

# REVIEW

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cesaa

contemporary european studies association of australia



The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA) was launched in 1991, with the mission to promote European Studies in a variety of ways. CESAA is an independent body whose objectives are:

- ❖ to promote teaching and research in contemporary European studies;
- ❖ to provide a forum for discussion of contemporary European issues;
- ❖ to produce publications on contemporary European issues;
- ❖ to maintain and foster links between tertiary educational institutions;
- ❖ to maintain and foster links between academics in Australia working in this field and colleagues in other countries;
- ❖ to encourage European studies in secondary schools;
- ❖ to advise interested government and non-government organisations.

CESAA welcomes new members and an application form is attached at the end of the *Review*. Application forms can be returned, with cheque payable to CESAA, Membership Secretary, PO Box 670, Carlton South, Victoria 3053, Australia. Subscriptions (including the *CESAA Review*) are:

❖ Students/retired/unwaged	\$15.00	2 years \$25.00
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**INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CESAA REVIEW**

The *CESAA Review* is a formally refereed journal. The *CESAA Review* aims to publish scholarly articles of a high standard related to theoretical and empirical aspects of contemporary European studies. Its research agenda is to further the development of European studies in Australia and New Zealand, and to provide a forum for debating issues relating to contemporary Europe, as well as Australia and New Zealand's relationship with Europe.

Unsolicited manuscripts of between 5,000-7,000 words (exclusive of bibliography and endnotes) in any area of contemporary European studies are welcomed by the *Review*. Articles should not be under consideration for any other journal. Authors should submit three copies of their contribution, typed double-spaced on A4 paper, together with a disk copy formatted in Microsoft Word (PC) 6.0 or later. Author's name and affiliations should appear only on the cover of the manuscript, which will be detached prior to forwarding to referees. Each manuscript should be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 150 words. The Harvard referencing system is preferred. External referees formally assess articles and final decision on editing, publication and content rests with the CESAA Editorial Board, which will comprise of members of the CESAA Committee.

Authors should retain a copy of their contribution, as manuscripts submitted for publication will not be returned.

The *CESAA Review* will continue to publish shorter, unreviewed articles and contributions relating to the following are especially welcome:

- ❖ articles on issues and current events in Europe;
- ❖ news of the relevant disciplines involved in European Studies;
- ❖ news of forthcoming conferences and events, at local, state, federal, or international level;
- ❖ reports of conferences on European issues;
- ❖ the teaching of European Studies in Australia;
- ❖ news of scholarships, grants and research funding for European studies;
- ❖ book reviews; and
- ❖ letters to the editors.

We welcome feedback on articles featured in the *Review* and issues you would like to raise.

<b>Address for Contributions to the Review</b>	<b>CESAA Back Copies</b>
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## **Letter from the President of CESAA, Dr. Philomena Murray**

Dear CESAA Members,

CESAA has been active on several fronts over the last year, characterized by seminars, a major international conference with Mary Robinson as keynote speaker and a number of other activities.

### **Funding Opportunities**

**I would like to draw your immediate attention to the new Jean Monnet calls for funding from the European Commission in Brussels. The European Commission awards subsidies to the academic world for the setting up of projects concerning European integration issues, in a number of ways. These are: the creation of teaching activities; support for young researchers and support for research. The explanatory memorandum (or vade mecum) and application forms can be found on the European Commission website at the following address:**

**<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/ajm/call.html>**

The deadline for the submission of applications is: 15 April 2003.

### **Establishment of a New European Studies Network**

I attended a meeting for the establishment of the Australian Universities Europe Network. I attended as a representative of my University (CESAA was not explicitly invited). Elim Papadakis has kindly agreed to provide a report on the meeting, at CESAA's request, and it can be found in this Review. The importance of CESAA's work and achievements in advancing European Studies in Australia was acknowledged at the meeting, which was held at the University of New South Wales. We anticipate working closely with, and within, the Network on this important initiative of the National Europe Centre.

### **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.

### **European Research Email Bulletin**

One of the aims of CESAA is to improve awareness of courses being taught in European Studies and research currently being conducted on Europe throughout Australia. As part of this networking and provision of information on forthcoming conferences, and in addition to the CESAA Review, The Contemporary Europe Research Center of the University of Melbourne (CERC) is happy to assist CESAA in disseminating information on relevant publications and events through its fortnightly **CERC Bulletin**. If you do not already receive this, please email CERC on [CERC@CERC.unimelb.edu.au](mailto:CERC@CERC.unimelb.edu.au) if you wish to be placed on the Bulletin email list and/or to provide information for it.

**CESAA/CERC Conference: Immigration and Human Rights: European Experiences and Australian Resonances, November 2002**

This conference was coordinated and organised by CERC with the Goethe Institut and CESAA and credit and heartfelt thanks are given in particular to Prof. Leslie Holmes and Dr. Zoe Know for their excellent organisation.

CERC reports: “Human rights and immigration are two of the most contested issues in a world of disappearing borders. From Bosnia to Afghanistan, from East Timor to Iraq, global governance is being reshaped by the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. Never before have the prerogatives of the sovereign state seemed so fragile. Never before have victims of human rights abuses been able to defend themselves with such a powerful network of independent communications and international civil society. But the global human rights offensive has coincided with a global refugee crisis. The defiance of the borders of oppressive states, in the name of human rights, has coincided with a new preoccupation with 'border protection' in the democracies against asylum seekers. Although many policymakers and politicians have tried to keep these two problems apart, this conference explored the interrelationships between human rights and immigration, both in Europe and Australia. This major international conference was sponsored by CERC and the Goethe Institut Inter Nationes, with the support of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA), The Australian Centre (The University of Melbourne), the National Europe Centre (Australian National University) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy.

Keynote speakers included: Mrs Mary Robinson (former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights); Mr Wolfgang Grenz (Amnesty International, Germany); Dr James Jupp (Australian National University); Mr Peter Mares (ABC); Prof. Dieter Oberndoerfer (Head of the Council for Migration in Germany); Dr Nonja Peters (Curtin University of Technology); Prof. Bernard Porter (University of Newcastle, UK); Mr Paul Scheffer (Journalist and public commentator, the Netherlands); Mr Harald Waldrauch (European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research, Vienna) and Mr Andreas Zumach (Political correspondent based at the United Nations, Geneva). Other speakers included: Dr Dvir Abramovich (University of Melbourne); Dr Tim Bale (Victoria University of Wellington); Dr Greg Burgess (University of Tasmania); Ms Kristie Dunn and Ms Jessica Howard (University of Melbourne); Dr Antonia Finnane (University of Melbourne); Ms Sarina Greco (Ecumenical Migration Centre, Brotherhood of St Laurence); Ms Ainslie Hannan (Coordinator Ecumenical Migration Centre of the Brotherhood St Laurence); Ms Susan Harris (Co-Convenor of the National Refugee Team, Amnesty International Australia); Dr Lesleyanne Hawthorne (University of Melbourne); Dr Robert Horvath (University of Melbourne); Ms Slavia Ilic (Victorian Multiethnic Slavic Welfare Association); Dr Robyn Lui (Griffith University); Dr Penelope Mathew (Australian National University); Mr Cezary Milosinski (Monash University); Dr Nikos Papastergiadis (University of Melbourne); Dr John Rundell (University of Melbourne); Mr Sudip Sen (Commonwealth Parliamentary Library); Ms Sonia Tascón (Curtin University of Technology); Dr Barry York (Commonwealth Parliamentary Library); Ms Renata Summo-O'Connell (University of Melbourne); Dr Savitri Taylor (La Trobe University) and Dr Michael Uricher.”

### **CESAA Essay Competition**

We have reached our eleventh year of the Essay Competition. The *CESAA Essay Competition* is run with the generous support of the Delegation of the European Commission and supported by CERC. The Panel of Judges for the 2002 Competition consisted of Walter Veit; Carly Severino Moran and Bruno Mascitelli and it was chaired by Bruno Mascitelli. Warmest thanks to the panel of judges for their hard work on this and to the students for submitting essays. CESAA now welcomes essays on any European topic from undergraduates and postgraduates for the 2003 Competition.

### **CESAA Website**

Further updates and a substantial revamping are being made to the *CESAA website*. Details will be sent to you as soon as it is fully operational.

### **ECSA-World Presidents Meeting, Brussels, 4 December 2002**

In my capacity as CESAA president, I attended the Meeting of ECSA (European Community Studies Associations)-World Presidents, Brussels, 4 December 2002. The meeting was chaired by outgoing ECSA President, Prof. Marc Maresceau. These meetings are held every two years, prior to the ECSA World conference. Representatives from throughout the world attended and it was the first time for the presidents of the new ECSAs in Estonia, Latvia, Slovenia, Belarus and Mexico. This meeting was financed by the European Commission. We were also introduced to the new President of ECSA World, Prof. Antonia Papisca, from January 2003. No election was held.

Key issues of relevance to CESAA were:

- “The importance of ECSANET as a communication tool for ECSA to share and publicise information and events was stressed. A calendar of ECSA activities and a Who’s Who in European Integration Studies are future projects planned for ECSANET. It was stressed that the ECSAs need to be fully proactive in providing information about their activities in order that ECSANET be used to the full. The value of the internet, in general, was recognised, both as a teaching tool (distance learning) and as a communication tool for the ECSAs”.
- Discussion of funding opportunities for ECSAs and clarification of the various instruments available.
- Discussion of the role of Commission funding: teaching activities and/or research activities. Attention was drawn to programmes for the funding of teaching. “However, in countries where European Integration Studies are newer to the curriculum, it is important to concentrate on the teaching at this stage in order that research can come later.” There was a suggestion regarding funding to academic and researchers to have exchanges.
- The Draft Conclusions of the meeting are appended to this letter.

### **ECSA-World Conference “Peace, Security and Stability, International Dialogue and the Role of the European Union”, 5-6 December 2002**

The meeting of Presidents was followed by the Sixth ECSA-World Conference “Peace, Security and Stability, International Dialogue and the Role of the European Union”. Full details are now available on the ECSA website, where you will find the downloadable papers, on: <http://www.ecsanet.org/ecsaworld6/contributions.htm>

**Asia Pacific Network of European Union Studies Associations**

While in Brussels in December, I participated in a meeting of the Asia Pacific Network of European Studies Associations. The major outcomes of the meeting were the official establishment of the Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies and organization of the forthcoming Conference of The First International Conference of the ECSA Asia-Pacific May 30-31, 2003 (see below). In addition, I attended a meeting of the Editorial board of the Asia Pacific Journal of EU Studies, at the National Centre for research on Europe at the University of Christchurch, in February 2003 regarding the conference and the Journal. Both of these are very exciting initiatives. You are warmly encouraged to submit articles to the journal. You are also encouraged (finances permitting) to attend the conference in Seoul. As you aware from my emails communications, some funding (for accommodation) is available for up to 5 CESAA members, provided by the EU Studies Association of Korea, based on a grant it received from the European Commission.

**Forthcoming Conference of The First International Conference of the ECSA Asia-Pacific May 30-31, 2003.**

You have already received email notice of The Fifth International Conference of the EU Studies Association of Korea/The First International Conference of the ECSA Asia-Pacific on **European Integration and the Asia-Pacific Region**, to be held in Seoul on May 30-31, 2003. Full details are set out in this Review.

**Future Activities**

The CESAA Committee welcomes the active involvement of all CESAA members in activities throughout Australia. Please feel free to contact us by email or mail at our institutions or C/O CESAA, PO Box 670, Carlton South, Victoria 3053 to discuss any initiatives and issues which you might like to raise.

This promises to be another exciting year for CESAA and we look forward to your participation.

Yours sincerely,

Philomena Murray  
President of CESAA

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**General Assembly of the National ECSA Presidents  
Brussels, 4 December 2002 / 3.00 p.m.–5.00 p.m.**

**Draft Conclusions**

*The ECSA General Assembly, composed of Presidents of 44 national ECSAs, has formulated the following Conclusions and proposed to the European Commission that:*

1. ECSA thanks the European Commission for everything that it has done within the framework of its cooperation with ECSA and hopes that the solid base established between the ECSA and the European Commission will be consolidated and reinforced over the years to come through increased support and greater visibility;
2. an ECSA-World Conference continues to be organised regularly every 2 years and that to this effect, a scientific ECSA/Commission Committee be set-up and funded;
3. the networking of ECSA be reinforced through an interactive tool which would be able to exchange information between the ECSA national associations. A 'Who's Who in European Integration', a Calendar of activities a Newsletter and a Directory of Postgraduate Courses be re-established in electronic form on ECSANET. This would serve as an interactive database enabling continual updates to be made;
4. ECSA be involved more closely in the reflection process of the European Commission regarding the Jean Monnet Project and European Integration studies in general ("European Master", curricula development, Centres of Excellence...);
5. regular contact be maintained with the ECSA beyond the world conferences and in particular that a meeting be organised next year to discuss the state of play of European Integration Studies (teaching and research) and their impact with particular reference to the candidate countries. This meeting would allow ECSA national associations to work also in regional groups or according to their specific subject of interest.
6. consideration should be given to publications and to disseminating in innovative ways research materials on European Integration.



## **Integrating Dissenters: Greens and PDS in the party system of united Germany**

**By Franz Oswald**

There are significant parallels between the German Greens<sup>1</sup> and the Party of Democratic Socialism in spite of their very different historical origins. The Greens emerged from the West German “new social movements” of the 1970s; the PDS, on the other hand, is the successor of the SED, East Germany’s ruling party until 1989 incorporating communist and social democratic traditions. The PDS was an isolated outsider in 1990, separated by a chasm from all other parties adopting an exclusion strategy in order to accelerate the apparently imminent demise of the post-communist, East German newcomer. However, by comparing the development of Greens and PDS since their foundation it becomes visible that both parties have traversed political space in a similar manner. Beginning as outsiders after their foundation both turned into rather normal and accepted participants in the party system over time. The addition of Greens and PDS as relevant minor parties to the three-party system of the Federal Republic (CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP) has created regionalized pluralism, however, the integration of these former outsiders has prevented the rise of polarized pluralism.<sup>2</sup>

The Greens were, in the 1980s, led by their “Realo” wing towards an acceptance of the policy compromises necessary in a government with Social Democrats. Even future coalitions with the CDU have become conceivable by Green acceptance of neoliberal social policies and NATO-based security policies. The PDS, in its turn, has been led out of its marginality as post-communist successor of the SED, enabling the party to survive in united Germany. The Greens have moved further along this path of integration. Their entry into German national government in late 1998 and the role of Green leader Joschka Fischer as Foreign Affairs Minister illustrated this change. By contrast, the total outsider status of the PDS, during and after its foundation, has not yet receded very far into the past. Nevertheless, remembering where the Greens started in 1980 and recapitulating their trajectory over two decades helps to put into perspective the transformation of the PDS since 1989 and its medium term prospects.

The opportunities implied by the electoral system of proportional representation and the existence of two levels of government in Germany’s federalism facilitated the integration of two formerly marginalized parties. Proportional representation gives relevant minor parties representation in parliament; there they have the opportunity to form government coalitions with major parties lacking a majority on their own. These opportunities, to gain representation and to join government coalitions, have affected the debates and the ambitions of party elites within Greens and PDS while major parties found it attractive to abandon exclusion strategies if government can be gained

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<sup>1</sup> The name “The Greens” will be used throughout this text to refer to “The Greens” until 1990 and the “Alliance 90/The Greens” since then.

<sup>2</sup> David Patton, “The Rise of Germany’s Party of Democratic Socialism: ‘Regionalised Pluralism’ in the Federal Republic?” *West European Politics*, 23, 1 (January 2002), pp. 144-60.

by integrating former outsider parties as junior coalition partners. Programmatic and ideological adjustments made it possible for Greens and PDS to pursue ministerial ambitions unlike minor parties in other countries excluded by majoritarian electoral systems from representation in lower houses and government formation.

The first section of this article will highlight characteristic steps in the development of the Greens from their foundation in 1980 and their first entry into federal parliament in 1983, as isolated outsiders, to their arrival on the ministerial benches of federal government after the 1998 elections. The second section will trace the development of the PDS over a shorter period, from its foundation in late 1989 and its entry into federal parliament in 1990, as totally marginalised outsiders, to the years 1998-2000, when the PDS joined two regional governments as coalition partner. Finally, it will be argued that regionalized pluralism, rather than polarized pluralism characterized the German party system as a result of the integration of the former outsiders Greens and PDS.

### **The transformation of the Greens 1980-1998**

To highlight the similarities in the development of Greens and PDS, the narrative follows the same ten points in both cases.

**1. The foundation congress** of the Greens in Karlsruhe 1980 was characterised by clashes between conservative ecologists among the convenors of the congress and leftists coming from “K-groups”<sup>3</sup> demanding to be included in the new party. The degree of disunity and the lack of organisational coherence displayed at the foundation congress did not promise survival as an organisation. These symptoms of instability made an exclusion strategy attractive to other parties as the Greens seemed more likely to disintegrate than to develop into a stable coalition partner of any other party.

**2. The ideological heterogeneity** of the convenors of the Karlsruhe congress was considerable. They included Herbert Gruhl, an eco-conservative and former CDU parliamentarian, August Haußleiter, leader of the national-neutralist, minuscule AUD, prominent ecopacifist Petra Kelly, as well as ecologists influenced by the “anthroposophic” thoughts of Rudolf Steiner.<sup>4</sup> This diversity increased with the inclusion of eco-socialists and former members of “K-groups” during the congress. Soon after the congress, ideological heterogeneity was somewhat reduced when eco-conservative Gruhl left to form the ÖDP, whereas eco-socialists Trampert and Ebermann departed in 1990 followed by “deep green” Jutta Ditfurth in 1991. Even after these departures, the party still included conservative “anthroposophs” in Baden-Württemberg, ecosocialists, ecoliberals, former members of the SPD’s junior organisation, and ex-Maoists. However, twenty years after the party’s foundation, the ideological spectrum covered by the Greens was much narrower as the party was clearly dominated by “Realo” eco-liberals. This reduction of ideological heterogeneity made it easier for “Realo” leaders such as Joschka Fischer to steer the party toward more pragmatic positions. A more centrist position within the party was taken by leaders such as Jürgen Trittin, federal Minister for the Environment since October

<sup>3</sup> Originally founded by Maoist students in the early 1970s.

<sup>4</sup> Jürgen Gottschlich, “Mit dem Herzen denken”, *taz-Journal*, 1/1998, pp. 12-15.

1998, who “has done much for the integration of the party”, in the words of Joschka Fischer,<sup>5</sup> combining an appeal to Green supporters disappointed by Fischer’s open pragmatism with enough pragmatism to become a minister himself.

**3. The party structure** adopted by the Greens in the early 1980s was guided by the principles of “Basisdemokratie”. The “anti-party party” retained characteristics of social movements opting for rotation of office bearers, separation of party office from elected office, two or three “speakers” instead of one party chairman, as well as committee meetings open to all party members. However, a decade later the party congress of Neumünster (1991) adopted structural reforms strengthening the role of parliamentarians and terminating the rotation principle.<sup>6</sup>

From these beginnings as an “anti-party party”<sup>7</sup> with social movement characteristics, the Greens transformed themselves into a party reminiscent of loosely organized left-liberal parties. Structurally, the Greens were very much unlike social democratic mass parties but similar to liberal and left-liberal parties. What promised to be a maximum of basis democracy turned out to be a loosely structured party allowing parliamentarians and especially parliamentary leaders to dominate in informal ways.

**4. Electoral success** and parliamentary representation transformed the Greens. In 1983, they were first elected into the Bundestag. They also won seats in the parliaments of all West German states (except Schleswig-Holstein) between 1979 and 1990. In an organisationally weak party, the weight of parliamentarians increased very quickly compared to membership and party apparatus. Electoral success resulted in the emergence of the option to join government coalitions, at first in local government, most prominently in Frankfurt, later on the Land level, finally nationally in 1998.

**5. Reform potential or Green identity?** An emphasis on their distinctive post-materialist identity stabilized the Greens and separated them from all other parties. However, the opportunities offered by parliamentary representation affected their priorities and the temptations of office began to work. The “Realos” among Green city councillors and state parliamentarians found there was sufficient common ground between Greens and other parties, especially Social Democrats, to develop some cooperation.

**6. Opposition, toleration or coalition?** The programmatic change from deep green positions to a greater appreciation of possible reforms was accompanied by changing strategies. An opposition role was appropriate for an expressive party representing the views of the Green-alternative milieu: to articulate a clear position, to influence public opinion, to put pressure on government and business from outside. However, this opposition role was softened. The “toleration” of a Social Democratic minority government in Hesse (1983) was a transitory stage allowing the Greens to influence government formation without abandoning their expressive opposition role

<sup>5</sup> Bettina Gaus, “Der Handyman: Parteichef Jürgen Trittin”, *taz-Journal*, 1/1998, 92-93.

<sup>6</sup> Jürgen Raschke, Zwei Schritte vor, ein Schritt zurück: Die Grünen nach Neumünster”, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 36, 6 (June 1991), pp. 720-22.

<sup>7</sup> Petra Kelly, “Nicht nur Revolutionen fressen ihre Kinder”, in Michael Schroeren (ed.), *Die Grünen: 10 bewegte Jahre*, Wien: Carl Ueberreuter, 1990, pp. 180-91: “Today the Greens are no longer what I once meant by the catchphrase ‘anti-party party’” (p. 183).

completely.<sup>8</sup> The toleration strategy presupposed that the “post-materialist” Greens had learned to distinguish between other parties. From a “deep green” perspective, all other parties appeared indistinguishably industrialist and materialist; from a “Realo” perspective, however, centre-left Social Democrats were sufficiently different from the centre-right CDU/CSU to justify cooperation. The toleration approach prepared the ground for the Greens joining government coalitions. Joschka Fischer became the first Green minister worldwide as Minister for the Environment in the Hesse state government in October 1985. Debates between “Realos” and “Fundis” about the question of joining or not joining governments divided the Greens from 1983 on.<sup>9</sup> Fifteen years later Joschka Fischer was Foreign Minister of Germany’s federal government.

**7. From milieu party to parliamentary party:** New parties have a chance to establish themselves as relevant small parties if they are solidly supported by a socio-cultural milieu. The Greens were anchored in the “alternative” milieu resulting from the 1960s and subsequent social movements. Green party congresses showed signs of this subculture. The early Green MPs carried symbolic expressions into parliament and into executive office. Joschka Fischer was sworn in as Hesse minister wearing sneakers. These stylistic characteristics of the milieu were gradually abandoned. The milieu was reduced to a reservoir of voters and candidates for local councils whereas the weight of parliamentarians and parliamentary leaders became decisive among Greens.

**8. Transformation of leadership - leaders transforming the party:** Initially the leadership of the Greens included rather conventional politicians such as Herbert Gruhl (CDU) and August Haußleiter (AUD). A second type of leader came from the 1960s traditions of the Green-alternative milieu or from the 1980s peace movement. Their behaviour and their style clashed with the expectations of parliament and bureaucracy but during the 1980s and 1990s they became rather normal politicians in two respects: not only in their style of dress and speech but also in their organisational norms. In October 1985, Joschka Fischer wore sneakers and jeans when he was sworn in as Minister for the Environment of the Hesse state government; by October 1998, he had the sartorial style expected of a Foreign Minister. His defeated opponent Jutta Ditfurth experienced Fischer’s success first in the local Greens’ organisation in Frankfurt and later at the national level: “And if you analyse the development of the last seven years precisely, you can show item by item that all structural and programmatic changes of the Greens - from abolition of the rotation to the distancing from extraparliamentary movements - served only one objective: to make the Greens capable of governing step by step and - cost what it may - to get Fischer, Cohn-Bendit and their political friends into government office one day.”<sup>10</sup> Outside the Greens, Fischer’s victory over eco-socialists and “deep Greens” made him one of the most popular German politicians. He gained a media profile as reasonable and pragmatic politician serving the wider community by his control and guidance of otherwise immature Green supporters.

<sup>8</sup> Jürgen Gottschlich, “Die Mehrheit links der Union”, *taz-Journal*, 1/1998, pp. 34-37.

<sup>9</sup> J. Gottschlich, “Die Mehrheit”, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Jutta Ditfurth, “... dann ist die Partei kaputt!” in Michael Schroeren (ed.), *Die Grünen: 10 bewegte Jahre*, Wien: Carl Ueberreuter, 1990, p. 229.

**9. Government finance through Heinrich-Böll Foundation:** The contribution of political parties to the democratic process is recognised in Germany through government finance of relevant parties. One form is election finance received by parties when their electoral support reaches 0.5 per cent in national or state elections. This allows parties to translate electoral support into financial and organisational viability.

A second form of government finance for parties is given to foundations serving the purpose of political education and research. It is received only by parties with stable representation in the Bundestag. The stated purpose of these foundations is to contribute to the democratic process through political education. The foundations provide parties with expertise and personnel beyond those elected to public office or employed in the party apparatus. Party leaders also gain greater power of patronage to reward competence and factional loyalty with paid positions in the foundations.

Several regional foundations associated with the Greens were associated in August 1988 as Stiftungsverband Regenbogen, and in 1996 this loose association was transformed into the unified Heinrich-Böll-Foundation. State finance for these foundations indicated that the Greens had become an established party in the sense that the rewards of electoral success were massive compared to the penalties of failure: not only seats in parliament and ministerial offices were at stake but the livelihood of all those employed by the foundation.

**10. Accepting German defence forces and NATO:** In the 1980s, the Greens were not only opposed to nuclear power plants, on environmental grounds, but also to nuclear missiles, on pacifist grounds. Their opposition to the Bundeswehr followed from their interpretation of German history, especially World War II. Their critique of the Vietnam War affected their attitudes to the USA. The strongest motivating experience for their rejection of the NATO alliance was the movement against the deployment of INF since 1983 (Pershing II; Cruise Missiles). Without this broad opposition to President Reagan's INF and Star Wars plans, the Greens would not have become a viable parliamentary party.

When the Greens discussed in the late 1980s whether they would eventually form coalitions with the SPD, it was made clear to them by Social Democratic parliamentarian Karsten Voigt<sup>11</sup> that acceptance of Bundeswehr and NATO would be the decisive precondition for any coalition with the Greens. At that stage it was hardly foreseeable that in 1999 Greens' leader and Foreign Affairs Minister Joschka Fischer would be instrumental in persuading Green parliamentarians, party members and voters Greens to support deployment of Bundeswehr combat units "out of area" and NATO intervention against Serbia.

After 11 September 2001, Green MdBs joined the whole Bundestag in condemning the terrorist attacks on New York but subsequently opposed the deployment of German combat troops to Afghanistan. Nevertheless, in November 2001 a sufficient number of Green MdBs agreed to vote for deployment as they did not want the

<sup>11</sup> Roland Vogt, "Die Linken haben DIE GRÜNEN besetzt", in Michael Schroeren (ed.), *Die Grünen: 10 bewegte Jahre*, p. 175: "Karsten Voigt has been telling the Greens for several years that they would only be acceptable as coalition partners for the SPD if they clarified their relation to the Bundeswehr and to NATO, and accepted both."

SPD/Greens government to fall over this issue. Thus, while pacifist positions were still held by Green parliamentarians, they were willing to prioritise government cohesion over expression of Green values.

### **The transformation of the PDS 1989-2001**

The processes discussed above transformed the Green outsiders between 1980 and 1998 into a junior partner of the SPD in national government. A similar transformation affected the PDS although it started from a different position and, so far, only had one decade available for its “normalisation”.

**1. The foundation congress** of the PDS showed as many signs of instability as the Greens’ congress of 1980 albeit for different reasons. The foundation of the PDS in December 1989 was also the last congress of the SED. As its ruling position in East Germany collapsed, the SED was also disintegrating as an organisation. A motion to disband the party was barely defeated. Unresolved tensions between SED continuity and PDS renewal expressed themselves in the transitional name “SED/PDS”.<sup>12</sup> Like the Green congress of Karlsruhe 1980, the foundation of the PDS was characterised by confusion and an unfinished agenda to be continued at a second session of the congress. Subsequent congresses in 1990 and 1991 had to register continuing decline of the party. The organisation was only consolidated with the adoption of the PDS program of 1993. This initial instability made an exclusion strategy very attractive for other parties.

**2. The ideological heterogeneity** visible at SED/PDS transition congress threatened stability but was turned into a virtue. The PDS not only tolerated the formation of “platforms”, of which the “Platform Third Way”, the KPF (Communist Platform) and the Social Democratic Platform were the most significant, but guaranteed ideological pluralism in the party constitution. Although the Social Democratic Platform disbanded, its members stayed in the PDS. They did not or could not join the Social Democratic Party because the SPD had a blanket ban on former SED members, even those identifying with a social democratic tradition.<sup>13</sup> The “Platform Third Way” came to dominate the PDS, leading it into a direction which was acceptable to many initially identifying with the “Social Democratic Platform”. The KPF had to realize soon that it would be a small minority in a non-communist party when PDS leaders distanced the party from the West German communist party DKP<sup>14</sup> as early as 1990 and subsequently repositioned the PDS closer to SPD and Greens. The party’s ideological heterogeneity did not translate into splits because “reform socialist” PDS leaders repositioned the party gradually and skilfully. For dissatisfied minorities such as the KPF the modest rewards of staying in the PDS as tolerated minority still looked more promising than the risks of merging into a very small communist party with the West German DKP.

<sup>12</sup> Franz Oswald, *The Party That Came Out of the Cold War: The Party of Democratic Socialism in United Germany*, Westport, Connecticut--London: Praeger 2002, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> F. Oswald, *The Party That*, pp. 43-44; Manfred Uschner, *Die roten Socken*, Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1995, p. 180.

<sup>14</sup> F. Oswald, pp. 17-19.

When in 1995 the Marxist Forum replaced the KPF as the most important voice of internal opposition in the PDS,<sup>15</sup> the left margin of the PDS was no longer marked by successors of a communist tradition but by a “centrist” Marxist tradition more reminiscent of Kautsky and Bebel.

**3. The transformation of party structures** was an important part of the transition from SED to PDS in 1989-90. The East German SED and the West German DKP, like all communist parties, prioritised workplace branches over locality branches whereas the PDS transformed itself quickly into a party based on locality branches. This was an irreversible step in the transformation of the PDS into a left-socialist party concentrating on electoral competition and on parliamentary activity. A second important structural change was the restructuring of the leading institutions of the party. Compared to the SED, the PDS drastically reduced the full-time party apparatus, strengthened the role of elected bodies against the party executive, and gave parliamentarians a stronger role compared to the party organisation.<sup>16</sup>

As early as 1990 the PDS was, at least structurally, much more akin to a social democratic mass membership party aiming for electoral success than to a communist party mobilising its workplace branches for efforts in class struggle.

**4. Electoral success** contributed to the transformation of the PDS just as it had transformed the Greens after 1983. In 1990 and 1991, when the PDS appeared to be in terminal decline, other parties had no need to reconsider their strategy of marginalising the PDS. However, when the electoral fortunes of the PDS improved since 1992, other parties had to reconsider their approach, and the PDS itself had to assess new opportunities. The success of the PDS in East German local elections increased the influence of local councillors and mayors in the party. Cooperation across party lines in local government was a prelude to later cooperation at the state level.

The strength of the PDS in Eastern state parliaments induced Social Democrats to reconsider their exclusion strategy. As Greens and FDP were voted out of Land parliaments in the East, CDU and SPD could either govern alone, if one of them had a majority, or with one another. The only other option available was cooperation with the PDS. In 1994, political scientist J. Raschke, for example, discussed the merits of an integration strategy modelled on the relations between Parti Socialiste and Parti Communiste in France. There the inclusion of the formerly marginalised PC in a government coalition with the PS had actually weakened the PC by burdening it with a share of the responsibility for unpopular social and economic policies.<sup>17</sup> In 1996, the “Thierse-Paper” of leading East German Social Democrats argued that cooperation with the PDS in its Eastern regional strongholds could not be avoided whereas it was still possible to marginalise a weak PDS in West Germany. Even the CDU moderated

<sup>15</sup> F. Oswald, p. 91.

<sup>16</sup> Franz Oswald, “The Party of Democratic Socialism: Ex-Communists Entrenched as East German Regional Protest Party,” *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 12, 2 (1996), pp. 178-79; F. Oswald, *The Party That*, pp. 10-12.

<sup>17</sup> Jürgen Raschke, “SPD und PDS: Selbstblockade oder Opposition?” *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 39, 12 (December 1994), pp. 1453-64.

its attacks on the PDS in order not to alienate East German voters for whom the PDS had become a normal party.<sup>18</sup>

**5. Reform options or socialist identity?** An emphasis on its distinctive socialist identity held the PDS together in the early 1990s. However, like the Greens a decade earlier, the PDS moved from an expressive opposition role toward more pragmatic participation. This was facilitated by the ideas of the “modern socialists” such as Michael Brie arguing that Soviet and East European socialism had failed because it had not matched the elements of “modernity” achieved in capitalism. Whereas “pre-modern” anticapitalism rejected bourgeois society in toto, “modern socialism” appreciated democracy, rule of law and the market as characteristics of modernity.<sup>19</sup> Even the Marxist Forum, traditionalist opponents of reform socialist PDS leaders, expressed its appreciation of rule of law, constitutionalism and parliamentary democracy which had been neglected by past Marxist thinking and East European practice.<sup>20</sup> Now the viability of a socialist reform strategy was predicated upon them.

**6. Opposition, toleration or coalition?** For the PDS, as for the Greens earlier, all discussions about program and identity were connected to the strategic question of opposition, toleration or coalition. Initially the PDS had no choice. From 1990 to 1993, when the PDS was completely marginalised by all other parties, it identified with a role as “societal opposition”. and the 1994 election campaign was run under the slogan “change begins with opposition”. However, this opposition role was re-interpreted in drawn-out debates between 1994 and 1997 when the party learned that “societal opposition” was quite compatible with a flexible role in parliament, either as opposition or in government coalitions. After all, if “change begins with opposition”, it does not have to end with opposition, in the words of Klaus Höpcke,<sup>21</sup> a member of the Marxist Forum, suggesting to accept future coalitions with SPD and Greens.

Re-interpreting its opposition role was probably easier for the PDS than it had been for the Greens party. The PDS included many members of the East German “service class”. Former GDR ministers such as Klaus Höpcke, or members of the transitional GDR government of 1989-90 such as Prime Minister Hans Modrow or Economics Minister Christa Lufft had been in positions of power themselves. Others had been university professors such as Dieter Klein or Uwe-Jens Heuer. And a third group had gone through the training for future positions of power in the GDR. PDS strategists André Brie and Michael Brie, for example, were the sons of a GDR diplomat and had themselves started diplomatic and university careers, respectively, in the GDR. PDS leaders had never been Green-alternative dropouts but came from among the potential successor elites of a failed system to whom participation in government power came rather naturally.

<sup>18</sup> F. Oswald, *The Party That*, p. 102 (Thierse-Paper) and p. 77 (CDU).

<sup>19</sup> Michael Brie, “Teil I: Sozialismus, Ursprünge, Widersprüche, Wandlungen”, in *Zur Programmatik der Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus: Ein Kommentar*, Gesellschaftsanalyse und Politische Bildung e.V. (ed.), Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1997, pp. 32-33.

<sup>20</sup> Uwe-Jens Heuer, “Zur Demokratiefrage und heutigen Aufgaben der PDS”. in Uwe-Jens Heuer and Harald Werner, *Gegenmacht Demokratie--Demokratisierung gegen Macht*, Berlin: Grundsatzkommission der PDS, 1994, p. 13.

<sup>21</sup> Axel Hildebrandt, “Eine Debatte zu drei Fragen”, *DISPUT*, 2 (1992), p. 20; F. Oswald, *The Party That*, p. 94.



Thus, in 1994, the PDS was ready to enter a “toleration” agreement giving parliamentary support to a minority government of Social Democrats in Saxony-Anhalt. In 1998, the PDS became junior partner of the SPD in a coalition governing Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, and in 2001 the PDS joined the SPD in governing the city state of Berlin.<sup>22</sup>

### **7. From milieu party to parliamentary party.**

Like the Greens, the PDS drew its initial strength from a marginalised social milieu. Its core support came from the displaced “service class” of the GDR. Some were “unification losers” as their careers ended in 1990 while other PDS supporters managed to translate their GDR qualifications into above average incomes in united Germany. Beyond this core of support, the PDS received wider support from a broad culture sharing secularist and social justice values. And the PDS became the voice of an East German “Ossi” identity. This sociocultural base allowed the PDS to survive although it appeared to be in terminal decline in 1990 and 1991. However, its electoral success produced professional politicians prioritising executive roles and policy development over the expression of the values of their support base.

### **8. Transformation of leadership; leaders transforming the party.**

The leadership of the PDS was transformed dramatically on two occasions. The first time was in the transition from SED to PDS in late 1989 when SED leaders were replaced by members of the SED’s internal opposition, emerging from improvised processes in December 1989. The new leadership of Gysi, Modrow and Berghofer emerged in a transitional situation shaped by the new platforms, personal networks and the accidents of being present in Berlin at the right time. The second major transition took place in late 1999, when the foundation leaders were replaced by a new generation emerging from East German state parliaments. The new leaders had grown out of the electoral and parliamentary consolidation of the PDS since 1994. Most of them had risen through the East German Land level organisations.<sup>23</sup>

PDS leaders endeavoured to transform the PDS, just like Green leader Joschka Fischer had moved his party toward more pragmatic “Realo” positions. In the PDS, a similar approach was taken by André Brie in his roles as chief strategist, election campaign manager, and member of the European parliament. Soon after the 1994 elections when a show of party unity was no longer necessary, the “Ten Theses” and “Five Points” of the party executive marginalized the KPF minority further and aimed to reposition the PDS closer to SPD and Greens. A strategy paper by PDS chairman Lothar Bisky and André Brie triggered a debate about possible government participation. And soon after the 1998 elections a revision of the 1993 party program was initiated at the party congress of January 1999.<sup>24</sup> While election campaigns required a distinctive profile of the PDS as champion of East German interests and as left-socialist party, the time between elections was used to move the party away from the left margin, closer to SPD and Greens.

### **9. Government finance through the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation**

<sup>22</sup> F. Oswald, *The Party That*, pp. 78-80 (“Magdeburg model” of toleration); pp. 120-1; pp. 146-7.

<sup>23</sup> F. Oswald, pp. 4-5; pp. 141-2.

<sup>24</sup> F. Oswald, pp. 81-5; pp. 136-9.

In the early 1990s, the German taxation authorities (together with the Treuhandanstalt and the “Independent Commission”) threatened, on several occasions, the financial viability of the PDS. Over time, however, the PDS became a beneficiary of the German rules of party finance. By 1994, a settlement had been reached with the Treuhandanstalt and the Taxation Office, and the PDS enjoyed state funding of election campaigns in proportion to votes achieved. Finally in 1999, the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation began to receive government finance.<sup>25</sup> Like the funding for the Greens’ Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, this signalled that the PDS was no longer the total outsider it had been in 1990 although it would still be an exaggeration to apply the term “cartel party”.<sup>26</sup> Such funding tilted the factional balance within the PDS in favour of reformist leaders and “modern socialist” intellectuals further reducing the influence of the Marxist Forum and other critics.

### **10. Accepting German defence forces and NATO.**

In the late 1990s, positions held by the PDS on foreign and security policy were reminiscent of Green pacifism a decade earlier. Then Green aversions to NATO and Bundeswehr had made their participation in national government incompatible with German membership in NATO but by 1998 changes in Green positions had made it possible for Joschka Fischer to become Foreign Minister of the FRG. By 2000, PDS leaders were testing whether similar adjustments of foreign and defence policy positions were possible to make the PDS an acceptable partner for Social Democrats at the federal level.

Yet, at the Münster congress of April 2000, two thirds of delegates rejected a motion by party leaders that PDS parliamentarians could, on a case-by-case basis, consent to the participation of German combat troops in multilateral and UN-approved missions.<sup>27</sup> Earlier, between 1994 and 1997, congress delegates had accepted pragmatic social and economic policies but they were not willing to extend this approach to foreign and security policy and rejected the motion. Nevertheless, PDS leaders had indicated that they were ready to move closer to Social Democratic and Green positions approving participation of German combat troops in multilateral missions under UN auspices.

The decision of Münster did not end the debate in the PDS about Bundeswehr missions abroad. Helmut Holter, Deputy Premier of Mecklenburg - West Pommerania, suggested in April 2002 that the PDS should get ready for government participation after the 2002 federal elections although the PDS majority preferred a continued opposition role. Holter “saw scope for compromise in terms of foreign policy. The PDS had to recognise reality: Germany was a member of NATO and took part in operations abroad on a UN ticket.”<sup>28</sup>

An interview with PDS party manager Dietmar Bartsch summarised the remaining distance to the centre-left coalition of Social Democrats and Greens. “With the PDS

<sup>25</sup> F. Oswald, pp.68-71 (tax office); p. 143.

<sup>26</sup> Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, “Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party”, *Party Politics*, 1, 1 (1995), pp. 5-28 (especially pp. 16-22).

<sup>27</sup> F. Oswald, pp.140-1; “Nein zu UN-Militäreinsätzen--Internationale Krisen und Konflikte friedlich lösen. Beschluß der 3. Tagung des 6. Parteitages”, *DISPUT*, 4 (April 2000), 32-33.

<sup>28</sup> “PDS adopted election programme: Definite No to Bundeswehr missions abroad.” Newsletter, April 2002, p.1. <http://www.pds-online.de/politik/publikationen/newsletter>.

there will not be any German soldiers abroad, with the PDS there will not be any wars.” For the year 2002 at least, PDS pacifism was as consistent as that of the Greens a decade earlier. Yet, Bartsch indicated that the PDS wanted “to remain ‘capable of government’ and of joining coalitions”. Although the PDS had confirmed its opposition role for the time after the 2002 elections, Bartsch could envisage changes for the future: “In the medium term we are striving for a centre-left alliance.”<sup>29</sup>

The responses to President Bush’s visit to Berlin in May 2002 showed that the PDS retained pacifist positions held by Greens more than a decade earlier. Unlike the Greens, the PDS still opposed the deployment of German soldiers for purposes other than territorial defence. “For good reasons the PDS voted in the Bundestag against the participation of the Bundeswehr in wars and military interventions and called for a withdrawal of those military contingents from the area of operations. There will be no change in this.”<sup>30</sup>

Like the Greens a decade earlier, the PDS still demanded the dissolution of NATO and the eventual dissolution of the Bundeswehr: “A Germany without the Bundeswehr and a world without war are and will remain the goal of PDS policy. ... We want the NATO military alliance to be dissolved and replaced by security structures in the context of the UN.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Regionalized pluralism: Eco-liberals in the West, eco-socialists in the East?**

#### **a) No polarized pluralism:**

In the first years after unification, it was feared that the stable three-party system of West Germany (CDU/CSU; SPD; FDP), only slightly disturbed by the Greens as fourth party in the Bundestag since 1983, would be destabilized by an emerging “polarized pluralism” reminiscent of the Weimar Republic. The far-right Republikaner, DVU and NPD could combine their electoral potential and gain presentation in the Bundestag. And on the left, this could be replicated if “extremist” parties such as the Greens and the PDS gained representation. These “anti-system” parties could not be included in any government coalition leaving reliable democratic parties with a narrow support base and few coalition options.

This scenario of “polarized pluralism” presupposed that (probably) the Greens and (definitely) the PDS, on the left, were “extremist” and unfit for cooperation with democratic parties, just like Republikaner, DVU and NPD on the right. Yet, the short history of both Greens and PDS showed that they were not “anti-system” parties representing alienated subcultures.

#### **b) Regionalized pluralism: Greens in the West, PDS in the East.**

<sup>29</sup> “Mitwahl Schroeders gibt es nicht zum Nulltarif”, *Die Welt*, 8 July 2002, p.1. <http://www.pds-online.de/politik/aktuell>.

<sup>30</sup> “Alternatives exist: Only justice can make the future secure: Program of the PDS for the 2002 Bundestag elections (excerpts).” Newsletter, April 2002, p.2. <http://www.pds-online.de/politik/publikationen/newsletter>.

<sup>31</sup> “Alternatives exist”, p. 3.

Instead of polarized pluralism, regionalized pluralism<sup>32</sup> emerged. From 1990 to 2002, five parties were represented in the Bundestag: the long-established CDU/CSU, SPD and FDP as well as the newcomers Greens and PDS. This national five-party system was composed of two distinct regional patterns. In the West, the pre-1990 four-party system continued in state parliaments (CDU/CSU, SPD, Greens and FDP); in the East, there were three significant parties (CDU, SPD and PDS).

Greens and PDS occupied complementary regional niches. The Greens were strong in the West (and Westberlin) but weak in the East (and East Berlin). Only for a moment, in the elections of late 1990, did Alliance 90/Greens look stronger in the East when the Western Greens slipped below 5% while their Eastern partner, the Alliance 90, achieved that quota. However, by 1998 it had become obvious that the enduring strength of the Greens was in the West while their Eastern branches lacked members and eventually voters as well. The PDS mirrored this situation: strongly represented in all parliaments of the Eastern Länder and in East Berlin, it remains weak throughout the West.

### c) Eco-liberals versus left-socialists

Ideological similarities between Greens and PDS appeared in the early 1990s when observers either noted that the PDS was adopting ecological, feminist, and pacifist themes (Betz/Welsh) or accused the PDS of copying Green ideas (Gerner).<sup>33</sup> Supporters of Greens and PDS held many values in common. Compared to supporters of other parties they were the least xenophobic, most libertarian in social issues, most feminist and most environmentalist although they differed clearly on social justice issues, of central importance to PDS members. In the late 1990s, there remained two major differences. The PDS emphasised regionalist East German interests, the Greens, on the other hand, were largely a West German party in membership and electoral support. The other major difference was the emphasis of the PDS on social justice themes. By contrast, the Green party was drifting towards market-liberal positions on social policies of lesser interest to its core constituency, the professionals of the generation of 1968 arriving at advanced stages of their careers. Thus the Greens were becoming an eco-liberal, pacifist party whereas the PDS could be characterised as left-socialist, pacifist and environmentalist.

In the late 1990s, the PDS had moved away from the margin, still on the left but close enough to be acceptable as partner of the SPD in regional governments in the East. The Greens had moved further: Not only were they acceptable as partners of the SPD but even cooperation between Greens and the centre-right CDU had become conceivable. The CDU had attacked the Greens in the 1980s as irresponsible radicals because of their pacifist foreign and security policies. However, in the 1990s possible coalitions between Christian Democrats and Greens at the state level had become an option for Heiner Geißler, former Secretary General of the CDU.<sup>34</sup> At the local government level, Greens and CDU could work together against entrenched SPD administrations; at the state level, eco-conservatives among the Baden-Württemberg

<sup>32</sup> See article in *German Politics*, xxxxx.

<sup>33</sup> Hans-Georg Betz and Helga A. Welsh, "The PDS in the New German Party System", *German Politics*, 4, 3 (1995), pp. 92-111; Manfred Gerner, *Partei ohne Zukunft? Von der SED zur PDS*, Munich: Tilsner, 1994, p. 226.

<sup>34</sup> Use *Der Spiegel* on Greens and CDU.

Greens seriously considered entering a CDU/Greens coalition. The fact that this had become conceivable indicated that in some respects the Greens were no longer to the left of the SPD but in a centrist position, an eco-liberal party occupying the space vacated by the vanishing social-liberal wing of the FDP.

The death of the Greens as an “ecological, pacifist and feminist party” and its transformation into a left-liberal party, similar to the Democrats 66 in the Netherlands, was diagnosed by Micha Brumlik, himself a Green city councillor in Frankfurt. The rise of a neoliberal wing, indicated by an emerging preference for lower taxation and welfare cuts, could be an early signal of future cooperation between Greens and centre-right Christian Democrats and Free Democrats.<sup>35</sup>

#### **d) The capacity of the Federal Republic to integrate dissidents**

Both Greens and PDS moved from marginal positions towards the centre of the party system. The generation of post-1968 dissidents were reintegrated by 1998 when the Greens joined federal government. The historical detour taken by the PDS was much longer. It started in 1917 with the formation of the USPD by pacifists and left-socialists leaving the SPD during World War I. This pacifist, left-socialist current was not visible for decades as it was submerged by the communist current of the working class movement boosted by the success of the Russian revolution. Seven decades later the left-socialist, pacifist current re-emerged in the form of the PDS, after the exhaustion of the communist tradition. In 1998, the dissidents of 1968 were junior partners in national government whereas the grandchildren of the dissidents of 1917 were junior partners in Land governments.

#### **e) The limits of extrapolations and parallels**

There are two major limitations to the central argument of this attempt to identify parallels between the career of the PDS and the earlier development of the Greens. Firstly, acceptance of NATO by the PDS was not a foregone conclusion. In 1996, the inclusion of Social Democrats in national government would not have been possible without acceptance of the NATO alliance and German rearmament by the SPD in the late 1950s. Three decades later, the pacifism of the Greens mellowed while they gained experience in state governments until they learned to live with NATO and Bundeswehr as prerequisite for joining national government in 1998. In the PDS, interesting debates were to be expected between those positioning the PDS as pacifist opposition gaining support from disappointed Green and Social Democratic voters, and those willing to follow the trajectory of the Greens whom Joschka Fischer guided to acceptance of NATO and onto the government benches.

Secondly, the future of the PDS as nationally relevant party depends on its ability to retain or regain representation in the Bundestag. It was argued in the beginning that proportional representation and federalism offer minor parties representation in parliament and the prospect of government participation first in the states and then at national level. These integration factors have affected the Greens over two decades and the PDS over one decade. However, as the PDS failed to reach five per cent in the 2002 federal elections, the PDS is no longer a full parliamentary party (Faktion) in the

<sup>35</sup> Micha Brumlik, “Die Linke an der Macht”, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 43, 12 (December 1998), pp. 1415-17; see also Daniel Kreutz, “Neue Mitte im Wettbewerbsstaat: Zur sozialpolitischen Bilanz von Rot-Grün”, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 47, 4 (April 2002), pp. 470-71.

Bundestag but only represented by two deputies elected in East Berlin constituencies.<sup>36</sup>

It is quite likely that the PDS project of translating its regionalist appeal to East German interests and identities into the formation of a nationwide left-socialist party has already failed. The continuing weakness of the PDS in West Germany will make it very difficult to succeed at the next Bundestag elections; on the other hand, there is the example of the Greens returning to the Bundestag in 1994 after they had failed to win five per cent in West Germany in 1990. Due to its strength as the third party in the six Eastern regional parliaments, the PDS will have a role at state level in the medium term.

The failure of the PDS in the 2002 federal election does, however, not refute the central argument: Polarized pluralism has not emerged in the German party system after unification, the political system had the capacity to integrate the dissidents of 1968 and the grandchildren of the dissidents of 1917, and the process of integration was shaped by the opportunities offered by proportional representation and federalism.

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<sup>36</sup> Albrecht von Lucke, "Das Verschwinden der PDS", *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 47, 12 (December 2002), pp. 1418-20.

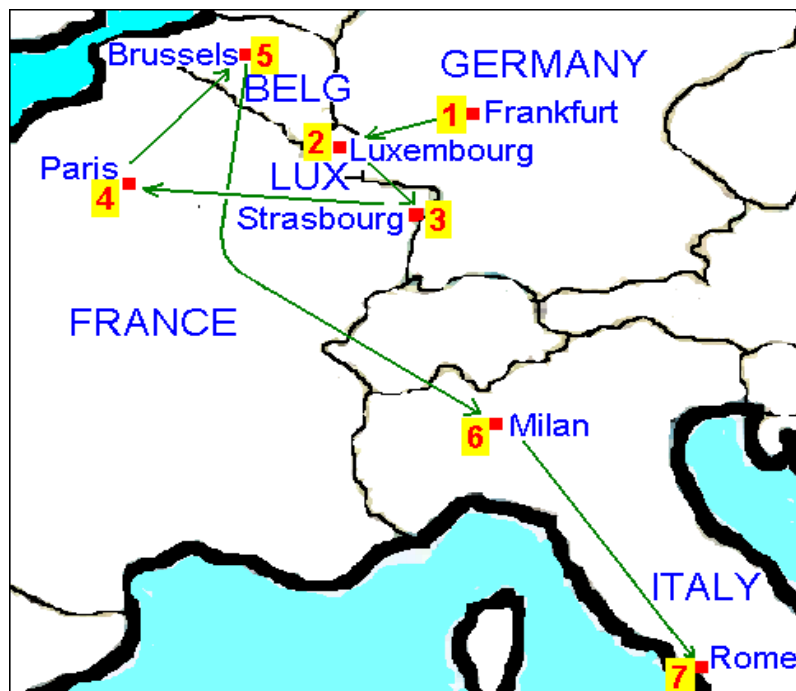
## Perspectives

### **Swinburne Study Tour to Europe 2002 goes off successfully By Bruno Mascitelli**

Swinburne University of Technology has recently completed another successful European Study Tour. The Study Tour has been an annual part of the Swinburne European Study Program since 1995 and has over the years, given dozens of students the opportunity to become familiar with and closer to the functions and workings of the European Union.

The recently returned study tour involved a group of eight students from Swinburne University and the University of Melbourne with lecturer Bruno Mascitelli, from Swinburne University as organizer and tour leader. This collaborative university process has been another source of strength for the program and one that will be extended to other universities in the future. During the three-week Study Tour, which began in late November, students visited key European Union institutions as well as Australian diplomatic and trade representation spread throughout the European Union.

#### Map and itinerary of the Study Tour



Meetings included a visit to the European Central Bank (ECB) in the city of Frankfurt. Since the recent introduction of the Euro in the 12 member states, the ECB has taken on an immediate and strategic importance. With the sluggish growth rates throughout most of the stronger European States, the ECB has been under a lot of pressure to lower interest rates in its jurisdiction (only 12 of the 15 member States). Another issue of topical discussion during the Study Tour related to the introduction of the Euro and the worrying inflationary effects it has had on the EU economies. A number of officials of the ECB appeared to make too little of this, fearing it might drop confidence in the Euro.

Another important leg of the Tour was a visit to the European Commission, in the 'heart of Europe', Brussels. Brussels is currently looking like a building site with numerous new EU buildings under construction. The role and functions of the European Commission were introduced to the students by a trilingual German representative who was given the liberty to express her opinions on numerous controversial issues which ranged from foreign policy through to enlargement, genuine unification and integration of the European Union. The presentation was lively and controversial with little sense of 'toeing the line'. The other focal point of Brussels for the Study Tour was of course the European Council, which brings together the Heads of State of the Member States. Brussels is also the location for numerous agencies which support the EU such as the Committee of the Regions as well as the Economic and Social Committee. Both Committees have clearly established roles and are part of a well-oiled machine for legislation, advice and recommendations.

The Study Tour also involved visits to cities such as Paris, Milan and Rome. While these cities do not involve European Union Institutions *per se*, they represent key European locations and are barometers of the level of European integration taking place. Paris, in particular, is of interest from an Australian economic standpoint. The debate on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), Europe's key agricultural policy, captures Australian interest and it did so with our own Study Tour participants. A visit to the French Ministry for Trade and Finance was a useful port of call as the question of trade relations between France and Australia was brought up. As expected the French government representatives made little excuse for their behavior on the issue of agricultural subsidies. They are always ready to debate the issue with Australians especially given Australia's role in the Cairns Group on agricultural subsidy reform. The Tour also made a call on the small State of Luxembourg is bordered on each side by the powerful neighbors Belgium, Germany and France. Luxembourg records the highest percentage of people who are tri-lingual and the state is home to two of the most important institutions of the EU – the European Union Court of Justice and the Auditors. In addition the European Investment Bank has its headquarters in Luxembourg and provides a funding role to the EU which did not emerge until recently.

Towards the end of the Study Tour we made a call on the beautiful city of Strasbourg. Strasbourg houses the grandiose glass and transparent Parliament building. The architecture alone sends a political message to the rest of Europe and to the world as an institution that wants to be of the people and for the people. Here the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are organized mostly along political lines from left to right and they sit according to their political parties and not member State division.



Throughout the study tour the students were given the opportunity to address questions to Australian diplomatic representation both in political terms as well as through the export government agency, the Australian Trade Commission (Austrade). Ambassadors Joanne Hewitt in Brussels, Australian Ambassador to the EU as well as Ambassador Murray Cobban gave impressive summaries of the issues affecting Australia and the EU State of their mission. They spoke very candidly and raised many interesting and fascinating issues of importance that Australia was focusing on in their respective region. The trade issue was always high on the agenda. This privileged access to the viewpoints of Ambassadors assisted the students, most of whom were business students, to understand the issues that Australia must contend with when living in and working with Europe. This position was further emphasized by the Austrade representatives based in Frankfurt, Paris and Milan, who all conveyed a similar message when asked about the key issue they had to deal with in their Posting. In general the one main difficulty was that Australia as a nation was not always on the radar screen of their commercial/investment interlocutor. There was either a narrow understanding of what Australia was about or more generally a lack of consideration of Australia as a country and market *per se*. In addition Austrade representatives pointed out that, a Single Market was only a reality in part. The ordinary Australian exporter needed to grapple with a series of separate markets and, in practice, there is no one market *per se*. Doing business in France is very different from doing business in Germany or Italy. According to Austrade spokesmen, back home there was too much focus on the UK as being *the* European market. It was a common misperception that trading with UK was like trading with Continental Europe. This was far from the truth.

To conclude, here are some feedback comments from reports of the students who participated in this and past Study Tours.

“[would] definitely recommend it to anyone who wants to have first hand experience about the EU”

“Excellent insight into the way the world works and how the new Europe is evolving”

“ ... the high quality of presentations by officers from the EU and Australian organisations [in Europe] – candid and generous and informative. High standard of tour leader; his knowledge and experience was invaluable”

**“The enthusiasm of the officials we met with was great – very professional”**

“Definitely very worthwhile way of learning about the environment of the EU institutions and business practice. Makes it very practical and real”

“Provided the ability to gain access to persons and institutions that students normally read about, placing theory into application ... the tour was very well organised: what I learnt was worth every cent for the experience”

## **EU Studies in New Zealand**

### **By Martin Holland**

Geographical remoteness can often be an advantage in studying the EU: arguably, when viewed from afar, certain characteristics take on new revealing perspectives and can be located in a wider comparative context. Consequently, studying the EU from the South Pacific is not so outlandish as might first appear.

Since 2000, EU Studies in New Zealand have developed markedly. First, the *National Centre for Research on Europe* (NCRE) was established as the first graduate-level research institution in the country devoted to the multidisciplinary study of Europe. Currently, the NCRE offers a range of graduate scholarships, Visiting Fellowships as well as hosts academics who wish to spend part of their sabbatical leave in the region. The NCRE also currently runs three broad research programmes involving post-doctoral fellows, thesis students as well as NCRE visitors and full-time staff. The research topics are:

- The Perception of the EU in New Zealand (2000-2003): an analysis of the printed and TV media, public opinion and elite views on the role of the EU in New Zealand.
- The EU and the Pacific: an analysis of civil society and political conditionality in Cotonou's Economic Partnership Agreements (2003-2005).
- EU enlargement and the implications for New Zealand and the Asia-Pacific region (2002-5).

Collaboration by UACES members on any of these research programmes is welcomed (for details, contact Professor Martin Holland – address below).

Second, in 2001 the *Jean Monnet Programme* was extended for the first time to third countries; currently there is one Jean Monnet Chair in New Zealand and a small number of Jean Monnet modules being taught.

Third, the European Union Studies Association of New Zealand holds an annual international conference and participates in the wider World-ECSA organisation. The 2003 conference is on the theme of "The New Europe", and will be held on 29/30 August at the Hyatt hotel, Auckland. Contact [wwwpage](http://wwwpage) details given below.

Fourth, there has been a recent expansion in the number of teaching programmes on the EU/ European Studies. A full undergraduate degree in European Studies is offered at Otago University, an Honours (4<sup>th</sup> year) programme at the University of Canterbury, and Masters and PhDs by thesis at both Canterbury and the University of Auckland.

Finally, EU-NZ relations are poised to expand at the governmental level. In April 2003 Commissioner Patten will visit New Zealand: among the agenda items for discussion is the development of institutionalised linkages, exchanges and promoting EU Studies as well as joint projects. It remains to be seen, however, whether this renewed dialogue will finally see a Commission Delegation be opened in New

Zealand – cross-accreditation from Canberra does little to advance the EU’s identity and support in New Zealand.

The following addresses can be used as the first point of contact for any of the activities listed here.

[www.Europe.canterbury.ac.nz](http://www.Europe.canterbury.ac.nz)  
[Director@CRE.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:Director@CRE.canterbury.ac.nz)  
[Martin.Holland@Canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:Martin.Holland@Canterbury.ac.nz)

## **Report on the CERC/CESAA Conference ‘Immigration and Human Rights: European Experiences and Australian Resonances’**

**By Zoe Knox**

The annual CERC/CESAA international conference, entitled ‘Immigration and Human Rights: European Experiences and Australian Resonances’, was held in November 2002.

Human rights and immigration are two of the most contested issues in a world of disappearing borders. From Bosnia to Afghanistan, from East Timor to Iraq, global governance is being reshaped by the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. Never before have the prerogatives of the sovereign state seemed so fragile. Never before have victims of human rights abuses been able to defend themselves with such a powerful network of independent communications and international civil society. But the global human rights offensive has coincided with a global refugee crisis. The defiance of the borders of oppressive states, in the name of human rights, has coincided with a new preoccupation with 'border protection' in the democracies against asylum seekers. Although many policymakers and politicians have tried to keep these two problems apart, the conference explored the interrelationship between human rights and immigration, both in Europe and Australia.

The conference was co-sponsored by the Goethe Institut Inter Nationes, with the support of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA), The Australian Centre (The University of Melbourne), the National Europe Centre (Australian National University) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy. It attracted some 140 delegates.

Highlights of the conference included Mrs Mary Robinson’s keynote address ‘Making Human Rights Work: Beyond the Rhetoric’; an Open Discussion chaired by journalist Mr Peter Mares of the ABC; and a stimulating panel on legal responses, which included papers by Dr Penelope Mathew (ANU), Dr Robyn Lui (Griffith University) and several PhD students the University of Melbourne’s Faculty of Law.

There were nine international speakers at the conference and many interstate speakers and visitors.

## INSIGHTS

### An invitation:

### **Australian Universities Europe Network** **By Elim Papadakis** **Director, National Europe Centre**

Representatives from all Australian universities are invited to join the Australian Universities Europe Network (AUEN). This invitation follows a meeting held 17 February 2003 in Sydney, with colleagues from the Australian National University (John Gage and Elim Papadakis), Flinders University (Peter Monteath), La Trobe University (Philip Bull and Lilit Thwaites), Macquarie University (Sasa Pavkovic), Melbourne University (Philomena Murray), Monash University (Marko Pavlyshyn), the University of New South Wales (Martin Krygier, John Milfull and Günter Minnerup), the University of Queensland (Andrew Bonnell), the University of Sydney (Judith Keene and Dirk Moses), the University of Western Australia (Peter Morgan) and Victoria University (Ron Adams).

The AUEN has been formed in response to a need to consider the current state and future development of European studies in Australia and to engage with contemporary Europe, especially in the context of EU enlargement, European integration spurred by introduction of the Euro and the fact that the EU is Australia's major trading partner. Among the questions to be addressed by members of the AUEN are the following:

- *How is the focus on contemporary European history, politics and culture developed within the "mainstream" humanities and social science disciplines?*
- *How can Australia ensure it has the necessary expertise in EU studies?*
- *How can the study of European languages and cultures be integrated into a broader overall strategy for developing Australians' critical engagement with our European heritage and contemporary European debates?*

The aim of the AUEN is to further communication and the development of new strategies in teaching and research among scholars in European Studies. To achieve this objective the AUEN will organize an annual meeting of representatives from universities with significant teaching activity in the European Studies area. Each university can send up to two representatives to such a meeting, preferably from different disciplines. The National Europe Centre at the Australian National University will consider applications for travel subsidies, though only a small number of such subsidies will be available and no more than one subsidy will be allocated per institution.

In order to facilitate the sharing of information about developments in European Studies on different campuses the National Europe Centre will develop its web site to include information from all universities belonging to the AUEN. Representatives from each university will supply a brief description (200-400 words) of teaching and other activities undertaken in their institution (and links to their own web sites). This information can be updated regularly and will provide an important basis for further discussions among members of the AUEN at their annual meeting.

The National Europe Centre at the ANU will allocate six travel grants or travel subsidies for postgraduate scholars working on contemporary Europe issues from universities that form part of the AUEN. The scheme will be advertised shortly. Each university will be invited to forward short list of no more than 3 names, and proposals will be assessed by a Committee drawn from the AUEN. There will be a quota of no more than 2 grants per university. The National Europe Centre will also award up to two travel grants to early career/postdoctoral scholars, especially if they are working in some of the key themes identified as part of the work program of the Centre. Proposals will be assessed by a Committee drawn from the AUEN.

The spokesperson for the AUEN in 2003 is Elim Papadakis (Australian National University), with support from a committee comprising Andrew Bonnell (University of Queensland), John Milfull (University of New South Wales), Peter Monteath (Flinders University), Peter Morgan (University of Western Australia) and Philomena Murray (University of Melbourne).

Further inquiries about the AUEN may be directed to Ms Helen Fairbrother, Centre Administrator, National Europe Centre, The Australian National University, 1 Liversidge Street, ACT 0200 (phone 02 6125 9896; email: [Helen.Fairbrother@anu.edu.au](mailto:Helen.Fairbrother@anu.edu.au)).



## 2003 Essay Competition on Europe

*The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia announces its 10<sup>th</sup> annual student essay competition*

### The Prize

The prize is \$250 for each category plus one year's free membership of CESAA, There will be a book prize for the runner up in each category.

### The Categories

- Best essay by an undergraduate
- Best essay by an Honours or post-graduate student

### The Topic

**Any topic relating to contemporary Europe.** Your field could be postwar history, law, economics, politics, society or culture. Your subject could be the European Union or any part of Europe as long as it focuses at least in part on the EU or on Europe as a whole (essay on individual countries are not accepted). If in doubt, please contact the organiser, Mr. Bruno Mascitelli, email [bmascitelli@swin.edu.au](mailto:bmascitelli@swin.edu.au) or Tel: (03) 9214 5363.

### How to Enter

Submit **ONE** essay of between 2000 – 5000 words in length. An essay that has already been assessed by an academic is acceptable. The essays will be judged by a panel of judges selected by CESAA. Two copies of your essay (typed and double spaced) should be sent by 1<sup>st</sup> August 2003 to:

CESAA Essay Competition  
Attention: Bruno Mascitelli  
CESAA Vice-President  
School of Business, European Union Studies  
Swinburne University of Technology  
John Street, Hawthorn, 3122 Vic.

The essay should have on a separate page your name, full address, institution, category (undergraduate or Honours/post-graduate) and a contact phone number and/or email. Do not put your name on the essay title page.

**This competition is supported by the Delegation of the European Commission to Australia and New Zealand and the EU Jean Monnet Project award to CESAA. It is open to all students in Australian tertiary institutions. CESAA judges reserve the right not to award a prize.**

## EUROPEAN STUDIES NEWS

### Books, Journals and the Internet

#### **ESPAnet - The Network for European Social Policy Analysis**

ESPAnet was established in August 2002. It is an association of academics involved or interested in the analysis of social policy in Europe. It draws its membership from and defines its remit in relation to countries spanning the European continent, welcoming analysts from western, central and eastern European countries.

Network members undertake mainly comparative work, focusing on the analysis of social policy in European societies, the social policy of the European Union and of other cross-national bodies. The social policy focus is on cash benefits and services, fiscal and occupational welfare, and on the social relations, values, economics and politics of welfare.

The Network encourages and fosters a multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis of European social policy. It is, therefore open to people from a range of disciplines, including social policy, sociology, political science, international relations, history, law and economics.

ESPAnet has the following specific objectives:

- Advancement of knowledge in the field of the analysis of European social policies;
- Stimulating the entry of young researchers into the field and enhancing the development of their knowledge, skills and experience.

- Promotion of a comparative approach to the analysis of social policy in Europe;
- Promotion of an inter- and multi-disciplinary approach to the analysis of social policy.

Towards these ends, ESPAnet seeks to develop contacts between social policy analysts throughout Europe and thus to act as a forum for the exchange of ideas and debates on social policy at a European level. It encourages the international dissemination and exchange of information on significant developments relevant to European social policy and facilitates and promotes international research in this field.

#### *Activities of ESPAnet*

The network hosts annual conferences as well as a forum for young researchers. Next year's annual conference will be held at the SFI in Copenhagen in autumn 2003, under the theme of Changing European Societies: the role for social policy. For information, please contact Jon Kvist (JK@sfi.dk).

The workshop for young researchers in 2003 will be organised by the Centre for Comparative Research in Social Welfare (CCRSW) at Stirling University in May. The topic is Social Policy in a Changing Europe. The seminar intends to bring together about 10 established academics with an expertise in comparative European social policy analysis and about 20 to 25 doctoral students who are undertaking comparative PhD projects on topics related to social policy in Europe.

For information, contact:

Jochen Clasen

(jochen.clasen@stir.ac.uk).

ESPAnet also operates a web site:

<http://www.uvt.nl/espanet>

#### *Membership*

In order to join the network and the ESPAnet mailing list, please send an e-mail to the secretariat:

Minna van Gerven  
(m.m.l.vangerven@uvt.nl).  
Membership is free.

***Organizational Structure of ESPAnet***

From 2002 to 2005, the first three years of its existence, ESPAnet will be run by a co-chairmanship, a secretariat and a network board.

**CO-CHAIRS**

Wim van Oorschot (Tilburg University, The Netherlands)  
Jochen Clasen (Stirling University, UK)

**SECRETARIAT**

Minna van Gerven (Tilburg University)

**NETWORK BOARD**

Giuliano Bonoli (Fribourg University)

Mary Daly (Queen's University, Belfast)  
Ana Guillen (Oviedo University)  
Valeria Fargion (University of Florence)  
Olli Kangas (Turku University, Finland)  
Yuri Kazepov (Urbino University)  
Zinka Kolaric (University of Ljubljana)  
Jon Kvist (SFI, Copenhagen)  
Stephan Lessenich (Göttingen University)  
Jane Lewis (Oxford University)  
Philip Manow (Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne)  
August Oesterle (Wien University, Austria)  
Bruno Palier (Cevipof, Paris)  
Joakim Palme (Stockholm University)  
Axel West Pedersen (NOVA, Oslo)  
Alan Walker (University of Sheffield)



It is with great pleasure that the European Commission announces the launch of the

**JEAN MONNET PROJECT 2003**

The European Commission awards subsidies to the academic world for the setting up of projects concerning European integration issues, through the creation of teaching activities, through support for young researchers and for research.

The vade mecum together with the application forms can be found on the European Commission website at the following address:

<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/ajm/call.html>  
<http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/ajm/call.html>

**The deadline for the submission of applications is: 15 April 2003.**

Applicants are requested to read the vade mecum attentively before filling out the appropriate application form. They are also reminded that the applications may not be submitted via e-mail but that each form should be downloaded and signed by the Rector/Vice-Chancellor before submission.  
Enquiries: Lynne Hunter lynne.hunter@delaus.cec.eu.int; tel: 62712742



## Forthcoming Conferences, Call for Papers

### **‘European Integration and the Asia-Pacific Region’**

**May 30-31, 2003**

#### **The Fifth International Conference of the EU Studies Association of Korea**

#### **The First International Conference of the ECSA Asia-Pacific**

The EU Studies Association of Korea (EUSA-Kore) is pleased to announce an International Conference, made possible through the financial support of the European Commission, and will be held under the auspices of the EC Studies Association of Asia-Pacific (ECSA Asia-Pacific), which was inaugurated in December 1999. It is the first official conference activity under the name of ECSA Asia-Pacific.

The topic of this year's conference is "European Integration and the Asia-Pacific Region.", with the following sessions convened for the ~~sessions~~ sessions:

Session I: The Future of European Integration: Beyond the European Convention

Session II: Promoting Relations between the EU and Asia-Pacific Region

Session III: Implications for Asia-Pacific and Regional Integration

Session IV: European Integration and Asia-Pacific Countries

All enquires can be directed to:

Professor Sung-Hoon Park,  
Korea University  
email: shpark@korea.ac.kr

**Call for Papers: ‘Immigration in a Cross-National Context: What Are the Implications for Europe?’, Spring 2004, European Union Center at Syracuse University and the Luxembourg Income Study**

The conference aims to unite European and United States scholars who are interested in the phenomenon of cross-national population immigration, both legal and extra-legal, and its economic, demographic, social and political effects in Europe and its surrounding areas. Selected papers will be published in a conference volume. Abstracts of not more than 500 words are invited on the following topics, related to the cause and effects and patterns of immigration in cross-national European context:

- Ethnic Conflict
- Social Stratification
- Political Incorporation
- Population Aging
- Economic and Social Well-being
- Income Support Programs
- Social Stability
- Human Rights
- Political Systems and Voting
- Institutional Response
- Labor Market Issues
- Cultural and Identity

Abstracts are due on or before June 1, 2003 to [caroline@lisproject.org](mailto:caroline@lisproject.org)

Both international comparisons among European countries (including the transition countries of Central and Eastern Europe), and between Europe and the United States, Canada, or other regions or nations will be considered. Young researchers (< 35) are especially encouraged to submit proposals.

The competition will be selective. The conference hosts will pay for travel, room and board for one author per paper. Selected authors will be notified in August 2003. Final papers will be due in early 2004 and a subset of these will be published in a conference volume or in a special issue of a leading journal.

Though space is limited, inquiries by others to attend the conference should be sent to the Conference Secretariat (caroline@lisproject.org).

### **2003 ACUNS/ASIL Summer Workshop**

#### ***Call for Applications***

The thirteenth in a series of two-week workshops on international organization studies will focus on Human Rights: Issue Linkages and the New Human Rights Agenda. The workshop is co-sponsored by the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS) and the American Society of International Law (ASIL), and will take place at Yale University from 27 July to 9 August 2003.

The program is designed for junior international relations and law school faculty, advanced graduate students, post-doctoral scholars, lawyers and practitioners from policy circles and civil society, and human rights and development advocates.

Participants are selected by a joint ACUNS/ASIL committee. Applicants must submit a brief research or policy paper proposal, curriculum vitae, application form, and two letters of recommendation. Completed applications are due Friday, 14 March 2003. Further guidelines and an application form may be downloaded on-line at [www.yale.edu/acuns](http://www.yale.edu/acuns).

For information, contact the ACUNS Secretariat by email at [acuns@yale.edu](mailto:acuns@yale.edu) or write to:  
International Studies Association  
324 Social Sciences  
University of Arizona  
Tucson, AZ 85721  
Phone: 520-621-7715 Fax: 520-621-5780

Email: isa@u.arizona.edu  
WWW: <http://www.isanet.org>

### **Conference: 'Universities, the Knowledge Economy and Regional Development'**

12th - 14th December 2003, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Organizers: Faculty of Social and Economic Science (SoWi), University of Innsbruck in collaboration with the Sustainable Urban and Regional Futures Research Centre (SURF), University of Salford.

Full information to be found at <http://www.uibk.ac.at/congress/universitiesregions2002>

## **Call For Papers**

### **Fourth Essex Graduate Conference in Political Theory: 'Rhetoric and Politics', 9-10 May 2003**

Guest Speakers:

Quentin Skinner (University of Cambridge)

Joan Copjec (University of Buffalo)

Ernesto Laclau (University of Essex)

Richard Bellamy (University of Essex)

Themes Include:

Rhetoric & Politics/ Psychoanalysis & Politics/ General Issues in Political Theory/ Citizenship & Democracy/ Human Rights & Globalisation/ Subjectivity & Identity/ Ethics

Deadline for Submission of Proposed Paper Abstracts: 20th March 2003

Fees: £20 (Attendance Only)

£10 (Paper Givers)

Registration form and general information available at:

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/>  
Organised by the Department of Government in association with the

Doctoral Programme in Ideology and Discourse Analysis (University of Essex) <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ida>

Contact:

Evi Mascha and Mercedes Barros  
Department of Government.

University of Essex

Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ  
United Kingdom

E-mail [polcon@essex.ac.uk](mailto:polcon@essex.ac.uk)

Facsimile: 01206 873598

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/government/>

**International Governance after  
'September 11': Interdependence,  
Security, Democracy**

24-26 September 2003 Institute of Governance, Public Policy and Social Research, Queen's University, Belfast

Two years after the terrorist attacks on New York and the Pentagon, and in the context of interest in the governance of failed states, what is new about the nature of the international arena? How can we best address the problems of international governance? How should our thinking about democratic international governance develop?

We invite proposals for papers and panels in any discipline, and proposals which draw on academic-practitioner collaboration will be especially welcome. Invited (but not yet confirmed) plenary speakers are Bill Clinton (former US President), and the celebrated political analyst and author Gore Vidal.

Over three days we will address six themes:

- new approaches to democratic governance
- globalisation, regionalisation and democracy
- democracy and sub/intra-state governance

- security and democratic governance - international issues
- regulation, accountability and democratic governance
- democracy and development: towards Cosmopolis?

Proposals for whole panels (rather than individual papers) are preferred. Panel proposals must include the names and contact details (email address, postal address, fax number, telephone number) for all speakers. They should also include abstracts of 500 words for each paper and a rationale of no more than 1000 words for the panel itself. Proposers should also indicate which theme of the conference they are seeking to address, and guarantee that their paper and presentation will be available in English. The act of sending a panel proposal is taken as a guarantee of participation at the Colloquium, should the proposal be accepted by the selection panel.

Paper proposals must include contact details (email address, postal address, fax number, telephone number) and an abstract of 500 words. The selection panel reserves the right to place successful paper proposals on a panel of their choice.

All proposals must be sent to the conference organiser, Dr Alex Warleigh by 30 April 2003. Successful proposers will be informed by 31 May 2003.

Alex Warleigh, PhD  
Reader in European Governance, and  
Deputy Director, Institute of  
Governance, Public Policy and Social  
Research  
Queen's University Belfast  
101 Botanic Avenue  
Belfast BT7 1JP, UK  
Tel:  
(+44) (0)28 90 272546 (direct line)

(+44) (0)28 90 272549 (secretary)  
 Fax: (+44) (0)28 90 272551  
 E-mail: [A.Warleigh@qub.ac.uk](mailto:A.Warleigh@qub.ac.uk)

### **The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms**

Journal of the International Society for  
 the Study of European Ideas  
 Eds. Sascha and Ezra Talmor  
 Kibbutz Nachshonim, D.N Merkaz  
 73190, ISRAEL  
 Tel: +972-3-9386445 Fax: +972-  
 3-938-6588  
 email: [issei@nachshonim.org.il](mailto:issei@nachshonim.org.il)

The European Legacy welcomes your  
 Scholarly papers on the following  
 subjects:

- Contemporary Political Analysis  
 of: The present and future of the  
 European Community
- The Reflection in European  
 Literature and Literary Theory of  
 the Politics of Integration
- Hobbes and the Myth of the Social  
 Contract
- Skepticism and Dogmatism in  
 Hume's Philosophy
- Kant and Natural Religion
- Is Bertrand Russell Wittgenstein's  
 Ladder?
- Why is Moral Philosophy a Non-  
 starter?
- Why is Literature at the Bottom in  
 the Hierarchy of Narratives?
- Is Philosophical Narrative the  
 Dream of a Language embodying  
 Reality?
- Is Philosophy a species of Religion  
 or is Religion a species of  
 Philosophy?
- Darwinism and Individualism.
- Moral Privacy versus Metaphysical  
 privacy.
- Western Liberal individualism and  
 German Romantic Philosophy
- The Scientific Revolution in 17th  
 and 18th Century European  
 Novels.

Those interested should send their  
 paper (6000 – 8000 words) by email  
 attachment (and one hard copy by  
 regular post) to:

The European Legacy  
 Kibbutz Nachshonim  
 DN Merkaz, 73190  
 Israel

[issei@nachshonim.org.il](mailto:issei@nachshonim.org.il)

All papers will be read and evaluated by our  
 expert readers before being accepted for  
 publication.

## Funding Opportunities

### **Jean Monnet Project 2003 Application deadline: 15 April 2003**

It is with great pleasure that the  
 European Commission announces the  
 Launch of the **Jean Monnet Project  
 2003**. The European Commission  
 awards subsidies to the academic  
 world for the setting up of projects  
 concerning European integration  
 issues, through the creation of teaching  
 activities, through support for young  
 researchers and for research.  
 Traditionally, two instruments have  
 been used in support of this activity:  
 the Jean Monnet Project and subsidy  
 heading A-3022. Out of consideration  
 for the user, from 2003 these two  
 instruments will be presented together  
 within the Commission.

The new vade mecum comprises the  
 call for proposals for both the Jean  
 Monnet Project and subsidy heading  
 A-3022. The vade mecum together  
 with the application forms can be  
 found on the European Commission  
 website at the following address:  
<http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/ajm/call.html>  
<http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/ajm/call.html>

Applicants are requested to read the  
 vade mecum attentively before filling

out the appropriate application form. They are also reminded that the applications may not be submitted via e-mail but that each form should be downloaded and signed by the Rector/Vice-Chancellor before submission.

The deadline for the submission of applications is: 15 April 2003. Enquiries should be directed to:

Lynne Hunter, Adviser, Delegation of the European Commission, 18 Arkana Street, Yarralumla, ACT 2600 Tel: (612) 62712742 Fax: (612) 62734445 Email: lynne.hunter@delaus.cec.eu.int

## Journal announcements

### German Law Journal

Vol. 3 No. 12 (1 December 2002)

Available at:  
<http://www.germanlawjournal.com>

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##### Public Law

'Hate-Speech in German Constitutional Law (Part I),' by Winfried Brugger

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