April, Aleks Szczerbiak, Tim Haughton and Brigid Fowler (both University

of Birmingham) published an SEI working paper which took the Cinderella topic of of the CEE centre-right a step further by for the first time systematically comparing the fortunes of right-wing formations in Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic.

In many ways, however, our research has raised as many questions as it has answered. The role of informal elite networks in sustaining parties which we highlight runs against the grain of earlier analysis of party systems in East Central Europe, which has seen them as essentially ideologically based and at bottom understandable in terms of formal models of party organization.

The *consequences* of patterns of right-wing party development in post-communist Europe also need to be unpacked. The electoral growth but political failure of parties with flat tax platform such as the Czech Civic Democrats or Poland's Civic Platform, for example, suggests that fluid, fragmented party politics along Slovak or Estonia lines offers the best prospect (or, depending on your point of view, greatest threat of) of further a wave of radical market reform in the region.

As this suggests, the post-accession era politics of the region are no longer straightforwardly reducible to dismantling communism or adaptation to the EU *acquis* or more subtle pressure of Europeanization. In many ways, the politics of the new EU states in CEE will increasingly centre on issues which echo (but do not quite replicate) political issues exercising politicians and voters in the old EU, such as tax and welfare reform; the management of ageing societies; or the nebulous questions of citizen participation and 'democratic quality'.

Although thorny questions concerning the 'Europeanization' of parties in Central and Eastern Europe or the role of CEE domestic politics and party systems in shaping the stances of New Member States (NMS) in an enlarged EU continue to interest me my future research is likely to be angled towards the comparative politics of such 'convergence issues', rather than the EU-domestic politics dynamic. Perhaps feeling my age, my most immediate plans are to write a short study on pensioners' parties in the region.

Kosovo welcomes its future

Shenoll Muharremi

Head of the Agency for European Integration (Kosovo)

It's always a pleasure to share opinions and to try and contribute to the knowledge both of the University of Sussex's student body and of the wider academic community. And as a member of the distinguished Sussex alumni association, it is a privilege to be writing for SEI's eminent newsletter.

Kosovo is nearing the end of the process that will define its political status. The timeframe set by the international mediators foresees that by mid-2007 the United Nations Security Council of the United Nations will approve a new Resolution for Kosovo that would open the way for recognising Kosovo's independent statehood. Since 1999, a combination of inter-ethnic relations and the poor economic situation have represented a serious source of tension that continues to affect Kosovo's political situation.

However, the resolving of the country's formal status and the further implementation of the European Partnership Priorities would enable Kosovo to be a 'capable state'. According to several think-tanks and research institutes around the world, independence for Kosovo would stabilise the security situation inside the country; thereby contributing to regional security and cooperation and acting as a first step towards EU accession.

The primary issue during the negotiations regarding Kosovo's final status has been the accommodation of the Serbian minority within the future independent state. Packages of constitutional and political rights have been offered in three areas: central institutions, decentralisation and protection of the religious and cultural heritage. These will enable Kosovo's Serb and other minorities to build their future in a democratic, peaceful and prosperous country. This then is seen as a test for the ability of Kosovo's institutions to implement policies which would ensure the same rights and a similar level of welfare for all the people of Kosovo.

The Kosovan government is determined to build a democratic and prosperous country where every citizen is equal regardless of their ethnic background. This has also been Kosovo's position during the status negotiations.

My role as the Chief Executive Officer of the Agency for European Integration is to implement this vision of Kosovar institutions and Kosovar society through the Action Plan for the European Partnership. We are grateful to the International Community for the continued support being given to Kosovo's freedom, democracy and development. This gratitude will be reflected by a commitment that the rest of the world will no longer hear about violence and insecurity in Kosovo but rather its development and prosperity.

A resolution of Kosovo's political status would open the way for foreign investment that will impact positively on economic growth and prosperity in Europe's newest and poorest state. Moreover, with its political status defined, Kosovo would be able to engage in contractual agreements with the EU. Since the 2003 Thessaloniki European Council, the EU has provided a relatively constant set of incentives for political elites in the region to move toward peace-building, reconciliation and economic reform. Our ultimate goal is to integrate Kosovo into the various Euro-Atlantic structures. In this spirit, the Government of Kosovo considers EU accession as our main challenge and opportunity.

Shenoll Muharremi

Being part of SEI during my postgraduate studies was a great experience that has not only deepened my knowledge but also provided me with a critical and realistic view regarding the trends and processes of change and development of the political, social and economic relations in Kosovo and neighbouring areas.

There is lack of education and knowledge regarding the processes of European Integration at all the levels of government and society in Kosovo. With the youngest population in Europe, every investment in terms of closing this educational gap would be a giant step in for the country's progress towards EU membership. Therefore, in cooperation with international partners, we have designed a €4.5 million, three year, postgraduate scholarship scheme for the education of the Kosovo's young and ambitious professionals in the prestigious universities of Europe. Upon completion of their studies, these young professionals are expected to return and work in Public Administration and to contribute to the process of European Integration. There is no mechanism more suited to achieving the latter than the employment of young people motivated by further professional education and training.

Finally, Kosovo has a European future, not only due to its position at the heart of the Balkans, but also because of its potential for playing a stabilizing role in the region via a tolerant, multi-ethnic, society. We understand that the road to Europe is a long one requiring enormous effort by our local institutions. But we are not alone in this process. We will achieve our goals in close cooperation with our international partners.

The EU, in particular, stands out as a credible actor and as a source of inspiration, given its wealth, security and stability. We are aware of the progress that has been made, but know that more can be done to further Kosovo's EU approximation process. We have no other future but integration into the EU. On other hand, the 'European express train will not reach its final destination without passing through all stations of the Western Balkans'. That is why we will not rest until we fulfil all the criteria and achieve our goal.

Shenoll Muharremi is a Sussex Alumni (MACES 2005-6) and a former European integration political adviser to the Prime Minister of Kosovo. Since October 2006 he has led Kosovo's European integration process as the head of the Agency for European Integration in the Office of the Prime Minister.

Fieldwork in Poland: Focusing on Focus Groups

Simona Guerra

After spending the Autumn Term at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, I have packed my bags again and flown to Poland. Poland is the sixth largest Member State of the European Union and has the numbers to play a major role in the new EU27. Polish political elites are not so Euro-enthusiast as Polish public opinion is. Looking at the Eurobarometer data (EB66) Polish public opinion thinks that the country benefited from being a EU Member State (62 per cent), supports a common foreign policy (78 per cent), and is in favour of further enlargements (76 per cent). Despite the fact that 49.71 per cent of the Polish government is made up of 'soft' and 'hard' Eurosceptic deputies, public support for the EU has steadily increased since May 2004.

My research studies Polish public opinion on European integration. Living in Krakow and studying at the Uniwersytet Jagielloński for my Masters degree created a link with the country, and I am happy to be back here this Easter to conduct my fieldwork. That was possible thanks to a scholarship that I was awarded by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). Every year UACES offers scholarships to support periods of fieldwork by postgraduate students to study and work on their research on European integration in another country. The scholarship is covering not only my travel and stay, but also all the extra costs that I will encounter during my fieldwork – such as such photocopies, and books – and the expenses for my focus groups.

Focus groups are a technique that we can trace back to the 1920s. The first focus group was (apparently) carried out to evaluate audience responses to a radio programme in the USA pre-WWII. The increasing use of focus groups in communication and market research has influenced politics and social research. They are now a useful qualitative research method for those aiming to (i) listen to and learn from people, (ii) test hypotheses, (iii) explore one's topic from by analysing others conversations, (iv) obtain in-depth knowledge, (v) answer interpretive questions such as *"how and why"*, and to understand diversity (Morgan, D. L. 1997).

Focus groups are like a group discussion, and in a sense they are a carefully planned group interview, where participants address one another, instead of talking directly to the moderator - the person leading the focus group. If we study public opinion, we are usually caught up by the numbers and opinion poll data. Yet, it is also fundamentally important to test our hypotheses by actually talking to people. This helps to fill gaps in the quantitative analysis.

Ideally the dynamics of a focus group come from the interaction of the participants and the moderator plays a minimal role so that the participants feel able to talk freely. I am in Poland to conduct my first focus group with a group of undergraduate and postgraduate students of the University of Warsaw and the focus was on EU integration and the role of information.

The social research classes attended for my MSc in Social Research Methods, during the first year of my DPhil, helped me to decide how I wanted the focus groups to run. Having done the MSc has proved very useful and helped me to realise that the focus groups would entail a semi-structured list of topics and questions. As the students were talking and interacting one another, other issues that could be of interest were to be added to the list of the questions.

The focus groups that I am currently conducting aim to gather qualitative data on public opinion and information on the EU – but also to answer some questions arising from the results of my quantitative analysis. The current debates after the Berlin declaration were focusing on the Polish political elites' attitudes, and questions on a possible future referendum on the Constitutional Treaty in Poland provided illuminating insights on the Polish reality.

I planned this series of focus groups for my DPhil project. Although I had not previously conducted a focus group, I found my first one surprisingly easy to organise. I spoke about my research to a group of students

and they showed encouraging signs of enthusiasm. I grasped the occasion and suggested I would have been interested in listening to a group of young people – usually the most EU supportive group – speaking about the EU. The invitation led to a first meeting with a group of at least twenty students. Some were happy to show their personal disappointment with the EU. We agreed to meet the following day, but eventually deferred the focus group to the day after this. In the end I had a small group – of eight students who were familiar with the topic.

It was surprising how small the role of the moderator can be. There were moments when I that I was playing an important role - when asking the questions and setting the agenda - but my interventions were short, as the debate never stopped. I started with the first question and ended just with a final summary, a big collective 'yes' to the European Union. The participants' enthusiasm for the EU was also coupled with some critical stances towards the type of membership that Poland would experience and debates on the Constitutional Treaty. My research found that it was among the better-informed (and most Euro enthusiast citizens) that doubts and concerns on the Treaty were likely to be located. I found that with my focus groups the participants clearly asserted that the Constitutional treaty is a long and difficult text to read, and that they showed that a possible referendum cannot be as successful as polls on the levels of Polish public support forecast. Despite these doubts, they all agreed the EU brought benefits, and we celebrated sharing bars of chocolate, the perfect end before the Easter break.

Simona Guerra

My fieldwork is an extremely valuable occasion for my research, as I can enrich my quantitative findings and test my hypotheses. A previous period of fieldwork in Poland during my first year enabled me to get to know fellow academics and important centres of research. I plan to conduct three focus groups in total and I have profited immensely from the assistance of Kateryna Bonicka, at the Public Opinion Research Centre, which is going to organize my second focus group, when I will return to Poland in June. In April I met Dr Jacek Kucharczyk, the Director for Programming of the Institute of Public Affairs in Warsaw. His advice and comments always offer great contributions to my research. In particular, I would also like to thank Professor Prof Jakub Michalek, Professor of International Economics at Warsaw University, for hosting me during these periods of fieldwork at the University of Warsaw.

During my stay I am benefiting from endless advice from Professor Mikołaj Cześnik, of the Szkoła Wyższa Psychologii Społecznej and Instytut Nauk Politycznych. His comments on my project and advice on my analysis on the Polish National Studies are really helpful, and the chat over a glass of Żywiec (if you do not know it, well it is time to fly to Poland) was the perfect break in a nice sunny Spring Polish afternoon. Finally, a particular thank you goes to the Sisters Urszulanki, for giving me such wonderful accommodation just around the corner from the library of the University of Warsaw.

It was great to spend the Easter break in Warsaw, and it is interesting to visit Poland year after year, and reflecting on the changes that are taking place. An exhibition on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome seemed to welcome my fieldwork. Further, I have also been lucky enough to have one of my DPhil colleagues Monika Bil with me for a few days. While I am studying public opinion, Monika is researching political parties and institutions. We have spent some time together and I accompanied her to an interview at the Sejm, the Polish parliament, which is a very spectacular building.

I am really looking forward to being back to Sussex, before flying again to Warsaw in June. Next time I hope I will have the time to visit Krakow again, and meet some of my former professors there. First, I will carry out my second focus group, with the help of the CBOS agency, and then I will do the last one, on my own. Without the UACES scholarship all this would have not been possible, for information about how to apply see

www.uaces.org

SEI Research Student Activities

Dan Keith and Ed Phelps

SEI DPhil Student Seminar Series

SEI research students organised a series of *DPhil Student Seminars* during the Spring Term. The seminars provided an extra opportunity for DPhil students to discuss broad issues relating to their research and to present their research designs and findings. Five seminars took place. To begin the series Nat Copsey (who has recently been appointed as a Postdoctoral Fellow in Polish Foreign Policy at the University of Birmingham and is currently awaiting his viva) and Sally Marthaler (who has recently completed her DPhil) spoke on their experiences of DPhil research.

The seminars were an ideal opportunity for first and second year research students to raise issues and concerns they may have about the process of 'doing a doctorate' for discussion. Nat's seminar titled 'How to finish a Phd' focused on the strategies DPhil students can take to balance their DPhil research with writing, undergraduate teaching, work commitments and giving conference papers. It was a useful opportunity for DPhil students to speak with Nat about how to make the most of their time as research students and to hear about the advantages Nat had found from pursuing a wide array of activities while conducting his DPhil research at Sussex.

Sally Marthaler ran the second seminar of the series on the 'Phases of the DPhil Process'. Sally discussed her experiences of designing a DPhil research project and the stages that this involved. She spoke about moving from the research outline to conducting her research, thesis writing and finishing the DPhil and viva. The seminar provided a useful chance for DPhil students to discuss the stages that they have reached with their research and to reflect on how they see their DPhils progressing.

The final three seminars then gave DPhil students opportunities to discuss aspects of their research projects. Ruth Johnson presented an outline of her research on Italy and the EU and discussion focused on the direction that this may take. Lyubka Savkova then presented her findings on support for EU membership within Bulgarian political parties. Lyubka explained the development of the Bulgarian party system and analysed the content of Bulgarian parties' manifestos. The final seminar of the series was held by Simona Guerra who presented a statistical analysis of Polish Support for the EU. Simona explained the statistical techniques that she had used in analysing the factors that had affected Polish support for the EU. Discussion then focused on the focus groups that Simona is conducting in Poland and how she is combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

The SEI DPhil series continues during the summer term. All research students are welcome. If you are interested in attending please contact Ed Phelps:

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SEI Researcher Professional Development Workshops

Throughout the Autumn and Spring terms SEI research students have had opportunities to attend *Researcher Professional Development Workshops* organised by SEI. The workshops were designed as informal meetings with SEI faculty, and were aimed at all research students in SEI.

At the workshops research students could discuss aspects of the research process with SEI experts and received learning materials to aid their professional development. During the Spring Term workshops included *Elite Interviewing* (Lucia Quaglia), *Preparing for your Viva* (Sally Marthaler), *Getting an Academic Job* (Shamit Saggar) and *Accessing European Institutions* (Jim Rollo and Alan Mayhew).

Tribute to Lord Cockfield

Jim Rollo
SEI Co-Director

Lord (Arthur) Cockfield an honorary graduate of the University and a benefactor to post graduate students in Sussex European Institute died in Oxford on 8 January 2006 aged 90

Arthur Cockfield was one of a generation of practical and idealistic Europeans who, in the second half of the 20th century and with vision and hard work, helped deliver peace and prosperity across a continent. His name will go down in the history of the European Union as the architect of one of its greatest achievements, the Single European Market.

He was born in September 1916 only weeks after his father was killed in action on the Somme. So his very birth was marked by European politics. He trained as a lawyer and an economist – a formidable combination since there are few disciplines that dispute with each other so vigorously.

He made his way with striking success in three different professions – as an Administrator in that engine room of state, tax collection; as a business man ending as Chairman of Boots; and finally as a politician in the British Cabinet notably as President of the Board of Trade and then as Vice President of the EU Commission.

His three careers were the ideal training along with his formidable intellect for his great task as architect and builder of the European single market. An understanding of the law and economics as well as practical experience of administration, business and politics was all necessary to drive through such an enormous, and enormously complex, process. A French observer said that:

Lord Cockfield

'Cockfield is a cool Cartesian, whose logic is so deadly that he can push systematically to extremes. You need that sort of mind to work through the consequences of abolishing frontiers.'

The partnership between Arthur Cockfield and Jacques Delors, the then President of the EU Commission, was central to the success of the Single Market programme. Superficially, this was an unlikely partnership of political opposites. But a shared commitment to a great European objective made them a powerful team.

Relations with Lady Thatcher over the Single Market programme were not so easy. On one occasion he flatly contradicted her twice on a point of fact; and he proved his point, to her face; and he lived to tell the tale! So to all his other qualities add courage under fire.

Arthur Cockfield, through the Single Market, brought many benefits to the daily lives of Europeans and not least to students and graduates of this university. The abolition of frontiers allowed the free movement of people across Europe which has greatly advantaged the University sector both in the quality of its staff and in the employment prospects of its graduates. The recognition of qualifications across the European Union and the right to work in any EU member, which the Single Market allows, gives today's graduates the possibility of a European career and not just a local or national one.

Lawyer and economist the Rt Hon the Lord Cockfield PC served as Treasury Minister from 1979 -1982 and was a member of the Cabinet from 1982-1984. Upon leaving the Cabinet, Lord Cockfield joined the European Commission as a Vice-President and was responsible for the completion of the internal market by 1992. Following this he joined KPMG Peat Marwick as a consultant on European affairs, retiring in 1993. In celebration of the 10th anniversary of SEI, the University of Sussex awarded Lord Cockfield an honorary Doctor of Laws degree for his contribution to our understanding of international relations.

For more information see:

www.sussex.ac.uk/.../22feb02/article1.shtml