

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

Newsletter

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Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

C E S A A

Aim of the Newsletter

The aim of the CESAA Newsletter is the dissemination of information on Europe and European Studies, information on visitors from Europe and information on conferences. The teaching of European Studies will also feature in the Newsletter and it is hoped that the members will be able to assist one another and collaborate on projects, conferences and publications.

Thank you to all those who have contributed so far to the newsletter. Contributions may be sent to Lilian Topic, Department of Political Science, Melbourne University, Parkville, Victoria, 3052.

Who is on the CESAA Committee?

President:	Dr. Philomena Murray Department of Political Science University of Melbourne	Liaison Members:	Professor Konrad Kweit European Studies Macquarie University
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Contributions to the Newsletter are welcome!

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.

Deadline for Contributions to next Newsletter:
15 February, 1992 .

CESAA Newsletter Editors:

Nicole Goldblatt

Faculty of Law,
University of Melbourne

Philomena Murray

Department of Political Science,
University of Melbourne

Lilian Topic

Department of Political Science,
University of Melbourne

(The opinions expressed in articles which appear in the Newsletter are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Editors).

Address for Contributions:

Lilian Topic
Department of Political Science
University of Melbourne
Parkville, Victoria, 3052
Tel 03-3446565
Fax 03-3447906

CESAA welcomes new members

If you are a member and know of a friend or colleague who would be interested please pass on to them a copy of the membership application form. An application form is attached.

Application forms can be returned, with cheque payable to CESAA, to Lilian Topic, Treasurer, Dept. of Political Science, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Vic. 3052.

The Subscriptions (including Newsletter) are :

Students/Retired/unwaged:	\$15
Individuals:	\$25
Institutions:	\$100.

(Please name the contact person for the Institution, for future correspondence).



Can and should Maastricht be rescued?

Problems and prospects of EMU

by Joseph Belbruno *

This article argues that the European Union Treaty concluded at Maastricht, Holland, last December can and should be rescued despite its recent difficulties. To be sure, these difficulties are caused by more deep-seated defects in the process of European Monetary Union (EMU). Yet a lucid and rational confrontation of the defects will show that they can be remedied if the political will is present and that EMU is both a viable project and a desirable goal. As is frequently the case, Europeans have nothing to fear but fear itself.

1. Long-term problems:

These are of three types - structural, strategic, and legitimative.

(a) Structural problems:

The Maastricht Treaty stipulates the achievement of EMU - a common currency and monetary policy for the EEC - in three stages by January 1, 1999 at the latest. In the first stage, all EEC currencies are to be brought within the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). By virtue of the ERM, EEC currencies (until last month with the sole exception of the Greek drachma) have fixed parities within narrow margins of fluctuation (2.25% each from the next, 6% for the pound and, until 1990, also for the lira). In the second stage, to start by January 1, 1994, the EEC coun-

tries were to achieve convergence in terms of inflation rates, government deficits, exchange-rate and interest rate stability. In the third stage, starting on January 1, 1999 at the latest, the EEC countries would move to full monetary union.

The central problem with this timetable is its essential requirement that EEC countries achieve convergence in their rates of inflation. If, instead of converging, national rates of inflation show a marked tendency to diverge - as they do in the EEC - then there simply cannot be one single common monetary policy to serve the interests of all EEC members at the same time. Different EEC countries have different propensities to inflation depending on their industrial relations, degree of economic monopoly, and political institutions. A lax monetary policy would be unacceptable to Germany because it would harm the competitiveness of its export industries on which rests its economic, financial, and hence geo-political strength. Conversely, a tight monetary policy creates unemployment and low economic growth in countries with high propensities to inflation - notably Italy, Britain, Spain and, until recently, France.

The Treaty itself would not have been possible if the overriding interests of individual EEC member states had not been served by it. On

one hand, because of the higher productivity of its labour force, German industry will benefit from the competitive advantage of fixing irrevocably the exchange rate of the Deutschmark (DM) vis-a-vis the other EEC currencies. Were the DM to be revalued, German exports would become uncompetitive. Alternatively, a devaluation of the other currencies would have the same impact on German exports to the EEC and have the added disadvantage of feeding inflation into the German economy. Therefore, the Maastricht Treaty is a good deal for Germany: it will preserve its chronic payments-balance surpluses with the EEC and spread the blame for that with the United States. On the other hand, however, Germany's EMU partners have accepted its monetary hegemony, as embodied in the Treaty, in the hope that the establishment of supranational monetary institutions will help them beat chronic domestic inflation.

The overriding aim of EMU is to create an area of monetary stability in Western Europe. This rare consensus between European governments and business lobbies springs from a common perception of inflation as a threat to the central institutions of the capitalist social order - the wage relation and the sovereignty of the state. Yet it seems that, with the exception of Germany, this concern is not shared by national electorates worried by

the high rates of unemployment and low growth that the fight against inflation, waged mainly by means of high interest rates, has engendered. Although the ERM has reduced inflation rates successfully in all member countries in the period of its operation, the cost in terms of unemployment and slow growth dictated by Germany's stern leadership of ERM monetary policy through high interest rates has undermined that very success.

Once the costs of German reunification last year forced German authorities to raise interest rates, the ERM was doomed. Despite reassurances from national monetary authorities, the currency markets could not be induced to believe that Britain, Italy, France, and Spain could sustain the political costs of high interest rates. The demise of the ERM last month may have been dramatic, but it was entirely foreseeable.

(b) Strategic Problems:

The seriousness of the long-term structural problems described above persuaded even the most ardent advocates of EMU to accept a gradual approach to its achievement, especially after the failure of the "monetary Snake" in the mid 1970s. The EMS, and the ERM that it embodied, was set up in March 1979 in line with this gradualist approach. Its major aims were, first, to force the member

countries to adjust their domestic monetary and fiscal policies so as to maintain the ERM parities and, second, to stabilize EEC exchange rates through central-bank co-ordination of monetary policy (interest rates). A third aim was to combat and defeat currency speculation through a system of currency swaps, bilateral intervention and, when justified, rapid realignments of parities ahead of speculative flows.

As we saw above, the EMS/ERM worked extremely well until recently. The ERM had not been realigned for the last three years. Indeed, it had worked so well that EEC governments saw fit to stipulate a more rigid use of it in the Maastricht Treaty during its second stage to ensure monetary and budgetary convergence. The folly of this has now become apparent: as the ERM grows more rigid, currency markets grow more nervous about its maintainability and more willing to speculate against weak currencies. A measure of the excessive Europride in the ERM is given by the incredible refusal of some EEC governments to consider a proposal by the Bundesbank made as late as August to revalue the DM and lower its interest rates to relieve the pressure on the other currencies. The Bundesbank is never too shy to revalue the DM to stem imported inflation in Germany. But it is questionable whether the German government and the export industry would have

accepted this ploy.

Nevertheless, this strategic problem invites the conclusion that a gradualist road to EMU may very well be a mirage - which is why some economists are suggesting already that despite, and even because of, recent events EEC governments should move rapidly to EMU and not wait for a mythical "Elysian harmony".

(c) Legitimative problems:

As we have seen, the Treaty is the joint product of "high-political" negotiations among EEC governments and of intense pressure from business, especially financial, lobbies worried by the effects of inflation on political stability and export competitiveness. Throughout the period of negotiations on EMU, which extends back to 1969, the EEC governments themselves have abused thoroughly their foreign affairs powers to negotiate agreements on economic matters without bothering to build up parliamentary and popular consensus over these in their countries. It is no exaggeration to say that the process of EMU has constituted a veritable "revolution from above" with all its concomitant dangers of authoritarian rule and popular upheaval.

The paramount aim of the ERM and EMU as a whole has been and is to defeat inflation by "disciplining" workers against exces-

sive wage demands. This result is achieved by fixing exchange-rate parities - which means that, when domestic inflation threatens the exchange rate of a currency, interest rates rise to defend it with negative consequences for investment and employment. Even employers are discouraged thereby from granting wage increases because, once devaluation is excluded, the resulting higher costs will price their goods out of the export markets. Again, the result of wage demands is higher unemployment.

It is obvious that this "disciplining" function of EMU has had the greatest effect because governments have been able to justify it as an "external constraint", that is, as the necessary price that each EEC member state must pay to adhere to international agreements and avoid politico-economic marginalization. But it is far from clear how this abuse of the foreign affairs power to impose strict monetary measures on hostile electorates will be justified once the EEC moves to "irreversible" monetary union. For at precisely that time the "external constraint" will cease to exist and the new European supranational institutions will have to bear the relevant political burden.

The grave problem is that the Treaty does not even identify a political institution capable of carrying out what will be surely the hardest task of all in a united Eu-

rope: negotiating and justifying a common monetary policy. At the moment, the EEC's highest negotiating body, the European Council, has no legal constitutional legitimacy at all; the Treaty contains only a laconic definition of it as "a meeting of the Heads of State". Worse still, in order to ensure a low-inflation outcome for a future united Europe, the European Council has placed the control of European monetary policy from the beginning of the third stage of EMU firmly in the hands of a new European Central Bank (ECB). The Treaty decrees that the ECB will be a thoroughly autonomous bureaucracy, run by central-bank technocrats, unrepresentative of the political will of the future European electorate and absolutely unaccountable to it. How it is imagined that such a totally undemocratic institution will survive the tensions that will arise in a future united Europe with tremendous regional politico-economic differences must remain an inscrutable mystery and a source of worry to all Europeans.

Conclusion:

I have described above the enormous problems which a united Europe faces. Does this mean that Europe may be better off without EMU. The short answer to this proposition is that without EMU these problems will get worse, not better. EMU is the only way forward for Europe. The problems are undoubtedly difficult, but not

insurmountable. A number of essential pre-conditions for their solution can be listed. First, agreement on a looser common monetary policy to accommodate countries with higher rates of inflation. Second, or as a partial alternative, a program of considerable fiscal transfers and development finance from the economically and financially stronger to the weaker regions of the Community. Third, or alternatively, a two-speed Europe integrating areas with comparable propensities to inflation and compatible industrial development. Of course, this should be done in combination with the second alternative to avoid that the area with the lower "speed" lose touch with the other area. Fourth, the construction of powerful and truly representative political and economic institutions, particularly the European Parliament, able to achieve consensus on economic goals and policies.

In the face of mounting political tensions and extremism in Europe, the EMU project sets ominous precedents for authoritarian government. Yet the task of European political and economic integration is a burning necessity in an increasingly interdependent world. Only truly democratic institutions will ensure its successful completion.

* *Joseph Bellbruno is at the Victorian Bar and currently studying for a Ph. D. at The University of Melbourne*

Forthcoming conferences, symposia, seminars, lectures, and calls for papers

Chronological summary of items

Symposium:	Europe 1992 : Australia's options? CESAA- Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia	Melbourne	Early 1993
Conference:	Europe at La Trobe: Conference on Modern Europe Economy and culture Australasian Association of European Historians and CESAA - Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia to be held at Glenn College, La Trobe University	Bundoora, Vic	5th to 9th July
Conference:	Rewriting the German Past? Literary and Historical Interventions 1989-1993 Departments of History and German, University of Western Australia	Perth, W.A.	22nd to 24th September
Conference:	International European Studies Conference: Economy and culture Monash Centre for European Studies, Monash University	Clayton, Vic	September

**C E S A A Symposium
Call for Papers
Europe beyond 1992:
Australia's options?**

**Melbourne
Early 1993**

sectors. There will be a chance for questions, responses and discussion following each presentation.

Members will be posted more information as it becomes available. To express interest or offer suggestions please contact:

Dr. P. Murray
President, CESAA
Department of Political Science
University of Melbourne
Parkville 3052.

CESAA is planning a symposium for early 1993, in order to discuss **Europe beyond 1992: Australia's options?** This symposium is to be held in Melbourne and will give interested CESAA members, experts in the field and members of the general public an opportunity to hear papers from a wide variety of speakers involved in the business, diplomatic and academic

Europe at La Trobe

**Conference on
Modern Europe**

5 - 9 July 1993

Second Call for Papers

The Australasian Association of European Historians in conjunction with the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia have convened a Conference on Modern Europe at La Trobe University, Melbourne, 5 -9 July 1993. The conference organiser aim to associate specialists in modern European history with other

'Gender in Germany'. Funded by the United States' Fulbright programme.

Barry Rose (History, Tasmania), to be honoured with an emeritus oration: 'Feminism, Women and the French Revolution revisited'. Funded by the AAEH.

Plans are also afoot to invite additional conference visitors from England (a Russian specialist, funded by the British Council), and France and Italy (respectively a French and Italian specialist, funding applications pending).

Rough groupings of papers and sessions are emerging as set out below. Participants are urged to offer 'historical' or 'contemporary' papers (or mixtures of both!) on these or any other themes. But there is still time to suggest new panels, and to offer a paper within the rubric of an existing panel. Papers will be so scheduled to maximise participants' opportunities for discussion and to receive the benefit of cross-disciplinary perspectives. Panels are certainly envisaged and coalescing nicely under the following rubrics:

EEC forum

Gender and Germany

Eastern Europe in Revolution:
Past in the Present

Societies in transition, cultures in continuity

Integration and disintegration: the re-shaping of a continent

Writers and others: roles, realities and representations

Discourses of European history:

gender, class and other contending concepts

A special 'collective' plenary session is also envisaged to provide a forum for a wide-ranging of issues germane to the study of 'modern' Europe. All conference goers can participate in this evening session which will explore the extent to which key methods and core concepts now need to be amended or abandoned in the light of the great changes which have occurred in contemporary Europe.

Members of the editorial boards of Quadrant and the Australian Journal of Politics and History will also be attending the conference, ready and willing to exercise their discretion as to whom to invite to submit papers for publication. As our arrangements become more settled, invitations will be issued to the Age or the Australian to send a senior journalist to discuss local coverage of European affairs. The ABC's 'The Europeans' will also be invited to attend.

The conference will be held at Glenn College, at La Trobe University in Melbourne, 5 to 9 July, 1993. Visitors will be able to stay in the college. Bed and breakfast (Yes! Muesli, bacon and eggs, weet-bix, and - dare I say it! - porridge!) will be available at the college for approximately \$A40 daily, and luncheon vouchers (soup, quiche, sandwiches) may be purchased separately for approximately \$A10 daily. Confer-

ence registration will be approximately \$A100, and will include morning and afternoon tea. A slap-up conference dinner will be arranged as soon as numbers firm, at an (extra) cost to be determined.

Now it is your turn to respond. Your convenors have done their best. Although we have a very promising raft of papers, we need more!

Offers of papers should reach us by 11 December, 1992. Offers of papers submitted after that date may be accepted, but no guarantee can be given. A further letter will follow in January 1993, asking for abstracts, and providing an application for registration and a provisional conference programme. We look forward to hearing from you. Please send your proposals for papers, visitors, or sessions to:

Tony Barta and Adrian Jones
Department of History
La Trobe University
Bundoora 3083
Victoria, Australia

Telephone (03)47902340
Fax (03)478-5814]

Call for Papers

Rewriting the German Past?

Literary and Historical Interventions 1989-1993

**University of
Western Australia**

**September 22-24
1993**

An international conference to be held at the University of Western Australia, September 22 - 24, 1993.

The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989 and the subsequent re-unification of Germany are events of wide-reaching cultural and historical significance. Germany has re-established itself as the major national power on the European continent; the "German problem" poses itself anew, both domestically and internationally. The Departments of History and German at the University of Western Australia invite scholars from a range of disciplines to present papers at an international conference to be held in Perth in September 1993. Papers should address historical / cultural / political / literary ramifications of the events of 1989/90 in Germany.

Invitations have already been accepted by the following scholars:

Professor Konrad Jarausch (University of North Carolina)

Professor Dr. Reiner Pommerin (Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen)

Professor Dr. Hermann Weber (Universität Mannheim)

Enquiries and offers of papers should be sent by April 30, 1993 to:

Assoc. Professor Reinhard Alter
Department of German
Dr. Peter Monteath
Department of History
University of Western Australia
Nedlands WA 6009
Australia

Monash Centre for European Studies

International European Studies Conference : Economy and Culture

**September 1993
Monash University
Clayton, Victoria**

The Monash Centre for European Studies is planning an international conference on the relationship between economy and culture to be held in September 1993.

It should be interdisciplinary and comparative, looking at issues ranging widely from comparative administration to best practices and comparative economic philosophies, with a strong emphasis on current practical problems which concern Australians in their dealings with their European and Asian partners.

Inquiries are welcome and should be addressed to:

Associate Professor Walter Veit
Centre for European Studies
Department of German Studies
Monash University

Courses on European Studies

This section of the Newsletter gives information on new or recently commenced courses on European Studies.

The **Register of European Studies** is being compiled by Craig Lonsdale at the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne for the CESAA in order to provide information on courses currently being taught in Australia and research being carried out on European Studies. The questionnaire is attached to this Newsletter. So far CESAA members have supplied information on 133 courses or subjects. Please return forms with information on courses to:

Lilian Topic
Department of Political Science
University of Melbourne
Tel. 03-3446565
Fax. 03-3447906

Griffith University

Bachelor of Arts in Contemporary European Studies

Division of Humanities

Summary of Objectives

In 1993 the Division of Humanities at Griffith University will introduce a Bachelor of Arts in Contemporary European Studies. The programme will consist of new courses, designed to illuminate the major issues and choices confronting Europe at the close of the twentieth century.

1. Developing Knowledge and Skills

The BA in Contemporary European Studies has been devised to equip students with key analytical skills, a sophisticated understanding of contemporary issues in Europe, and experience in the types of collaborative work they are likely to encounter in their future employment. The programme will therefore give particular attention to developing the ability to:

- understand relationship between economic and social processes, and between levels of political and social authority;
- use the central concepts and methods of the social and political

sciences for specific purposes;

- communicate effectively in written and oral forms, including presenting and defending arguments;
- enhance personal achievement through co-operation on group projects.

2. Linking the University and the Community

The Contemporary European Studies programme aims to reduce the gap between the world of the university and the world of work in which graduates make use of their university acquired skills and knowledge. In their final year, therefore, students will undertake a major project on a Europe topic of special interest to private enterprise or public agencies. The topic will usually be arranged in collaboration with a specific employer and will involve significant contact between course staff, the student and employer.

3. Providing Career Opportunities

The BA in Contemporary European Studies will provide a valuable qualification wherever an understanding of cultural differences, the complexity of national and international relationships, and the influences on contemporary policy-making is demanded. Stu-

dents will acquire skills and knowledge that will open up a wide range of employment opportunities in business, the public service, and teaching.

Summary of Content

1. Core Content

It is planned that all students will complete courses in the following areas:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Year 1 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * What is "Europe"? * Europe and Australia |
| Year 2 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * EC Institutions * Economy and Society in Europe * Comparative Politics * Europe and the World |
| Year 3 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Policy in Europe 1 actors and frameworks * Policy in Europe 2 Processes and outcomes |

Year 1: Particular emphasis is given to the differences among European societies in the twentieth century. The courses will also consider the variations in the relationship between European states and between Europe and Australia. Students will be introduced to the concepts, methods and theories which political and social scientists use to analyse those relationships.

Year 2: Here, the emphasis shifts to the issue of integration among European societies, politics and economies. The courses will analyse: the development of the European Community; the extent of convergence among the economies and the political institutions of European nations; and how relationship with non-European societies have encouraged or hampered the processes of European integration.

Year 3: Finally, the focus turns towards policy issues which concern Europe as a whole. Through study of specific issues (for example, the Common Agricultural Policy, the regulation of broadcasting, the relations between government and business), students will discover the contexts and complexities of the policy process in Europe. The major project will constitute one part of final year work.

The degree programme will bring together the disciplines of history, politics and the social sciences. The primary focus will be on Europe since 1945, accompanied by the historical background necessary to understand contemporary issues.

2. Other Content Options

Students will supplement their core European Studies programme with courses chosen from the wide array offered in the Division of Hu-

manities, or from courses in other Divisions by arrangement. Courses of special interest to European Studies students will be those from: the Italian Studies programme, which specialises in contemporary Italian language, society and politics; and the International Business Relations degree programme offered in the Division of Asian and International Studies. Along with the major project, these choices will enable students to prepare themselves more fully for their future careers or further study.

3. European Languages

Strong encouragement will be given to students to acquire or develop their knowledge of one of the major European languages other than English - Italian, Spanish, French German.

Further enquiries may be directed to

Dr. David Moss
The Convenor
Bachelor of Arts in Contemporary European Studies
Tel: (07) 875 7218

or to:

The Division Administrator
Division of Humanities
Nathan Campus
Griffith University
QLD 4111
Tel: (07) 875 7838
Fax: (07) 875 7730

**University College Dublin
(National University
of Ireland)
CEEPA Centre for European
Economics and Public Affairs
Master's Degree Programme
in European Economic and
Public Affairs**

University College Dublin (National University of Ireland) has recently established a one year interdisciplinary master's Degree Programme in European Economic and Public Affairs. The degree programme is coordinated by CEEPA (Centre for European Economic and Public Affairs).

Interdisciplinary Approach

The CEEPA programme is comprehensive interdisciplinary, believing that current developments within the European Community can only be understood by means of such an approach. Students must take courses in each of the four disciplines that make up the programme (Political Science, Law, Economics and Business Studies). The curriculum covers the institutions, decision-making processes, legal framework and laws, policy outputs and economic and business environment of the Community. Particular attention is paid to contemporary and these are analysed in a theoretical and historical context. The degree programme lasts one year (October - September) and leads to an M.A. or M.Econ. Sc. Degree.

International Student Body

The CEEPA Programme is committed to having a broad international student intake. In the three years of the programme to date, the students have come from Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, Greece, Spain, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Turkey, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, the United States and Canada.

Interface Between Academic and Practitioner

Throughout the programme, students are exposed not only to professors and lecturers of the National University of Ireland but also to current and former high-level officials of the European Community, to senior decision-makers from the private and public sectors with direct European involvement and to a wide range of academics from other European countries. This is done through a Visiting Speaker Programme and through two study visits, one to Brussels and one to the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Each study visit lasts two weeks and involves intensive seminars with officials from the European Commission, with members and staff of the European Parliament and with the multinational faculty of the Institute in Florence.

Advisory Council

To promote interaction between the academic and the practitioner,

the University has established an Advisory council that includes among its members Dr. Emile Noel, who is a former Secretary-General of the Commission of the European Community, Dr. Garret FitzGerald who is a former Irish Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers of the EC, and Dr. Peter Sutherland, the Commissioner for Competition Policy in the EC from 1984-88. Dr. Sutherland is a Visiting Professor at the University and gives a course of lectures on Competition Policy in the CEEPA Master's Programme.

Fees

Full tuition fees (exclusive of living expenses but including travel costs of the study visits) are IRL10,000. In the case of Irish and other EC citizens, partial tuition fellowships are available. In such instances the tuition fees are IRL5,500. Limited on-campus accommodation is available.

Contact

Director: Dr. Richard Sinnott,
CEEPA,
University College Dublin,
Belfield, Dublin 4.
Ireland.

**Swinburne Institute
of Technology**

Faculty of Arts

Discipline of Italian Studies

New Subject in 1992

**AA205 - The European
Community
(offered in semester 2)**

The course identifies the key factors which determined European politics from 1945 and analyzes the social, political and economic changes in post-war Europe.

It discusses the significance of the completion of the European Common market 1993 with a particular emphasis on the effects on Italy as a Member State of the European Community.

Enquiries may be directed to :

Dr. David Fairservice
BA702
Ext. 8044

or Ms. Laura Hougaz
BA704
Ext. 8050

Publications

This section provides information on recent and forthcoming publications on European issues. Please send all details to Lilian Topic of any of your recent publications which may be of interest to CESAA members or other books and articles which we should know about, for courses, as textbooks, and for research.

Themes in Right-Wing Ideology and Politics Series

The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA

Edited by Paul Hainsworth

**University of Ulster at
Jordanstown.**

From the 1920s to the 1940s Europe experience, in varying degrees, the rise of fascism and authoritarian movements. The horrors of World War II and the Holocaust tended to de-legitimize Nazism, fascism and fellow travelers. Nevertheless, post-war Europe and the USA have witnessed the sporadic and uneven growth of extreme rights forms. This book brings together acknowledged experts to examine the nature and prevalence of the post-war extreme right in a comparative framework.

In common with other political labels, the term extreme right can

be elusive and the introduction discusses some of the problems encountered in defining the term. Both the introduction and the country by country studies illustrate the unevenness of extreme right-wing growth and the effects of specific political cultures.

Authors concentrate upon the ideas, impact and success of extreme right movements, pointing to the context in which the latter have set the agenda. Analysis is made therefore of the degree to which certain ideas and discourses are shared with other political parties and forces, for example mistrust of immigrants, intense nationalism and the search for scapegoats.

The focus is primarily upon European Community countries and the USA but additional material looks at recent developments in Eastern Europe. This authoritative study is an invaluable reference for researchers, academics and students of this growing trend in contemporary Western society.

Contents

1. Introduction. The cutting edge: The extreme right in post-war Western Europe and the USA
2. The extreme right in post-war France: The emergence and success of the Front national

4. The Netherlands: Irritants on the body politic
5. Belgium: Flemish legions on the march
6. The extreme right in Italy: Ideological orphans and counter-mobilization
7. Why has the extreme right failed in Britain?
8. Denmark: The Progress Party-populist neo-liberalism and welfare state chauvinism
9. The extreme right in Spain: Blas Pinar and the spirit of the nationalist uprising
10. Portugal: The marginalization of the extreme right
11. Greece: The virtual absence of an extreme right
12. After Stalinism: The extreme right in Russia, East German and Eastern Europe.
13. Beyond the fringe: The extreme right in the United States of America.

July 1992

336 pages Hardback
ISBN 0 86187 790 X
£45.00

The Idea of Europe

Problems of National and Transnational Identity

**Edited by Brian Nelson,
David Roberts
and Walter Veit**

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David Roberts and
Brian Nelson
2. Europe: An Epilogue?
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Barry Smart
4. Europe and Japan: Problems of "Internationalization"
Toshiko Kishida
5. Questions for Europe
John Keane
6. Who Needs European Identity and What Could It Be?
Sven Papcke
7. Political Parties between National Identity and Eurofication
Michael Th. Greven
8. Democracy and Big Government

Barry Hindess

9. Contemporary Feminist Movements in Western Europe: Paradigms for Change?
Gisela Kaplan

10. "Socialism in Half a Country": Problems of National and Cultural Identity in the German Democratic Republic
John Milfull

11. Europe, Central Europe, and the Austrian Identity
Leslie Bodi

12. Francois Mitterrand and the Idea of Europe
Alan Clark

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Preface

The present collection of essays is based on an international conference ("Europe Today") organized by the Centre for European Studies at Monash University, Melbourne, in July 1989. The essays included in this volume represent a selection of the papers presented at the conference. They have all been thoroughly revised, and as much account as possible has been taken of recent changes in Europe.

A major international conference would not be possible without the cooperation of numerous bodies. We would like to express our warm appreciation of the generous support given to us by the following persons and institutions: the German Research Association, the German Academic Exchange Service, the French and Italian Governments, the government of Victoria, and the Vice-Chancellor of Monash University, professor Mal Logan.

Preparation of the volume was greatly aided by the work of Jill Anderson and Jan Lapinskus, and by the valuable comments of Professor Michael Biddiss.

This volume is one of a pair. Its twin is the *The European Community in the 1990s* (Berg, 1992). Each volume is complete in itself but reinforces the other. See below for a description of the twin volume.

The European Community in the 1990s

Economics, Politics, Defence

**Edited by Brian Nelson,
David Roberts
and Walter Veit**

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Preface

The present collection of essays is based on an international conference ("Europe Today") organized by the Centre for European Studies at Monash University, Melbourne, in July 1989. The essays included in this volume represent a selection of the papers presented at the conference. They have all been thoroughly revised, and as much account as possible has been taken of recent changes in Europe.

This volume is one of a pair. Its twin is the The European Community in the 1990s (Berg, 1992). Each volume is complete in itself but reinforces the other (see above).

CESAA Annual General Meeting

Time: Thursday, December 3,
1992 at 7.30 p.m.

Venue: Common Room, John
Medley Building, University
of Melbourne (enter from Grat-
tan Street).

To be followed by a talk by
Kenneth Davidson -

"THE CULTURAL DIMENSION TO
AUSTRALIA'S ECONOMIC
PROBLEM"

After the talk and discussion,
drinks will be served.

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