



EUI Review

The European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
Via dei Roccettini, 9
I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI), Italy

<http://www.iue.it/>
e-mail: publish@iue.it
EUI Review now also at
<http://www.iue.it/General/EUI-review>

Inside...

News
2

Consumption and credit
11

The enclosed economy
20

Gender Studies
40

Alumni
76

Fellowships
79

14 March

Institute Signs Pre-accession Agreement with Hungary



Patrick Masterson and János Martonyi

The European University Institute is very pleased to announce that on 14 March a Pre-accession Agreement was signed between the Hungarian government in the presence of the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. János Martonyi and the President of the European University Institute, Dr Patrick Masterson.

A pre-accession agreement is a first step towards full membership of the European University Institute. Similar agreements were established with other countries such as Austria,

Sweden and Finland before they became full members of the Institute. This tradition is now continued by offering the same opportunity to countries in Central Europe.

The Pre-accession Agreement will enable Hungarian candidates to participate fully in the teaching and research programmes of the Institute.

This is the second pre-accession agreement that the Institute has signed with a Central European country. Last year the Institute

signed an agreement with Poland whose students have now been selected to participate in the next academic year.

On the same basis, Hungarian candidates will also be able to participate in the academic activities of the Institute.

This is a particularly welcome development because these two countries are major players in the group of new Member States who are seeking full European Union membership in the immediate future. We are convinced that the training of young intellectuals at the European University Institute will represent an important contribution to academic social and public life in Hungary. Moreover, it will contribute to a better understanding of our various cultures, and to further integration of Central European countries in the European Union.

On 9 April, Mr Paavo Lipponen, Prime Minister of the Finnish Republic will give the 23rd Jean Monnet Lecture on "The Future of the European Union After Nice".

Prof. Romano Prodi, President of the Commission of the EU has accepted to deliver the first BP Annual Lecture in Transatlantic Relations at the Institute on, 9 May.

Antonio Zanardi Landi s'en va, Chapeau bas!

Appelé à Rome, au cabinet du ministre des Affaires étrangères, Antonio Zanardi Landi a dû renoncer à sa fonction de secrétaire général de l'Institut universitaire européen, poste qu'il a occupé pendant plus de cinq ans et qu'il a, sans aucun doute, largement contribué à façonner et à revigorer.

Fin diplomate, interlocuteur attentif, négociateur chevronné et ami dévoué, ce fringant haut fonctionnaire, produit accompli de la Farnesina et de l'énarchie française, n'aura pas manqué de démentir, au cours de son passage remarqué à l'IUE, le stéréotype de «cookie-pushing diplomat» que d'ordinaire, on attribue un peu trop hâtivement aux gens de la Carrière.

Du «travail» diplomatique, Chateaubriand, fort de son expérience personnelle, faisait une description affligeante d'ennui, d'immobilisme et d'oisiveté. Voilà qui est bien loin de l'image du haut fonctionnaire, collaborateur ou supérieur, à la personnalité affirmée, ouvert, curieux de tout, consciencieux et affairé qu'Antonio Zanardi Landi laissera derrière lui, dans la mémoire de ceux qui ont eu le plaisir de travailler avec lui.

Politique parmi les savants, fin technicien dans un monde d'éminents théoriciens, ce frioulien né à la croisée des frontières et des cultures, dont il a hérité une grande capacité d'adaptation, a su user au mieux de son entregent, oeuvrant sans compter au développement et à la visibilité nationale, européenne et internationale de l'Institut universitaire européen.

Deuxième secrétaire général de l'Institut, Antonio Zanardi Landi est entré en fonction au moment où, dans sa jeune histoire, l'Institut universitaire européen s'apprêtait à prendre un nouvel élan, notamment avec la création du Centre Robert Schuman. Avec la fin de la guerre froide et la relance de l'intégration européenne dans les années 1990, nombre de nouveaux défis se posèrent tant aux praticiens qu'à la communauté scientifique. De par sa mission d'origine, l'IUE avait tout naturellement vocation à jouer le rôle de 'conseiller des Princes', tout en s'appuyant sur une recherche fondamentale solide et reconnue. L'Institut se devait, entre autre, de réagir et de relever le gant face à l'élargissement de l'Union européenne à l'Est, ainsi qu'à son ouverture au monde méditerranéen.

La tâche, bien qu'exaltante, s'annonçait rude et éprouvante. Mais il en fallait bien davantage pour décourager notre homme, rompu aux tractations politiques, diplomatiques et institutionnelles, à la détermination forgée par l'endurance de cycliste et les périples dans les montagnes de l'Elbourz. Avec énergie et fermeté, constant et convaincu, tissant peu à peu de durables et solides rela-

tions de confiance avec celles, qu'affectueusement et volontiers taquin, on surnomme par ici les 'quinze belles-mères' -pour les profanes, les quinze pays membres du Conseil supérieur de l'IUE-, Antonio Zanardi Landi a réussi à vaincre les réticences et les incom-



Sabina et Antonio Zanardi Landi

préhensions, tant universitaires que bureaucratiques, qui ne manquent pas de survenir dans le contexte institutionnel alambiqué de l'Institut.

Il serait difficile de dresser ici une liste exhaustive des nombreuses et heureuses initiatives qu'Antonio a prises, promues ou défendues au cours de son mandat, contribuant, par un subtile dosage de ses interventions confidentielles ou publiques, à inscrire toujours davantage l'Institut universitaire européen dans le paysage politique et universitaire mondial. A l'aube du troisième millénaire, l'IUE peut ainsi se targuer d'avoir accueilli les plus Grands, allant de la visite du Président iranien à la co-organisation, en novembre 1999, au sommet sur la Gouvernance progressive, qui réunit à Florence, les principaux chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement du monde occidental. Sur le plan de la recherche, l'Institut a su considérablement augmenter sa visibilité en attirant les fonds privés nécessaires à l'ouverture de plusieurs chaires et programmes, consacrés à des questions et à des domaines dont la pertinence théorique et pratique continue de s'affirmer.

Lien privilégié entre le monde extérieur et l'Institut, Antonio ne s'est pas pour autant contenté de jouer un simple rôle de technocrate, gérant la 'haute politique' à bonne distance de la 'plèbe' des chercheurs. Bien au contraire! Au propre comme au figuré -ce qui est éloquent en soi-, quel que soit l'heure et le motif, sa porte était ouverte aux questions, suggestions et doléances des doctorants et de leurs représentants, avec lesquels il travaillait en étroite connivence. Profondément humain, volontiers attentif et amical, Antonio mettait un point



d'honneur à oeuvrer au bien être de la communauté des chercheurs, lui manifestant son soutien indéfectible et répété, et patronnant les nombreuses manifestations culturelles et artistiques de l'Institut, souvent secondé par son épouse Sabine, débordante elle aussi d'idées et de vitalité, autant d'initiatives que les chercheurs n'ont pas manqué d'apprécier.

Les hommes passent, les institutions demeurent. L'adage, pour être bien connu, n'est pas, pour autant, entièrement exact. Désormais, la fonction de secrétaire général de l'IUE ne correspondra plus entièrement à la description floue et réductrice qui figure dans les textes officiels. Elle doit au passage d'Antonio sa stature de véritable 'ambassadrice' de l'Institut. Il s'agit là d'un immense privilège, mais aussi d'un défi stimulant et délicat pour l'heureux successeur.

La vraie nature du diplomate est de bouger, alternant les missions en poste à l'étranger et l'expérience des arcanes du pouvoir politique dans la capitale, toujours en quête de nouvelles responsabilités et de découvertes passionnantes. C'est en accord avec un tel tempérament et avec l'assurance d'un homme qui a le vent en poupe qu'Antonio s'apprête à prendre ses nouvelles fonctions, en route vers de nouveaux horizons. En te rappelant, cher Antonio, que tu seras toujours le bienvenu dans ton ancien port d'attache, in bocca al lupo!

ALEXANDRE STUTZMANN

Chercheur au sein du département des Sciences politiques et sociales

Die Italienische Reise

I viaggi dei privilegiati, postscriptum

“C’era una volta un Piccolo Istituto, dove la gente si conosceva; fra staff, funzionari, ricercatori e professori, tutti, di vista almeno, sapevano riconoscere tutti gli altri. Erano tempi, forse un po’ claustrofobici, ma tempi felici. Poi (av)venne la Prima Divisione, quando metà dei dipartimenti si trasferì (o fu trasferita?) in una villa che porta un antico nome il cui algoritmo non sempre è risolvibile dagli stranieri (e dagli italiani). Da allora in poi è tutta una diaspora, una torre di Babele che si dirama per S. Domenico di Fiesole e oramai anche oltre.”

Alzi la mano chi (si autoescluda per favore chi è arrivato da meno di due anni) non ha già sentito questa storia, raccontata in versioni diverse, da persone così dissimili, per nazionalità, carattere, ideologia, che quasi quasi si comincia a sospettare che la leggenda possa essere vera. Non solo funzionari/e, impiegati/e, fidanzati/e, contrattisti/e, alumni/e, ma persino sociologi e storici accorti, dimentichi delle loro complesse teorie sull’Invenzione della Tradizione o quelle sulle Narrazioni e sulla Memoria si infervorano all’occasione. Ci crediate o no, la leggenda esiste ed è un fatto del quale tenere conto: benché sia una istituzione di dimensioni ridotte, all’interno dell’IUE da anni circolano queste storie sintomatiche di un vero e proprio “disagio della civiltà”. Così, come accade nelle società avanzate - ‘che di questo si tratta - un po’ per germinazione spontanea, un po’ per impulso, da qualche anno sono nate delle forme di sociabilità di tipo nuovo che tendono a soppiantare le antiche riunioni bacchiche dei weekends - che mai spariranno per fortuna - per associare la sparsa gente sulla base di vari interessi. Questo articolo, per altro segnato da qualche scivolone celebrativo, si occuperà di una di queste moderne forme di sociabilità e cioè dei viaggi, delle escursioni e visite dotte che hanno movimentato negli ultimi (due) anni la vita dell’IUE.

L’Occasione per un bilancio, certo provvisorio, di questa esperienza sarebbe dato dalla partenza del Segretario generale Antonio Zanardi Landi che è stato, a detta degli informati (insieme alla signora Sabina e allo staff del Publication Office), il principale artefice e ispiratore di tali attività. Dico sarebbe, perché non è certo que-

sta la sede di tale bilancio. Piuttosto si tratta di rammentare alcuni momenti carini di vita extra-mura, soprattutto per chi c’era.

Torniamo quindi alla sociabilità.

La leggenda racconta che l’idea dei viaggi (poi soprannominati nella vulgata “dei privilegiati”) sia nata, un po’ per caso, intorno ad un concerto organizzato in onore dell’EUI nel lontano 1998 in una zona imprecisata del Centro Italia. Sembra che il pullman si perse, che facesse caldo torrido, che non esistessero, in quelle lande perdute, carte stradali o indicazioni. In breve l’esper-

ienza fu tale che ispirò ai presenti una fantasia di reiterazione. Come superare le barriere della vita moderna se non nella condivisione di pullmans, arte, paesaggi, ristoranti, pizzerie e consimili? Esperienza sublime di comunione inter-servizi, inter-dipartimentale e viddio financo mista e interclassista. Così, narrano, nacque l’idea del primo viaggio a Roma che si svolse il 24 e 25 ottobre del 1998.



Apripista [mezzo cingolato munito anteriormente di una grossa lama di scavo per lo spianamento del terreno]

Sebbene queste fossero le origini profonde del progetto, la storia racconta che l’avviso o meglio l’annuncio del viaggio, arrivò con un mail generale ai primi di ottobre di quel medesimo anno, e diversamente da quanto i malpensanti (come il sottoscritto che non partecipò) supponevano non si trattava del solito viaggio aziendale, una volta l’anno, con nuvoletta di Fantozzi al seguito. Chi ci andò ne rimase entusiasta. Un tour de force sì, ma pieno di sorprese di un tipo speciale, arricchito dalla possibilità di accedere ad alcuni tesori che altrimenti se ne rimarrebbero nascosti o solo parzialmente accessibili. Visitare, per esempio, un museo durante le ore di chiusura significa poterselo godere a piacimento. Un sociologo prese l’occasione per compiere una specie di ricerca informale di psicologia sociale non ancora pubblicata ma di cui sono fiero di poter anticipare i principali temi in discussioni: le emozioni nei confronti di queste visite privilegiate andavano dall’indifferenza di alcuni (superbi, ignoranti?), al compiacimento di altri (frustrati?) al senso di stare facendo una birichinata (insicuri?). Tuttavia forse la maggior parte della gente si sentiva semplicemente contenta. Le emo-

zioni si sa sono difficili da studiare, certo è che tutti finivano sempre con il naso per aria ad ammirare un quadro, un soffitto una statua, come decine di foto, anche pubblicate su questa rivista testimoniano. E alla fine, coscienti di avere vissuto un'esperienza come non ne capitano spesso facevano pubblicità all'iniziativa.

C'erano vari racconti che circolavano in quei giorni fra uffici, working spaces, mensa e bar (Fiasco): La cappella Sistina in solitaria, I Musei Vaticani, L'accesso al Quirinale e la visita alla Dama con l'Ermellino. Gli italiani, e i tanti italianizzati con anni di esperienza della burocrazia peninsulare erano maggiormente consapevoli del valore di quelle visite e, giustamente, ne avevano fatto partecipi gli oriundi, che, edotti attorno al valore aggiunto, erano divenuti forse i più entusiasti supporters delle escursioni. Un altro dei racconti in circolazione riguardava il motorino con cui il Segretario generale aveva scortato il plotone dei due pullman. Era un aneddoto considerato dai più come una curiosità da italiani e del quale si è data testimonianza in un precedente articolo. Personalmente invece, ricordo gli occhi brillanti (to say the least!) al ricordo della visita al Quirinale, di un gruppetto di donne e ragazze, riunite al bar. "I Corazzieri", la guardia scelta del Presidente della Repubblica Italiana." "che ragazzoni Italiani, alti, eleganti, gentili, belli, due spalle così...", ma dove sono quelli così a Firenze?," e il cuore mi si riempiva di un sentimento misto di giusto orgoglio nazionale e di una certa qual disperata gelosia.

Insomma con tanti buoni motivi non ci si deve stupire se fu la calca: "Anche io, anche io, voglio andare. Quando il prossimo viaggio?"

Da quel momento non ci si fermò più, si impiantò una fabbrica di viaggi: una fabbrica a conduzione quasi familiare, AZL e Sabina per quanto riguarda i contatti, i "pass speciali", Claudia come guida turistica e con la logistica saldamente ancorata al Poggiolo fra Brigitte Schwab e Laura Ju. Sette viaggi e cinque visite nel circondario fanno un bel risultato per soli due anni di attività.

Ecco la lista completa:

Roma I, 24-25 ottobre 1998

Firenze:

Visita al Corridoio Vasariano, 12 novembre 1998

Visita alla "Dama con l'ermellino", 8 gennaio 1999

Visita all'osservatorio di Arcetri, 25 gennaio 1999

Roma II, 30-31 gennaio 1999

Un viaggio nelle terre degli Etruschi, 17-18 aprile 1999

Visita all'Erboristeria della Scala nel chiostro di S.

Maria Novella, 28 aprile 1999

Roma III, 9-10 ottobre 1999

Napoli, 11-13 dicembre 1999

Visita al Museo Pecci di Prato, 29 gennaio 2000

Roma IV, 11-12 marzo 2000

Roma V, 2-3 dicembre 2000

Anche i successivi viaggi riservarono delle sorprese: "visite difficili" come Palazzo Farnese o Villa Malta a Roma, "chicche sconosciute" come la pinacoteca e il palazzo del Pio Monte della Misericordia, antica congregazione di nobili di Napoli, a veri e propri "tesori inaccessibili" come quello di S. Gennaro (veramente!), anche la guida turistica, una napoletana, non l'aveva mai visitato) e infine delle - peraltro utilissime - "biri-chinate" fra Totò e Sordi come durante il quinto e ultimo viaggio a Roma durante il quale i due autobus furono dotati di regolare pannello con la scritta "Emergenza" per aggirare le norme sul traffico pro giubileo romano.

Accanto a queste occasioni speciali vanno anche ricordate le visite più "normali", ma non per questo meno importanti, i siti archeologici da Tarquinia a Ercolano, i musei, dal Pecci di Prato all'Archeologico nazionale di Napoli, le grandi mostre d'arte a Roma, i palazzi importanti, le chiese, sempre guidati dall'infaticabile e intaccabile entusiasmo di Claudia, la guida che ci ha accompagnato lungo tutti i viaggi, e che spesso aggiungeva qualche scampolo di visita ai già sovraffollati programmi.

Ma ci sono anche episodi di tipo diverso che potrebbero essere ricordati, uno su tutti il Pranzo della Domenica del viaggio nei territori etruschi. Una passeggiata sulla scogliera condusse il gruppo ad un ridotto, una fortificazione del XVII secolo, dove ci fece gli onori di casa e ci offrì il pranzo, la signora Giulia Cornaggia Medici insieme a tutta la famiglia, dando un esempio di ospitalità come raramente si può trovare al giorno d'oggi.

E' grazie anche a questa atmosfera familiare che queste occasioni culturali hanno avuto una capacità di far incontrare le persone al di là delle loro diverse provenienze; oltre a divertire e ad essere l'occasione per visitare dei posti belli, delle città d'arte e dei monumenti, questi viaggi hanno anche funto da punto di incontro e di svago.

"Insomma, bambini, pare che anche nella modernità e nella frammentazione si possa di tanto in tanto riunirsi e giocare, e alla fine pronunciare le magiche parole": "...e vissero felici e contenti".

DAVIDE LOMBARDO

The Institute welcomes Dr Gianfranco Varvesi

The Institute's next Secretary is an Italian diplomat with long experience. During his professional career, he has worked in different countries and in various fields. His curriculum shows his wide interests: he has worked in the Italian embassies in Washington D.C., Nairobi, Tripoli and London; within the Italian Foreign Ministry in Rome, he has worked in the disarmament sector, in the press office, and in the Economic Department where he was in charge of the Middle East bureau. For more than five years he has worked in the foreign aid department, with political and managerial responsibilities. Prior to his appointment in Fiesole, he was Deputy Director-General for Europe, which means in charge of bilateral relations between Italy and all the countries in the Continent, EU and otherwise.

As well as to all the above-mentioned positions, he was also Political Adviser to the NATO forces in Albania during the Kosovo crisis. He was responsible for humanitarian aspects rather than military ones: the task was to provide assistance in support of, and in close

co-ordination with, the UN agencies and the civil and military authorities, to shelter refugees. The political aim of the mission was to



Gianfranco Varvesi

define peaceful solutions to the problems of the various forces on the field involved in the war and fighting amongst themselves.

Apart from to his professional work, he has always been very close to the academic world. Lecturer, author of a number of essays and teacher at Pavia University for the last three years, he nowadays jokes about the fact that, at the end of his university course, his teacher of international law ad-

vised him to undertake an academic career rather the diplomatic one. Having chosen the latter, he has always closely worked with the academic world, as he strongly believes in a strategic alliance between diplomacy and culture. To underline this opinion he usually says that a diplomat must believe in diplomacy through culture; he accordingly always encouraged cultural agreements between Italy and other countries.

He is very pleased to work in our Institute in Fiesole and is proud to contribute, even through managerial tasks, to the development of the European University. He said

'now that Europe is strengthening its institutions and enlarging its borders, the University is taking on very important role as a think-tank to offer political options to our political leaders and to create a new, open-minded and market-oriented generation in the transition countries keen to become EU members in the near future.'

25 January

EUI Delegation at the European Parliament

On 25 January 2001 a delegation from the European University Institute, consisting of Dr Masterson, Dr Zanardi Landi, Prof. Mény and Dr Frijdal visited the European Parliament in Brussels in order to update the EP Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media and Sport on recent developments at the EUI. The meeting of parliamentarians was chaired by On. Gargani (President of the Committee) with Commission officials in attendance.

Details were provided regarding the successful social sciences doctoral programme which has become an invaluable forum for intercultural debate and a true "province of the mind". Dr Masterson requested the Committee's help and advice on how best to involve students from accession countries in the Institute. All speakers agreed to help the Institute to adapt to enlargement.

Pour un retour du politique!

Dans son récent ouvrage, *De l'utopie à la réalité - Une Constitution pour l'Europe*, le professeur Yves Mény, Directeur du Centre Robert Schuman, s'entretient librement et sans ambages avec le journaliste de gauche Renzo Cassigoli sur les grands thèmes liés au processus d'intégration européenne, avant de livrer au lecteur, en conclusion, la proposition de refonte et de constitutionnalisation des traités européens élaborée à la demande du Parlement Européen, en 1998, par un groupe d'étude du Centre Robert Schuman, sous la houlette de l'actuel Président du Conseil, l'italien Giuliano Amato.

Bien que dénué de notes de bas de page, de références bibliographiques et autres attributs qui d'ordinaire siéent aux travaux universitaires, cet opuscule franc et percutant se distingue très nettement de la simple conversation de courtoisie. En effet, il ne s'agit pas pour Mény de tenir salon, au contraire, mais bel et bien d'alerter, de plaider, voire de dénoncer. La fonction de l'intellectuel a changé, son rôle n'est plus celui de guider ou de montrer aux autres le chemin? Soit! Ce n'est par pour autant qu'il faut se taire!

De l'utopie à la réalité est le résultat tangible d'une réflexion intellectuelle engagée, une analyse minutieuse de l'Europe des faits, mais aussi et surtout de l'Europe des idées. Dans sa Leçon inaugurale au Collège de France, contre le positivisme à tout crin, Raymond Aron concevait la fonction du sociologue comme celle d'un observateur actif et engagé, dont l'utilité et la mission premières étaient d'agir et d'intervenir dans le monde social qui l'entourait. C'est en ces mêmes termes que Mény s'inscrit dans une tradition française et européenne bien établie, qui consiste pour l'homme de science à intervenir dans le débat public. Mais entendons-nous bien! Il n'est nullement question ici de quantifier ou de rationaliser une fraction du monde, de livrer quelque expertise bien délimitée et dûment commanditée. Ce n'est pas en expert de la science politique et de ses rouages, mais en tant que citoyen aux convictions affirmées que Mény s'avance vers la tribune, pour y interpellier les hommes de son 'camp'. Partant du paradoxe selon lequel il est parfois plus facile pour un parti politique d'engager des réformes contraires à sa ligne idéologique, les critiques et les exhortations de notre auteur face à la frilosité ambiante des partis socio-démocrates au pouvoir dans la grande majorité des pays européens sont d'autant plus pertinentes.

Il faut se rendre à l'évidence, la gauche européenne, si tant est qu'elle existe au-delà des cloisonnements nationaux, est en panne d'idées. Face aux défis que posent les étapes futures de l'intégration européenne et la réforme de l'état providence, cette dernière se contente de panser les plaies, sans jamais même oser concevoir une thérapie d'ensemble efficace et cohérente. Infirmier chance-lante, la sociale démocratie manque de visionnaires.

L'adage est bien connu, rien de grand ne se fait sans passion, et encore moins sans audace. Selon Mény, l'avenir du continent européen passe par une réhabilitation de l'utopie, par l'élaboration d'un véritable projet politique, fruit conjugué de l'imagination des élites et de la volonté des peuples; c'est en cela que l'entreprise ményenne prend tout son sens. Sans jouer les Cassandres, Mény annonce que l'Europe va droit au mur si elle se contente d'envisager le court terme, au jour le jour, en toute trivialité. Pour notre auteur, le salut -ici bas, cela va de soi- de l'Europe réside en la quête d'un télés, l'Europe doit se détacher un temps de la réalité afin de mieux l'affronter. Pure rhétorique dialectique? Point du tout. Ni spéculateur, ni grand désenchanté du monde, Mény en appelle tout simplement à la conscience et au bon sens critique de ses euroconcitoyens, et contre l'ethnocentrisme libéro-démocratique occidental de l'après-guerre froide, trop souvent modelé par un gouvernement des experts, plaide pour une re-idéologisation, à tout le moins pour une re-politisation de l'arène publique. En son temps et face au modèle américain, Tocqueville critiquait déjà ces «savants qui craignent de se perdre dans les utopies et aiment à se tenir près des faits». Il observait également que dans les sociétés démocratiques, en général, «l'imagination n'est pas éteinte, mais s'adonne presque exclusivement à concevoir l'utile et à représenter le réel». Tout en restant pragmatique -preuve en est le texte conclusif de ce livre- Mény préconise un retour à l'imagination politique, modeste, modérée, responsable, mais bel et bien réelle.

.....
Le Professeur Yves Mény s'exprime sur les vrais enjeux de l'intégration européenne et invite les Européens à 'vouloir vivre ensemble'

Yves Mény, *Tra utopia e realtà - Una costituzione per l'Europa*, *Conversazione con Renzo Cassigoli*, Prefazione di Giuliano Amato, Firenze: Passigli Editori, 2000.

Partant des origines et de la diversité culturelle, laïque et religieuse de l'Europe, prenant l'exemple du projet unificateur et universalisant manqué de l'Eglise catholique, Mény démontre que le projet européen n'est viable que s'il est pluriel et par conséquent non exclusif. Encore s'agit-il de réguler cet esprit d'ouverture. C'est la leçon à tirer de l'enseignement des Lumières. Certes le principe de liberté existe, mais dans un contexte de libéralisation accrue, ce dernier s'accompagne d'un ciment social nouveau: la solidarité. Le vingtième siècle, siècle des extrêmes, en a très clairement montré la nécessité. C'est sur ces principes mêmes que repose l'idée moderne de projet européen. Les intérêts des Etats participants sont à la fois communs et divergents, ce qui ne simplifie en rien le choix d'un modèle d'intégration spécifique. Mais davantage que des questions de forme - fédération, confédération, ou autre polyèdre protozoaire -, c'est le fond qui importe. Aller plus loin est une chose, comment

et jusqu'où en est une autre. Aujourd'hui, l'Europe géographique semble prévaloir sur les conceptions économiques ou politiques, l'idée fédérale a -malheureusement, l'auteur ne s'en cache pas- perdu du terrain, et avec elle la 'volonté de vivre ensemble'. Crise de la cité, crise de la culture, malaise dans la civilisation.

Tout n'est pas perdu pour autant. C'est en concevant avant tout l'Europe comme une idée morale qu'on parviendra à en mieux gérer les multiples contradictions et imperfections. Qu'est-ce qui distingue aujourd'hui le modèle européen? Loin de se fondre dans la nébuleuse démocratique atone d'une soit-disant fin de l'Histoire - la démocratie mondialisée ne se résume pas à l'addition infinie de ses multiples entités, mais doit être reconçue pour se développer et se consolider à plus grande échelle-, la démocratie occidentale -et européenne- doit se remettre en question, tenant compte à la fois des legs du passé et des circonstances présentes, mélange de peuples et d'institutions.

L'adhésion viable et efficace à une démocratie européenne tient avant tout à la capacité de celle-ci à assurer et à promouvoir une certaine

conception du bonheur, du bien-être, apanage de l'Etat providence depuis la seconde guerre mondiale. Les réformes du Welfare sont indispensables et délicates; ce n'est pas pour autant qu'il faut jeter le bébé avec l'eau du bain. Plus qu'une institution, l'Etat providence est une part intégrante de l'identité nationale et européenne. Si les réformes concrètes des modes de gestion doivent se faire au niveau des états, en raison de leurs diversités, le sens et l'impulsion globale de l'entreprise s'imposent au niveau européen. La tâche la plus difficile consiste à limiter les effets pervers qu'engendrent inévitablement toutes réformes. La société a bougé, les attentes des générations nouvelles ont évolué, la gauche d'aujourd'hui doit s'adapter à un demos de plus en plus mouvant. Sans pour autant promettre plus qu'ils ne peuvent tenir, face à la déliquescence de la démocratie nationale et de ses valeurs, les politiques sont appelés à agir. Dans la mesure où la démocratie repose sur deux piliers fondamentaux, l'élément constitutionnel et le demos, le plus judicieux serait semble-t-il de s'atteler à renforcer le premier, afin d'oeuvrer à l'établissement d'un ordre juridique supérieur, régénérant et exportant par là même le modèle positif européen des normes et des valeurs.

Apporter une réponse satisfaisante à ce défi idéologique, culturel, moral et réel consiste à établir une constitution qui soit capable d'affronter ces problèmes complexes et qui redéfinisse les rapports entre l'individu et la société au niveau européen. Ceci est la condition sine qua non et préalable à tout élargissement et intégration euro-

péens futurs et dignes de ce nom. Si les racines de chacun jouent un rôle considérable -et souhaitable- dans l'appartenance identitaire, les allégeances transnationales sont de plus en plus multiples. Le dénominateur commun entre le local et le global demeure l'existence d'une conscience européenne qui se manifeste concrètement par des structures politiques, économiques et sociales, des institutions et des valeurs. L'Europe existe, les Européens s'en doutent, disons-le et répétons le haut et fort! Avant d'être un espace géographique, l'Europe est un lieu où règne -bien qu'imparfaitement parfois, mais moins imparfaitement qu'ailleurs toutefois- le droit, le pluralisme politique et culturel, la recherche du bien-être au plus grand nombre. Pour que cette description ne se transforme pas en image d'Epinal, il s'agit de la concrétiser. Constitutionnaliser pas à pas ces valeurs

est une première étape. Les écueils ne manquent pas: l'hyperconcentration bureaucratique issue de l'intégration verticale, mais aussi la dilution de ces valeurs premières dans un élargissement purement libéral de l'Union sont des dangers bien réels qu'il s'agit de contrer. Le projet de constitutionnalisation établi par le centre Robert Schuman à la de-



Lamberto Dini et Yves Mény

mande du Parlement Européen peut sembler modeste et fragmentaire au regard du chemin qui reste à parcourir. Cependant, l'idée n'est pas d'octroyer une Constitution, mais de l'écrire à plusieurs mains, sous l'impulsion d'une politique ambitieuse et de concert avec les différents éléments de la société. L'Europe des petits pas se fait, mais elle a ses limites: à un petit pas dans la réalité, correspond un grand bond dans les idées!

Le 16 février dernier, au cours d'une rencontre-discussion publique au Palazzo Vecchio, Yves Mény a eu l'occasion de confronter ses idées et ses analyses aux critiques et commentaires de ceux que parfois il a courageusement épinglés. L'ancien Président du Conseil Massimo d'Alema, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères Lamberto Dini ainsi que la politologue et conseillère du gouvernement Marta Dassù ont pris acte des thèses exposées. Paradoxe suprême, les politiques ont jugé le savant à la fois idéaliste et pessimiste. Mauvaise foi ou signe d'une leçon difficilement apprise? L'avenir nous le dira. Tous se sont accordés à dire que l'opuscule du Professeur Mény constituait à la fois une mise en garde et un stimulus précieux invitant à aller de l'avant: le train de la construction européenne ne peut faire marche arrière, c'est un fait, encore faut-il veiller à ne pas voyager avec trop de bagages. Quoi qu'il en soit, entre utopie et réalité, le voyage ne semble pas prêt de se terminer.

ALEXANDRE STUTZMANN

Go West, Young Boy and Young Girl

In the last couple of months, Italian media have been covering stories of Italian scientists that had to move abroad (mostly to the United States, some to Britain) in order to pursue their research interests. All the stories covered described these same scientists contributing to important discoveries in fields such as medicine, biotechnologies or computer science. The recurring theme in these stories was one of brilliant researchers, tired of coping with Italian bureaucracy and the closed university system, finding scientific institutions abroad, whether universities or private research centers, eager to welcome them and put their unquestioned strong skills to good use. Several of the people interviewed complained how, for years, they had seen less capable colleagues outpacing them in the career ladder, because loyalty to “the boss” was rewarded more than academic merits. The moral, one could infer from the media’s empathy, was that Italy has been losing its “best and brightest” because it does not value them enough, while other countries reap the benefits of Italians’ public money invested in training those brilliant brains.

The media (of course) tend to portray their stories in black and white fashion, in turn making us social scientists a little skeptical. Although the overall situation of the Italian universities is undoubtedly abysmal, I seriously wonder if emigrating was the only solution for these discouraged scientists. But that line of questioning is not relevant for this article. What is important is the fact that even the Italian government has fallen into the trap of believing all that the media have been saying, to the point of setting aside 300 billion Liras (150 million euros) to induce Italian scientists abroad to return home. This last development has prompted some reflections that I would like to share with fellow EUI researchers as well as other EUI Review readers.

True, most of that money will go to persuade natural scientists, and very little, if any, to poor social scientists (and this includes economists, historians and jurists as well), to return to their home country (in this case, Italy). True, since Italians are commonly thought of as *mammoni*—“mamma’s boys”—(and many actually are), many of those scientists will be persuaded to return, only to become frustrated again after a few years [since, as Tomasi di Lampedusa wrote, *tutto cambi, perche’ nulla cambi* (let everything change, so that nothing changes)]. The Italian government’s attitude in this case appears a little peculiar seen from the perspective of the EUI. After all, the Institute was thought of as a place that would train “European” scholars who would find themselves “at home” anywhere in Europe, and it seems that it is performing that mission. Thus, the question is: “is it wise for Italy (or any other European

country, for that matter) to try to lure its emigrated, insightful minds back to foster ‘national’ research projects?” What about the European dimension of research? Does it still make sense for Europe to think about research (whether in the natural or in the social sciences) in terms of pools of national researchers?

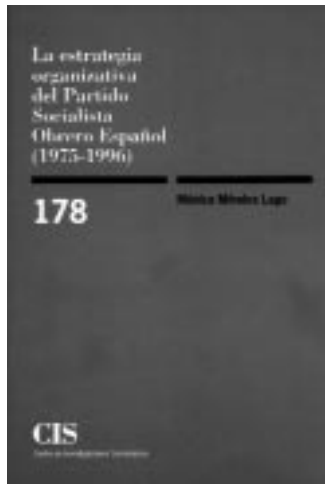
True, the EU has been doing a lot in terms of research cooperation. Yet a lot more could be done. For instance, in 2000, Harvard University managed to secure funds to create a Center for Basic Research in the Social Sciences. Have you ever heard of such an ambitious project anywhere in the EU? Or like the Santa Fe Institute for the Study of Complexity? Granted, there are some excellent research centres—called Large Scale Facilities (LSF)—in areas such as voting behavior or household surveys in Europe too (the main ones I can think of are located in Germany, France, Britain and Norway). Moreover, the European definition of what “basic research” is in the social sciences is different (it emphasizes gathering large databases on voting patterns, for instance) from the American one (which prefers more formal modelling). Finally, “basic research” does not necessarily have to be limited to quantitative data (in some ways, oral history, for instance, could also be part of this definition).

Notwithstanding these important exceptions, when it comes to scientific inquiry and research Europe always seems to seriously lag behind the United States—even more so in the social sciences. The fact is that doing research is not only about having enough funds and facilities. It is also about having a vision of where research should go and how it can help societies better. Perhaps the most important factor in doing research (and in several other fields) is motivating scholars and scientists, in making them believe that what they do is important (no matter what the discipline is of course), and that it will be put to better use. These, I think, were the profound motives that, after all, led Italian researchers to leave, more than the lack of facilities or money. It was the feeling of not being given decent consideration from their society, which was then reflected in poor infrastructures, overly bureaucratic administration and disregard for merits. I have used Italy as an example, but there is plenty of evidence that the same situation has arisen in several other places in Europe (of course not everywhere: some places are just better). No experience can lead to making these kinds of assessments more than spending a few years at the EUI. I consider that promoting a “vision for scientific inquiry” should be a worthwhile endeavour for the EUI, as important as the drafting of a European Constitution.

continued on p. 10

La estrategia organizativa del Partido Socialista Obrero Español (1975-1996)

.....
 Mónica Méndez Lago, *La estrategia organizativa del Partido Socialista Obrero Español (1975-1996)*, CIS/Siglo Veintiuno, Madrid, 2000, pp 383



Este libro estudia el desarrollo organizativo del Partido Socialista Obrero Español durante el período comprendido entre la reconstrucción de su organización en las postrimerías del franquismo y su derrota en las elecciones de marzo del 1996. Utilizando un marco analítico centrado en el concepto de estrategia organizativa y los

factores que influyen en sus características, la investigación empírica aborda tres cuestiones: “la política de afiliación” del PSOE, sus vínculos con otras organizaciones, fundamentalmente con la UGT, y la comunicación directa con el electorado, prestando una especial atención a las campañas electorales. Los tres son aspectos fundamentales de las estrategias organizativas, y la opción de desarrollar en mayor medida uno u otro depende de múltiples condicionantes - internos y externos a los partidos - que se analizan en el libro.

A partir del estudio del caso del PSOE, y mediante la utilización de conceptos, teorías y modelos propios de la literatura comparada sobre el tema, este libro pretende contribuir al conjunto de investigaciones recientes que reflejan el renovado interés de la Ciencia Política en analizar los rasgos organizativos de los partidos, las repercusiones de éstos en el rendimiento y funcionamiento de los propios partidos, y en diferentes aspectos de los sistemas políticos a los que pertenecen.

Mónica Méndez Lago es profesora de Ciencia Política en la Universidad de Murcia. Se licenció en Ciencias Políticas y Sociología por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid y realizó el doctorado en el Instituto Universitario Europeo de Florencia. Ha realizado estudios en metodología y técnicas de investigación en la Universidad de Essex, donde obtuvo el Diploma en análisis y recogida de datos en las ciencias sociales.

Ha escrito diversos trabajos sobre metodología de la Ciencia Política, comportamiento electoral y sistemas políticos comparados, que han aparecido en diversas publicaciones españolas y extranjeras. Junto con Eva Anduiza e Ismael Crespo es coautora de la obra *Metodología de la Ciencia Política*, publicada en la colección “Cuadernos Metodológicos” del CIS.

continued from p. 9

One final point: I do not think that there is anything wrong with EU member countries fostering their local (please note, not “national”) pools of scientists. After all, economic competition among EU partners is here to stay, and members should therefore continue to maximize their comparative advantages, which also include innovative products that can be developed only with the help of a local, strong research community. However, this goal should be achieved by offering even better research facilities and funds rather than by relying on some sort of national loyalty—which Italy, though not only, seems to believe is the only solution. Can we European social scientists contribute to this effort, which seems reserved for the more vaunted natural scientists? Yes we can. Increasingly, public administrations, the private sector or the informed public have come to realize that an interdisciplinary approach is the only vi-

able option to make sense of our complex societies. In such an interdisciplinary approach, scientific innovation cannot be confined to technical development, overlooking the wider social-economic impacts of the products. Of course, if we are also to accept an interdisciplinary approach as a vision for European research, we, as social scientists, will also have to accept a redefinition of our disciplines and a change in the image we have of ourselves in our societies. After all, this is the one field where, for once, we can take the lead and show the way.

GIAMPIERO GIACOMELLO

Consumption and credit in theory and practice

The Finance and Consumption in the European Union Chair – a research programme on the economics of consumer credit, sponsored by FINDOMESTIC S.p.A and CETELEM and carried out by Research Fellows and Part-time Professors in cooperation with the EUI Economics Department - made progress on several fronts during 2000, its first full year of activity. The Chair's offices and secretary hosted many new and returning Part-time Professors for overlapping periods of one or two months, as well as three Research Fellows for longer periods (details of the Chair's practical organization and information on its activities can be found at the <http://www.iue.it/FinConsEU> Web address). This valuable input produced a number of formal events meant to increase the Chair's visibility among empirical and theoretical researchers on banking and consumer behaviour, and a stream of ongoing research in the relatively unexplored area where credit supply and demand, and the two fields of research mentioned, meet and interface.

Events

On 3 May 2000 a workshop on Information Creation and Transmission in the Consumer Credit Market was convened to discuss economic and institutional aspects of information sharing on borrowers' characteristics among credit institutions, with particular attention to issues arising in the context of increasingly intense exchange of credit information across the borders of EU Member States. In the morning, two academic economists reviewed relevant theoretical insights. An efficient credit market is valuable to consumers who wish to smooth their consumption in the face of variable income flows, but efficiency is difficult to achieve when lenders have incomplete information on borrowers' characteristics and behaviour. In this situation, information has some of the features of a public good, and pooling it between lenders can potentially make everybody better off. In practice, however, individual lenders are reluctant to share information, and the collection and maintenance of information is expensive. The credit industry does fund and use collection and provision of information by credit bureaus, and governments maintain compulsory public credit registers. The afternoon was devoted to a discussion with industry experts of practical issues in this context, pertaining to the choice between collection of positive ("white") and negative ("black") information on borrowers' behaviour; to the scope of information sharing; to methods for pooling and verification of administrative information; and to legal privacy and enforcement issues.

On June 16, 2000 a workshop on Administrative Financial Micro Data and Economic Modelling brought to-

gether academics and industry experts. The morning session featured presentations by four academic economists who use administrative credit record data in their academic work. The afternoon was devoted to discussion of the relevant methodological, statistical, and data issues. The discussion focused on ways to foster exchange of ideas and data between academic and industry experts, with particular attention to issues arising in use of financial administrative data in academic economic research. The industry does apply research methods to such data, and uses advanced statistical methods when processing credit applications and managing cus-



Giuseppe Bertola and Bruce Smith

tomor relations. Such practical research is advancing rapidly, aided by development of financial markets and of sophisticated data exchange methods, which go some way towards resolving the credit market's informational problems. Administrative data offer new and exciting research opportunities for academics too, but – by their very nature – need to be treated with care in two respects: first, the collection of industry data is not comprehensive, and statistical methods need to take into account the process through which the data set is selected; second, and very importantly, release of confidential data to academic researchers raises delicate issues when, as is the case in the credit industry, information is very valuable.

The 15 December 2000 conference on Financial Supervision of Banks and Specialized Banks in the EU featured contributions by leading researchers in the field. Like the 1999 Conference on "Household Portfolios," where researchers on consumption and saving behaviour discussed all aspects of families' finances as well the credit-access aspects of particular interest to the Chair, this conference dealt with a variety of bank-regulation issues. The issue is very topical in the EMU context, where monetary unification may recommend re-

form of supervisory institutions and harmonized regulations. The participants, however, also paid special attention to the specific issues arising in the regulation of banks and quasi-banks which, like consumer credit institutions, do not raise funds from the general public and use advanced statistical risk management techniques. The traditional justification for banking regulation, which focuses on protection of uninformed depositors, need not apply in this context. Reasons why suppliers of consumer credit are often chartered as banks and are subject to regulatory constraints, as well as policy reforms under preparation, were discussed at the Conference in light of relevant theoretical and institutional insights.

Research

Members of the Chair are actively conducting research in their own fields of expertise, which range from statistical analysis of microeconomic data to theoretical modeling of consumer choices, competition among banks, and contractual arrangements. Several projects have been directly stimulated by the Chair's novel perspective on both consumers' and banks' problems, and by insightful data and information provided by the sponsoring institutions.

Giuseppe Bertola, Stefan Hochguertel and Winfried Koeniger are developing a simple formal model of a very common real-life phenomenon. Financing for durable goods such as cars, is typically available on very good terms, sometimes advertised as "zero interest" deals. It is also interesting, and less well known, that favorable borrowing rates on purchases of durable goods are explained not only by a relatively low risk of non-repayment for credit extended towards a specific purchase, but also by explicit subsidization of credit by sellers of durable goods. This implies that the price received by sellers is effectively lower for credit purchases than for cash purchases. It is not difficult to interpret this phenomenon using simple economic theory. If sellers have some monopoly power (i.e., they are aware that the prices they set affect the quantities they can sell), it can be advantageous for them to set different prices for different groups of customers. The groups of consumers attracted by cash and credit purchases are indeed distinctly different when, as is realistic, borrowing rates are higher than lending rates on the financial market. Depending on the characteristics of the population of potential customers facing a seller, demand by consumers who find credit purchases attractive can be more price-sensitive than that by consumers who can readily pay cash. This can explain not only the existence of dealer-subsidized credit, but also its greater or lesser prevalence in different markets.

Rob Alessie, Stefan Hochguertel and Guglielmo Weber are empirically investigating the rapid expansion of consumer credit in Italy, using two complementary data sources. The first is drawn from the administrative database of a large Italian consumer credit bank (Findomes-

tic), the second is the cross-sectional Bank of Italy survey of Italian households. The 1995-1999 changes in the data are broken down into behavioural changes over time, changes in the underlying population, and changes in the pool of loan applicants. In 1997 a new law on usury rates came into effect, limiting the scope of lenders to set interest rates. The law specified a threshold for "small" instalment loans: in the data, contracts just above the threshold appear to become less common after 1997, while revolving credit-card contracts became more common. Controlling for changes in the overall population and individual characteristics, one finds that two-thirds of the shifts observed in the probability of applying for medium-sized loans are attributable to changing behaviour, while one third reflects differences in sampling and population changes.

In joint work with Elisabetta Iossa (Brunel), Giuliana Palumbo studies one of the most important issues in the legal regulation of consumer credit. When a purchase is paid on an instalment-loan basis and financing is provided by a lender rather than by the seller, conceptually distinct sets of obligations arise among three parties. The seller should deliver a suitable good to the customer and receive a lump-sum payment from the lender; the customer should in turn repay loan instalments to the lender. When one of the parties fails to fulfill such obligations, legal regulations may or may not imply that other parties are jointly liable. In most European countries, the lender cannot collect payments from the customer if the seller fails to deliver the good and is linked to the lender by a pre-existing formal agreement. A rationale for lender liability can be established when judicial enforcement is inefficient, or there is a risk of seller's bankruptcy. In these cases, the seller can increase sales if customers are protected by the lender's joint liability, and in equilibrium credit is priced so as to compensate lenders for costs arising when sellers fail to fulfill their contractual obligations.

On 26-27 March 2001 the Chair's first Consumer Credit Workshop will discuss preliminary results from these and other projects with members of the Scientific Committee and of the EUI economics research community.

Giuseppe Bertola (Chair coordinator); Giuliana Palumbo, Stefan Hochguertel, David Alary (Research Fellows); Marie-Noelle Michaelis (Secretary); Natacha Valla and Winfried Koeniger (Research Assistants).

Nouveau titulaire de la chaire Droit international

Pierre Marie Dupuy

Né en octobre 1946, Pierre Marie Dupuy est professeur agrégé des facultés de droit françaises (1974), en droit public et science politique. Doctorat d'Etat en droit, après avoir été diplômé d'études supérieures (D.E.S) en droit public ainsi qu'en science politique, il est également diplômé de l'Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris.

Il a été successivement professeur aux facultés de droit de Strasbourg, Paris Val-de-Marne puis, depuis 1981, à l'Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), université dont il est actuellement détaché. Il a été directeur de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales de Paris (Université de Paris 2) de 1990 à 2000, et professeur invité aux universités du Michigan (Ann Arbor Law School), Ludwig Maximilian (Munich), et Complutense (Madrid).

Auteur d'un manuel de droit international public connaissant sa cinquième édition mise à jour en huit ans, il a une expérience étendue du contentieux international devant la Cour internationale de justice et de l'arbitrage international. Il a été expert consultant auprès de diverses organisations internationales dont l'O.C.D.E., le Programme des Nations Unies pour l'Environnement (UNEP) et EUTELSAT, et le Bureau international des expositions (B.E.I.). Il dirige égale-

ment la Revue Générale de Droit International Public depuis 1990 et fait partie du Comité de rédaction



Pierre Marie Dupuy

du European Journal of International Law depuis sa création (1989).

Il a donné le Cours général de droit international public à l'Académie de droit international de La Haye en l'an 2000.

Pierre Marie Dupuy a notamment consacré ses premiers travaux au droit international de l'environnement, au droit de la responsabilité internationale des Etats ainsi qu'au droit du maintien de la paix, aux droits de l'homme et au droit international économique. Il se définit cependant lui-même comme un généraliste, étant d'abord attaché à l'étude des évolutions majeures de l'ordre juridique international,

dont les modes de formation des normes et les tendances à la diversification des sujets constituent deux des secteurs déterminants.

C'est à l'étude de l'unité de l'ordre juridique international qu'il a consacré son cours général à l'Académie de droit international de La Haye, dont le texte écrit est en préparation.

Son programme de recherches à l'IUE porte sur la question de l'unité de l'ordre juridique international à l'épreuve du phénomène multiforme de la globalisation. A ce titre, il accorde un intérêt tout particulier au développement contemporain du droit international du commerce au sein de l'O.M.C. comme à l'affirmation d'un nouveau droit international pénal, du fait, notamment, de la jurisprudence émanant des tribunaux «ad hoc» institués en ce domaine par le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies.

En relation directe avec ces développements récents comme avec son expérience personnelle du contentieux international, il est également attentif à la multiplication des juridictions internationales, et, plus largement encore, aux manifestations diversifiées du contrôle de la légalité des comportements imputables aux différents sujets du droit international.

The Academy of European Law

(Directors: Professors Philip Alston, Gráinne de Búrca and Bruno De Witte)

is organizing another summer programme this year, One course deals with **European Union Law** (2-13 July 2001) and the other with **Human Rights Law** (18-29 June 2001). Each programme features a General Course and a set of specialized courses. This year the topical themes focus on the Enlargement of the European Union and Gender and Human Rights

For more information consult: <http://www.iue.it/AEL/index.htm>

La Banca Centrale Europea: profili giuridici e istituzionali

Il libro analizza, da un punto di vista prevalentemente giuridico, la Banca centrale europea (BCE) e il Federal Reserve System (Fed), due banche centrali che, sebbene nate in contesti storici e politici diversi, sono accomunate dal fatto di rappresentare le monete di maggior peso nell'economia mondiale: dollaro ed euro.

L'istituzione della Banca centrale europea è, spesso, definita dalla dottrina giuridica una delle riforme istituzionali più rilevanti che siano state compiute nell'ultimo decennio in Europa. La sua importanza è ascrivibile non solo ai poteri esclusivi che essa sola detiene nell'ambito della politica monetaria dell'Unione europea, ma anche, e soprattutto, alla sua notevolissima indipendenza rispetto ai pubblici poteri. La nascita di questo organismo è stata preceduta da alcuni atti preparatori, intesi a fissare le condizioni (c.d. «parametri di convergenza legale») indispensabili per consentire l'accesso alla fase finale dell'unione monetaria europea (UME). La principale di queste condizioni prevede la trasformazione delle banche centrali dei paesi membri in organismi indipendenti rispetto al potere politico. Da tale esigenza sono derivate, ad esempio, le recenti proposte, avanzate in Italia dalla Commissione bicamerale per le riforme istituzionali, di riconoscere valore costituzionale all'indipendenza della Banca d'Italia, riconoscendo, così, all'autonomia della banca centrale un carattere di stabilità.

Eppure, nonostante la consapevolezza che la scienza giuridica mostra a fronte della rilevanza di questa eccezionale trasformazione, l'unione monetaria resta pur sempre un «caso economico», e come tale è difficilmente interpretabile in base ai consueti parametri normativi, qualora si voglia andare al di là del puro dato descrittivo. E' vero, infatti, che lo Statuto della BCE è stato redatto da banchieri centrali, ossia da tecnici della macroeconomia, i quali hanno trasfuso in questo documento concetti già forgiati dalla dottrina e dalla pratica monetaria nel corso degli ultimi decenni.

La decisione di intraprendere lo studio di quest'aspetto dell'integrazione europea trae origine dalla consapevolezza, manifestata anche dalla più recente dottrina, di quanto sia spesso la cortina di mistero che avvolge, celando in tutto o in parte, le decisioni delle banche centrali, e di quanto sia sentita l'esigenza di una maggiore trasparenza degli atti, cui si sovrappongono calcoli di tipo matematico e valutazioni di convenienza che di tali atti costituiscono la ratio sottostante. Ho così iniziato un processo che mi ha portato, nei quattro anni necessari per la preparazione della mia tesi di dottorato all'IUE, a cercare d'individuare i concetti di tipo costituzionale che possono essere applicati a tale istituzione, e a studiare più a fondo i confini fra scienza economica e giuridica allo scopo di giungere a una definizione del con-

retto d'indipendenza. In ragione dell'atipicità di questi studi rispetto a quelli svolti di solito nel dipartimento giuridico, mi sono trovata piacevolmente "costretta" a soggiornare per lunghi periodi alla New York University e a Francoforte, presso la BCE.

.....
Stefania Baroncelli, *La Banca centrale europea: profili giuridici e istituzionali. Un confronto con il modello americano della Federal Reserve*, Firenze, European Press Academic Publishing, 2000, 25 euro.
.....

Man mano che procedevo nella mia ricerca mi rendevo conto della «specialità» della banca centrale rispetto alle altre istituzioni governative in senso lato e della necessità di elaborare un metodo di ricerca composito, in base al quale i concetti economici non siano solo inquadrati nelle categorie giuridiche costituzionali (quali la distribuzione dei poteri su base orizzontale o verticale, il principio di delega, la tipologia degli atti normativi, la questione della legittimazione democratica ecc.), ma si spingano fino a influenzare queste ultime. E' quanto ho cercato di fare nella mia tesi, ove ho utilizzato un sistema a più dimensioni, basato al contempo su indicatori economici e nozioni giuridiche intersecantesi fra loro, per giungere a una fusione ove il dato giuridico tiene conto anche delle implicazioni economiche. Il contenuto della tesi di dottorato, opportunamente tagliato e ricondotto a unità, è stato poi trasfuso in una monografia, di cui non è possibile dare qui più che qualche accenno.

Il Trattato di Maastricht sancisce la decisione degli Stati europei di delegare alla BCE ampi poteri discrezionali in materia monetaria, che vengono da essa esercitati in modo autonomo: la BCE stabilisce, infatti, il tasso di interesse, il tasso di inflazione, e, mediamente, la disoccupazione e il tasso di crescita economica. Per la scienza giuridica, i quesiti che si pongono al riguardo sono molteplici. Quali sono i poteri reali di controllo democratico nei confronti di questa istituzione? Quali sono i concetti di organizzazione e di funzionamento che la regolano? Quali sono le priorità nel raggiungimento delle diverse grandezze macroeconomiche? Tutti questi interrogativi ci condurrebbero a una sorta di paralisi definitoria, a meno di non considerarli in grado di definire i confini entro cui porre il concetto di indipendenza.

Mentre i paesi dell'Unione fino a poco tempo fa concepivano la banca centrale come un prolungamento dell'apparato statale, soprattutto del Ministero del Tesoro, all'inizio degli anni '90 hanno mutato orientamento e hanno deciso di delegare alla BCE i loro poteri in materia monetaria. La ragione principale di questo cambiamento è derivata dalla decisione dei paesi membri dell'Unione europea di porre la lotta contro l'inflazione al primo posto fra gli obiettivi di politica macroecono-

mica, e di istituire, a salvaguardia di questa finalità, una banca centrale indipendente sul tipo della banca centrale tedesca, che aveva dato ottimi risultati nella riduzione del tasso di inflazione.

A questa motivazione economica se ne aggiungeva una di tipo politico. Il carattere dell'indipendenza, infatti, era stato imposto dalla Germania ai partners europei come condizione essenziale per aderire all'UME, pur sapendo che ciò avrebbe avuto come conseguenza la perdita della direzione della politica monetaria che fino ad allora aveva esercitato, de facto, in Europa, tramite una politica restrittiva dei tassi di interesse. Con la creazione dell'UME, infatti, il controllo della politica monetaria è concentrato e attribuito a un consiglio composto dai governatori delle banche centrali di tutti i paesi partecipanti e da componenti di nomina comunitaria.

Uno dei modelli cui è improntata la struttura della BCE, insieme a quello della banca centrale tedesca, è il Federal Reserve System. Le due banche - Fed e Bundesbank - rappresentano il prototipo della banca autonoma che recentemente è stato preso come punto di riferimento in un numero crescente di paesi, i quali hanno modificato il proprio istituto centrale nella direzione di una maggiore indipendenza rispetto al potere politico. Si tratta delle due banche centrali che possiedono uno fra i più elevati gradi d'indipendenza al mondo, e sono state considerate la fonte primaria cui ispirarsi. Così, non solo i paesi dell'Unione europea, ma anche la maggioranza degli stati del Sud America e di quelli dell'Europa dell'est, si sono dotati di banche centrali indipendenti, basandosi su questi modelli. Recentemente, anche il Giappone ha modificato lo statuto della sua banca centrale, attribuendole maggiore autonomia e rinunciando al modello precedente, che dipendeva dal Ministero delle Finanze.

Il Federal Reserve System, chiamato comunemente Fed, è stato creato nel 1913 e, seppure possieda un grado minore di indipendenza rispetto alla Bundesbank, storicamente costituisce il progenitore più illustre del genus «banca centrale indipendente». Tale modello americano è stato esportato e applicato altrove, tanto che anche la Bundesbank ne costituisce in un certo senso un derivato. Fu in seguito al secondo conflitto mondiale che i vincitori imposero alla Germania, al fine di neutralizzarne le mire imperialistiche, una struttura decentrata, ispirata ad un federalismo cooperativo. Il punto di riferimento erano, ovviamente, gli Stati Uniti d'America, considerati l'archetipo della forma di stato federale. L'obiettivo di questa riforma era la riduzione drastica del potere decisionale centrale, e la sua suddivisione fra i Länder. Così, la nuova banca centrale della Germania federale, la Bundesbank, si sostituì alla Reichsbank, che aveva avuto un ruolo relevantissimo nel finanziamento della spesa nel conflitto mondiale.

Tutti questi elementi mi hanno spinto a ritenere che lo studio della Fed sia il necessario antefatto per riuscire a individuare e a mettere a fuoco i concetti giuridici che

hanno presieduto alla creazione della BCE e per valutare le conseguenze che la sua presenza può avere avuto sugli istituti giuridici di vari paesi dell'Unione; in altre parole, fino a che punto essa può aver condizionato o, persino, messo in crisi gli equilibri giuridici e istituzionali interni ai paesi aderenti. Va detto, altresì, che il quadro istituzionale americano, incentrato sul concetto di separazione dei poteri e sul principio del federalismo, secondo il quale lo stato federale esercita non soltanto il potere monetario ma anche quello di bilancio, ha caratteristiche proprie. Gli Stati Uniti costituiscono un'unione politica vera e propria e, dunque, l'integrazione, sia politica sia economica, si trova a uno stadio molto più avanzato rispetto al contesto europeo.

Eppure il concetto di indipendenza elaborato dalla dottrina e dalla giurisprudenza americane assume il valore di prezioso precedente teorico da cui prendere le mosse. Dal punto di vista costituzionale, esso va inquadrato, a sua volta, nel concetto di autonomia delle agenzie di regolazione indipendenti (regulatory independent agencies), di cui la Fed costituisce una species. In quest'ambito, la nozione di indipendenza si collega alla difficoltà di individuare le independent agencies all'interno di un potere determinato. Queste commissioni, infatti, se è vero che sono titolari delle funzioni legislative, esecutive e giurisdizionali - caratteristica che peraltro è comune a tutte le agenzie amministrative americane, indipendenti o meno -, non sono tuttavia inquadrabili all'interno di uno dei tre poteri fondamentali. Anzi, tanto più un'agenzia è indipendente rispetto al potere esecutivo, tanto più risulterà difficile trovare delle motivazioni valide per giustificare la sua appartenenza ad uno dei tre poteri di cui sopra.

Per questo motivo, parte della dottrina ritiene che le agenzie indipendenti formino un «quarto potere» statale, che si verrebbe ad aggiungere ai tre elencati nella Costituzione. Al momento della stesura di quest'ultima, tale potere non poteva essere preso in considerazione per il semplice fatto che, nel 1787, lo Stato non aveva ancora assunto alcuna responsabilità in termini di garanzie di benessere nei confronti della società, coerentemente con la filosofia del laissez-faire allora dominante. L'idea che prevede un quarto ramo statale riesce a contemperare il principio di indipendenza con quello di separazione dei poteri.

Le agenzie americane, le quali si basano su un concetto di indipendenza particolare, da intendersi come estraneità rispetto all'Esecutivo, hanno delle dimensioni e dei poteri molto maggiori rispetto a quelle europee e, infine, sono il prodotto di un rapporto specifico fra poteri pubblici e privati. Ciò è quanto emerge analizzando la Fed, la sua evoluzione storica e la sua conformazione organizzativa.

Ensuring the Legitimacy of a European Civil Code

I. The Desirability of a Code

A European Civil Code covering the most important areas of civil law such as contracts, torts and securities would be a desirable project. It might reduce legal obstacles to free trade and legal costs, enhance the foreseeability of decisions, and simplify the complexities of the existing multi-level regime composed of international treaties, European private law Directives in some areas, and the remaining bodies of national law. However, in order to be a success, the project of a Code needs to overcome several problems, which may be said to be related to its legitimacy. These include:

- the Community's competence;
- the acceptance of a Code by national lawyers;
- an adequate institutional infrastructure for its preparation;
- and, once a Code is enacted, the modalities of its judicial implementation.

II. Critical Points

1. Competence

Let me start with competence.

Art. 95 (ex 100a) TEC which allows for the approximation of provisions necessary for the functioning of the internal market, should cover a Civil Code, because this would constitute an important legal infrastructure of the market.

However, the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality might constitute obstacles. It may be argued that it would be sufficient to limit a European Code to cross-border transactions, thus leaving untouched the existing national codifications for internal transactions. However, such a "cross-border code" could not be enacted as a harmonisation Directive, since the latter would necessarily melt the national codes into a new European one.

If a European Code covering also internal transactions were nevertheless enacted as a harmonisation Directive, an outvoted state might challenge it before the ECJ, with reasonable prospects of success. What is worse, a Code imposed on unwilling Member States would enjoy only very weak legitimacy, which could ultimately render it a counterproductive project for the Community.

2. Acceptance

This takes me to the second objection, the acceptance of a Code in the Member States. To start with, one may observe that the reputation of the European pri-

ivate law Directives is unfortunately quite poor. This is due in the first place to the Community's famous "selective harmonisation" concept, which leads to a complex superimposition of national law by ever larger islands of Community law. This situation gives rise to innumerable fragmentations, inconsistencies and contradictions which surface only in concrete cases and have to be resolved by national lawyers on an ad hoc basis.

Further, the quality of the private law Directives is often quite bad. There are frequent inconsistencies between them and with other EC laws. For example, there are different definitions of what constitutes a consumer; and the Directives' conflict of laws rules are not always in harmony with the 1980 Rome Convention on conflict of laws.

Finally, the poor reputation of the private law Directives is linked to the more general discontent with the ECJ's jurisprudence in private law. It becomes ever more apparent that this Court is overburdened by its universal competence in all fields of Community law. To quote a representative statement by a Greek and a German author, Samara-Krispis and Steindorff, published in the CMLR 1992, reviewing the Karella case: "We dare even to submit, that the European Court's contribution to company law may not justify the expectation that the Community, in its present organisation, is qualified to assume responsibility for questions of company law and – probably – other civil law as well."

What is worse, the delay for preliminary references has become unacceptably long – it is now about 2 years. Therefore, if the control of a European Code were entrusted to the ECJ as well, a huge number of new references could be expected, which might ultimately entail a breakdown of private law adjudication. All in all, if a Code is to be a successful enterprise, the quality of the legislation would need to be significantly improved, and the ECJ would need to be re-organized and probably enlarged by specialised and effective chambers for private law.

But even if all these defects were remedied, I still think that a Code imposed on Member States and forcing them to abolish their current codifications would not be a success. After all, the national codifications are in most countries cultural monuments, symbols of the ongoing success of a private law society and, as such, deeply rooted in national identity. Therefore, I think that a majority of national lawyers would fight fiercely against their abolition. As a pos-

sible parallel, think of the emotional resistance in the German language area against the recent reform of orthography – on its surface also a technical project, but one which turned into a huge legal battle over what was regarded by many as a cultural symbol. With this experience in mind, I think that if a draft Code aiming at replacing the national codes were to be presented, national lawyers would pick out its weaknesses or – if they cannot find any – the solutions which sound unfamiliar to national observers, and they would on this basis plead for the overall rejection of the Code as completely inadequate for the given national conditions. Such arguments might easily convince the national public and national political representatives.

How could such a development be prevented? First, I think Europe should restrict its efforts to a Code for cross border cases only. In order to dissipate national fears, it should be made clear from the beginning that the European project does not aim at doing away with the existing national codes. Nevertheless, a European code should be technically capable to be adopted for internal cases as well, and Member States should even be encouraged to do so, in order to avoid the complexities resulting from two codes. Note though that I use the word - “encouraged” - they should not be forced.

Under these circumstances, in what legal form should a Code be enacted? Again, a harmonisation Directive should be excluded as it would entail the abolition of the existing national codes. A Regulation would not be possible under Art. 95, but only with unanimity under Art. 308 (ex 235). The alternative of an international treaty outside Community Law would involve the risks of democratic deficit, petrification and the absence of a centralized court. Therefore, the option of enacting a Code as a measure of closer co-operation might be the most attractive solution.

Beyond these issues, also the problem of the lack of an adequate institutional infrastructure for the preparation of a Code would need to be tackled.

3. An adequate institutional infrastructure for the preparation of a Code

It is generally acknowledged and confirmed by the experiences of all European Nation States that comprehensive private law codifications need detailed and careful preparation by experts. Therefore, the existing academic initiatives should be welcomed, and their valuable work should serve as a guideline for all future efforts. However, and this is not meant at all as a criticism to these initiatives, it is doubtful whether their personal, financial and logistic resources are sufficient to produce a draft acceptable to all or even most national legal systems, and defend its coherence against political interventions in the legislative process. The present participation of 5 Directorates-General of the Commission in the project might already indicate a future struggle between various policy objectives the Directorates are bound to pursue.

Therefore, what is lacking in the European system, is a lobby and institutionalised expertise for private law understood as a non-instrumental, but universal kind of law. We would need a strong and neutral institution which promotes the quality, coherence and social adequacy of the law, and which could support the controlling institutions, most importantly the European Parliament, in their tasks. Such an institution could not only integrate the expertise of a larger number of lawyers into the project and thereby give it more legitimacy, but also overcome many national lawyers’ discontent with EC law in general and a Civil Code in particular.

A successful example for such a legal institution is the American Law Institute. It was founded as a private initiative by academics and practitioners in the 1920’s to enhance the quality of the law, reduce the complexity of the case law and to counteract divergences among the different State laws. It has in the meantime elaborated a huge number of compilations of case law (the so called “Restatements”) as well as model uniform laws, many of which were adopted by a significant number of States. The most famous and successful model law to which the Institute contributed is the Uniform Commercial Code which covers the most important areas of trade and has been enacted by all but one American states.

The composition and the procedure of the American Law Institute are precisely regulated in a statute. For each project, the council of the Institute chooses one or two reporters who elaborate the drafts. They are supported by advisers who make exhaustive comments on the drafts. In addition, each single member has the right to submit his or her views to the reporters. When a draft is completed, it needs to be approved first by the council and then by the majority of the presently about 3600 members of the Institute. As a private institution, the running costs of the Institute are paid by its members alone, but the various projects are mainly financed out of public funds. By the way, there are also several European members of the ALI who used to be practitioners or professors in the US and who have already called for the establishment of a similar institution in Europe.

To sum up, I think that the chances of a Civil Code would be greatly enhanced if it were continued to be pursued by a sort of European Law Institute. The existing academic initiatives could certainly be integrated well into such an Institute, whether as reporters or advisers. Therefore, I would recommend to the European Parliament to use its authority, its contacts and resources to encourage a high number of national and European legal associations and organizations to establish a European Law Institute. It could be the Parliament’s strongest ally in the elaboration of an innovative and high quality Civil Code which could ultimately be ratified by most Member States. Last but

continued on p. 18

L'harmonisation de la fiscalité de l'épargne dans les pays de la Communauté

Depuis deux décennies, plus personne ne peut nier que la réalisation de l'«Europe des capitaux» passe par une harmonisation de la fiscalité de l'épargne.

Il existe d'importantes disparités entre les législations fiscales des États membres, tant en ce qui concerne les modalités que les taux d'imposition de l'épargne sous forme de bénéfices des sociétés, de dividendes et d'intérêts. Laisser les systèmes fiscaux nationaux se concurrencer entre eux implique un risque de délocalisation du capital, tant vers les pays communautaires dotés d'une fiscalité avantageuse que vers des pays tiers. L'amenuisement de l'assiette nationale de l'impôt sur les sociétés, les bénéfices et les dividendes et celui de l'impôt sur le revenu sous forme d'intérêts des dépôts et des obligations obligent les gouvernements européens à augmenter l'imposition du travail salarié et de la dépense. Cette dégradation fiscale remet fortement en cause, au niveau national, l'«acquis» de l'État-providence et, au niveau européen, l'objectif redistributif qui caractérise le processus d'intégration communautaire.

Même si l'harmonisation de la fiscalité de l'épargne n'a pas été considérée comme une condition sine qua non pour la réalisation de l'Union économique et monétaire, il faut néanmoins espérer qu'une coordination ex post des systèmes fiscaux nationaux accompagnera sa finalisation.

.....
Elli Assimacopoulou, L'harmonisation de la fiscalité de l'épargne dans les pays de la Communauté, L.G.D.J., Paris, 2000, pp 261, FF 220
.....

Elli Assimacopoulou, avocate, avouée à la Cour, est membre du Barreau d'Athènes, ville dans laquelle elle enseigne également à l'Université Panteion. Le présent ouvrage lui a valu le titre de Docteur en droit de l'Institut universitaire européen de Florence.

Prix 1999 de l'Union des Banques helléniques.

Ouvrage honoré par l'Association Fiscale Internationale.

continued from p. 17

not least, the establishment of a larger transnational legal community would also be a contribution to the creation of a “sectoral” European public and therefore ultimately to European democracy.

4. Judicial Implementation of a Code

When the preparation of a Code is actually completed, one final obstacle would need to be overcome: the need for a competent and effective judiciary to supervise it.

Apart from the current difficulties of the ECJ already mentioned, a further problem would lie in what may be called the “social adequacy” of decisions. Compared to economic law, private law is a still more decentralised and fine-tuned system, in which sensitivity towards different social circumstances is of crucial importance. Against this background, authoritative decisions imposed by a centralised European judiciary might again be challenged on the ground that they do not fit the local peculiarities. Therefore, it would seem to be reasonable to give national courts more leeway, while not renouncing completely a degree of unifying control at European level.

Such a compromise might be achieved by maintaining the reference procedure *tel quel*, but by endowing the decisions of the European court not with binding, but only persuasive authority. This means that the highest

national courts – and only them - should be allowed to disregard a European decision provided they give a thorough justification of why this would be inadequate for the national situation. A national dissenting opinion should be published together with the European decision, and would thus be exposed to criticism from all over Europe. Since all European judges share an ethos of independence and neutrality, it is however unlikely that European decisions would be disregarded on a large scale. Rather, the non-binding character of such decisions might trigger a beneficial competition for the best solution and for the legal quality of decisions.

To summarize, the enactment of a Civil Code as a measure of closer co-operation, its preparation by a European Law Institute and its “soft” supervision by a European judiciary rendering non-binding decisions should guarantee the legitimacy of the project. Ultimately, a Code conceived in this way could contribute to the understanding that legitimate European governance should be based as much as possible on deliberation and persuasion, and as little as possible on command and control.

Paper presented at the European Parliament Hearing on Approximation of Member States' Civil and Commercial Law on 21 November 2000, 3 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.

CHRISTOPH U. SCHMID,
EUI Florence and University of Munich

New appointment

Anthony Molho

Anthony (Tony, to his friends) Molho was born in 1939 in Thessaloniki Greece. Following his secondary studies in a classical gymnasium, he began his university studies in the USA (Western Reserve University) from which he received his PhD in 1965, while in the meantime he spent more than two years studying in Italy (at the Facoltà di Lettere of the University of Florence). He has taught at the University of Vermont, Michigan State University, and, from 1996 to 2000, at Brown University, where for his last three years he was the David Herlihy University Professor and Professor of History. He was visiting professor at the University of Florence, University of San Marino, University of Athens, University of Crete, Directeur d' études invité at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, and visiting scholar at the Maison des sciences de l' homme. He has lectured widely in Europe and north America. Since 1996, he has been president of the Centro di studi mediterranei at the Istituto di Studi Filosofici in Naples.

For many years, the principal object of his study was the history of the state in late medieval and early modern Italy. To this subject, he devoted several publications, among which "Politics and the Ruling Class in Early Renaissance Florence" *Nuova rivista storica*, 1968; "Cosimo de' Medici: Pater Patriae or Padrino?" *Stanford Italian Studies*, 1979; "Patronage and the State in Early Modern Italy" in *Klientelsysteme im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit*, München, Historisches Kolleg, 1988. He has been especially interested in the fiscal aspects of state construction, and to this subject he devoted a series of publications, among which *Florentine Public Finances in the Early Renaissance*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1971, "Fisco e società a Firenze nel Quattrocento" *Società e storia*, 1985, "Tre città-state e i loro debiti pubblici. Quesiti

e ipotesi sulla storia di Firenze, Genova e Venezia" in *Italia 1350-1450: Tra crisi, trasformazione, sviluppo* (Pistoia: Centro italiano di studi di storia e d' arte, 1993), "Lo stato e la finanza pubblica (Un'ipotesi basata sulla storia tardo medioevale di Firenze)", in Giorgio Chittolini, An-



thony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera, *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994), and "Créanciers de Florence en 1347. Un aperçu statistique du quartier de Santo Spirito," in *La Toscane et les Toscans autour de la Renaissance. Cadres de vie, société, croyances. Mélanges offerts à Charles-M. de la Roncière*, Publications de l' Université de Provence, 1999.

An institution known as the Monte delle doti gave him the chance to examine the history of the state and of the ruling classes from an especially interesting perspective, which combines elements of social, demographic, economic, fiscal, and gender history. Some of the publications which resulted from this project are (with Julius Kirshner), "The Dowry Fund and the Marriage Market in Early Quattrocento Florence" *J. of Modern History*, 1978, (with Alan Morrison and Julius Kirshner), "Epidemics in Renaissance Florence" *American J. of Public Health*, 1985, "Deception and Marriage

Strategy in Renaissance Florence - The Case of Women's Ages" *Renaissance Quarterly*, 1988, "Tamquam vere mortua". Le professioni religiose femminili nella Firenze del tardo medioevo" *Società e storia*, 1989, (with Roberto Barducci, Gabriella Battista, and Francesco Donini), "Genealogia e parentado. Memorie del potere nella Firenze tardo medioevale. Il caso di Giovanni Rucellai" *Quaderni storici*, 1994, and *Marriage Alliance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Florence*. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1994).

Over the years, he has also been drawn to the historiographic dimensions of his discipline; his most recent publications in this area are his articles "The Italian Renaissance, made in the USA" in a volume he co-edited with Gordon Wood, *Imagined Histories. American Historians Interpret the Past*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998, and "Like Ships Passing Each Other in the Dark. Fernand Braudel's Méditerranée in the USA" forthcoming in a special volume devoted to the work of the great French historian.

More recently, he has turned his attention to the history of groups whose experience was influenced only indirectly by the emergence of the state in late medieval and early modern Europe: merchants and their networks in early modern Mediterranean. Two recent articles bespeak this interest: "Ebrei e Marrani fra l' Italia e l' Impero Ottomano," in *Annali di Storia d'Italia*, ed. by Corrado Vivanti, vol. 11, part 2, Torino, Einaudi, 1997), and "Jews and Marranos Before the Law. Five Mediterranean Stories," *Gramma*, 1998. While at the European University Institute he will continue along these recent lines of research, seeking to understand, the diasporas (of Greeks, Jews, Armenians, and others) in the early modern Mediterranean.

The Enclosed Economy

How public goods splinter into private properties

The Panama rain forest, Fall 1993. The Gnobe Indians do not know what is happening. They have just found out that the American doctors who lived among them for months have filed a patent application on their blood, because it is resistant to a virus similar to HIV. They wonder how it is possible that somebody else can own their blood.

Washington, May 1995. The communications company Odyssey receives the patent on the medium earth orbit, a pattern of satellite lanes between ten and twenty thousand kilometres above earth. From now on, only Odyssey can put satellites in these lanes. Other companies lose out.

Wall Street, February 1997. The investment bank Fahnstock successfully places a 55 million dollar bond for David Bowie, with as collateral the future royalties on the recordings the musician made before 1990. Shortly afterwards, a Rod Stewart bond follows.

These examples are the tentative climax of a development that started in the Renaissance and has gradually accelerated in pace. As the economic counterpart of in-



David Bowie

dividualism, the property right has expanded to unprecedented reaches and trickled down deeper and deeper into society. Now the time has come when this centuries-long development is reaching its final stage:

Real estate, shares, patents, copyrights and trademarks are forms of property that used to be public in the past. A continuous transformation of public goods into private property rights has brought great prosperity. Nowadays the pace has accelerated: more and more public goods are being transformed into newer and newer forms of private property. Gerben Bakker maps the road towards the enclosed economy.

sometimes under a wave of protest, sometimes nearly unnoticed, previously public goods are splintered into many pieces of private property, irrespective of whether they are shopping streets or football matches.

The origin of these rights lie at the end of the middle ages, when the property right to land took shape. It was the first in an array of rights that radically transformed society. The Nobel laureate Douglas North and Robert Thomas describe in their classic work *The Rise of the Western World* how the absence of property rights impeded economic growth in the middle ages. The medieval count had just as little absolute ownership of the land as the farmer who worked it. They were both bounded into a web of constraints and obligations such as rents, labour service and shares of the harvest.

If a hard-working, inventive farmer managed to get a bigger harvest, most of the gain would trickle away to other persons in the feudal system. Thus, nobody had much energy to make effort to get a higher yield. The only way left to cope with an increasing population was to develop the wastelands. When no more suitable wastelands were left, the medieval economy came head-on against a 'Malthusian ceiling'. In line with the gloomy theories of Malthus, hunger, plagues and wars reversed population growth.

This happened most strikingly halfway through the fourteenth century, when all over Europe hunger, plagues and war decimated the population. Subsequently, population growth started all over again, and the economy gradually reached itself up to bump anew against the Malthusian ceiling.

At that very moment - during the sixteenth century - something peculiar happened. Whereas other European countries were again tormented by hunger, plagues and wars, two tiny countries, the Netherlands and England, crashed right through the Malthusian roof. Productivity grew faster than population, enabling population growth to continue. An economic system emerged in which productivity growth reinforced itself and kept a lasting lead on population growth, thus averting disaster.

How could this happen? The secret was the founding of a strong right to private property, North and Thomas argue. Peasants gained more control over their land and could reap the fruits of higher yields themselves. Farmers who beforehand may not have been that industrious started working energetically as soon as they controlled their own piece of land, and successful farmers could apply their skills to a wider area by buying more pieces of land.

Many centuries later, the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union once again demonstrated this power of private property. The only land that remained private was small pieces of soil of less than half an acre. These mini-farms, which together constituted under three percent of all agricultural land, produced a third of all meat, milk, eggs, and vegetables, and a fifth of all wool. The Soviet government had to shelve plans to collectivize these last few acres too.

Nowadays, the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto argues that the absence of enforceable property rights in developing countries is the main obstacle to catch-up with the West. His researchers examined assets of the poor and the lower middle classes and concluded that their value was substantial. In Egypt alone, they were 55 times greater than all foreign investment ever recorded, including the funding of the Suez Canal and the Aswan Dam. The rights to these assets, however, are ill-defined and often undocumented. In the few cases in which it is clear who exactly owns a property, an accountable address lacks for the collection of debts and taxes. Thus it becomes impossible to leverage the assets as collateral for loans and investments. This makes the introduction of a modern concept of ownership more urgent than all development aid put together, argues De Soto.

Leitmotiv

With property rights getting stronger, individuals increasing gained the exclusive ownership of ever more means of production. Their efforts benefited themselves and no longer did spilled over to the rest of the community. These individuals did everything to make their property as productive and profitable as possible. Over the centuries, this leitmotiv of capitalism resurfaced time and again in ever-different shapes. Besides land, in the end also firms, ideas, thoughts, names, words and music became private property that can be freely traded.

Quickly after the establishment of property rights on soil, rights on enterprises followed. Firms not longer die with the owner's family, but became freely tradable and transferable. The 'partnership firm', and later the limited liability company, enabled the partition of companies into many infinitesimal, tradeable ownership shares, which made it easier for entrepreneurs to attract capital.

The fundamental nature of this kind of property right is reflected in the recent transition of centrally owned and managed Eastern European countries to market economies. In the early years, and sometimes still today, inadequate ownership laws hampered economic development. It was virtually impossible for a Czech to obtain a mortgage from her bank, because the bank could not legally seize the house if the borrower defaulted on the payment. Likewise, a failing company in Russia could trudge along endlessly, because of inadequate bankruptcy laws. A fresh restart with restructured activities has thus become impossible, and well-managed companies face unfair competition.

Cultural factors also influence the strength of property. Francis Fukuyama writes how the limited tradability of Chinese companies has its origin in a deeply rooted distrust in Chinese society. A Chinese entrepreneur trusts nobody, only his family. His company always remains a family business. Large companies hardly emerge at all, and this will bring the Chinese economy into problems in the long term, argues Fukuyama.

Paradoxically, today large Western enterprises are forced to re-use centuries-old techniques to motivate their employees. The contemporary manager has something of the sixteenth-century peasant breaking away



Larcum Kendall's First Marine Timekeeper

from the feudal system. Increasingly, her payment consists of pieces of property of the company (shares and options), to make sure she will feel the consequences of her efforts ever more directly in her wallet.

Inventions

After physical property and property in companies, the property right also started to encompass immaterial things. Soon inventive ideas became the exclusive property of a single person. During the middle ages and early modern period, when patents did not exist, many new inventions were imported and copied from China, which at the time had a huge technological lead over Europe. Besides, European rulers tried to attract the best craftsmen into their countries with many attractive arrangements. Highly specialized craftsmen such as book printers, millers or blacksmiths also fostered technological progress. Their specialization confronted them with narrowly defined problems that demanded a creative solution.

Technology that could not be created by copying or specialization was hardly invented at all. This became problematic in the sixteenth century, when the Western world was crying for a ship's clock. This device would enable each ship to know its exact location, and would therefore result in a drop in shipwrecking and shorter routes, sharply reducing transport costs and the size of the world. European kings and princes bid against each other for this invaluable device. King Philip II offered a thousand reals, the Dutch Republic ten thousand florins, the British even twenty thousand pounds, but a good ship's clock did not get invented.

It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that John Harrison came up with an adequate clock. North and Thomas argue that a patent law could have speeded up the invention. Many smaller investors could together have put an unprecedented sum into a company which was to invent the clock. The return would be a royalty on every ship's clock sold or rented. But without a patent law, everybody could copy the invention, so a Ship's Clock Inc. did not emerge.

In the end the system of royal prizes disappeared and a property right developed as the dominant mechanism. Inventors were strongly stimulated by the temporary monopoly on their invention, the patent. These patents too became tradable, just like land and companies.

Nowadays, companies can even use their patents as collateral for loans, as is practised by the Dutch company Philips Electronics. The tradeability of patents has splintered the rights: one patent is often licensed for use in many different products.

Likewise, one product now often encompasses many parts from different research laboratories. Gone is the time when an enterprise developed a new product totally secluded in its own labs. Modern technology products

somewhat come to resemble movies: they are made by a network of companies and institutes, who each demand part of the revenue. Where only two companies - Sony and Philips Electronics - shared the royalties from the compact disc, the royalties of the Digital Video Disk have to be divided among over ten companies, using a complicated distribution scheme. Marco Iansiti and Jonathan West, two researchers from Harvard Business School, claim that this kind of innovation, technology integration, is the reason for the energetic rebound of the American computer industry in the 1990s.

Ghost movies

The patent still has a physical counterpart, namely an underlying product. Even more immaterial is the copyright, which protects ideas that can be expressed in different media. The first book printers in an area tacitly agreed not to copy each others' books. But outside such an area printers could copy at will. Cervantes, for example, was forced to quickly write a sequel to Don Quixote, because creative copycats had already published a forged second part.

Even in the late nineteenth century, British novels were not protected by copyright law in the United States. American publishers paid British writers to send them the proofs, so that they could be the first to publish the American edition. After that, competitors would back off from printing a copy, if not out of collegiality, then because in most cases a second printing would not be profitable.

Around the turn of the last century, copyright expanded substantially due to the advent of recorded music and cinema. Most Western countries introduced new copyright laws which gave authors greater rights to their works, eventually culminating in the 1909 Bern Convention. Within the music industry a whole new range of organizations emerged that occupied themselves with the collection of performing rights. At a London auction of copyrights to songs in 1890, the song that got the highest bid was Wild Winds, which fetched £611. Second and third were Kathleen Mavourneen at £400 and In the Gloaming at £286.

These prices are a bargain compared to current figures. In 1988, Warner Music paid 28 million dollars for the rights to Happy Birthday to You with still 22 years of copyright remaining. A person who had bought Happy Birthday in 1890 would have made a handsome profit, albeit posthumously. The world is now waiting for 1 January 2010, when you can finally sing Happy Birthday to You without fear of prosecution.

Like patents, copyrights too have become tradable. Besides cash-hungry artists such as David Bowie and Rod Stewart, media companies increasingly use copyrights as collateral for loans. For example, the former European film company Polygram sold rights to its films to a consortium of banks, and then leased them back. Oddest are the copyrights on non-existent works that

serve as collateral. Unprecedentedly, the Disney Studios succeeded in borrowing 400 million dollars from a bank, with as sole collateral the rights on films that would be produced in the future.

In the end, copyright has also pervaded obviously uncreative products such as phone directories, address files or databases, which can often be copyrighted and leased to users. Internet technology has even increased the tradability of copyrights. A service such as Napster distributes a huge amount of music to a nearly infinite amount of consumers. For now, users do not pay, but record company executives must be salivating when they imagine receiving a few cents for every song downloaded, or even better, listened to.

\$20 billion in a name

A step further than copyright goes the trademark law, which in principle gives eternal rights and protects nothing else than the property to a name and a symbol. Modern trademark law emerged synchronously with the large industrial corporations in the late nineteenth century. Some of the oldest examples can be found in the United States.

It all started with the grocer J. C. Hoagland, who noticed that the baking powder he was making did not bring in much revenue. He suffered from competition, because baking powder was easy and cheap to make. Hoagland therefore decided to name his powder Royal Baking Powder, and to sink a huge sum into an advertising campaign. Soon Hoagland was spending half a million dollars a year on advertising, an enormous amount at the time, but customers came to have a boundless trust in Royal Baking Powder. They were willing to pay several times the price of exactly the same thing from another producer.

When somebody offered thirteen million dollar for his company, Hoagland realised how much merely the name of his powder was worth. In 1893, he calculated that a new competitor had to sink at least fifteen million dollars in advertising to develop a comparable brand. In the late 1920s, when Royal was the leading brand in 32 countries, its name alone was valued at forty million dollars.

After Royal Baking Powder, an endless row of brands followed, from razors to coffee makers to cars. Just like other rights, today trademark law is reaching a climax. Some years ago, for example, Philip Morris bought the American food company Kraft for an amount of money that was four times the value of assets, giving the name Kraft alone a value of about twenty billion dollars, higher than the national product of many a developing country.

A brand can also be separated from the product that it symbolizes, as the Canadian police recently found out. When Canadian police departments suffered budget

problems, they collectively sold their image to Disney. The studio is now the happy new owner of the rights to the police logo, the characteristic uniforms of the mounted police, and all other images, of which it enthusiastically makes puppets, lighters, T-shirts, books, comics, coasters and postcards.

Even colours can be trademarked into private property. The former Dutch state telephone company managed to claim a specific shade of green it uses in advertisements, just as Pepsi Cola is aggressively defending a particular tint of blue.

Economists are still debating whether brands and trade-



marks are beneficial to the welfare of society. Some say they give consumers information on a product and guarantee quality and enable companies to reach scale economies in marketing and distribution. Others point out that they prevent entry of new companies and maintain higher prices and waste away money into advertising that could have been used for other purposes.

New forms

So far, the rise of property rights has brought great prosperity. They form the skeleton of the modern economic system. Their tradability, spliceability, and the emergence of ever-new species have enabled a pace of economic growth that was previously unthinkable. Hardly any cause for concern, it seems - more for raising a glass to the resulting affluence.

Nevertheless, a darker side exists. As the economic counterpart of individualism, property rights have time and again divided up goods that were previously public, into many tiny pieces of private property. Now that property rights are gaining ever more momentum, a possibility exists that the interests of the community

will be overshadowed by the private interests of companies and individuals.

Many goods of nature that used to be free now carry a price tag and can become exclusive private property. British Columbia, for example, sold the rights to a part of its surface water to an enterprise, which will market it in the Californian desert cities. Norway has similar plans for exports to the Mediterranean. Water, which used to be a free product for all people, thus is becoming a market product.

Likewise, frequencies for communications systems such as television, radio and telephone are often auctioned. These auctions bring a windfall revenue to the State, although its right to this money can be disputed. Auctioning also ensures that the owner will exploit it to the limit, thus maximizing the revenue from the frequency. For things such as telephones these points may be tempting, but for radio and television it may not always be desirable for common airwaves to be auctioned off to the highest bidder, as this puts a price on participating in a public debate and having access to media.

Even so, genetic codes have become patentable. Nowadays a person can discover that somebody else possesses a patent to her blood, and the day may not be far off that she has to pay a license fee. The American doctors who visited the Gnope Indians sold their patent for ten million dollars to a pharmaceutical company. Several other Indian tribes have discovered that foreign companies have patented some plants and animals in their backyard, so that they can not freely trade in them.



Some American biotechnology companies even specialize in 'dragnet patenting': the patenting of as many pieces of genetic code as they can, in the hope that another company will in the future use that code for a medicine which they can cash in royalties.

Like in the early days common grounds - lands which were used by a whole village for wood, sheep and hunting - were enclosed and divided among farmers, nowadays many other common goods, from water to satellite lanes, are labelled with a tag with the owner's name and his bank account. The goods are not freely accessible anymore and are to be exploited to the limit, for the benefit of the occasional owner.

Nonetheless, free-for-all goods can also be a disadvantage. Often people do not like to take care for goods that are not their own. Take the fish in seas and oceans. Because nobody is the owner of those fish, nobody has an interest in maintaining the resource, and without regulation the fish population diminishes sharply because of over-fishing. A somewhat similar point can be made for rain forests, where concession holders do not own the land. Some nature groups are now trying to make rain forest commercially profitable by developing and marketing forest products, in the hope that the value of ownership will exceed the value of axing it.

Diana™

Further than the privatization of natural goods goes the privatization of a nation's cultural heritage. Some time after the death of the creator, creative products enter the public domain, and can be freely used, adapted, changed, and built upon by new creators or anybody else who wants. Thus, individual creative efforts eventually become part of a collective cultural heritage.

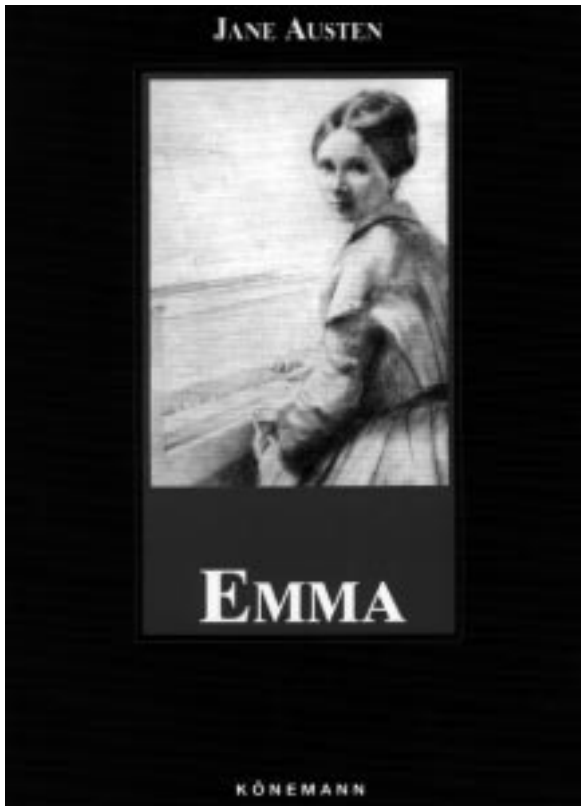
Before creative works enter the public domain, owners of the rights have the power to decide who can use the work for what purpose and for what price. These owners try to stretch their rights as far as possible. Oddly enough, generally they are not the creators themselves, but publishers and descendants who had the creativity to be born to somebody who was born to somebody who was related to the creator.

In the European Union copyright has now been set at seventy years after the author's death, which in many countries has extended the copyright by twenty years. In Britain, for example, publishers suddenly had to pay royalties again on works from the interwar period. It is difficult to see any positive influence this extension has on the production of new creative works, and how this benefits the authors, who have long since passed away. It simply rewards companies and individuals with no other merit than being related to an author, this all at the expense of a freely accessible cultural heritage and the freedom of artists to build upon former works.

When in the mid-1990s three movies based on novels by Jane Austen reached revenues of more than hundred million dollars, descendants of her four brothers grumbled. Jonathan Austen, a young car parts salesman in Wye, England, and Jeremy Knight, a leather worker in Southern England, who makes sockets for artificial legs in a factory about a mile from the place where Austen

wrote Emma, complained that they did not see a single dollar of all this revenue, and dreamed of the possibility of sharing in the prosperity.

Another descendant, Richard Knight, farmer in Gloucestershire and a great-great grandson of Jane's brother Edward, complains that people can do as they



please with the novels, and he can do nothing to prevent 'improper use' of the works of Austen, who died in 1817. The Hollywood producers, for example, changed the title from Emma to Clueless and set it in a Southern Californian campus.

Imagine the descendants of Shakespeare, Michelangelo and the like controlling the use of their works, and levying a royalty. Companies would be formed by descendants of each Creator, to reap and divide the royalties. A new leisured class would emerge that would simply live off the rents of their ancestors. It would be a disaster for a nation's cultural heritage and result in a static, if not Stalinist, society. Imagine a director of a Shakespeare adaptation having to go before a committee and obtain approval that his version maintains the work's integrity. Imagine the producer of Clueless having to defend to Mr. Knight and Mr. Austen that the Californian campus does not change the meaning of the novel, honestly.

However strange and unrealistic this may seem, it is slowly becoming reality. Although copyrights, however long extended, ultimately end, trademarks are in theory perpetual. American media companies have used this fact to gain eternal protection on their literary properties. The Superman character, for example, is a trade-

mark, which means that the owner does not have to worry about copyright expiration. Likewise Paramount, a Hollywood studio, trademarked the entire design of the Star Trek television series, thus securing the exclusive rights until Judgment Day. The descendants of Austen must tear their hair that Jane did not trademark Emma.

And this will not stop at fictional characters and stories. The family of Lady Diana, the Princess of Wales, even thought of trademarking her name and image, 'to prevent abuse'. Although eventually they kindly limited themselves to asking a £9.50 entry fee to the grave, the effort shows the possibility of privatizing a national and cultural heritage and denying free access to it. It is hard to believe, but eventually people could end up paying a fee for the use of the name and image of their dead queens and presidents.

This may seem science fiction, but it is already starting. In the 1990s, the ASCAP, the American rights collection organization, tried to prevent Girl Scouts and other campfire singers from singing copyrighted songs, including Happy Birthday to You. They wanted the Scouts to buy a license, and Scouts found singing without a license would be prosecuted.

Similarly, in many European countries, sports matches have been splintered from a national experience into an array of products that have to be exploited as profitably as possible. Rights are now often spread over a wide variety of broadcasters, many of whom ask for money to view the match. The general result has been that the total number of viewers of sports matches has declined. But that does not worry sport clubs and broadcasters at all, since the remaining audience yields more revenue, and that is all that matters.

Democracy, Inc.

The triumph of private property can also put constraints on the freedom of expression vital to a democratic society. In his book *Culture, Inc.*, the American scholar Herbert Schiller writes how this freedom is constrained by the continuing privatization of public spaces in the United States. Large companies get a stronghold on American society: they pay for the upkeep of parks, sponsor exhibitions and museums and buy their own sports clubs. In this way, they can exercise huge pressure on public debate and discourage controversial opinions, exhibitions, and demonstrations.

But freedom of expression is blocked in an even more direct way, writes Schiller. More and more ground that used to be communal property, such as streets and squares, become private property where basic democratic rights no longer apply. Where protesters could always hand out leaflets in shopping streets, the guards of big shopping malls can prohibit that since the mall is private property. Even so, all over America heavily guarded private communities have arisen, where guards

decide who can walk on the street and who cannot, who can express his opinion and who cannot. In Europe, the first guarded communities have opened, if not closed, their gates.

Likewise, most cities and villages in Europe earn money by selling advertising space on billboards. In many countries, communities are also obliged to provide for boards on which citizens can express their opinions, but the quantity of these boards, if any, contrasts sharply with the flood of billboards, which take the best, most visible places and shout down the unpaid announcements. Every square meter of open space is to be covered by a billboard, like clothing on a nude, empty city.

The accessibility of public information is also hampered by the ownership raze. A newspaper had to go to court to get the Dutch government to make available data files with the performance data of Dutch schools, information which should be readily available to every citizen. After the incident, the Dutch government got the idea of constraining the Freedom of Information Act by exempting electronic data files. Apparently, it does not want to forego the opportunity of exploiting this information commercially. The message seems to be: government information is to be exploited, and not to be given away freely to troublesome citizens. Ownership stands above democracy.

The Dutch government may want to talk with their Swedish colleagues, who have already become experts at making data profitable. The Swedish government trades in information that Swedish citizens were legally obliged to give. A company can now buy a social security number of a Swede, and with that get full information on address, family composition, car ownership, car handling, tax declaration, debts, and location and value of real estate. Even more efficiently, the Swedish government does not administer the data itself, but has out sourced it to a private company, the SEMA group, a subsidiary of France Telecom. Even the enjoyment of nature is made into a transferable property right. The city of Amsterdam now asks a fee from commercial photographers for making pictures in the nearby forest. The city argues that this forest offers a splendid view which has been paid for by the community and that photographers who picture it should pay. The forest guards fined several photographers who were unable to show a license. Other Dutch cities have followed Amsterdam's example. The day is close when every citizen needs a permit to picture his world.

Likewise, facts are becoming private property. The American National Basketball Association (NBA) has sued several media companies for reporting news facts about matches while they were still continuing. It won a law suit against Motorola, which transmitted live sports news through mobile phones. It is hard to believe that the mere fact that a certain player scores a point and that a team is winning or losing can be private proper-

ty. If this trend continues in other fields, free access to information will be further constrained. Imagine a company suing newspapers for reporting the loss that it made, claiming it holds the exclusive property right to the fact of that loss.

The enclosed society

In a time where rights yield ever more money, people fight hard to get rights or to defend them. Besides all the efforts of media companies to extend their copyrights to eternity, many lawsuits on property rights are running in other areas. Gradually the world is moving towards an economy of rights, an enclosed society in which the possession of tradable rights has become more important than the possession of physical goods.

In the United States, at \$20 billion a year the largest exporter of copyrights and patents, the development has gone farthest. Everybody who thinks they may have a right to something starts a law suit. For some companies it is already getting too much. A US electronics firm, for example, built its new design centre for micro processors in Scotland. It found commercial research in America too troublesome, because of long tedious law suits and aggressive patent claims.

A shift in the social atmosphere is taking place, in which people shiver about things that cost nothing, are free. The economic ideology has enthroned productivity. Everything has to be made productive to the limit. Things of no money value, be it a dead poet or a rain forest, cease to exist. The Protestant ethic, according to Weber the mother of capitalism, has come a long way. Idleness is the devil's bolster, and that holds not only for people, but also for blood, satellite lanes and works of art. The new god is productivity, and her saviour is the property right.

The question remains how a society in which all public goods, places and culture have become private property can maintain a sense of community. Little space is left for solidarity if even the means to a public debate have been privatized. A cold, enclosed society of individuals with only legal and financial coherence lies around the corner.

GERBEN BAKKER
gerben.bakker@iue.it

New Web Resource on the History of International Exhibitions Launched

Florence, Fresno, Cottbus Cooperate

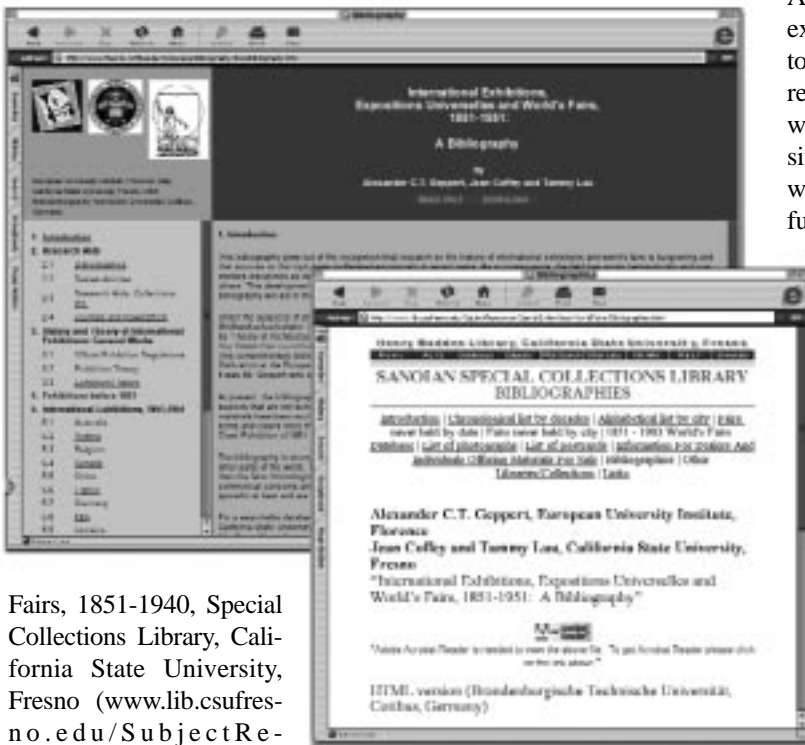
Early this February, a major bibliography on the history of international exhibitions and world's fairs from 1851 to 1951 was officially launched. It is now accessible on the Internet at the "Theory of Architecture" web site of Brandenburgische Technische Universität in Cottbus, Germany as part of their journal *Wolkenkuckucksheim: Internationale Zeitschrift für Theorie und Wissenschaft der Architektur* (www.theo.tu-cottbus.de/Wolke/eng/Bibliography/ExpoBibliography.htm). The bibliography can also be viewed as a pdf file with Adobe Acrobat Reader software on the web site of the Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and

University of California, Berkeley for a semester and to conduct research for his dissertation at the Special Collections Library at California State University, Fresno. With over 3,800 books and pamphlets, 2,200 postcards, sheet music, souvenirs and other items, plus more than 3,100 original photographs, the Larson Collection in the Henry Madden Library at CSU, Fresno is quite a unique resource for the study of international expositions, big and small, well-known and obscure. There, Alex got to know Tammy Lau, Head of the Special Collections Library, and Jean Coffey, her assistant, all brought together by a common interest in world's fairs. In particular,

Alex was most impressed with Jean's extensive knowledge of and dedication to the collection. During his extended research stay in Fresno, he became very well acquainted with this comprehensive collection and soon realized that it was probably the largest and most carefully organized collection on the subject anywhere. Indeed, noted exposition historian Robert W. Rydell recently called the collection "one of the best and most accessible world's fair collections in the world."

Having been active in the field for a couple of years, Alex knew only too well that research on the history of international exhibitions and world's fairs had burgeoned recently and that sources on the topic had proliferated enormously, thus making the search for pertinent materials ever more complex. But despite its enormous potential, the collection was, unfortunately, relatively unknown beyond a limited circle of exposition experts. Something had to be done about that. A comprehensive, scholarly bibliography seemed to be the perfect solution, both for the efficacy of the research community and the prominence of the collection. In addition, the bibliography would dovetail nicely with Alex's doctoral work on imperial expositions and urban space in fin-de-siècle London, Paris and Berlin.

Soon, plans were made and brought closer to fruition when Tammy stopped in Florence while vacationing in Italy. At that time, we agreed on two things. First, that the Internet was the perfect medium for the bibliography because of its worldwide accessibility and unparal-



Fairs, 1851-1940, Special Collections Library, California State University, Fresno (www.lib.csufresno.edu/SubjectResources/SpecialCollections/WorldFairs/Bibliographies.html). To our knowledge, this is the most comprehensive list on the topic, the result of an international collaboration between the European University Institute, California State University, Fresno and Brandenburgische TU, Cottbus. Incredibly, all the elements came together perfectly on this project: EUI Researcher Alexander Geppert offered his subject knowledge and personal contacts. Tammy Lau and Jean Coffey contributed information from the resources of the Special Collections Library. Technical assistance and a conceptual framework were provided by the editors of *Wolkenkuckucksheim*.

How did all this come about? It began back in the fall of 1998 when Alex arrived in California to study at the

leed currency. Second, that an established host site on the web (in addition to the web site of CSU, Fresno) was needed to provide technical infrastructure, and give the project both academic credibility and international exposure right from the start. Here, the Brandenburgische Technische Universität in Cottbus came into play. At a conference on world exhibitions and architecture held in Cottbus last summer, Alex met Professor Dr. Eduard Führ and Dr. Cornelia Jöchner, the editors of *Wolkenkuckucksheim*. Despite its whimsical (one might even say, “cloudy”) title, *Wolkenkuckucksheim* was, with its established framework, excellent design and academic reputation, precisely what we had been looking for. We submitted a proposal to the editors, who liked the idea and agreed to endorse the project. Once accepted, Heidrun Bastian provided the technical expertise and painstakingly encoded the entire bibliography in HTML, graciously making changes as they were suggested by us, with nary a complaint.

The actual process of merging bibliographic records from a number of databases and different sources turned out to be extremely labor-intensive, much more so than expected. Alex, Tammy and Jean joined forces and spent innumerable hours, sometimes late into the night, adding entries to the bibliography one-by-one, not to mention checking and re-checking the accuracy and form of each one. It took many e-mail messages back and forth and a few international phone calls, in addition to almost daily Internet chat sessions to devise a smooth system of teamwork and sort through all the myriad issues that such a project entails. Sometimes this resulted in comical miscommunication and pedantic squabbling over little details and personal preferences. Eventually, however, everything came together and “gelled.” The nine-hour time difference between Italy and California turned out to be an enormous advantage. While Tammy and Jean were asleep in Fresno, Alex was hard at work in Florence and by the time Alex was ready to leave the office, Tammy and Jean were just gearing up to begin their work. This was extremely expedient while working on one file, sending it back and forth as an electronic attachment repeatedly, seemingly endlessly. It is no coincidence that the bibliography went through 24 drafts before it was deemed “done.”

The end result of all this is: “International Exhibitions, Expositions Universelles and World’s Fairs, 1851-1951: A Bibliography.” In its current form, the bibliography includes over 100 different expositions held in more than twenty countries, from Jamaica to Japan. Out of necessity (for our collective sanity if for no other reason), the list was limited to scholarly secondary sources; primary sources had to be excluded. Nevertheless, it encompasses more than 50 pages and consists of almost 1,200 bibliographic entries, organized first by country and then by exposition in chronological order and finally alphabetically by author/title. Each entry is numbered for easy reference (this is to be credited to Alex’s German orderliness). The list starts with a detailed table of contents whose constituent parts are hyperlinked to

their pertinent sections, followed by research aids and general works and then the main body of the bibliography. The bibliography is strongest on exhibitions and fairs held in North America and Western Europe (e.g. for the Great Exhibition of 1851 alone there are 80 entries, and for the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, more than 150 entries) although it does include fairs held in other parts of the world. For the most part, only international fairs and expositions whose goals went beyond just commercial concerns and involved more than one country have been included. References for fairs before 1851 and after 1951 are sporadic at best and are not intended to be complete. Through the *Wolkenkuckucksheim* site, the bibliography can be read or downloaded. To print out the bibliography in its entirety, one can either download the file from the Cottbus site or use the version on the Fresno web site. However, in either version, word or phrase searching is possible. On the *Wolkenkuckucksheim* site, searching is section by section. On the Fresno site, it searches the entire document.

Reactions to the bibliography have been overwhelmingly positive, illustrating how much a resource such as this was needed. The bibliography has been so well received by the international scholarly community that it has engendered an electronic, virtual forum on world’s fair scholarship. After sending out announcements to more than a dozen history listservs, different electronic discussion lists with an audience of roughly 10,000 to 20,000 scholars worldwide, and approximately 100 e-mails and letters, almost fifty academics and professional colleagues from all over the world have contacted us with congratulations, comments and suggestions. What’s more, after only a few weeks of being online, the two sites together have already registered more than 1,000 hits.

Early on in the project, we decided that one of the bibliography’s strengths was the fact that it would be kept as up-to-date as possible, capitalizing on the worldwide accessibility and immediacy of web documents. True to that vision, we intend to update the bibliography several times a year and continue to enhance it to make it the best resource on world’s fair literature and scholarship, bar none. The next edition of the bibliography is already in the planning stages. As technology progresses, we hope to transform the entire list into a searchable database with descriptive keywords. In the meantime, we welcome any and all suggestions or comments. Please contact Alex at geppert@iue.it or Tammy at tammyl@csufresno.edu.

N.B. Different versions of this article will appear in upcoming issues of *Memoria e ricerca: Rivista di storia contemporanea* and the *Journal of the Association for History and Computing*. Special thanks to Serge Noiret and Brigitte Schwab.

ALEXANDER C.T. GEPPERT and TAMMY LAU

Narratives of the Servant

“The service of labour is (...) the source of all human, social and historical progress. History is the history of the working servant. And to see this, it suffices to consider the relation between the master and the servant (that is the first result of the ‘first’ human, social, historical contact) not from the point of view of the master, but from that of the servant.” In this interpretation of Hegel’s philosophy, Alexandre Kojève puts the dialectic of master and servant at the core of his anthropological reading of the philosopher: “the dialectic of master and servant represents the moment of differentiation between animal desire and human desire,” as Peter Burgess clarifies it.

Notwithstanding the central place given by Hegel’s commentator to the relationship between master and servant for the understanding of human history, the concrete field of servants and their masters was certainly not one of the classical topics of historiography until the rise of social history. However, in order to “consider the point of view of the servant”, a social-historical analysis about economic statistics and life circumstances of servants and servile labour comes to its own limits. By using other methodological tools - discourse analysis, psychoanalytic thought, the focus on the exploration of subjective experience - the voices of the servants themselves can be brought to light. This is done in the recently published EUI working paper entitled “Narratives of the Servant,” edited by Regina Schulte and Pothiti Hantzaroula.

This volume goes back to a workshop on this topic, organized by Regina Schulte in March 2000, which was enframed by a seminar on “Narratives on the Servant.” The book brings together a wide array of contributions on early modern and modern history using social statistics, tracts on the right behaviour of a servant, last wills, autobiographies, biographies, interviews, and films as sources for narrating the servants’ stories. In so doing, the approaches of both, social and cultural history, are applied at the same time, intrinsically intertwined by a perspective that focuses on the servants’ narratives shaped by relations of power. Once cultural and social history are no longer seen by mainly independently from each other, but rather as their necessary counterparts, historical research gains more analytical power.

Therefore, it is not by chance that in “Narratives on the Servant” the Hegelian anthropological view of the master-servant-dialectic, as presented in the contribution of J. Peter Burgess, finds its echo (and counter-echo) in the stories of the servants themselves: within the relationship between servants and their employers, very basic anthropological experiences about hierarchy, gender, distinctions made by race/ethnicity/nationality, body and sexuality as well as the complex relation between individual and collective experience can be grasped.

.....
Regina SCHULTE/Pothiti HANTZAROULA (eds)

Narratives of the Servant

EUI WORKing Paper HEC 2001/1 - 158 pp
.....

After the editorial, the first contribution to the volume is an article by Raffaella Sarti who analyses how the legend of a medieval saint, the Holy Zita of Lucca, was rewritten from the 16th century onwards in order to create a model for the female servant. As the centuries passed, the authors of Zita’s Life erased not only most

of the miracles of the saint but also the conflict in the medieval legend between Zita’s loyalty to her master and her obedience to the Lord in heaven (Zita distributed her master’s property - bread, a mantle - to poor people). In the 19th century the figure of Zita as the perfect model for every female servant - humble, loyal and with a deep and uncontested love for her labour - was totally reworked to provide the numerous institutes for women-servants with a name and a story. The statistics about female ser-

vants in Florence and Venice tell us why Zita’s Life gained such an importance in the 19th century: whereas the percentage of female servants had decreased between the 16th and the 18th centuries, the bourgeois society of the ottocento begun the feminization of domestic service.

Raffaella Sarti’s very important hint to the etymology of the Latin word familia, which originally meant “body of servants” (famulus - the servant), is also touched on by Giulia Calvi’s contribution on the relationship between servants and family members in Early Modern Tuscany. Calvi focuses on the shifting boundaries between weak family members that could be confused



with servants and servants viewed as part of the family. Affection and obligations towards kin were represented in terms of dependance, deference and hierarchy, i.e. the terminology of servitude and service. Sons and daughters lived like servants in the house of the pater familias in a condition of “passive personal servitude.” As far as the identity of a servant can be grasped, it is surprisingly little determined by the fact of working for a salary. The practices that marked the shifting boundaries between a servant and a young family member concerned rather the use of domestic space, communication, sociability, consumption and attire - belonging to an aristocratic world and not yet to the bourgeois economic ethic of work and salary.

The difference between service in the Ancien Régime and in the industrializing societies of the 19th and 20th centuries is strongly marked by the only philosophical chapter in this volume, the above-mentioned interpretation of Hegel’s master-servant-dialectic by Peter Burgess. Enlightenment political philosophy discussed the concepts of liberty, society, and the individual, and above all established a norm of recognition as a social and political norm that constituted the space between selves, the space of individuality and the collectivity as an assembly of individuals. Service was seen, first and foremost, as a contractual relation between master and servant, where the negotiation of a relationship of inequality through the contract re-established, by contrast with the Ancien Régime, the basic equality of the contract-holders. The emerging narrative of the servant, therefore, was “a child of the age of freedom.”

Within this context, Hegel conceptualized the relationship between master and servant on a very abstract level, thus turning it into a fundamental category in his dialectical understanding of human history in general. The dialectic between master and servant serves as a general narrative of recognition between individuals and social groups; it structures the relation between one entity and its other. In the Hegelian dialectic (thesis-antithesis-synthesis), the master-servant dialectic takes place whenever two self-conscious individuals meet each other and are forced to think of the other in terms of the other (antithesis), until the synthesis between the two positions gives the insight into the relation between two conscious individuals. The master, therefore, can only exist through another consciousness whose nature is “to be bound up with the world of things, the servant.” The servant mediates the world of things to his/her master. However, as the servant becomes more and more skilled, s/he gains power over his/her master and can finally surpass the superiority of his/her master: “through work, the servant becomes conscious of what s/he truly is.”

Furthermore, the fundamental Hegelian thought allows Peter Burgess to add another, tricky dimension to his argument by reflecting the role of the historians (i.e. the authors of this volume) when he speaks about the Hegelian idea of a narrative. The narrative through

which history is recounted itself belongs to history and to the dialectical process of the intertwined relationship of subjective and objective reality. The book *Narratives of the Servant* thus “implies the discovery of its own existence as a narrative of service”: the historians writing on the narratives of the servant themselves become servants of the narrative.

It has been already said that the period that followed the Hegelian reassessment of the relationship between master and servant was characterized by the feminization of domestic work. Within this process, we witness different mentalities between the majority of female servants and their male colleagues, as Maria Casalini shows in her research on domestic service in Florence. By analysing the phenomenon of the “typologie du vol domestique,” Maria Casalini shows that male servants used the stolen goods and money in order to build up a bourgeois existence by imitating the life style of their masters. In contrast to the manservants, maids who stole did not envisage another way of live but were content with small objects, often stolen in order to take revenge for injustice or offences by their mistresses. Since social promotion for women depended mostly on the husband’s position, it was more likely that male servants would try to overcome a very concrete “master-servant dialectic.” After all, we should not forget that the topic of uxorial obedience to the husband is one of the most strongest and widespread gender-inspired cases of a master-servant relationship.

However, Maria Casalini contests a too monolithic view of 19th-century servants, showing through a combination of quantitative and qualitative data the broad spectrum from the well qualified (and paid) domestics to the lowest layer, the *femmes de ménage*. The relationship between the bourgeois masters and mistresses and their servants was ambiguous: whereas official statements by the employers admit the life and working conditions of domestics (in general) are regrettable, they try to keep as much distance as possible from their servants. Servants should be seen as little as possible, they should not make noise and should, above all, avoid any bodily contact with their masters and mistresses.

This forced silence of female servants, its causes and consequences, is in the centre of the chapter by Pothiti Hantzaroula, who has recently conducted a series of interviews with domestic servants in Greece (1920-1945). While Pothiti Hantzaroula was looking for former servants for her interviews, some of them refused to be interviewed about their experiences, or felt uneasy about her knowledge of them having worked as servants. This silence can be interpreted as shame produced through the construction of domestic service as a stigmatized identity. This thesis is confirmed by statements from those interviewees who agreed to speak about their working experiences while refusing to mark them as domestic service by claiming: “I was not a servant. They did not treat me like a servant.” These selective memories reveal the impossibility of articulat-

ing a subjectivity which cannot be linked to a socially accepted discourse. The female servants, who often started service as children, experienced the symbolic markers placing them as a servant (like wearing an apron) as a stigma that marked their bodies, by contrast with family members, as items of exchange. We see how in the age of freedom, the formerly shifting boundaries between weak family members and servants became clearly marked. The social subordination became inscribed into the bodies of the servants, making them feeling inferior and producing shame. Bourdieu claims that the principles of these kinds of social divisions are located beyond the grasp of consciousness and cannot be made explicit. With the acknowledgment of shame in the memory of her interviewees, however, Pothiti

master and servant lived almost like a married couple. In this relationship, Albaret already had a decisive role in Proust's process of writing *A la recherche du temps perdu* when she baked a roast for him in order to inspire his memories by letting him smell the meat. When Proust was dead, Albaret took her master's role by telling his story, thus mastering the life of her dead master completely.

Finally, we come to a narrative on a servant which is no longer based on a concrete historical case. In the 1963 British film *The Servant*, director Joseph Losey tells the story of a young aristocrat who employs a manservant, which at that time, after the feminization of domestic work, proves to be a no longer appropriate way of del-



Hantzroula has shown the recognition and consciousness of the making of class in domestic service, thus escaping at least one of the hermeneutic circles between the narratives on the servants and the historians being the servants of the narratives: understanding the language of silence proves to be not only an indispensable instrument for research on servants' narratives, but an approach with a high analytical potential in general.

The next three contributions deal with individual cases of the master-servant dialectic. Karen Diehl analyses the very interesting case of a servant telling the story of her master's life: Céleste Albaret, who told about the life of her dead master, Marcel Proust, in a long series of interviews from which the interviewer produced a biography. This biography has also become the subject for a film. The narrative told by Céleste Albaret was thus edited by third persons. Under the official narrative chosen by Céleste Albaret and her editors - the devoted servant of a wonderful and faultless master - Karen Diehl presents other layers, by asking about the third person within and outside the master-servant relationship and the narratives about it. Especially in the film on this story, the master-servant relationship leaves no room for a third person. In this intimate *ménage à deux*,

negating housework. Andreas Marklund analyses the film and its contemporary critics in the 1960s context in Great Britain. In this film, the master, Tony, appears as lazy and without any occupation. Tony's whole aristocratic existence is represented as ridiculous and anachronistic, the concept of the manservant being at the centre of his old-fashioned life style. Tony's servant, Barret, is shown as a professional in complete control of his job and his habits who, in virtue of his power by mastering everything in the house, manages to take possession of his master's house, passions and life. In this story, the Hegelian dialectic between master and servant seems to be illustrated perfectly. When Barret takes over the power, this proves to be the very last consequence of the master-servant dialectic. However, one has to bear in mind that this overturn of power positions is done by a manservant in a time and a space where the idea of the manservant itself has already become obsolete. Barret could only manage this step because the narrative of service had been already brought to light. As the other articles in this volume show, such a reversal of roles becomes much more difficult when the master narrative on service is kept in silence and does not indicate where to raise the lever. Since the narrative of the servant has been shaped in radical form in the age

of freedom, history shows that it has become more likely for men than for women to use the Hegelian dynamics of the master-servant dialectic.

The exemplary way Joseph Losey told this story was interpreted in very different ways by contemporary critics. The film was understood as “a modern Faust, a manifesto against class society, a metaphor for sexual perversion or a critique of old-fashioned masculinity.” After the analysis by Andreas Marklund, historian and psychoanalyst Esther Fischer-Homberger adds another fascinating dimension by reading *The Servant* as a ghost story. She sees in Barret many aspects of the nanny. For male bourgeois men, their nanny was a central figure in their life, and supposedly one of the main elements in the matrix of their love lives. Barret appears in this interpretation as the ghost of the “bad mother” who nurtures her child, Tony, by keeping it in complete dependence on her.

John Losey’s film seems to suggest that the phenomenon of the domestic servant has become an obsolete leftover of the 19th and early 20th centuries, but the last contribution, by Karen Tranberg Hansen, shows that this is not the case. Her article opens up the horizon of this volume to non-European countries by analysing the colonial, postcolonial and transnational relationships in domestic service, with a special focus on Africa and Zambia. She summarizes the scholarly narratives on the servant which assumed in the 1970s that paid domestic service would almost disappear in industrialized society. In the 1980s, this view was reflected on and criticized by scholars who now discovered the continued reproduction of domestic service, using intersecting narratives on gender, class, race and ethnicity. In a third phase, sociologists and anthropologists paid attention to transnational dimensions of domestic work. In this context, Karen Tranberg Hansen has done research in an area, postcolonial Africa, where the high number of domestic servants is inversely proportional to the disinterest and the silence of scholars.

The employment relationship in domestic service in Zambia underwent a transformation from the racial construction in colonial white households towards a sex and class-based construction in black Zambian households after independence. Initially, Zambian women

employers, like their colonial white women predecessors, preferred male servants in order to avoid sexual relationships between their husbands and their servants. However, from the 1990s onwards, Zambian employers started to employ young girls as domestic servants because of the complaints of their adult male domestic workers. Karen Tranberg Hansen claims that in the context of economic decline in postcolonial Zambia, the positioning of domestic servants proved to be more unequal than the colonial era’s paternalistic, race-based practices.

Again, we see female servants more vulnerable and less able to overcome the inherent power relationship of the master-servant dialectic than their male colleagues. This is also the case in transnational domestic service, which is characterized by the migration of unskilled female workers from countries like the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam to private households in Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Middle East. Karen Tranberg Hansen asks for fresh research efforts on the variable labour forms she presented. She argues that domestic service being simultaneously both a public and very private matter might explain why it deters policy and scholarly attention where of potential policy and research agents own homes might also be involved. In this case, focusing not exclusively on domestic workers but also on their employers and the interrelationship between the two sides might be another way for scholars to undermine the role of being servants of the narrative. At the same time, Karen Tranberg Hansen argues for an interpretation that takes into account the restructuring of the global economy and the economic recession in third-world countries which led to transnational migration in the form of domestic service.

From the Holy Zita to the ghost of the bad mother - the appearances and narratives of servants that Regina Schulte and Pothiti Hantzaroula present in this volume take very different shapes, telling the human story of hierarchy, dependence and power in a complex intertwining between their stories and their storytellers themselves.

ALMUT HÖFERT

Corrigendum

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

The authors of this article published in *EUI Review* Winter 2000/01, p. 21 were PERNILLE ARENFELDT, MICHAEL KOHLRAUSCH and PHILIPP MÜLLER. We apologize for the omission.

Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung. Rom und Bologna unter Paul V

Ob und wie es dem Papst gelang, städtische Eliten mit Mitteln des Klientelismus untertan zu machen, ist die zentrale Frage dieser Studie. Bologna ist dabei ein interessantes Fallbeispiel: diese wirtschaftlich bedeutendste Stadt im Kirchenstaat versteht sich bis heute ungebrochen als „freie“ Stadt, die sich dem päpstlichen Absolutismus zu entziehen vermochte.

Zur Lösung dieser Frage untersucht die Autorin die Einbindung Bolognas in den Kirchenstaat erstmals mit Methoden der aus der Sozialanthropologie entlehnten Verflechtungsanalyse, die in eine mikropolitische Untersuchung kommunaler Institutionen eingebettet ist. Die Ergebnisse sind überraschend: die zentralistischen Eingriffe der Päpste setzten die Stadt so unter Druck, dass lokale Autonomie allenfalls als politischer Mythos kompensatorisch

überlebte. Dies blieb nicht ohne Folgen für die Klientelbeziehungen, welche die Spannung zwischen höfischem Druck, lokalem Traditionsbewusstsein und sozialer Dynamik abbilden.

Die Auswertung von Patenschaftsbeziehungen der städtischen Elite erlaubt eine innovative Anwendung der Verflechtungsanalyse auf empirisch breiter Basis. Diesem erweiterten Grundlagenmaterial sind neue Einsichten in Wesen und Funktion des Klientelismus zu verdanken. Klientelismus – bislang meist nur „von oben“ als Frage der Manipulierbarkeit von Klienten betrachtet – erscheinen hier deutlich als „von unten“, entlang der flexiblen Interessen und Strategien der Klienten geformte Beziehungen. Damit waren der politischen Dienstbarmachung des Klientelismus enge Grenzen gesetzt, wie sich im Kampf

zwischen Familieninteressen, kommunalen Bedürfnissen und fürstlichen Ansprüchen immer deutlicher zeigte.

Jenseits des lokalen Bezugsrahmens will die Arbeit durch vergleichende Ausblicke zu einem komplexeren Verständnis der sozialen Mechanismen beitragen, die politische Herrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit bedingen.

Nicole Reinhardt studierte in Heidelberg, Coimbra und Freiburg Geschichte und Romanistik und promovierte 1997 am Europäischen Hochschulinstitut. Seit 1999 ist sie Assistentin am Historischen Institut der Universität Rostock mit dem Schwerpunkt Europäische Geistesgeschichte, Historische Methodologie und Geschichte Süd- und Westeuropas.

Nicole Reinhardt, *Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung. Rom und Bologna unter Paul V. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik im Kirchenstaat*, Tübingen (bibliotheca academica Verlag) 2000, ISBN 3-928471-26-0, DM 98.-.

English Abstract:

The study of clientelism in early modern Bologna under the rule of Pope Paul V is rooted in two different historiographic traditions, often considered as incompatible. The first might be labelled the “modernisation theory”; it stressed the achievements of early modern absolutism in centralizing and modernizing the State. Second, historians interested in social history and especially in micro-history criticized this line of interpretation, pointing to the low range of such measures due to the longevity and efficiency of intermediate and local powers. Applying new anthropologically inspired methods, they drew attention to the question of how power was con-

structed on the local level. Their findings implied that pre-modern mechanisms of social interaction must be closely examined if we are to understand what really happened in the early modern period. Centralization and change may have been brought about not only by consciously modernizing government action but also by pre-modern social mechanisms such as networking.

Bologna presents a rather interesting case in point. It was the biggest and economically most important city in the Papal States, and boasted a strong tradition of local independence. While local historians have continuously stressed the well-established communal traditions and claimed they continued to be respected even under papal

rule, historians of the early modern Papal States have demonstrated that the popes began to centralize their temporal dominions from very early on and that they in many respects anticipated absolutist methods of government. Hardly any historical research, however, has been interested in solving this contradiction, and until very recently scholarship on early modern Bologna has been relatively scarce. This study tries to form a bridge between these conflicting views by looking into the social networks between Rome and the local elite. How did an electoral monarch like the Pope succeed in dominating the peripheral territories of the State? Did patronage and clientelism on the periphery create stability the way

continued on p. 34

Il governo delle opinioni.

Censura e formazione del consenso nella Toscana del Settecento

L'evoluzione della censura come spia di un diverso rapporto tra governo e sudditi e della nascita di un'opinione pubblica nell'Italia del Settecento: è attorno a questo tema di fondo che si articola la ricerca qui presentata. Per illustrare questa tesi, l'autore si serve del caso circoscritto ma rilevante del Granducato di Toscana, illustrando come le riforme del XVIII secolo abbiano determinato la dissoluzione del sistema censorio di tipo confessionale dell'età medicea. Con la nuova censura assolutistica - e in particolare con la prassi delle stampe clandestine favorite o tollerate dai censori laici - si

assiste, in un quadro di costanti conflitti e di compromessi con le autorità ecclesiastiche, al tentativo di formazione di un'"opinione illuminata" solidale con il potere politico, ma anche a un processo di rioccupazione di posizioni e di funzioni lasciate vacanti dal cedimento del sistema inquisitoriale. Attento ai percorsi individuali, il volume descrive le scelte di un vasto campionario di lettori e di censori, e non trascurava di esaminare il ruolo della massoneria nella nascita di un pubblico laico, nonché la persistenza, ancora nel Settecento inoltrato, di forme arcaiche di appropriazione del libro.

.....
Sandro Landi, *Il governo delle opinioni. Censura e formazione del consenso nella Toscana del Settecento*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2000, 384 pp, Lit 45.000
.....

Sandro Landi è dottore di ricerca in Storia dell'Istituto Universitario Europeo di Firenze. Maître de conférences presso l'Università Michel de Montaigne di Bordeaux, è inoltre ricercatore del Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la Pensée Politique Italienne (CERPPi) dell'Ecole Normale Supérieure di Lione e animatore della rivista *Laboratoire italien*.

continued from p. 33

it did in the political centre, as recent scholarship has suggested?

In order to understand the structure of client-patron relationships between Bologna and the papal court a detailed picture of the micro-political context in which they were embedded is offered. Two divergent possibilities have emerged in the light of these findings: either the success of the centralizing policy was achieved through and by networking, or networking remained the city's last resource to oppose papal policy. So as to place the clientele relationships into the wider horizon of possible personal strategies, the author discusses in detail the structure of godparenthood relationships within the Bolognese political elite. A highly complex picture of family aspirations, often contrasting local interests or papal intentions, emerges.

The clientele of papal families was mainly composed of social climbers as well as of families who faced a decrease in social and economic status. For both groups ecclesiastical careers presented an important opportunity to make a fortune and by doing so to secure a prestigious future for the rest of the family. The older Bolognese families and the traditional faction leaders, however, were not interested in those highly risky church careers. They are therefore hardly to be found amongst papal clients. Their long-established and unquestioned social standing in the local context made them look for patrons amongst the high nobility outside the ecclesiastical State. Another characteristic

of clientele relationships in Bologna is the importance of dual loyalties. Even ecclesiastically oriented families would try to secure their strategy by establishing contacts to noble families all over Italy and Europe. These contacts could also be made useful in the Roman context, where papal families and power distribution changed continually due to the monarchy's electoral character.

One main effect of papal clientelism was the neutralizing effect it had on clients at local level. On one hand papal clients were continuously excluded from local offices. On the other hand the popes would not use them directly for political purposes. Clientelism worked in an indirect way: papal clients were loyal to the Pope because he was the only one able to protect their privileges and economic interests. Accordingly, most Bolognese who held offices in Rome, granted to them as clients, were very unwilling to protect their native city's interests at court. This meant that public interests lacked effective lobbying in Rome and prevented the organization of a real Bolognese pressure group. This is another reason why papal centralizing measures could be applied so relatively smoothly.

However, even through clientelism the popes never succeeded in fully integrating the old local élites into the State. Consequently, they engaged in the creation of a new élite whose social fate made them identify with the State, but not necessarily with its rulers.

In Search of a European Political Economy

As is well known, in March, 1971 the European Council resolved to establish a European Economic and Monetary Union, to be fully established by 1980. The framework for the resolution was the "Werner Plan", an analysis and general set of proposals, the result of the work of an international group of economists and headed by the former Luxemburg prime minister, Pierre Werner. In the plan the EMU was conceived as an instrument for attaining full employment, economic growth and stability. The means to that end was a Keynesian and tripartite corporatist economic policy. The question of monetary policy was subordinate. The plan was elaborated in the spirit of a re-launch of the European project, more or less idle since de Gaulle's resignation in 1969. The Werner Plan was launched prior to the collapse of the Dollar and the emergence of mass unemployment in the 1970s.

Jump forward 15 years in time to the late 1980s and the political notion of EMU had remerged, yet now in a completely new clothing: the rhetoric of neo-liberal market ideals. The economic-political dimension was now, to a great extent, subordinated to questions of monetary policy. Economic politics were disconnected from the social and labor market politics, which had been the point of departure in the Werner Plan. Economic policy was transformed into a technical matter of fulfilling certain criteria in terms of budget deficits, state debts, and interest and inflation levels.

What happened in the intervening years between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s? Not only the dominant economic paradigms changed, but the entire political palette was transformed. The kind of language and reasoning used to justify economic policy shifted and the system of values that formed the basis of the project of European construction has been radically altered.

This 15-year transformation in political winds and economic paradigms has barely been mapped out. Little is known about the historical conditions, the central political players, and above all the ideas which guide and form the new political model of European Union embodied by the European Monetary Union in its neo-liberal incarnation.

The object of this research project From the Werner Plan to EMU has been to cast light on the transformations of this period. In what context was the idea of an economic and monetary union conceived during the late 1960s? What was the connection to the whole European idea of market integration in the wake of the Rome Treaty and in the framework of the Cold War? How can we understand the emphasis on full employment, economic growth and stability? What did the events in 1968 and the framework of the Cold War and the Viet-

nam War mean? How was the idea of EMU transformed in the framework of attempts to establish a Euro-corporatist tripartite order in the 1970s? What were the reasons for the Werner Plan's demise? When and how did the idea of an EMU re-emerge in the 1980s? What was the role of the Delors Commission? How were the criteria for the new Maastricht EMU negotiated? What kind of economic theory legitimized them? How can we understand the collapse of the European idea, in which the Werner Plan was embedded and its rebirth as economic technicality and rigidity of the EMU in the 1990s? What kind of social responsibility can be derived from the European idea and identity discourse?

The project is organized co-operatively by EUI/RSC and NIWL/SALTSA within the framework of the European Forum 1999-2001. SALTSA is a joint venture of the National Institute for Working Life and the Swedish Trade Unions with a European research program on changes in working life. The work began during the second half of 1999 with the first workshop: From the Werner Plan to the EMU: The Economic-Political Embedding of Labour Markets between Europe and the Nation in Historical View, 26-27 November. The project continued in 2000 with three workshops: Exploration in Economic Sociology: Economics, Institutions and Culture, Social Democracy and Economic Management: Can the Primacy of the Political be Regained?, Labour Market Norms in Transition

The work of the research project was organized around a principle of collective participation. The exploratory drafts of each of the contributions to the final volume were first presented in a preliminary seminar held at the Robert Schuman Centre in November 1999. Draft articles were circulated and discussed by all participants. Next, a weekly seminar was organized around a core group of researchers in the Spring and Autumn semesters in 2000. Each of the individual contributors was invited to the RSC for a period up to several weeks in order to participate in the seminar and at the same time develop his or her draft article in collaboration with the other participants. These second drafts were then integrated into the material for the weekly seminar series. On February 7-9, 2001 the entire group of collaborators met in San Domenico to review and revise each individual contribution in view of a collective volume edited by Lars Magnusson and Bo Stråth to be published by P.I.E.-Peter Lang, Brussels, in the series "Work and Society" edited by Philippe Pochet with the title *In Search of a European Political Economy: From the Werner Plan to EMU*. The volume opens with a comprehensive review of the theme of political economy in the post-war period by Lars Magnusson and Bo Stråth, "From the Werner Plan to the EMU: A European Political Economy in His-

continued on p. 36

The Meanings of Europe: Variety and Contention

The twentieth-century European civil wars entailed a soul-searching of the same magnitude as the religious wars of 300 years previously. The idea of a united Europe gained currency after the excessive invocations of 'the nation' in the First World War, both in a Central European form such as the Paneuropa movement founded by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi in 1923, and, with a French and Western focus, in the proposal by Aristide Briand in 1929 for a United States of Europe within the framework of the League of Nations. These ideas reflected self-contempt and humiliation in the wake of the Great War, and were connected to hopes of a lasting pacifist peace. As confidence in Europe gradually returned, however, the image of a declining West was soon transformed into a renaissance of the idea of European grandezza. The pacifist peace was transformed into an armed peace, and there was tension between various inter-war projections of Europe. In the 1930s, the Nazis and the fascists appropriated the idea of a unified Europe, while for the resistance movement during the Second World War, the European idea took the form of a dream projected onto an uncertain future, a myth of exile. (L. Passerini, *Identità culturale europea. Idee, sentimenti, relazioni* 1998; W. Lipgens (ed.) *Documents on the History of European Integration* 1985). After the Second World War, as after the first one, the dream of a pacifist Europe resurfaced, only to be absorbed by the rhetoric of armed peace under the exigencies of the Cold War. This was the palpable framework in which the European idea took concrete political form in the 1950s.

continued from p. 35

torical Perspective". This general contextualization is followed by a division designed to explore the historical background for the analysis of political economy in Europe today. It comprises contributions by Hubert Zimmermann, "The Fall of Bretton Woods and the first attempt at creating a European Monetary Union", Amy Verdun, "The political economy of the Werner Plan and the Delors Report: Continuity amidst change or change amidst continuity?", David Purdy, "Economic theory and policy from the Keynesian revolution to the 'Third Way'", J. Peter Burgess & Bo Stråth, "Money and political economy: From the Werner Plan to the Delors Report and beyond", and Jan Ottosson & Lars Magnusson, "The EMU compromise—from the Delors Committee to Maastricht".

This historical perspective is followed by a set of systematic considerations on "Financial Institutions and Economic Theory" with contributions by Sheila C Dow, "The ECB, banking, monetary policy and unemployment", Roger Hammersland, "We are arrogant because we are good. A critical appraisal of central banking ver-

The conclusion of this outline is clear: Europe must be spelled out in the plural. There are many images of Europe in terms of content and form. The meanings of Europe vary widely, in a *Spannungsfeld* of polytheist, monotheist and atheist value production. There are diachronic differences as well as synchronic differences within Europe at any given moment. With a focus on the two most recent centuries of European history, however, all of Europe seems united by one main dynamic: that of nation-state formation. The process of modernization and democratization has been, and is still to a large extent, intimately linked with the nation State. The *longue durée* of European history is one of pluralism and contradictions, but when we move up to the contemporary era this manifold heritage is overshadowed by the rather uniform ideal of one nation, one State, and during the last fifty years, a building of a new European community or union. One can even argue that the story of the formation of the modern State is in great part the story of the formation of Europe, and vice versa.

The aim of the book *Meanings of Europe. Variety and Contention within and among Nations*, edited by Mikael af Malmborg and Bo Stråth, to be published by Berg Publishers, Oxford at the end of 2001, is to shed light on the role of the idea of Europe in nation-building processes. The book is the product of research within the project The Cultural Construction of Community in Modernization Processes in Comparison, organized by EU/ RSCAS and the Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, and financed between 1996 and 2000 by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. The framework of the re-

sus fiscal policy in accomplishing the community wide convergence of the 1980s and 1990s" and Ole Bjørn Røste, "Labour markets and the EMU: the cases of Norway and Sweden". Thereafter follows a division on "Social Practices and Legal Framework" follows, including contributions by Barbara MacLennan, "Finance, gender and structural change in the European Union", Ulrike Liebert, "Constructing the single currency: Euro-skepticism and the symbolic politics of monetary integration" and Diamond Ashiagbor, "EMU and the shift from a 'social policy' agenda to an 'employment policy' agenda in European labour law". The volume concludes with a division on "future prospects" including chapters by Ton Notermans, "The Werner Plan as a blueprint for EMU?", Jos De Beus, "Are third way social democrats friends or enemies of European integration? A Tocquevillian tale on the politics of administration", David Purdy, "Welfare reform, social citizenship and European integration", "and Robert Salais, "Filling the gap between macroeconomic policy and situated approaches to employment. A hidden agenda for Europe?"

J. PETER BURGESS

search is also the European Forum 1999-2001 and the RSCAS programme on European identity. The Swedish Council for Research in Humanities and Social Sciences has also contributed to the realization of the book, which addresses the main question through chapters on Greece, Italy, Spain, Britain, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Poland, Czechia, Germany and France. The issue of Europe is addressed from its various national environments. The book undertakes an exploration of the meaning of 'Europe' in the construction of modern national communities. The term 'Europe' has been – and is – full of political content in each national setting. The conceptualization of Europe varies and is contested within as much as among nations.

The book sheds light on the long-term shifts in the meanings of Europe. The long term means basically the period since the Enlightenment. The focus is not on the idea of European unity *per se*, but on the wider meanings of Europe as a concept in various national settings. How have perceptions of Europe participated in national discourses? To what extent have Europe and the nation reinforced or contradicted one another? These and similar questions have a temporal dimension, meaning that the answer changes over time depending on various contexts: Europe means variety. They have also a contentious bearing, in the sense that the discourses on Europe are debate and conflict, where Europe was and is used as a political mobilizing instrument. In this role the meanings of Europe have varied between utopia and dystopia. Europe, in the view of the book, is not something that can be unambiguously defined, but should be seen as a discourse and an ideological/political programme, which has been mobilized and invoked, in particular in the *Spannungsfeld* between Enlightenment ideas and religion. In this semantic field, Europe takes on the proportions of an unattainable ideal of unity and community. It has been unattainable and utopian in the sense that the perfect situation of social unity is beyond human and social conditions. And, at the same time, the belief that the perfect society is achievable constitutes the core of the whole idea of modernity. 'European' has been a powerful symbol in the quest for improvement ever since it took over the role of unifier from Christianity. This belief and the continuous striving for a better world has produced social energy and dynamics, but also resulted in the contradictions of modernity and of Enlightenment, as we have learnt from Zygmunt Bauman (Kaye/Stråth, *Enlightenment and Genocide*, 2000).

These processes are more than a history of ideas. They become political, and produce institutional benchmarks on the social organization, when utopia is 'downloaded' and transformed into politics. It is precisely this downloading and the implementation of the idea of Europe, and the connections between the various ideas of Europe and the nation, that is addressed throughout the book. The various chapters demonstrate the complexity and the contradictions in the concept of Europe by historicizing and situating it. At the same time they throw new light on national narratives. Through this demon-

stration of complexity and contradictions, possibilities are discerned and warnings are expressed for risks in the concept of Europe. This is what the book is about, not history *per se*, but as an instrument to interpret the present. The book wants to add to a cultural-historical understanding of Europe, of Europhile and Europhobe opinions. The focus is not on the European integration process but on European patterns of variety and contention in views on Europe. 'Europe' is, in other words, basically a discourse and an ideological programme, not only in the form of an unattainable ideal of unity but also as a carrier of certain values in national public life. In national political debates 'Europe' often enters as a dimension of national identity rather than a project of unification. Rather than 'How shall Europe be united?' the question dwelt on in public debate have been: 'How European is our nation?' 'How shall we relate ourselves to 'Europe'? 'To what extent should we be European, something else or simply "ourselves"?' At the same time it is clear that there are feed-back effects in these processes. When European institutions and politics emerge, they transform the images of Europe. Since the 1950s, there has been, in this sense, a Europeanization of the nations, a Europeanization which during the Cold War meant images of a West European community of destiny, but which has, since 1989, become much more open. Open means that the images of Europe have lost orientation and confidence.

The book tries to grasp the *longue durée* of the relationship between nation and 'Europe', but the time-span is not the same for all cases and cannot be limited to an absolute chronology, such as the post-war era, the twentieth century, or history since the French Revolution. 'Europe' was a dimension of national identity construction long before the emergence of the EU, but its significance has differed widely. In some cases it has been perceived as an integral part of national identity, in others it represents a challenge or even a threat to the nation. Sometimes 'Europe' is at the core of the nation-building project, sometimes it competes with alternative Atlantic, Mediterranean, Slavic or Nordic macro-regional identities. The tension between Europeaness and a 'true self' may be most accentuated on the periphery of Europe. The Slavophile versus Westernizing trends that run as a recurrent theme through Russian history offer an extreme example, but by no means without counterpart in other countries. Furthermore, the preferred definition of Europe also tends to vary with national viewpoint. Whether 'Europe' is defined as big or small, on cultural, geographical or political criteria, depends much on national vantage-point. Furthermore, the images of Europe are not given once and for all, but are transformed in confrontation with contemporary events. History must be understood as mental experience, and will always stand in a living relationship with the contemporary. Historical events should not be divorced from one another or from the present. Every true history is therefore contemporary history, as Benedetto Croce argued.

BO STRÅTH

Just launched

A Gender Studies Programme: Update

The newly established Gender Studies Programme at the Robert Schuman Centre has been very active in the last months in hosting seminars and planning a forthcoming conference and Summer School. At present our activities are organised around the following themes: Gender Studies – The State of the Art; Boundaries in Europe; and an Open series for seminar presentations, as well as an annual lecture. Below we report on some of the key events of this academic year.

Series: Gender Studies – The State of the Art

This series is envisaged as a space for reflection on the current state of gender studies in its various forms across Europe. The first event in the series was a view from the UK where the institutionalisation of gender studies programmes has been highly developed. The second event in the series – see conference details below – broadens this view with a consideration of institutional arrangements, relationships and practices across Europe.

1 December 2000: Inauguration of series - ‘A Dialogue on Gender Studies’

Terry Lovell, (founding) Director of the Centre for the Study of Women and Gender and Professor of Sociology, Warwick University, UK, and Juliet Mitchell, Professor of Psychoanalysis and Gender Studies and Fellow of Jesus College, University of Cambridge, UK.

At this meeting, which was very well attended by EUI researchers and a number of academics from Florence, both Professors Terry Lovell and Juliet Mitchell spoke about their experience of setting up gender programmes in their respective universities, a process characterised by “permanent negotiation”. They considered the variety of possible institutional arrangements which may promote or inhibit collaboration across disciplines, and discussed different approaches to the study of gender also tied to institutional arrangements. These are very relevant questions for the newly established Gender Studies Programme at the Institute, and they have productively informed our reflection on the place of gender studies at the EUI.

2 April 2001: Conference: Gender Studies in Europe

Organised in collaboration with Dipartimento di Filologia Moderna, Università di Firenze and ATHENA (EU-funded Socrates Thematic Network Project for Women’s Studies in Europe).

This conference takes place at a time when two of the collaborating institutions – the EUI and the University of Florence – are seeking to develop programmes on the study of gender, and in complementary ways. Its focus will be at three levels. A European dimension to the development and organisation of gender studies will be covered in the first presentations of the morning, to be given by Professor Gabriele Griffin, Kingston University, UK, and Rosi Braidotti, ATHENA Scientific Director. Secondly, for the national/regional we will give most attention to Italy, and to Scandinavia, as a contrasting case: here our speakers include Bente Rosenbeck, Professor of Women’s Studies, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, Francesca Cantù, Coordinatore della Commissione MURST “Donne e Scienza”, and Anna Scattigno, Società Italiana delle Storiche, Italy.

Having established this vision, with its contradictions and similarities exposed, we will then move to the widest possible discussion – our third level. The two panels of the afternoon roundtables include participants of different ages, experiences and countries. They present topics which we believe are of central importance for gender studies today. Gender relationships face the question of transmission and communication between interlocutors located in uneven positions: the location induced by age and generation is a major difference, as well as that induced by roles such as learner and teacher; we would like to do the most possible in order to make this exchange ‘two-way traffic’, as our first topic in the first panel recites. Secondly, the process of women’s emancipation as well as changes in labour market and work organisation have produced new careers - gendered in new ways - with new problems of qualification and profession. In this context we discuss the specific trajectories of those with qualifications in women’s/gender studies. And thirdly, the cybernetic/informatic revolution has generated great possibilities and great problems, deeply affecting gender relationships, which in this panel are mainly understood as women to women.

The second panel presents the question of intercultural exchanges, i.e. the theoretical understanding of gender relationships, including relationships between women and men as well as between femininity and masculinity at various levels, and the institution of men’s studies; as well as the interlink between gender and other categories, such as ethnicity and race. We are particularly interested in the specifically pedagogic dimension of these questions, both in terms of methods and of teaching tools (books, multimedia, etc), on the basis of re-

cent experiences. And finally the panel poses the question of which have been, are and can in the future be the spaces, both physical and metaphorical, for enacting the ideas and aims emerging from these discussions.

The Ursula Hirschmann Annual Lecture
9 May 2001: Inaugural lecture

The Gender Studies Programme has created a series of lectures on the specific connection between “gender” and “Europe”, named after the Europeanist Ursula Hirschmann, who in 1975 in Bruxelles formed the group “Femmes pour l’Europe”. She was Albert Hirschman’s sister (as Albert says, he lost an n going to the States, where he now lives in Princeton) and she married subsequently two anti-Fascists and Europeanists, Eugenio Colomi and Altiero Spinelli, having six children from her two marriages. She had an important role in the creation and the diffusion of the Ventotene Manifesto in 1941. Ursula Hirschmann was born in Berlin in 1913, in a Jewish family, and migrated with Albert, when the Nazis took power in Germany, first to France and then to Italy. Some of her autobiographical writings have been published with the title “Noi senza patria” by il Mulino, Bologna, 1993.

The Ursula Hirschmann Lectures will be characterised by excellency, being given by well known European scholars. The lectures will be annual, each of them taking place sometimes in the late Spring/early Summer. The 2001 lecture will be given by Professor Rosi Braidotti, Director of the Netherlands Research School of Women’s Studies at Utrecht University, and currently a JMF at the EUI. It will be published as an RSC Working Paper in the Autumn of 2001. The intention is to foster a new line of scholarship which would promote and develop an understanding of gender linked with European issues as well as an idea of Europe including differences, amongst which gender.

Boundaries in Europe

18-22 June 2001: Summer school - Women and Gender Relations in Europe: The Southern and Eastern Boundaries

The Gender Studies Programme is organising its first Summer School, directed by Professor Eleni Varikas, Department of Political Science, Université Paris VIII. The Summer School is primarily aimed at PhD students, or recent PhDs, and its main purpose is to expose the participants to current gender scholarship relevant to the broad themes on which it is based and through multi-disciplinary perspectives.

The Summer School will focus on “the Southern and Eastern boundaries” of Europe, including “the sore points” of defining a European identity today and establishing good relationships between the various cultures which originated in and outside Europe. More specifically, the various ways in which gender relations shape and are shaped by the process of European inte-

gration and the building of new forms of European identity are to be examined in the light of questions related to the Southern and Eastern boundaries of Europe. These issues provide insights not only into the problematic aspects and the potentialities of the ongoing process of the European integration but also into the gender dynamics informing this process. It is hoped



Ursula Hirschmann

that this approach can contribute to the development of an understanding of Europeanness based on multi-culturalism and democracy. Moreover, through bringing together international participants with diverse academic backgrounds and from different geographical areas, and EUI researchers who currently work on gender issues, the Summer School will provide a fruitful framework for academic dialogue and exchange.

For further details of our programme and seminars in the Open series, please consult the website at <http://www.iue.it/RSC/Gender/> – or contact dawn.lyon@iue.it.

LUISA PASSERINI, Director, Gender Studies Programme
DAWN LYON, Coordinator, Gender Studies Programme
ISABELA CORDUNEANU, Coordinator, Summer School