

Review

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

At a moment when discussions on European enlargement have greatly increased interest in European affairs, the revamping of the CESAA Review seems particularly appropriate. Indeed, the December edition heralds a new direction for the Review, one which is complemented by the recently launched website (www.cesaa.org.au).

The CESAA Review is an important interdisciplinary forum for general discussion on contemporary European studies. While most of CESAA's membership has been traditionally drawn from Departments of Political Studies, at present it has over 100 members from a wide range of disciplines, ranging from Economics to Literature. Once the current survey on teaching and research in European Studies in Australia has been completed, and the Register published, we will have access to an even wider range of disciplines. For those of you who may not yet have received the questionnaire, it is available from the website, and we would strongly encourage you to complete as much of the questionnaire as you feel applies to your areas of interest. The deadline for submission of the questionnaire had been extended to 15 January 2004.

Last year, 2003, was a busy and exciting year for CESAA. Building on the close working relationship CESAA has with the Contemporary Europe Research Centre (CERC), the National Europe Centre (NEC) and the European Commission Delegation in Canberra, CESAA co-sponsored and organised a number of seminars, a major international conference, as well as an international symposium and workshop. Each of these initiatives is described in more detail in the President's Letter.

We believe that this is a good moment in which to develop the broader comparative approaches and multidisciplinary perspectives that are increasingly shaping the study of modern Europe's political, economic, cultural and social experiences. Political scientists, economists, sociologists, cultural historians, specialists in literature, the arts and the media have all made valuable contributions to our understanding of the changes that have occurred in Europe over the last few decades. The CESAA Review aims to encourage interdisciplinary approaches and debates on European trends, events and developments. From time to time, we will devote special issues to particular themes and topics, and would like to invite suggestions either for topics or Guest Editors from all CESAA members.

We would like to take this opportunity to renew our invitation to submit papers for the next edition. Deadline for submission is 28 February 2004. The CESAA Review styleguide can be found at the end of this publication. Also please send books for review, information about upcoming conferences and workshops to kehussey@unimelb.edu.au

We thank you for your on-going support of, and participation in, CESAA, and wish you all the best for the coming year!

The Editors

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

2003 was a very exciting and active year for CESAA, characterized by seminars, a major international conference, international symposium and a workshop, as well as the new Register survey and CESAA website.

CESAA INITIATIVES

REGISTER OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH ON EUROPE, 2004

The first Register of European Studies of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA) was compiled and edited in 1993 by Craig Lonsdale, Lilian Topic, and Philomena Murray and the second in 1998, compiled and edited by Philomena Murray and Timothy Szlachetko. Since then, there have been considerable advances in European Studies in Australia. More universities are now teaching a variety of subjects under the rubric of European Studies than in the 1990s. It is for that reason that the time seemed right to produce a new Register, with updated information which will also be available on-line.

The Register will bring together, in one volume, a reference guide to European Studies courses which are being taught in Australian universities. In addition to the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia, the Register is supported by the Australian Universities Europe Network and the Delegation of the European Commission to Australia. The Register is also which was partly funded by a European Commission Jean Monnet grant to CESAA. The term Europe is deliberately broad, as it might include the European Union and its applicant states as well as comparative or transnational studies on Europe.

The purpose of the register is to:

- inform interested colleagues about teaching and research activities that focus on Europe and/or the European Union
- establish a database that will facilitate networking opportunities for Europeanists throughout Australia

You are urged to complete the Register questionnaire, which is in this CESAA Review and, if it is appropriate, we would like you to pass it on to colleagues.

Please note the deadline for return of your completed questionnaire is 15 January 2004. Completed questionnaires can be returned by mail or email to:

Dr. Rita Wilson, School of Languages, Room 610, Level 6, Arts Centre, University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010. Email: r.wilson@unimelb.edu.au

or to Ms Dora Horvath, Contemporary Europe Research Centre, University of Melbourne, 234 Queensberry St., Carlton, Victoria 3053.

Email: dhorvath@unimelb.edu.au,

CESAA WEBSITE

CESAA's new Website is now fully operational. The new address is http://www.cesaa.org.au. We are very grateful to Karen Hussey and Megan McDonald of Solutions Indata for their excellent work on this website, which was partly funded by a Jean Monnet grant to CESAA.

PAST EVENTS

'Larger Europe, New Europe'. This CESAA-sponsored International Symposium on 10 October 2003 looked at the key aspects of the Eastward Enlargement of the European Union. Academics and government officials from Europe and Australia presented papers and provided analyses addressing the following questions. How will the accession states fit into the EU and what issues will they bring with them? How do EU institutions propose to deal politically and economically with the enlarged membership? What are the prospects for economic growth in the enlarged EU? Will some countries do better than others? What are the implications for a larger Europe on the world economy and global politics? What is the perspective of the Australian government regarding these changes? What effect might we expect these changes to have on Australia's trade and investment ties to the new, enlarged EU?

Speakers included:

- Ms Margaret Adamson (DFAT), 'EU Enlargement: The Implications for Australia'
- Dr Adam Czarnota (Law Faculty, UNSW), 'Post-communist Rule of Law in a Post-democratic European Union. A Sceptical Lawyer's Reflections on Eastern Enlargement and the Draft of the Constitutional Treaty'
- Mr Leith Doody (Austrade), 'Strategies for Capturing Trade and Investment Opportunities in the New Europe'
- Professor Bronislaw Geremek (Historian, Dissident, former Minister of Foreign affairs in Poland), 'From Yalta to Brussels: The Westernisation of Central and Eastern Europe'
- Professor Finn Laursen (Director, Centre for European Studies, University of Southern Denmark), 'Regional Integration Schemes: International Regimes or Would-Be Polities?'
- His Excellency Mr Pierrgirgio Mazzocchi (Ambassador, European Commission Delegation to Australia and New Zealand), 'Internal and International Aspects of the EU Enlargement, and the Implications for Australia'
- Dr Philomena Murray (Director, CERC, Jean Monnet Chair, the University of Melbourne), 'What did the EU Ever Do for Us? Reflections on Why the EU is Considered a Model of Regional Integration'
- Professor Jan Pakulski (Sociology, University of Tasmania), 'Opponents of European Integration: The Case of Poland'

• A/Professor Peter Shearman (Political Science/CERC, the University of Melbourne), 'A Part of Europe, or Apart from Europe? The UK under Blair'

The symposium was organized by the Contemporary Europe Research Center (CERC) at the University of Melbourne in conjunction with the European Commission Delegation to Australia and New Zealand, the Australian Institute of Polish Affairs, The European Commission Jean Monnet Fund and CESAA. The symposium was also partly funded by a European Commission Jean Monnet grant to CESAA.

'Australia & the European Union: Partners or Adversaries?' This CESAA-sponsored initiative arose from a desire to produce a publication on this important issue. The Workshop on 5 November 2003 highlighted, discussed and analyzed current tensions between complementary and divergent approaches in a wide range of policy areas, including agriculture, trade liberalization, the environment and foreign policy. It aimed to seek to clarify misunderstandings and common interests, and addressed issues which are likely to emerge in the future.

Key speakers included:

- Dr Linda Botterill (Postdoctoral Fellow, National Europe Centre), 'From Conflict to Convergence? The Common Agricultural Policy in the Australia/EU Relationship'
- Annmarie Elijah (Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne), 'The Historical Context of the Changing Relationship with the UK'
- Dr Richard Grant (Research Fellow, National Europe Centre), 'Challenges for Global Environmental Diplomacy in Australia and the EU'
- Dr James Jupp (Director, Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, ANU), 'Immigration, Asylum and Extremist Politics in Europe'
- Donald Kenyon (AM, former Australian Ambassador to the EU, Brussels and Luxembourg, DFAT) and Dr John Kunkel (Trade Consultant and former adviser to Trade Ministers Tim Fischer and Mark Vaile), 'Multilateral Trade Issues'
- Mr. Michael Longo (Faculty of Law, Victoria University), 'The European Union's Constitutional Development: Global and Australian Implications'
- Dr Philomena Murray (Director, Contemporary Europe Research Centre President of CESAA), 'Coming Full Circle? Australia's Rediscovery of Europe'
- Professor Greg Tegart (AM FTSE FIEAust, Former Secretary, Australian Science and Technology Council), 'A Case Study of a Success Story: Science and Technology Cooperation between the EU and Australia'
- John Tinney (Former General Manager of Austrades European Operations), 'Australia-EU Business: An Expanding Relationship between Unequal Partners'

The workshop was organized by Contemporary Europe Research Center (CERC) at the University of Melbourne, CESAA and the National Europe Centre (NEC) at the Australian National University. The workshop was also which was partly funded by a European Commission Jean Monnet grant to CESAA.

'Corruption, Organized Crime and Terrorism: Europe and Australia Compared' The CESAA-sponsored International Conference on 6-7 November 2003 addressed the

connections between corruption, organized crime and terrorism, with particular reference to Europe and Australia.

Speakers included:

- Professor Frank Bovenkerk (University of Untrecht), 'Terrorism and Organized Crime: Converging Phenomena'
- Prof. Tony Coady (The University of Melbourne), 'What is Terrorism? And Why Does the Answer Matter?'
- Dr Adan Czarnota (UNSW), 'Post-communist 'Law-governed'' State and Corruption'
- Dr Remy Davison (University of Tasmania), 'European Organisations' Fight against Money-laundering and Terrorism'
- Prof. Dr. Petrus Van Duyne (Universiteit van Tilburg, Netherlands), 'Organising Crime, Finances and the Upperworld'
- Dr ?George Gilligan (Monash University), 'Australian Initiatives against Corruption'
- Professor Leslie Holmes (The University of Melbourne), 'The Corruption-Organised Crime Nexus in Central and Eastern Europe'
- Dr Peter Lentini (Monash University), 'Cultural Citizenship, Civic pre-emption and Counter-terrorism: Comparing European and Australian Experiences'
- Dr Veronique Pujas (University of Grenoble, France), 'Corruption, Organised Crime and Terrorism: Europe and Globalised Politics Compared'
- A/Professor Peter Shearman (the University of Melbourne), 'Tony Blair and the War on Terror'
- Dr Yuri Tsyganov (the University of Melbourne), 'Russian Clans and Corruption'
- Mr Clive Williams (ANU), 'The Evolution of Terrorism'
- Dr David Wright-Neville (Monash University), 'Australia as a Regional Sheriff in the War on Terror'

The conference was organized by the Contemporary Europe Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Melbourne, CESAA and the National Europe Centre (NEC) at the Australian National University, the Global Terrorism Research Unit at Monash University and the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Canberra.

CESAA SEMINAR SERIES

- 27 November 2003: 'The German Reunification Process Insights for European Integration' by Prof. Margit Enke and Dr. Anja Geigenmueller (Faculty of Economics and Business, TU Bergakademie, Freiberg).
- 18 November 2003: 'Russia and the International Criminal Court' by Dr. Roderic Pitty (International Studies, Deakin University).
- 11 November 2003: 'Black British, Female & 'European'?! Challenging the notions of identity, gender and the nation-state' by Dr Millsom Henry-Waring (Sociology Programme, The University of Melbourne).

- 14 October 2003: 'The Convention's Draft Constitution: Towards a more federal EU?' by Prof Finn Laursen (Director, Centre for European Studies, University of Southern Denmark).
- 2 October 2003: **'Farm Lobby Groups in the EU and Australia: A comparison'** by Dr Linda Botterill (National Europe Centre ANU).
- 26 August 2003: 'Why EU Policy Harmonisation Undermines Refugee Burden-Sharing' by Prof Eiko Theilemann (London School of Economics).
- 12 August 2003: 'The Death of the West? The Transatlantic Alliance in an Age of American Ascendancy' by Professor Michael Cox (London School of Economics).

AUSTRALIAN UNIVERSITIES EUROPE NETWORK (AUEN)

Since the establishment in February 2003 of the Australian Universities Europe Network (AUEN) there have been some developments. AUEN awarded a number of scholarships for postgraduate fieldwork research in contemporary European issues as well as two postdoctoral grants.

Postgraduate Grants were awarded to:

Kate Gleeson (UNSW) - 'The Changing Terrain of Sexual Offences'. Ms Gleeson would like to use manuscripts held in England to complement her research for her doctoral thesis. In particular, she would like to gain access to manuscripts held in England (Cambridge University, Temple Inn Library, Grey's Inn Library, Colindale Repository and the Public Records Office), the International Criminal Court in The Hague and the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. She will also conduct interviews with academics in Europe.

Andrea Humphreys (University of Queensland) - 'The Foreign Policy of the German Greens'. Ms Humphreys would like to conduct research in the Archiv Grünes Gedächtnis (the Green Party Archives) in Berlin to help with this doctoral thesis.

Karen Hussey (the University of Melbourne) – Ms Hussey will conduct interviews with key policy making individuals, academics and diplomats in Brussels to help with her doctoral thesis on 'Global Environmental Governance: Contemporary Challenges for the EU-Australia Relationship'. Ms Hussey will also conduct research and interviews in the in Geneva with policy specialists in the World Trade Organisation.

Bruno Mascitelli (Swinburne University / the University of Melbourne) - 'The Role of External Factors on the Italian Political Crisis 1992-1994'. Mr Mascitelli will access archival material in Italy to help with this doctoral thesis.

Natalie Mast (UWA) - Ms Mast would like to conduct research in Brussels and Luxembourg to help with her doctoral thesis on 'Party Group Cohesion within the European Parliament'. In Brussels she will conduct interviews to explore the impact of

recent changes in the structure of the European Parliament. In Luxembourg she will be conducting interviews with MEPs during the Strasbourg plenary sessions. Here she will work on 'Party Group Cohesion within the European Parliament'. She will also present two conference papers. The first will be at the University Association of Contemporary European Studies (UACES) 33rd Annual Conference and 8th Research Conference, 'The EU: The First Ten Years, The Next Ten Years'. Her paper is titled 'Try, Try Again...Attempted Internal Reform within the European Parliament'. The second conference paper will be presented at the 'Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Annual Conference 2003. Here she will present a paper titled: 'Reconsidering Roll Call Analysis in the European Parliament: The Impact of the Observational Roll Call Vote'.

Eliza Wu (UNSW) would like to travel to Europe to conduct research for her doctoral thesis on financial market integration within Europe and the impacts on other major global financial centres. In Europe, Ms Wu plans to conduct interviews with leading European academics working on market integration in Europe. She will also benefit by studying at a leading European University and working with leading academics in the field, helping her to gain an insider's view of the impact that the formation of the European Union and the introduction of the Euro have had on Europe and its financial markets.

Postdoctoral Grants were awarded to:

Dr Linda Botterill (ANU) - 'A Case Study of Enduring Conflict: The Common Agricultural Policy and Agricultural Protectionism'. Dr Botterill will conduct interviews with consumer representatives and members of the Committee of Professional Agricultural Organisations and the Directorate-General for Agriculture in Brussels and the Environment and Rural Affairs and the National Farmers' Union in London. She will also consult with senior academics in Europe.

Dr Bennett Macdonald (ANU) is working on a major research project titled 'The Cycling and Linkages of Sulfur, Iron and Nitrogen in Acid Sulfate Soils'. In Europe, Dr Macdonald plans to undertake some collaborative research with Professor Mats Åström at Åbo Akademi University, Finland on 'Heavy metal transport from acid sulfate soils: Finland and Australia', which will constitute a major part of this project.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EUROPE CENTRE

AUEN representatives were requested by the European Commission Delegation to elect an external representative to the Board of Management of the National Europe Centre (NEC). I was elected to this position and I attended a meeting of the Board of Management in July. Among the items discussed was the need for specialists on Europe to be informed well in advance of visitors to the NEC. It is important that members of the European studies community should be able to tap into this resource and to plan their events accordingly.

AUEN AND THE REGISTER OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH ON EUROPE, 2004

My proposal that AUEN work with CESAA and complement the already active programme of CESAA was well-received at the AUEN meeting in February. I proposed that AUEN financially support the Register and this was agreed to.

CESAA E-News

CESAA E-News was launched in March this year. This is an important resource, which complements email information from European Studies and Research Centers. It is available exclusively to CESAA members. It provides details of forthcoming events in Australia as well as other parts of the world, employment opportunities and funding opportunities. CESAA is particularly grateful to Ms Karen Hussey for her work on this.

CESAA ESSAY COMPETITION

CESAA has always been committed to encouraging students of European politics, law, economics, history, culture and languages. For this reason, it has a very reasonable subscription rate for students as they are a very important part of the European Studies community in Australia. Students are provided a unique opportunity to enter their essays in a national competition, which is organized by CESAA and generously supported by the Delegation of the European Commission and CERC.

The CESAA essay committee of 2003 has selected two winners: Emily Anderson (undergraduate) and Christopher Hobson (postgraduate). The Panel of Judges for the 2003 Essay Competition was chaired by Bruno Mascitelli.

In this edition of the CESAA Review you will find the winning essay from the previous competition and details about the latest essay competition. You are encouraged to submit essays if you are a student, and to promote this competition to your students if you are an academic.

CESAA WEBSITE

Following a substantial re-vamp by a professional website designer, the CESAA website has been completed and is available at the following address: http://www.cesaa.org.au

Its important features include details about CESAA events, publications and membership. In addition there is a substantial number of important links which will connect CESAA members to the European studies community in Australia and internationally. As CESAA is a member of the European Community Studies Associations World Wide Network the links with this network will be extremely useful and you are encouraged to log-on!

ASIA PACIFIC JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN UNION STUDIES

This Journal was launched at the First International Conference of the Asia-Pacific European Union Studies Association (EUSA), of which CESAA is an active member, on May 30, 2003 in Seoul. The Journal aims to provide an international forum for the dissemination of academic research and policy debate on the external dimensions and international implications of European issues. The Journal is by nature multidisciplinary, and the research area comprises the theoretical and empirical evaluation of European integration, relations between the EU and the Asia-Pacific region, comparative analysis and policy studies, and related issues. This editorial board consists of members of the Asia Pacific EUSA as well as other international scholars

CESAA members will receive this journal as part of their subscription along with all members of every European Studies Association in the Asia Pacific. You are actively encouraged to submit articles to this important fully-refereed journal. Submissions and queries may be addressed to the Executive Editor, Professor Hee-Yul Chai, Department of Economics, Kyonggi University, San 94-1 Iui-dong, Paldal-gu, Suwon, Kyonggi-do, 442-760, Korea. Tel: 82-31-249-9410 Fax: 82-2-252-0918. E-mail: hychai@kyonggi.ac.kr

CESAA AND CERC

This year, CESAA continued to work closely with the Contemporary Europe Research Centre (CERC), based at the University of Melbourne, in order to make information available to all CESAA members on activities relating to European studies and research throughout the country and internationally. In addition, CERC provided financial support for the very active joint Seminar Series, ensuring a wide range of speakers on a variety of topics. We encourage other Centres and European Studies Programmes in Australia to co-sponsor CESAA activities and to liaise with CESAA in order to take full advantage of opportunities afforded by visiting speakers.

CESAA AND NEC

The National Europe Centre (NEC), based at the ANU, has also been associated with CESAA and has provided financial support for the major conference on 'Corruption, Organized Crime and Terrorism in Europe and Australia' and the Workshop on 'Australia & the European Union: Partners or Adversaries?'.

CESAA NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

CESAA encourages members to hold activities under the aegis of CESAA throughout Australia and welcomes suggestions. The CESAA Committee will provide support for all activities, as well as assisting with publicity.

RESEARCH OPPORTUNITY FOR ASIA PACIFIC RESEARCH PROJECT WITH CESAA

CESAA has been part of a successful application for funding from the European Commission's Jean Monnet project funding, with the European Union Studies Associations (EUSAs) of New Zealand (lead applicant) Korea and Thailand. The project is entitled "Public, Elite and Media Perceptions of the European Union in Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and South Korea: A Comparative Study". Research assistant will be based at relevant research centres in each of the four countries and these centres were part of the application. In the case of CESAA, the Contemporary Europe Research Centre (CERC) at the University of Melbourne will house the research assistant on the Australian part of the project.

This 2-year project under the supervision of Dr. Natalia Chaban and Professor Martin Holland, will receive a total of Euro142,000 support from the European Commission. It is envisaged that a research assistant will be employed in each of the four countries on a part-time basis. While one person for the two-year period is preferred, it is possible for a researcher to be employed for a shorter period. In addition to an appropriate salary, the researchers will be brought to NZ for methodology training and attend seminars/conferences during the life of the project in other locations.

At present, each of the national associations for European Studies (in our case CESAA) would like to draw this opportunity to the attention of researchers in their countries. The researcher will be based at CERC.

Please contact CESAA President Dr Philomena Murray on pbmurray@unimelb.edu.au with an expression of interest and a CV detailing your research experience to date. The deadline is Friday 30 January 2004. The job description is advertised on page 31 of this edition of the CESAA Review.

FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The CESAA Committee welcomes the active involvement of all CESAA members in activities throughout Australia.

Please feel free to contact us via e-mail (see our email addresses inside the front cover of this Review) or mail at our **new postal address: CESAA, P. O. Box 2125. Hawthorn, Victoria 3122, Australia,** to discuss any initiatives and issues which you might like to raise.

Philomena Murray President of CESAA

Asia-Pacific EU Conference
"Outside Looking In": Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the EU"
9-11 September 2004
National Centre for Research on Europe
University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Organised by: Professor Martin Holland National Centre for Research on Europe, University of Canterbury.

This conference is the 2nd meeting of the Asia-Pacific EU Studies Association (the inaugural conference was held in Seoul in May 2003).

THE ASIA-PACIFIC EU STUDIES ASSOCIATION BRINGS TOGETHER ECSA / EUSA associations across the region from India in the west to China and Japan in the east and Australia and New Zealand in the south. The conference is sponsored by EUSA-New Zealand, the NCRE and the European Commission.

Please visit the NCRE website to find out more about this upcoming conference: http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/

THE FUTURE OF THE PAST: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN CITY

Jacek Purchla
Director of the International Cultural Centre
Head, Department of Urban Development, Krakow Academy of Economics
Head, Department of Urban Studies, Jagiellonian University

The two foundations of Latinate civilisation, Christianity and local government, offer a good illustration of the Central European experience. Europa Minor, comprising the Kingdoms of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, embarked upon the development path of the Latinate civilisation over a thousand years ago. From the millennial perspective the great stages in the structural growth of the new civilisation are well visible. One of its idiosyncratic expressions has been urbanisation. Cities are the effect of a long process of endurance, a resultant of very many phenomena. Their individual forms and shapes make up distinctive entities summing up their civilisational development at any given period. That is why the accelerated rate of its urbanisation in the late Middle Ages and the dynamic growth of its cities in the 19th and 20th centuries has served as the so often invoked symbol of civilisational advancement in Central Europe.

Looking at the civilisational development of Europe from the two principal aspects of culture and economy, in the 12th and 13th centuries one may observe a distinctly progressing integration of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary with what might be called Carolingian Europe. This process was connected primarily with an extensive sweep of colonisation spreading out eastwards across the continent and carrying the Western European model of settlement into Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Municipal government, which was gradually accruing more and more rights and privileges, was becoming one of the pillars of European urbanisation. The autonomy of the medieval boroughs was the source of their power, while municipal law determined their architectural shape, too. There can be no doubt that already in the Middle Ages the borough councils, a factor promoting civilisational growth grounded on the autonomy of the local community, were playing a crucial role in the creation of the cultural space of the European *civitas*, also in many of the towns and cities of Europa Minor.

Acculturation, the adopting of the Western model of urbanisation and its transfer out onto the peripheries of Latinate civilisation – as far as the mountains of Transylvania and the Ukrainian steppes – was the first great chapter in the building up of the specific Central European identity. The catchment area for urban foundations on the grounds of what is known as "German law" still today demarcates the border between Latinate Europe and Byzantium, for which the Western European model of urbanisation was an alien concept.

A significant role in the development of the new shape of the towns of Central Europe at that time was played by the culture of the German language. The influx of German colonists brought onto the territory of Europa Minor its characteristic multi-ethnicity. The Germans were the organisers of the majority of the municipal boroughs, and in many parts of Central Europe German-speaking municipal enclaves survived right until the end of the Second World War (e.g. at Levoča, in the Spiš region of Slovakia), or even until

the present (Sibiu, Rumania). Already by the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries groups of German-speaking patricians had gained the upper hand in the municipal life of the major cities of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. A factor which favoured this situation in Hungary and partly also in Poland was the need to reconstruct and rebuild after the Tartar invasion of 1241. In 1255 Bela IV, King of Hungary, founded a new capital in the vicinity of his residence at Buda. It was known as Ofen in German, and this name survived until the 19th century. In the mid-14th century Prague – symbol of Czech sovereignty – became the chief residence of Charles IV of Luxemburg and capital of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Thereby, for the first time, the Imperial capital came to be located not only beyond the limes Imperii Romanorum, but even beyond the borders of Charlemagne's Europe. Prague's career and its brilliant growth and prosperity in the 14th century offer yet more evidence confirming the rapid pace and success of the process by which Europa Minor was integrating with Latinate Europe. This was the period when work on the construction of St. Vitus' Cathedral started on Hradčany Hill in Prague. It was the easternmost of the French-style Gothic cathedrals in Europe. Another 14th-century symbol of the integration process and the universality in the culture of Europa Minor was the foundation of universities in her principal cities. The first of them was established in Imperial Prague in 1348. The second was founded in 1364 in Cracow, by Casimir the Great, King of Poland. About this time universities were also set up in Vienna (1365) and Pécs (1367).

The foundation of Central Europe's prosperity in the Middle Ages were the privileges and charters she received and the progressive emancipation of her townspeople. The economic expansion of cities like Buda, Cracow, and Prague was based on their commerce. Alongside the great transit trade in copper and cloth along the north-south axis, the transcontinental Levantine trade, from Nuremberg and Prague via Wrocław, Cracow, Lwów and eastwards to the Black Sea, was coming to play a more and more important role. Spices and silk, as well as cattle, leather, and wax, were imported from the East. The commodities exported were salt and lead, and also textile manufactures and "Nuremberg goods". At the close of the Middle Ages three ideas of Europa Minor, the Hanseatic, the Jagiellonian, and the Habsburg visions, were co-existing and competing with each other in Central Europe. By the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries their influences were to meet and cross each other's paths in Cracow.

Cracow's membership of the Hansa had an economic dimension above all, but it was also a sign of the economic power and attractiveness of this, the furthest removed Hanseatic emporium from the Baltic coastal domain and North Sea trading routes. Making advantageous use of the royal privileges granted it, the city established direct trading relations not only with the Baltic ports, but also with the more distant Flemish towns. In the late Middle Ages Cracow developed a specialisation in transit trade, supplying northern Europe with the copper mined in Spiš, Hungary (now straddling the Polish-Slovak border), exporting Baltic herring to the South, and above all handling the trade in English, Flemish and Dutch cloth. It was no coincidence that from the 14th century onwards the central part of Cracow's Market Square would be occupied by its monumental Cloth Hall, one of the principal symbols of the city. Although among the towns of the Hansa Cracow used to be known as das Kupferhaus, in fact it also exported other manufactures and commodities, including iron and half-finished wooden products.

The large-scale trading conducted through Toruń and Gdańsk with Northern Europe enabled Cracow, to a hitherto unprecedented extent perhaps, to utilise the River Vistula as a natural system of transport. The Hanseatic episode in Cracow's history, which lasted until the end of the 15th century, meant above all a forceful move into trading, and an effective means for the breaking away from the economic autarky grounded in the strong political position of Wawel Castle. Moreover, we must not underrate the cultural dimension in Cracow's medieval links with Northern Europe.

At the close of the 14th century in Cracow the Hanseatic trading power came face to face with a new political vision of Europa Minor. The felix saeculum, the exceptionally felicitous 15th century for Cracow, was marked by the interpenetration within the city's history of the two different integrative concepts expounded by the Hansa and by Jagiellonian Europe. If in the case of the Hanseatic network Cracow may be considered peripheral, in the Jagiellonian concept Wawel Castle was the nursery for a new chapter in the story of Europa Minor.

The union of Poland and Lithuania faced Cracow with a new mission. The baptism and acculturation of Lithuania was to be conducted through the mediation of the capital city of the Kingdom of Poland. The personal union contracted on the grounds of the marriage between Jadwiga and Vladislaus initiated a process of integration of two very differently organised states. Wawel Castle, the seat of the Jagiellons, would be playing an extremely important role in this process. Cracow itself would soon become the chief centre for the propagation of the Latin civilisation to Vilnius and the whole of Lithuania. A crucial contribution would come from the University and Church in Cracow: it was no coincidence that the Cathedral erected on the site where once a pagan temple dedicated to Perkun had stood was put under the Christian patronage of St. Stanislaus, Bishop and Patron of the City of Cracow.

At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, Poland, like Hungary and Bohemia, seemed to have already achieved an integral union with the West, having made up for its previous civilisational retardation. It is paradoxical that precisely the turn of these ages was to mark a divergence of socio-economic development paths for Western and Eastern Europe.

The 16th century marked a distinct moment of disintegration in the development process of European civilisation, which was connected with factors like the crisis in the papacy and the weakening of imperial power in Germany. With the great geographical discoveries, at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries a fundamental demarcation of Europe economically set in along the line of the Elbe. The lands to the east of that river gradually reassumed the role of Europe's granary. But they would have to pay for their 16th- and 17th-century prosperity connected with the price revolution, a relapse into feudalism and the establishment of an agricultural economy controlled by the landed gentry working their huge estates with serf labour. This would bring about a retardation in the spread of modern capitalism in Central Europe and the gradual economic decline of numerous towns. In this way the civilisational unity of Carolingian Europe and Europa Minor achieved by the end of the Middle Ages would continue into further cultural progress in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, but at the same time drift into a gradual disintegration of the socio-economic system.

The simultaneous wane in the universalistic ambitions of the Holy Roman Empire and the religious wars of the 15th and 16th centuries reinforced the status of the local dynasties ruling in Prague, Cracow, and Buda. The clash between the Jagiellonian and Habsburg concepts of Europe made a strong impact on the territorial separateness of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. The death of Louis the Jagiellonian at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 not only brought about the disintegration of the Kingdom of Hungary, making it easier for the Turks to occupy Buda, but also opened up the way to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia for the Habsburgs. Jagiellonian/Habsburg rivalry left its imprint on the growth in the metropolitan status in Central Europe of Cracow and Prague. By the mid-16th century the two agglomerations counted some 30 thousand inhabitants each. Although neither Prague nor Cracow could vie with other metropolises like Rome, Venice, Naples, Constantinople, Lisbon, Paris, London, or Antwerp in terms of magnitude or economic status, they were well ahead of the other cities in Central Europe, such as Gdańsk, Königsberg, Wilno/Vilnius, Riga, Kiev, Lwów, or Wrocław, in the complexity and power of the functions they performed.

The characteristic multi-ethnicity marking the largest municipalities of Central Europe meant the presence of a variety of ethnic and religious minorities, including Jews. By the late Middle Ages Prague, and somewhat later Cracow, became the chief centres for Judaism in Europe. Throughout the 16th century Jews who were expelled from Prague and other Czech and Moravian towns settled in Cracow. Poland and Cracow in their golden age offered them a sense of security and tolerance. A Talmudic school was founded in Kazimierz, a district of Cracow, and attracted young scholars from the whole of Europa Minor, providing an education for the rabbis of the entire Jagiellonian realm. Its rectors and tutors included some of the most prominent Jewish intellectuals. The most renowned was Moses Isserles Remuh, codifier of the Ashkenazi religious provisions. His tomb, in Cracow's Remuh Cemetery, is still a pilgrimage centre today for pious Jews from all over the world. Nearby is the grave of Eleazer Ashkenazi, another outstanding Jewish scholar of the mid-16th century of Greek origin, who after a long career as a rabbi in Cairo, Famagusta, Venice, and Prague, finally settled in Cracow.

But the factor which left the most profound mark on the cities of Central Europe in the modern period was Italianism. Strong Italian influences appeared in Central Europe with the onset of the Renaissance. Characteristically, at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries there were only two countries in Europe – Hungary and Poland – which adopted the Tuscan Renaissance in its purest form. Already around 1480 Italian artists were working in Buda on the conversion scheme for the royal palace of Matthias Corvinus. Much of their works perished during the persistent fighting against the Turks for Buda in the 16th and 17th centuries. Today Cracow is the only city to have a fully extant Renaissance royal residence, which testifies to the direct and rather early Italian export of the highest class of Tuscan art.

Wawel Castle's conversion started as the 16th century opened, with the arrival of Francesco Fiorentino, whose work was continued by his countryman Bartolommeo Berrecci. The final shape of the arcaded court of unprecedented size with the unique

double-tiered column arrangement was Berrecci's creation. He was also the maker of the Sigismundian Chapel, erected in Wawel Cathedral in the years 1519-1531. This royal burial chapel of the King of Poland and his family has already for long been recognised as the finest exemplar of Italian Renaissance north of the Alps. Its formal perfection and elaborate symbolic composition were harnessed into the service of an allegorical representation of the monarch and the power of his majesty. Its distinct reference to the tradition of Antiquity offers an excellent illustration of Sigismund's imperial ambitions, especially in the context of his rivalry with the Habsburgs for primacy in Europa Minor.

The models set up in Wawel Castle in the arts "descended" into the city, where they were creatively pursued. In the mid-16th century the Cloth Hall building was converted into a Renaissance style. Its attic is still today one of the principal tokens of Cracow, the style disseminated not only into the more distant parts of the Jagiellonian dominions, but also into the other countries of Central Europe. Berrecci's designs for the tombstones and domed chapels in the Cathedral enjoyed a singular career. The nobility and gentlefolk of Poland was using these models still well into the age of Mannerism and the Baroque.

The alternative which became available in the latter half of the 16th century to the finest Tuscan models sponsored by royal patronage in Buda and Cracow were the artefacts made by the Comaschi, masons from the area of Como and Lugano. Their mass immigration signified a transfer north of the Alps of the quattrocento models of Lombardy. The work of the Comaschi left an unmistakable imprint on the fabric of cities throughout Central Europe. The Renaissance town halls of places like Poznań and Chelmno along the lower course of the Oder and Vistula, under the predominant influence of the Netherlands, and the "north", with Gdańsk as its focal point, are symbolic of an idiosyncratic artistic reorientation of their townspeople in the 16th century. With time the Italian models would be processed by the local masters and mixed with the local tradition to give a new kind of vernacular art.

A special chapter in the Italianisation of the town planning of Europa Minor was provided by Zamość. It involved a transfer of the Renaissance model of the ideal city to the south-eastern marches of Poland. This private municipality and residence of Lord Chancellor Zamoyski was designed around 1580 by Bernardo Morando of Padua, who followed the Venetian models. The star-shaped layout of the fortifications in Zamość, in the New Italian style, features a consistent chessboard grid for the network of streets, but in addition it also has a harmonious composition joining the proprietor's mansion and the town. The square-shaped market place at its centre was divided into halves by an axis of symmetry closed off by a vista of the Lord Chancellor's residence. The municipal community and the feudal lord's residence were now opened up on each other in a different way than in the Middle Ages.

The peak of Italianism in Central Europe came with the Baroque period. The decisive factors clinching its success were both the artistic aspects as well as the force of the Catholic reaction. The victory of the Counter-Reformation in the Czech, Moravian, and Silesian territories under Habsburg rule, as well as in the Kingdom of Hungary, could be directly related to the power of the impact of Roman Baroque models. Initially this

influence assumed the form of direct import, but by the Late Baroque it had developed its own expression, characteristic of the entire Habsburg domain. The cultural identity and climate of Prague, Olomouc, Bratislava, and numerous towns in Silesia were shaped to a large extent under the influence of a Baroque imported from Rome, transformed and processed by the local artists.

The essential contribution and impact of Roman art is manifest in the cultural landscape of the towns of 17^{th-} and 18^{th-}century Poland, especially in its religious architecture. Already at the turn of the 16th and 17th century work started in Cracow on the construction of the Jesuit Church, the first replica north of the Alps of Il Gesù. Poland was the only one of the three kingdoms of Europa Minor to preserve its full sovereignty in the 17th and 18th century. The phenomenon of the Noblemen's Commonwealth founded on the political union between Poland and Lithuania, which encompassed vast stretches of Ruthenia far out to the Black Sea, makes up a separate chapter in the history of the Core of Europe. This, too, is yet another example of Poland's transmission further east and north of the fundamental standards of the Latinate civilisation. A contributing factor was the religious character of the Baroque, which in Poland intermingled with the specific social customs of the Sarmatian culture. An idiosyncratic manifestation of Sarmatianism may be observed in both the "Roman" features of Vilnian Baroque, and in the architecture of the Byzantine-rite churches in Lwów and other towns of the Polish Eastern Marches, with numerous attributes akin to the art of the Habsburg domains.

In the 16th and 17th centuries Poland's development and expansion was based not only on a system of parliamentary democracy and tolerance absolutely unique in the Europe of the times, but also on a more and more archaic socio-economic system. In this way a new value was growing in the very hub of Europe geographically: on the one hand an endorsement of the region's belonging to the West, while on the other hand an increasing socio-economic distance from the West, which was now adopting the strict rules of mercantilism and the absolute power of a strongly militarised state. The widening gap between the Noblemen's Commonwealth and Western Europe – a chasm of values – eventually, in the late 18th century, brought the unprecedented downfall of the last of the three sovereign monarchies of Europa Minor.

The long persistence of feudalism east of the Elbe and the long-lasting crisis of many of the towns of Central Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries helped to preserve the medieval shape of the majority of the cities in Europa Minor. The Gothic and Renaissance fabric of their historic centres is still today inextricably linked to the specifics and genius loci of Central Europe.

The 19th century brought the cities of "Lesser Europe" to a characteristic split between a reactionary feudalism and a volley of liberal tendencies. The cultural flourishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries would come to symbolise the victory of the latter trend. It was accompanied by an eruption of nationalist movements, which would become one of the causes contributing to the outbreak of the First World War and the fall of the Habsburg Empire. In 1918 the ashes of this Empire,

and the debris left after the catastrophe of the German and Russian Empires, would provide a breeding-ground for the rebirth of the three independent states of the Lesser Europe, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, whose independent existence in the 20th century was grounded on the one hand on a firm sense of national identity, and on the other hand on an equally steadfast awareness of a thousand years of membership of the Latinate Europe.

The 19th century brought a revival of local government in the municipalities. In the conditions of the industrial revolution, a lively process of urbanisation, and above all the replacement of ossified, autocratic monarchy with a formula for the liberal and civic state, a new form of local government was emerging in Europe. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries local government was again to conduct a civilisational mission. The monumental architecture of mighty town halls springing up all over Central Europe became a symbol of the strength and independence of municipal authorities from the central power.

The 19th-century search for a new model of municipal management was an outcome of more than just the tumultuous rate of technological and economic change. It was also a reaction against the bureaucratic and anti-democratic methods of government employed by enlightened absolutism. A challenge came from liberalism, the universal spirit of the age. One could say that the 19th-century genesis of modern local government and the substantial extension of its operations were the result of the more and more powerful tendencies of decentralisation based on the growing liberal concepts of a state governed by the rule of law. There can be no doubt that the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries brought thriving growth for local governments all over Central Europe, and they were now being granted the opportunity for the purposeful and conscious creation of their municipal space.

The example of the Polish territories in the 19th and 20th centuries gives an exceptionally clear picture showing the role of local government as a civilisational factor. In consequence of the Partitions for over a century the towns and cities of Poland belonged to different state entities, hence their development followed quite different paths in each of the partitional zones. This left an imprint on the shape of many municipalities and their potential for growth. Only in Galicia, the Austrian sector of partitioned Poland, was full development possible not only for local government as such, but above all for the emancipative national force behind it. In the same period the part of Poland under the Russian Empire was denied any local government institutions at all. The essential differences in the constitutional evolution of Austria, Prussia, and Russia in the 19th century found their clear and tangible expression in the architecture and town planning of their municipalities.

Thus local government became a crucial factor determining municipal growth in 19th-century Central Europe. This was a period when the distinctive identity of many of the Central European cities crystallised out. Based on a Kafkaesque ambivalence, that identity branched out into segments fitted between the predominant impact of history and the progress of capitalism, between the tyranny of national identity and the universalism

of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Although the *civitas* idea ran counter to thinking in the national dimension, the Historicist period of the 19th century brought a process of "nationalisation" of the space of numerous cities in Central Europe. History became a factor stimulating development, which in turn gave rise to a number of possibilities for the interpretation of cultural heritage, and a variety of meanings to the idea of the city – as a process, as a function, as an idea, a form, a mirror of civilisation. The complex fortunes of Prague, Bratislava, Poznań, Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Cracow, are confirmed in the words of Sophie Lang, that cities are not a random occurrence, but a concept of a higher order. In Central Europe cultural identity has never been fixed once and for all, but has called for continual choice.

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries also brought the development of the large multinational metropolises, which were to turn into an efficient weapon in the struggle against the tyranny of national identity. The cosmopolitan atmosphere of Vienna around 1900 is one of the foundations of Central Europe – also in the sense of trauma and ambivalence.

The history of the Czechs and Slovaks, Poland and Hungary is firmly grounded in the foundations of Western European civilisation: the traditions of Antiquity, Christianity, local government, and respect for the rights of the individual. Hence the question arises whether these countries, nations, and cities are a distinct and separate entity in European culture, and if so, then in what does that separateness and distinctness consist?

The essential question is the obsession with location, manifest particularly clearly in the case of Poland. Its situation between Germany and Russia, the two largest nations of Europe, has always engendered a sense of threat. As regards Russia, and for a certain period Turkey as well, this threat was associated with Poland's sense of fulfilling a mission, as a bastion of the Latin civilisation. The region's difficult and turbulent history forced these peoples not only to fight for survival, thereby strengthening their sense of a national and European identity, but it also evoked a question which is still being put today – whether Europa Minor belongs to the East or the West of the continent. Characteristically, the simultaneous division into North and South, so legible in the 18th century through the distinction into a Protestant, dynamically developing North, and a Catholic, stagnating South, is only of secondary relevance for the countries of the New Europe.

The answer to the East/West question, an issue apparently of lesser significance, happens to be of key importance for the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians in terms of identity, which determines the political realities not only of the central part of Europe, but also of the entire continent. Hence the concept of Central Europe, not as a geographical category, but above all as a historical and cultural category. The question of belonging to the East or West is not a question of borders, but above all an issue of membership of a cultural and economic sphere and of a political system.

The victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia made the division of Europe into East and West more explicit, reinforcing the links of the Czechs and Slovaks, Hungary, and

Poland with the West. But not for long. The Iron Curtain which split Europe up after the Second World War left Europa Minor stranded for half a century in the East. It is self-evident that the struggle of the Central European nations against Soviet domination which ended in victory in 1989 was more than just a struggle against Communism as a system; it was just as much a battle to return to the Atlantic civilisation, the civilisation which had grown up on the groundwork of the West European experience.

The imposition of a code of values and an economic system on the countries of Lesser Europe that ran counter to their historical experience brought the Czech, Slovak, Polish and Hungarian people not only to crisis and stagnation, to which the respective societies reacted in a series of demonstrations (1956, 1968, 1980), but also to attempts to preserve their hitherto system of values. Their strong adherence to the civilisation in the building up of which they had been participating for an entire millennium, and the half-century of resistance to the totalitarian system – an experience unknown to Western Europe – is not only a symptomatic ballast, but also an investment with which the nations of the Lesser Europe are endowed today.

Europa Minor has never been outside the bounds of European civilisation. But she has preserved her distinctness, which today has become a value. This value is perhaps most explicit in the municipal fabric of the cities of Europe's Core. Their idiosyncratic identities are the resultant not only of their specific geographical location, but above all of the long-lasting historical process which was initiated over a thousand years ago. The 20th century brought to a head all the paradoxes and conflicts on which the progress in the fascinating European Core has been based.

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EUROPEAN CHOCOLATE MAKES THE TRADE GO ROUND (IN A MOST DELIGHTFUL WAY)

Dr Des Taylor University of Southern Queensland

Introduction

Many important decisions handed down by the courts over the years have often been in cases where the subject matter (around which the dispute focused) was rather ordinary even mundane. For example, *Donoghue v Stevenson*¹ concerned a snail in a bottle of ginger beer; *Central London Property Trust Ltd. v High Trees House Ltd.*² reviewed the rental arrangements of a block of London flats; *Salomon v Salomon*³ examined a leather and boot manufacturing business and *Grant v Australian Knitting Mills*⁴ looked at two sets of long underwear. Even at the European Union (EU) level, there are similar cases: *Van Gend en Loos*⁵ concerned a consignment of ureaformaldehyde and *Cassis de Dijon*⁶ centred on a blackcurrant liqueur. However, as with most cases, it is not the subject matter but the legal principle which the court enunciates (or confirms) that is the important aspect of the case. As has been commented in relation to *Van Gend en Loos*:

The ruling of the Court of Justice ... constituted ... a major constitutional step in the development of the European Community. Its core element is the ruling that the Treaty of Rome represents more than a mere international agreement imposing obligations, at the level of international law, as between the contracting States. It confers rights on individuals which become part of their legal heritage and which national courts are bound to protect. From this central proposition the Court then or later deduced many of the main principles of Community law. (Fennelly, 2000: 220-236)

Likewise, as regards *Cassis de Dijon*, the significance lies in the fact that there the European Court of Justice (ECJ) gave 'an expansive interpretation of Article 28 (ex Article 30) of the EC Treaty, extending its net to catch any State measure capable of interfering with the market in respect of intra-Community trade in goods' (Carney, 2000: 310-326). Recently, the ECJ gave judgments in two cases (Case C-12/00 *Commission v Spain*⁷ and Case C-14/00 *Commission v Italy*⁸) the subject matter of which was also

² [1947] KB 130.

¹ [1932] AC 562.

³ [1897] AC 22.

⁴ [1936] AC 85.

⁵ Case 26/62, NV Algemene Transport-en Expeditie Onderneming Van Gend en Loos v Nederlandse Administratie der Belastingen [1963] ECR 1.

⁶ Case 120/78, Rewe-Zentral AG v Bundesmonopolverwaltung für Branntwein [1979] ECR 649.

⁷ Case C-12/00 Commission v Spain (ECJ 16 January 2003) available at: http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620">http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi/sga_doc?smartapi/sga_doc?smartapi/sga_doc?smartapi/sga_doc?smartapi/sga_doc.pda_do

⁸ Case C-14/00 Commission v Italy (ECJ 16 January 2003) available at: http://europa.eu.int/smartapi/cgi/sga doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=620

something quite ordinary - that normal everyday delicacy, 'chocolate'. However, once again, the court's decision is important not for that fact but for what the court decided.

Free Movement of Goods in the European Union

The basis of the European Union's Single Market is the free movement of goods, services, persons and capital within the European Union (the most important of these being the free movement of goods). Without this free movement, there could be no Single European Market. As Agnete Philipson has commented, '[t]he free movement of goods is a cornerstone of the Single Market and the European Commission is vigilant in ensuring the free movement provisions, as contained in the Treaty, are upheld, most significantly, by investigating alleged infringements of the provisions by Member States (Philipson, 2001: 7).

Article 28 EC prohibits EU Member States from imposing quantitative restrictions and measures having equivalent effect on imports of goods between Member States - and, for many years, the ECJ has consistently struck down a wide range of measures as being quantitative restrictions or measures having equivalent effect. As can be seen from such cases as Case 34/79 R v Henn and Darby, 10 anything which restricts importation by reference to quantity (e.g. a quota system) is a quantitative restriction. The nature of 'measures having equivalent effect' can be seen from such cases as Case 249/81 Commission v Ireland (Re 'Buy Irish' Campaign). 11 In that case, the advertising campaign was held to be equivalent to a restriction although it merely encouraged consumers to purchase Irish goods rather than imported ones.

In fact, the concept of measures having equivalent effect has been widely interpreted by the ECJ. In *Dassonville*, ¹² the ECJ stated its definition of measures having equivalent effect to quantitative restrictions in the following terms:

All trading rules enacted by Member States which are capable of hindering, directly or indirectly, actually or potentially, intra-Community trade are to be considered as measures having an effect equivalent to quantitative restrictions. (Case 8/74, paragraph 5)

In Cassis de Dijon, the ECJ said that measures having equivalent effect include not only 'distinctly applicable measures' (i.e. those which discriminate against imported goods)

⁰⁰J0014>.

⁹ As can be seen from such ECJ judgments as that in Case 249/81 Commission v Ireland (Re 'Buy Irish' Campaign) [1982] ECR 4005, indistinctly applicable measures can comprise such things as (a) regulatory measures designed to enforce minimum standards of size, weight, quality, price or content; (b) tests and inspections or certification requirements to ensure that goods conform to those standards; and even (c) any activity capable of influencing the behaviour of traders such as the promotion of goods by reason of their national origin.

¹⁰ Case 34/79 R v Henn and Darby [1979] ECR 3795.

¹¹ Case 249/81 Commission v Ireland (Re 'Buy Irish' Campaign) [1982] ECR 4005...

¹² Case 8/74 Procureur du Roi v Dassonville [1974] ECR 837.

but also 'indistinctly applicable measures' (i.e. those which ostensibly apply to both domestic and imported goods but which in fact do impede free trade between the EU Member States). In *Cassis de Dijon*, the ECJ applied the aforementioned *Dassonville formula* but added what is now known as the 'first Cassis principle', namely:

Obstacles to movement within the Community resulting from disparities between national laws relating to the marketing of the products in question must be accepted in so far as those provisions may be recognised as being necessary in order to satisfy mandatory requirements relating in particular to the effectiveness of fiscal supervision, the protection of public health, the fairness of commercial transactions and the defence of the consumer.¹³

What this means is that certain measures will not breach Article 28 EC if they are necessary to satisfy certain 'mandatory requirements' (such as protection of the consumer), even though such measures may come within the 'Dassonville formula' because they are *indistinctly* applicable measures.¹⁴

Additionally, there is a requirement for a measure to be 'proportionate', i.e. where the Member State maintains that the measure is allowable since it is a mandatory requirement, the Member State will not succeed where the measure employed to pursue the mandatory requirement is disproportionate to the objective to be achieved. In *Cassis de Dijon*, the ECJ also laid down the 'second Cassis principle' which is a (rebuttable) presumption that normally there is no valid reason why, provided they have been lawfully produced and marketed in one of the EU Member States, such goods should not be introduced and marketed in any other of the other EU Member States.

Thus, subject to what has been said above, in essence, if a measure is *distinctly applicable*, it will normally breach Article 28 EC, unless it can be justified under Article 30 EC (which is construed quite narrowly by the ECJ). In other words, Article 30 EC provides the main legal basis for justifying quantitative restrictions which are discriminatory in nature. To be an allowable derogation under Article 30 EC, a measure needs to come within one of the following: public morality; public policy and public security; the protection of health and life of humans, animals or plants; the protection of national treasures possessing artistic, historic or archaeological value; or the protection of industrial or commercial property. Even then, the measure must not constitute a means of

 13 Case 120/78 Rewe-Zentral AG v Bundesmonopolverwaltung für Branntwein [1979] ECR 649 at 662 (paragraph 8).

¹⁴ The ECJ has made it clear that the categories of 'mandatory requirements' are not exhaustive and its subsequent judgments have added further categories to the four listed in Cassis de Dijon. For example, in Case C-145/88 Torfaen Borough Council v B&Q plc [1989] ECR 3851, the ECJ recognized a further mandatory requirement, namely that of prohibiting Sunday opening of certain retail trading premises. The ECJ held that this restriction was compatible with EU law because the measure was not designed to hinder the free movement of goods between Member States but rather it reflected certain social and political choices in a Member State to have Sunday as a day of rest. Such a measure was therefore compatible with Article 28 EC, provided the measure was not disproportionate.

arbitrary discrimination or a disguised restriction on trade between the EU Member States. 15

The 'Chocolate' Cases

The two 'chocolate' cases were **Case C-12/00** *Commission v Spain* and **Case C-14/00** *Commission v Italy*. ¹⁶ Judgment in both cases was given by the ECJ on 16 January 2003. The cases are essentially similar and involve the same principles of EU law.

As mentioned above, Article 28 EC provides that quantitative restrictions on imports and all measures having equivalent effect shall be prohibited between the EU Member States. In its actions brought against Spain and Italy pursuant to Article 226 EC, the Commission stated that chocolate containing vegetable fats other than cocoa butter up to a maximum of 5% of the total weight of the product is manufactured under the name 'chocolate' in six EU Member States (namely, Denmark, Ireland, Portugal, Sweden, Finland and the United Kingdom) and that it is accepted under that name in all the EU Member States except Spain and Italy. The Commission's view was therefore that the obligation under the Spanish and Italian legislation (requiring the marketing of cocoa and chocolate products containing vegetable fats other than cocoa butter under the name 'chocolate substitute') significantly obstructed the access of such products to the Spanish and Italian markets - and accordingly there was a breach of Article 28 EC.

The argument by the Spanish and Italian Governments was that Council Directive 73/241/EEC of July 24, 1973 on the approximation of the laws of the EU Member States relating to cocoa and chocolate products intended for human consumption¹⁷ fully regulated the marketing of cocoa and chocolate products, thereby precluding the application of Article 28 EC in that, *first*, it set out the principle that the use of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter was prohibited in the manufacture of cocoa and chocolate products and, *second*, it established a system of free movement under the name 'chocolate' only for cocoa and chocolate products which did not contain such vegetable fats. The Spanish and Italian Governments therefore contended that Directive 73/241 enabled the EU Member States (whose national law prohibited the addition of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter to products manufactured within their territory) also to prohibit the marketing within their territory – under the name 'chocolate' – of products whose manufacture did not comply with their national legislation.

The ECJ, however, in its judgment, stated that it was clear from Article 14(2)(a) of Directive 73/241 that the Directive did not seek to establish a fully harmonised system under which common rules completely replaced existing national rules in the field, since it explicitly authorised the EU Member States to lay down national rules which were different from the common rules which it provided for. In accordance with the judgment

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¹⁵ An example of a ban being held to be justified under Article 30 EC on the ground of the protection of the life and health of animals can be seen in Case C-67/97 Ditlev Bluhme [1998] ECR I-8033.

¹⁶ See Notes 7 and 8 (supra).

¹⁷ OJ 1973 L228, p23.

in *Cassis de Dijon*,¹⁸ Article 28 EC prohibits obstacles to the free movement of goods (in the absence of the harmonisation of national laws) which are the consequence of applying to goods coming from other EU Member States (where they are lawfully manufactured and marketed) rules that lay down requirements to be met by those goods (such as those relating to their name, form, size, weight, composition, presentation, labelling and packaging), even if those rules apply to national and imported products alike.¹⁹ Accordingly, that prohibition also applies to obstacles to the marketing of products whose manufacture is not subject to comprehensive harmonisation but which are manufactured in conformity with national rules explicitly permitted by the harmonising directive. A contrary interpretation would be tantamount to authorising the EU Member States to partition their national markets in regard to products not covered by the EU's harmonisation rules, contrary to the objective of free movement pursued by the EC Treaty.

The ECJ then went on to consider whether and to what extent Article 28 EC precluded the Spanish and Italian legislation which prohibited the marketing in such EU Member States of cocoa and chocolate products containing vegetable fats other than cocoa butter under the sales name 'chocolate' (under which they were lawfully manufactured and marketed in the EU Member State of production) and which provided that those products could only be marketed under the name 'chocolate substitute'.

The ECJ stated that it had consistently held that - while a prohibition such as that under the national legislation, which entailed the obligation to use a sales name other than that used in the EU Member State of production, did not absolutely preclude the importation into the EU Member State concerned of the products in question - it was nevertheless likely to make their marketing more difficult and thus impede trade between EU Member States. Since the obligation imposed by the Spanish and Italian legislation might compel the traders concerned to adjust the presentation of their products according to the place where they were to be marketed and consequently to incur additional packaging costs, it was therefore liable to obstruct intra-Community trade. That was all the more so in view of the fact that the name 'chocolate substitute' which the traders concerned were required to use could adversely affect the consumer's perception of the products in question, in as much as it denoted *substitute* (and therefore *inferior*) products.

The ECJ reminded the parties that it is settled case-law that obstacles to intra-Community trade resulting from disparities between provisions of national law must be accepted in so far as such provisions are applicable to domestic and imported products alike and may be justified as being necessary in order to satisfy overriding requirements relating, inter alia, to consumer protection. However, in order to be permissible, such provisions have to be proportionate to the objective pursued and that objective has to be not capable of being achieved by measures which are less restrictive of intra-Community trade. It is legitimate for an EU Member State to ensure that consumers are properly informed about the

The ECJ, when making this point, referred inter alia to such cases as Case C-267-8/91 Keck and Mithouard [1993] ECR I-6097.

¹⁸ See Note 6 (supra).

products which are offered to them, thus giving them the possibility of making their choice on the basis of that information, and in particular EU Member States can, for the purpose of protecting consumers, require the description of a foodstuff to be altered where a product offered for sale under a particular name is so different, in terms of its composition or production, from the products generally understood as falling within that description within the Community that it could not be regarded as falling within the same category. However, where the difference is of minor importance, appropriate labelling should be sufficient to provide the purchaser or consumer with the necessary information.

As pointed out by the ECJ, the characteristic element of cocoa and chocolate products (within the meaning of Directive 73/241) is the presence of a certain minimum content of cocoa and cocoa butter. The percentages set by Directive 73/241 are minimum contents which have to be complied with by all chocolate products manufactured and marketed under the name 'chocolate' in the EU, independently of whether the legislation of the EU Member State of production authorised the addition of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter. In addition, since Directive 73/241 explicitly permits EU Member States to authorise the use of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter, it cannot be claimed that the products to which those fats have been added, in compliance with the Directive, are altered to the point where they no longer fall into the same category as those which do not contain such fats. Therefore, the addition of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter to cocoa and chocolate products which satisfy the minimum contents required by Directive 73/241 cannot substantially alter the nature of those products to the point where they are transformed into different products. In the ECJ's view, it thus followed that the inclusion in the label of a neutral and objective statement informing consumers of the presence in the product of vegetable fats other than cocoa butter would be sufficient to ensure that consumers are given correct information and, in those circumstances, the obligation (imposed by the national legislation) to change the sales name of the products would not appear to be necessary to satisfy the overriding requirement of consumer protection. It therefore followed that the Spanish and Italian legislation – to the extent that the same required the name of products which were lawfully manufactured and marketed in other EU Member States under the sales name 'chocolate' to be altered for the sole reason that they contained vegetable fats other than cocoa butter was incompatible with Article 28 EC.

Accordingly, the ECJ held that, by prohibiting cocoa and chocolate products which complied with the requirements as to minimum content laid down in Directive 73/241 to which vegetable fats other than cocoa butter had been added (and which were lawfully manufactured in EU Member States which authorised the addition of such fats) from being marketed in Spain and Italy under the name used in the EU Member State of production - and by requiring that those products could only be marketed under the name 'chocolate substitute', Spain and Italy had failed to fulfill their obligations under Article 28 EC.

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²⁰ The ECJ, when making this point, referred to such cases as Case C-366/98 Criminal proceedings against Geffroy [2000] ECR I-6579.

The Significance of the 'Chocolate' Cases

Europe's thirty year old 'chocolate war' (which started in 1973 when the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined what is now known as the European Union) has finally been ended this year - with the defeat of so-called 'chocolate purists' Spain and Italy. As a result of the ECJ's ruling, such countries as the United Kingdom have won the right to continue to produce 'chocolate' that includes vegetable oil. In essence, the ECJ has ruled that Spain and Italy's insistence that chocolate that does not contain 100% cocoa butter be labelled 'chocolate substitute' infringed the EU's principle of the free movement of goods).

Initially, even such countries as Belgium (which likewise have considered the purity of chocolate to be very important) objected to what they perceived as false chocolate coming into their markets from countries like the United Kingdom. The 'chocolate' debate raged within the EU until 2000 when the EU Member States struck a deal whereby - as long as the United Kingdom products (and similar) were labelled with their fats and milk content - they could be called 'family milk chocolate'. However, although this arrangement satisfied such EU Member States as Belgium and France, others – namely Spain and Italy - refused to accept this arrangement. They continued unilateral bans, leading to the Commission taking action against them in the ECJ which resulted in the court's ruling (against Spain and Italy) on 16 January 2003.

Prima facie, the ECJ's ruling is good news for the chocolate manufacturers in such countries as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark (and also Portugal, Finland and Sweden) who will now be able to sell their Double Deckers, Picnic bars, Crunchies, Chomp bars, Curly Wurlies, Wispa bars and Flakes anywhere in the European Union (including Spain and Italy) - in competition with such local products as Ferrero Rocher. However, despite this favourable court ruling, it seems to be commonly agreed that the chocolate manufacturers in such countries as the United Kingdom cannot now automatically expect to have a sudden surge in their sales (as a result of their being able to access such European markets as those of Spain and Italy) since, in any event, UK-style chocolate just does not appeal to many European palates. Nevertheless the ECJ's ruling is far from being just a symbolic victory. The judgment in the 'chocolate' cases is an important ruling in that it has confirmed the importance of the EU's principle of the free movement of goods – and reiterated that obstacles and impediments thereto will not be tolerated by the ECJ.

Conclusions

The title (and theme) of this article is 'European chocolate makes the trade go round (in a most delightful way)'. The subject matter of the two 'chocolate' cases was chocolate emanating from the United Kingdom. The UK is a Member of the EU and hence a

²¹ As indicated earlier, this implied to consumers that it was an inferior product.

European country. Thus its chocolate products can properly be designated 'European chocolate'. The next aspects of the title/theme is that such product (i.e. the UK/European chocolate) 'makes the trade go round'. The outcome of the 'chocolate' cases has been, as indicated above, to confirm the importance of the EU's principle of the free movement of goods and a reiteration by EU's highest court (the ECJ) that obstacles and impediments thereto will not be tolerated by the ECJ. Further, the ECJ's ruling in the 'chocolate' cases is not just confined to 'chocolate' and other food products such as pickles and jams - it confirms the right of free movement within the EU of many products which have 'ingredients' and 'components'. The final part of the title/theme is that the ECJ's ruling has confirmed this right of free movement of goods within the EU 'in a most delightful way'. As regards this final aspect, it is submitted that the ECJ's ruling is a 'delightful' (i.e. good) outcome because the free movement of goods (which has again, in the 'chocolate' cases, been confirmed and reinforced) is one of the cornerstones of the EU's Single Market which, we should not forget, is the world largest domestic market and something which has contributed significantly to growth, competitiveness and employment not only in Europe but also in many other countries of the world which do business with the EU.

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Employment Opportunity Research Assistant, Part-time

Posted by: Professor Martin Holland European Union Studies Association of New Zealand

The EUSANZ has recently been awarded funds for a major project on "Asia-Pacific Identity and Perceptions" to be conducted over two years, across four locations: Thailand, Korea, Australia and New Zealand.

As part of this project, a research assistant will be employed in each of these country locations, on a part-time basis.

It is anticipated that the Research Assistant will coordinate and conduct research into media content analysis (using the established template) of the daily EU coverage in 3 leading national newspapers, and 2 evening prime time TV news programs, over the first year of the project. Including:

- o Locating the texts in electronic archives, or in hard copy.
- o Video recording TV news, transcribing the relevant news items.
- o Creating the database of news texts for each research centre involved

Other activities:

- Consolidating the survey data for the survey brochure publication (beginning of 2005)
- Conducting face-to face elite interviews with political, business and media elite representatives (till July 2005).
- Participating in a 4-day research training at NCRE (second half of February, 2004)
- Presenting at the EUSA Asia-Pacific conference (Christchurch, September 2004)
- Participating in 3 one-week joint research group sessions: September October 2004 in NZ,
 February 2005 in Australia, July 2005 in Thailand.
- Presenting 3 seminars on the completion of each stage of the project at the participating home Universities.
- To contribute to the organization and present at the "EU in the Mirror of Others" conference (September -October 2005 in NZ).
- To write or co-write at least one article for the submission to journals (throughout the whole project).
- To contribute to the manuscript summing up the project findings (second half of 2005).
- To perform official administration of the national aspect of the project.

This person is expected to be employed for an average of 16 hours per week (on a flexible basis).

The Head of Research Institute conducting this project in the host country will supervise the Research Assistant and report to the project supervisors at the NCRE.

Further details can be found at: http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/

STUDENT ESSAY

POLAND AND THE EU: TOWARDS AN ALLIANCE OF MUTUAL BENEFIT

Magda Iwasiw (winner, CESAA Essay Competition 2003)

In 1993 in Copenhagen five prerequisite criteria (European Commission, 1995) were laid down for states seeking admission to the European Union (EU). States had to be stable, working democracies demonstrating a respect for minority groups, wellfunctioning market economies, had to be able to withstand the competitive pressures of EU integration, had to be capable to implement the entire body of EU legislation, the acquis communautaire, and not pose a risk to the EU or integration as a whole (Blazyca, 1999). Once an official candidate, a state has in effect joined the "Euro-Club"; formal EU membership then seems in practice to be a matter of working through the process of aligning one's economy, laws and political philosophy with those that operate in EU common policy areas (no mean feat). The Polish Government and the EU closed accession negotiations in December 2002 (European Commission, 2002a) and Poland's formal signature of the Accession Treaty took place in Athens on April 16, 2003. Adoption of each acquis chapter required extensive (actual and planned) implementation of packages of legislation and economic measures designed to align the candidate country with the internal policies and practices of the EU zone. Such alignment is, of course, no simple legislative reform program. Indeed, for EU candidate CEECs such as Poland (most of which emerged from behind the iron curtain and adopted capitalist economic systems less than fifteen years ago) EU candidacy involves a complete (and rapid) rebuilding of the economy, social welfare structure, industry and agricultural sectors. In addition to this, each candidate faces particular problems that will make adjustment to EU membership difficult.

With the Polish EU accession referendum resulting in a resounding "yes" vote, it would seem that little scope remains for significant public debate in Poland on the EU membership question. There is still room, however, for meaningful reflection on the accession process, the likely outcomes (in terms of benefits and costs) of European citizenship for Poland (and other CEECs and candidate countries) and the EU, especially in the last few months of anxious preparation before the ten candidate countries accede to the EU on the 1st of May 2004. This discussion would like to contribute to the debate by examining the achievements of Poland to date in moving towards EU membership and the problems it has encountered, with the parallel aim of raising questions about the EU's enlargement plans and policies. Agriculture has been examined in more detail as it is the key problem area for Poland's accession to the European Union, and can also be examined in a broader context of related social welfare, economic impact and structural issues. The following aims to add to knowledge of Poland's accession process, which can then be applied to the accession negotiations of other countries and to the formulation of EU policy once Poland's accession takes place.

Progress and Inevitability: Poland's Pre-accession Achievements

Poland has many reasons for seeking EU membership: economic and political stability (Cichowski, 2000); the feeling of her population that the step is inevitable (Kucia, 1999); the government and citizen belief that membership is integral to full transformation into a "modern", western-style capitalist economy (Kucia, 1999), and; her desire for full European citizenship (Wallace H and Wallace W, 2000), among others. The Polish population (despite falls in support in 2002) has been generally supportive of accession (Szczerbiak, 2001), as evidenced by the success of the recent referendum. Popular support of accession is a critical but often neglected benefit to a candidate country attempting widespread systemic change and reform. Poland was initially regarded as the most promising EU candidate, having recorded excellent economic growth and achieved significant political reform progress in the 1990s (Blazyca, 1998), although European Commission reports have expressed concerns over delays in reform, particularly in government administration and the agricultural sector (European Commission, 2002b). EU Enlargement Commissioner, Gunter Verheugen, however, has consistently remained confident that the candidate countries can make up for any recent delays in reform by the accession date, 1st May 2004 (Bernbom, 2002) and indeed this seems plausible given achievements to date. Since 1989, Poland (like many other CEEC EU candidates) has completely restructured its economy from socialist to market-based and rapidly reoriented it to western markets (Carlin, Estrin and Schaffer, 2000) introduced democratic institutions and reformed other branches of government such as the judiciary to a significant extent. In 2001, Poland came second to Hungary (tied with Estonia) in having the Highest Institutional Development Indicator ranking of the candidate countries (Hubner, 2002). The Polish government, furthermore, claims that it already meets the low inflation and low public debt criteria for accession (Poland. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002), and has reformed labour laws and introduced less complex regulations in order to encourage direct foreign investment and integration. Progress has also been made in the difficult area of agricultural reform (European Commission, 2002c), with some trade being liberalised between Poland and the EU in a 2001 agreement which affected products such as pig meat, poultry, cheese, apples, wheat and butter, with cereals, dairy products, beef and sheep meat expected to join this list soon. In terms of trade liberalisation more generally, there are even indications that Poland may have a comparative advantage (to the rest of the EU) in some areas of trade (Brenton, Sheehy and Vancauteren, 2001).

The issue of comparative advantage or competitiveness more generally is particularly pertinent as there has been much concern within Poland about the effects of market forces on domestic production once better financed and internationally knowledgeable companies begin to compete with local companies, particularly in the domestic market. This concern has a parallel in one of the Copenhagen criteria; a candidate country must be able to withstand competitive market pressures following accession. There is cause for optimism on this point; Polish firms are closer to Spanish firms than firms in other CEECs such as Romania in terms of their market orientation and responsiveness to areas of the EU *acquis communautaire* (examples are Work Safety Standards and Export readiness) (Carlin, Estrin and Schaffer, 2000). Additionally, there is evidence of deep

restructuring in preparation for accession, as well as convergence with EU product certification requirements for exports to the EU across the Polish private sector (Carlin, Estrin and Schaffer, 2000). These successes are even exceeded in some areas; in environmental management, Poland's standards on, for example, the use of fertilisers and pesticides are several times lower than the EU average (Poland. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2002b). Overall, the European Commission has concluded that Poland is a functioning market economy that will be able to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union (European Commission, 2002b).

The perceived inevitability of accession within Poland has led to real efforts in recent years to modernise, liberalise and align with the EU. While there is no doubt that there are significant reforms and improvements yet to be made, the re-orientation of the entire machinery of government is an achievement which should inspire some confidence in the capacity for reform (over time and given adequate adjustment mechanisms) even in the agricultural sector which is going to be the most troubled aspect of accession.

Problematising Accession: A High Price for an Uncertain Future

Despite the progress, for each reason to join there remain a multitude of economic, social, structural and accession-related problems to be overcome, which is reflected by the large number of transitional arrangements embodied in the Accession Treaty for full implementation of the acquis communautaire; Poland has transitional arrangements in place under 13 of the 30 acquis chapters, the most detailed being in the area of Agriculture (European Commission, 2003?). Poland is a candidate state where the average income is less than half the EU average (Pinder, 2001), the export sector has weaknesses which may mean an inadequate ability to compete in the single market (Blazyca, 1999), and there is under-development of infrastructure and industry (see: Blazyca, 1999), including the structural problems of increasingly redundant industries such as coal mining and ship-building. In its 2002 Annual Report, the European Commission voiced strong concerns over Poland's current low rate of economic growth and inadequate government administrative system, as well as her judiciary, corruption levels and deficient customs union preparation (European Commission, 2002b). Other problems for accession, particularly for later Economic and Monetary Union, include high interest rates, fading foreign investment and a current unemployment rate which has hit a record high of well over 18% (McEvoy, 2003). Initially at least, the candidate CEECs will not need to meet the stringent Maastricht convergence criteria (European Central Bank, 2000) as a pre-requisite for joining the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). While opting out of EMU is not an option for new EU members, Poland (among others) is allowed a delay and is currently planning on joining EMU in 2007 (Hubner, 2002), although the European Commission has stated that its alignment is 'almost complete' (European Commission, 2002b, 2003?). There are, however, large areas of internal policy and structure which still require reform and implementation of the EU's acquis communautaire. Nowhere is this more evident than in Agriculture, with the European Commission strongly critical of insufficient alignment, legislative implementation and overall administrative reform (European Commission, 2002b).

The agricultural sector (beyond its backwardness and inefficiency) accounts for only 3.7% of Poland's GDP, but uses 58.8% of Poland's total land area and employs 18.8% of its population (2000 and 2002 figures: European Commission, 2002d). This indicates that not only are the reforms that the EU requires extremely difficult to make as they affect so many people, but they are also costly, a cost which the EU will only partially help to meet through the Special Accession Program for Agricultural and Rural Development (SAPARD) and, upon accession, through the gradual support of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and Integrated Administration and Control System In particular, the entire system of animal registration and agricultural administration needs extensive upgrading in preparation for the CAP, IACS and Community funded regional and rural development programs (European Commission, 2002c), no easy task in a rural sector where much of the farming is still done on a subsistence basis. Additionally, there are no guarantees that having reformed the system, Poland's agricultural sector will ever be as efficient or competitive as that of leading, existing EU members, which is particularly a problem since much of Poland's agricultural output (milk, beef, grain) will be directly competing with that of existing (already agriculturally reformed) EU members. There is evidence to suggest, for example, that removal of tariff barriers will (initially at least) displace local production (Brenton, Sheehy and Vancauteren, 2001).

Money is the big issue in terms of the Polish agricultural sector; there is not enough to fund the restructuring and help those displaced by it, and there may be even less once the sector must compete within the EU. Poland is receiving annual SAPARD funding of €171.603 million to aid in agricultural development (European Commission, 2002d). This funding will not, however, mitigate the main structural problem faced by Polish farmers and peasants; in the EU Commission's own assessment, in the early years following accession, the restructuring process and implementation of Community legislation and policies will result in growing rural unemployment and poverty, without adequate safety-nets for ex-subsistence farmers or alternative sources of income being available or generated (European Commission, 2002c). For example, with the coal industry increasingly threatened by new and renewable energy sources, alternative employment is unlikely to be available in already high unemployment areas, placing enormous pressure on a welfare system which must also conform with the fiscal austerity required by EU policies. The success of the accession scheme rests, furthermore, on the assumption that the Polish people will tolerate growing structural inequality (Blazyca, 1999).

The governments of all the candidate countries are particularly unhappy because of the "two tier" post-accession structural and cohesion funding being proposed (Poland. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001; European Report, 2001a), partly in response to the protests of Spain and France at any reduction in their current funding allocation. The EU expenditure ceiling set by the Berlin European Council in 1999 (including for the CAP) is largely believed to be inadequate to meet the structural adjustment, reform and subsidy needs of the new EU members. The EU will not pay direct aid under CAP at the same level payable to current members or on the same terms, and will not allow funding on the same terms until 2013 (European Commission, 2002c, 2003?). In fact, in the year of

accession (2004), it currently proposes to pay support to candidate state farmers at 25% of the level currently paid to the 13 existing EU members. It is widely believed (by the European Commission and current member states) that more generous funding would not only result in a slowdown in agricultural reforms in the new member states (European Commission 2002c, 2003b) but also bankrupt the EU. Consequently, only US\$61.1 billion has been allocated for transitional assistance for the new member states, compared with US\$547.50 billion transferred to East Germany in the nine years after reunification (Leonard, 2002a). Additionally, only a sum rising to €12 billion by 2006 (Pinder, 2001) in structural funds will go to the ten candidates post-accession; this is just over a third of total structural funds for that year. To make matters worse, the European Commission and EcoFin are proposing a new rule in response to the projected funding shortage; no country will receive regional assistance in excess of 4% of its GDP (Leonard, 2002). The theory informing these funding decisions is that Poland must integrate into the CAP and single market as fast as possible after accession for its own sake and that of the overall stability of the European Union. What remains unclear is how this integration can happen if it is on unequal terms to those enjoyed by current member states, when all of the candidates are starting from economic positions already significantly below those of existing EU members.

Towards an Alliance of Mutual Benefit

'Europe needs Poland for its own integrity and Poland needs Europe for its own future'
Romano Prodi, European Commission President (The Warsaw Voice, 2003)

Some EU members remain pessimistic about the costs and likelihood of instability following accession, saying that as much market integration as is possible or desirable has already been achieved and that allowing accession by 2004 is an unnecessary risk (Blazyca, 1999). This seems to be an extreme position and was certainly not held by, for example, the Danes (especially during their Presidency), who although generally fairly Euro-skeptical, support enlargement (Bernbom, 2002), a sign that (to them at least) the perceived benefits outweigh the costs. It was always clear that Poland would be difficult to accommodate because it was the largest CEEC, with structural problems including agriculture and a low rate of development (Blazyca, 1999). The costs of helping a poorer state restructure and modernise do, however, have their benefits, and there is evidence to suggest that eastern enlargement is not likely to have a greater effect on the present EU members than the southern enlargement had on the EC-9, which was relatively small (European Report, 2001b). Any risk to the EU could, furthermore, be mitigated by the "protection clause" in the Accession Treaty which would apply for two years after accession and allow protection from, for example, sub-standard produce by refusing single market privileges (turning goods back at the border) (Polish Associated Press, 2002). In any case, the cost for the EU of absorbing Poland is met by an overall increase in arable land, more markets (with an extra 100 million consumers) (Cameron, 1997) and growth (with Austria and Germany the big beneficiaries given that they account for a large proportion of EU-Poland trade (European Report, 2001)), political stability and overall increased "safety through unity" in areas ranging from nuclear energy to food safety standards (Kok, 2003). The EU already currently exports about one third more agricultural goods to Poland than it imports from her (European Commission, 2002d), a balance-of-trade which is likely to increase with the greater post-accession liberalisation. The investment interest in Poland by existing members (especially in terms of land purchase) has in fact been significant enough that the Polish government, in response to public concern, negotiated a twelve year derogation on land purchase in Poland by EU nationals (Leonard, 2002b; European Commission, 2003?).

There is also need for acknowledgment of the potential benefits that a new member can bring to the overall development of the European Community. Poland is very supportive, for example, of a strong Common Foreign and Security Policy (including the creation of the post of an EU Foreign Affairs Minister) and of a single European voice on international peace and security, to combat problems such as the fragmentation in the Security Council and other international bodies precipitated by the events of September 11 and the Iraqi crisis (Poland. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2003). It plans on championing a *European* Foreign and Security Policy, both within the Inter-Governmental Conference and throughout its EU membership, believing that stability, security and prosperity lie in greater unity and cohesion in international political, military and strategic affairs. In this, Poland's views are certainly in line with those of the integrationist President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi (Warsaw Voice, 2003).

There are many, including (for example) agricultural and trade union representatives within Poland, who believe that accession is premature (Szczerbiak, 2001) and that the market economy is simply too new to weather the shock of EU market competition gracefully (Kucia, 1999). Others, such as Catholic Church representatives (although oddly, not the Pope himself), fear the erosion of Polish culture and morality in the face of a standardised, secular European identity (McEvoy, 2003). It must be remembered, however, that accession and alignment are a bumpy road; adjustment to a market economy takes place in stages (Carlin, Estrin and Schaffer, 2000) and cultural change is rarely dramatic, sudden or removed from popular support. There is an overall need to temper both the fear and optimism that have characterized the accession process. The closer the EU works with Poland to overcome difficulties, the more stable the country and by extension the Union is likely to stay, especially in the lead up to Poland's joining EMU in 2007. What is clear is that accession will have painful economic and social consequences for Poland's citizens (Szczerbiak, 2001). The heightened perception of these consequences probably explains the anxiety of Leszek Miller's government in the lead up to the accession referendum. Their worries were put aside when on June 7-8 earlier this year, 77.45% of the Polish population (with a turn-out of 58.85%) voted in favour of EU accession (Frydrych, 2003). The success of the vote heralds the most intensive period of change the nation has seen since the fall of Communism. The dream of a united Europe is strong among most existing and candidate EU members. If the will among the Polish people, government and the EU to weather the initial storm and work through the current difficulties in the knowledge of mutual costs and benefits holds, there is every chance that 1st May 2004 could be the next historical step in the formation of a prosperous, peaceful Europe.

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EU STUDIES **N**EWS

CONFERENCES, CALLS FOR PAPERS

9th Conference of the International Society for the Study of European Ideas Workshop: "The German Idea of Individuality: Between Tradition and Modernity"

The Chairs of the following workshops invite participants to contribute papers. If you would like to submit a paper please contact the Chair directly:

Decolonisation, Emerging Literatures and the Co-existence of Differences: French/European citizens Writing Identity on the Margins of Europe

Chaired by Raylene Ramsay Professor of French and HOD University of Auckland

Fax: 64 9 373 7483

Phone: 64 9 373 7599 Ext 7133 Email: r.ramsay@auckland.ac.nz

Entrepreneurship: Individual or Team Creativity

Chaired by: Dr Maria Nawojczyk Institute of Sociology Nicholas Copernicus University Fosa Staromiejska 1a 87-100 ToruD, Poland maria.nawojczyk@umk.pl

Multiculturalism, Cosmopolitanism, Globalism: Toward a Hybrid Human Identity

Chaired by: Daniel R. White,

Honors College,

Florida Atlantic University,

5353,

Parkside Drive,

Jupter,

FL 33458, USA.

Email: dwhite@fau.edu

The European Peripher and European Identity Europe in the World Centre, University of Liverpool, 2/3 July 2004

Full details of the event can be found at:

http://www.liv.ac.uk/ewc/word%20files/Borders%20workshop/Workshop flyer.doc

Asia-Pacific EU Conference "Outside Looking In": Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the EU 9-11 September 2004

This conference is the 2nd meeting of the Asia-Pacific EU Studies Association (the inaugural conference was held in Seoul in May 2003). THE ASIA-PACIFIC EU STUDIES ASSOCIATION BRINGS TOGETHER ECSA / EUSA associations across the region — from India in the west to China and Japan in the east and Australia and New Zealand in the south. The conference is sponsored by EUSA-New Zealand, the NCRE and the European Commission.

Please visit the NCRE website to find out more about this upcoming

conference: http://www.europe.canterbury.ac.nz/

Call for Panels and Papers
The European Union: New Neighbours, New Challenges
UACES 34th Annual Conference and 9th Research Conference
The University of Birmingham,
Monday - Wednesday, 6-8 September 2004

Please see www.uaces.org/D410401.htm for the Call for panels and papers. The deadline is Monday 16 February 2004.

The First OCEANIC CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Department of International Relations Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies Australian National University 14-16 July 2004

In recent years the number of scholars in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific studying and teaching international relations and global politics has grown dramatically. And the diversity of work currently underway is greater than ever before. The first Oceanic Conference on International Studies is designed to bring this growing community together, to help build satisfying and productive networks and relationships, and to showcase the variety of world class research being conducted in the region. For more information on this conference please email Mary-Louise Hickey at Marylouise.Hickey@anu.edu.au.

Paper and panel proposals should be submitted by Monday 2 February 2004.

3rd Annual Hawaii International Conference on Social Sciences
June 16 - 19, 2004
Sheraton Waikiki Hotel, Honolulu Hawaii, USA
Submission Deadline: January 27, 2004

For information about submissions see:

http://www.hicsocial.org/cfp_ss.htm; Web address: http://www.hicsocial.org

The following notices are reproduced from the EUSA List Serve.

REVISED CALL FOR PAPERS DEADLINE 20 January 2004 2nd Pan-European Conference on EU Politics 24-26 June, 2004, Bologna, Italy

The ECPR Standing Group on the European Union is organizing a conference on the implications of a wider Europe for the European Union. This conference will be the largest of its type held in Europe, and will bring together academics from across the globe.

Specific themes that will be addressed in the conference include: The New European Constitution
Accession and Enlargement
Populism and the New Europe
Social Europe
Turkey and the European Union
The European Union and the Mediterranean

For more information, please contact: Erik Jones Resident Associate Professor of European Studies SAIS Bologna Center John Hopkins University ejones@jhubc.it

2004 Fifth Pan-European International Relations Conference. Deadline for proposals: 1 February 2004

We welcome papers that deal with the main conference themes and invite proposals for participation to the Conference Programme. Please make submissions via the electronic form available via the list of Sections on the Conference website. http://www.sgir.org/conference2004

Fifth International CISS Millennium Conference Salzburg, Austria July 7-8, 2004

Charting the course of the international ORDER in the Twenty First Century: challenges, directions and multilevel solutions

Closing date for receipt of proposals is December 31, 2003. To submit proposals on-line

please go to: http://www.isanet.org/sections/cis/form2004.htm

For more information contact cissisa@attglobal.net Deadline for Pre-Registration: MARCH 1, 2004

Governing The Corporation Mapping The Loci Of Power In Corporate Governance Design

International Colloquium 20-21 September 2004 Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research Queen's University, Belfast Deadline for detailed abstracts 1 February 2004

Bringing together practitioners, regulators and leading academics, the international colloquium will provide an opportunity to map not only went wrong in corporate governance but provide an assessment of the efficacy - or otherwise - of regulatory solutions to the precipitous decline in confidence. Taking place over two days, the colloquium will utilise plenary and breakout sessions to critically assess the post-Enron landscape. The conference will provide an unrivalled opportunity for academics, compliance officials, regulators and politicians to network. A collection of papers is scheduled to be published under the university imprint.

Further information is available on request from:

Dr Justin O'Brien,

Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research,

Queen's University, Belfast Email: j.obrien@qub.ac.uk

Website www.governance.qub.ac.uk

New Security Agendas: European and Australian Perspectives Menzies Centre (King's College London) 1-3 July 2004

(in conjunction with the Contemporary Europe Research Centre)

Call for papers for a conference on new security agendas as seen from Europe and Australia. Speakers include Barry Buzan, Michael Cox, Lawrence Freedman, James Gow, Tim Shaw and Peter Shearman.

For further details visit the Web site for the Menzies Centre: http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/menzies/events/events.htm#security or Contemporary Europe Research Centre: http://www.cerc.unimelb.edu.au Conference registration is through the Menzies Centre Web site.

Other conferences relating to the EU can be found at:

http://www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/calendar/index.html

JOURNALS

New Journal - Eupolitix.com

www.eupolitix.com

A new online information service designed specifically for EU policymakers and all those with an interest in EU affairs. The service is built around three interrelated pillars -

- 1. News EUpolitix.com provides authoritative EU related news over 50 news items per day.
- 2. Legislation Monitoring EUpolitix.com tracks every piece of current EU legislation regarding all policy areas through every stage of its progress from proposal to adoption. Users can obtain stakeholder positions on each directive at all times.
- 3. The Forum via its Forum, EUpolitix.com provides policymakers with real-time access to the public affairs positions of stakeholders from corporations to trade associations and non-governmental organisations. The Forum is fully searchable, as an aid to research.

All content is freely available to all users, including 3 daily email bulletins: the morning bulletin sets out the political news agenda for the day; a press review of Europe's most influential newspapers is also sent out in the morning; and at the end of the day there is an e-mail collating the day's news stories while providing the following day's agenda.

It is accessed via free email bulletins to subscribers, via the web www.eupolitix.com and via the intranets of the European Commission, European Parliament and Council of Ministers.

German Law Journal:

The latest issue of the German Law Journal – a review of developments in German, European & International Jurisprudence – is now available at: http://www.germanlawjournal.com. The PDF-version (readable and printable) is available at: http://www.glj-pdf.de.

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European Journal of International Law

We are pleased to inform you that the recently published issue of the European Journal of International Law (Vol. 14, No. 4) is now on the EJIL web site. This issue includes the symposium, "The European Tradition in International Law: Alf Ross", and featured on the web site for this issue is the full-text article by Carl Landauer, "Antinomies of the United Nations: Hans Kelsen and Alf Ross on the Charter". Visitors to the site will also find abstracts of the other articles included in this issue as well as full-text book reviews.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Executive Director, European Union Studies Association, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Full-time, permanent, Administrator IV position.

Responsible for all operations, programs, and activities of medium-sized, international, non-profit scholarly organization. Applicants must have superior writing, verbal communication, interpersonal, fiscal accounting, and computer skills, including fluency in Access, Acrobat Reader, Adobe Illustrator, Photoshop, and Pagemaker, Microsoft Word, Quicken, various e-mail programs, and the ability to content-edit and maintain/update Web site(s). Must have demonstrable experience in successful fundraising from individual, corporate, foundation, and government sources. Must possess analytical and planning skills and be able to identify potential problems as well as strategize for short-, medium-, and long-term goals. Will work closely with Association membership and board of directors. Will work with printers, book publishers, think tanks, government officials, other associations. Must be able to represent Association professionally. Knowledge of non-English European language(s) helpful but not required.

For more information please refer to: Web www.eustudies.org

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF EUROPEAN STUDIES Centre for Local and Regional Government research Research Assistant Level 6, 0.5

The School of European Studies and the Centre for Local & Regional Government Research in Cardiff Business School, University of Wales, Cardiff, are seeking to appoint a part-time (0.5) Research Assistant to assist Professor John Loughlin (European Studies) and Professor Steve Martin (Cardiff Business School) on a new research project funded by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister on "International Lessons in Regional and Local Government" and other related projects. A good reading knowledge of French is

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essential, and knowledge of other languages will be an advantage. The post will be for one year in the first instance but may be renewed for a second year. The successful candidate will have a degree in social sciences (at least a good 2:1) or a related subject. There is a possibility of combining the post with enrolment as a part/time MPhil/PhD student in Cardiff University (at the concessionary rates available to members of staff).

For further information please contact: Professor John Loughlin School of European Studies Cardiff University P.O. Box 908 CARDIFF CF 10 3 YQ UK

Tel.: + 44 - 29 - 2087 4585 (office); Mobile + 44 - 0777 - 929 7052; e-mail: loughlin@cardiff.ac.uk

From the EUSA List Serve:

Free University of Brussels Institute for European Studies Two vacancies for Senior Research Fellows

The Senior Researcher Fellows will coordinate and conduct research in either one of the following fields of European studies:

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- The third pillar area of freedom, security and justice
- The European Foreign and Security Policy

Activities include:

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- 3. Assist with activities relating to the processing of manuscripts produced by researchers and collaborators including overseeing the editing process of certain papers and publications.
- 4. Contribute to the development and implementation of the IES, which includes supervision of the work of Ph.D. students and counselling with the project promoters of junior researchers; etc.
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Duration: Two years with possibility of renewal. Positions will basis be held on a full-time. Secondment from other universities can be envisaged. An appointment for a period

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Remuneration: post-doctoral level or matching with actual status. The contract offered is a contract under Belgian law and subject to the Belgian tax system. Candidates interested in a secondment are welcome. Applications including a research proposal and a detailed Curriculum Vitae should be sent to the President of the IES.

Prof. Dr. Bart De Schutter Institute for European Studies Vrije Universiteit Brussel Pleinlaan 2 B-1050 Brussels, Belgium E-mail: Bart.De.Schutter@vub.ac.be

Posted by EUSA member Youri Devuyst, Brussels, Belgium.

SEOUL NATIONAL UNIVERSITY East Asian Politics/IO/I-Law/Europe

The Department of International Relations at Seoul National University, Korea, invites applications for a one-year visiting professor position, which will start in September 2004. The preferred area of expertise includes East Asian politics, international organization/law, and/or Europe. Eligibility is limited to those who are not the citizen of the Republic of Korea and who have Ph.D. in political science, international relations, or related disciplines. Those who have published at least one article in academic journals in the last two years are preferred. The successful candidate is expected to teach two classes (one undergraduate and one graduate) per semester. Salary levels are negotiable starting from \$50,000, depending on qualifications and experiences. Moving expenses are not provided but low-cost on-campus housing included.

Application materials include: a cover letter indicating the field of application and suggested courses for teaching; curriculum vitae; two letters of recommendation; and, samples of written work. Application deadline is February 1, 2004. The application should be addressed to: Professor Youngsun Ha, Chairman of the Search Committee, Department of International Relations, Seoul National University, Seoul, 151-742, Republic of Korea (e-mail: ysha@plaza.snu.ac.kr).

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Applicants should send a cover letter with name, address, e-mail and telephone number, a current CV, a research proposal not exceeding ten double-spaced pages, and two letters of recommendation from academic advisors. Applicants should indicate how much time they want to spend at the HBS and when they would like to start their tenure.

Applications should be addressed to: Hans Boeckler Foundation c/o Dorothee Schmitz Hans Boeckler Strasse 39 D-40476 Duesseldorf Germany



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The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia was launched as an independent body on 16 March, 1991 in Melbourne. The initiative for such an Association was based on the experience of the national Associations for Contemporary European Studies in each of the member states of the European Union and elsewhere, which is an experience of cooperation, sharing of learning and research interests and dissemination of information and critical analysis on contemporary issues.

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- to encourage European Studies in secondary schools;
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The establishment of the Association reflects a desire that academics in Australia from all tertiary institutions, as well as interested individuals, participate in the activities of one Association throughout Australia. The approach of CESAA is interdisciplinary and interprofessional.

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