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20 November

“From Nice to Europe”

Italian Prime Minister Professor Giuliano Amato delivers the 22nd Jean Monnet Lecture at the EUI

For its most important yearly academic event, the Jean Monnet Lecture, the European University Institute was honored and happy to welcome President Giuliano Amato, Italy's Prime Minister, former professor –and now external professor– of the European University Institute. Principal Patrick Masterson recalled Professor Amato's long-term commitment to the Europeanization process, both as a scholar and as a practitioner. He also emphasized the mission of the EUI, which is to contribute through its fundamental and applied research projects to a better understanding of the European Union, of its cultural diversity and of its common achievements.

At the turn of the millennium, in a time in which the original message of the Founding Fathers is somehow fading, Europe is facing the delicate challenge of integrating the eastern part of the continent. Who else could better represent and explain the necessary link between 'thinking about a vision of Europe' and 'acting toward a project for Europe' than Giuliano Amato?

Before tackling the delicate issues at stake as a Chief of Government and decision-maker in Nice, Professor Amato swapped hats for a time to deliver a magisterial lecture in order to share his views and concerns about the European project with his former colleagues and researchers. Balancing tough technical arguments with very concrete examples and metaphors, the Professor managed to review in a very direct



Giuliano Amato and Patrick Masterson

and instructive way the main pending questions of the agenda. He expanded beyond their material aspect and concluded on a broader philosophical reflection about the future of European architecture.

From the beginning, Amato stated clearly that the European Union was finding itself in a period of radical change, of great hopes and stimulating opportunities. However, the EU also faces real obstacles that need to be overcome. The actual fears and mistrust that can be observed by citizens all over the Union is a legitimate and understandable reaction to the ongoing lack of transparency regarding decision-making. There is indeed such a thing as a democratic gap in the Union. The role of the European leaders is to make the European enterprise more

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transparent to the general public and to carefully join their energies in a solid and elaborate European project in order to avoid deadlock and shortcomings. But to achieve such an ambitious goal, one must be equipped with the right tools. And this is even more important when the number of teammates keeps increasing through the process of enlargement. The European architecture is too complex to be a mere economic integrative process. According to Amato, there must be something else, some common culture or set



Giuliano Amato

of shared values that complement material or functional interests and that hold the European member states together. However the legitimacy of a multi-layered Union is twofold: on the one hand the European population, on the other the member states. Improving integration means shifting more and more power -and legitimacy- from the latter to the former. That's the overall hidden question of the Nice Summit; there is in fact a strong connection between the technical and institutional issues that are usually considered to be secondary technocratic details, and a broader European vision.

Therefore, using the image of a 'narrow door', of an (all but holy) 'gate', that Europe has to pass through, Professor Amato presented the Nice agenda as a list of items embedded in a more cultural framework. The four issues at stake are the following: re-weighting of votes in the Council, qualified majority voting procedure, enhanced co-operation, and the Charter of fundamental rights. All of them are technical tools to enhance and to be adapted to a concrete vision of Europe.

Retracing briefly the European integration process, Amato highlighted the inadequacy of institutional features over time and space in terms of democratic warranties. Initially, when voting in the Council, the majority represented 70% of the European population. Through successive enlargement waves and the joining of less populated countries, this number has come down to 60% and the danger of getting lower than 50% is real if the rules don't get changed. As for the

qualified majority versus unanimity voting procedures, the existing decision-making devices need to be brushed up as well in order to soften the resurgence of national interests and increase the adoption of decisions reflecting the European ones.

The last two issues deal more explicitly with the less tangible and above mentioned European spirit and common engagement. The so-called 'strengthened co-operation' procedures are not a new idea. However the restrictive provisions of the treaties which were in force since Amsterdam were not very usable, thus encouraging co-operation outside the common institutions. Elaborating on an argument that he had already developed previously at the EUI¹, Professor Amato explained how crucial it was for Europe to implement a close level of co-operation and integration in specific areas, as for example immigration, security or financial and economic policies.

Alluding to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome fifty years ago and progressively transposed into national legal systems, Amato insisted on the symbolical importance of the Charter to be adopted in Nice. It is all but a pompous empty vessel of 'continental rhetoric' and stands rather for the readiness of Europe to go a step further on the way to political integration. Human beings cannot be merely considered to be at the same level as goods, services or capitals. There is a strongly shared European com-



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mitment to the right of life, to the hierarchy of constitutional values and to the existence of social rights. European culture is diverse but this diversity is to be integrated freely, transparently and democratically into a higher set of values. The criteria of this common culture still need to be defined, both to get beyond the 'arte di arrangiarsi' on an *ad hoc* basis and to let the peoples of the actual and future member states know where Europe is heading to.

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European Parliament Committee visits the Institute

On 12 October 2000 the European University Institute hosted a visit from a delegation from the European Parliament Committee for Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport.

This delegation was headed by the President of the Committee, On. Giuseppe Gargani (Italy). Other members of the delegation were: Ruth Hieronymi (Germany), Teresa Zabell and Pedro Aparicio Sánchez (Spain), Roy James Perry and Barbara O'Toole (United

Kingdom), Ole Andreasen (Denmark), Maria Martens and Marieke Sanders-Ten Holte (The Netherlands).

After an official welcome from the EUI President, Dr Patrick Masteron, the afternoon was taken up with short presentations of the departments given by Prof. Raffaele Romanelli (History), Prof. Jacques Ziller (Law), Prof. Philippe Schmitter (SPS), Prof. Søren. Johansen (Economics) and Prof. Yves. Mény (Robert Schuman

Centre for Advanced Studies). Dr Andreas Frijdal, Head of Academic Service gave a general overview of EUI activities and research. These sessions were followed by a fruitful question and answer discussion session.

By means of this visit the new members of the EP Culture Committee became acquainted with the European University Institute and learned about its various activities.

BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations inaugurated



Sir John Browne, Dr Masterson
and Dr Zanardi Landi

On Friday, 10 November Sir John Browne, Group Chief Executive of BP (British Petroleum) delivered the inaugural lecture for the BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations at the European University Institute,

The full text of his speech "The Transatlantic Relationship - The New Agenda" may be found on the Internet at:

<http://www.iue.it/General/browne/p1.html>.

For further information see also the article "BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations at the Robert Schuman Centre" in this issue, p. 35f.

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Before accepting to answer a couple of questions by researchers, President Amato confided to his audience that the upcoming European Council would not be a 'Partie de plaisir'. He wished that the 'sense of Europe', which should be a constitutive part of our national identity, would inform the entire negotiation.

After Nice, we can say that the risk of fight Amato was afraid of happened to be true. Nice was the longest European Council ever. The actual achievements were far below the original ambitions of the French presidency. Some of the technical issues could not be settled and got postponed to a more 'adequate' time. The road to a European Constitution -not to mention a European identity- still promises to be long

and bumpy. However, as Professor Amato said, 'it's there. It enters, it enters', *poco a poco, langsam aber sicher*.

ALEXANDRE STUTZMANN
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Sciences

¹ See "A Strong Heart for Europe", in JOERGES (C.), MENY (Y.), WEILER (J.H.H.) (eds.), *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity?* - Responses to Joschka Fischer -, Florence: The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Harvard Law School, Jean Monnet Working Paper No.7/2000.

Le travail et la nation

Histoire croisée de la France et de l'Allemagne

La question du travail et de “son avenir” tend aujourd’hui à se structurer autour de trois options dominantes : le renforcement des institutions nationales, la régulation des pratiques économiques par le marché à l’échelle mondiale, enfin la définition de nouvelles formes de réglementation dans un cadre supra-national tel que l’Union européenne. La majorité des institutions du travail, que ce soit en matière de droit du travail, d’assurances sociales ou de formation professionnelle reste cependant inscrite, à l’heure actuelle, dans le cadre de l’État-nation. À tel point que la plupart des contributions au débat partent de l’existence d’une réglementation nationale des affaires économiques et sociales comme d’un ordre naturel des choses qui serait aujourd’hui remis en question.

Nation, État et institutions du travail : l’historicité d’une corrélation

Les tendances à une réglementation nationale des pratiques relatives au travail n’apparaissent pourtant qu’à partir de la fin du XIXe siècle, en réponse d’ailleurs à des prémices exactement opposées à celles qui dominent les débats actuels. Affaibli par la “question sociale”, le libéralisme —nettement plus affirmé au XIXe siècle en France et en Angleterre qu’en Allemagne— est déstabilisé par la revendication d’une refonte générale des institutions, formulée tant par le mouvement ouvrier que par les réformateurs sociaux conservateurs. Le cadre territorial de l’État-nation et les discours qui le légitiment servent de point d’appui à cette réforme qui débouche dans la plupart des pays européens, selon des voies et des chronologies variables, sur la constitution d’institutions nationales du travail. Souligner le caractère historique de ces institutions, plus généralement du processus de nationalisation des pratiques économiques, permet d’éclairer sous un autre jour les enjeux du débat actuel. C’est l’ambition de l’histoire croisée des institutions, des pratiques et des produits du travail proposée dans cet ouvrage pour la France et l’Allemagne.

Les controverses actuelles sur la construction européenne trouvent ainsi un écho étonnant avec les désaccords du tournant du siècle sur la construction nationale. Il y a un siècle, la question était celle de la préservation de pratiques socio-économiques locales et régionales ou de leur inscription dans le cadre institutionnel plus large de l’État-nation en vue d’une efficacité renforcée. À l’heure actuelle, certains pensent que les institutions nationales ne peuvent être protégées efficacement qu’à travers leur coordination dans un espace plus

vaste tel que l’Europe, alors que d’autres y voient le risque d’une perte d’identité et d’un appauvrissement de la diversité des nations. La récurrence et le renversement des arguments d’une conjoncture à l’autre sont frappants jusque dans leur connotation normative. Alors que les sociétés nationales, nées dans la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle, ont été dénoncées dans les années trente comme des sociétés de masse, propices à l’atomisation et au conformisme des individus, elles sont présentées aujourd’hui comme les garantes d’une authenticité et d’une diversité culturelle.

Ces analogies tendent à relativiser nombre de propositions avancées dans les débats contemporains. Les termes de “mondialisation” et de “déréglementation”, par exemple, s’y trouvent souvent confondus. Or, les notions d’“internationalisation” et de “mondialisation” renvoient en principe à une modification des espaces économiques, plus exactement à leur élargissement, alors que les notions de “déréglementation” ou de “libéralisation” désignent la révision à la baisse des dispositifs réglementaires. La concomitance historique entre d’une part la nationalisation des pratiques économiques et d’autre part l’élaboration d’institutions du travail sous l’égide de l’État-nation semble avoir réduit aujourd’hui l’évocation de ces deux phénomènes à un processus unitaire et indissociable, et conduit à la confusion entre des logiques différentes. Il ne saurait être question toutefois d’adhérer au postulat inverse d’une dissociation entre l’État et l’économie, mais plutôt de s’interroger sur la nature et l’historicité de la corrélation entre le développement de l’État-providence et le déploiement d’un espace national des pratiques économiques. Nombre de contributions à cet ouvrage montrent en effet combien l’État s’est en partie constitué, dans chacun des deux pays, autour d’enjeux économiques spécifiques.

Ces contributions suggèrent qu’il n’existe pas une forme optimale unique de développement institutionnel. Les institutions, telles que le droit du travail, la formation professionnelle, la protection sociale ou les conventions collectives, répondent dans chaque pays à des attentes et des besoins particuliers. La “question sociale” a sans aucun doute constitué le problème commun des réformateurs sociaux allemands et français à la fin du siècle dernier. Mais son contenu, c’est-à-dire la qualification du caractère problématique de la situation des ouvriers et de leurs familles dans une société industrielle, les moyens intellectuels, institutionnels et matériels disponibles pour sa résolution, enfin la nature des réformes acceptables diffèrent d’un pays à l’autre

comme le montre Bénédicte Zimmermann dans le cas du chômage.

À cet égard, le débat européen actuel se révélerait sans doute plus simple si, conformément à certaines thèses fonctionnalistes, les sociétés industrielles avaient développé des systèmes institutionnels identiques. Seules des questions d'échelles se poseraient. Or, les trajectoires politiques et économiques fort différentes de la France et des États allemands au cours du XIXe, comme du XXe siècles ont engendré des institutions qui présentent certes des traits communs, mais également de très nettes divergences.

Les sociétés française et allemande ne peuvent cependant être considérées comme des entités culturelles et économiques rigoureusement distinctes qui traverseraient côte à côte, mais de manière indépendante, l'histoire européenne. Leurs similitudes et leurs différences sont au contraire le fruit d'une histoire croisée au cours de laquelle "Français" et "Allemands" ont forgé leur identité nationale les uns par rapport aux autres dans une relation d'emprunt et de réappropriation, de rejet ou encore d'assimilation dans le cas extrême de l'Occupation. Les entités "France" et "Allemagne" sont, en partie, le fruit de cette histoire commune faite d'influences réciproques qui s'incarnent dans le projet européen lui-même, mais également dans des produits qui, tels le moteur diesel ou le programme Airbus, se sont développés dans un courant d'échanges entre les deux pays.

Des formes de coopération sortant des cadres nationaux se sont en effet nouées de manière durable, et laissent entrevoir la constitution de "mondes de production à base plurinationale", et en particulier de "mondes de production à base franco-allemande". Cette évolution esquisse une réalité européenne nouvelle : au-delà d'un grand marché, l'économie européenne tend également à prendre part aux échanges mondiaux, sur la base de spécialisations productives empruntant aux ressources des différents pays qui la composent. L'Allemagne et la France sont à la pointe de ce mouvement de coopération et d'interpénétration d'activités productives, naguère limitées à une base nationale. La réalisation de produits franco-allemands et plus largement européens montre comment les spécificités nationales peuvent constituer des ressources dans l'émergence d'une division du travail à l'échelle de l'Europe. La diversité qu'apporte à l'Europe l'existence d'États-nations cesse d'être un obstacle à l'Union, pour devenir une source d'innovations économiques et de rayonnement européen au niveau mondial.

Il revient alors à l'Union européenne de fournir les instruments d'une compréhension réciproque de cette diversité, à travers le principe de la subsidiarité de ses institutions. Les institutions européennes se voient ainsi assigner l'objectif de concilier le maintien et l'approfondissement des institutions de régulation du travail avec un degré élevé d'internationalisation économique.

Les impératifs d'une compréhension réciproque : de la comparaison entre les nations à l'histoire croisée

Une simple comparaison entre les réalités économiques et institutionnelles de l'Allemagne et de la France semble donc aujourd'hui plus que jamais insuffisante. Le développement de pôles d'intégration économique entre les deux pays, à travers des produits et une intensification des relations entre les régions implique d'aborder l'existence de ces nations dans une perspective croisée qui dépasse celle de la comparaison. La simple comparaison porte en effet l'accent sur une distinction de nature entre les éléments à comparer, et conduit à placer le concept de la nation en dehors de l'analyse pour en dégager seulement deux manifestations singulières. Dans cette optique, il est difficile de ne pas prendre la nation pour une réalité englobante qui fournirait l'explication ultime du comportement des individus. Or, les nations sont des réalités historiques prises dans les actions des personnes qui les constituent, comme le montre Normand Fillion pour l'évaluation professionnelle des salariés.

Pour comprendre la dynamique de ces réalités historiques, il est à nos yeux nécessaire de partir de la nation non pas comme réalité englobante, mais comme ressource pour les individus dans le cadre de leurs activités dont le travail constitue un des points centraux. Nous définirons ici le travail à la fois comme une activité orientée vers la réalisation de produits, et comme une dimension anthropologique de participation au bien commun. Dans cette perspective, les apports de la nation peuvent se révéler de différentes natures, selon les personnes concernées. La nation peut apporter le sentiment réconfortant de l'appartenance à une communauté se rapprochant à certains égards de la communauté familiale, mais elle peut également apparaître comme le point d'aboutissement de formes de coopération menées sur la base d'un intérêt réciproque bien compris. La nation se manifeste par ailleurs, en dehors des sentiments auxquels elle donne lieu, par un ensemble de conventions et d'institutions. Pour l'Allemagne et la France, ces dernières s'articulent autour d'une institution centrale : l'État. C'est d'abord à travers les institutions, comme les assurances sociales, et les produits dont l'État contribue à la réalisation, comme le paquebot par exemple dans le cas de la France, que la nation acquiert une actualité dans la vie courante des personnes. Les institutions et les produits constituent ainsi des traces tangibles des dynamiques nationales ; traces à partir desquelles a été conçu ce projet d'une double histoire croisée : du travail et de la nation, de la France et de l'Allemagne.

L'objet de cet ouvrage est en effet double. Il entend d'une part revenir, à travers un certain nombre d'études de cas, sur la corrélation entre la genèse de l'État-providence et l'inscription nationale des pratiques économiques. Il vise d'autre part à retracer, au cours d'une période relativement longue, les attentes des personnes

à l'égard de l'État en France et en Allemagne, dans le cadre des activités référées au travail. Ces attentes ne sont pas, à nos yeux, déterminées par un caractère national prédéfini qui existerait en dehors des processus historiques de transformation politique et économique. Elles s'inscrivent dans ces processus, de telle sorte que l'Allemagne et la France ne peuvent être envisagées comme des entités abstraites de leurs relations avec le reste du monde, et surtout des relations réciproques qu'elles entretiennent. Dans le même sens, il devient difficile d'isoler l'histoire politique de l'histoire proprement économique : les guerres mondiales, compte tenu en particulier de leur durée, apparaissent comme des moments centraux d'évolution tant des identités nationales, que des activités économiques des personnes. Les identités nationales ne sont donc pas des essences coupées de l'histoire que font les personnes. Elles sont constamment retraduites et redéfinies dans les situations d'action que constituent la réalisation de produits et d'institutions.

Une première partie vise à dégager quelques moments-clés de la constitution des cadres étatiques nationaux dans lesquels sont élaborées les institutions du travail. Ce processus de constitution sera envisagé sur le long terme à travers l'articulation des dimensions économiques et politiques, régionales et nationales de l'identité (chapitre I), avant d'aborder la cristallisation des pratiques économiques, entre la Première et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale dans des formes effectivement nationales. Le droit du travail et la formation professionnelle y seront traités comme deux exemples d'institutions s'inscrivant de part et d'autre du Rhin dans un cadre national, mais selon des configurations spécifiques. L'historicité des institutions et des identités nationales y sera ainsi analysée indépendamment de toute vision substantialiste de la nation, faisant de celle-ci un caractère spécifique de l'activité des personnes ou des choses réalisées dans le cadre d'une société nationale.

Une deuxième partie est consacrée à l'étude des registres de l'action publique mobilisés, au tournant du siècle, dans l'élaboration d'institutions nationales de politique sociale et d'organisation du marché du travail. La nationalisation des pratiques relatives au travail résulte avant tout d'un processus d'homogénéisation et de standardisation, en vue de la production d'un ordre politique et économique stable. Comme le suggère l'exemple de la protection sociale, les institutions qui sont alors élaborées, au terme de consultations et de débats plus ou moins longs, visent à satisfaire une pluralité d'exigences et d'argumentations, tout en prenant des significations spécifiques liées aux contextes institutionnels dans lesquels elles voient le jour. Dans le même temps, elles contribuent, par les résistances ou les ouvertures qu'elles suscitent, à révéler la nature du régime politique et des activités productives dans lesquelles elles prennent place. La réglementation des conditions de travail dans l'adjudication des marchés publics en France, et l'extension des conventions collectives en Allemagne apparaissent ainsi comme deux

modes spécifiques de constitution d'un marché national du travail. À côté de la codification juridique, la statistique fonde un autre outil de délimitation et d'homogénéisation d'un espace national du travail. L'étude des premières statistiques nationales du chômage conduites en France et en Allemagne au milieu des années 1890 montre combien la mesure et les enjeux de qualification qui s'y rapportent sont liés à la question plus générale de la conception de l'État et de son intervention sur le marché du travail. En révélant, à travers ces études de cas, d'importantes variations nationales dans les registres de l'action publique et les mises en formes institutionnelles auxquelles ils président, l'analyse comparative souligne les insuffisances de la thèse d'une nécessité historique universelle comme facteur explicatif de la constitution d'institutions nationales du travail.

Une troisième partie, enfin, abordera l'expression de l'identité nationale dans des situations de travail, à travers notamment des produits et des objets. Il s'agit là d'un aspect encore peu étudié et qui débouche, dans le contexte actuel de reconfiguration des activités productives et des institutions du travail, sur de nouvelles perspectives de recherche. Alors que certains produits, comme le paquebot en France, se font l'étendard d'un style national, d'autres, comme le moteur Diesel au début du siècle ou le programme Airbus aujourd'hui, sont au contraire le fruit d'échanges franco-allemands spécifiques. De tels produits offrent l'occasion d'explorer la créativité franco-allemande et les conventions de travail qui la sous-tendent. Une enquête sur l'évaluation du personnel, dans de grandes entreprises des secteurs de l'automobile et de la banque, permet de dégager quelques pistes de réflexions sur les formes de développements de ces conventions du travail en France et en Allemagne.

Parti du refus d'une conception substantialiste et mystique de la nation, cet ouvrage retrace les processus d'ouverture et de fermeture l'une à l'autre, des identités française et allemande, dans le cadre du travail, des institutions et des produits qui s'y rapportent. L'existence d'économies à base nationale n'y est pas prise comme une donnée, mais comme le résultat de processus historiques au sein desquels les deux Guerres mondiales ont joué un rôle important. Une telle perspective permet d'envisager la construction d'une Union Européenne qui assume l'héritage historique des spécificités nationales en indiquant le dépassement des rivalités dont l'Europe a jusqu'ici été le théâtre.

CLAUDE DIDRY, PETER WAGNER et BÉNÉDICTE ZIMMERMANN, *Le travail et la nation. Histoire croisée de la France et de l'Allemagne*, Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999

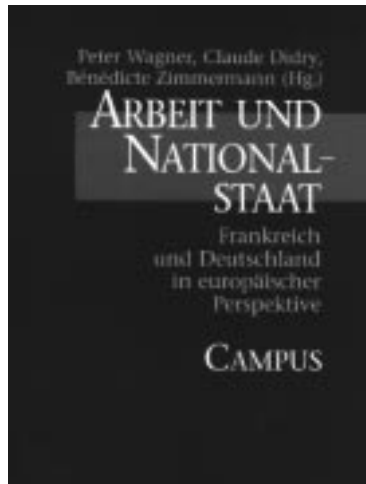
Arbeit und Nationalstaat Frankreich und Deutschland in europäischer Perspektive

Die Frage nach der Arbeit und ihrer Zukunft in der Gesellschaft wird heute vornehmlich entlang von drei verschiedenen Szenarien diskutiert: der erneuten Stabilisierung und Festigung von nationalstaatlichen Einrichtungen, der Regulierung der wirtschaftlichen Praktiken durch den Weltmarkt oder schließlich der Definition neuer Regulationsformen in einem supranationalen Rahmen wie der Europäischen Union. Zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt jedoch sind die meisten arbeitsbezogenen Institutionen – sei es auf dem Gebiet des Arbeitsrechts, der Sozialversicherungen oder der Berufsausbildung – noch weiterhin nationalstaatlich verfaßt. So geht die größte Zahl der Beiträge zu der Debatte um die Zukunft der Arbeit davon aus, daß eine staatliche Regelung der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Angelegenheiten so etwas wie die natürliche Ordnung der Dinge ist, die allerdings heute in Frage gestellt wird.

Die Nationalisierung arbeitsbezogener Institutionen: Historizität einer Korrelation

Das Bestreben, die Arbeitspraktiken nationalstaatlich zu regeln, ist jedoch erst seit dem Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts festzustellen; es geschieht zudem auf Prämissen, die denen diametral entgegengesetzt sind, die die aktuellen Diskussionen beherrschen. Durch das Aufkommen der „sozialen Frage“ geschwächt, wurde der Liberalismus – der sich im neunzehnten Jahrhundert in Frankreich und England allerdings deutlich stärker behauptete als in Deutschland – durch die sowohl von der Arbeiterbewegung als auch von konservativen Sozialreformern ausgesprochene Forderung nach einer allgemeinen Umgestaltung der Institutionen destabilisiert. Der territoriale Rahmen des Nationalstaats und die ihn legitimierenden Diskurse bildeten den Ausgangspunkt für diese Reformbewegung, die in den meisten europäischen Ländern – wenn auch auf unterschiedliche Weise und zeitlich versetzt – darauf abzielt, nationalstaatliche arbeitsbezogene Institutionen zu schaffen. Betont man aber somit die historische Gewordenheit dieser Institutionen – also den Prozeß der Nationalisierung der wirtschaftlichen Praktiken –, so ist die aktuelle Diskussion in einem anderen Licht zu betrachten. Die Darstellung der sich überschneidenden Geschichte der Institutionen, der Praktiken und der Produkte der Arbeit in Frankreich und Deutschland, die in dem Band Arbeit

und Nationalstaat unternommen wird, soll zu einem solchen Perspektivenwechsel beitragen.



Die aktuellen Kontroversen bei der Konstruktion Europas spiegeln in erstaunlicher Weise die Meinungsverschiedenheiten der Jahrhundertwende bei der Konstruktion der Nationen wider. Vor einem Jahrhundert ging es darum, entweder die lokalen und regionalen sozio-ökonomischen Praktiken zu bewahren oder sie in den größeren Rahmen des Nationalstaats einzuschreiben, um sie effizienter zu gestalten. Heutzutage wird zum einen die Meinung vertreten, daß die nationalen Institutionen nur wirksam geschützt sind, wenn sie in einem größeren Raum wie

dem europäischen koordiniert werden; zum anderen aber besteht die Befürchtung, daß dabei ihre Identität verloren ginge und die nationale Vielfalt verkümmern würde. Es ist frappierend, daß immer wieder auf die gleichen Argumente, die nur den Umständen entsprechend reinterpretiert werden, zurückgegriffen wird – bis hin zu ihrer normativen Konnotation. Während die in der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts entstandenen nationalen Gesellschaften in den dreißiger Jahren des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts als Massengesellschaften denunziert wurden, die zur Atomisierung der Individuen und zum Konformismus führen, werden ebendiese nationalen Gesellschaften heute als Garanten einer authentischen kulturellen Vielfalt aufgefaßt.

Derartige Analogien führen zur Relativierung vieler der in den gegenwärtigen Diskussionen gemachten Vorschläge. Die Begriffe „Globalisierung“ und „Deregulierung“ werden beispielsweise oft verwechselt. Die Konzepte „Internationalisierung“ und „Globalisierung“ verweisen auf eine Veränderung der Wirtschaftsräume, genauer gesagt auf ihre Erweiterung, während unter den Begriffen „Deregulierung“ oder „Liberalisierung“ eine Rückführung der gesellschaftlichen Regelungsdichte auf ein niedrigeres Niveau zu verstehen ist. Die Nationalisierung der Wirtschaftspraktiken einerseits und die Entwicklung von arbeitsbezogenen Institutionen unter der Schirmherrschaft des Nationalstaats andererseits bildeten historisch einen zusammenhängenden Vorgang, der in diesem Band analysiert wird. Dabei darf aber das Verständnis dieser beiden Phänomene nicht auf einen einheitlichen und untrennbaren Prozeß reduziert werden; das würde dazu führen, die unterschiedlichen

Gesetzmäßigkeiten, die diesen beiden Prozessen innewohnen, zu verwechseln. Ebenso wenig sollte man jedoch dem entgegengesetzten Postulat einer effektiven Trennung von Staat und Wirtschaft anhängen; es geht vielmehr darum, die Art und die Historizität der Wechselbeziehungen zwischen der Entwicklung des Wohlfahrtsstaats einerseits und der Ausbildung eines nationalstaatlichen Raumes wirtschaftlicher Praktiken andererseits zu befragen.

Die Beiträge dieses Bandes legen die Einsicht nahe, daß es für die Entwicklung der arbeitsbezogenen Institutionen keine optimale einheitliche Form gibt. Institutionen wie das Arbeitsrecht, die Berufsausbildung, sozialpolitische Arrangements oder die Tarifverträge entsprechen in jedem der beiden Länder ganz besonderen Erwartungen und Notwendigkeiten. Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts beschäftigte die „soziale Frage“ sicherlich sowohl die Deutschen als auch die französischen Sozialreformer. Was darunter jedoch zu verstehen ist, d.h. die Charakterisierung der Problemlage, in der sich Arbeiter und ihre Familien in der industriellen Gesellschaft befinden, die Abschätzung der zur Verfügung stehenden intellektuellen, institutionellen und materiellen Mittel zur Lösung dieser Frage und schließlich die Art der akzeptablen Reformen, variieren in beiden Ländern, wie besonders deutlich der Beitrag über die Arbeitslosigkeit zeigt.

Die aktuelle europäische Diskussion wäre sicherlich einfacher zu führen, wenn – manchen funktionalistischen Thesen entsprechend – die Industriegesellschaften identische institutionelle Systeme geschaffen hätten. Es ginge dann lediglich um eine neue Größenordnung und Reichweite sozialer Institutionen. Die sehr unterschiedlichen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen in Frankreich und in den deutschen Staaten im Laufe des neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts haben jedoch Institutionen ins Leben gerufen, die zwar gemeinsame, aber auch deutlich unterschiedliche Züge aufweisen.

Die französische und deutsche Gesellschaft können allerdings auch nicht als grundsätzlich verschiedene kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Einheiten betrachtet werden, die Seite an Seite, aber unabhängig voneinander die europäische Geschichte durchlaufen. Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede in den beiden Ländern ergeben sich gerade aus ihrer sich überschneidenden Geschichte, in deren Verlauf „Franzosen“ und „Deutschen“ ihre jeweilige nationale Identität durch die gegenseitige Bezugnahme in Form von Anleihen und Aneignungen, Ablehnungen oder im Extremfall während der Besatzung auch durch Assimilation ausgebildet haben. Die Einheiten „Frankreich“ und „Deutschland“ sind zum Teil das Ergebnis dieser gemeinsamen, durch gegenseitige Beeinflussung gekennzeichneten Geschichte, die in dem europäischen Projekt selbst, aber auch in Produkten, die – wie der Dieselmotor oder der Airbus – im Austausch zwischen den beiden Ländern entwickelt worden sind, Gestalt annimmt.

Die sich aus den jeweiligen nationalen Gegebenheiten ergebenden Kooperationsformen haben sich während des letzten halben Jahrhunderts dauerhaft miteinander verknüpft; sie eröffnen die Aussicht, daß „internationale Produktionswelten“ und insbesondere „deutsch-französische Produktionswelten“ entstehen. Diese Entwicklung läßt eine neue europäische Realität erkennen: Jenseits davon, lediglich einen großen Markt zu bilden, tendiert die europäische Wirtschaft ebenfalls dazu, am weltweiten Handelsverkehr teilzunehmen, indem sie auf die Produktspezialisierungen zurückgreift, die sich aus den Ressourcen der unterschiedlichen daran beteiligten Länder ergeben. Deutschland und Frankreich stehen bei dieser Kooperation und bei der gegenseitigen Verflechtung der Produktionen, die zuvor auf eine nationale Ebene beschränkt waren, an vorderster Stelle. Die Herstellung deutsch-französischer und ganz allgemein europäischer Produkte zeigt, wie die nationalen Besonderheiten Ressourcen sein können, wenn es um Arbeitsteilung im Rahmen und in der Größenordnung Europas geht. Aus dieser Perspektive behindert die durch die Nationalstaaten entstandene Vielfalt in Europa die Union nicht, sondern fördert wirtschaftliche Innovationen und deren weltweite Ausstrahlung. Es ist folglich eine Aufgabe der Europäischen Union, mittels des Subsidiaritätsprinzips ihrer Institutionen zum wechselseitigen Verständnis der Vielfalt beizutragen. Den europäischen Instanzen wird damit die Zielsetzung aufgegeben, die Aufrechterhaltung und Erweiterung der die Arbeit regulierenden Institutionen mit einer stark internationalisierten Wirtschaft in Einklang zu bringen.

Imperative des gegenseitigen Verständnisses: Vom Vergleich der Nationen zur Betrachtung der sich überschneidenden Geschichte

Eine einfache Gegenüberstellung der wirtschaftlichen Realitäten und Institutionen in Deutschland und Frankreich, wie sie sich immer noch häufig in der vergleichenden Sozialforschung findet, ist heute mehr denn je unzureichend. Die Entstehung von Polen wirtschaftlicher Integration zwischen beiden Ländern – durch Produkte und den Ausbau der Beziehungen zwischen den Regionen – verlangt, daß die Existenz dieser Nationen aus einer Perspektive ihrer Überschneidung erörtert werden muß, die weit über einen Vergleich hinausgeht. Eine einfache Gegenüberstellung betont im wesentlichen die Unterschiede von zu vergleichenden Elementen; dabei wird die Idee der Nation selbst außerhalb dieser Untersuchung angesiedelt, um daraus die Existenz von zwei besonderen Erscheinungsformen der Elemente abzuleiten. Aus dieser Perspektive ist es schwer, die Nation nicht als eine umfassende Realität zu betrachten, die das Verhalten der Individuen letztendlich erklärt. Die Nationen sind jedoch aus den Handlungen der sie immer wieder neu konstituierenden Personen hervorgegangene historische Realitäten, wie beispielsweise eine Untersuchung über Mitarbeiterbewertung deutlich zeigt.

Um die Dynamik dieser historischen Realitäten zu verstehen, ist es unseres Erachtens wichtig, die Nation

nicht als umfassende Gegebenheit zu betrachten, sondern als eine Ressource, die den Individuen im Rahmen ihrer Tätigkeiten – von denen die Arbeit eine der wichtigsten ist – zur Verfügung steht. Unter Arbeit wird hier sowohl die Tätigkeit verstanden, die auf die Herstellung von Produkten abzielt, als auch – in ihrer anthropologischen Dimension – die Partizipation am Gemeinwohl. Aus dieser Perspektive können die Beiträge der Nation sehr unterschiedlich aussehen, je nachdem, welche Individuen davon betroffen sind. Die Nation kann dazu beitragen, das Gefühl zu vermitteln, zu einer Art von Gemeinschaft zu gehören, die Ähnlichkeiten mit der Familiengemeinschaft aufweist, aber sie kann auch das krönende Ergebnis von Kooperationsformen sein, die auf der Grundlage eines wohlverstandenen gegenseitigen Interesses entstanden sind. Sie manifestiert sich zudem – über die Gefühle hinaus, die sie hervorruft – durch ein Ensemble von Konventionen und Institutionen. In Deutschland und Frankreich sind diese um eine zentrale Institution herum angeordnet, den Staat. Die Nation ist zunächst im alltäglichen Leben der Personen durch die Institutionen – wie die Sozialversicherungen – und durch die Produkte präsent, zu deren Herstellung der Staat beisteuert, wie beispielsweise zu dem Passagierschiff im Falle Frankreichs. Institutionen und Produkte sind also ein deutlicher Ausdruck der nationalen Dynamik; sie sind die Grundlage dieser Untersuchungen der sich zweifach überschneidenden Geschichte: der Arbeit und des Nationalstaats, Deutschlands und Frankreichs.

Die vorliegende Veröffentlichung hat sich ein doppeltes Ziel gesetzt: Zum einen beabsichtigt sie, anhand von Fallbeispielen die Wechselbeziehung zwischen der Genese des Wohlfahrtsstaates und der nationalen Verankerung der wirtschaftlichen Praktiken wieder aufzugreifen. Zum anderen zeichnet sie über einen langen Zeitraum die Erwartungen nach, die in Frankreich und Deutschland die Menschen im Rahmen ihrer beruflichen Tätigkeiten an den Nationalstaat stellen. Diese Erwartungen sind unseres Erachtens nicht von einem vorbestimmten nationalen Charakter geprägt, der außerhalb der historischen Prozesse der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Transformation anzusiedeln wäre. Sie sind in diesen Prozessen derart verankert, daß Deutschland und Frankreich nicht losgelöst von ihren Beziehungen mit der übrigen Welt und vor allem von ihren Beziehungen zueinander betrachtet werden können. Ebenso schwierig ist es, die politische Geschichte von der wirtschaftlichen zu trennen: Insbesondere die Weltkriege waren wesentliche Momente in der Ausbildung der nationalen Identitäten und der spezifischen Entwicklung der wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten der Menschen. Die nationalen Identitäten entstehen also nicht unabhängig von einer durch Menschen gemachten Geschichte. Sie werden in Handlungen und Handlungssituationen – der Herstellung von Produkten und der Erschaffung von Institutionen – ständig neu formuliert und neu bestimmt.

Im ersten Teil des vorliegenden Bandes werden zentrale Momente der Entstehung jenes nationalstaatlichen

Rahmens beleuchtet, in dem arbeitsbezogene Institutionen geschaffen wurden. Diese Genese wird über einen langen Zeitraum in Form der Untersuchung der Verknüpfungen der wirtschaftlichen und politischen, der regionalen und nationalen Dimensionen der Identität betrachtet. Anschließend wird die Kristallisierung der wirtschaftlichen Praktiken in ihren dann nationalen Ausprägungen zwischen dem Ersten und Zweiten Weltkrieg behandelt. Das Arbeitsrecht und die Berufsbildung werden hier als Beispiele von rechtlichen Regelungen angeführt, die auf beiden Seiten des Rheins in jeweils spezifischen Konstellationen in einem nationalen Rahmen verankert werden. Hier wird die Historizität der Institutionen und der nationalen Identitäten also unabhängig von jeder substantiellen Vision der Nation analysiert; die Nation gewinnt ihren spezifischen Charakter im Gegenteil aus den Handlungen der Personen oder den im Rahmen einer nationalen Gesellschaft geschaffenen Dingen.

Im zweiten Teil werden Register öffentlich-politischen Handelns untersucht, die um die Jahrhundertwende mobilisiert wurden, um in der Sozialpolitik und für die Organisation des Arbeitsmarktes nationalstaatliche Institutionen ins Leben zu rufen. Die Nationalisierung arbeitsbezogener Praktiken resultiert vor allem aus Prozessen der Homogenisierung und Standardisierung, die mit Blick auf die Schaffung einer stabilen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Ordnung vorgenommen wurden. Wie anhand der Sozialpolitik, insbesondere der Sozialversicherung, deutlich wird, sollen die damals nach mehr oder weniger langwierigen Beratungen und Diskussionen geschaffenen Institutionen den unterschiedlichsten Erfordernissen und Begründungen gerecht werden, nehmen aber dabei spezifische Bedeutungen an, die dem Kontext geschuldet sind, in dem sie entstanden sind. In der Untersuchung der Ablehnung oder Akzeptanz, auf die sie stoßen, erkennt man die zentralen Elemente der Staatsform und Produktionsweise, in denen sie angesiedelt sind. Die Regulierung der Arbeitsbedingungen bei der Ausschreibung öffentlicher Aufträge in Frankreich und die Ausweitung der Tarifverträge in Deutschland erscheinen so als zwei spezifische Möglichkeiten, einen nationalen Arbeitsmarkt zu schaffen. Die Statistik eignet sich ebenso gut wie die rechtlichen Bestimmungen dazu, einen nationalen Raum einzugrenzen und zu homogenisieren, in dem sich Arbeitsprozesse vollziehen.

Die Untersuchung der ersten nationalstaatlichen Statistiken über die Arbeitslosigkeit in Frankreich und Deutschland Mitte der neunziger Jahre des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zeigt, wie die Messung und die sich daraus ergebenden Fragen der Beurteilung des Phänomens mit der allgemeinen Konzeption des Staates und seiner Intervention auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Zusammenhang stehen. Da die Fallbeispiele bedeutende nationale Varianten in den Registern öffentlich-politischen Handelns und der durch dieses Handeln geschaffenen Institutionen erkennen lassen, werden in dieser vergleichenden

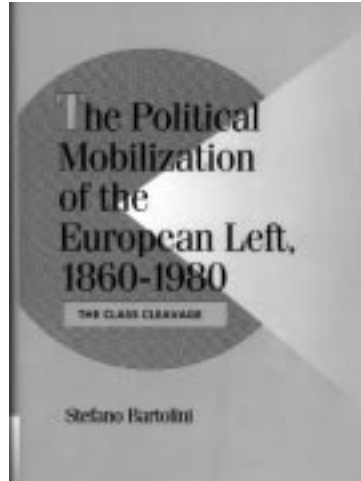
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Just published

The political mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980 - The class cleavage

In an in-depth comparative analysis, Stefano Bartolini studies the history of socialism and working-class politics in Western Europe. While examining the social contexts, organizational structures, and political developments of thirteen socialist experiences from the 1860s to the 1980s, he reconstructs the steps through which social conflict was translated and structured into an opposition, as well as how it developed its different organizational and ideological forms and how it managed more or less successfully to mobilize its reference groups politically. Bartolini provides a comparative framework that structures the wealth of material available on the history

of each unit and allows him to assess the relative weight of the complex explanatory factors.



Stefano Bartolini is Professor of Comparative Political Institutions at the European University Institute in Florence. He has contributed articles to numerous journals and has edited and written several books, including *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), for which he won the UNESCO Stein Rokkan Award.

Stefano Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980 - The Class Cleavage*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 637

continued from p. 9

Analyse die Unzulänglichkeiten einer These deutlich, die die Entstehung national-staatlicher arbeitsbezogener Institutionen zu einer industriegesellschaftlich bedingten historischen Notwendigkeit erklärt.

Im dritten Teil werden dann die Erscheinungsformen der nationalen Identität analysiert, die während des Arbeitsprozesses, insbesondere aber in den Produkten und Objekten, sichtbar werden. Es handelt sich hier um einen noch kaum untersuchten Aspekt, der im aktuellen Kontext der Umgestaltung sowohl von Produktionsformen als auch von arbeitsbezogenen Institutionen neue Perspektiven der Forschung eröffnet. Während einige Produkte – wie das Passagierschiff in Frankreich – zum Aushängeschild eines nationalen Stils werden, sind andere – wie der Dieselmotor zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts oder das heutige Airbus-Programm – hingegen aus den spezifischen deutsch-französischen Wechselbeziehungen hervorgegangen. Diese Produkte bieten sich an, um die deutsch-französische Kreativität und die ihnen zugrunde liegenden Arbeitskonventionen zu erforschen. Eine Untersuchung über die Mitarbeiterbewertung in Großunternehmen der Automobilindustrie und bei Banken ermöglicht es, Überlegungen über die Entwicklungsformen dieser Arbeitskonventionen in Frankreich und Deutschland anzustellen.

Ausgehend von der Zurückweisung einer substantiellen und mystischen Auffassung von Nation verfolgt diese Arbeit die Ausbildung und Entwicklung der französischen und deutschen Identität im Arbeitssektor und

bei den damit in Zusammenhang stehenden Institutionen und Produkten in ihren wechselnden Phasen gegenseitiger Öffnung und Abschließung. Die Existenz nationaler Wirtschaftssysteme wird hierbei nicht als eine Gegebenheit, sondern als das Resultat eines historischen Prozesses gesehen; die beiden Weltkriege haben dabei eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Aus dieser Perspektive ist die Entstehung der Europäischen Union zu betrachten, die das geschichtliche Erbe der nationalen Besonderheiten übernimmt und zugleich die Überwindung der Rivalitäten anzeigt, die bislang in Europa aufgetreten sind.

PETER WAGNER, CLAUDE DIDRY und BÉNÉDICTE ZIMMERMANN, *Arbeit und Nationalstaat. Frankreich und Deutschland in europäischer Perspektive*. Campus.Frankfurt a.M., 2000

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Vermeer, equality and insurance: a visit by Ronald Dworkin to the Institute

In the beginning, there was a question: what does Johannes Vermeer's exquisite 1664 painting of a Woman Holding a Balance have to do with the book whose cover it ornates and whose title suggests that it is about equality as a sovereign virtue? A preliminary answer can be obtained even before opening the book, by simply looking at the picture; thus, a critic at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, - where the painting is exhibited - for example, tells us that the pictured woman, "in waiting for the balance to rest at equilibrium, acknowledges the importance of judgement assessing her actions; [...] balance traditionally symbolises justice [and it] embodies a spiritual principle [...]: the need to lead a balanced life". It turns out, somewhat surprisingly, that this interpretation captures quite closely the core of Ronald Dworkin's new book 'Sovereign Virtue: the theory and practice of equality' [Cambridge (MA): HUP, 2000], which was the subject of a recent presentation given by the author in a packed-to-the-last-seat Teatro of the Badia Fiesolana. Formally part of Professor Wojciech Sadurski's seminar on the Philosophy of Rights, this 'Dworkin-on-Dworkin' session certainly attracted a much larger than usual number of researchers, Jean Monnet Fellows and professors. This came, of course, as no surprise, since no matter how one stands on Dworkin, it is undeniable that much of contemporary legal, political and moral philosophy has been developed in, as Prof. Sadurski aptly put it in his introduction, 'the shadow of Dworkin's ideas'. Indeed, many of his by now well-known concepts and distinctions such as 'rights as trumps', 'law as integrity', 'rules v. principles', or 'equal concern and respect' have defined the contours of legal, political and moral philosophy and have, justifiably or not, become canonical points of reference. And this despite much disagreement among his commentators as to the nature of his thought: for some he is simply a natural lawyer in disguise, for others he is a positivist; for some he is a communitarian, for others a liberal; and for some he is a legal theorist, for others a political-moral philosopher. Indeed, it is probably fair to say that, with his insistence on intermixing law, politics and morality 'as a matter of principle', Dworkin has himself contributed a good deal to the puzzlement; this, however, not in order to avoid criticism - which he has not -, but because, throughout his work, he has been trying to grasp the underlying concerns of seemingly opposite positions, attempting to bridge the gap and find a unified, or continuous, as he calls it in *Sovereign Virtue*, 'third' way. Hence his overall aspiration, which can be traced throughout his work, can be said to have been the reconciliation of personal and collective responsi-

bility along the lines of, as again Professor Sadurski has pointed out, the old European liberal tradition of Kant and Mill which combined a robust protection of personal liberty with strong egalitarian commitments.

Sovereign Virtue is Dworkin's most recent development of that overall aspiration, preceded by a number of monographs and innumerable scholarly articles, as



Professors Masterson, Dworkin and Sadurski

well as many digressions into political journalism. After studying at Harvard, Oxford and Yale Universities - and a stint as law clerk for District Court Judge Learned Hand - Dworkin began his academic career at Yale University, where he lectured from 1962 to 1968. During that time, he published a number of path-breaking articles, including 'The Model of Rules' and 'Hard Cases', which set the stage for his international renown. In 1969 - at the age of 38 - he was appointed to the Chair of Jurisprudence at Oxford University, succeeding H.L.A. Hart; in 1975 he took up an additional appointment as Professor of Law and Philosophy at New York University. In 1978, his first book, *Taking Rights Seriously*, came out, collecting various essays written during the past ten years and bringing together his emergent legal theory with explorations into political liberalism; it was complemented in 1985 with *A Matter of Principle*, followed only a year later by *Law's Empire*, in which he elaborates his theory of 'law as integrity'; an active political debater in both the United States and the United Kingdom, he published, in 1990, his anti-Thatcherist manifesto *A Bill of Rights for Britain* and in 1993 *Life's Dominion*: an argument about abortion, euthanasia, and individual freedom; in 1996, with *Freedom's Law*: the moral reading of the American Constitution, Dworkin joined the debate between communitarians and liberals and turned from legal theory to political philosophy, to which *Sovereign Virtue* is a further contribution. Now the Frank H. Sommer Professor of Law at NYU, he

recently retired from Oxford, and took up the Quain Professorship of Jurisprudence at University College, London.

In *Sovereign Virtue*, Dworkin essentially tries to bring together a particular theory of equality with a meta-theory about the significance of equality in political community. Neither theme is new to him and, accordingly, the book consists in large part of earlier essays - spanning the period from 1981 to 1999 - with only two chapters - 7 and 9 - newly written. This, however, does not mean that *Sovereign Virtue* is mere repetition, since this revised and carefully arranged exposition of these two strands of Dworkinian thought brings out the highly innovative, if not radical, implications of his accumulated work on equality; for he does not seek to elaborate just any theory of equality, but, indeed, to give a new answer to what he himself characterizes as the 'great puzzle' that has haunted political philosophy ever since the inception of humanism, namely the question of what is government, or, more precisely, of what gives persons or groups the right to coerce others. The standard answer to this big question has been, according to Dworkin, to assume that those who are coerced have actually consented to their coercion; as a consequence, political philosophers from Hobbes to Rawls have attempted to conceive of how people could have consented without, evidently, really having consented to having a government and being coerced by it; their solution has, as Dworkin sees it, been to offer some type of hypothetical social contract as the imaginary foundation of political community. To Dworkin, however, this is a 'phony' idea which is, on the whole, unpersuasive. Instead, he proposes to establish the conditions under which coercion is legitimate for persons and groups who have not actually consented to it, but who are either born into, or have joined, a political community. This, of course, presupposes a rather different concept of political community than that espoused by the contractarians: whereas for the latter it is a deliberate, and, hence, artificial, construct of individuals conceived of as existing prior to and independent of it, Dworkin sees it as more like a community of fate which people share independent of their personal choice. Hence, the one indispensable condition of legitimate coercion in such a political community can, in Dworkin's eyes, be none other than equality. Although he acknowledges that as such this affirmation amounts to a platitude, he rightly points out that equality has been one of the most dishonoured and denied of those principles which supposedly form the backbone of the mature democracies of the West; and he, equally rightly, asks the Rawlsian question whether current legal arrangements in these democracies really provide the best possible deal to those at the material bottom end. Equality, however, does not mean for Dworkin the simple equal distribution of wealth, for that, too, would miss the basic point of equality, which is to treat people as equals, or, as he puts it in *Sovereign Virtue*, to treat them with 'equal concern'.

The challenge of treating the principle of equal concern as the foundation stone of political society lies, of course, precisely in finding a way to determine what it actually means to treat people as equals. To this end, Dworkin digresses into personal ethics in order to identify why political theorists have, in his view, on the whole failed to provide satisfactory accounts of equality. The reason lies in what he calls their discontinuous character, that is, the fact that these theories - among which he counts utilitarianism, welfare egalitarianism and Rawls' 'difference principle' - do not carry over into political morality the distinction in personal ethics between matters of personality and matters of luck or fate. For Dworkin, however, this distinction is, indeed, crucial because it entails different degrees of personal responsibility, which in turn delineate the substance of 'equal concern'. Matters of personality are, of course, all those ambitions, tastes and desires which make people choose one path of action over another and which, consequently, affect people's use of their material resources; matters of luck or fate, on the contrary, are those personal and impersonal resources such as health, talents, place of birth, inherited wealth etc., which people simply have. Whereas matters of personality, in Dworkin's view, entail personal responsibility - not in a causal sense, since no



Wojciech Sadurski and Ronald Dworkin

one is, evidently, causally responsible for her/his tastes, but in the sense that people are free to act on them or not - matters of fate or luck entail no personal responsibility. For Dworkin, this distinction is highly relevant for political morality, because it allows for people to be treated equally without denying their individuality; only if people can be distinguished - and can distinguish themselves - on account of their personal choices, but cannot, and, indeed, must not be distinguished on account of their incidental endowments, are they treated as equals and with equal concern. This, then, is the stated project of *Sovereign Virtue*: to sketch a political theory that is 'continuous' as regards the personal and the public realm and based on the maxim that political legitimacy consists of simultaneous choice sensitivity and endowment insensitivity. To some this may appear like a renewed attempt to square the circle, and Dworkin acknowledges that both goals can probably never be realized per-

fectly. Yet he sees no alternative to at least trying, especially since the solutions suggested by discontinuous theories have, in his eyes, so thoroughly missed the point that their impact on 'real' political discourse and electoral politics has been negligible.

How, then, does Dworkin imagine the solution of these simultaneous equations? His, by his own indication, so far only tentative answer involves the assumption of a 'hypothetical insurance scheme' which operates in a hypothetical market to back up people who live in a real one. Indeed, Dworkin considers a real market economy to be the most appropriate tool to promote a distribution of resources which is sensitive to individual choices. Yet real markets are also particularly sensitive to endowments, which is why Dworkin brings in the 'hypothetical insurance scheme'. This would provide an insurance policy against the effects of inequality of endowments or, for that matter, simply bad luck, at roughly that level at which people would have bought it in a hypothetical market. It would be financed by taxes, against which, however, people could, not complain as they would correspond to the premium they would, in any case, have been willing to pay. The hypothetical insurance scheme would, hence, bridge the seemingly abysmal gap between choice and luck.

As with all innovative and ambitious theories, critique is never far away, and on this Tuesday afternoon, it was very close indeed. At the centre of questions put to Professor Dworkin from the Teatro audience were, of course, the main lines of his argument: is not a clear distinction between matters of personality and matters of luck impossible due to a lack of control over one's choices, so that, for example, there is always an intrinsic ambiguity between 'character' and other endowments, on one hand, and choices, on the other, as Professors Sadurski and Pizzorno commented? Yes, responds Dworkin, but people make the distinction subjectively all the time, independent of its objective possibility. Which is why a real, coupled with a hypothetical, market scheme seems the best way to balance subjectively drawn distinctions. Dworkin therefore uses the market device as a means to project the logic of personal ethics onto political morality, and he himself comments that his scheme entails, in a twist on Kant, that people treat each other in politics the way they treat themselves. And why, wondered Professor Neil Walker, has political theory been so overwhelmingly discontinuous; have theorists simply failed to appreciate the distinction, wrongly believed themselves to be continuous, deliberately espoused discontinuity, or simply accorded different degrees of priority to personal ethics and political morality? Far from having failed to grasp the distinction, Dworkin responds, many theorists, and especially Rawls, have deliberately been discontinuous, believing, unlike Dworkin, that political theorizing is possible without consideration of the difficult and often mushy distinctions of personal ethics; their mushiness, however,

cannot, in Dworkin's eyes, justify their exclusion from political theory, if the latter is not to perpetuate injustice by ignoring the distinction between choice and endowment. Would Dworkin's continuous theory of equal concern, Professor Phillippe Schmitter went on to ask, transcend the boundaries of pre-existing political communities? Dworkin's answer that historical communities - that is, communities of fate - owed equal concern only internally, i.e. to their members, whereas vis-à-vis other communities they owed merely some kind of humanitarian concern, somewhat disappointed both the questioner as well as those parts of the audience that generally lament the almost exclusive focus by contemporary progressive theorists on particular reference societies - usually the United States or some Western European democracy; the adoption of a much more conventional, if not conservative, approach towards global and international society certainly takes away some of the critical sting Dworkin imagines the theory of equal concern to have. On the hypothetical insurance scheme, Professor Sadurski inquired whether its hypothetical character did not take away an insurance scheme's major advantage, namely the real-market-guided calibration of risk and payoff, and whether, therefore, it did not reintroduce a contractarian element, as had been pointed out earlier and with different emphasis by researchers Florian Hoffmann and Tommi Ralli? No, Dworkin pointed out, the hypothetical insurance scheme did not function like a social contract since it was not based on wholly imagined consent, but rather on a realistic measuring of what people would actually do if the scheme existed; it was, therefore, by far more accessible than, for example, the assumption of a 'veil of ignorance'. He acknowledged, however, that it was only one of several imaginable heuristic devices with which a political society founded on equal concern could be operationalized, and invited further thought and comment.

Thus the afternoon drew to a close, with Dworkin, no doubt, having once again managed to leave his audience with much to ponder and discuss. Quite independently of how one comes out on his theories, his careful exposition of often innovative, and sometimes radical, ideas cannot but challenge both his native analytical, concept-based school of thought, as well as its 'continental', history-of-ideas-based counterpart, to serious responses.

As for Vermeer's painting, the National Gallery's critic got it quite right: equality signifies equilibrium, in both an economic and a political sense.

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The European order in Fascist and Nazi legal thought

1. Why explore this past?

One of the most challenging tasks for scholarship interested in the wide realm of the law irrespective of discipline is the understanding and exploration of legal doctrines, theories and practices during the era of Fascism and National Socialism. The reasons are not difficult to discern. Firstly, memory is a form of respect for the suffering of the victims of the Fascist and National Socialist regimes: for Germany the estimates range from 40,000 to 80,000 people directly killed by the legal system. In addition, it has to be remembered that the judiciary did nothing to prevent massive human-rights abuses and killings, and therefore – like other actors – bears part of the responsibility for the crimes perpetrated through omission to defend the principles of a civilized legal culture. Secondly, the perversion of the legal systems in this era is a most radical challenge to any form of scientific enquiry into the functioning of legal systems: it is a great task for the academic community to understand clearly what actually did happen and how it came about. After decades of research none of these questions has been convincingly answered. It has still to be determined in more historic detail what the reality was behind widely used and accepted formulations like the “perversion of law” to describe Fascist and National Socialist Law. What changed in the legal system, what stayed untouched? What shifts in the doctrinal body of thought happened, what did the courts do, what the administration, the prosecutors and other actors of the legal system? Where there islets of undisturbed rule of law? Which historic, social or cultural preconditions were necessary to transform the system of law?

The interest motivating this enquiry is clearly not only to understand something about a horrible past. There is an important positive and constructive side as well. By understanding the origin and nature of a perverted legal system one necessarily understands something about the origin and nature of a legal system that embodies the opposite values. The understanding of the radical negation of civilized law is at the same time a path to understanding what civilized law really means.

This leads to the third important reason why the scientific understanding of legal systems of the Fascist and Nazi period is necessary: it is plainly a question of responsibility for the future to understand clearly what went wrong in the past.

All this is plain enough for a country like Germany, to whose past a perverted, barbarian legal order belongs. But why should scholarship concerned with the Euro-

pean order be interested in these questions? Are these not questions surely of interest for the countries concerned, but not for the community of scholars of the evolving post-war European order, as this order is one of the determined civilized answers the European cultures have formulated to the murderous past of the Fascist and Nazi era? Is there not enough other work to be done which has a more direct impact for the European public order? Is it not more advisable to concentrate on this kind of work from a European perspective instead of facing the horrors of national pasts? Should there not be a clear-cut division of labour concerning these issues, leaving the dark national heritages out of the focus of scholarship on European integration? Is there not even the danger that the project of European integration may become tainted by events which belong to particular national pasts?

The assumption, however, of irrelevance of the legal thought of the Fascist and Nazi era for the conscious development of the foundations of the European order might be misleading. There are at least two valid reasons to be concerned with Fascist and Nazi legal thought and practice if one wants to understand and improve the European order, which are special cases of the second and third reasons outlined for being interested in Fascist and National Socialist legal systems at all. First, the Fascist and National Socialist era produced political, economical and legal conceptions of Europe that are to be investigated to understand what kind of institutional and social arrangements were deemed possible at that time. One clearly has to be aware of these models, their concrete structure concerning systems of governance, their political and economical aims and their intellectual bases if one wants to construct a civilized European order. The integration of Europe can only be – among other things – a determined answer to the horrors of the violent and war-torn past if this past is known in concrete detail and in relation to conceptions of Europe too.

Secondly, substantial issues of importance for any legal system were raised in the Nazi period. The answers to these questions merit close attention, as these questions arise for the European legal order, too. To take some examples: the notion of community and its conceptualization was one of the important questions of political and legal philosophy in the time of the Weimar Republic. Some answers to it contributed, as much as the feeble force of theories can, to the victory of powerful historical movements like the Nazis: Carl Schmitt’s ideas, for instance, of homogenous communities deriving their identity from some kind of transcendental, existential,

irrational self-defining act surely contributed to the cultural and intellectual acceptance and to the actual establishment of an order that derived part of its legitimation from concepts of a homogenous, substantial, super-individual collective entity – the “Volk”. The question, however, what relevance the notion of community has for a polity and how it is to be conceptualized is very much of interest today. The best example of the need for a close knowledge of notions of community in the Nazi period is the discussion about the Maasricht decision of the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany, which has by some prominent commentators been taken as being influenced by Schmittian thought. These arguments on the battleground of core issues of the European legal architecture – the relation between the nation States and their central and most powerful institutions and the Union - show how important knowledge of Fascist and Nazi legal doctrines is for the evolving European order. It might help to understand central current debates in a much deeper sense.

Another good example for the value of studies into the dark past of Fascist and Nazi legal thought is methodology. Long debates have taken place about which role methodology played in the perversion of legal systems. The issues are contentious. But they undoubtedly merit close attention from the point of view of European scholarship. Without question a more and more homogenized European legal culture is evolving. It might be a question of generations yet, but the development of a common European legal space beyond what has been achieved so far is clear enough. With this development, questions of legal methodology will arise which surely should be well-informed about the results of the many enquiries into how far a specific legal method was or was not one of the conditions for turning law into a means of suppression and discrimination.

Finally, and possibly most importantly, there are very concrete reasons to be concerned with the Fascist and National Socialist past from a European perspective. A dirty wave of xenophobia, racism and intolerance is crossing Europe at the present time. An atmosphere of humiliation and fear is created for the individuals who are (the focus of the new culture of hate, physical harm is inflicted and people are even killed, sometimes with breathtaking brutality. Without question there is no similarity to the political, economical and cultural situation of the twenties and thirties, and no dawn of Fascism or National Socialism is even to be considered on a European level. A new culture of hate, however, is of course intolerable far before the threshold of an even remote danger for the political system of governance in Europe is crossed. A culture of hate is not something which grows easily. Many cultural, economical and historical factors have to combine to bring something like that about. Thus, the current crisis will not be overcome by a few measures of repression with the instruments of the law nor welfare programmes to tackle some of the social causes that might be involved. Important as these actions are, the new culture of hate will only disappear if

a firm and determined counterculture of tolerance and solidarity is established not only as lip-service by politicians but as something firmly rooted in the convictions, values and deeds of the people living in Europe. The scientific understanding of the Fascist and National Socialist past is possibly able to contribute to some degree to bringing this about, as it shows in vivid and horrible detail where the alternative path of action and aspiration might lead to.

2. Recent research on Fascist and National Socialist legal thought – a conference at the EUI

Given this background a most welcome and highly desirable conference was organized by Christian Joerges and Navraj Singh Ghaleigh: *Perceptions of Europe and Perspectives on a European Order in Legal Scholarship During the Era of Fascism and National Socialism*. This conference met in consequence and not surprisingly, with great and persisting international interest beyond the 50 or so actual participants. The conference is one of the outcomes of a project started two years ago with a series of seminars intended to explore the belief systems, theories and other contents of National Socialist and Fascist legal thought. Out of this broad research topic, the conference singled out one field of enquiry: the question of Europe in the legal doctrines and theories of this period.

The range of contributions was wide and their content stimulating. They sometimes provoked very serious and highly controversial debates about the general scientific outlook, the content of the concrete analysis or the perceived political and cultural implications of the theses presented. The seriousness of the discussions and the kind of disagreement expressed on important issues from human dignity to the nature of the European constitutional order are clear indicators of how much a clarification of the issues involved was overdue and how much it is necessary in the future.

John McCormick, Yale (discussant Navraj Singh Ghaleigh, EUI) described Carl Schmitt's Conceptions of Europe. In a careful reconstruction of Schmitt's often obscure and unclear works, he distinguished four stages in the development of Schmitt's thought: 1. a conception of Europe as neo-Christendom, 2. Europe as specifically Central Europe in opposition to Russia, 3. during the Third Reich a Grossraum theory of Europe as Greater Germany, 4. in his post-war thought an identification of Europe as a – power-based – source of a rational international order.

Ingo Hueck, Frankfurt/Berlin (discussant Christoph Schmid, EUI) followed the attempts of SS Law Professor Reinhard Höhn from his academic beginnings to his career in the Third Reich to reshape the principles of constitutional and administrative law in accordance with National-Socialist “völkisch” notions. In this ideological framework Höhn developed notions of Europe based on a racist conception of German imperialism

centered around master people and slave people and a theory of a “Grossraum”.

Christian Joerges, EUI (discussant Neil Walker, EUI) investigated modes in which public governance for a European Grossraum. was conceptualized. The paper turned first to Schmitt’s Grossraum theory, its relation to classical notions of international law and more closely to the internal structure envisaged for this space of governance. Technicity, administrative power and the economic system were singled out as central elements of the envisaged transnational governance. The paper then turned to post-war theories of European integration: ordo-liberalism with a private-law background and administrative functionalism with a public-law background, and its historical roots. Beyond both poles the paper envisaged a new way of deliberative democracy as a mode of governance in Europe.

Massimo La Torre, Catanzaro (commentator Laurence Lustgarten, Southampton) investigated the German impact on Fascist public-law doctrine. The paper first addressed the question what Fascism actually means and what its foundations actually are. It then discussed the mutual influence of German public-law doctrines and Italian Fascist thought in this domain. It finally turned to a case study on the work of two influential public lawyers in Italy: Santi Romano and Constantino Mortati.

Pier Giuseppe Monateri and Alessandro Somma, Torino (discussant Tommi Ralli, EUI) investigated the Fascist theory of contract. As a decisive feature they observed a predominance of State will over private will. They did not see any particular tendency to protect the interests of a particular party. In general, however, they took the theory of contract as a specific means of the capitalist political and economic order to protect itself, under the given historic circumstances, against social change. To them, these findings appear to buttress a “Gramscian” theory of Fascism.

Augustin José Menéndez, Madrid/Oslo (discussant Julio Baquero Cruz, EUI) discussed the Spanish legal doctrine under Franco dictatorship and the unexpected tension between fascism and reactionary Catholicism. The paper described the contribution of some prominent Spanish legal scholars to a Fascist doctrine of law. It traced back the evolution of the Spanish variant of Fascism and totalitarianism. In particular it focused on the work and influence of Donoso Cortés on the development of an authoritarian ideology in Spain. The paper aimed not only at contributing to an understanding of Spanish Fascism, but in a wider perspective to tightening the theoretical grip on the nature of “peripheral” Fascisms in Portugal, Romania, Argentina or Chile.

J. Peter Burgess, Florence/Oslo (discussant Wilfried Spohn, EUI) tried to explore culture and rationality of law from Weimar to Maastricht. Taking Schmitt’s *Verfassungslehre* as a central basis of his endeavours, he at-

tempted to provide some elements of a theory of constitutionalism and an application of these thoughts to the current project of European integration.

Vivian G. Curran, Pittsburgh (discussant Matthias Mahlmann, Berlin) described formalist and anti-formalist legal traditions in Germany and France and their respective impact on the transformation of the legal systems. The paper showed scepticism towards the widespread assumption of a causal connection between the methods applied in the different legal cultures and the material outcome. A relatively formalist legal tradition in France could lead under the Vichy regime, as much as the relatively anti-formalist tradition in Germany, to outcomes matching the expectations of the Nazi system. The paper instead emphasized the importance of ideology and the values of the historical agents. As a lesson of the past is proposed a defence of plurality, in methodology, cultures and values.

Gabriela Eakin, Frankfurt (discussant Bo Stråth, EUI) provided conceptualizations of political control of the economy in the twenties and thirties. Starting from the general constellation in the early 1930s the contributions proceeded to investigate what kind of differences and common features planning in democratic and totalitarian societies has. The paper further investigated the cultural and scientific background of planning, e.g. the growth of cybernetics and the question whether the checks and balances of scientific work can provide a means of control of planning in a society.

James Whitman, Yale (discussant Florian Hoffmann, EUI) pursued the question whether the culture of human dignity of post-war Europe derived something from the Fascist concepts of “honour”. Against the widespread belief that the European legal culture of dignity is an answer against the horrors of Fascism and National-Socialism, the paper put forward the thesis that the European concept of dignity is rooted in the old (aristocratic) concept of honour. Honour became dignity, according to this view, by a gradual levelling out of differences and an extension of status from the privileged few to everybody. In this process, the paper argued, Fascism played a crucial role insofar as it generalized the claim to honour to everybody, at least if included in the community defined by racist criteria. To buttress these theses the paper investigates the development of some legal institutions like the right to protection of the personality, the practice of probation, or “Ehrengerichtsbarkeit” in Germany.

3. Follow-up activities

Organizers and participants agreed in a series of meetings after the conference that the contributions to the conference which are now accessible on the web at www.iue.it/LAW/staff/joerges/joerges_workshop.htm should be revised and published. The envisaged publication should, however, probably include a number of

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New appointment

Neil Walker

On 1 September 2000 I took up a position as professor of European Union law in the Law Department. Twenty years ago, as I began to consider the prospect of a life in the academy, I would scarcely have believed such an eventuality possible – and not just because I would have considered it arrogant to aspire to a chair at such an eminent institution. I will try to explain what I mean.

I was born and bred in Scotland, which, despite very recently having revived its independent parliamentary tradition, remains part of the United Kingdom. As they have since political union between Scotland and England in 1707, Scottish identity and British identity continue to exist in complex – sometimes uneasy – combination. During my formative years of legal training and political consciousness, a key point of tension, but also of continuity, between these two identities concerned attitudes towards Europe. Scotland had its own distinct and distinctive system of private law, which, unlike the English common law, owes much to the civilian tradition of Roman-Dutch origin. Scotland also had its own separate political history; its ‘Auld Alliance’ with France; its proud claim, founded in the reputations of thinkers such as Adam Smith and David Hume, to host the Northern Enlightenment; its resilient migratory, cultural and diplomatic links with a wide diversity of European societies. Yet both legally and politically Scottish society



Prof. Neil Walker

was also absorbed into the larger British state, and in turn it absorbed many of the attitudes of ‘Britishness.’

One such attitude was a deep ambivalence towards the very idea of economic and political community with the rest of Europe. Perhaps, though, ambivalence is too strong a word, and detachment the better term. Mirroring the physical detachment of the British Isles, Scottish (and British) public life was marked by a tendency to marginalise the significance of the emerging European political project centred on the Treaty of Rome and its successors, and, relatedly, to downplay the UK’s own participation (since 1973) in that project. When Margaret Thatcher famously (and almost certainly disingenuously) remarked that she had literally not known what she was signing up for when her Government acceded to the Single European Act, she was appealing to a very British

tradition of denial and ignorance over Europe. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, European politics were still treated as a footnote to the main events of the day. In the universities, European Community law, if taught at all, was treated as a specialist branch of trade law or commercial law. For me, a budding public lawyer with a particular interest in large constitutional questions about the overall network and main intersections of legal and political authority, European Community law was presented by my teachers as very much a remote branch-line – an ex-

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additional essays, addressing topics along the lines which the conference already touched upon: continuities and ruptures in European legal thought; liberal and anti-liberal strands in European legal thought; National Socialism and Fascism; the post-World-War-II impact on European legal thought; and responses to National Socialism and Fascism in national legal cultures.

It is needless to underline that in the view of this participant all of these activities open up important research perspectives. The impact of scientific debates, conferences and publications on the actual course of history is surely limited. Powerful forces in the economy, international relations and the belief and value systems of the acting agents determine the winding course

of human affairs more than the ideas explored and formulated in the small academic community. But the hope exists that projects like the one just outlined might contribute to some steps forward on the way to achieving the three aims which, as outlined motivate, an interest in the Fascist and National Socialist past: to honour the victims, to understand the past, to determine a secure path into the future. Given the newly risen spectre of racism, militant nationalism and intolerance in Europe, this would be no small achievement.

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otic location for specialist train-spotters, but not structurally central.

Fortunately, not all old habits die hard, and as I embarked upon my university teaching career, first at Edinburgh (for ten years) and, latterly at Aberdeen (for five years), I quickly became aware that questions of European legal and political identity were as central to the intellectual map of an 'island' constitutional lawyer as were questions of Scottish and British public law. As I lectured successive generations of students (and as, in retrospect, I wished someone had lectured me), it was simply not possible to think in a balanced and comprehensive fashion about questions of fundamental constitutional authority without thinking about the European Communities, and – after Maastricht, the European Union. Fortunately too, many others were drawing the same conclusion. The position of European law within the syllabus of the typical British law degree began to strengthen. First in Scotland (unsurprisingly), and later in England, European law became a compulsory element, and increasingly its public law dimension was stressed just as much as, if not more than, its private law dimension.

In turn, this has produced in the United Kingdom a rich and vibrant new generation of European legal studies. Some contributors have embraced European public law from the outset as a central theme in the study of the changing mosaic of national and supranational legal authority. Others, like me, have graduated to European law through 'domestic' public law. But this (I hope!) has proved by no means a disabling legacy, since the study of public law in the United Kingdom – perhaps especially so at the Celtic margins - has, quite independently of the European dimension, become an increasingly expansive affair in recent years; unconstrained by the doctrinal limits of a written Constitution, comparative and contextual in perspective, and normative in orientation.

In a nutshell, this is the intellectual climate which nurtured me, and which informs the approach I take to the study of European law. As both a domestic and a European public lawyer, I am particularly interested in the general contours of the developing relationship between the traditional seat of constitutional authority – the state – and the not-so-recent upstart, the European Union. For public lawyers this ushers in an old set of questions, but age does not mean they have been adequately addressed or answered, or that their implications for the emerging patterns of regional and global authority in a post-Westphalian world have been fully explored. In particular, it remains stubbornly the case that the concepts and categories of legal and political authority which we use to make sense of – and hopefully to improve – the world, are based upon the template of the modern state. That is to say, our ideas concerning the very identity and autonomy of the polity (sovereignty), its legal framework of authority (constitution), the character of polity-membership or association (citizenship), the texture of political

community (civic or ethnic) and its roots of legitimate authority (the demos), continue to be drawn from a one-dimensional global order of states. That is not to say that we cannot apply or adapt these concepts and categories to new non-state polities such as the European Union, or, in the alternative, that we cannot seek a radically different explanatory and normative language for these emerging polities. Yet in so choosing and striving we must be mindful that such non-state polities have purposes, potentials, dynamics, constraints, opportunities and legitimacy problems which both differ from and overlap with those of states. We must also be mindful that these new polities have not displaced states but, rather, exist alongside them in a new multi-dimensional configuration of authority, and that the basic co-ordinates of their relationship to states raise genuinely novel issues in public law and so have to be worked out from first principles.

These various questions are to the forefront in the numerous 'meta-constitutional' challenges facing Europe today; in the very debate over the appropriateness and viability of a written Constitution for Europe; in the disputed terms and consequences of enlargement of the EU; in the growing trend to 'flexibility' - to multi-speed and uneven integration, even fragmentation; in the accommodation and co-ordination of multi-level governance – the incipient recognition of the claims of sub-state polities (Scotland again!) alongside the state and supra-state levels; in the perennial but ever-shifting controversy over the functional limits of supranational integration - whether and to what extent it includes traditional domains of state sovereignty such as economic and monetary policy, or internal security (a particular interest of mine) and external security.

Over the next few years I will be exploring these issues both at the level of general legal and constitutional theory and at some of the various points of application listed above. With its European emphasis, its well-established interdisciplinary links, its rich cultural and intellectual diversity, its balance of theoretical reflection and practical engagement, its strong visitor programmes, and - most important of all - the high calibre of its indigenous research community, I believe that the European University Institute offers an uniquely supportive and stimulating environment in which to pursue such a project.

Econom(etr)ics Summer School at the EUI

From 11 to 16 September, the Department of Economics hosted a Summer School on "State Space Modelling with Applications to Business Cycle Analysis" at the Badia Fiesolana, organized by Mike Artis. The Summer School was initiated by the TMR group "New Approaches to the Study of Economic Fluctuations" (NASEF), which is organised through the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) in London. Attendance was open to everybody, subject to space constraints. Some 40 researchers from about 20 universities and institutions such as the European Central Bank faced an intensive programme. The participants were mostly in the second or third year of their Ph.D.

The daily programme consisted of three parts: a main course in State Space Modelling jointly taught by Siem Jan Koopman (Free University of Amsterdam) and Tommaso Proietti (University of Udine), a related computer tutorial in the morning, and invited advanced lectures in the late afternoon. The main course was aimed at providing a statistical framework for researchers regarding the so-called "state space representation" of structural time series models. The framework provides convenient ways of extracting relevant information from time series and their components, such as whether they are subject to a trend over time or cyclical behaviour. Probably the most important (and straightforward) application is the analysis of the business cycle. This topic is at the heart of the NASEF research programme and is currently the focus of considerable attention from economists and econometricians on both sides of the Atlantic.

The daily computing session proved to be rather early (starting at 8:30!) but quite helpful, since one of the two main lecturers is also the (co-)author of a range of econometric software packages (STAMP) used for the analysis of data along the lines of the statistical theory set out in the main course. The late-afternoon advanced lectures were intended to illustrate applications of the theory: on Monday, Mathias Hoffmann, a 1999 EUI Ph.D., now at Southampton University, focused on so-called Permanent-Transitory Decompositions and applied this to the analysis of exchange rate misalignments. On Tuesday, Massimiliano Marcellino (also an EUI Ph.D.) from Bocconi University introduced Dynamic Factor Models.

This model class permits the analysis of very large data sets and aims to describe the state of the economy by extracting only a few factors that drive the other variables. On Wednesday, Andrew Harvey (University of Cambridge) provided some background on filters, i.e. a way of extracting information on business cycle components with respect to different frequencies. The Thursday lecture, given by Mario Forni (University of Modena), followed up the Tuesday lecture by Marcellino and applied the concept of Dynamic Factor Analysis to European business cycle dynamics. Helmut Lutkepohl from Humboldt University, Berlin, was in charge of the last advanced lecture. He attacked the problem of structural breaks in time series (e.g. German Reunification) from a different point of view (vector autoregressive systems



instead of structural models). The Summer School concluded on Saturday afternoon after lunch at San Domenico and a short discussion.

A short and informal evaluation showed that participants were quite satisfied. Above all, the organization by Alberto Musso, Juan Toro, and Jessica Spataro was impeccable. The schedule was dense, and the days rather long, but this was understood as an indicator of how seriously this Summer School was taken by its organizers (which is not always the case!). One point raised was that the school could have started a bit later in the morning, given that the accommodation was rather distant. On the other hand, participants were quite happy with the quality of their hotel, noting that its provision by the Institute was very convenient. The overall quality of the lectures was regarded as good. Several researchers held the view that an introductory overview ("the big picture") would have been useful. Also, a case was made for a clearer distinction between technicalities and "economic intuition". One final pointer for future Summer Schools would be to organize a get-together and drinks for the participants at the end of the first day, so that researchers could get to know each other earlier during the week.

Summing up, excellent organization, interesting lectures, and a tough programme made this Summer School a success, to be repeated – hopefully – in future years.

ANDREAS BILLMEIER

Le banche italiane all'estero, 1900-1950

Con l'inizio del nuovo secolo ed in particolare dopo la fine della prima guerra mondiale, le maggiori banche italiane iniziarono ad aprire filiali all'estero o a costituire banche affiliate in paesi in cui si aprivano opportunità di penetrazione economica per la finanza e l'industria italiane. Inizialmente furono create filiali a Londra e Parigi che ospitavano allora, assieme a New York, i principali mercati finanziari internazionali e in alcuni centri del Mediterraneo dove avvenivano importanti scambi commerciali. Allo stesso tempo le banche italiane si rivolsero alle principali zone di emigrazione italiana negli Stati Uniti e in Sud America per coltivare contatti con banche locali o crearvi addirittura filiali dirette o banche affiliate.

Questo processo di internazionalizzazione del sistema bancario italiano raggiunse il culmine nel corso degli anni Venti quando, anche grazie all'attività delle banche italiane all'estero, le relazioni internazionali della finanza italiana si intensificarono e permisero un maggior grado di apertura dell'economia italiana agli influssi internazionali, oltre che il temporaneo superamento di alcuni dei maggiori ostacoli al processo di sviluppo italiano quali la scarsità di capitali e di valute pregiate con cui pagare le importazioni. Questo maggior grado di apertura internazionale si ripercosse però in modo molto negativo sul sistema finanziario ed industriale italiano con il sopraggiungere della crisi dei primi anni Trenta che creò tali difficoltà da costringere lo Stato ad un massiccio intervento di salvataggio. Tale intervento, che si concretizzò nella maniera più evidente attraverso la creazione dell'Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI) nel 1933, gettò le basi per la creazione di un sistema di partecipazioni statali e di "capitalismo di stato" che ha caratterizzato fino ai giorni nostri l'economia italiana.

Quando sopraggiunsero poi i problemi legati alle sanzioni contro l'Italia per l'aggressione all'Etiopia ed il progressivo avvicinamento dell'Italia all'area di influenza politica ed economica tedesca, l'elemento valutario assunse un ruolo predominante nelle preoccupazioni dei responsabili della politica economica italiana ed il sistema di banche e filiali italiane all'estero assunse un nuovo ruolo quale collettore di divise pregiate e di canale di connessione con l'estero della sempre più debole finanza italiana.

Le vicende delle banche italiane all'estero nella prima metà del XX secolo forniscono dunque una serie di spunti di notevole interesse per comprendere meglio i principali aspetti della storia economica italiana di quel periodo proprio perché coinvolgono e si collegano in modo inestricabile a tutti questi aspetti e ne permettono l'analisi in una prospettiva molto più ampia di quella finora adottata. Questo ripercorrere la storia economica

italiana della prima metà del XX secolo, ed in special modo quella del periodo fascista, rappresenta infatti il filo conduttore del libro che affronta tutta una serie di tematiche separate dalla semplice esperienza delle banche italiane all'estero (ad esempio, il ruolo dell'integrazione finanziaria internazionale nel processo di sviluppo italiano, il peso attribuito al rapporto con l'estero nella storiografia economica sull'Italia di allora, il rapporto tra cambiamenti di indirizzo nelle politiche economiche e modificazione della struttura istituzionale italiana, la rilevanza delle questioni finanziarie e valutarie per la comprensione dei limiti strutturali dell'economia italiana). Queste tematiche, pur essendo strettamente collegate con il fenomeno dell'internazionalizzazione delle banche italiane, assumono nel testo una loro rilevanza specifica dando luogo a riflessioni e contributi analitici specifici e talvolta innovativi nei confronti della storiografia tradizionale.

Altra caratteristica specifica del libro è poi quella di inserire le problematiche italiane in un contesto internazionale di cui si fornisce una rappresentazione attraverso lo studio di aspetti specifici di cui manca anche a livello internazionale una percezione sufficientemente chiara come nei casi del fenomeno della penetrazione economica italiana in Europa Centro-Orientale nell'immediato primo dopoguerra, della struttura e del funzionamento dei mercati finanziari internazionali negli anni tra le due guerre soprattutto nel campo del finanziamento del commercio estero, ed infine dello stretto rapporto tra politica estera, vicissitudini valutarie e scelte di politica economica interna negli anni del tardo fascismo.

ROBERTO DI QUIRICO, *Le banche italiane all'estero, 1900-1950. Espansione bancaria all'estero e integrazione finanziaria internazionale nell'Italia degli anni tra le due guerre*, Firenze, European Press Academic Publishing, 2000, 376 pp. ISBN 88-8398-001-8

ROBERTO DI QUIRICO (Montecatini Terme, 1964-), si è laureato all'Università di Pisa nel 1993 con una tesi di storia economica sull'espansione all'estero della Banca Commerciale Italiana negli anni Venti. Nel 1998 ha conseguito il Ph.D. in Storia e Civiltà presso l'Istituto Universitario Europeo di Fiesole (FI) difendendo una dissertazione sul processo di internazionalizzazione del sistema bancario italiano negli anni tra le due guerre. Autore di vari articoli in italiano e in inglese su temi di storia finanziaria italiana apparsi su riviste italiane ed estere, attualmente svolge attività di ricerca presso il Dipartimento di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea di Pisa.

Sisters and brothers – brothers and sisters Intimate relations and the questions of “incest”

Over the past few months Ridley Scott’s film *Gladiator* (2000) has been widely discussed. The debate has mainly focused on the aesthetic presentation of extreme violence and, as a result, another controversial theme has been virtually overlooked: the incestuous relationship between the Roman Emperor Commodus (161-193 BC) and his sister, Lucilla. Although present in the film, the issue of incest is by no means as explicit in this contemporary visual account as it is in the ancient sources dealing with the reign of Commodus. This variation in representations of incest indicates how the discourses and concep-

tions of varying phenomena can change within both time and space. The goal of the workshop *Sisters and Brothers - Brothers and Sisters. Intimate Relations and the Questions of “Incest”* arranged by Professor Regina Schulte, Department of History and Civilization was to address exactly these

changes by historicizing and discussing varying understandings of incest and intimacy between siblings in early modern and modern European history.

The historian David Sabean (University of California, Los Angeles) opened the workshop by providing an introduction to his on-going research on incest discourse in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The paper, provocatively entitled *Baroque and Romantic Incest*, first discussed the concept of incest. The Latin root “cestum” means “clean” or “pure”; “incest” thus suggests something unclean or not pure whereas the German equivalent “Blutschande” is most accurately translated as “violation of blood lines”. For both the Latin and German term, as well as in the more abstract usage of the word within social or political contexts beyond the family, the unequivocal negative content of the word is beyond question.

After this introduction to one of the keywords of the workshop, Sabean presented an analysis of the very different seventeenth and eighteenth century discourses on incest. Based on the changes of discourse on incest and intimacy among siblings, he argued that the transition from the Baroque to the Romantic period included a transformation of the understanding of family struc-

tures: from a vertical (focused on lineage, decent and succession rights) towards a horizontal emphasis (focused on moral sentiment and strong emotional relations between siblings and/or cousins). According to Sabean, this change resulted in an equal change of human’s relationship to succession, inheritance and property rights and practices within the family.

From the analysis of the seventeenth century (c. 1680-1740) discourse, focusing on legal and religious texts mainly from the German-speaking part of Europe,

Sabean concluded that the main concern during the Baroque was the question of remarriage to in-laws. Even though scholars of the period never reached agreement regarding the arguments against it, there was a shared belief in the sinfulness of marrying anyone from the in-law family. Marriage

between cousins and second cousins remained prohibited throughout Europe during the Baroque. According to Sabean, the argument for maintaining these strict prohibitions was a wish to ensure that succession rights remained unchallenged, and can thus be seen as an attempt to stabilize property.

Around 1740 a significant increase in marriages between cousins can be observed in most of Europe and, simultaneously, a new intra-familial discourse developed. Sabean has identified this in letters and novels of the period, and he concluded by claiming that siblings and cousins became the social framework within which both language and the behavior of affection was developed. The goal for marriage alliances now became compatibility based on sameness, and this made cousins a particularly attractive subject for securing the future happiness of children, brothers and sisters.

The paper and the subsequent discussion, addressing both the problems involved in a comparison between two discourses derived from different genres of source material and regarding the causality behind the identified changes, provided a useful framework for the following presentations.





Pernille Arenfeldt, Martin Kohlrausch, Patrizia Guarnieri and Regina Schulte

The second speaker was the English sociologist, Leonore Davidoff (University of Essex) who presented her recent work under the title *A Like Unlike - Sibling Incest in the English Nineteenth Century Middle Class*. This study offered an analysis of the intimate relationship between the brother and sister William (1770-1850) and Dorothy Wordsworth (1771-1855) within the context of language practices, social patterns and debates, as well as demographic and family structures among the English middle class of the time.

Like the previous paper, *A Like Unlike* opened with a discussion of the concept of incest but, this time, its aim was to stress that incest is an inappropriate term for the sibling relationships of the nineteenth century. However, a special term is needed because of their unique nature consisting of passion and friendship. According to Davidoff, it is irrelevant if these brother-sister relationships included a physical aspect or not, because the core consisted of the emotional strength, which was of an intensity that may never be resembled in any other relationship – not even marriage. In several ways the sibling relationships and the marriages of the period resemble each other. The sibling relationships constructed the gender specific behavior of individuals and thus served as a preparation for married life, the key difference being, of course, the question of reproduction. Based on her detailed case study, Davidoff suggested that intimate relationships between siblings were related to the family structures prevalent among the middle class. It was common that the age span between the youngest and the oldest child of a family spanned close to two decades and within this greater family, sibling couples close in age became isolated or tended to isolate themselves by establishing tight emotional bonds. Davidoff received several compliments for her methodologically clear and well-structured paper, which provided excellent ground for the following contribution, Christopher Johnson's analysis of French sibling relationships during and after the Revolution of 1789.

Christopher Johnson (Wayne-State University, Detroit) called his paper *The Sibling Archipelago: Brother-Sister Love and Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century*

France to emphasize that these relationships were emotionally self-contained entities. His work has concentrated on bourgeois families from the French provincial town of Vannes, and in the patterns observed within these families, Johnson confirmed and supplemented the results presented by Davidoff: that the transition period around 1800 resulted in lasting shifts in family structures, and in particular, an increased frequency of marriages between cousins. Against the uncertain political context of the French Revolution, this new marital regime facilitated a harmonization of former opposition between the upper-middle class families. In other words, political differences were smoothed over by the new blood relations that developed as a result of these new family strategies.

Elaborating on a term introduced by Davidoff, Johnson defined the role of the brother in sibling relationships as a "window to the world" for their sisters. That is to say, the brothers imparted knowledge of the world to their sisters. The extremely emotional language - so unusual compared to today's ways of communication - of the letters exchanged between siblings reflects this dependency. Often, the letters mirror the sisters' inability to cope with the "loss" of a brother who marries and leaves the family - this loss being not only emotional but also the loss of a link to the environment outside the family.

Patrizia Guarnieri (Visiting Professor in the Department of History and Civilization, EUI) went on to address the question of incest in Italian law. The title of her paper, *In such a way as to provoke public scandal* is a quote from the Italian Penal Code of 1889, and it points directly to the problematic encounter of incest and the law. Incest in nineteenth-century Italy was a matter of immorality but it was not an offence against the law. However, when incest caused public scandal it was thought to have a victim: the family as an institution. In this sense incest was an offence against family morals, and was not a violation of the integrity of an individual. Even though the ambiguity of the quoted passage is clear and was so to contemporaries as well, different legal treatments of incest remained in place in different parts of Italy and, the respective paragraph of the penal code still being in place, the legal debate continues today.

Intertwined with the legal debate on incest, a scientific discussion on the subject developed in the late nineteenth-century. The "New Experts" of the age, psychiatrists, psychologists, sexologists and anthropologists, were increasingly interested in the notion of childhood, although not necessarily arguing for an improvement of children's legal rights. The idea of the 'Pericolante', the young girl in danger of "falling", but in this context also posing a danger for the surrounding society, introduced the notion of the dangerous child. The result was that there was almost no incentive for children to report cases of incest, which was necessary to initiate an investigation.

While Guarneieri's paper was mainly concerned with "vertical incest" (relations between parents/adult relatives and children), the following presentation by Juliet Mitchell (Psychoanalyst and Lecturer in Gender and Society, Cambridge University) was the first to address the phenomenon of sibling-incest directly. In her paper *Did Oedipus have a Sister?* Mitchell provided first of all a fascinating new reading of Freud's classic "Totem and Taboo" and the oedipal complex and, at the same time, gave insight into the problems of sibling-incest from the practical experience of psychotherapists.

Sibling relationships, Mitchell argued, are the great omissions in both psychoanalytic theory and clinical practice. Freud however, when writing about the oedipal complex, was in fact indicating not only the taboo about mothers but also the taboo about sisters, which has never been directly addressed in research on Freud. This is reflected in the fact that only a few cases have been reported in which psychoanalysts have identified sibling incest as the root of traumas. Mitchell presented one of these cases and stressed the impact that the experience of sibling incest may have for later disturbances of patients.

During the last afternoon of the workshop, the relationship between brothers and sisters was discussed on the basis of narratives. In recent literary research, it has been pointed out that literature is a medium that enables human beings to stage themselves: literature both imitates and performs culture. In particular, three central motives make man produce narrations: the beginning of the world, the end of life, and, of course, love. When Ann Shearer (Practicing Psychoanalyst from London) introduced *Brother and Sister Relationship in Creation Myths*, she presented material integrating all three motives. Myths of creation generally deal with godlike figures and human beings and they create an order in the world through stories about the opposition of desires. In the psychoanalytical view, presented by Ann Shearer, creation myths are seen as a reservoir and generator of universal originals and, according to C.G. Jung's theory of collective unconsciousness, they are omnipresent in our daily lives. Referring to Egyptian, Greek and Christian creation myths, and on the basis of several paintings and sculptures, Shearer illustrated how incest is a common issue in creation myths.

Again with reference to Jung, Shearer pointed out that creation myths contain a psychological truth about the individuation of man. For example, Adam and Eva form an integrated whole. According to the Old Testament, Eva consists of the same substance as Adam - "she is the flesh of my flesh", Adam says. However, the unity of Eden is destroyed and, in the psychoanalytical view, incest between siblings is an expression of an attempt to regain the unity which has been lost.

Dagmar von Hoff (Literary Scholar/Critic from University of Hamburg) continued the analysis of the brother and sister relationship within narratives. In her

paper *Sonne, Mond und andere Geschwister: Sibling Incest in Contemporary Literature*, she analyzed the relationship between the two siblings Ulrich and Agathe in the novel *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* (The Man Without Qualities) and arrived at a new reading of this classic work by the Austrian author Robert Musil. According to von Hoff, the relationship between the two siblings is incestuous rather than androgynous. However, she did not only contradict the common understanding of the novel, she also stressed the transformation of the motif of incest. In contrast to Ann Shearer's work, the paper by von Hoff examined the variation of incest in narratives and illustrated the relationship between myth and literature by quoting Walter Benjamin, "Das Märchen gibt uns Kunde von den frühesten Veranstaltungen, die die Menschheit getroffen hat, um den Alp, den der Mythos auf ihre Brust gelegt hatte, abzuschütteln." The fairy tale informs us about the first attempts of human beings to banish the burden of myth. In this sense, von Hoff pointed out, the same motif is expressed through different representations in different fairy tales: incest is more a textual pattern than a constant phenomenon excluded from the changes of time. In *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* Robert Musil invents the mythic tradition of incest and presents an incestuous relationship, which leads towards a possibility of transgressing the gender roles set up by society. Agathe enables her brother to change himself; he thus speaks of three sisters, Agathe, himself and a particular condition that develops when he joins the company of his sister - in this way he transforms his own self. Dagmar von Hoff labeled this variation of identity "depersonalization" and examined the motifs and metaphors of the interrelations between the metamorphoses of the siblings.

By addressing the subjects of incest and intimacy between siblings from historical, psychoanalytical and literary approaches, this interesting workshop provided a basis for a better understanding of how incest and intimacy between siblings has undergone fundamental changes. However, this process of change cannot be understood as a linear development, and much research still needs to be undertaken before a more detailed picture of the nature of the development can be drawn.

The workshop was organized by Professor Regina Schulte

MARTIN KOHLRAUSCH,
researcher Department of History and Civilization

Just launched

A Gender Studies Programme at the Institute

It has long been talked about. It has long been imagined and worked towards by a succession of students, visitors, fellows and staff at the Institute. Now, the launching of a Gender Studies Programme has become one of the Robert Schuman Centre's ambitions for the coming year.

The Institute has quite a history of activity in the area of gender studies. Gender featured strongly in events organised by the European Culture Research Centre in the late 1980s, in the European Forum on 'Gender and the Use of Time' in 1993/94, and of course, in the seminars and workshops of the Gender Working Group. For instance, in the last academic year, the group organised two workshops - 'Images of the Masculine Body' and 'Researching Gender and Work: Methodological Perspectives and Practices' (with SPS). Add to this the theses produced by researchers, and publications and teaching by staff and visitors, and the picture is one of numerous activities and people involved in doing work on gender.

And no wonder. The advent of the concept of gender has been amongst the most significant challenges and changes in theories and practices in the social sciences and humanities of the last years, if not decades. Whilst it has its own and various histories in different locations and intellectual traditions, early focus on gender in the academy was concerned with re-discovering women as subjects in history, and as actors in the contemporary social world. Following on from this 'writing women back in' approach, more fundamental critiques have been levelled at mainstream scholarship, its theoretical premises, and its practices of knowledge production.

So the Gender Studies Programme is set against a widespread interest in gender in universities across Europe. With respect to the Institute, it will see the consolidation and development of activities in this field. The EUI is uniquely placed to offer a distinctive multi- and interdisciplinary Programme, emphasising a European dimension, broadly understood. The activities of the Programme, which will include research, teaching, and the organisation of conferences, workshops etc, are envisaged to both support the interests of students and staff in the field of gender across the departments, and to stimulate interdisciplinary work, within and beyond the Institute.

The Programme director is Professor Luisa Passerini, and its co-ordinator, Dawn Lyon. Whilst it is conceived of as having its institutional location at the RSC, it will effectively operate through collaboration with the de-

partments, as well as in association with other programmes, the European Forum, and so on. To this end, we have nominated link persons in the departments who will act as the principal points of contact for information exchange, and will themselves be informed and consulted on programme activities. They are: Colin Crouch (SPS), Silvana Sciarra (LAW), Regina Schulte (HEC), and Mike Artis (ECO).



Susan Magarey and Sue Sheriden

The Gender Working Group, now an official activity of the Programme, continues, as in previous years, to put together a stimulating schedule of seminars, discussions and workshops. This year we will have heard talks from, amongst others: Rita Krueger, JMF; Juliet Mitchell, Professor and Director of Gender Studies, Cambridge University, UK; Carol Gould, Fulbright Professor, EUI; Susan Millns, JMF; and Debora Spini, Professor of Philosophy, Syracuse and New York Universities, Florence. At the workshop on 'Gender, Feminism and Cultural Studies' (30 October 2000) our guest speakers were two feminist scholars who have been at the forefront of the development of gender studies in Australia: Sue Sheriden, Professor of Women's Studies, Flinders University, Adelaide; and Susan Magarey, Director of Adelaide Research Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences, (formerly Director of Research Centre for Women's Studies), Adelaide University.

We are especially fortunate to announce the arrival of Rosi Braidotti, Professor and Director of the Netherlands Research School of Women's Studies, Utrecht University, from January 2001. She will be at the Institute as a JMF and is acting as external consultant to the development of the Gender Studies Programme here. In addition, in March 2001, the RSC will be hosting a meeting of the ATHENA network (EU-funded themat-

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From academia to politics

Since the birth of the Mediterranean Programme in 1998 - and even before for the preparatory work - Prof. Salamé has been very actively involved in our academic activities. On 15 January 1999, he delivered the Inaugural Lecture (Europe and the Mediterranean: The Future of the Barcelona Process) at the official launch of the new Programme. In addition to directing the first two annual Summer Schools and teaching a course co-organized by the Mediterranean Programme and the SPS department on "War Games and Peace Processes: Conflict and Conflict Resolution around the Mediterranean" last year, as member of the Programme's Scientific Board he was involved in the selection process of the research project directors, students and fellows.

Ghassan Salamé holds a Ph.D. in literature, a Ph.D. in Political Science and an M.Phil. in Law. He taught Political Science in Beirut at Saint-Joseph University and the American University. He was Rockefeller Fellow in International Relations (1981), Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C. (1983), a member of the Social Science Research Council in New York (1985-1990)



Ghassan Salamé

and Co-director of its "State, Nation and Integration in the Arab World" program (1986-1991).

G. Salamé is a member of the regional Commission for the Mediterranean Sea at the French Commissariat du Plan. He is a member of the Scientific Council of the Tunis Research Institute on Contemporary Maghreb and a member of the editorial committees of various journals. He is frequently interviewed by the French and Arab media on international politics.

With reference to the many years' research he has carried out on the

States in the Middle-East, his publications include (with G. Luciani) *The Foundations of the Arab State*, London, Croom Helm, 1990 and *The Politics of Arab Integration*, London, Croom Helm, 1990. He has also worked on the theory of international relations applied to the Middle-East (see his recent publications: *Appels d'Empire. Ingérences et Résistances à l'âge de la mondialisation*, Paris, Fayard, 1996, and as editor: *Democracy without democrats? The renewal of Politics in the Muslim World*, London, Tauris 1995). His recent research topics centre on the place of culture in international relations and the practical experience of politics in the Arab and Islamic world. He has recently been appointed Professor at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris.

At the end of October 2000 he was appointed Minister for Culture in the new Lebanese government. We at the Mediterranean Programme and the Robert Schuman Centre send him our sincere congratulations and wish him the best of luck in his future endeavours.

THE MEDITERRANEAN
PROGRAMME STAFF

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ic network project on women's studies). This will involve the participation of approximately 50 gender studies scholars from across Europe with whom we are also organising a one-day workshop on Women's Studies in Europe, open to all members of the Institute. Other activities in the Spring semester will include seminars (to be confirmed) on: Women in Law: The case of Judges (with Law), The European Women's Lobby, Operationalizations of Gender, and Postmodernity, Western and Non-Western Women's Identities, amongst others. As well as all of this, we are (at the time of writing) preparing an application for funding for a Summer School on 'Women in Europe: Eastern and Southern Boundaries' to take place in July 2001.

We have a number of ideas for future development. At present there is one designated gender chair at the Institute (in Gender History, currently held by Regina

Schulte), something we would hope to extend, both with respect to professors and JMFs. More immediately we are looking at the possibility of inviting visiting professors on sabbatical to teach an annual seminar on gender, to be open to students from all departments.

Please feel free to send your comments or suggestions to us. If you would like to be on the mailing list to be informed of regular activities, send a message to lyon@iue.it. We are also keen to hear from EUI alumni whose research here and/or current work is related to the study of gender. And be sure to look us up on the web, at our new site accessible from the RSC homepage.

DAWN LYON (Co-ordinator and SPS, lyon@iue.it)
ENRICA CAPUSSOTTI (HEC and student representative from Gender Working Group, capussot@iue.it)

Second Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting

Florence, 21 – 25 March 2001

The Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre at the University Institute in Florence (Italy) is organizing the Second Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, to be held on 21 - 25 March 2001 in Florence, bringing together some 130 scholars from the Mediterranean area, Europe, and elsewhere.

Goals of the Meeting

First, to bring together scholars from the Middle East & North Africa (MENA), Europe and elsewhere whose studies focus on the MENA and on the relationships between the MENA and Europe. Second, to enable in-depth discussions of high-standard original research papers on central topics. Third, to encourage the publication and dissemination of papers in the form of working papers of the Mediterranean Programme, of thematic issues of journals, and/or edited volumes.

Structure of the Meeting

The core structure of the Meeting is ten workshops in which between ten and twelve participants and two or three workshop directors discuss original research. The members of each workshop meet in four of five sessions for a total of approximately thirteen to sixteen hours in which they discuss papers, general topics, ways to publish the papers and how to continue collaborative efforts.

Workshops

I. Regimes and Regime Change in the Southern Mediterranean

directed by Eberhard Kienle (School of Oriental and African Studies -SOAS, London) & Mustafa Kamil al-Sayyid (Cairo University and American University in Cairo - AUC)

II. New Directions in Feminist Scholarship in the Middle East and North Africa

directed by Pnina Motzafi-Haller (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Sede Boker) and Fatima Sadiqi (Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah University, Fez)

III. Power and Education in the Mediterranean Region

directed by Ronald G. Sultana (University of Malta) and M'hammed Sabour (University of Joensuu)

IV. The Impact of the European Single Currency on Trade and FDI in South-Mediterranean Countries:

directed by Khalid Sekkat (Université Libre Bruxelles), Giorgio Gomel (Italian National Bank, Rome), Amina Lahèche-Révil (Centre d'Etudes Prospectives et d'Informations Internationales - CEPII, Paris)

V. Demography, the Social Contract and Intergenerational Relations in the Middle East and North Africa

directed by Tarik M. Yousef (Georgetown University, Washington, DC) and Jennifer Olmsted (Occidental College, Los Angeles)

VI. Networking Across the Contemporary Mediterranean: Foundation Trust Properties, Revenues and Socio-Political Alliances between North Africa, the Middle East and Europe
directed by Randi Deguilhem (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique - CNRS) and Abdelhamid Henia (University of Tunis I)

VII. Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities in and Across Europe
directed by Stefano Allievi (Università degli Studi di Padova) and Jørgen Nielsen (University of Birmingham)

VIII. New Research Agenda in Saudi and Arabian Peninsula Studies: Comparative and Transnational Perspectives on the Twentieth Century
directed by Robert Vitalis (University of Pennsylvania) and Madawi al-Rasheed (King's College, London)

IX. Family and Welfare State in Mediterranean Labour Markets
directed by Karima Korayem (al-Azhar University, Cairo) and Andrea Ichino (European University Institute, Florence)

X. The Ethnic Break-up of the Ottoman Empire
directed by Resat Kasaba (University of Washington, Seattle), Fikret Adanir (University of Bochum), Sarah Abrevaya Stein (University of Washington, Seattle)

Participation

The deadline to present a paper in one of the workshops was 29 September 2000. The list of participants and the abstracts of the papers that will be presented at the Meeting will be published on the Mediterranean Programme web pages: www.iue.it/RSC/MED/meeting2001.htm

Workshops can be attended without presenting a paper, but please note that workshop directors have to agree to such participation. If they do, participation can take place on the following conditions:

Registration has to take place by Friday 12 January 2001
by e-mail to medmeet@iue.it or via fax: +39/055/4685-770
A flat fee of 150,000 ITL for scheduled meals and a full set of papers of one workshop has to be paid. Accommodation and transportation will have to be taken care of by the participant.

Academic Coordination

IMCO BROUWER

Further Information

<http://www.iue.it/RSC/MED/meeting2001.htm>

e-mail: medmeet@iue.it

fax: +39/055/468-5770



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Third Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting

Florence, 20 - 24 March 2002

Call for Workshops

Deadline 15 December 2000

Scholars are warmly invited to send applications to run a workshop at the Third Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting in Florence, 20 - 24 March 2002. From the applications, up to ten proposals will be selected by a review committee consisting of members of the academic board and the staff of the Mediterranean Programme.

Workshop Proposals

Prospective workshop directors are asked to bear the following issues in mind while writing their proposal:

Explain why there is a need for a workshop on the subject. Also explain how the workshop topic relates to existing research/publications in the area

Indicate who the potential participants are to be. Please note that all workshops should be open rather than confined to an existing closed group of specialists

Possibly indicate the type of paper you wish to attract, e.g. empirical, case study, comparative, theory

Workshop Topics

The focus of the Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies is on the Middle East & North Africa (MENA) (in particular the MENA countries on the Mediterranean Sea) and on the interactions between the MENA and Europe.

The Mediterranean Programme encourages workshops to be comparative and multi-disciplinary. In terms of disciplines, the Mediterranean Programme includes (in alphabetical order):

Anthropology	Law
Demography	Political Economy
Economics	Political Science
Contemporary History	Sociology.
International Relations	

Topics could relate to the following fields of research and should focus on the Middle East and North Africa and/or on Europe - Middle East and North Africa relations:

in the realm of Socio-Political Studies (alphabetical order)

Business and politics	Migration
Euro-Mediterranean partnership	Islam and politics & economics
Images and discourses	Political regime analyses;

in the realm of Political Economy Studies (alphabetical order):

Competition policy and implementation	Information technology and the new economy
Development of Financial Markets - Banks, the Stock Exchange and other financial intermediaries	Private sector and corporate structures
	Privatization policy and practice.

It should be observed that this list of topics is purely indicative and prospective workshop directors are encouraged to propose other topics related to one or more of the above-mentioned disciplines and to the focus of the Mediterranean Programme.

Workshop Participants

Workshop participants can be at any stage of their career (e.g. students well on with writing their Ph.D, young professionals, well-established scholars). Participation by young scholars, especially those who are resident in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries, is strongly encouraged. Participants should currently be doing research on the topic of the workshop and should present an original paper (25 - 35 double-spaced pages, including notes, references, tables) at the Meeting. The Mediterranean Programme requires participants to have at least a good working knowledge of English and/or French. Travel and accommodation allowances will be made available for participants.

Workshop Directors

The Mediterranean Programme wants workshops to be run by two workshop directors who ideally complement each other in terms of academic and national background. Typically, applications are made by one individual who can but does not necessarily propose a co-director. In principle the Mediterranean Programme accepts proposed co-directors, but it reserves itself the right (1) to accept the workshop proposal while proposing an alternative co-director; (2) to merge two workshop proposals into one. Workshops cannot be directed by two scholars affiliated to the same institution. Ideally one workshop director should be based in the Middle East & North Africa area and one in Europe or elsewhere. Exceptionally, workshops can be directed by two directors based both in Europe. However, workshops can never be directed by directors both based in the US and/or Canada. Finally, applications from people who have directed a workshop in the year immediately prior to the present edition of the Meeting cannot be accepted.

Tasks of Workshop Directors

Workshop directors should:

- Search for potential workshop participants
- Select in full autonomy the participants for their workshop on the basis of the applications
- Be academically responsible for the workshop
- Write a paper for the workshop
- Conduct all workshops sessions during the Meeting
- Participate in the scheduled events of the Meeting (inaugural session, Third Mediterranean Programme Lecture, Briefing and Debriefing of workshop directors)
- Propose possible publication of the contributions to the workshop at the end of the Meeting (as working papers of the Mediterranean Programme, as a thematic issue of a journal, or as an edited volume) and follow up the publication process.

Benefits of Workshop Directors

Workshop Directors will (each): Be *reimbursed* for an economy class/APEX ticket directly from place of departure to Florence and back; *receive an honorarium* of 1,000 Euros and be *accommodated* for four nights in the hotel venue of the Meeting and be offered scheduled meals.

Selection Process for Prospective Workshop Directors

Applications will be reviewed by members of the Academic Board and the Mediterranean Programme Staff. Applicants will be informed of the results of the selection process by 26 January 2001.

Applications

Deadline for applications is **15 December 2000**. Applications should be addressed to IMCO BROUWER (Programme Coordinator) and be sent by email to: medmeet@iue.it

Applications should include the following items:

- Completed application form (to be obtained from the Mediterranean Programme web pages at: www.iue.it/RSC/MED/meeting2002-callWS.htm)
- Abstract of the proposed workshop (250 words in English)
- Description of the proposed workshop along the lines described above (approx. five double-spaced pages, including references, in English or French)
- Abstract of the paper of the workshop director and of the proposed co-director (if any)
- Curriculum vitae of the workshop director and or the proposed co-director (if any).

Academic Coordination: Imco Brouwer, e-mail: medmeet@iue.it; fax: +39/055/468-5770

Further Information: www.iue.it/RSC/MED/meeting2002-callWS.htm

Oil prices: are there any concrete prospects of effective co-operation across the Mediterranean?

From the day hostilities began in the war for liberating Kuwait, and throughout the decade of the 1990's, crude oil prices displayed considerable stability. This is not the immediate impression that the reader may derive from throwing a glance at the Brent price chart. (The chart shows weekly moving averages in order to make it more readable and make it slightly less messy). But in fact the price fluctuated most of the time within a band of between 15 and 25 dollars per barrel, which cannot be called narrow in any sense, but implies at its extremes only limited and tolerable strain on either exporters or importers, especially in the expectation that fluctuations will balance off. Indeed, over the decade prices persistently averaged about 18 dollars per barrel over longer periods of time. The price curve displayed no stable trend, and at certain specific times could generate the impression that prices were on a descending trend (the opposite was more rarely the case).

This situation, coupled with supply conditions that were on the whole favourable to the importing countries, encouraged considerable complacency on the part of OECD governments, and the issue of security of energy supplies or diversification of sources rapidly lost appeal and faded away from the political agenda. Interest in dialogue between oil producing and importing countries, which was never very strong, disappeared altogether.

Complacency, it should be acknowledged, was founded on some quite impressive facts. Firstly, at the time of the Iraq-Kuwait war the world had seen tangible proof that it could withstand the disappearance from the market of two major producers without serious market dislocation. Secondly, oil production from outside OPEC continued to increase slowly but surely, and oil companies kept repeating that the cost of producing oil even in remote or difficult areas was decreasing rapidly, thanks to technological progress, inexorably eroding the position of OPEC. Thirdly, the importing countries – following decisions of the United Nations, or the US alone – multiplied instances of sanctions imposed on several producing countries in view of limiting or denying their oil exports – a behaviour which exhuded confidence in the former's ability to prosper without the latter. Fourthly, the advent of the "new economy" – net based and increasingly immaterial – promised to decouple the relationship between income growth and energy consumption.

Towards the end of the decade, prices declined steeply in conjunction with an untimely decision on the part of OPEC to increase its production quotas – primarily because of the sudden crisis in the East Asian economies. Producing countries were severely hit by this downward movement, which they regarded as excessive and not in

line with the so-called fundamentals, but the industrial countries did not consider this a problem at all. Quite to the contrary, the decline appeared to support the opinion of those who claimed that oil would be cheaper and cheaper thanks to the progress of technology which continuously increases the extent of reserves that can be produced economically. Later in 1998, OPEC reversed its decision and again reduced production quotas, but for several months the market did not respond in any significant way and prices continued to hover around 10 dollars. As is evident from the chart, this period of abnormally low prices lasted for approximately 18 months, from the beginning of 1998 to mid 1999. Throughout this period, there were in the industrial countries some contrarian voices and alarm bells being sounded, but they attracted little attention.

There are two radically opposed points of view among oil experts concerning the prospects for oil production. The first point of view, which we may call Malthusian, stresses the fact that oil reserves are finite, and will eventually be exhausted. We know all the sedimentary basins of the world, which is where oil can be found, and the extent of discoveries and exploration activities in each of them. It is normally the case that in each basin the largest fields are found first, and further exploration yields decreasing returns, that is smaller and smaller fields. Frequently, the first and largest discovery accounts for more than half the total reserves of the entire basin. Thus on the basis of our knowledge of exploration activity it is possible to statistically extrapolate the extent of further discoveries for each basin, as well as production from known fields. This painstaking bottom up exercise has been carried out by more than one reputable expert. Results differ slightly, but all indicate that global oil production will peak not later than 2015-2020. In the meantime, global oil demand is growing, and thus we see an inexorably tightening oil market, which is likely to be accompanied by increasing prices.

The opposite view is based on technological optimism. Indeed, there have been some extraordinary examples of technological progress in the oil industry in this last decade. The utilisation of sophisticated earth scanning techniques and very powerful computers has led to a substantial evolution in the interpretation of geological data, significantly reducing the cost of new discoveries. Improvement in drilling techniques, and in particular the development of horizontal drilling has dramatically improved the production level that can be obtained from a single well, thus reducing the number of wells that must be drilled. The implementation of electronics for remote control, automation and administrative tasks as well has reduced the manpower needs of the oil companies, al-

lowing for a dramatic reduction of costs. Hence we do not at all see what a simple Malthusian view would lead to expect – rising marginal costs of oil production.

Because the concept of proven reserves is not just a physical but an economic one as well (reserves can be booked as proven if they are known and can be produced with known technology and at current prices), the declining cost trend translated into a continuous tendency to re-evaluate reserves upward. This was due in part to the fact that, with lower costs, marginal fields became economic, and in part to the fact that the lowering of costs made the adoption of so-called enhanced oil recovery techniques more and more attractive. With traditional methods, only some 35% or less of the oil in place in a field is recovered, but with enhanced oil recovery this share can reach 50%, and possibly more.

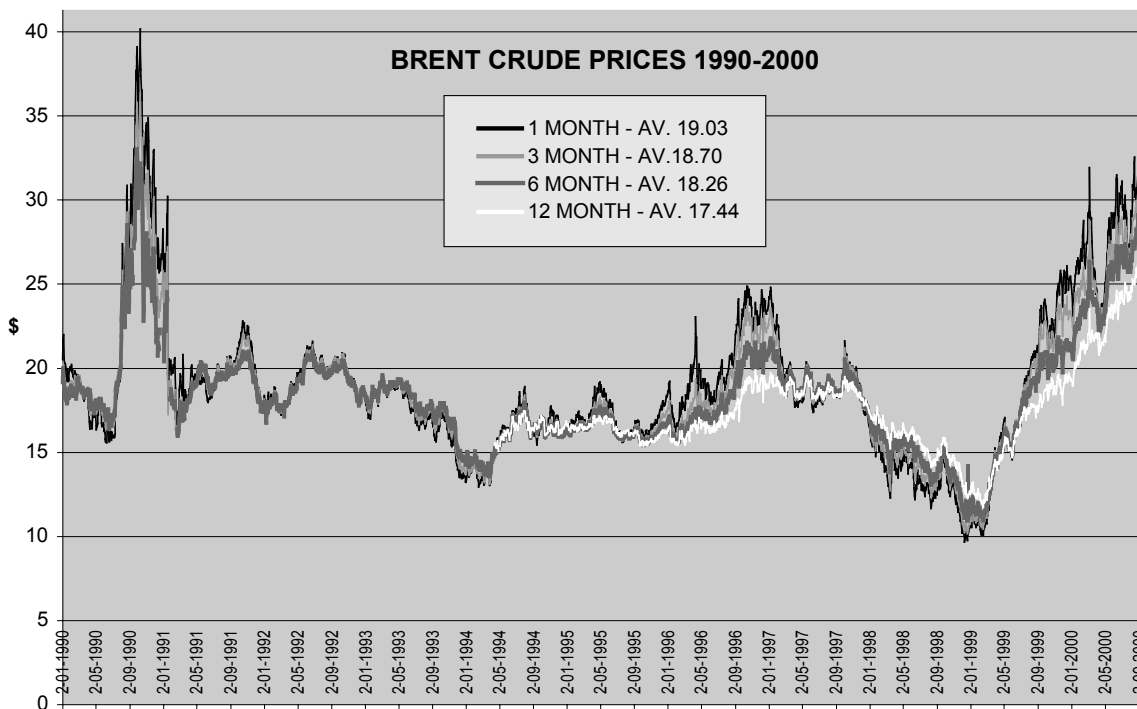
Throughout the decade, proven reserves increased mostly thanks to this so-called “reserve creep” rather than because of new discoveries, which were in fact rather limited. This phenomenon engendered opposite reactions: some saw no end to it in sight, and maintained that, for so long as the cost of finding and producing the marginal barrel is declining, there is no need to worry about the exhaustion of oil reserves and no justification for increasing oil prices. Others, including notably the International Energy Agency, conducted studies to prove that what was happening was simply a faster and more efficient exploitation of the same reserve base, implying that the peak to global oil production may be reached earlier, and the decline of production past this peak may be much steeper. In other words, we are drinking from the same glass of orange juice, only with a bigger straw.

When the tide was reversed and oil prices started climbing rapidly from the second quarter of 1999, many ini-

tially put the blame on OPEC. They ignored the fact that OPEC has repeatedly increased production quotas, and the latter’s existence is presently purely formal, as all OPEC countries are producing to maximum capacity. Only Saudi Arabia is left with some readily available spare capacity, for about 1 million barrels per day or slightly more. So, one view maintains that the current period of high prices is the manifestation of increasingly tight supplies, and inaugurates a period in which the average price may be well above 18 dollars per barrel. To the opposite end of the spectrum, technology optimists regard current prices as being untenable in the face of potential competition from other sources, and predict that they will soon again collapse.

It remains to be said that this discussion applies to conventional oil resources, but there are other sources of energy that can be readily substituted for conventional oil. Gas can be substituted for oil directly in many applications, and can be turned into liquids, i.e. kerosene or diesel, that are just the same as those derived from oil refining, except purer and better quality. In addition, non-conventional oil sources can be found in the heavy oil deposits of the Orinoco belt in Venezuela, in the tar sands of Canada, and in shales in various parts of the world. The oil content of these non conventional resources is huge, and when mobilised will suffice to compensate for the inevitable decline in conventional oil for decades to come.

The speed of development of non-conventional oil and liquids from gas is a function of price. With current technology, the Orinoco heavy oil and Canada’s tar sands are competitive at prices at or slightly below 20 dollars per barrel. If oil prices exceed this level for extended periods of time (e.g. if the band were to move from 15-25 to 20-30 \$/b) exploitation of non conventional oil sources



would accelerate. The speed of development will need to take into account the very large investment requirements, which may cause some jitters down the spine of financial institutions that will be called to underwrite so much of this risk, and the complexity of realisation and running of the industrial plants required for converting the heavy oil into a synthetic oil that can be run in existing refineries. In short, even if prices were to climb further, non-conventional oil will not become a factor in the equation overnight. But a lot of investment is going into it already now, and it is clear that in the long run oil prices much above 25 \$/b simply are untenable. So then, why is it that oil prices have climbed above 30 \$/b and stubbornly refuse to come down, notwithstanding OPEC is producing in excess of the physical needs of the market, and the United States are releasing crude from the Strategic Petroleum Reserve? There is no simple answer to this question, essentially because we do not understand why the market behaves the way it does. We have nothing like a credible model of the functioning of this market, cannot predict it and even less control it. We can try and influence market sentiment in various ways, but this is a very rough and unsatisfactory approach. Neither OPEC nor the industrial countries know how to deal with this market rationally.

The ultimate reason for this state of affairs is that the market is very imperfect. Most of the oil traded internationally – and notably practically all of OPEC's oil – never enters the market. The market deals with two streams – Brent in London, and West Texas Intermediate in the United States – that are very minor from the point of view of global supplies. On such a flimsy physical base (the so-called wet barrels) a huge inverted pyramid of money sits (the paper barrels exchanged between traders or speculators). The price is determined by trading in paper barrels, which is directly connected only to the demand and supply of Brent and WTI – not at all the same as global demand and supply. The price at which other crudes are exchanged is derived from the prevailing price of Brent or WTI through various indexation formulas, but those crudes never enter the market. Producing countries always insist that their sales be final, i.e. the purchaser cannot sell on his cargo to another party, in order to prevent a market in their crude to be created independently of their will. The consequence of this fact is that demand/supply imbalances in the exchanges of OPEC crudes are not transmitted to the Brent and WTI markets and do not influence prices. At the time of writing, for example, Saudi Arabia privately laments that, having announced an increase in its production in order to drive down prices, it cannot find lifters for all the crude it produces. This however translates neither into a decline in Brent prices nor in Saudi Arabia offering its crude at prices lower than the usual indexation to Brent. Something is wrong in this environment!

An efficient market should be first and foremost capable of balancing demand and supply, i.e. be responsive to so-called fundamentals. The current organisation of the international oil market makes it very unresponsive to fun-

damentals. As both demand and supplies are rigid in the short term, the real economy ends up accepting the tyranny of prices determined by an essentially irrational mechanism. If either demand or supply or both were price-elastic, we would see huge imbalances in the physical market, and the organisation of it would be readily improved. As things stand, irrationality can go on for a long time, unless some political agreement is reached to reform the market.

The irrationality of the market is very costly, and volatility, rather than the level of prices, is the main problem. For the past 20 years, the volatility in oil prices has been a disaster for the oil producing countries. It is a mistake to equate these countries to profit maximising traders. The oil revenue is needed to support investment for national development, and the living standard of million of people, which cannot be allowed to fluctuate wildly in parallel with the price of oil. Mechanisms to isolate the real economy of the oil producing countries from fluctuating oil prices have been proposed, but their adoption is hindered by the intrinsic myopia of political decision-making (common to all countries, not just the oil producers). Reducing oil price volatility thus remains top priority. Of course, oil producers also wish prices to be high, but maximisation should occur within the range of potentially stable prices. But volatility of prices is a major problem also for the importing countries. Their economies could easily adjust to a higher but stable price of crude, but fluctuations translate into inflationary pressure and endanger economic growth. There is a ratchet effect, to which excessive taxation on petroleum products contributes in Western Europe, and prices to the final consumer never quite come down as easily as they go up.

With such wide price fluctuations, international oil companies cannot make rational investment decisions. If they could trust prices to stay where they are, they would certainly move more aggressively into new exploration for conventional oil, adoption of enhanced oil recovery techniques, and investment in non-conventional oil sources. As things are, they hesitate before taking the plunge, because a wrong decision is potentially fatal for them. Hence we witness the curious phenomenon of oil companies awash with cash, that cannot find anything better to do with it than buying back their own stock. This is a very clear manifestation on the one hand of the lack of strategic vision on the part of the companies, and on the other of the paralysing effect that irrational market signals inevitably have.

Finally, price volatility is disastrous for energy conservation. To a large extent, progress towards energy conservation is in the hands of the final consumer: he must find that investing in more efficient equipment, insulation, cars etc. is attractive at prevailing prices. If prices are unstable, there never is sufficient incentive for a larger group of consumers to come on board energy conservation. Indeed, the assumption that the new economy would have led to a reduction in the energy intensity of income has been shattered on the consumer demand side

by the tendency to buy larger cars and SUV – proof of the fact that energy conservation cannot be achieved unless it is internalised by consumer preferences.

In Europe, the horrendous level of indirect taxation on all fuels, and most notably on transportation, has meant that the consumer never experienced those cheaper prices. Governments adopted energy conservation as the fig leaf to justify a predatory attitude towards fuel consumption – although in fact revenue went to pay for general expenditure, and was not at all targeted to the “good cause”. There may be justification to argue that fuel prices should be kept high to encourage efficiency and conservation, but surely this policy sends to the oil producers a very clear message: that the consumer is ready to pay much more than what they get, and they are not receiving the full value of their product. Hence it is inevitable sooner or later to come to terms with the need to find a reasonable arrangement between oil producers and importing countries concerning fuel taxation, otherwise this will be a permanent source of strain and conflict.

It goes without saying that the search for greater stability in oil prices should exclude resorting to any administrative control of the market to artificially dampen it. This is unacceptable and would likely never work. The potential for improvement lies in a dialogue that will take into consideration certain crucial technical aspects and reform the market in order to improve its functioning. In recent years, attention to institutional aspects has been paramount in economic thinking, and the role of the State as the guarantor of efficient and transparent markets has become increasingly important. It is time to apply this approach to the international oil market.

What is needed is an agreement to establish a truly independent international market through which the producing countries will accept to channel the bulk of their exports. As was mentioned, presently producers refuse to allow trading of their oil, because they fear they would lose control on it. But in fact the control that they have is purely illusory: their impotence to influence prices is all too evident. The specific mechanism that should be adopted, the design of standard contracts, the grouping of crudes of similar quality to facilitate exchanges, the way to deal with quality differentials: all of these and many other aspects need to be agreed upon before a new international oil market will be launched. But the bottom line is clear: this market should not trade Brent only: it should trade Arabian Light and all the other major streams of crude.

A second step in the direction of greater stability would be to encourage companies and final customers to trade in short futures contracts (3- to 12-months) rather than in the spot market. Our Brent crude prices chart clearly shows that oscillations for longer term contracts have always been considerably less than for the spot contract. This stands to reason, as the spot market is inevitably influenced by “mistakes” incurred by various players, which normally will not balance out. This simple source

of disturbance cannot be eliminated, but why should “serious” players such as crude producers, refiners, and major users prefer to use the spot market rather than a slightly longer-term contract? The spot market should be left for correcting last-minute imbalances. It should normally be much smaller and more volatile than the “reference” (e.g. 3-months) contract.

The regulation and imposition of minimum stocks on oil companies (a common practice in many industries) to guarantee stability of supply may be formulated in such a way that the requirements would be met not just by accumulating physical stocks, but also by entering into longer term contracts. As these come to maturity, they would have to be renewed, creating a constant incentive for the companies to procure more of their oil on the futures market. If this becomes the prevailing practice, then competition in the industry will tend to shift attention to the prices of short-term contracts, rather than spot.

A final important area for negotiation and co-operation – in particular between the EU and the countries of the GCC – is the issue of downstream integration. Traditionally the EU has taken a negative attitude towards producing countries integrating in refining and the industrial transformation of refinery streams, in particular for the production of petrochemicals. I firmly believe that this is a short-sighted protectionist attitude and a mistake. The reason is simple: the markets for petroleum products, petrochemicals and other products that are highly energy intensive are much more competitive than the market for crude. To the extent that the producing countries will succeed in exporting oil as industrial products rather than crude, they will achieve their longstanding goal of industrialisation and economic diversification, and the importing countries will reduce their exposure to the price of crude. These may not be exciting arguments for the agenda of high-level political meetings, but the same might be said of trade or monetary matters that are commonly discussed in such fashion. The key difference is in the preparation: technicians from all sides should meet in advance and iron out proposals that may be acceptable to all sides, narrow down differences, create a framework within which politicians may strike the required compromise to strike a deal. Such technical dialogue has been largely lacking so far.

This is where the Mediterranean Programme of the Schuman Centre wants to play a modest role. We are launching, in association with the Oxford Institute of Energy Studies and the Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei, an international gathering of experts behind closed doors to try out a few ideas and verify whether some agreement is possible. A political dialogue may start even earlier, but is unlikely to generate anything else than declarations of principles unless appropriate technical preparation precedes it. The market will not be impressed, politicians will soon be discouraged. We have seen this happening many times in the past already.

GIACOMO LUCIANI

The Summer School experiences at the Robert Schuman Centre

The Mediterranean Programme organised last July (3-14) its second annual summer school. It has been under the direction of Prof. Ghassan Salamé or these two years and the organisational structure has remained unchanged: morning lectures given by tutors and invited scholars, afternoon working groups co-directed by two tutors. This alternance of plenary sessions and formal seminars with a more individualised type of work appears to be the main comparative advantage of our Summer school. The value of this type of division of work was further confirmed following the Balkan Summer school held at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies last September (18-24) directed by Prof. Jacques Rupnik, which was also structured this way. The availability of the tutors appears to the students as the main and major benefit of such a working structure. In fact, the policy of the Mediterranean Programme has always been to guarantee the students a high quality of lectures and tutorship.

This objective has been reached mainly thanks to the international reputation and the academic expertise of the scientific directors. They were able to select the tutors according to the needs of the students (topics, disciplines, areas of speciality) and then to attract numerous well-known scholars and convince them to contribute more than the usual two-three days. This time dimension is of particular significance as students expect from a Summer School not only new information and contacts with international experts (such as Henry Siegmann on the negotiations for the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis, or Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the Fund for an Open Society in Belgrad), but also full-time availability and tutorship from professors and specialists of their topic. Students attending the

last September's Balkan Summer School certainly appreciated the presence of Vladimir Gligorov, economist at the Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche-WIIW and Nenad Miscevic, Professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Education of the University of Maribor. With a longer time schedule (2 weeks) and 25 students, the Mediterranean Programme Summer school is structured into three working groups co-directed by two scholars (for instance this year, the group dealing with Religion, Culture and Social Changes in the Middle-East was placed under the scientific responsibility of Aziz Al-Azmeh and Gerdien Jonker; the working group on The Middle East in Regional and World Politics was directed by Frédéric Charillon and Dietrich Jung; and the third working group on Economic Dynamics in the Middle-East was directed by Iliya Harik and Giacomo Luciani).

Such events have obviously costs. In the case of the Mediterranean Programme, the whole budget was funded by the sponsors of the Programme, while for the Balkan Summer School, the European University Institute financed it fully. The policy for both summer schools has been to cover the full costs for travel and accommodation not only for professors, tutors and invited scholars, but also for students, when coming from non-E.U. countries such as the Middle East and North Africa regions or the Balkans. As a result, the audience of those academic meetings is quite equally composed of students from Western Europe and students from the MENA region or the South-Eastern Europe. The networking effect is substantial: having been involved in daily work at a very intensive level, the students leave the RSCAS with new perspectives on their topics and new connections in terms of scientific and academic integration. Immediately after the Mediterranean Pro-

gramme Second Summer School, one of the participants created a network on the web and invited all of the participants to join it, with the



Giacomo Luciani

aim of reciprocal updating on special events, web sites and publications relevant on their area of research.

The participation of students of the European University Institute in these sessions is welcome although, the Summer Schools are formostly addressed to an external audience, i.e. young researchers from Europe and from the concerned regions. It has to be said that, in the case of the Balkans Summer School, the commitment of the EUI students working on the region (ie the Borders' working group) was extremely helpful, by supporting the summer school, taking involvement and helping to integrate the students from other universities. In the case of summer schools, these first experiences have been extremely positive and the evaluation forms filled by the students at the end of each Summer school will certainly help us to improve the format. Let's hope the Balkans will follow the avenue opened by the Mediterranean : in July 2001, Ghassan Salamé will direct the third edition of the Mediterranean Programme Summer School.

VALÉRIE AMIRAUX

BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations at the Robert Schuman Centre

The European University Institute has established the BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations within the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. The Chair, appropriately endowed by a Euro-American company, will develop a programme of highly relevant policy-oriented as well as basic research by leading scholars from both sides of the Atlantic on key issues of common European-American interest. The programme will initially concentrate on the following theme:

International Governance and the Transatlantic Relationship

While the term "international governance" is by now widely used, its meaning is far from clear. For the purposes of the BP Chair, international governance connotes institutionalized and collective efforts at problem-solving. Governance structures are usually characterized by networks comprising a variety of actors including governments, private actors such as firms, and diverse groups from international civil society (NGOs and others).

"International Governance and the Transatlantic Relationship" as the general theme of the programme encompasses two dimensions, the internal governance of the transatlantic relationship as well as the external roles of Europe and North America in global governance:

Internal Governance of the Transatlantic Relationship

This part of the programme's activities concentrates on institution-building for problem-solving in the transatlantic relationship itself. Given the comparative advantage of the EUI and the RSC, we will initially concentrate of economic governance in the transatlantic area, particularly in trade and investment. The programme will study recent efforts at institution-building for economic governance in the

transatlantic relationship, e.g., in the framework of the New Transatlantic Agenda. Particular attention will be given to conflict resolution in the relationship between the U.S. and the European Union (EU). This includes analysing the institutional structures for decision-making on both sides of the Atlantic. The programme will investigate differences in legal systems and their impact on transatlantic dispute resolution. It will also concentrate on the cultural dimension of the U.S.-European relationship and on the various ways in which different cultural understandings affect economic conflicts and their resolution.

Global Governance and the Transatlantic Relationship

The second dimension of the programme concerns the roles of North America and Europe as international actors and their joint contribution to global governance. Since the transatlantic area comprises roughly 50% of the world's GDP, the U.S. and the EU face global responsibilities for collective problem-solving. This concerns, above all, the future of the international economic order, in particular the WTO as the most important governance structure in this realm, as well as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The programme is not confined to economic themes, however, but will also examine the role of the U.S. and the EU in other areas of international politics, including international human rights, the promotion of democracy, the protection of the global environment, the strengthening of the European defense pillar of NATO, and relations with post-Soviet Russia.

Research Activities

Although newly established at EUI as of September 2000, the BP Chair has an ambitious calendar of research, seminars, and conferences

for the 2000-2001 academic year. On Friday, 10 November, Sir John Browne (Chief Executive of BP) delivered the BP Chair Inaugural Lecture, "The Transatlantic Relationship: The New Agenda," to a distinguished audience of EUI faculty, researchers, and guests of the Institute. In his lecture, Sir John addressed the importance of the transatlantic relationship to a global corporation such as BP, and discussed the primary challenges that lie before the United States and Europe, including a coordinated response to the challenge of global warming and a common policy to ensure that the liberalization of trade continues and contributes to stability and prosperity in the developing world as well as the United States and Europe. (The text of the Inaugural Lecture may be found on-line at [http://www.iue.it/RSC/BP/.](http://www.iue.it/RSC/BP/))

In addition to the Inaugural Lecture, the BP Chair has sponsored a number of seminars and speakers during the Fall semester, including a presentation by Gregory Shaffer (University of Wisconsin Law School) and Mark Pollack (EUI) of their forthcoming book, *Transatlantic Governance in a Global Economy* (see related feature in this issue); a lively and well-attended roundtable on the US presidential elections featuring presentations by Thomas Risse (EUI), Philippe Schmitter (EUI) and Terry Karl (Stanford University); a presentation by Steven Krasner (Stanford University) on the contested meanings of sovereignty in international politics; and a paper on "EU Consumer and Environmental Politics and Policies in Comparative Perspective," by David Vogel (University of California-Berkeley).

During its first year, the BP Chair will also host two major conferences on transatlantic issues. The first of these conferences, to take place in December 2000, will bring

together European and American academics, government officials, industry representatives and civil-society stakeholders for a discussion of "The Transatlantic Regulatory Environment for Biotechnology." Organized in partnership with the German Marshall Fund and its US/European Biotechnology Initiative, this workshop will examine the stark cultural and regulatory differences between the US and the European regarding agriculture and food production, the resulting transatlantic conflict about the regulation and marketing of genetically modified organisms (GMOs), and the prospects for transatlantic or global cooperation to address the policy and regulatory considerations arising from the increasing number of genetically modified foods and crops.

In July 2001, finally, Prof. Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann will chair a major interdisciplinary conference on "Dispute Prevention and Dispute Settlement in the Transatlantic Relationship," bringing together scholars from the fields of law, economics and political science to examine the sources of transatlantic trade disputes and the possibilities for new mechanisms of governance to settle existing disputes and prevent future disputes before they arise. The intellectual starting point for this conference is that, despite the growing ties between the US and the EU, the transatlantic relationship continues to be marred by a series of economic disputes over issues such as hormone-treated beef, bananas, data privacy, airplane noise, and genetically modified organisms, many of which have culminated in legal proceedings before the World Trade Organization. Although the economic stakes of these disputes is small by comparison with the mutual gains from transatlantic trade and cooperation, their frequency and sometimes bitterness threatens to spill over into other aspects of the transatlantic relationship. The EU-US summit meeting decision of June 1999 to establish an "early warning system" for the prevention of transatlantic disputes appears to have had only limited re-

sults so far. In this context, participants in the conference will systematically examine the origins of transatlantic disputes in the field of trade in goods, and the governance mechanisms (formal and informal, bilateral and global) used to manage and resolve them. In so doing, the conference will both analyze the root causes of transatlantic disputes, and help to design strategies for joint EU-US leadership for strengthening transatlantic relations and the WTO world trade system. A follow-up workshop in the Spring of 2002, also organized by Prof. Petersmann, will examine transatlantic disputes in "new areas" such as trade in services, intellectual property, social policy, and human rights, and develop specific policy recommendations for the management of such disputes. If successful, the conferences could evolve into regular events on both sides of the Atlantic. Such annual "academic watchdog conferences," alternating between the EU and the US, could become an important academic complement or part of the "early warning system" for identifying, reviewing, criticizing, mediating, preventing and settling future EU-US disputes.

Structure of the Chair

The BP Chair is part of the Robert Schuman Centre, under the Direction of Prof. Yves Mény. Thomas Risse (EUI) serves as Academic Director of the Chair, and Mark A. Pollack (University of Wisconsin-Madison) serves as Senior Research Fellow charged with coordinating the research activities of the Chair. In addition, a Senior Advisory Group of eminent scholars and practitioners has been established to advise and evaluate the activities of the Chair. Current members of the Group include:
Sir Franklin Berman, Foreign Office London
Dr. Nick Butler, BP
Prof. Patrick Masterson, President, EUI
Prof. Yves Mény, Director, Robert Schuman Centre, EUI
Ambassador Hugo Paemen, Washington DC

Prof. Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, University of Geneva
Prof. Thomas Risse, Robert Schuman Centre, EUI
Prof. Volker Rittberger, University of Tübingen
Karsten D. Voigt, Co-ordinator for German-American Relations, Foreign Office, Berlin

Each year, the BP Chair sponsors up to five post-doctoral fellows in transatlantic relations, who conduct research on various aspects of the US-EU relationship, with an emphasis on the challenges of joint economic governance. During the 2000-2001 academic year, the Chair has selected the following three transatlantic fellows:

Dr. Sebastian Bartsch, German Society for Foreign Affairs, Berlin. Research project: "Sanctions in American and European Union Foreign Policy."

Dr. Marjoleine Hennis, John Cabot University, Rome. Research project: "WTO and Transatlantic Cooperation: The Case of Trade in Agricultural Goods."

Dr. Alasdair Young, University of Sussex. Research project: "The Domestic Politics of Transatlantic Governance: Hormones, Genes, and Risk"

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Transatlantic Governance in a Global Economy

With the end of the Cold War in 1989, and the increasing interdependence of the US and European economies during the 1990s, the United States and the European Union have devoted increasing attention to the joint governance of transnational economic relations. This intensification of US-EU cooperation began at the start of the decade, when US President Bush and Commission President Jacques Delors negotiated and signed The Transatlantic Declaration of February 27, 1990, pursuant to which the US and EC agreed to a framework "for regular and intensive consultation," including semi-annual summit meetings between the two sides. Five years later, following the creation of the European Union in 1993, the parties agreed to upgrade the transatlantic consultative mechanism by giving it greater substantive focus. In December 1995, they signed a document entitled the New Transatlantic Agenda (NTA), pledging cooperation in an array of policy areas. Given the United States' on-going military predominance and the EU's traditional economic focus, the Agenda's third pillar, concerning "closer economic relations," was solidly at the center of the NTA.

The New Transatlantic Agenda was designed primarily to enhance transatlantic policy coordination among the world's two largest economies, and, in particular, to provide joint leadership for the further liberalization of transatlantic and global trade and investment. With transatlantic trade and investment now surpassing a trillion dollars, US and EU domestic officials in areas such as trade, competition, or consumer protection increasingly contact their transatlantic counterparts to coordinate common actions, as well as to challenge each other's domestic policies. Regulatory provisions aimed at protecting consumer and environmental interests increasingly become the object of disputes among governmental authorities and private parties on both sides of the Atlantic. Private domestic groups, from businesses associations to labor, consumer and environmental groups, form transatlantic linkages and attempt to intervene to advance their goals.

In a forthcoming edited volume *Transatlantic Governance in a Global Economy* (Rowman & Littlefield, March 2001) we and a number of leading experts in the field examine the record of transatlantic economic relations in the 1990s, and in particular the efforts by the United States and European Union, through the NTA, to establish new forms of governance in an effort to cope with increasing levels of transatlantic and global interdependence. The term "governance" is increasingly employed in the fields of international relations, international law and comparative politics, yet in those disciplines we find little agreement on the substance of governance, or on the key actors who take part in it.

From a comparative politics perspective, the shift to the term governance from that of government involves the provision of services by interorganizational networks of both governmental and non-governmental actors, in a process that blurs traditional distinctions between public and private, and raises normative issues of fragmentation and accountability. In this view, put forward most systematically by Rod Rhodes and his collaborators, governments may "steer" public policy in certain directions, but the implementation of those policies rests with a multitude of actors whom governments control only imperfectly. These trends raise concerns about democratic accountability that have as yet found no satisfactory solution.

For international relations and legal scholars, the concept of "governance" posits that social conflicts may be resolved, and sustained cooperation promoted, not only by a hierarchical, sovereign government, but also by international institutions composed of multiple governments or a mix of governmental and non-governmental actors. Beyond this broad concept, however, we find little agreement on the precise nature of, or the key participants in, international governance.

The transatlantic economic relationship is particularly promising as a laboratory for new forms of governance because its members comprise the world's largest economies and because of its extraordinarily broad scope. The NTA explicitly calls for and facilitates cooperation at multiple levels, including (1) high-level contacts among chiefs-of-government, (2) day-to-day contact among lower-level government officials, and (3) direct people-to-people contact across the Atlantic. These three levels of transatlantic exchanges, in turn, correspond to three distinct "images" or models of international governance found in the literature on international relations theory:

an intergovernmental model, in which chiefs of government (or COGs) and other high level officials negotiate on behalf of the United States' and European Union's respective interests, as determined by internal domestic processes;

a transgovernmental model, in which lower-level domestic officials work with their transatlantic counterparts on specific issues to pragmatically coordinate and harmonize domestic policies; and

a transnational or civil-society model, where private actors, including business representatives and other constituents, coordinate efforts to advance their respective goals.

Each of these three models corresponds to a specific body of theory in international relations, which generates questions and competing hypotheses about the new

forms of transatlantic governance examined in the book's nine substantive chapters, which are in turn divided into three groups. The first three chapters (by John Peterson, Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, and Gregory Shaffer, respectively) examine transatlantic cooperation and conflict in the area of trade, which we would expect to be characterized by intergovernmental relations among chiefs of government meeting in bilateral and multilateral negotiations and in WTO litigation. The next three chapters (by Youri Devuyt, Pollack and Shaffer, and Michelle Egan) examine transatlantic regulatory cooperation in competition policy, biotechnology and standard-setting, all of which have been hypothesized as promising area for transgovernmental networks. The final set of chapters (by Maria Green Cowles, David Trubek and Jody Knauss, and Francesca Bignami and Steve Charnovitz) examines the establishment and operation of transatlantic civil society dialogues in the areas of business, labor, consumer protection and the environment, which were expected to approximate the transnational or civil society model.

The findings of these substantive chapter suggest that the New Transatlantic Agenda does not fit neatly within any of the three ideal-type models, but is rather a composite, with transatlantic governance networks appearing at all three levels of analysis, and the traditional distinction between the public and the private blurring at both the domestic and international levels. Nevertheless, the available evidence does permit us to assess the relative importance of intergovernmental, transgovernmental and transnational actors in the process of transatlantic governance. Put simply, we argue that intergovernmental networks, consisting of high-level Clinton Administration and European Commission officials, were the architects of the New Transatlantic Agenda and remain central to it; transgovernmental networks have emerged in certain areas such as competition policy, but remain relatively immature or unimportant in others; and transnational networks have played an important role in transatlantic governance, but nevertheless fall far short of the ideal type predicted by the literature on global civil society. We discuss each of these findings, very briefly, below.

First, although high-level governmental actors no longer monopolize the international stage (if indeed they ever did), the evidence presented by our authors suggests clearly that Washington and Brussels are the primary architects and the key actors within the New Transatlantic Agenda and the panoply of transgovernmental networks and civil-society dialogues established under its aegis. Indeed, despite the sometimes tempestuous trade conflicts dividing the Washington and Brussels during the 1990s, the Clinton Administration and the European Union share a preference to preserve and continue the transatlantic and global liberalization of trade and investment, and to manage the conflicts that inevitably arise among economies as intertwined as those of the United States and the EU. Indeed, in the language of Robert Putnam's two-level games, the New Transat-

lantic Agenda can be interpreted as a case of "COG collusion" between a Clinton Administration and a European Commission, each of which has been arguably more sympathetic to the goal of market liberalization than its respective domestic constituencies. Nevertheless, we also find that Putnam's two-level games model must be modified to take into account the central role of the Commission, an international organization that has come to play the role of COG on behalf of the Union in the areas of trade and competition, and to a growing extent in other areas of economic regulation.

Nevertheless, if the American and European COGs dominate the transatlantic stage, they do not and cannot monopolize that stage, but share it with supporting actors, including transgovernmental networks of lower-level government actors. Specifically, Anne-Marie Slaughter and others have argued that the NTA is a model of an emerging "Real New World Order" of governance by transgovernmental networks of lower-level government officials working autonomously on a day-to-day basis to govern economic activities that can no longer be contained within national borders. Taken as a whole, the case studies in the second part of the book offer at best patchy support for Slaughter's image of a transgovernmental world order. In the area of competition policy, Youri Devuyt finds a series of cooperative agreements between US and EU antitrust authorities, as well as a series of relatively harmonious cooperative practices that approximate as closely as one might hope Slaughter's image of fast, flexible, and effective cooperation among lower-level government regulators. Even within the sphere of competition policy, however, Devuyt finds that day-to-day cooperation among US and EU officials may be limited by persistent differences in the scope and focus of competition law, the divergent goals and procedures of competition policy, and the exigencies of confidentiality which limit the sharing of information among US and EU agencies. In the area of food safety, transgovernmental cooperation has proven far more difficult, hampered by sharp and persistent differences in the cultures and laws governing the regulation of food safety on either side of the Atlantic, with the United States consistently more willing to base its domestic regulations on scientific analysis by independent regulatory agencies, while the EU insists on taking a broader social perspective, with the responsibility for risk management retained by political bodies.

These transatlantic regulatory differences have limited the ability of transgovernmental networks of experts to cooperate in the regulation of food safety, which has already spilled over into major conflicts over issues such as hormone-treated beef and genetically modified crops. It therefore appears that Slaughter's new world order of governance by transgovernmental networks is limited to specific issue-areas, such as competition policy, where regulators on each side of the Atlantic enjoy considerable *de facto* or *de jure* independence from their political masters, and are guided by sufficiently similar regulatory laws and cultures. Where these con-

ditions are not met, however, the obstacles to transgovernmental cooperation remain considerable, and COGs retain the option of managing regulatory conflicts through traditional inter-state negotiation and litigation.

Moving on to the transnational level, finally, our authors find that private actors are implicated at all levels and in nearly all areas of the New Transatlantic Agenda. Indeed, the various transatlantic dialogues examined in the book, as well as other direct, people-to-people links, have been deliberately created and fostered by Washington and Brussels, which have sought to enlist representatives of civil society in furthering various aspects of the New Transatlantic Agenda. By the same token, however, this volume's contributors find little evidence to support the notion of a transatlantic civil society participating directly in international governance, across national borders and independent of governments, as in Paul Wapner's model of global civil society. The emerging transnational civil society dialogues, we argue, differ from the traditional model of global civil society in at least three important ways. First, the Transatlantic Business Dialogue and other transnational dialogues have organized transnationally not as an alternative to their own governments, but rather in partnership with those governments. Maria Green Cowles' analysis of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue (TABD), for example, suggests that, in place of the traditional distinction between a public sphere of international relations and a private sphere of market transactions, we are witnessing a blurring of competence, in which private businesses within the TABD sit alongside governmental actors, helping to set the trade-liberalizing agenda of the transatlantic relationship, and sometimes participating directly in what are, in effect, quadrilateral public-private negotiations.

A second striking difference between the transatlantic dialogues and the international civil-society model is that the dialogues are segmented by sector, and their levels of activity and influence are extremely uneven. The Transatlantic Business Dialogue clearly emerged early on as the most active and influential of the dialogues, while the Transatlantic Labor, Consumer, and Environmental Dialogues have thus far been less active and less successful in shaping the NTA. Third and finally, as Bignami and Charnovitz point out, one of the central elements of any domestic civil society is the meeting and confrontation of different interests and ideas in a single public sphere. By contrast with that ideal, the transatlantic public sphere is segmented into distinct sectoral dialogues, which have yet to engage in a genuine transatlantic "dialogue among the dialogues."

In light of these empirical findings, we return in our conclusion to Rhodes's conception of governance through networks of public and private actors, each of which brings distinct resources to the network and yields influence corresponding to its specific resource endowment. Such an analysis of the New Transatlantic Agenda, we

suggest, provides a useful explanation for the relative power and influence of the various actors in the NTA, including the continuing centrality of governments, the rise of the European Commission as a pivotal actor in certain issue-areas, and the variable influence of lower-level governmental and non-governmental actors. Both national governments and the European Commission, we argue, remain privileged actors in transatlantic governance, with significant legal, regulatory, informational and financial resources; and these actors have effectively established the NTA as a framework within which other actors strive for influence. Among lower-level government actors, we find that independent agencies, like US and EU competition authorities or the US Food and Drug Administration, often possess expertise and legal autonomy which allow them to form transgovernmental networks that are stronger and more autonomous than those established by ordinary government ministries. Among civil-society groups, finally, transnational business organizations bring an abundant set of resources to the table, including the willingness to make large economic investments, knowledge and expertise about their own demands and activities, and financial and political support for government actors who are attentive to their concerns. By contrast, other groups have traditionally had fewer informational, financial, and other resources to offer governments, and have consequently been either inactive across borders or have found it difficult to gain access to the highest levels of the transatlantic governance process. This relative lack of resources, finally, is compounded by the familiar collective action problems which prevent large and diffuse interest groups from cooperating across borders as effectively as the more concentrated international business community.

The obstacles to transatlantic collective action among labor, environmentalists and consumers are not, however, insurmountable, for two reasons. First, organized labor and other groups have in recent years discovered that, despite the relative weakness of their respective dialogues, they retain a valuable resource in the form of their ability to block, at the domestic level, the liberalization agendas of the EU Commission and the US executive branch. Secondly, the development of new communications technologies, together with the deliberate creation by governments of the new civil-society dialogues, have lowered the costs of organization for these groups, with potentially dramatic effects on their ability to participate effectively in transatlantic governance.

MARK A. POLLACK and GREGORY C. SHAFFER

Mark A. Pollack is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin (on leave), and Senior Researcher in the BP Chair in Transatlantic Relations at EUI; Gregory C. Shaffer is Assistant Professor in the University of Wisconsin School of Law. This essay is a summary of the larger research project which they will present at EUI in a seminar on 7 November 2000.

Arguing and Bargaining in Multilateral Negotiations

A collaborative project of the EUI and the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt

When the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) was extended indefinitely in 1995 the extension of the treaty was accompanied by a document on “principles and objectives” for future implementation of the treaty containing new or more precise duties for the parties, with an expanded review process that gives the nuclear have-nots better opportunities to criticize the practice of the nuclear States. It is this *de facto* amendment of the treaty which represents a puzzle for standard accounts of international negotiations. The results of the 1995 conference on the NPT are due to an intense process of negotiating within a small group of States representing the full spectrum of opinions among parties, convened outside the formal conference structure by the President of the conference. This body created something that was not foreseen by the experts, nor by the treaty itself. It did not emerge from the centres of power, but from committed middle-sized states (South Africa and Canada). Although bargaining and power-play did take place, it is difficult to assess how these factors alone should predict the outcome.

The negotiations over the Ottawa Convention to Ban Anti-Personal Landmines is another example of negotiating an international agreement that cannot be explained by standard textbook accounts. The process of negotiating the convention lasted about one year, the convention itself was opened for signature in December 1997 and entered into force only about one year later. The Ottawa Convention is probably the first multilateral security agreement that was mainly initiated by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The successful termination of the negotiations is attributed to an enormous campaign that joined both persuasion and public pressure to convince reluctant powers that only banning those weapons might be the right thing in view of the mine victims.

The two examples of international negotiating processes sketched above contradict conventional wisdom about international negotiations in two different ways. First, international negotiations are not only characterized by hard-nosed bargaining over economic or security interests of States. Negotiators do not always come to the bargaining table knowing what they want and seeking to get as much as they can. Cooperative outcomes may be achieved through interest accommodation, concessions, package deals or issue linkage. But we should keep in mind that negotiators also communicate constantly in this international setting. Do actors merely inform each other about the views of their governments? Do they consult each

other before defining their own interests? To what extent do they justify their respective views and try to persuade each other? How often do States change their interests right at the negotiating table? These questions show that we know little about the precise role and mode of communication in international negotiations.

Secondly, negotiating an international agreement does not only involve States but also a whole range of non-state actors. In many cases, governments would not be sitting at the negotiating table, let alone finding acceptable solutions, had it not been for the influence and constant pressure of non-state actors. These non-state actors not only set the agenda of inter-state negotiations or advise national governments; sometimes they also sit at the negotiating table and monitor compliance with international treaties and agreements. While the impact of non-state actors on inter-state negotiations is increasingly acknowledged in the literature on international negotiations, we know little about the actual mechanisms by which non-state actors influence such negotiations. A lot of non-state actors do not have many material resources at their disposal. Therefore, they have to rely on the “power of the better argument” to persuade States and/or public opinion to see things differently and change policies.

The conclusion we can draw from the points mentioned above is that international negotiations are not only characterized by processes of bargaining but also by instances and processes of arguing. To investigate systematically the precise role and impact of arguing based on communicative rationality as opposed to bargaining based on strategic rationality in international negotiations leading to the creation of international norms or agreements is at the centre of the project on “Arguing and Bargaining in Multilateral Negotiations”, funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

The project, which was launched this summer, is a collaborative effort by Thomas Risse (EUI/Robert Schuman Centre) and Harald Müller (Peace Research Institute Frankfurt, PRIF) and takes up the recent controversy between social constructivism and rational choice in the fields of international relations and comparative politics. The project tries to translate various metatheoretical assumptions that have been brought forward in different sub-disciplines of social science into substantive theoretical claims which can be evaluated empirically, at least in terms of a plausibility probe. The case studies are chosen from different

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New Researcher Representatives

This year's Reps are just the latest generation of an evolving EUI system of researcher representation. We are not exactly a student union in the '68 tradition, but rather a volunteer group whom anyone may choose to assist. We represent all researchers in dealings with academic departments and the EUI administration. In general, representation works through the numerous committees of the EUI, on almost all of which Reps have some (official or semi-official) status. The reps do also numerous other things: from tackling welfare issues to planning the EUI's upcoming 25th Anniversary party.



Joaquim Torres, Jorge Godinho, Jean-François Mouhot, Ludovic Renou, Tania van Dijk, Ingela Naumann, Thomas Cole

We publish a yearly 'Alternative Prospectus' - designed to forewarn applicants to the EUI about some of its special attractions and challenges, and to give a researcher's insight into what life here is really like at the EUI (it is a notable popular success with in-house readers); with the generous aid of the Academic Service we run a researcher's social fund and are able to make small contributions to researchers in financial difficulties. On a daily basis we are most researcher's first point of call for problems / inquiries / complaints and simple curiosity about the somewhat opaque workings of the EUI. Final-

ly, we publish an annual 'Reporta' on our doings - this can contain anything from a general moan at under-resourcing to sports reports, from agitations about EUI PR to spelling mistakes... and even an occasional triumphal record of progress towards making the EUI the magnificent institution it almost is.

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THE RESEARCHER REPRESENTATIVES

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issue-areas (security, human rights, environment) and involve both public discourses and (secret) diplomatic negotiations. Moreover, they encompass several groups of actors, ranging from national governments to private (economic) actors and (international) non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The case studies and their respective researchers are: the unlimited extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1995 and its follow-up conference in 2000 (Harald Müller, PRIF); the Ottawa Convention banning the production, employment and use of anti-personal landmines adopted in 1997 (Simone Wisotzki, PRIF); the ILO Convention No. 182 concerning the "Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour" adopted in 1999 (Cor-

nelia Ulbert, EUI/Robert Schuman Centre); rules for a fair distribution of burdens within the framework of the international negotiations on climate change during the 1990s (Jens Steffek, EUI/Robert Schuman Centre); implementation of the Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (adopted in 1997) within the EU (Matthias Leonhard Maier, EUI/Robert Schuman Centre).

CORNELIA ULBERT

Research Fellow, Robert Schuman Centre

Coming to Terms with the Mediterranean Syndrome

The Implementation of European Environmental Policies in Southern Countries

Purpose and organization of the workshop

While the overall compliance of the Member States with EU environmental law is rather low, the southern countries have the reputation of being particular laggards. The poor implementation record of these countries is usually attributed to systemic deficiencies of their political and administrative institutions. Lack of administrative capacity, a civic culture inclined to individualism, clientelism, and corruption, and fragmented, reactive and party-dominated legislative processes are believed to undermine the political willingness and organizational capacity to comply with EU environmental law. The difficulties of Southern European countries in protecting their environment have also been referred to as the 'Mediterranean Syndrome'.

How do the Mediterranean countries, which tend to have a lower level of environmental protection than the Northern environmental leaders of the EU, cope with the challenges of implementing European environmental law? Do the problems they confront in implementation substantially differ from those encountered by northern countries? Do certain 'Mediterranean' characteristics impair their willingness and capacity to effectively implement European policies? Does compliance with European environmental law vary? Which factors account for possible variation in compliance, between both different countries and policies?

Those questions were addressed by the workshop "Coming to Terms with the Mediterranean Syndrome. The Implementation of EU Environmental Policies in Southern Countries", organized by the Environmental Programme of the Robert-Schuman-Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute on May 19-20, 2000. The workshop brought together researchers from 11 countries (Belgium, Germany, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, UK, USA) and six scientific disciplines (political science, sociology, law, economics, geography, environmental studies). The 15 papers presented covered eight European countries, both northern and southern, and 10 different environmental policies.

The first two sessions of the workshop presented five in-depth studies on the implementation of several European environmental policies in four northern and four southern EU member states. The papers by Valaoras et al., van der Zouwen, Lopez-Gunn, Bursens, and Versluis found major implementation failures in both northern and southern countries. The north-south comparison showed that northern countries may face serious imple-

mentation problems, too. Policy misfit, institutional fragmentation, and lack of legitimacy often render the incorporation of European environmental policies into the rather dense and complex regulatory structures of northern leaders, such as the Netherlands and the UK, difficult.

The third session focused on economic, for-profit actors as the main targets of many European environmental policies. The papers by Szarka and Bailey explored the role of economic incentives and environmental agreements, respectively, in inducing economic actors to reduce environmental pollution. The paper by Klein set out a framework for analysing the effect of environmental regulation on relocation behaviour in the chemical industry. Economic incentives and environmental agreements have been increasingly integrated into the environmental toolbox of northern countries. Southern countries are only discovering them as a means of fighting environmental pollution. As for environmental agreements, poor trust between public and economic actors proves to be a frequent obstacle to their successful negotiation.

The fourth session was dedicated to the second type of private actors, social, not-for-profit actors, such as citizens and non-governmental organizations. The studies by Blunden and Gonçalves on the Environmental Impact Assessment Directive in Portugal, Spain, and the UK showed that societal mobilization can facilitate implementation. The paper by Kousis convincingly demonstrated that the level of environmental activism in southern countries is much higher than often claimed, particularly by proponents of the Mediterranean Syndrome thesis. Rather than in scope, northern and southern countries seem to differ in the form of mobilization. While environmental activism in the North tends to be more formalized, that is 'channelled' by NGOs, grassroots activities dominate in the South.

The fifth session was dedicated to the explanation of implementation failure on a more general level. While the paper by Ranayzci emphasized the crucial link between problem definition and policy implementation, the paper by Aden pointed to institutional factors, such as low administrative capacity, institutional fragmentation, and strong vested interests. These factors inhibit the effective implementation of European environmental policies in northern and southern countries alike.

The last session was more policy-oriented, discussing potential solutions for implementation problems in southern countries. Börzel suggested that implementa-

tion could be improved by granting southern countries more flexibility in adaptation to European (northern) regulation. Flexibility, however, would have to be linked to extended financial support by the EU on the one hand, and cooperation (exchange of experience, diffusion of knowledge and ideas) between northern and southern countries as well as among southern countries themselves on the other hand. Torres, a member of the Portuguese Parliament, emphasized the possibility of strategic relationships between national and European legislators in overcoming obstructive forces in the legal implementation process.

The general discussion summarized the major issues which the papers had addressed and which had emerged during the lively discussions after the paper presentations.

Major findings at the workshop

There was a clear consensus among the participants on two major points:

On an overall level, southern countries face greater implementation problems than most of their northern counterparts.

At the same time, greater implementation problems in the South cannot be simply attributed to some alleged peculiar characteristics of the political and social structures of Mediterranean countries, such as clientelism, individualism, or a deep-seated scepticism toward imposed obligations. On the one hand, it appears dubious whether there are such Mediterranean characteristics, equally and exclusively shared by all countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. On the other hand, factors identified as important obstacles to effective implementation, such as policy misfit, institutional fragmentation, or low societal mobilization, are present in northern and southern countries alike, albeit to a different degree.

Thus, the major conclusion of the workshop is that the Mediterranean Syndrome has to be discarded. Not only is it void of explanatory power because northern and southern countries face similar implementation problems. It implies a flawed geographical delimitation of the implementation deficit in European environmental policy. While implementation failure is more prevalent in southern than in northern countries, there are countries in the West and North of Europe, e.g. Ireland or Belgium, whose implementation record looks more "southern" than "northern". Concepts such as the Mediterranean Syndrome or the Southern Problem are misleading with respect to both the explanation and the delimitation of implementation problems in European environmental policy-making.

Perspectives

Future research on the implementation of European environmental policies should focus on developing more general models. The workshop identified a series of fac-

tors which could potentially account for variation in implementation, both between countries and across different policies. It became clear, however, that there were no monocausal relationships.

For example, most papers emphasized the importance of public participation in policy formulation and implementation. The involvement of citizens, non-governmental groups, economic stake-holders, scientific experts, and local implementing authorities may significantly improve the acceptance, and hence the effectiveness, of a policy. At the same time, however, participation can cause political stalemate and institutional inertia.

Institutional fragmentation both horizontal and vertical, that is, the distribution of implementation competencies across multiple actors, was identified as a major problem for implementation, both in federal and unitary states. Yet, institutional fragmentation does not explain why, in the same country, some policies are more effectively implemented than others.

The inductively gained insights of the workshop, drawn from a rich empirical basis, indicate that not only may there be strong interaction effects between the different explanatory factors. Their relevance may vary depending on the stages of the implementation process. Thus, territorial decentralization turns out to be especially problematic for the incorporation of European environmental policies into national law.

Future research should explore the causal relevance of the different explanatory factors identified as well as their potential interactive effects by systematically controlling for them in comparative studies, both quantitative and qualitative.

Future research, however, should not only focus on the explanatory factors of implementation problems. Systematic explanation requires a clear and common definition of the object to be explained. The papers at the workshop endorsed a variety of definitions and conceptualizations of (effective) implementation, which sometimes limited the comparability of the different cases. While some merely focused on the legal incorporation of European Directives into national legislation, others included practical application and enforcement. Next to developing a clear and comprehensive definition of implementation (failure), we also need adequate methods to measure it. European infringement proceedings are frequently used as a proxy for the implementation performance of the Member States. While infringement data provide a good basis for large-n studies, they suffer from some serious deficiencies, something that limits their use. Qualitative case studies, both single and comparative, are crucial for measuring the dependent and the independent variables as well as for tracing the causal mechanisms which link them.

TANJA A. BÖRZEL
Coordinator for Environmental Studies

Un “democratico ribelle” tra militanza, giornalismo e cultura

L’archivio di Ernesto Rossi all’Istituto Universitario Europeo

Sono sufficienti poche parole di Altiero Spinelli per far capire che ruolo abbia svolto nella storia del federalismo europeo Ernesto Rossi: “Ernesto Rossi ed io, subito dopo la caduta del fascismo, il 27 agosto del ’43, decidemmo di passare all’azione e di fondare a Milano il Movimento federalista europeo”¹

Alle spalle di questi due uomini, quarantasei anni per Rossi, trentasei per Spinelli al momento della caduta del regime fascista, ci sono dodici anni tra carcere e confino per il primo e sedici per il secondo. Gli ultimi quattro anni di confino li hanno passati insieme sull’isolotto di Ventotene ed è qui che nel 1940, dopo un periodo di reciproca diffidenza, il liberaldemocratico Rossi e l’ex-comunista Spinelli fraternizzano fino a diventare inseparabili. Il frutto migliore di questa forzata coabitazione sarà il ‘Manifesto di Ventotene’ che, buttato giù in sei mesi, con il contributo del socialista Eugenio Coloni, diventerà quella pietra miliare del pensiero federalista che oggi tutti conosciamo.

Seguendo ancora le parole di Spinelli, ci accorgiamo di quanto sia importante il ruolo che entrambi si ritagliano nel contesto delle specifiche conoscenze di ciascuno: “Allora ci facemmo dare da questo nascente movimento federalista il compito di andare insieme in Svizzera a cercare i federalisti perché la Svizzera era l’unico paese dove si potevano cercare, dove ci sarebbero state le derivazioni semilibere dei vari movimenti clandestini.”²

Rossi e sua moglie Ada troveranno rifugio a Ginevra, Spinelli a Bellinzona. Tra le centinaia di contatti che i due stabiliranno per costituire la rete transnazionale del Movimento federalista europeo, Rossi può contare sulla conoscenza e sull’appoggio di Luigi Einaudi, che già nel 1919 si era espresso nel suo libro ‘L’unità euro-

pea e la guerra’ a favore di una struttura federalista di governo del continente.

Rossi rientra in Italia pochi giorni prima del 25 aprile 1945. Spinelli era rientrato il 24 settembre 1944 e si era immerso nell’attività clandestina a Milano nelle file del Partito d’Azione. A Roma Rossi e Spinelli si ritrovano per portare avanti la battaglia per la federazione europea a fianco di uomini come De Gasperi, Einaudi, Sforza.

Da questo momento Rossi sosterrà ogni sforzo organizzativo che la fervida mente di Spinelli partorirà, fino alle grandi battaglie di massa lanciate per la costituente europea ed a sostegno della Comunità europea di Difesa, la cui bocciatura da parte dell’Assemblea nazionale

francese susciterà in Rossi un tale scoramento da indurlo ad abbandonare definitivamente il proprio impegno federalista.

Tutte le tappe della militanza federalista di Rossi che abbiamo ripercorso sin qui sono largamente documentate nelle sue carte: dagli accenni all’amicizia con Spinelli a Ventotene, rintracciabili nelle lettere alla moglie

Ada dal confino (per quanto lo consentisse la censura), ai ricchissimi carteggi intrattenuti da Rossi con decine di persone durante la sua permanenza in Svizzera; ma è nella sezione del fondo dedicata ai materiali federalisti che si ritrova immutato l’impegno profuso da Rossi per questa causa nell’arco di quasi quindici anni: rapporti, lettere, resoconti di incontri, elenchi di simpatizzanti, bollettini, appunti manoscritti, articoli di stampa, dichiarazioni, mozioni, circolari, note finanziarie, relazioni politiche e corrispondenza illustrano con dovizia questo lungo percorso politico.

Ma la figura di Ernesto Rossi non si esaurisce certo, anche per l’interesse del ricercatore, nella sua battaglia,



I componenti del Circolo di Cultura di Firenze: (da sinistra) Traquandi, Ramorino, C. Rosselli, Rossi, Emery, N Rosselli

pure molto importante, per la federazione europea. Già prima che in lui si risvegliasse questo interesse, egli era stato una figura di primo piano dell'antifascismo democratico aderendo all'organizzazione clandestina 'Italia Libera' e più tardi a 'Giustizia e Libertà'. Relativamente a questo periodo della vita di Rossi, si segnalano i documenti del fondo concernenti il processo che questi ebbe a subire nel dopoguerra ad opera dell'Avv. Carlo Del Re, in seguito alla cui delazione, Rossi, Bauer, Calace, Ceva ed altri esponenti del movimento politico 'Giustizia e Libertà' vennero arrestati nel 1930 e processati nel 1931. A questo proposito Rossi, servendosi di documenti sulle spie fasciste venuti avventurosamente in suo possesso, aveva scritto nel 1955 un libro edito da Feltrinelli 'Una spia del regime. Documenti e note' che gli sarebbe costato una lunga battaglia giudiziaria col Del Re che si sentì diffamato dal contenuto del libro³. Le carte che sono servite a Rossi per scrivere il libro e la documentazione relativa al lunghissimo contenzioso giudiziario durato fino alla sua morte che l'ha opposto a Del Re, sono anch'essi presenti in maniera completa nelle carte del fondo.

Con la fine della guerra Rossi si reinventa manager pubblico. Dal 1945 al 1958 sarà a capo dell'ARAR (Azienda Rilievo Alienazione Residuati) che si doveva occupare dello smaltimento dell'enorme quantitativo di materiali di ogni genere che la guerra aveva lasciato giacenti in territorio italiano. Il suo sarà un compito difficile ma risolto brillantemente tanto che lo stato incasserà grazie alla sua accorta gestione dell'ente molto più di quanto preventivato.

La rete di amicizie e collaborazioni che Rossi aveva stretto fin dal suo ritorno in Italia è testimoniata dal ricchissimo carteggio, organizzato alfabeticamente, che copre tutti gli anni del dopoguerra, fino alla sua morte, avvenuta nel 1967. Tra i corrispondenti si possono citare Aldo Agosti, Norberto Bobbio, Luciano Bolis, Alcide De Gasperi, Luigi Einaudi, Vittorio Foa, Ugo La Malfa, Riccardo Lombardi, Ivan Matteo Lombardo, Ignazio Silone, Altiero Spinelli, Leo Valiani e moltissimi altri.

Ma il campo di studi coltivato da Rossi con maggiore interesse sarà l'economia, che fin dagli anni venti egli studia e su cui scrive con grande profitto. Rossi ha lasciato numerosi contributi nel campo dell'economia classica, della storia delle dottrine economiche, della scienza delle finanze di cui restano nel fondo abbondanti tracce attraverso versioni preparatorie, appunti, lezioni e manoscritti.

L'Ernesto Rossi più conosciuto dal grande pubblico resta però l'autore di memorabili articoli ed inchieste pubblicati per lo più su 'Il Mondo' di Pannunzio dove il fustigatore del malcostume politico nazionale va a braccetto con lo studioso di economia; quasi tutti questi articoli sono poi confluiti in libri divenuti col tempo famosi come 'Aria fritta' e 'Settimo: non rubare'. Anche in questo caso il materiale di documentazione



Ernesto Rossi

con cui Rossi preparava il suo lavoro e la raccolta completa dei suoi scritti su 'Il Mondo' è giunta fino a noi senza dispersioni. Un discorso a parte merita la querelle che portò alla fine della collaborazione tra Rossi e Pannunzio⁴ e alla spaccatura del partito radicale che trova uno spazio a parte nel fondo.

Infine è da ricordare il lavoro svolto da Rossi in qualità di esecutore testamentario del suo maestro Salvemini. In questa veste Rossi ha creato e presieduto il comitato che aveva il compito di ripubblicare l'intera opera dello storico pugliese e di organizzare dopo la sua morte una grande mostra itinerante nel suo ricordo.

Il combattente antifascista, il militante federalista, il manager pubblico, il giornalista, l'organizzatore di cultura rivivono attraverso le pagine del suo archivio per trasmettere l'esempio di una vita ispirata agli ideali di 'Giustizia e Libertà'.

ANDREA BECHERUCCI

Note

¹ Altiero Spinelli: 'L'azione federalista con Ernesto Rossi' in P. Ignazi (cur.) 'Ernesto Rossi: una utopia concreta', Milano, Edizioni di Comunità, 1991, pag. 65

² L'azione federalista con Ernesto Rossi, cit., pag. 66

³ Tutte queste vicende sono ripercorse nell'ampia introduzione che Mimmo Franzinelli ha fatto precedere alla ristampa del libro di Rossi, integrandolo con nuovi, importanti documenti. Ernesto Rossi: 'Una spia del regime. Carlo Del Re e la provocazione contro Giustizia e Libertà', nuova edizione a cura di M. Franzinelli, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 2000, pp. 7-128

⁴ Riepilogare la questione in poche righe occuperebbe troppo spazio per cui per i dettagli rinvio a Giuseppe Fiori: 'Una storia italiana. Vita di Ernesto Rossi', Torino, Einaudi, 1997, pp. 271-279

Scholars from 30 Countries Now Eligible for EUI Library Visit Funding

The EUSSIRF researcher-mobility initiative has been renewed for three years with an ambitious expansion: social scientists from 30 countries are now eligible for EUI Library mission funding.

EUSSIRF is the European Union Social Sciences Information Research Facility. The two constituents of the facility are the EUI Library and the LSE Library (BLPES). Under this EU Commission-funded initiative, the EUI Library is hosting 72 visiting scholars in the period 2000-2003.

Between May 1998 and April 2000, the EUI library welcomed 51 visiting EUSSIRF scholars from 13 countries, chosen from over 100 applicants by an independent international selection board. Peter Kennealy, Social and Political Sciences Librarian at the EUI, is the Florence Project Manager: "This is a terrific opportunity for European social scientists, currently working in an EU member or an associated State, to gain access to the collections, resources and services of a top-class research library." EUSSIRF in London is managed by Graham Camfield of the LSE Library Information Services unit.

Short-term research visits to Florence usually last one month. EUSSIRF offers a financial contribution; expert assistance in exploiting collections and resources; training in the fast-moving field of new research technologies; and an opportunity to integrate into the unique academic ambience of the EUI. The current maximum grant for Florence is 1400 Euros for living expenses, plus a travel allowance.

Henning Lohmann of the University of Mannheim was a visiting scholar in March: "During my stay I used the various bibliographical databases (Dissertation Abstracts, Econlit, Social Science Citation Index, Sociological Abstracts) and the European documentation databases (Euroref, Eurocat, OJCD). In the library itself in particular, the Working Papers collection and the European Documentation Centre were very helpful."

Visitors benefit from the high-productivity working atmosphere of the EUI Library, without (as one Norwegian researcher put it) "the phone-ringing environment of everyday office life."

Like many other visiting scholars, Juha Raikka of the University of Turku was impressed by the periodicals and working papers collections that have been built up by specialist departmental librarians. Visitors' assess-

ments place a high value on meeting fellow researchers, academics and fellows of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

William Keenan from Nottingham Trent University, found that he could start work immediately because accommodation was pre-booked through the EUSSIRF office and the induction to library facilities was comprehensive.

And then there is Florence. "I have really enjoyed my time at the EUI and Florence - there is something inspirational about the place. Perhaps some sort of *esprit des lieux* due to the long cultural and artistic traditions which encourage creativity" says Joseph Szarka of the University of Bath.

The first EUSSIRF visitors to Florence for academic year 2000/2001 are from Israel, the UK, Greece and Lithuania. Another twelve arrive in the early months of 2001.

EUSSIRF is a Major Research Infrastructure within the EU Commission's Fifth Framework Programme (DGXII), 'Improving Human Potential and the Socio-economic Knowledge Base'. The aim of the IHP is to increase the human resources available for research and technological development. The Research Infrastructures part of this programme helps researchers gain access to existing facilities by providing travel and subsistence support for short-term visitors.

THOMAS BOURKE
EUSSIRF co-ordinator, Florence

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Citizens of the following countries (who are currently researching in one of these countries) are eligible to apply for EUSSIRF funding:

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Finland	Lichtenstein	Spain
France	Lithuania	Sweden
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EUSSIRF

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La Bibliothèque de l'Institut universitaire européen (IUE, Florence) et la British Library of Political and Economic Science (LSE, Londres) sont les deux pôles d'une initiative, financée par la Commission européenne, en faveur de la recherche en sciences sociales. Cette initiative porte le nom d'EUSSIRF - European Union Social Sciences Information Research Facility.

Si vous êtes un chercheur européen en sciences sociales et travaillez actuellement dans l'un des Etats membres de l'UE ou dans un Etat associé (30 pays entrent en ligne de compte), EUSSIRF peut vous ouvrir l'accès aux collections, ressources et services des bibliothèques participantes.

Pendant leur bref séjour (en règle générale un mois), les participants bénéficient:

d'une subvention pour couvrir une partie des frais de voyage et de séjour d'une assistance d'experts en matière d'exploitation des collections et des ressources de la possibilité de s'intégrer à la vie académique des institutions.

Pour de plus amples informations en ce qui concerne les conditions d'admissions, l'assistance et les ressources disponibles, veuillez contacter les bureaux de EUSSIRF à Florence ou à Londres.

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EUSSIRF

What's the recipe to become an accomplished academic?

Teaching and research are generally considered to be complementary activities, like two sides of the same coin. As a matter of fact, it would be difficult and hardly realistic for any young would-be scholar to envisage an academic career by favouring the former over the latter or vice versa.

However, associating the two is not an automatic process, as it is not that easy to reconcile two activities characterized by such a different spirit, which employ distinctive methods and require dissimilar callings.

As students, we've all come across brilliant professors, whose books and scientific contributions we read with passion and admiration, and whose lectures, unfortunately, we sometimes ... skipped zealously, since among these famous academics, there were some rather piteous pedagogues and boring orators. The reverse is also true. The instructors one remembers most spontaneously are usually the ones who were most available and who devoted their time enthusiastically and beyond measure to their course preparation and their students, sacrificing their academic visibility and research notability for a firm commitment to teaching. Throughout my studies, I kept wondering whether, and how, in order to become an accomplished academic –because they do exist- one necessarily had to overcome this kind of Jekyll-and-Hyde personality. All I can assert so far, is that this is not an easy enterprise, and my -so far short and limited- teaching experience has shown me to what extent the two aspects are intertwined and interdependent, although difficult to balance, and also how indispensable it is to carry them out simultaneously.

The European University Institute doctoral programme is pretty well known for its European and interdisciplinary focus and orientation, its high-quality research projects and its international and multicultural crew. However, there is one thing that EUI researchers do not benefit from: getting their hands into teaching, while writing their dissertation. About fifty per cent of EUI graduates seek a future in academia, some of them in research centres, but most at national Universities, often back home in their national institutions.

Studying at the EUI offers a lot of advantages in terms of international scholarly and linguistic experience (although this is not always fully recognized!), but the lack of practical teaching experience can be felt as discriminatory when it comes to serious selecting and hiring processes. EUI faculty and administration are aware of that situation and a first institutional move has been made recently to promote 'products of the

EUI fishpond' in several Florentine undergraduate institutions.

As a matter of fact, American colleges with study-abroad programs are pretty numerous in Florence and lots of them need adjunct staff members on a temporary basis, and if possible at a lower cost. At the same time, the hills of Fiesole have well trained and educated post-graduates to offer, most of them looking for some funding to finish their dissertation. That's how the links between these institutions got naturally closer, and how a couple of us were able to get our feet wet in the exciting world of education...

My own teaching experience began in fall 1999 when I was offered a class on 'Transatlantic Relations' at New York University in Florence. On the one hand it was exactly my research topic and fitted my interests. On the other hand I could hardly wait to add an 'interactive' part to my rather ascetic studies at the Badia Fiesolana, and see whether I would actually enjoy sharing all this political science knowledge I was gaining and stacking up so far. Needless to say the financial aspect was also an incentive. Last but not least, the NYU campus in Florence provides you with exceptional working conditions and, like the Badia, has 'offices with a view'. In a nutshell, I swapped my quiet monk cell for the dandy salons of the Renaissance-style Villa La Pietra. The new adventure could begin...

Pretty soon, the excitement left the floor to some rather stressful events. Questioning and self-questioning were popping up like mushrooms after the rain. Setting up a syllabus was easier than I thought, almost similar to structuring a big presentation. This is probably the advantage of being the instructor and sovereignly deciding what you actually want to work on. Quick advice to newcomers: if your reading requirements are too heavy, the students won't read it (even less when they are on exchange programmes), and you would end up doing all the work on your own. Therefore, if you want them to participate, remember that they are 'only' undergrads (just like you a couple of years ago) who are not running for any kind of competitive exam.

I guess that my first big scare –and blush- was, as you can easily imagine, when I got to face my students for the first time. They knew the university, its rules and its habits, and could speak in their mother tongue. For them, my class just meant spending a couple of hours with an instructor among others, that would probably give them some new insights on Europe and hopefully let them go with a good grade. As for myself, I was a

complete outsider: I was a Frenchman in Italy, teaching International Relations to a bunch of American students, in English. In the past, I've already had the opportunity to teach German-French literature and grammar in Paris and Heidelberg at Freshman level, but this was the first time I had to lecture in political science at the junior/senior level for three hours a week. Moreover, it was the first time somebody called me Professor (sic)! Poor students, fortunately they did not know they were to be the guinea pigs for my academic 'coup d'essai'...

The first class was terrifying! Not because of the students: they were carefully and quietly doing their shopping week (that in which they may shop around for preferred classes), paying attention to the weird guy gesticulating and nervously sweating in front of them, trying to convince his audience how great the world of Transatlantic Relations was. Marketing worked out pretty well, as all of them stayed in and a couple of others joined the team a week later. Most students were IR majors, which meant that they were really interested in what was going on, were ready to read a lot and get involved in elaborate presentation topics.

Unlike European national universities, American institutions give you a class 'clé en main' with only a few guidelines in the course description, and the rest is yours. It can be risky, but the good thing about this way of proceeding is that you can choose readings that you are interested in and devote sessions to topics that you would not have the time to look at otherwise. Therefore, as one of my 'senior' colleagues usually says, by the end of the term there is at least one person who has learned something. And indeed, I learned a lot; when you're the captain of a boat, you can't be absent minded at any time, and in fact you have to concentrate a lot more ... and you can really feel it at the end of the day. Moreover, reading and understanding is a process in itself, explaining is a totally different one.

The biggest challenge however was to grasp precisely what these young Americans were expecting from their classes and teachers in Europe. As students, they are much more sensitive to real and contemporary life issues, they participate more and are more critical than their European counterparts. On the other hand, they find very little enjoyment in the canonical writings and abstract theoretical readings that are fundamental to good social science. A compromise had to be found – trying to keep it as little sub-optimal as possible – and thanks to the local trattorie (which boosted socialization) the first term turned out to be a rather successful experience.

I guess the bosses in New York were happy too, since they asked me to stay for the spring with a class on Comparative Methodology and Modern European Societies. I had spent a lot of time in preparing the course work and the lectures of the first term and I was hoping that I could teach the same topic again, save some time, and go back more actively to my rather stagnating dissertation. Obviously the Fates had something else in

mind... Anyway, sooner or later, I had to start teaching topics that I was not an expert on. There we go!

The sociology-methodology class was a great opportunity to implement the recipes and tricks that I had learned from my EUI professors by intensively attending a lot of their seminars during my first and second year at the EUI. Moreover, it was a wonderful pretext for starting an in-depth reading of Max Weber and some of his stimulating colleagues...

The highlight of the term was probably the NATO simulation (in which the EUI participated as an umpire team in the framework of the RSC Transatlantic programme – see Spring 2000 issue). Together with fifty other US and foreign colleges, our team had to solve a two-week-long world crisis. NYU-La Pietra was playing the French government together with a Parisian team from Sciences-Po. Students learned a lot from that intense policy-makers experience, and all in all did an excellent job. My role was to supervise and coordinate the team, and motivate them when needed. The whole game ended with a video-conference with two guest speakers from the French State Department; needless to say, Villa La Pietra was the perfect palace for a Council of Ministers!

Since September 2000 I have been back in the classroom, teaching 'Transatlantic Relations' (it has almost become second nature!) and another class on 'Democratization Issues in Europe'. This time it was easier to get started, as the 'learning process' is now a step further. I can elaborate on what I had already prepared. I know my audience much better and I can easily add some extracurricular activities like taking the students on a trip to Strasbourg (to talk to people in several European Institutions) or to the EUROFOR in Florence (in order to bridge theory and practice in a more explicit way). Most important, I can now reasonably consider getting seriously back to my own research, and hopefully catch up while keeping my teaching activities alive.

Although I sometimes wish I shall teach (and write) in my own language (I'm definitely convinced that there is only one 'natural' idiom in which one can be original and creative, although technically speaking a couple of others are available), I value this NYU experience highly. The interdisciplinary environment of Villa La Pietra, bringing together social scientists, art historians and literature experts, allows for a lot of friendly and academic exchanges. An important part of a being good teacher is the skills of a good colleague. I'm not sure whether I will end up in academia one day (le ciel est plein de possibles..., as they say). I'm even less sure about becoming an accomplished one ever, but I know that I enjoy teaching and that I can –at least- be useful in doing so.

ALEXANDRE STUTZMANN, researcher SPS

1 See «L'avenir des chercheurs français: entre européanisation et esprit de clocher», EUI Review, Spring 2000.

“Fiddlers and Pipers”: Another season of Thursday evening concerts!

Dietrich von Biber, Giovanni Mugnaio, Bruno del Prete presentano:

I concerti del giovedì sera alla **Badia**

16 novembre 2000
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‘DUE CONTRO BASSO’

Mathias Hochweber, violino
Jakob Lustig, viola
Felix v.Tippelskirch, contrabbasso

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de Valois and von Biber. The academic year 1999/2000 was for the first time coupled with a true 1999/2000 concert season at the EUI – eight chamber concerts involving more than 20 artists from all over Europe were given between October 1999 and May 2000.

For the first time the EUI published its own programme for the season, which soon became the concert-goer’s No.1 companion in Florence: ‘I Concerti del Giovedì Sera’ set about becoming an institutionalized part of the social and cultural life at the EUI. And a constant invitation to the Florentine music-loving community outside the Institute to enjoy an evening at the Badia, and get into contact with its inhabitants as well!

The forthcoming season 2000/2001 offers another ten opportunities to do so and to experience the unique spirit of a by all means young and fresh programme. The general idea of these concerts is above all to promote young musicians who have reached a point in their career similar to the situation of most of the EUI’s researchers. They have successfully graduated from a major conservatory, already received a number of acknowledgements and rewards and are now looking forward to establishing themselves as distinct artistic personalities. Furthermore, the series encourages its musicians to propose unconventional programmes contrasting the standard repertoire with the new or the unusual. We leave the exclusive rights for the standard repertoire to the Amici della Musica, and prefer to hear new stuff or to meet well-known pieces in a new perspective. This year we will feature especially wind and string instruments: “Fid-

It all began three years ago, when two EUI researchers arranged for some musical interludes on the occasion of the 1998 June Ball. The performance was such an immediate success that their alter egos, Louise de Valois and Dietrich von Biber, decided to prepare other musical events during the following academic year.

Indeed, 1998-9 saw a number of marvellous concerts, organized on a somewhat improvised one-by-one basis, but enthusiastically received by a steadily growing audience. The idea was brilliant, the

public response overwhelming, the Institute encouraged the initiative – with a few logistical refinements and an enhanced organizational crew, the bases for a proper concert life at the EUI were laid. Giovanni Mugnaio soon joined Louise and Dietrich and actively helped in the restructuring and preparation of the new concert series. Continuity seems to be assured in the person of Bruno del Prete.

The results gave testimony to Mugnaio’s unstoppable (and until now unstopped) enthusiasm, and more than matched the original dream of

dlers and Pipers” of all kinds and from all over Europe will be our guests.

An example is the first concert on 26 October, when Lode van Eynde, accompanied by Mayumi Kamata on the harpsichord, will reach out for discoveries on the treble recorder (*Flauto dolce*) – presenting us baroque music from various countries.

Or the second concert on 16 November with the unique string ensemble “DUE CONTRO BASSO”. The three young string virtuosi Mathias Hochweber, violin, Jakob Lustig, viola, and Felix v. Tippelskirch, contrabass, who regularly perform with the Stuttgart Radio Symphony Orchestra, have compiled an anthology of transcriptions and original works for their unusual combination, which covers four centuries and will be as diverse as amusing. This concert is possible thanks to co-operation with the German embassy.

The last concert in 2000, shortly before we really enter the next millennium, will once again be dedicated to our own EUI choir and will be run entirely by musicians of the Institute. Come to the Badia on December 7th (a Thursday, of course), enjoy the sound of some dozens of Europe’s most pleasant voices and be surprised by a number of hidden talents among your fiddling and piping EUI colleagues!

Two months later we will resume the series with a rather unique spectacle. ARS & AMICI and the PAVANE RENAISSANCE DANCE ENSEMBLE, both from Boston/ USA, have included Florence in their European Tour 2001 and will be our guests at the Thursday Evening Concert on 22 February 2001. Their programme will consist of a number of rarely played Renaissance settings for choir and (wind and string) instruments, to which they add some dances of the time. If you don’t like music, come all the same. They’ll be dancing in original costumes, so it will be nice even just to look at!

A week later a very different ensemble will show up with a very different programme. The German-Italian CLUSTER TRIO, with Luciano Tristaino, flute, Jessica Kuhn, violoncello and Alessandra Gentile, piano, announce a fine selection of chamber pieces for their combination. They will be performing trios by Joseph Haydn, Carl Maria von Weber, Bohuslav Martinu and Giorgio Federico Ghedini – covering three centuries of musical entertainment – on Thursday, 8 March 2001.

A solo piper is featured on March 22nd, when Valerio Vezzani, pianoforte, accompanies Dessislava Peteva from Bulgaria with some of the most famous virtuoso pieces of the 20th Century for flute: music by Debussy, Poulenc, Milhaud, Dutilleux, Martin and Messiaen will be heard in this mostly French programme. Don’t miss this literally breathtaking evening!

“An almost classical concert” could be the title of the programme prepared by the LOGOS TRIO SALZBURG (Nanni Zimmerebner, violin, Detlev Mielke, violoncello, Georg Steinschaden, piano). The first half offers some highlights from the classic-romantic repertory with works by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Sergej Rachmaninov, whereas the second part is dedicated to a rather sarcastic piece by the contemporary Austrian composer Werner Pirchner. Will his Trio “Wem gehört der Mensch?” answer the question posed by its title? Come and find out on Thursday, 5 April 2001. We are grateful for the support of the Austrian Culture Institute in Rome and of the Austrian-Italian Association in Tuscany, who have made this concert possible.

Another Trio, the TRIO CONTRASTS, again combines a piper with a fiddler, but this time it is a clarinet (Christian Dollfuss) and a violin (Klaus Esser), joined by a piano (Christoph Hengst). True to their name, they confront a romantic piece by Robert Schumann – the famous “Märchenerzählungen” – with a contemporary work by the

Hungarian composer György Kurtág, to set this pair against the only evergreen for this type of ensemble: the piece “Contrasts” by Béla Bartók (originally written for Benny Goodman!). All this and more on Thursday, 26 April 2001. Our triple set of Trios will be completed by another traditional two-fiddlers-and-piano group: the GEISTER TRIO. Some of you may still remember the triumphant debut of this Brussels-based trio at the Badia last season; Giovanni hard-pressed them to return. This year Igor Semenov, violin, Geert de Bièvre, violoncello, and Stéphane Ginsburgh, piano, propose a marvellous set of French impressionist pieces, including a violin and cello Duo by Maurice Ravel, the cello sonata by Debussy and the Trio by Ravel. In addition there will be a world premiere by Belgian/Flemish composer Ingrid Meuris. Be ready for an exciting concert on 10 May 2001.

A concert series like this one cannot fade out smoothly. We have therefore arranged a special evening for the finish. TETRAPHONICS is the name of a German saxophone quartet, which will blow away the 2000/2001-season. On Thursday 24 May 2001, if the weather is fine possibly as an open-air event, the four Tetraphonics pipers will play saxophone quartets by François Jeanjean, Stefan Thomas and Philip Glass.

By the way: the concerts will be given in the Refectory of the Badia Fiesolana - with the exception of the very first concert (Lode van Eynde, treble recorder/Mayumi Kamata, harpsichord – 26 October 2000) and the concert on 22 March 2001 (Dessislava Peteva, flute/Valerio Vezzani, pianoforte) which will be given in Sala Bandiere/Villa Schifanoia.

The best thing at the end: for researchers it costs only 5000 lire – and even all the others pay only 10,000 lire per concert!

JOHANNES U. MÜLLER, DIRK DE BIÈVRE AND BRUNO SPAEPEN

The Dutch-Indonesian Conflict: 1945-1950

The British Library as a focus for research

For most European nations decolonization has been a slow and often painful process. That has certainly been the case for the Netherlands. A simple statistic may give an indication of what was for many a traumatic experience: as many as 300,000 Dutch citizens left Indonesia for the Netherlands in the early 1950s. A large number of those repatriates remained unable to digest the past. Half a century after the declaration of Indonesian independence many of the relevant political documents which lead to the formation of the Republic are being published in a systematic way. And yet, at most important Dutch libraries the collections of materials concerning the Dutch-Indonesian conflict remain fragmented and/or selective. That makes the need to preserve the remaining materials even more urgent.

Consequently, over the past six years or so, I have been actively engaged in building a collection of primary materials on the relationship between the two countries in general and the conflict in particular, which was preceded by and partly coincided with the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies. I restricted my acquisitions to those crucial years between 1945 and 1950. The result of that activity is a unique collection – some 1,500 to 2,000 items in total - of printed materials, documents (many of those are ‘one-off’ publications, often marked confidential or secret) and personal papers. The first copies of the catalogue of this collection – published by the British Library and introduced by Prof. Peter Carey (Trinity, Oxford) – will be presented to the Dutch and Indonesian Ambassadors in the U.K. during the forthcoming EUROSEAS conference in London (5-8 September 2001). The first day of this meeting will be dedicated to the theme of the ‘lost decade’ (the Netherlands and Indonesia 1940-1950).

The collection is limited to Western languages only, but intends nevertheless to cover a complete spectrum of argument and counter-argument on Indonesian independence, of the legal, political and economic discussions that accompanied the developments, of the military involvement, and also of the devastating impact the Japanese occupation had on the population as a whole and on Dutch/European citizens in particular. A large number of descriptions of life and death in the camps are included in this catalogue.

Dr EAMONN NOONAN (HEC PHD 1995) has been appointed *Chargé d'affaires a.i.* of Ireland in Norway, with the task of opening an Irish Embassy in Oslo. He returns to the Irish diplomatic service from the European Parliament, where he has been deputy head of the Human Rights Unit

This collection, however, does not merely reflect the political and/or military development of the conflict, but also focuses on its psychological impact (especially in the Netherlands). A sense of loss and separation that slowly emerged in those chaotic post-war years inevitably, more often than not, prompted a nostalgic soul-searching amongst the Dutch. In order to understand the psychology of separation, I have collected as much fiction, drama, poetry and songs as I could find. Such documents are of crucial importance if one tries to measure the full emotional impact the Indonesian question had on a nation that itself was only just coming to terms with the effect of years of brutal German occupation.

For the Netherlands, the years 1940-1950 have without any doubt been the most traumatic ones of the previous century. Whilst the German occupation was in many ways a ‘shared’ experience for the Dutch, the Indonesian years on the contrary were very much a time of fierce internal strife and division. Even now, the mere memory of those years remains highly emotive. Any attempt to write the history of that period is a ‘risky’ undertaking. Having left the Netherlands some 25 years ago, I have become increasingly convinced that the study of the Dutch-Indonesian conflict and its aftermath is, and should be (think of the British, American and Australian interventions, not to mention the role of the United Nations), a topic of international discussion. History demands that. Hence my attempts to make the British Library a future focus for research.

JAAP HASKAMP

For information on the EUROSEAS conference: euroseas@rullet.leidenuniv.nl.

Publication details of the *Indonesian Question* catalogue: Arthur.Cunningham@bl.uk

Dr JAAP HASKAMP is Curator of the Dutch/Flemish Collections in the British Library and Honorary Research Fellow at University College London. He belonged to the very first generation of researchers at the EUI and is co-founder of the Bar Fiasco.

Dr. PHILOMENA B. MURRAY, (SPS PHD 1989) Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science was appointed Director of the Contemporary Europe Research Centre at the University of Melbourne on 1 July 2000.

Where are they now?

Nuno, the First



Nuno Teixeira

EUI Review is pleased to announce that former research student NUNO SEVERIANO TEIXEIRA recently became a member of government. He

is the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Portuguese executive headed by socialist António Guterres.

Born in 1957, NUNO TEIXEIRA joined the EUI History Department in 1989, where he took his doctorate in December 1994 with a thesis entitled "Entre neutralité et belligérance. L'entrée du Portugal dans la Grande Guerre: objectifs politiques et stratégies nationales" (with Prof. Haupt as supervisor).

On his return to Portugal, he was Director of the Institute for Nation-

al Defence (1996-2000), and also Professor of International Relations at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Since then he has often returned to Florence and he took part in the 1997 Alumni Weekend which was hosted by Portuguese alumni in Lisboa.

As from last September Nuno Teixeira is the first EUI researcher to become a member of government. EUI Review wishes Nuno all the best for this new stage of his political career.

Where are they now?

Detlef Jahn

Dr. Detlef Jahn (SPS 1985-8), who obtained his PhD in 1991 with a thesis on New Politics in Trade Unions, has been appointed Professor of Comparative Politics at the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-University in Greifswald (Germany), where he is also Head of the Political Science Department. The Department of Political Science at Greifswald University is the newest Political Science Department in Germany, and a striving place for innovative research and good teaching, close to the Baltic Sea. (<http://www.uni-greifswald.de/~politik>).

After his Ph.D. he received a three-year post-doctoral research scholarship from the German Research So-



Detlef Jahn

ciety (DFG), which he used to work at the Department of Political Science at the University of Göteborg (Sweden). From 1996 to 1999 he was Research Professor of Political

Science at Nottingham Trent University (England). In this period he was a visiting professor at the Universities of Bergen (Norway) in 1996, California at Irvine (1998) and the Australian National University in Canberra (1999). In 1998 he also finished his Habilitation, this highly German second Ph.D. which qualifies one to apply for professorships in Germany. He still comes frequently to the Institute. In spring 2001 he will spend some months doing research at the University of New York.

Last October Detlef was elected President of the EUI Alumni Association for the period 2000-2002.

MARIE-CLAIRE PONTHEAU, docteur de l'IUE (1991), assistante de recherches (1990-1992), maitre de conférences à l'Université de Poitiers à partir de 1992, Jean Monnet Fellow (1999-2000) est désormais professeur agrégé des Facultés de Droit.

Pour la première fois, un docteur en sciences juridiques de l'Institut a été reçu au concours d'agrégation de droit public."



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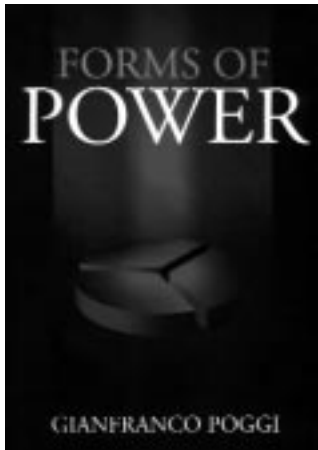
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Forms of Power



Political power is often viewed as the sole embodiment of 'social power', even while we recognize that social power manifests itself in different forms and institutional spheres. This new book by Gianfranco Poggi suggests that the three principal forms of social power - the economic, the normative/ideological and the political - are based on a group's privileged access to and control over different resources.

Against this general background, Poggi shows how various embodiments of normative/ideological and economic power have both made claims on political power (considered chiefly as it is embodied in the state) and responded in turn to the latter's attempt to control or to instrumentalize them. The embodiment of ideological power in religion and in modern intellectual elites is examined in the context of their relations to the state. Poggi also explores both the demands laid upon the state by the business elite and the impact of the state's fiscal policies on the economic sphere. The final chapter considers the relationship between a state's political class and its military elite, which tends to use the resource of organized coercion for its own ends.

Gianfranco Poggi, *Forms of Power*, Polity Press, Oxford, 2001, pp 230

Gianfranco Poggi is Professor of Political and Social Theory at the European University Institute.

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Third Degree Conferring Ceremony of the European University Institute



Friday, 29 September 2000
Badia Fiesolana

On Friday, 29 September 2000, the President of the European University Institute, Dr Patrick Masterson, conferred the Institute's doctorate on the following graduates who were amongst those who obtained this degree in recent years. The President also awarded the LL.M degree to Institute Masters of Law.

Doctors in History and Civilization

Ute ACKERMANN
Matteo DUNI
Isabelle ENGELHARDT
Veronique FILLIEUX
Maurice FITZGERALD
Frank HEINLEIN
Anja JOHANSEN
João Luis LISBOA
Anne MARIJNEN
Michael James MILLER
Monika POHLE FRASER
Ilaria TADDEI
Cecilia WINTERHALTER

Doctors in Economics

Roman ARJONA GRACIA
Barbara Elisabeth BÖHNLEIN
Matthias BRÜCKNER
Aedín Máire DORIS
Michael EHRMANN
Yadira GONZALEZ DE LARA
Alexander GÜMBEL
Dorothea HERREINER
Mathias HOFFMANN
Juha Kristian KILPONEN
Nuala O'DONNELL
Günther REHME
Christian UPPER
Bauke VISSER
Jan Lambert Marinus WAGEN-
VOORT



Doctors in Law

Mark BELL
Matteo GNES
Gisella GORI
Mikko Tapio HUTTUNEN
Markku KIIKERI
Laraine LAUDATI
Agustín José MENÉNDEZ
Leonor MORAL SORIANO
Niraj NATHWANI

Rory Jeremiah O'CONNELL
Niccolò PECCHIOLI
Jacobien Willemijn RUTGERS
Cathrin Linton SCOTT
David STOTT
Guillermo TEMPESTA
Simon John TOWLE

Doctors in Political and Social Sciences

Matthijs BOGAARDS
Tanja BÖRZEL
Marina CALLONI
Jean-Pierre CASSARINO
Lorella CEDRONI
Jessica Nora EISERMANN
Marjoleine HENNIS
Detlef Günter JAHN
Sandra LAVENEX
Dirk LEHMKUHL
Rosarie MCCARTHY
Julie PELLEGRIN
Hans Jörg TRENZ
Katarina WEST
Karin WESTERBEEK

Masters of Law

Jo Beatrix ASCHENBRENNER
Nanna Britt Danielsen AUNSTRUP
Anna Katarina EMANUELSON
Sonja FEIDEN
Ricardo GARCÍA LÓPEZ
David Brian GEARY
Nida Marija GELAZIS
Karl-Erik Mikael HÄGGLÖF
Alexa HOLMES
Wolfgang JAUK
Peter MUNKACSI
Wolfgang Maria NARDI
Malene ØVLISEN
Kristina PREINERSTORFER
RIEDL
Nikola SOUKMANDJIEV
Thilo STAPPER
Sergio TORO MENDOZA
Anne Caroline Charlotte WEGNER
Günter WILMS



The President's Speech

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A Conferring Ceremony is a very happy event in the academic life of a University. It is a joyful event when our community assembles to honour our recent graduates. For the graduates themselves, for their parents, families and friends, for me as President, for my academic



colleagues who have guided the graduates towards their degrees, and for many others who make a crucial supporting contribution to the life of the Institute — for all of us — the conferring of degrees is a ceremony of special significance. It is a public affirmation and celebration of what we are all about.

The conferring ceremony takes place at the European University Institute every two years and this is the third such ceremony occurring on the eve of our 25th anniversary which we will be celebrating next year.

That over 70 of you have returned from all over Europe and further afield to participate in this ceremony today is a source of great pleasure and pride to us here at the Institute. For it indicates the value you place upon your graduate studies here and your desire to remain closely associated with your alma mater.

I congratulate you warmly on your achievement — the outcome of several years of very hard work — and I welcome you and your partners and families to this very happy occasion. I also extend a warm welcome to the former professors who have returned to share this occasion with their students.

I think it is a source of justified pride that the Institute starting, as it were, without the benefit of the guiding tradition of a long established university, has through its own intellectual imagination and courage, established itself in a short quarter century as a leading graduate school and the largest European doctorate programme in those areas of the Social Sciences with which it is concerned. This programme is admirably complemented by the basic and applied research of the Institute's departments and centres which constitute a rich centre for advanced studies in the Social Sciences.

As you know the mission of the Institute is to contribute to the development of Europe's cultural and scientific heritage in its unity and in its diversity. In cultivating this diversity the Institute has always sought to maintain an open conception of Europe reaching beyond the confines of EU membership and extending to a consideration of the relation-



ships between Europe and its global partners. I know that you will be glad to learn that in this regard some important developments have been implemented

since the last conferring ceremony. Consistent with our wish to welcome more students from Central and Eastern Europe we have signed a formal pre-accession agreement with the Polish Government and expect that similar agreements will follow with other states. A research programme on the Balkans has been initiated with a Summer School last week. Our Mediterranean programme has been strengthened with the endowment of a second Chair by Compagnia di San Paolo, the European Investment Bank, and Monte dei Paschi di Siena. And a Transatlantic Programme has been initiated through an endowment by BP-Amoco.

The Institute contributes to the unity of European Culture by its commitment to the European originated idea that the primary concern of any university is the advancement communication and application of knowledge at the highest level. We see the idea of a university as closely linked in various ways with the idea of universality. We think the work of the Institute should be universal in standards, in the sense of conforming to the highest international criteria. We think we should aim at universality in scope through the multidisciplinary and comparative approach to problems which the Institute makes possible. We believe that

researchers at the Institute should aim at universality in depth in their research for underlying principles and theoretical explanations which bring together or make

com-prehensible an ever wider range of phenomena.

The formation of researchers in accordance with this ideal of academic excellence can make a unique contribution to contemporary Europe which is palpably in need of new thinking in the Social and Human Sciences. In my view there is nothing more socially creative, more entrepreneurial in the best sense of the word, than a university, or university institute, operating effectively its wide ranging pursuit of knowledge as a valuable end in itself. It does not merely supply through vocational training the graduates required to meet a predetermined economic demand. Rather it provides a new supply of understanding — a new way of seeing the world, ourselves and society which will generate an as yet non-existent demand and capability for a better ordering of human affairs. Or as the distinguished philosopher of university education John Henry Newman put



it nearly 150 years ago “a great school of learning lives in demand and supply, and the supply must be before the demand”.

Over and above the high quality research which you have accomplished there is a more personal enrichment which your intellectual activity at the Institute has promoted. It is the experience of living and working and learning together with many young colleagues and



professors from a great variety of intellectual backgrounds and cultures. This generates knowledge not just as abstract information but as illuminating presence, firstly a deeper presence to ourselves, secondly a comprehending presence to the world and its cultural history, and thirdly an enlightening presence to other people. This is the level of one’s personal enrichment at the Institute as a subject, in a world with other people.

A consequence of this is an almost unconscious development of personality and character in which virtues of open-mindedness, tolerance and respect for other viewpoints become a kind of second nature. It is this quality of openness, tolerance and respect for the other which constitutes the Institute’s contribution to the development of European culture in its most personal sense. Or, to quote Newman again, “A habit in mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation and wisdom.... This is the main purpose of a University in the treatment of its students” (Discourse 5).

I know that you the Graduates whose degrees have been conferred today exercise this openness and tolerance and respect for others in your careers and thereby disseminate in the wider world the fruits of your development at the Institute. I thank on your behalf the professors and staff of the Institute who contributed to that development and on their behalf and my own I wish you con-

tinued success in your careers and happiness in your lives.

We hope that you will keep in touch with us in the Institute and give us the benefit of your experience and advice for the future development of the Institute. We hope that you will keep in touch with each other through the Alumni Association. And we hope you will provide a link between our present students and their future when they join you in the various areas in which you exercise your talents.

I know you would wish me to thank all those involved in preparing today’s ceremony. I cannot mention all by name but must mention Brigitte Schwab the chief organizer, Sandra Brière the calligrapher who scripted your diplomas and the perennial Mr Brundo and his team for the physical arrangements.

I hope that you will always look upon the European University Institute as a true home, as your alma mater. I look forward to meeting you and your families and friends now at a reception here in the Badia. Thank you all for coming today to participate in this academically important event in the life of the Institute.