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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
Vice-President:	Associate Professor Walter Veit Department of German Monash University		Dr. Peter Monteath Department of History University of Western Australia
Secretary:	Mr. Andrew Newton Department of Political Science University of Melbourne		Professor John Gatt-Rutter Department of Italian Studies La Trobe University
Treasurer:	Ms. Lilian Topic Department of Political Science University of Melbourne		Professor John Milfull Dean, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences University of N.S.W
Committee	Assoc. Professor Irmeline Veit Brause School of Social Inquiry Deakin University		Associate Professor Ben Tipton Centre for European Studies Department of Economic History University of Sydney
	Dr. Peter Lawler Department of Politics Monash University		Dr. Karis Muller European Studies Australian National University
	Geoff Green Barrister & Solicitor Minter Ellison Morris Fletcher		Dr. Joanne Wright Department of Government University of Queensland
	Adam Koch Department of Marketing & Organisational Behaviour Swinburne University of Technology		

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: June 1, 1993 .

CESAA Newsletter Editors:

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Department of German
Moansh University

David Moss

School of European Studies
Griffith University

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Department of Political Science,
University of Melbourne

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

Layout by Craig Lonsdale,
Professional Officer, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne

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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).

C E S A A

Annual General Meeting - Minutes 1992

The Annual General Meeting of CESAA was held on Thursday 4 December, 1992 at 7.30pm in the John Medley Building, University of Melbourne. Apologies were noted.

Business:

1. The minutes of the last meeting were approved,
2. The President's report was received (Attachment), including the announcement that the Association now had 112 members.
3. The Treasurer's Report (Attachment) was received.
4. The winners of the essay competition, "Europe in Transition" were announced. The undergraduate winner was Iona Annet, the postgraduate Deborah Cass. Congratulations to both were warmly expressed, and notification of their receipt of prizes of \$250 each. The Vice-President reported that fifteen entries were received, eight from undergraduates, seven from postgraduates; all entrants were given a copy of the book by John Palmer, kindly provided by the European Delegation in Canberra. The Vice-President thanked those who had assisted in triple-reading the entries, which were of a wide variety and high standard.
5. In the election of office-bearers for 1993 all nominations were unopposed; the following positions were therefore declared filled:

President:	Dr Philomena Murray	
Vice-President:	Associate Professor Walter Veit	
Secretary:	Ms Nicole Goldblatt	
Treasurer:	Ms Lilian Topic	
Ordinary members:	Judy Armstrong	Geoff Green
	Adam Koch	Peter Lawler
	Andrew Newton	L. Veit

The business part of the meeting being over those present listened with interest to a talk by Kenneth Davidson, Economics Editor of *The Age* newspaper.

Judy Armstrong
Secretary 1992
December 3rd 1992

Treasurer's Report 1992

Expenditure:

PETTY CASH:	20.00
Receipt book	1.75
AGM 1 cheese & biscuits	10.00
Petty cash voucher book	.60
Minutes Book	2.60
Receipt book	1.60
 Amount remaining	 3.45
 AACES Newsletter No.1:	
Postage costs for distribution:	32.96
Typing of labels for distribution:	40.00
AGM No. 1:	
Mail-out of information (4 hours clerical assist)	40.00
Postage/labels	94.38
Use of venue, AIIA	25.00
Drinks	16.00
CESAA Newsletter No 2:	
Typing	87.00
Printing	28.88
CESAA Newsletter No 3:	
Typing	72.00
Printing	171.59
Postage	140.75
Mail-out (3 1/2 hours clerical assist)	35.00
WALTER VEIT Seminar:	
Wine & Cheese	34.78
Copying & postage of leaflets	36.99
CESAA Newsletter No 4:	
Typing	93.00
Mail-out (3 hours clerical assist)	30.00
Copying & distribution	205.22
EUROPEAN STUDIES REGISTER:	
Data compilation & draft completion	150.00
GOVERNMENT TAXES on cheque account:	
September 91 - September 92	4.14
 TOTAL EXPENDITURE:	 \$1357.69

Income:

DONATIONS:	39.83
SUBSCRIPTIONS:	2676.60
INTEREST on cheque account:	29.12
 TOTAL INCOME:	 \$2785.38

Balance currently in bank account: \$1427.69

Lilian Topic
Treasurer
3rd December 1992

President's Report 1992

The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia was launched on 16 March 1991 in Melbourne, at the AIIA Conference on "The New Europe, East and West". About 100 people attended the first meeting, a sign that there is a great deal of interest in European issues. Also, letters of support have been received from a variety of sources in Australia and Europe.

The initiative for such an Association is based on the experience of the national Associations for Contemporary European Studies in each of the member states of the European Community and in the USA, which is an experience of cooperation, sharing of learning and research interests and dissemination of information and critical analysis on contemporary European issues.

CESAA Aims

CESAA aims to be 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 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.

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

The Association is Australian, not Australasian. The New Zealand Association is due to be established shortly and we have been in contact with the convenor and we look forward to fruitful cooperation with them.

CESAA's Executive Committee 1991-92

President: Dr. Philomena Murray, Dept. of Political Science, University of Melbourne,
 Vice President: Assoc. Prof. Walter Veit, Dept. of German Studies and Slavic Studies, Monash University.
 Treasurer: Lilian Topic, Dept. of Political Science, University of Melbourne,
 Secretary: Nicole Goldblatt, Law Faculty, University of Melbourne,
 Dr. Joan Beaumont, Dept. of History, Deakin University,
 Prof. Brian Nelson, Centre for European Studies, Monash University.
 Dr Michael Enright, Swinburne Institute of Technology

The Committee has met six times since last year's AGM.

While the executive committee was based in Melbourne, representatives of all states were coopted to the Committee. The liaison members are: Prof. Konrad Kwiet, Macquarie; Dr. Peter Monteath, Western Australia, Prof. John Gatt-Rutter, La Trobe; Prof. John Milfull, New South Wales, Assoc. Prof. Ben Tipton, Sydney; Dr. Karis Muller, ANU; Dr. Joanne Wright, Queensland; Prof. David Moss, Griffith.

CESAA is a national association and so it is expected that the Association's members will organise events and receive contributions from across Australia, in order to serve all its members across Australia. Offers to set up seminars and other events in all Australian cities are welcome.

Membership

CESAA now has 112 paid up members. The members come from a variety of backgrounds, including European studies, politics, languages, linguistics, commerce, law, management, economics, economic history, history, marketing and organisational behaviour, social sciences and arts. They come from institutions ranging from ANU, Deakin University, Flinders University, Griffith University, University of Melbourne, James Cook University, Monash University, Swinburne Institute of Technology, Oxford University, University of Sydney, Victoria University of Technology, University of Western Australia, Wollongong. There is also representation of consultants, chambers of commerce, and the Department of Manufacturing and Industry Development in Melbourne, the Delegation of the European Communities in Canberra, Minter Ellison, KPMG Peat Marwick and the Australian War Memorial. Seven are members through personal interest, five are diplomats and there are eighteen student members.

Newsletter of the Association

A Newsletter was set up in July 1991. The first issue was distributed to over 300 people, mostly in Universities and other tertiary institutions throughout Australia. Since then the Association has produced 5 Newsletters and a feature of the Newsletter is the inclusion of articles of current interest in European politics, law, culture and society and economics. These articles have ranged from the problems of united Germany to the European Community's Single Internal Market and the Maastricht Treaty as well as European federalism. We would like to thank the Commission of the European Communities in Canberra for distributing the second Newsletter. The aim of the Newsletter is the dissemination of information on European Studies, information on visitors from Europe and information on conferences. The editors for the 1991-92 Newsletters were Lilian Topic, Nicole Goldblatt, Joan Beaumont and Philomena Murray. Offers to co-edit for 1993 are very welcome. So too are articles and contributions and letters. Special thanks to Lilian for her sterling work in producing the newsletters almost single handed when Philo produced baby Stephen on 6 July and Nicole produced baby Nadav on 13 October this year.

Register of European Studies in Australia

The Association has collected information on European Studies in Australia for a Register of European Studies, in order to provide information on courses currently being taught in Australia and research being carried out on European Studies. The *questionnaire* was distributed with all Newsletters and the response has been overwhelmingly informative. The draft Register has been distributed to all CESAA members for correction and amendment as appropriate and the final version will be issued on receipt of these replies. The Register includes undergraduate courses taught in Australia on Europe, Masters programmes on Europe, scholarships and fellowships that are available to study or research in Europe and any extracurricular activities being conducted.

The Committee wishes to express its special thanks to Craig Lonsdale, Professional Officer and computer whiz of the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne for setting up the data base and collating the often disparate material on European Studies. We would also like to thank Craig for generously giving of his time to format the Newsletter in such a presentable and easily readable manner.

Essay Competition

CESAA held its first Essay competition this year. The Competition awarded prizes for two categories -- undergraduate and postgraduate. Walter Veit was the chairperson of the panel of judges and the Committee would like to thank him for his work on this and the members who acted as judges from several universities. We would like to thank the Delegation of the European Commission in Canberra for donating prizes of John Palmer's book *1992 and Beyond* to the entrants. Thanks also to the Centre for European Studies in Monash University and the programme for European Studies in the University of Melbourne for donating \$250 each for prize money. It is hoped that this will become a regular feature of the Association and members are invited to contribute essays and encourage students to enter the competition.

Links with ECSA

The Association has established links with the world-wide European Community Studies Association (ECSA) and has links with associations similar to CESAA world-wide. The Newsletters will keep members up to date on their activities. While in Brussels recently, I discussed the financing of short term scholarships for Australian students to attend European institutes or universities, with the ECSA coordinator in the European Commission, Mme. Jacqueline Lastenouse. She is very keen to establish closer links and further cooperation with CESAA and she follows developments in European Studies in Australia with great interest. Members will be informed of developments and suggestions are welcome.

CESAA Seminars

The Association held some seminars in Melbourne in 1992. The first was given by Walter Veit on Germans intellectuals and European Unity, on 16 June and the second by Sir Robert O' Neill on Relations between Australia and Britain in the context of the European Community, in August. It is hoped that more seminars will be held under the auspices of CESAA in all the major cities of Australia in 1993 and members are warmly encouraged to set up seminars and talks.

A one day symposium is planned for 26 March on *Europe beyond 1992: Australia's Options?* This will be held in the Common Room, John Medley Building University of Melbourne, from 9.00 to 6.00 with a buffet lunch and an evening reception. Speakers will include Ambassadors, other diplomats and academics and lawyers.

Philomena Murray, President, CESAA,
Dept of Political Science, University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria 3052.
December 3rd, 1992

Reasons for the Danish rejection of Maastricht

By Heather Field *

The 1991 Maastricht Agreement was intended to lead to a 'European Union' based on three pillars.

The first of these is the existing EC supranational framework plus moves towards European Political Union (EPU) and European Monetary Union (EMU), and the extension of the existing EC policy mix. The second gives European Political Co-operation (EPC) foreign policy co-ordination arrangements a formal EC footing. The third is the Western European Union (WEU), the nearest thing the community has to a defence 'arm', but of which only nine EC states are members.

In addition, the EC policy mix is to be extended to include industry assistance policies in specified areas, assistance for telecommunications, transport and energy links, and 'cohesion' funding for transport and infrastructure projects in member states with lower than average national incomes.

In Denmark, Ireland and France ratification of the Maastricht European Union Treaty was made subject to individual national referendums, and accepted in Ireland and France, albeit by a margin of only some 2 per cent in the latter country, but rejected by a narrow margin of 1.4 per cent (50.7 to 49.3 per cent of votes cast) in Denmark.

Reasons suggested for the Danish rejection of the Maastricht agreement have included opposition to the further centralisation of power in Brussels, opposition to the Franco-German plan for a joint military force, fears of reductions in the disproportionately large voting weights of small member states in the Council of Ministers, and fears of the domination of the Community by a united Germany.

However, national and local self interest may have been more crucial, especially given that a strong 'No' vote in rural areas was a major influence on the referendum result. In spite of having the highest level of national income per head of any EC member state, Denmark has consistently been a net beneficiary from the EC budget, mainly through Common Agricultural Policy expenditure. The widening of the EC policy mix, and the introduction of explicit financial transfers from wealthier to poorer member states through 'cohesion' funding, would negatively affect the present favoured position of Denmark and Danish farmers with respect to EC budgetary flows.

In France opposition from farm interests also contributed to the large 'No' vote. However, the far right and the far left provided the major poles of opposition, with the far right stressing nationalist factors and fears of increased im-

migration, and the far left objecting to the nature of the Community and the limiting effect of Maastricht on the freedom of action of a future left-wing government.

The Danish outcome demonstrates that it can be difficult for the EC to secure changes and reforms where the interests of countries and of particular groups are involved.

* *Dr Heather Field is Senior Lecturer in Contemporary European Studies at Griffith University.*

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

Chronological summary of items

 1993

Talk:	Whither or wither - The European Community? Australian Institute of International Affairs (AIIA) Meeting	Melbourne	March 10th
Symposium:	Europe 1992 : Australia's options? CESAA- Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (see Poster attached for details)	Melbourne	March 26th
Seminar:	Transforming Eastern Europe: Economies and Societies in Transition Institute of Public Affairs and Australian Institute of Polish Affairs Shell Theatre, Spring Street, Melbourne	Melbourne	April 21st
Conference:	Rethinking the Political Inaugural Conference of the Institute for Critical and Cultural Studies, Monash University	Clayton, Vic	2nd to 4th July
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
Conference:	War, Violence and the Structure of Modernity University of NSW School of German and Russian Studies in collaboration with the Goethe Institute	Sydney	1st to 3rd October
Conference:	Australian Political Science Association Annual Conference Monash University	Clayton, Vic	29th September to 1st October

**Australian Institute of
International Affairs**

**Whither - or wither
- The European Community?**

Dr Philomena Murray

AIIA
6 - 8 pm
Wednesday March 10

Dr Murray's talk will deal with the current problems facing the European Community, particularly the fallout after Maastricht, the future of European Union and the forces for both integration and disintegration within the community.

Dr Murray is Lecturer in European Politics at the University of Melbourne. She acts as a consultant on European politics for government and industry and for the ABC and Radio Australia. She has published conference papers and has contributed to many publications including *European Studies Journal* and *Melbourne Journal of Politics*.

Dr Murray is an AIIA Council Member and President of CESAA.

The Institute's meetings are held at Dyason House, 124 Jolimont Road, East Melbourne. Non-members of the AIIA are welcome to attend. Early evening meetings are held from 6-8pm. Light refreshments are available from 6 pm and the talk begins at 6.30 pm.

**Seminar
Transforming Eastern Europe:
Economies and Societies in
Transition**

Professor Leszek Balcerowicz

**Institute of Public Affairs
and
Australian Institute of
Polish Affairs**

Wednesday April 21
5.30 pm - 7.30 pm
Shell Theatre
1 Spring St
Melbourne

Professor Balcerowicz, 45, who is currently a professor at the Warsaw School of Economics, is best known as the principal architect of the Polish economy's 'Big Bang' radical stabilization and transformation program, over which, during 1989-1992, he presided as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in Poland's first two non-Communist governments. During this time he chaired the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers and led the Polish Government's negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Professor Balcerowicz's work, and influence, have not however been confined to Poland. He is widely acknowledged as the most experienced and influential of the economic reformers who emerged in

Central and Eastern Europe after the demise of Communism. He is the author of numerous publications; has lectured extensively in Germany, Britain, Sweden, India, Hungary and the USA; was awarded, in 1992, the Ludwig Erhard Prize in Germany; and has recently been advising, among others, Russia's President Yeltsin. Not the least of his accomplishments is his fluency as an English-speaker!

Those wishing to attend this fascinating seminar are asked to telephone the IPA on 654 7499.

There will be a nominal charge (\$10) for admission; following the conclusion of the seminar at 7.00pm, refreshments will be served.

Rethinking the Political

The Inaugural Conference of The Institute for Critical and Cultural Studies

Monash University
July 2-4

The conference seeks to open an interdisciplinary space in which people can explore the question, 'What is it to think politically in our time?' The question has many facets, including these:

- * Do the languages of post-structural theory enable or disable political action?
- * What would be a politically effective language in the humanities?
- * What is the meaning and pertinence of 'community' today?
- * Does politics begin in ethics?
- * What roles are there in the 1990s for the artist, the critic, the intellectual, the practitioner, the writer?
- * What kinds of innovation are necessary for giving voice to those who have been disenfranchised?
- * What sorts of theoretical transformations are needed when dealing with the breakdown of prevailing models of radical practice?
- * What kind of theoretical models might be useful for devising alternatives?

Speakers include:

Pheng Cheah
University of Sydney

Dianne Chisholm
University of Alberta

Simon During
University of Melbourne
Alexander Garcia Duttman
College International de Philosophie

Moira Gatens
University of Sydney

Geoffrey Hartman
Yale University

Margaret Homans
Yale University

Paul Kane
Vassar College

Vicki Kirby
University of California San Diego
Brian Massumi
McGill University

Clare O'Farrell
Queensland University of Technology

Paul Patton
University of Sydney

Avital Ronell
University of California, Berkeley
Meaghan Morris
Sydney

Anna Yeatman
Macquarie University

The Conveners of the Conference are Elizabeth Grosz and Kevin Hart.

Address for Conference Correspondence:

'Rethinking the Political'
Conference
c/- Mrs Sonja Mueller
Centre for Comparative Literature
and Cultural Studies
Monash University
Clayton
Victoria 3168
Australia

Ph: 61 3 565 3267

Fax: 61 3 565 5593

Europe at La Trobe

Australian Association of European Historians Conference on Modern Europe

**La Trobe University
Melbourne 5-9 July 1993**

We've had an excellent response to our first circular and will soon be able to draw up an outline programme. Before we do so, though, we'd like to be sure that everyone who is interested in offering a paper has in fact contacted us. The papers already offered (see over)

do in the main fit into the broad categories originally suggested:

- * Ideologies, empires and alliances: the reshaping of a continent
- * Societies in transition, cultures in continuity
- * Writers and others: the roles of representation
- * The discourses of European history: gender, class and other contending concept

Among the more focused groupings those on Gender in Germany, on the Russian and Eastern European Revolutions, on Nationalism and change in contemporary Europe, on Prospects for European Union are shaping up firmly.

We still welcome suggestions about special sessions and about possible overseas visitors.

Barring last minute hitches we expect that our keynote speakers will include:

Charles Maier *Harvard*,
Claudio Koonz *Duke*,
Barrie Rose *Tasmania*,
Wolfgang Benz *Berlin*,
David Dyker *Sussex*,
Anna Rossi-Doria *Rome*,
and Vladimir Tikhomirov *Russian Board of Trade*.

We are also hopeful that Barbara Einhorn *Sussex* will be able to talk about her work on women in East Central Europe and arrangements are still being finalised with the

French government to bring a French scholar, possibly Michelle Perrot, to Australia for the conference.

Included with this notice is a form for registration and accommodation bookings. Registration costs are being kept as low as possible, with a student concession. Accommodation in Glenn College, the conference venue, will cost \$37.50 per night will full breakfast.

Our main concern remains to organise sessions which will allow participants to get their teeth into problems of common interest. Please get in touch with us NOW if you have an idea for a session or a group of papers speaking to a particular theme.

All offers of papers should reach us by 30 April 1993

From those who have already offered papers we need a 200 word outline for the programme and a 100 word bibliographical note.

Please send this information by the 30 April deadline together with your registration form to:
Adrian Jones and Tony Barta
Department of History
La Trobe University
Bundoora 3083

Tel. (03) 479 2430
Fax. (03) 478 5814

The following offers of papers have been received to date:

What the EC is reading on the TGV, trolley-car or metro?

Liberal-Socialist tradition in Europe: Norbert Bobbio

Constitution-making European-style

Rise and Fall of the EC

Consequences of EC Institutional and Political Design

Orientalism in Fallaci's *Beirut*
Female Allegorical Figures in the Radical Iconography of c19th France

An Awkward Bicentenary: Counter-Revolution, Ethnicity and Religion on the Franco-Spanish Border, 1793

Changes in formerly East German universities since Reunification

The Serbian National Idea: A Revival, 1985-1992

Sexism and Livestock Breeding in Victorian Britain

A Baltic Experience: The von Skerst Family in War and Revolution, 1890-1950

Interpretations of *mai*'68 in France: 25 years on

Women and the Popular Movement in Revolutionary Paris: Symbols, Citizens or Sisterhood

- Coffee House Jews of Vienna In Hollywood
- Dissidence in Eastern Europe since the 1970s
- Catalyst for Soviet Historical Science and Ideology: The Sector of Methodology, Institute of History, 1964-8
- Ernest Rohm
- European ruling classes, mass mobilisation and the 'climate of fear', late c18th and c19th
- Prussia's German mission reassessed
- East European societies in transition: Agnes Heller
- A German-French encounter, Ernst Junger, 1940-1944
- The Greek Communist Party and the Revolutionary Movement in Greece, 1941-4
- Management Education for Central and Eastern Europe
- The Revival of the Right-Wing Past in Post-Communist Hungary
- The Vatican in Contemporary Europe
- Italian intellectuals, the legacy of WW1 and the League of Nations
- Ungaretti and Owen (or) Montale
- and Eliot
- Mazzini in England
- Flamenco, Gypsies and Racism in Modern Spain
- European Integration and Historical Change in European Society
- Visionary Ideals of European Integration after World War One
- Explaining Auschwitz and Hiroshima
- Will the EC go the way of the USSR?
- The Second Global Transformation and Europe
- The Yugoslav Crisis: Are we on the verge of the 21st century?
- State Service in the New Russia: 'European' or 'Asiatic'?
- Human Rights in Hungary
- Transformation or Transubstantiation: Local Traditions after Communism
- Re-imagining the Community: Sovereignty and Symbolism in the EC
- Russia's Search for a New Identity
- Political Pluralism by Democratic Design: Hungary, Poland, and the Czech and Slovak Republics
- Gendered Work, Household Structure, and the Industrialisation Process: Ain, France, 1896-1936
- German Unification and the 'End of Utopia'
- Tsarist Foreign Policy between France and Russia: Gorchakov in 1856
- Glasnost*' and perceptions of 1917
- The North and the South: the French Constituent Assembly, 1789-91
- Contemporary Popular Culture in Europe: A Comparative Perspective
- see next page for Registration details*

Europe at La Trobe Conference

5-9 July 1993

Registration Form

Surname.....

First Name..... Title.....

Institution.....

Postal Address.....

Telephone..... Fax.....

Please find enclosed payment for

Conference Registration, including reception \$100

Student concession, \$10 per day

Accommodation in Glenn College, \$37.50 per night
with full breakfast

Full payment in advance for nominated nights*

Or, accommodation booking deposit for nominated
nights* \$30

(* please circle)

Sun 4 July Mon 5 July Tues 6 July Wed 7 July

Thurs 8 July Fri 9 July

Registration from 9am Monday

Conference begins 11 am

Total

Please make cheques payable to: La Trobe University (European Historians' Conference)

I have offered/would like to offer a paper on

.....
Please remember to send 200 word outline of paper and 100 word 'Note on the Contributor'
by 30 April 1993 to:

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

War, Violence and the Structure of Modernity

International Conference

**The University of New South
Wales School of German and
Russian Studies
in collaboration with
The Goethe Institute
Sydney**

1-3 October 1993

The conference topic suggested in a previous circular has met with considerable interest. On the basis of papers offered, it seems apparent that the 75th anniversary of the end of the First World War will provide a suitable occasion for more general debates concerning current images of war and violence and their relationship to the condition of modernity and post-modernism. A particular concern shared by many possible contributors are questions related to modern societies' apparent inability to come to terms with violence and war both in their social and political as well as in their aesthetic practices. The *amazement* with which the continuous efficacy of violence and war is being observed seems as great at present as it was when Walter Benjamin reflected upon it on the eve of the Second World War: 'The common amazement that the events we are experiencing are "*still*" possible in the 20th century is *not* a philosophical one. It does not lead to new knowl-

edge - unless it is the knowledge that the concept of history which gives rise to it is untenable.' Indeed, while social theories of the nineteenth century tended to define war and violence as atavistic, associating them with attitudes incongruous with modernity, experiences of the twentieth century seem to suggest a close and intricate relationship between war, violence and the modern condition.

The conference is planned to contribute to furthering knowledge of and insight in the modes and mechanisms which constitute social, political and cultural processes apparently rendering obsolete the element of hope contained in the 'still' of Benjamin's thesis. Specific fields of interest are emerging, among them issues of gender (images of femininity and masculinity, quest for domination), space (ghettos, social and geographic peripheries, moving centers), specific constellations in time (search for hegemony, 1914 and its aftermath, colonial domination), representation (mass media, construction of images). A number of papers covering a wide range of aspects of these central issues have been offered. However, there are still gaps which should be filled, particularly in areas of gender, methodology and conceptualization, and anthropology (structures and images of war and violence in primitive in comparison to modernized societies). I would therefore like to call for further papers, particularly in the fields mentioned.

Offers should reach me by the end of February 1993.

At present, sessions are envisaged on:

- World War I as a paradigm of modern warfare
- Representations of violence in the mass media
- Women and war
- Images of masculinity
- Violence and the definition of the modern/post-modern
- Images of war and violence in film and photography
- Violence and the big city: literary and ethnological perspectives
- Nationalism, war and violence
- Spatial histories of violence: landscapes of war and aggression
- Violence, terror and structures of narration

The structure of the conference: sessions will not necessarily follow an identical pattern. Three different formats are currently envisaged:

- sessions in which papers of either 30 or 45 minutes length will be read, followed by 15 minutes of general discussion;
- sessions in which papers of 40 minutes length will be commented upon for 15 minutes by a discussant, followed by a general discussion of 30 minutes duration;
- there will be at least two panel discussions in which three or four panelists will present their hypotheses for 10 minutes each, followed by one hour of questions and discussion.

Please let me know as soon as possible in which of the three types of session you would like to present your contribution, whether you have a preferred discussant or whether you yourself would like to organize a panel and who the other panelists would be.

The overseas visitors expected to participate include:

Karlheinz Bark (Berlin)
Georg Iggers (New York)
Anton Kaes (Berkeley)
Wolf Kittler (Santa Barbara)
Thomas Koebner (Marburg)
Eberhard Lammert (Berlin)
Helmut Lethen (Utrecht)
Winfried Menninghaus (Berlin)
Klaus Scherpe (Berlin).

Please photocopy and fill out details

War, Violence and the Structure of Modernity Conference 1 - 3 October 1993

NAME
ADDRESS

I would like to participate in the conference
I would like to present a paper
Title:

Length: Type:

Return to
Professor Bernd Huppauf
The University of New South Wales
Department of German Studies
P.O. Box 1
Kensington 2033
Australia
Tel 02-697 2325 Fax 02 662 2392

Conference report - Australian Political Science Association (APSA) Conference 1992

By Heather Field

The 1992 APSA conference was held at the Australian National University in Canberra from 30 September - 2 October. It encompassed nine politics 'streams', with several sessions and papers of particular relevance to contemporary European studies.

The Contemporary Politics - Europe stream included a session on German unification, with papers from Rick Kuhn, Leslie Holmes and Franz Oswald, discussing the problems which have arisen since

unification. In an earlier session papers with more general EC interests were given on the economic effects of the single internal market (Remy Davison) and on the potential consequences of increasing the powers of the European Parliament (Heather Field). Also of interest was 'Ethnicity and the State: Scavenger Nationalism in Western Europe' (Ian Grosart).

A number of papers dealt with East European and related topics, including ethnic factors and politi-

cal development with respect to the disintegration of Yugoslavia (Bob Miller), Russian nationhood (T.H. Rigby), and the legacy of Communism in political theory (Norbert Smijewski).

In the International Relations stream Joanne Wright presented a paper on France and collective security in Europe, and Derek McDougall on the French Caribbean during the Mitterand Era.

Courses and research on European Studies

This section of the Newsletter gives information on new or recently commenced courses and research 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

Macquarie University

Centre for Slavonic and East European Studies

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To make the expertise in these disciplines available to the wider community.

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Russia, inner Eurasia and world history.

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Culture, politics and assimilation: the Slav communities of Australia

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The Centre provides consultancies in its areas of expertise to businesses as well as government bodies.

The Centre also offers translation services in the Slavonic languages it covers.

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Contact:

Dr. A. Pavkovic
Director, Centre for Slavonic
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This LL. M. programme focuses on European Community Law, International and Comparative Law. Business Law and European Legal Culture. The programme is specifically designed for foreign students, its goal being to attract a truly international student body providing for a genuine world-wide exchange of ideas. The LL.M. is administered by the Centre for Advanced Legal Studies.

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After graduating, the LL. M. students are working now in important institutions as the European

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CESAA Essay Competition - Report

By Walter Veit

Early in 1992 the CESAA Executive announced its first student essay competition with the intention to raise students' awareness of European affairs and of the teaching and research carried out in Departments and Centres of European Studies in Australia. Sponsorship for competition by the Program for European Studies of the University of Melbourne and the Centre for European Studies of Monash University allowed the Association to offer a prize of \$250 plus a free CESAA membership each for the best essay of the undergraduate and the graduate category.

The essay topic "Europe in Transition" gave students a chance to consider the momentous changes in Europe, East and West, after the collapse of the Soviet Empire, the unification of Germany and progress toward European integration, in any area of contemporary European Studies, such as politics, history, literature, linguistics, culture, economy, law, management and education.

On behalf of CESAA, Associate Professor Walter Veit, Department of German Studies and European Studies of Monash University, organized the competition and chaired a panel of judges. When the deadline arrived on May 1, 1992 fifteen essays had been submitted, eight from undergraduates, seven from graduates. Ten essays came from Melbourne University

students, four from Monash University, one from the University of Tasmania. Most students were members of Departments of Politics, some from Economics or Law, and two from Modern Languages. The specific essay topics under the general heading of "Europe in Transition" ranged widely from "European Economic Union: World Implications" and "A Quiet Revolution. The European Parliament's Democratisation of the EC" to "Carthage and Alexandria: Towards the Foundation of a Post-Modern European Culture" and detailed studies on the re-emergence of nationalism and racism in Europe.

After lengthy consultation and several re-readings of some essays, the panel awarded the prize in the undergraduate section to Iona Annett for her essay "Consociational Democracy and the European Community", and in the graduate section to Deborah Cass for her essay "The Principle of Subsidiarity and the Division of Powers within the European Community".

The decision did not come easily: all essays were of a high standard. No doubt, this was partly due to the fact that essays submitted before for academic assessment were acceptable. But it was also very clear that all participants were very interested in European affairs and had studied with great profit in European Studies courses or, in

the case of graduate students, were engaged in relevant research. However, some criticism was voiced with regard to a few essays which had strayed somewhat off the area outlined by the general topic. Taking note of the criticism, the Executive Committee decided that the topic for the next essay competition should be given a clearer focus and thus encourage students to work on specific European issues and reflect their impact on Australia. It also decided that the competition should be opened to year twelve students taking Europe related subjects.

The announcement of the winners and the presentation of the prizes took place during the Annual General Meeting of CESAA on Thursday, December 3, 1992. In addition to the prizes, the Association was able to reward all participants in the competition with a book prize generously donated by the European Commission.

The winning entries in the 1992 Essay Competition are on pages 22 to 26.

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

C E S A A

Why is Australia interested in Europe?

1993 Essay Competition

The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia announces its second student essay competition.

The Prize

The prize is \$250 for each of three categories plus free membership of CESAA.

The Three Categories

- * The best essay by a year twelve student;
- * The best essay by an undergraduate student, and
- * The best essay by a graduate student.

The Essay Topic

In 1991, Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade suggested in his address to the Australian Business in Europe forum: "The EC is of immense importance now to Australia and will be of permanent importance to us as a partner of trade and investment. The basic statistics tell the tale." (The Australian, May 4, 1992)

Consider the Minister's assertion and discuss the essay topic:

Why is Australia interested in Europe?

in relation to any one area of contemporary (post-1945) European Studies, such as politics, economics, management, history, law, culture, literature, linguistics, education, and its relevance to Australia.

How to enter

All students are invited to enter ONE essay in the competition.

The essay can be of any length up to 5000 words.

An essay which has been submitted for academic assessment is acceptable.

The essay will be judged by a Panel of Judges selected by CESAA.

Three typed, double spaced, copies of the essay should be submitted by 1 July 1993 to:

Chairperson, Panel of Judges, Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia.

Associate Professor Walter Veit, Vice President, CESAA.

Department of German Studies, Monash University, Clayton, Vic., 3168.

The essay should be accompanied by a separate sheet with the following details: Name, address, date of birth, name of secondary/tertiary institution, name of department/faculty, whether secondary, undergraduate or graduate. Do not indicate name of author on the essay.

The Essay Competition is kindly sponsored by the Program for European Studies, University of Melbourne and the Centre for European Studies, Monash University

Consociationalism and the European Community: A response to Paul Taylor

By Iona Annett, winner of the undergraduate section of the CESAA 1992 Europe in Transition essay competition. This article is a summary of her entry.

In the past decade, the European Community has found itself involved in an ongoing debate concerning its own institutional structure, its future as a European political and economic organisation and its role in Europe beyond the borders of its Member States. Central to this debate is an understanding of the Community's structure and the possible course of its future development. In this context, theoretical analyses of the European Community often cite the unique nature of the Community as evidence of the need for a new theoretical framework to explore its past and future development, policy making processes and inter-institutional relationships. Paul Taylor, in an interesting departure from this tendency, discusses the Community in the light of consociational theory.¹ It is argued here that although Taylor has usefully highlighted the symbiotic relationship between the Member States and the Community, his application of a highly specific theory of domestic political organisation to the Community is inappropriate.²

Taylor introduces his argument by expressing the conviction that the point of connection between a consociational democracy and an international organisation is the management of relations between groups which may be sharply di-

vided. Taylor interprets consociationalism as a form of political organisation able to accommodate tensions in the Community over the "deepening" and "widening" argument. If we examine Arend Lijphart's theory of consociational democracy we realise that the fundamental purpose of the consociation is to "...counteract the immobilising and unstabilizing effects of cultural fragmentation..."³ The stabilising consociational pattern of politics is effected by the behaviour of political elites supported by their sub-groups. The divisions in such societies are vertical and from this we get the term "*verzuiling*" or "pillars".

This fact is the first point of conflict between the theory and practice of consociational democracy and Taylor's interpretation and application to the Community. The Community is based on horizontal divisions. If the Community conformed to the pattern of fragmented societies, the fragmentation and division should occur between the Member States where political and cultural relationships are most clearly defined and vertical in structure. In this case the Community would act as a counterbalance to the Member States. Such is not the case, however. Without denying tensions between Member States, the struggle between the

movement for "increased centralisation" and that for the retention of national independence is a struggle between the Community and Member States. It is a struggle between two horizontal layers of government.

Taylor has based his article on the premise that the Community already represents a consociation. This argument cannot be sustained due to inconsistencies in Taylor's argument and his misinterpretation of the circumstances which create a consociation. Taylor's interpretation of consociationalism (and the Community) presents it as a form of political organisation controlled and directed by elites for the purpose of protecting sectoral interests. This ignores trends and tensions within the Community itself and the aims and functions of a consociation. Taylor has ignored the vital part that the cultural setting plays in the establishment of a consociation.

It is particularly in his assessment of consociationalism as a means through which elites can maintain their status and reward key supporters that Taylor transposes the practices of majoritarian politics onto consociational politics. In a consociation, the cartel of elites cooperate together not out of a desire for personal gain at the expense of their segments but are

motivated by the very real fear that social and political fragmentation would follow if politics were to be played as a game. This attitude of the elites that politics is a serious business is a direct product of the fundamental concept of consociationalism - the relationship between identity and cooperation. The term "segments" has been used to refer to the Member States previously but it is not clear, either in fact or theory, to whom these segments are subordinate. There is not as yet a European identity able to take a primary role in the political culture of the Community and its Member States.

Taylor fails to appreciate the importance of political culture in consociational democracy. This culture supports and sustains the pattern of consociational political behaviour and is most clearly marked by its attitude of compromise and the implicit agreement to disagree. In ignoring the political culture of accommodation Taylor undermines his own argument. A consociation could not continue to effectively operate if it practised the majoritarian norms and competitive behaviour that Taylor advocates. Taylor argues that the special interests of segmental elites may be emphasised in the integration process in a number of ways: (a) when the cartel of elites make agreements together for their own purposes even though they may conflict with segmental interests and (b) when individual elites promote changes that accord with the

interests of their key supporters so as to consolidate their own power base. To argue that the Community is a consociation and then to advocate the majoritarian and competitive behaviours inappropriate to such a system is a serious misinterpretation of the purposes and practices of a consociation.

Taylor makes a point in his assessment that the elites will have an interest in maintaining the consociational system and that members of the segments will expect their representative elites to be highly active and politicised.⁴ What he fails to realise or acknowledge is that the segments are themselves active and politicised, giving direction to their elites. The elites do not act as the leaders of an apathetic or slightly politicised group - they are constantly aware of segmental interests whether stable or shifting. Although Taylor is correct in his statement that what keeps the consociation alive is the fear of fragmentation, he over-emphasizes the role of elites in directing the segment and maintenance of the general political structure. This is compounded by Taylor's ascription of competitive political behaviour to the segmental elites. Together these elements undermine the aims of consociationalism - the maintenance of the polity through the actions of elites which overarch and counteract the divisive behaviour of the segments.

Consociationalism is a dynamic theory of political organisation but

Taylor has presented a static view both of the theory and of the Community. Taylor has misrepresented the cooperative and compromising nature of consociationalism in seeing it as political opportunism directed by and for the interests of political leaders. In attempting to explain the relationship between the Member States and the Community, Taylor has neglected to examine how consociationalism is embedded in a polity's social and cultural setting. A judgement must be made between what is an appropriate theoretical perspective and what is a specific and very deliberate form of political organisation. Interpretations such as Taylor's, which base themselves on false assumptions and a misrepresentation of the purposes of that form of political organisation, cannot be accepted.

- 1 P. Taylor, "The European Community and the State: assumptions, theories and propositions", *Review of International Studies*, 17, 1991: 109-125
- 2 Consociational democracy is an arrangement whereby the unifying behaviour of political elites counteracts an antagonistic political environment, exhibited in sharp socio-cultural divisions.
- 3 A. Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy", *World Politics* 20, 1968: 212
- 4 Taylor, p. 120

The word that saves Maastricht: The principle of Subsidiarity and the division of powers within the European Community

By Deborah Cass

This is the winning entry in the Research Section of the 1992 CESAA Europe in Transition Essay Competition. Deborah Cass is from the Centre for International and Public Law at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Introduction

Federal systems world-wide are undergoing rapid change. The disintegration of the Soviet Union followed by its reemergence as the Commonwealth of Independent States; the breakdown of Yugoslavia, the transformation of Czechoslovakia, and the evolution of the European Community have all illustrated the growing pressure to remodel power-sharing arrangements in some states.

Critical to this re-organization of federal constitutions is the question of the distribution of powers both between and within States. One mechanism for reconceptualizing power sharing which has been developed in Europe, and which is being adapted in other arenas such as Australia and Canada, is the notion of subsidiarity, a term described, somewhat optimistically, by the European Independent newspaper, as "the word that can save Maastricht".

The development of the principle of subsidiarity has taken place against a background of progression toward European Union and a gradual expansion of Community power. Fields such as cultural policy and foreign and security policy, traditional preserves of the

nation state, have been identified for Community action at Maastricht.

The relationship between the principle and federalism is clear. A federal structure is by definition one in which powers or competences are shared between constituent bodies, usually of a regional basis. The manner in which their allocation is made is therefore important and has led one commentator to remark that the principle of subsidiarity, lies at the foundation of the quasi-federal structure of the Community.¹

The Three Phases of Subsidiarity

During the three phases of its history subsidiarity has emerged as an integral feature of the constitutional framework of the European Community. In the first phase, marked by the Tindemans Report on European Union of 1975, subsidiarity was implicit in the desire to divide tasks according to capacity, thereby enhance the stability of the Community. In the second phase the principle was explicitly recognised in the Draft Treaty on European Union of 1984. Here, concrete moves towards political integration stressed the democratic,

participatory and efficiency aspects of the principle. Effectiveness became the criteria for assessing how tasks would be allocated. That effectiveness was to be judged according to whether the task had a transfrontier dimension thereby emphasising the need to function co-operatively within the proposed Union. Also in this phase subsidiarity was linked to the legal and institutional Structure of the Community. The 1990 Report of the European Parliament's Committee for Institutional Affairs ascribed roles in relation to subsidiarity to both the European Council and the European Court of Justice. By making subsidiarity subject to judicial and executive interpretation, it graduated from a political aspiration to a mechanism of law and practice.

The current, third phase began in 1987 with the Single European Act which required environmental measures to be consistent with the principle. If Maastricht takes effect, subsidiarity will apply generally to all concurrent competences, and the Community will act only where it can better achieve the particular goal in question. That criteria will be assessed according to the scale and effects of the action.

which direction that shift will occur. In 1990 the rapporteur for the Committee of Institutional Affairs Report Mr. Valerie Giscard D'Estaing, recognised that depending on how it is interpreted, subsidiarity, could have either a centralizing or decentralizing effect.

In the only field to date where subsidiarity has been explicitly applied, environmental policy, the principle has produced a mixture of outcomes. At a symposium on subsidiarity in Maastricht in 1991 the difficulty in assessing when the issue warranted Community action was noted. Effectiveness was not a criteria subject to straightforward interpretation because Member States have different levels of national environmental protection, ranging from sophisticated (Netherlands, Germany and Denmark) to less developed (Ireland, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) with other States occupying a mid-way position (Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the United Kingdom).

Director of the Environment Directorate General, Laurens Jan Brinkhorst claimed that subsidiarity had therefore been most useful as a mechanism to encourage co-operative action between different levels of government, rather than to "fix boundaries" or delineate any rigid division of competences. Moreover Brinkhorst noted that identifying what is effective in any given case, may involve a political judgement over the suit-

ability of different measures. Climate change regulation, for example, may require a range of measures from the imposition of Community emission ceilings, to setting standards for energy efficiency of vehicles, speed limits etc. Clearly the interpretation of what is effective will turn on a range of matters and therefore the effect subsidiarity has on the division of powers within the Community cannot be predicted at this stage.

Some, like the General Director of the European Parliament Karlheinz Neunreither fear that subsidiarity may not be a sufficient principle for guiding the allocation of Community power. He argues that the Community, like other federal structures requires a clear delimitation of competences, and one which does not ignore the central issue of the conditions under which any transfer of power to the Community should be made.² Giscard D'Estaing is more optimistic and believes that once an equilibrium is reached it will be possible to determine powers to be specifically allocated between Community and Member States. Others still, like the Director of the Directorate General for Competition, John Temple Lang believe that there is a "moving boundary between Community and states' power and the boundary moves only in one direction".³ Whichever is the case it is clear that subsidiarity has the potential to be an important guiding principle of European Community law.

Important issues (some of which were discussed at the Edinburgh summit in December 1992) concerning the interpretation of the actual Treaty provision in Article 3b still require clarification. Included here are questions over the amenability of the notion to judicial supervision, its relationship with other principles of Community law guiding power allocation, and how to assess whether or not a particular task falls within its ambit. Resolution of these matters will also further inform the debate concerning the type of legal order constituted by the European Community. Upgrading of the European Court's role in this respect will strengthen the view that the community is moving towards a federal type structure with a central court to adjudicate division of power disputes.

Finally, the potential of subsidiarity to mediate power distribution and possibly even to avert political conflict, has not yet been fully developed. The desire of states (not necessarily within the Community) to be able to act autonomously and co-operatively may be fostered by the concept. Like federalism itself, subsidiarity seeks to reach an accommodation between the need for uniformity and plurality in power sharing arrangements. Subsidiarity may therefore act as a bridge between aspects of public law, constitutional and international, which are concerned with the distribution of power within and between con-

stituent bodies. International law currently faces a theoretical impasse created by its denial of the right of self-determination to minorities within states, a denial which does not confront the problems faced by the disintegration of federal states such as Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The discordance between theory and practice, may be alleviated to an extent by examining the principle of subsidiarity. (It has been reported that Mikhail Gorbachev, former president of the former Soviet Union showed interest in the notion).

The European Community as the major supra-national legal order has re-invigorated a principle of power-sharing with roots in Catholic doctrine. Other federal systems are following suit, subsidiarity being one of four principles proposed by Australian State government leaders in 1991, to guide the allocation of roles and responsibilities of government. Recognition of the utility of the principle by constitutional and international lawyers would enhance its development and respond to the need to reach beyond traditional boundaries of disciplines in order to suggest solutions to inter and intra state disputes. Subsidiarity, a still-maturing principle of European Community law, may facilitate that convergence.

- 1 Tschofen, F. "Article 235 of the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community: Potential Conflicts between the Dynamics of Lawmaking in the Community and National Constitutional Principles" (1991) 12 Michigan Journal of International Law 471 at 504.
- 2 Neunreither, K. "Euphoria about Subsidiarity? The Constitutional Debate in the European Community" (1991) 2 Political Science and European Unification Newsletter, 1.
- 3 Temple Lang, J., "European Community Constitutional Law: The Division of Powers Between the Community and Member States" (1988) 39 Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly 209, 210.

On some transformation problems of the Polish State Owned Enterprise (SOE) into a corporation

By Dr. Adam Koch *

Evaluating changes as fundamental as the political, economic, social, cultural, legal and technological transformation of the former Comecon countries is a particular challenge. Its difficulty is vastly amplified by their idiosyncrasies (often underestimated by outsiders) as well as by the uniqueness of those processes that make most common yardsticks irrelevant or, at best, reduces their ability to measure the progress and predict the further course of reforms.

In my article 'Corporation in Poland: Challenge of Change' (*Management Review*, August 1992, Vol. 17 Nr 7) I propose to use the McKinsey model in analysing the internal environment of corporations operating in economic systems undergoing fundamental changes. Imposing some academic rigour on such analysis enables an effective, simultaneous discussion of the multitude of factors/areas and facilitates making robust conclusions. Due to space constraints, the discussion of the actual internal environment of the Polish corporation *in statu nascendi* is rather sketchy. It attempts to merely demonstrate the proposed method as well as address some of the myths or inadequacies about the former Soviet bloc countries, myths that still are in circulation and affect the way those countries

are viewed by Western governments, the business world and societies.

The following brief discussion will embrace these elements:

- * strategy pursued by the company
- * company's structure
- * management systems used
- * values shared by the staff
- * skills in which the company excels
- * management style, and
- * individual staff qualities.

Strategy

Only a negligible minority of former SOEs have a clear, consistent, and feasible business strategy today; the remaining face the challenge of formulating their strategies while restructuring themselves, and with the resources, marketing knowledge and management skills they command.

Structure

Most of the former SOEs were either big, or very big companies by Western standards. Very few of them can adapt to the new market requirements without undertaking fundamental changes to their structure as well as management principles and methods. Their progress in the privatisation proc-

ess may also be thwarted by strong managerial participation in their structures of the members of the now dissolved Polish United Workers' Party. These individuals were very often promoted to their positions on non-merit principles ('*nomenklatura*'). This often made it virtually impossible for non-members to acquire management experience at top-echelon levels in those enterprises.

This may turn out to be, by the way, a blessing in disguise, as some of those formerly disadvantaged candidates to top positions will be more easily retrained to fit the requirements of the new situation!

The former SOEs face also the challenges of: adapting to new production technologies, surviving massive lay-offs, learning their new roles if they become parts of foreign companies etc.

Management system

The management system in most companies is clearly inadequate. There are deficiencies in the business infrastructure, combined with a highly volatile business structure. Time is needed so that those responsible for re-designing outmoded management systems can be trained. Business consultants are still too few given the enor-

mous need for them

Values shared

Most people are still confused as to their roles and do not know how their duties at the workplace should now be discharged, both in internal and external contacts. They know very little about new business philosophy, marketing concepts, or planning and strategy in a market economy.

The 45 years of command-driven economy has certainly put a lasting imprint on the way people behave as employees. As employees and decision-makers they generally are risk-averse with relatively few showing entrepreneurial qualities. A majority will need to learn how to work effectively enough to earn the income they wish, some of them may have to change their attitude to company property. Most of them will have to put up with the new situation, in which employers will not create large social and housing funds that have been a major factor in the past in catering to vital needs of their employees.

Fundamental changes in the legal system mean that neither the state nor anyone else will, from now on, be responsible for providing work for everyone. A new trade union structure will have to be created. It will take several years for the values, attitudes and job behaviour of most people to fully adapt to the

new environment. Some of them may never be able to make it.

Skills

Contacts with Western companies prior to 1989 were monopolised by those associated with the communist regime. Subsequently they are now, as a group, best equipped linguistically and still have very solid business contacts with West. Theoretically, they should be best acquainted with the reality of the market-driven economies. Not all of them, however, are fully committed to use their skills to the benefit of the reform and their organisations. Engineers, as a profession are probably in a slightly better starting position than economists, lawyers and accountants. Some professions, stockbrokers, finance consultants and insurance agents being the best examples, are now returning to the Polish scene, coming back from total oblivion.

Management style

In general, management style is not entrepreneurial enough. High risk aversiveness still dominates, inherited from the communist-devised economic system and amplified in some cases by fear of the unknown. There is a tendency to procrastinate over decisions, abuse the collegial approach and follow "good old protocols". The "only right" political affiliation of yesterday will now need to be re-

placed by business acumen, proper strategies, management techniques and effective use of business contacts. Polish corporations now need strong, positive examples of successful management styles. It will of course take some time before information is disseminated and those styles can be adopted in all companies. Importing managers from Western countries, even Polish nationals, can not be expected to quickly or radically change the dynamics of the process.

Individual staff qualities

Most professions should find it relatively easy to learn their new ways of discharging their duties and how to sustain the new pressures. Polish companies employ a very high percentage of people with tertiary degrees and full vocational qualifications.

The Polish workforce is flexible, can learn quickly and can work hard and efficiently if properly managed. Manual workers and designers will need retraining to learn how to use state-of-the-art machinery and computers. Good general education will assist them in this challenge.

The Polish workforce is believed to perform better as individuals, less well in teams. It may also take some time and persuasion to convince workers to abide by some of the new rules, particularly if their

relevance is not sufficiently well understood, or indeed questioned.

Conclusion

It appears that the following problems are likely to impact most strongly on the direction and pace of changes affecting Polish corporations in the next couple of years:

1. The pace of restructuring, both at macro- and at individual company level,
2. the amount of foreign investment,
3. the pace at which the business infrastructure (banking, insurance, management consulting, stockbroking, telecommunication, computer systems and transport) is upgraded,
4. the level of assistance provided by Western countries in training business managers, engineering staff and other professions in need of re-training (hundreds of thousands of middle and high rank managers from industry and business infrastructure are in urgent need of it),
5. massive lay-offs brought about by the restructuring of the SOEs (increasing the demand for re-training, the burden on the budget, and causing anxiety among the workforce),
6. fragmentation of the Polish political scene may result in delays in introducing the rest of the laws that make up the whole economic reform package (the Olszewski government, after some populistically motivated experiments, found no better way but to return to a draconian but logical and consistent program formulated by the former Deputy Prime Minister, Prof. Leszek Balcerowicz, a nominee for the Nobel Prize in economics),
7. the level of society's concern and anxiety caused by the uncertainty about the outcome of unprecedented reform,
8. domestic demand in some important product-markets is already lagging behind the supplies, due to very high prices that for the first time in the post war history of the country reflect the real costs of products. Not all surpluses of those goods can now be easily sold to foreign buyers in the West, particularly when all necessary skills are not yet there,
9. dissatisfaction with the pace and economic results of the privatisation process, and
10. dissatisfaction with developments on the political scene.

Obviously, no endeavour is made here to predict the course of events

in Poland, and how they are likely to affect the situation of the corporation in that country. I do hope, however, that this article will make it somewhat easier for those less familiar with the Polish scene to understand better the meaning of the historical changes occurring there, and their relevance for their businesses.

** Dr Adam Koch is from the Faculty of Business at Swinburne University of Technology*

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

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Please reply to:

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