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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 Philomena Murray, Department of Political Science, Melbourne University, Parkville, Victoria, 3052. IBM disks or E-mail to: murray@politics.unimelb.edu.au

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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:
May 15, 1994. IBM disk preferred. E-mail address is below.

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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.

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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 :

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Individuals:	\$25	2 years	\$45
Institutions:	\$100	2 years	\$170

Please add \$5 for overseas memberships to cover cost of mail.

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

The European Community's Foreign Policy

The Institut für Europäische Politik in Bonn has recently launched the piloted edition of its Newsletter "EPC/CFSP Forum". It offers world-wide a regular forum for all those who are interested in questions and topics related to European Political Cooperation and the Common Foreign and Security Policy. It will deal with current EPC/CFSP policies and the international challenges the Twelve EC member states have to face.

"Specific topics will be discussed, conferences will be summarized and research projects shall be presented. Furthermore the reader will find useful information about books and EPC-related documentation."

Interested academics are invited to contribute to this Newsletter and to participate in the discussion about EPC/CFSP.

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C E S A A

Report: 1993 CESAA Essay Competition

by Walter Veit, Vice-President CESAA and Chair of Judges

After the successful 1992 CESAA essay competition, the CESAA Executive decided to continue with its efforts to make students more aware of European affairs in general, to inform them of the teaching and research carried out in Departments and Centres of European Studies in Australia, and of the opportunity to actually start their European Studies already in high school.

The Association gratefully acknowledges sponsorship for the competition by the Program for European Studies of the University of Melbourne and the Centre for European Studies of Monash University which allowed the Association again to offer a prize of \$250 plus a free CESAA membership each for the best essay of the undergraduate and the graduate category. In addition, the Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Special Academic Projects) of Monash University offered a special prize of \$250 for the best essay from a year 12 high school student.

With regard to the essay topic for the competition, the Executive assessed the 1992 competition and felt that it was important to focus the attention of students more directly on the Australian interest and perspective in all studies of Europe with all its facets and complexities. The 1993 topic: "Why is Australia interested in Europe?" was chosen to give students an incentive to become aware of their own point of view in the context of their discussion of any of the issues related to specific areas of contemporary European Studies, such as politics, history, literature, linguistics, culture, economy, law, management and education.

On behalf of CESAA, I was again put in charge of the organization of the competition and later chaired the panel of judges. Fifteen essays were submitted, twelve from undergraduates, two from graduates, and one from a high school student. Most competitors were members of Departments of Politics, two from Law, and one from Modern Languages. This time one student from Bond University and one from Griffith University joined the Victorian

competitors. Under the general heading of the Australian interest in Europe, the essays discussed a wide range of substantive issues:

Racism in Europe and Australia, immigration policies, the economy of the European Union in conflict with or as a model for the Australian and Asia-Pacific economies, the conflict between environmental protection and free trade, the impact of the Single Internal Market, and the Common Agricultural Policy.

The panel awarded the prize in the undergraduate section to Gavin Mount for his essay entitled "The Australia-EC Trade Partnership: Understanding the Context", and in the graduate section to Matt Harvey for his essay on "The European Community - a model for the Asia-Pacific?". The prize in the high school section went to Lisa Watts from Siena College, Melbourne, for her very fine essay "Why is Australia interested in Europe?". The panel decided that Katy Duff's essay on the Australian-European trade relationships deserved a Special Mention. In addition, CESAA is publishing the winning essays in this Newsletter.

All essays were of high standard in their research and presentation. It showed 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 projects. All show a considerable degree of awareness of the impact of the policies of the European Union on Australia and the Pacific region.

The announcement of the winners and the presentation of the prizes took place during the Annual General Meeting of CESAA on Wednesday, November 17, 1993. In addition to the prizes, the Association was again able to reward all winners with a year's membership of CESAA and, in appreciation of their efforts, all participants with a book prize generously donated by the Commission of the European Community.

It was most fortunate that, on the occasion, the prizes were presented to the winners and all other participants present at the meeting by Mr. Alfredo di Stefano, Director ad personam of the European Parliament's Directorate of Research, who also addressed the meeting on "Has the European Community a Social Conscience?".

The Executive has decided to run the competition again in 1994.

Walter Veit

1993 CESAA Essay Competition: The winners

Why is Australia interested in Europe? The European Community - a model for the Asia-Pacific?

Winner
Postgraduate Division
Matt Harvey¹

The European Community is an attempt to go beyond the nation state to a new kind of polity. Determined to avoid the vices of nationalism, its creators have concentrated on building a large, integrated market under the rule of law. Great stress has been placed on the retention of existing national identities and cultures. This has not prevented profound distrust and opposition from people in Member States who see their states' 'sovereignty' under threat. This is a paradox as the EC was formed to address problems too great for a single state to solve. Some may be too great for the EC as well, but it ought to be able to achieve more than a single state acting alone or indeed all the states trying to act separately. This is indeed the logic behind federalism and the fashionable concept of 'subsidiarity'. On the other hand, picking which problems are better solved at what level is probably as difficult as the problems themselves.

The reasons for the formation of the EC are important. There are indications that the EC has lost its way, but history suggests that that way has had many twists already. The first reason, to weld France and Germany in an embrace of steel, to weld Germany into Europe, faded quite quickly in importance in the 1950s, but has recently returned to prominence with the attempt to hold the franc to the mark. It seems that if the Franco-German axle breaks, the wheels will indeed fall off the juggernaut of European integration.

The second reason, which rose to prominence in the fifties and dominated the Community until 1989, was that it was a bastion of liberal capitalism against the Eastern bloc. On this basis, it enjoyed United States support and had a clear political mission. It is perhaps surprising that this reason did not lead to the forma-

tion of a defence alliance. It is less surprising that a proposed European Defence Community was dropped when rejected by the French parliament in 1954. When trade and defence were kept in separate boxes, it was possible to have a European Economic Community but a transatlantic security umbrella. Now it is NATO which has 'lost an empire but is yet to find a role'. The EC, now at loggerheads with the US on trade, has finally taken some steps towards defence self-reliance through the revival of the Western European Union, but not all members of the EC are members of the WEU, Ireland is neutral and there are restraints on the deployment of German and Danish troops, so there are substantial problems with the EC as a military power, clearly exposed by its inability to prevent the bloodbath in Yugoslavia.

The third reason has been a remarkable success story which has turned into a nightmare. Self-sufficiency in food was a postwar priority in Europe and led to the adoption of the Common Agricultural Policy as the first common policy of the European Community. From the point of view of the goal of self-sufficiency, the CAP has been an overwhelming success: the European Community is now a nett food exporter and produces huge surpluses. But this has been achieved at a price: billions of dollars of subsidies to farmers, the harmful effects of intense, chemically and genetically enhanced farming, and the distortion of global agricultural markets. Almost everyone acknowledges that subsidies must be reduced, but this cuts against a factor referred to earlier: national culture. The 'man on the land' has spiritual significance in most European cultures and electoral advantage in many European political systems. He can also cause civil chaos as effectively as any industrial union. In times of high unemployment, with farming ever more automated, the drain from country to city continues and the emotional appeal of keeping people

on the land also makes social sense. So the EC can wind up refusing to conclude a GATT round which would bring it huge nett benefits because it is held to ransom by farmers in just a few Member States and because it lacks the political will to make the structural adjustments which would enable it to reduce farm subsidies.

The fourth reason was the belief that free movement of goods, services, capital and labour is economically beneficial. There is plenty of evidence that this is so, but beneficial to whom? Corporations gain access to a single market and can shift their production to where labour costs are lowest and environmental conditions slackest. This has occurred to some extent, but better infrastructure and higher skill levels have kept much industry in its existing location. Wages and environmental standards are even lower in parts of Africa, Asia and Latin America, so many European corporations have shifted production there instead of elsewhere in Europe. The newly opened Eastern European countries also offer opportunities in this area. The EC is the world's largest trading entity and enjoys high standards of living, but protectionist forces are growing, even as intra-EC trade barriers are dismantled. The EC is keen to avoid 'social dumping' - deliberate seeking of the lowest wages and conditions in the Community. There are two possible approaches: harmonization and mutual recognition. Harmonization is a difficult and time-consuming process, inevitably creating tensions between the 'developing' and the 'developed', and between different cultures. Mutual recognition has worked reasonably well in the area of goods, less well in services. It is clearly not appropriate in the area of labour and environmental standards, but given that the EC lacks the political will for a really significant redistribution of wealth, attempts to harmonize labour and environmental standards are bound to cause friction.

Like most of the developed world, the EC is in the grip of recession. Governments are widely seen as not having solutions to the social and economic problems which beset them. Italy is suffering a virtual implosion of its entire political system, France overwhelmingly ousted the Socialists, Germany is having difficulty with reunification, the British government is deeply unpopular, Belgium is preoccupied and divided with federalisation. Recent years have also seen a gradual shift to the right in politics: only Denmark, Ireland and Spain, and now Greece have a leftist component in their governments. It might have been possible to transform this disillusion with national government into support for Community government, but this has not happened. The popular perception of 'Brussels' is of a bloated bureaucracy either out to lunch or issuing ridiculous directives on the 'Eurosavage'. If the stateless, faceless bureaucracy is not to blame, then it must be the Member State politicians who form the Council, the supreme legislative body, and who each have the right of veto. This ensures that EC conflicts can be seen as conflicts of national interest and as media still mostly flow through national channels, national politicians can be portrayed as brave statesmen defending their countries' interests.

It is possible to demonstrate that the EC has actually been a negative force in global affairs. The need to reach a common decision on agriculture has enabled France to stall a conclusion to GATT. Germany was able to force Community recognition of Croatia and Bosnia before they had satisfied all the criteria for statehood. Greece was able to postpone Community and hence world recognition of Macedonia. While the arming of traditional clients in Yugoslavia by various EC Member States would not have been a pretty sight, it might have been preferable to the EC paralysis caused by the need to reach a common decision. An EC brokered and imposed solution was apparently out of the question.

However, the EC is most unlikely to reform for the good of the world. It will only do so from internal political will. What kind of law and political structures can best address the EC's problems?

What lessons, if any, does this have for Australia and its region?

The EC is based on the rule of law. It is not an entirely satisfactory rule of law in that its procedures are very cumbersome and not all accessible to the citizen, but those procedures do exist and have been significantly enhanced through the case law of the European Court of Justice. The doctrine of 'direct effect' gave citizens the right to obtain relief under Community law in matters where they had no clear standing under the Treaties. The doctrine of Supremacy established the supremacy of Community law over Member State law, a remarkable achievement given the lack of mechanisms for its enforcement. The doctrine of Implied Powers extended the Community's jurisdiction, better enabling it to attain its objectives², and the doctrine of Human Rights circumvented the problem of the EC's questionable identity and enhanced human rights protection in the Community where there was no express scope to do so in the Treaty.

These acts of judicial lawmaking have partly been a response to a lack of decisionmaking through the other political channels. Despite an increased use of qualified majority voting in the Council, the highest legislative body of the Community, since the advent of the Single European Act, there is still the capacity for a single state to veto a decision where it claims its 'vital interests' are at stake³. This very possibility has prevented some matters even being proposed.

The Community has been preoccupied, since the end of its transitional phase in 1969, with enlargement: Britain, Ireland and Denmark in 1973, Greece in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986. Now there is a growing queue of small, prosperous central and west European countries⁴, small poor European countries⁵, and large, poor central and east European countries⁶ waiting to join. This is not to mention Turkey, which first applied in 1961 and seems unlikely to get in. It is difficult to govern a Community which just keeps growing. It will be more difficult the greater the disparities in prosperity.

Clearly a stable, democratically accountable regime is desirable at the Community level, but how might it come about?

The EC is based on the sovereignty of its Member States. It is portrayed as being a 'pooling' of sovereignty rather than the cession of it. Despite some rather half-hearted efforts of the Commission, citizens of EC Member States do not see themselves as 'EC citizens'. The Maas-tricht Treaty makes all EC citizens 'citizens of the Union'⁷, but they achieve this status only through their citizenship of a Member State, which in turn is a matter of Member State law. There is simply not enough to link the citizen to the Community. Freedom of movement is a right of limited value while language difference and non-recognition of skills and qualifications are still barriers. The right to vote in European Parliament elections and local government elections⁸ no matter where one resides, though important, is hardly an inspiring civil right. The lack of a right to vote in national elections in the country of residence emphasises the extent to which one is still an alien.

However, for the vast majority of EC citizens, their Union citizenship must be of significance to them in their country of both citizenship and residence. The EC is simply not of great relevance to people in their daily lives. It does not provide much in the way of services and collects no taxes directly, although people are probably aware that Value Added Tax is a tax for the benefit of the Community. People see their political representation as being by their national politicians. As we have seen, this is accurate as national politicians are also at the peak of Community decisionmaking. Jacques Delors, the President of the Commission, has a high public profile, but few could say what his powers are. Commissioners from particular Member States get a fairly high profile in their home state's media, but very few could name the entire Commission - then again, few can name their national cabinet either! An elected Commission would be one way to achieve a quantum leap in EC political legitimacy as people would be forced for the first time to consider voting for someone because of their policies rather than their nationality.

Of course, EC citizens already have direct democracy in the form of the European Parliament. Even this has a national stamp as Member States each determine their own voting system for it. The EC has failed to increase the size of the German allocation to the EP to allow for reunification. Even after the introduction of the 'co-decision' procedure in the Maastricht Treaty, giving the EP the power of veto in certain matters, the EP does not share equal legislative power with the Council. Its lack of power is a vicious circle as the accompanying lack of prestige has led to generally poor voter participation, candidates of generally lesser calibre and prestige than in national parliaments, and a consequential lack of legitimacy which makes it easier for the Council not to give the EP more power. The lack of a permanent home for the EP, which has to shuffle between Brussels and Strasbourg while its secretariat remains in Luxembourg, diminishes both the EP's prestige and its capacity for quality work.

One way in which the Community can be seen to be shaping its future citizens is through the ERASMUS programme of student mobility. This increases international awareness and language knowledge. Unfortunately, it only operates at the comparatively elite level of the university. There is already a considerable multilingual European elite well placed to benefit from increasing integration. The story of EC citizenship may yet be that of the language haves and have-nots. To try to alleviate this, adoption of a lingua franca should be a high priority, but is impossible for political reasons. Integration again collides with culture. The pop songs may be in English, but national languages are scrupulously preserved, not least in the nine official Community languages into which all Community documents must be translated. The right to be able to use your own language is important, but the ability to use one language throughout the Community would be more useful.

The rationale for a lingua franca has a political purpose also. A genuine Community politics will be difficult, if not impossible, without a Community language. Community officials may be able

to give sound bites in several different languages, but they can hardly do all nine (with more to come). The logical choice at present is English, but German is on the march and may soon become one of the Community 'working languages' along with English and French. The move from two working languages to three seems a step in the wrong direction.

On the other hand, movement towards a common language is directly opposed to the goal of maintaining national cultures now enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty. A paradoxical development which has coincided with increasing integration has been increased 'regional consciousness' or 'minority nationalism'. This has led some to dream of a 'Europe of the Regions' in which the present nation states wither away. The idea is that people could reach cultural fulfilment in their true 'nation' eg Scotland, Brittany, Catalonia, under a supranational EC umbrella. The principle of subsidiarity holds great appeal for regionalists, but only those regions with legal recognition can benefit from it, and even then only through domestic constitutional reform. The British government sees subsidiarity as moving power from the Community to the Member States, not from the Member States to the regions - that is a matter of internal sovereignty. The German *Länder* on the other hand have seized on subsidiarity as an opportunity for them to have more say in Community decisionmaking at the expense of the German government. The German Constitutional Court, in the recently decided *Brunner* case, has held that it can review any act of EC legislation for its compatibility with the German Constitution - a dramatic reassertion of the fundamental supremacy of the Member States.⁹

Subsidiarity enshrined as a right of the Community citizen would clearly have profound implications for Member State constitutions. So would a Community Bill of Rights. At present, all Member States are parties to the European Convention on Human Rights, which has enabled the European Court of Justice to interpret it as the 'common law of the Community' and give it the effect of a bill of rights. While this is an ingenious piece of lawmaking, it is no substitute for a

directly enforceable written bill of rights.

From this perspective, European Community citizenship looks less threatening: a bundle of rights enforceable against Community agencies, Member States and all other legal persons. However, what entity could grant such rights except a sovereign Community? A Community 'superstate' looks a lot more threatening and is regularly dismissed as out of the question. But if it does not exist, EC citizenship is hollow. Under Maastricht, EC citizenship only exists through Member State citizenship. At present, the EC affects people's lives, but appears faceless and unaccountable. The EC must come out of its shell and reveal its true identity. It has tried to do this with plenty of colourful posters and brochures, but it has still largely failed to capture the public imagination and hence to become the perceived satisfier of political aspirations.

The 1984 Draft Treaty on European Union, adopted by the European Parliament, provided what amounted to a 'constitution for Europe', but it was not adopted by the Member States. The European Parliament is now labouring on a new document with the same aim. The difficulty again will be to gain public support. Given the structural impediments outlined, this does not seem any more likely to be forthcoming than last time.

If the EP's constitution is unlikely to take hold, how likely is one from the Member States? Their latest offering is the Maastricht Treaty on European Union ('TEU'): mostly amendment of the three existing Community treaties and making little sense unless read in conjunction with them. It creates a new overarching entity, the 'Union', comprising the Communities, co-operation on foreign and security policy, and co-operation in justice and home affairs. Neither readable nor particularly comprehensible, the TEU is totally unsatisfactory as a constitutional document. It is to be revised in 1996, but there is no indication that the process will be approached in a different way. Its major feature is the provision for proceeding to Economic and Monetary Union. This requires 'convergence': pursuit

of fiscal policies so as to enable adoption of a common currency. Because of the present diversity of economic performance and fiscal policy across the Community, convergence will be very difficult, and has been dealt a further blow by the effective collapse, in August 1993, of the Exchange Rate Mechanism which had attempted to tie the EC currencies to the deutschmark. While a common currency may have a host of advantages, getting to it involves subordinating national economic policy to some very strict rules. On arrival, the currency is to be controlled by an 'independent' European Central Bank, along the lines of the Bundesbank. Unless central political institutions are strengthened, this bank will be effectively a law unto itself. Tying states to rigid rules seems dangerous unless there is an overarching political organisation able to set overall economic policy directions.

According to the Thatcherite vision of the EC, internal trade barriers are abolished without any social guarantees. 'Market forces' will rule. It would be possible to lock the Community into such a system through its constitution. A 'level playing field' on the other hand would force the Member States to compete against each other to provide the best environment for business. While this might be good for business, it might not be so good for the citizen. Would it not be preferable to create a system which could democratically decide levels of taxation and spending, along with all other matters best tackled at Community level? This is unlikely to be acceptable to either believers in national sovereignty or richer countries. As a response to the need for at least some minimum standards for labour, eleven Member States have adopted the Social Charter. Britain has refused to sign it and it will therefore operate between the signatories through a complex adaptation of Community procedure. It is not even a comprehensive charter of workers' rights, but it demonstrates the awareness of most Member States of the need to protect basic rights and social solidarity.

The ECJ and the Social Charter have opened the gates to a European Bill of Rights. It is now up to the people to

agitate for their politicians to create it. The ECJ will develop it incrementally, but that will take too long. For freedom and democracy, a transparent, rights-based system is needed: a bill of rights and a constitution.

What lessons does the EC offer to the Asia-Pacific region, now considering APEC? The Australian government has proposed that APEC be made to stand for 'Asia-Pacific Economic Community' rather than 'Co-operation', but this has not received much support. Australia clearly hopes for a sense of security from APEC, a sense of *community*, but it is worth noting the differences between Europe and Asia. 'Europe' has recently been dramatically expanded - perhaps to Vladivostok - but it will be a long time before the Central/East European countries are admitted to the EC, let alone members of the former Soviet Union. Despite its nomenclature, the EC is not Europe, as these countries have found to their chagrin. 'Asia' is not even perceived by most of its inhabitants as an entity: it is the creation of outsiders. How can we expect it to integrate, let alone for Australia to integrate *with* it?

ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations, is an example of regional integration in the area, but ASEAN is more a meeting of like-minded leaders than an economic entity. China, Japan and Korea, each significant in their own right, have little scope, or indeed particular desire, for co-operation. Taiwan and Hong Kong have difficult relationships with China and cannot integrate with her on equal terms. Burma, Laos and North Korea are closed, Cambodia is devastated. Vietnam is emerging from its devastation and isolation. Its alignment is not yet clear. India is lumbering into gear but will always be a difficult place, Bangladesh has daunting problems and so do Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Even examining ASEAN, Malaysia is attempting to organise an East Asian Economic Caucus specifically excluding Australia, Indonesia resents Australian complaints about its human rights record, Singapore is thriving at the current level of integration, the Philippines and Thailand are suffering poverty and environmental degradation as they rapidly industrialise.

When Australians talk about integrating with 'Asia', they are being highly selective.

The Asian countries which have achieved spectacular gains in prosperity have done so by trading not only with each other, but with the outside world. They would seem to have little to gain from protectionism. The kind of harmonisation and market access APEC may bring would be more to their liking than something like the EC. The EC is attempting to cushion the social impact of economic adjustment. Many Asian countries are simply unable to do this. It is difficult to see how Australia can do so while trying to compete on Asian terms. Australia must demonstrate its commitment to the region, but it is a very different society from any in Asia - diverse though these are.

This leaves Australia attempting Closer Economic Relations with New Zealand. While free movement of goods and people, combined with a common language and substantially common culture has brought the two countries closer, political union seems out of the question - sometimes it takes more than two to tango. Even with New Zealand, there is now a substantial political gulf, though this may change. However, even full political union would be neither country's salvation.

Australia really is "home alone". The suggestion that Australia should apply to join NAFTA did not receive the attention it deserved. Australia has much in common with the United States and Canada. But assuming that NAFTA happens at all, and that Australia was admitted, this would send completely the wrong message to Asia, being at once anti-Asian, "Western", "European" and "North". It looks as though we can continue to develop economic links with our Asian neighbours, but can do little to develop cultural or political integration.

However, Europe is still of great importance to Australia, and not just as a trading partner and source of investment. Most Australians are still "Europeans", our culture is of European origin and still draws much inspiration from European cultures. Our living standards

and political values are much closer to Europe than to Asia - or indeed America. It is not surprising then that many ideas on law and social policy still come from Europe - or could. Too many still come from Britain - the Continent is still swathed in fog - but at a time when social democracy has been destroyed in Britain, and America is just starting to grope for it, continental Europe, and especially Scandinavia, still aspire to a society based on justice and solidarity which should be the Australian dream too. The EC can still serve as a model for how identity and culture can be retained within a larger unit of solidarity, but there seems little scope to emulate it in the Asia-Pacific.

Notes

1. Assistant Lecturer in Law, Monash University
2. See Weiler, J. "The transformation of Europe" (1991) 100 Yale Law Journal 2405.
3. The 'Luxembourg Compromise': see Freestone, D. and Davidson, J. *The Institutional Framework of the European Communities* Routledge 1988. p68.
4. Austria, Norway, Sweden and Finland, already members of the European Economic Area along with the EC, have all applied for membership. Switzerland rejected membership of the EEA in a referendum in December, 1992. At the Norwegian elections of September, 1993, pro-EC parties did badly.
5. Malta and Cyprus
6. Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania have signed 'Europe Agreements' with the EC and hope this will lead to full membership in the future. Admission appears to depend on prosperity, which may in turn hinge on admission.
7. Article 8, Treaty on European Union (1992)
8. The right to vote in local government elections is subject to procedures for opt-out for the very reason that some local government areas are dominated by expatriate EC citizens, eg Portuguese in Luxembourg.
9. The judgement in the *Brunner* case was handed down on 12th October, 1993. At the time of writing, it was not available to the author in English.

1993 CESAA Essay Competition: The winners

Why is Australia interested in Europe? The EC Trade Partnership: Understanding the Context

Winner
Undergraduate Division
Gavin Mount

The general proposition of this essay is that statistical information alone does not adequately describe the importance of the EC to Australia as a trade and investment partner. Both Australia and the EC members are immersed in significant global, regional and national transformations. In many regards they share similar political and cultural backgrounds, yet their geographical contexts are different.

In order to understand the various contextual features of these trade relations there is a need for an initial qualitative analysis. Such an approach may be more sensitive to the underlying assumptions from which the empirical statistics are derived. Only after both entities have been analysed at these (global, regional and national) levels of abstraction is a general understanding of the EC's importance to Australia possible.

"The EC is of immense importance now to Australia and will be of permanent importance to us as a partner in trade and investment. The basic statistics tell the tale."

Senator Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade in a speech to the Australian Business Forum, 1991¹

The 'basic statistics' do tell a tale about the importance of the European Community to Australia in terms of trade and investment. They indicate that: in 1989/90 the EC was the largest 'single market' in the world (representing 20% of total

world trade); its investment in Australia amounted to AUD 68 billion; that it represented Australia's second largest export market (\$6-8 billion); it was a principle supplier of imports (\$11.3 billion); and that it was responsible for 42% of the world's development aid with a significant contribution to the Pacific region in conjunction with Australian aid efforts.²

Quantitative information about EC-Australian relations however does not adequately describe the nature of this interaction. It does not present it in a historical, cultural, economic or political context. Such an approach may also preclude an understanding of this relationship at global, regional or national levels of analysis.

Assumptions in statistical information on international trade often fail to differentiate between units of analysis (eg. comparing a country to a region); or assumptions of uniformity of policy. The EC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) for example has a dramatic effect on Australia trade. However an internal assessment of EC policy would reveal that some EC member states (and actors in the federal institutions) do not necessarily support the CAP. The EC is comprised of twelve very individual European nations each with different interests and ongoing foreign relations with other countries.

There are then some serious categorization problems with statistical comparisons between the EC and Australia. Despite the fact that the EC has an independent budget (about AUD 60 billion in 1987) and engages in diplomatic activity with over 130 countries; its individual members still exercise a great deal of national autonomy at a global level.³

Furthermore, although the almost ratified Maastricht Treaty intends to move the Community towards a more federalist position, the EC does not yet have the same sort of homogenous political identity in comparison to other economic markets such as Japan or the United States. Rather it has been argued that the EC is an emerging polity which:

"consists of institutions and decision-making features which are distinctly European, as its members have pooled sovereignty into the EC institutions in an ever increasing number of areas."⁴

Similarly, member states in the EC must also be treated carefully in statistical comparisons. Any consideration of postwar Germany, for example, must consider the impact of the EC in terms of its 'reconstruction' and general economic behaviour. As each of the member states have been progressively involved in the reduction of trade barriers, the pooling of resources and the negotiation of shared interests; statistical comparisons of these nation-states with others outside of the Community become increasingly difficult.

An analysis of EC-Australian relations would thus benefit from qualitative speculation in the first instance. It is important to identify some of the underlying assumptions in any analysis before investigating the statistics. Neither the EC nor Australia are static phenomena, nor do they exist in a static world. Both are in the midst of significant internal and external transformations. A simple assessment of the trade and investment statistics on their own is in danger of hasty solution searching where more attention perhaps should be addressed towards the nature of the problem. Headley Bull warned that this distinction related to a rift between theoretical and applied approaches, where the emphasis in world politics favours the latter position:

"The search for conclusions that can be presented as 'solutions' or 'practical advice' is a corrupting element in the contemporary study of world politics, which properly understood is an intellectual activity and not a practical one. Such conclusions are advanced less because

there is any solid basis for them than because there is a demand for them which it is profitable to satisfy."⁵

The general proposition of this paper so far has been to assert the need for a qualitative analysis of the EC-Australia trade and investment partnership. The two parties in this equation should not automatically be assumed to be 'comparable' as such. They represent two distinctly different political configurations with vast cultural, economic and geographical differences. It should be noted that this proposition has not intended to deny or discredit a statistical analysis, but to draw attention to the need for some methodological caution - in the form of a descriptive approach - in order to enrich those statistics. The following discussion will then concentrate on the contexts of the EC and Australia at three (global, regional and national) levels of analysis.

The EC evolved out of a global context as a strategy or 'method' for postwar economic reconstruction and perhaps more importantly through an overwhelming desire for peace. The European Coal and Steel Community (Treaty of Rome, 1951-2) was the first step in a plan to 'unite' Europe as conceived by its primary architect, Jean Monnet. A major strategy behind this vision incorporated the transnational pooling of economic resources, particularly those which were used in the manufacture of weapons:

"Coal and Steel were at once the key to economic power and the raw materials for forging weapons of war. This double role gave these immense symbolic significance, now largely forgotten, but comparable at the time to that of nuclear energy today. To pool them across frontiers would reduce their malign prestige and turn them instead into a guarantee of peace."⁶

Post war reconstruction in Europe was not simply a matter of economic recovery. The 'German problem' was a large focus of political attitudes after WWII. Under no circumstances could Germany be permitted to rebuild its military. On the other hand, an economically weak Germany would impede European trade potential only further frustrating recon-

struction efforts in countries such as France and the Netherlands. Another very real political concern in postwar Europe was the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and its largely demobilised army guided by Stalin's expansionist foreign policy.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, contemporary international relations between nation-states has undergone a significant shift from being organised ideologically along an East-West axis to a new trend in economic and geographically organised regions. Nations which arose out of the Cold War had to reassess the state of a new international system. Economic interests became the dominating feature as geographically proximal nation-states consolidated with each other forming trade and security pacts. Transnational issues such as fishing in territorial waters or environmental disasters (eg. Chernobyl) were settled by regional cooperatives. Regional groups also represented their members collectively on global issues in international forums such as the UN.⁷

Other serious global considerations relate to an increasing reliance on non-renewable resources, the problems of overpopulation, eventual resource depletion and famines. Not only is there a great need to discover renewable resources but the emphasis on peaceful cooperation is perhaps even more important in light of the ecological disasters facing the planet:

"...we must avoid the repetition of the wars which ravaged the first half of the Twentieth Century, and reach higher levels of global cooperation than were possible during the forty years of the Cold War."⁸

As the world's largest economic bloc, the EC also inherits a bulk of the responsibility for these problems. Accordingly, the contemporary focus of European integration concentrates on the creation of a common market which is both 'sustainable and fully competitive globally'.⁹ This perceived vision of the EC implies that it will play a decisive role in the 'global division of labour' relating primarily to North America, Japan, South-East Asia and the rest of the world. The role of the

EC as a political entity appears to be destined to increase, not only as it becomes more politically structured but also as its role in the world economy remains dominant and exists as a major of the world's limited resources.

The Australian context is based in its obvious historical ties with Europe. As this continent was settled by the British Empire its relationship with England (and also with Europe) has remained central to the general 'way of life' in Australia. As one historian put it, this country is the product of two hundred years of British imperialist activity with:

"political and cultural roots still firmly embedded in Europe and in the islands of the North Sea from which a very high proportion of our people have come."¹⁰

The cultural assumptions of British settlers were presumed to be more or less transferable to this newly 'discovered' continent. They also assumed that they should interact predominantly with the traditional neighbours of England: the continental Europeans. Europe after all was considered to be the most 'civilised' region of the world. Australians would, according to this premise, be severely disadvantaged and culturally isolated if they did not maintain a strong link with European civilisation.

What is interesting about these assumptions is the neglect or oversight, firstly in terms of a complete disregard of hundreds of indigenous (Australian Aboriginal) cultures already living here, and secondly of Australia's geographical neighbours: The Asians. Australia's attempt to adapt an Anglo-European cultural system to this continent omitted one crucial feature of its antecedents. European countries were constantly engaged with one another over several millennia - exchanging goods, ideas, religions or people; or fighting decisive wars together and against each other. Surely the cultural richness of this interaction was largely propelled by their geographical proximity to one another?

Contemporary Australian foreign policy has been influenced by the transformations of a post Cold War world, with its

focus on regional organisations playing an important role. These trends in regionalism present Australia with an apparent dilemma between its European heritage on the one hand and an Asian geographical proximity on the other. Although it is generally accepted that South-East Asia is experiencing an 'economic explosion', Australian investment is biased towards the European and US markets. Interestingly, this bias does not seem to be motivated by rational economic criteria which actually favour Asian investment.¹¹ Australian business perceptions of the Asian market appear to be that there are too many immediate risks for the sake of frustratingly distant rewards. Perhaps the most cited reason for these apprehensions concerns the cultural disparity between Australia and Asia.

Australian investors overseas have preferred to invest in these 'neighbours' defined in a social and cultural sense (like UK) rather than our geographical neighbours in Asia. One analyst summarized it as 'preferring to pay a premium to buy assets where they can drink the water and speak English'.¹²

A recent study on EC-ASEAN trade relations found that EC member states were marred by similar cultural uncertainty and risk/reward apprehensions. Another important motive in EC investment behaviour was a favouring of intra-EC investment. Preferential markets with subsidies and incentives (such as EC regional cohesion policy) have encouraged European companies to focus on EC 'backward areas'.¹³ Furthermore, the prospect of a Single Internal Market has exacerbated this trend rather than mobilising European investment into coordinated direct foreign investment outside of the Community.¹⁴

This insight into the EC investment is valuable to Australia's understanding of the Community. It indicates that Australia and the EC companies share similar cultural reservations about ASEAN countries. Given that Australian foreign policy has indicated a strong focus on developing trade relations in its own geographical region, perhaps its efforts to encourage trade will be of value to the EC. In particular, recommendations to

integrate into Asia (by establishing institutions, learning Asian business culture and becoming more familiar with the diversity and fragmentation within the region) may encourage European investment in Australian companies operating in the region.¹⁵

A second insight from the EC behaviour in Asia is that it reaffirms the suspicion that, despite diplomatic rhetoric, their investment profile is introspectively orientated.¹⁶ Fears that Australia is confronted with a 'fortress Europe' which has self preoccupation tendencies appear to be justified by such observations. Although the EC is indispensable as a trading partner for Australia, Asia may in fact represent a more *available* investment option.

A greater understanding of the European experiment in regional cooperation capitalizing on geographical proximity and favourable trading incentives - may generate valuable insight into the general issues surrounding regionalism at global and regional levels. In particular, the EC "methods" which have been explored by policy makers should be scrutinized and then re-interpreted into an Australian context. The final level of analysis then focuses on the importance of understanding the European Community method at a national Australian context.

Current debates in the EC on the nature of federalism are directly relevant to the Australian context. Specifically, the most notable parallel with EC federalism is the Australian 'Republican Debate'. A significant issue in this regard relates to the perceptions of national identity. Malcolm Turnbull, Director of the Australian Republican Movement (ARM), links the prospect of a Republic with, 'a stronger sense of patriotism and national purpose.' He asserts that this national identity is essential to Australian prosperity.¹⁷ The EC argument in favour of federalism suggests a transcendence of nationalism towards EC supranationalism, however some of the general principles may be transferable from one context to another.

A number of issues concerning human rights or Aboriginal claims of indigenous 'sovereignty' are pertinent to the Aus-

tralian federal system and may require some constitutional revision. The ongoing debates on refining a European Monetary Union (EMU) and developing an accommodating federal infrastructure or the negotiations between various levels of legislative suitability (currently exploring the EC recognized principle of subsidiarity) are all relevant to Australia's constitutional debate.¹⁸

Moreover, an appreciation of these issues are of immense importance to Australia as it strives to re-organize its political structure in ways which increase its global competitiveness.

EC supranational identity invokes notions of a shared cultural heritage with significant 'European' influences such as Christianity, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the industrial revolution. Together they have become symbols of cultural unity which are the sorts of things from which we may be able to construct some sort of European Identity. It should be noted that when any of these cultural influences are viewed at close hand a significant degree of variation and conflict can be identified within them. This quality, however, should not discourage our 'affirmations of unity'.¹⁹ On the contrary the retrospective insight that we gain from the European experience should enrich our immediate understanding of contemporary fluctuations within Europe. Perhaps such insights have normative qualities which empower our understanding of other regional relations.²⁰

The EC has been described as being a fluid polity with quasi-federalist institutions and structures which are *sui generis* or unique in their design. Perhaps the most exciting aspect of this organization of state is that it is being shaped in the context of a postindustrial world. As it was born out of the ravages of a modern warfare, and continues to evolve in an age of increasing transnational interdependence, its structure and organisation are responding to the international climate of our time.

Australia is in the process of awakening to its own geographical region and revising a new form of federalism in the wake

of a receded British Empire. It could learn much from the successes and failures of the European Community "method"; from an objective "deconstruction" of that process; and from a new re-interpretation relevant to its geographical region. Moreover Australia can utilize its cultural affinity with Europe to act as a diplomatic liaison for the Asian region. The EC has targeted the Asian region for investment, however cultural disparities appear to discourage individual companies. ASEAN businesses appear to suffer from similar problems in dealings with the EC. Given Australia's cultural heritage and its geographical proximity to Asia, it may benefit greatly from becoming an expert in Asian affairs amongst Anglo-European cultures.

At a global level, Australia's shared interests in world peace and ecological survival demonstrate an obvious interest in EC activity. It is important to continually remind ourselves that the EC vision grew out of a desire for peace in a post-war environment and has essentially been motivated by the idea of cooperation between its national members. Any lessons from this community method are relevant to all peaceful nations in the world.

This analysis has intended to acknowledge the substantial value of EC-Australia trade and investment. It has asserted that to view this importance purely in statistical terms jeopardizes Australia's opportunity to understand the European regional experience in a more contextual and, in my opinion, fundamentally relevant manner. Consequently, EC-Australia relations were reviewed in terms of their global, regional and local contexts. If, in any way, it has managed to expand on the meaning of the basic statistics then it has achieved its purpose.

Notes

1 The Australian, May 4, 1992.

2 Source: All figures are for FY 1989/90. Jorgensen, O.J. "The European Community," speech at University of Melbourne, Politics Department, 19th Sept, 1991.

3 This is particularly true in terms of foreign policy, where the French bombing of the Rainbow Warrior is a more dramatic example. Other examples may include German unification or the continuing UK-US military

relations which conflict with EC-US negotiations.

4 Murray, P. The European Community 1992 and Australia, paper presented at "The EC 1992 and the Asia Pacific Region", International Studies Association, Vancouver, (1991). p.2

5 Bull, H. The Anarchical Society. A study of the Order in World Politics, Macmillan, London, (1977) p.320.

6 Monnet, J. Memoirs. (trans. Richard Myne), Doubleday, London, (1978), p. 293

7 For example, although the EC only has observer status at the UN, three quarters of its member state votes represent a united EC position.

8 Leuenberger & Weinstein (eds) Introduction in Europe, Japan and America in the 1990s: Cooperation and Competition, Springer-Verlag, Berlin (1992) p.2

9 Lundquist & Olof Persson (eds) Introduction in Visions and Strategies in European Integration: A North European Perspective, Springer-Verlag, Berlin (1993) p.1

10 Crowley, F. K., Australia - Outpost of Europe in a Symposium Australia: A Part of Asia?, University of New South Wales, Nov 7, (1968). P.20.

11 Analysis of profits from the top 1000 Australian companies in 1991 showed that Asian subsidiaries were more profitable in aggregate than subsidiaries in the US and the UK. Refer to: Business Council of Australia, Australian Business in Asia: Climbing the Mountains, (1992) pp. 19-20.

12 Op. cit. p17.

13 In particular, Spain has attracted a great deal of EC investment. See Wagner, N. ASEAN and the EC-European Investment in ASEAN, Institute of South East Asian Studies, (1989).

14 An exception to this focus would be Eastern Europe which is not a part of the EC, but is in its geographical vicinity with a similar cultural heritage and has prospects of becoming affiliated with the Community.

15 See recommendations from Business Council of Australia, *ibid*.

16 The Wagner report noted that although the EC identified ASEAN as a 'prime target' for investment its actual investment behaviour was not consistent with this rhetoric EC members focused more heavily on European economic integration and infrastructure preparing for a Single Internal Market.

17 In contrast, Liberal Senator Rod Kemp argues that our national identity is already linked with a proud heritage which is unique as a 'crowned republic'. Refer The Australian. Special Republican Debate Supplement. April 1, 1992.

18 An example of this last point is the emphasis in recent Special Premiers Conferences where subsidiarity has been discussed in the context of Australian federalism. Refer to The Australian *ibid*.

19 This observation comes from Henri Brugmans, "Un historien regarde l'integration européenne" in Sciences humaines et integration européenne (1960), cited in Wolters, O.W. History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (1982), pp.33-35.

20 Wolters, O.W. *ibid*. pp. 34-55

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1993 CESAA Essay Competition: The winners

Why is Australia interested in Europe?

Special Mention
Undergraduate Division
Kate Duff

The position of the European Community as the leading world trading entity is reflected in the trading policies of Australia in a variety of ways. There are many points of similarity and disparity between the Community of twelve member states and the Federal nation state of Australia; their aims for peace, national prosperity and equity are similar. However, their methods for achieving these aims have caused the major conflicts between them, particularly in terms of trade issues. Valid though many criticisms of the EC's policies are, it has also been Australia's misunderstanding of the business culture of Europe and the complexity of the Common Agricultural Policy that have jointly contributed to make Australia's trade relationship with the EC weaker than it should be. Furthermore, the expectation that the Southeast Asian and Pacific regions will compensate Australia for losses elsewhere has become a diplomatically damaging message that belies the vitally important role that trade with the EC must continue to play for Australia.

There can be little doubt that a dynamic trade relationship with the EC countries is necessary if Australia is to improve its position as a well connected, sophisticated and diverse trading nation. Regardless of other trade relations Australia is attempting to cultivate, the size, wealth and sophistication of the EC's markets make it too important to ignore¹. Whilst Japan remains the destination for the majority of Australia's export merchandise, the increase in volume of exports to the southeast Asian region has generally been coupled with a decrease in market share². Australia's exports to the European Community, on the other hand, have decreased little, though market share is limited by protectionist policies of the

EC. Recent figures show Great Britain as Australia's largest market for exports within the EC and sixth largest export market overall; Germany, Italy and France occupy the eleventh, fourteenth and seventeenth places respectively³. Collectively, the EC is our second largest export market⁴, and our largest source of imports. Great Britain is the biggest source of foreign investment capital for Australia, with the larger economic powers of the US and Japan in second and third place⁵. Table 1 below shows the picture for the last decade of trade with the EC.

Table 1. Exports to the European Community as per cent of Australia's Annual Merchandise Exports 1983 - 1993.

	Britain	Germany	Other	*Total EC
1983 - 1984	4.4%	2.9%	6.5%	14.0%
1986 - 1987	3.8%	3.1%	8.8%	15.7%
1991 - 1992	3.5%	2.0%	7.0%	12.5%
1993**	3.9%	3.1%	6.0%	13%

Source: Figures obtained from Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Australian Economic Indicators*, September 1993. Table by K Duff.

*ABS placed all other EC countries in this category.

**These figures are calculations of a monthly average rather than an annual figure as with rest of table's figures.

Despite the relatively poor showing of Australia's total export with the EC, it is expected that the full implementation⁶ of the Single Internal Market (SIM) will have beneficial off-shoots for Australian businesses exporting to the EC⁷. The SIM is designed as a distinctly domestic policy to stimulate competition and provide the environment for free trade within the EC⁸. This convergence of internal trading policy can only assist those exporting to the EC, simplifying as it does the existing myriad of individual national standards by proposing a single

customs union and the dismantling of all internal fiscal and technical barriers to free trade. The SIM is also expected to have a reforming effect on the Common Agricultural Policy's Green Ecu system⁹. This reform will occur particularly with the dismantling of Monetary Compensatory Amounts paid between EC member states to compensate for surpluses or deficits in cross-border agricultural trading¹⁰. However positive Australia's approach to the SIM, Australia will be one of a collection of hopefuls vying for prize markets. And, more problematically, the SIM does not control the assistance that local or national governments may wish to pass on to the business, industrial and farming sectors.

Even with the prospect of a more approachable market through the SIM, recent analysis of Australia's trade prospects with the EC indicate that trade in bulk, unsophisticated and non-manufacture goods is no longer an appropriate approach to EC markets. With Australian bulk food exports to the EC virtually excluded from possibility by the CAP and raw materials less of a valuable commodity, it has been suggested that specialist niche markets are where Australia should develop its talents¹¹. Recent successes with medical technology using this approach to the EC market have shown that it is an effective entrance method into a guaranteed market of at least 340 million consumers¹². Australian businesses are encouraged to familiarise themselves with European standards in manufacturing and other sectors. Although the SIM will remove some of the differences in standards, the expectation of differing market places still involves acknowledgment of different regional and/or cultural requirements from a product¹³.

Even with successes in some areas, criticisms levelled at Australian food exporters by European importers indicate Australian exporters do little by way of effective product support. European importers believe Australian exporters are dangerously out of touch with the European market place both in terms of its size, variation and sophistication, and tell stories of frustration and dissatisfaction in their dealings with the Australian ex-

porters and growers¹⁴. As a consequence, some importers have been changing to exporters from countries who have shown a more unified approach, who support their products and who satisfy the changes in consumer demand¹⁵. The disinterest in centralising marketing operations shown by Australian producers has also dismayed European importers who complain that a unified approach to industry marketing seems an "anathema" to the Australian food industry¹⁶. Although there are central figures and authorities in Australia who fully comprehend that a "European way of doing business...is being established, from which others will stand aside at their economic peril"¹⁷, it would seem that there remains a gap in Australia's business approach to the EC market and a "negative corporate image"¹⁸ that must be corrected.

Niche markets may be the future for Australian trade with the EC. However, some of the more traditional markets may be revived by reforms to EC policies. Frustrated largely by government subsidies of locally (EC) mined coal, and by subsidy of EC coal on the world market, Australia has been negatively effected by EC coal exports, and by production in the UK and Germany in particular. This slip has been widely attributed to the fact that, along-side the effects of EC policy intervention, primary produce and raw materials have "become less significant as a proportion of global exchange"¹⁹. But recent developments in key European coal industry groups in the UK, Germany and Belgium have highlighted the true costs of subsidisation, with coal too expensive to sell on the world markets without enormous strain on EC finances. The total EC coal-mining industry workforce shrank by 12.4% in 1992 with the greatest declines in the UK and Germany²⁰. This rethinking of the EC's approach to its coal supplies may re-open the way for the importing of more efficiently produced Australian coal.

Whilst it has been Germany and Britain's mining interests that have cut Australia's share of the EC markets, it has been the Common Agricultural Policy, staunchly defended by the French of late, that has been the major stumbling bloc for Australian-EC trade relations. The

CAP is policy derived from EC bureaucracy, a policy containing a maze of EC institutions and member state interventions that has taken over from any true 'market forces' in internal and external EC trade²¹. The establishing of the CAP came not insignificantly on the tail end of war era food shortages²². Apart from a guarantee of supply, the CAP was designed to shelter EC markets from the price volatility that has characterised the agricultural sector markets²³. The sentimental reasons for maintaining healthy and traditional farming communities on the land are no less significant than the social welfare element of the CAP which seeks to "ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, in particular by increasing the individual earnings of the persons engaged in agriculture"²⁴.

Regardless of how one might view the inequity of market access issue or the artificiality of government price intervention, the EC's position as biggest trading collective has been insufficiently understood within the context of the CAP. Apart from the obvious difficulties that the CAP presents for Australia, it would seem there is a lack of understanding of the nature and aims of the CAP particularly, and of the politics of the EC generally. This misunderstanding is centred around the fact that the places occupied by the agricultural sector in the economic and political fabrics of Australia and the EC differ dramatically.

Briefly, Australia's exports since the second world war have been characterised by a high proportion of primary produce - 80% in 1985. Much of the exported primary produce has included agricultural produce. Despite Australia's vast rural tracts, the political significance of the farming lobby has been significant in its absence, at least until the formation of the National Farmers Federation in the late seventies. Having a Labor government in power, a side of politics not traditionally connected to the land, has meant the agricultural sector has had a limited lobbying position within Parliament. From a legal point of view, Australia's policy making processes are made simpler by sections of the Australian Constitution. Most importantly, the con-

trol of the customs, excise and tariff systems fall to the Commonwealth Government²⁵, allowing for a nationwide position in export policy statements. Although residual "but important powers over production and pricing rest with the States"²⁶, the Commonwealth Government holds the purse strings to much of the States' funding, giving it the means to rein in state activities and the State legislatures. Industry and sector interests in Australia are also monitored by the Industry Commission (IC). The IC engages in policy analysis and reforms and raises public awareness as to the level of Government assistance being distributed and, as MacLaren points out, "has tended to recommend the dismantling of regulatory processes in order to improve economic efficiency."²⁷

Whilst the last decade of government and industry activities in Australia have been dominated by an approach most broadly known as 'economic rationalism', the long term approach employed by the institutions of the European Community in agriculture has been characterised by 'economic nationalism'. The enormity of agricultural overspending²⁸ has disturbed the EC's budget balance on more than one occasion and has forced a recognition of the need for reforms to the CAP. Indeed, as Marsh writes, Commission documents began acknowledging this situation as far back as 1975.

Despite the fact that the agricultural content of the EC's GDP is a low 2.7% and that the sector employs less than 10% of the population, the agricultural lobby is enormously powerful²⁹. The agricultural lobby it is also well connected to the Commission, which in turn is responsible for policy initiatives for the CAP. The method of introducing policy changes to the CAP and the political processes of the CAP's Annual Price Review have thus seen the hopes for CAP reforms result in little more than 'fudge and compromise'³⁰. It is perhaps thus no surprise that the complex position of agriculture within the EC and its significance as the most obviously and functionally integrated EC policy mean that reforms do not take place in the EC as smoothly as they may in Australia's case³¹.

It is arguably in the context of participation in multi-lateral free trade negotiations that the policies and the politics of the European Community have meant the most to Australia in recent times. As an international trading nation, the difficulties experienced by Australian traders have been reflected in the way in which Australia has viewed its relationship to the EC through its participation in the Cairns Group of Fair Trading Nations, and by its embrace of its own 'region' as its future. As the most important ramifications for Australia-EC trade relations are those arising from the CAP, it has been the ways in which the politics surrounding CAP reforms in Europe have impeded the resolution of international talks on trade reforms that have concerned Australia. The Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), now in its seventh year, has been the focus for Australia and other agricultural exporting nations. It is the intransigence of the EC in the negotiation of the Uruguay Round (which for the first time brings agricultural issues into the GATT) that precipitated the forming of the Cairns Group in Cairns, Queensland, in 1986. The main aim of the group has been "to secure major reforms in international agricultural trade"³², and the intense participation of Australia in forum has signalled, for many, a changing position in Australia's relationship with major trading powers like the EC³³. Whether Australia's participation in the Cairns Group signifies a change in the relationship between the EC and Australia from the EC's point of view is unclear³⁴, what it does indicate is that the role Australia sees for itself in such international arenas has given it more significance in its own regard.

The fact that the EC is the world's biggest trading entity is significant to all nations or groups who trade on the world market, who have bilateral agreements with the EC or with other countries who import from the EC. The United States takes the most powerful position against EC protectionist policies and has had greater control over talks and negotiations with the EC. But, regardless of who controls them, it is Australia, amongst others, that must deal with the results of these negotiations, both in its bilateral arrange-

ments with the EC and with its trade relationships with the other powers negotiating powers like the US. Indeed, recent activity in negotiations between the United States and Australia has shown exactly how dependent Australia's relationships with the EC and US are on the US/EC negotiations getting results.³⁵

In many ways, Australia is at the negotiating mercy of the greater economic and trading powers, particularly the EC. Misunderstanding the market and the business culture of Europe does much to harm Australia's prospects, whilst mattering little to the EC. Australia's trade relationship with the EC is a mix of success and misfortune in having to deal with such interventionist and protectionist EC policies and politics. The most recent position taken by the French in their attempts to reopen the Blair House negotiations has called for a 'setting aside' of the agricultural elements in order to hasten the conclusion of the Uruguay Round is a blatant flouting of the concerns of fair trading nations such as Australia. And, despite the refusal to accept this proposition by the US and EC member state leaders such as Prime Minister Major and Chancellor Kohl, the mechanics of EC bureaucracy require that such suggestions be duly tabled. The non-cooperation of the French thus holds the entire EC position to ransom, which by virtue of its position as the world's biggest trader means that Australia within world trading system is certainly adversely affected also.

Notes

1. Geoffrey Green, *Australia's Trade Opportunities in the European Community After 1992*, p.17. and Ian Haig *Australia's Options for the next century: Europe or Asia?* Papers presented at the CESAA Symposium 'Europe Beyond 1992: Australia's Options', Politics Department, University of Melbourne March 26, 1993

2. See for example Richard Higgott 'Economic Diplomacy in a Multilateral Context' in Mediansky (ed.) *Australia in a Changing World - New Foreign Policy Directions*, Maxwell Macmillan Publishing Australia, 1992, p.128. Similar opinion also expressed by Ian Haig *Australia's Options for the next century: Europe or Asia?* (details as per footnote 1).

3. Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990's*, Melbourne University Press, 1992, p.286. Evans and Grant are using trade figures for 1989-90.

4. *Ibid*, p.288. Japan is our major export market.

5. *Ibid*, p.286. There has been some doubt over the

ability of Britain to maintain this position. The UK's trade deficit with its EC partners has increased in the last financial year, casting doubts over its much awaited economic recovery and its ability to continue its overseas activities at the present rate. See discussion in *The Australian Financial Review*, October 13, 1993.

6. Operation of the Single Internal market is now in effect for goods, capital and services. Although there are details to be ironed out and some areas, such as the free movement of people, the European Council meeting at the Copenhagen Summit in June 1993 expressed satisfaction at the progress made. See *EC News* Vol. 11, No. 6, June/July 1993. Events since that summit, namely the virtual dismantling of the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the EC's European Monetary System, have cast some doubts on the future of European Union for which the SIM is so vital. The timetable for economic and political union has now been arrested from the course set out in the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty, but attempts are being made to set a appropriate course for the future; see *The European*, October 7-10, 1993, 'Bid to put Emu back on its feet'.

7. See Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade *The European Community Single Market Program Implications for Australia - Agriculture* Discussion Paper No. 6 January 1991, pp. 1-4, and *Competition Policy*, Discussion Paper No. 4, July 1990, pp. 1-2. The Agriculture Discussion paper does make the valid point that the outcome of the Uruguay Round of GATT talks are more important than the prospects of 1992 and its legislative changes. For further positive appraisal of prospects of the SIM see Evans and Grant *Australia's Foreign Policy Relations in the World of the 1990's*, pp. 287-288, and Geoffrey Green *Australia's Trade Opportunities in the European Community After 1992*, paper presented at the CESAA Symposium 'Europe Beyond 1992: Australia's Options' March 26, 1993, pp. 5-9. See also *EC News*, Vol. 11, No. 6, June/July 1993, p. 2 - 'GATT plaudits for EC trade policy' - which details the positive feedback in a GATT report on the impacts of the SIM for international trade with the EC.

8. For a good discussion of the benefits of the SIM for the EC see Jeffrey Harrop's 'Free trade, customs union and internal market', Chapter 3 in his *The Political Economy of Integration in the European Community*, Edward Elgar, UK, Second Edition 1992. Particularly pp. 70-77.

9. Since 1984 the prices support system has not been linked to the standard European currency unit (Ecu) but to a special 'green' Ecu, or agricultural unit of account, which linked to the Deutschmark. The 'green' rate is fixed by agricultural ministers and would remain thus protected from the markets rates of exchange. See Neill Nugent, *The Government and the Politics of the European Community*, Macmillan, London, 1992, pp. 345-346.

10. Idem. MCA's consist of a system of border levies and subsidies. As Nugent points out, the nature of the system means that it cannot be viewed in isolation from exchange rates which make the ramifications of the recent rearrangement of the EC's ERM vital to the future of the system, regardless of the processes intended by the implementation of the SIM.

11. See Geoffrey Green, *Australia's Trade Opportunities in the European Community After 1992*, pp. 18-21.

12. This particular example is that of a hearing device produced by Cochlear, the medical division of the Pacific Dunlop Group, which has obtained a 'CE-

Mark' for its product. The 'CE-Mark indicates that the product has complied with the essential requirements of the European Directive for Active Implantable Medical Devices, and is required for companies who wish to enter the EC market with a 'regulated product'. The 'CE-Mark' gives the producer guaranteed access to the markets of the EFTA countries also. See *EC News* Vol. 11, No. 7, July/August 1993, p. 2.

13. There have been successes in this area also. For example, niche markets have been established in game meat exports to Italy and a new Technical Arrangement between Australian and Italian authorities that satisfy a particular market need and which indicate Australia's high standard of product in the game meat industry. See Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australian Trade Policy Digest*, June 1993, p. 13.

14. 'Australia: Free-traders who can't sell a sausage' in *The Australian Financial Review*, October 11, 1993.

15. Idem. The example given in the *AFR* is of the apple and pear exports to EC which it says has seen Australia fall from top non-EC supplier to well behind Chile, Argentina and New Zealand.

16. Idem. *AFR* details cases in which German food groups made approaches to Tasmanian onion growers that were ultimately abandoned through lack of grower interest. Similar situations regarding the banana and grape industries are detailed. It is interesting to note here the success that the Australian Wine Industry has had in the EC with this approach.

17. Evans and Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990's*, 288.

18. Philomena Murray, *The European Community 1992 and Australia*, paper presented at 'The EC 1992 and the Asia Pacific region' International Studies Association, Annual Convention March 1991, p. 23.

19. Richard Higgott, 'Economic Diplomacy in a Multilateral Context', p. 128. On an international trade level, Australia's share of post-war global trade has slip by half and its position as a principal exporting nation slip from 12th to 23rd place between 1978 and 1983.

20. *EC News*, Vol. 11, No. 7, July/August 1993, p. 5.

21. John S. Marsh, 'The Common Agricultural Policy' in J. Lodge (ed.) *The European Community and the Challenge of the Future*, Pinter Publishers, London, 1989, p. 148.

22. Ibid, p. 149.

23. David MacLaren *The International Dimension of the Common Agricultural Policy*, presented at CESAA Symposium 'Europe Beyond 1992: Australia's Options' March 26, 1993, p. 3

24. Quoted from The Rome Treaty, Article 39(1)(b). Article 38 establishes the CAP and Article 39(1) sets out its principal objectives. Taken from Marsh, p. 148.

25. Section 92 of the Australian Constitution sets out these powers. See P.J. Lloyd, *EC '92 and the Outsider's View: The Pacific View*, University of Melbourne Department of Economics Research Paper Number 272, September 1990, p. 6, n. 2.

26. D. MacLaren, 'The Political Economy of Agricultural Policy Reform in the European Community and Australia' in *Journal of Agricultural Economics*, September 1992, p. 431. MacLaren points out that the powers of the Commonwealth to implement agricultural reform are limited by the Australian Constitution, thus guaranteeing the States' input and, implicitly, their co-operation with the Commonwealth.

27. Ibid, 432.

28. Charles-Le Bihan and Gadbin give an annual overspending figure of an additional minimum of

7.5% of the CAP's near average 65% share of the total EC budget. See Charles- Le Bihan and Gadbin's 'New Trends in the Common Agricultural Policy' in Hurwitz and Lequesne (eds.) *The State of the European Community*, Lynne Rienner Publishers/Longman, Colorado, 1991, p. 169. See also European Parliament - Directorate General for Research, *P. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP)*, En III/P for information relating to the CAP's total share of EC budget.

29. Neill Nugent, *The Government and the Politics of the European Community*, Macmillan, London, 1992, p. 335.

30. For a detailed discussion of this point see Neill Nugent's 'Agricultural Policy and Policy Processes: A Detailed Study', Chapter 12 in his *The Government and the Politics of the European Community*, Macmillan, London 1992. Particularly pp. 350-360 that detail the processes of Council decision making, the politically and nationally motivated decisions that have been made in regard to the dairy industry, and the drawn-out timetable and mechanisms of the Annual Price Review that requires compromise based on compensation elsewhere for results and which relies on difficult negotiations that are restrained always by defence of national interests.

31. I do not want to understate the degree of difficulty facing agricultural reforms in Australia. The political elements and social welfare issues in the case of Australia are no less significant in their own national context, however when comparing the different roles and significance of the agricultural sector in the EC and Australia there are clear differences, politically and institutionally, that may make reform processes harder within the EC in a manner that is inconceivable from an Australian perspective.

32. Andrew Cooper, Richard Higgott and Kim Richard Nossal, *Relocating Middle Powers - Australia and Canada in a Changing World Order*, Melbourne University Press, 1993, p. 50. The entire chapter (Chapter 3) is devoted to a discussion of the role of the Cairns Groups in international trade negotiating forum of the GATT.

33. Cooper, Higgott and Nossal argue that "the institutional complexity and the changing configuration of power in the global political economy more generally diminish the ability of the major actors - in particular the United States and the European Community - to set the agenda and direct the negotiations in the Uruguay Round by themselves" (p. 51).

34. A recent newspaper article suggested that Australia was thought to have made a nuisance of itself in Europe over the free trade issue. See *AFR*, October 11, 1993.

35. In this instance, the American Export Enhancement Programme. President Clinton made promises to Prime Minister Keating recently that indicated a scaling down of the EEP, but only if the EC could be brought to stand by the Blair House accord negotiations and bring the Uruguay Round to an end.

1993 CESAA Essay Competition: The winners

Why is Australia interested in Europe?

Winner Schools Division

Lisa Watts

Siena College

There are many factors which influence Australia's keen interest in Europe. Europe is the largest economic entity in the world, and is a significant trading partner, not only for Australia, because of its dependence on trade, but for the world as a whole. Australia and Europe share close cultural, and historical ties, as well as sharing the same democratic ideals and principals. Four of the Group of Seven (G7) members are based in Europe (Britain, Germany, France, and Italy), and so having close political and economic ties with Europe is of great advantage to Australia.

In 1973, after Britain formally acceded to the E.C. (European Community), Australia realised that it was losing one of its traditional and most important export markets, and found it necessary to change its focus with the E.C. Australia's focus slowly changed to the E.C. and this led to the then Australian Liberal-led government to initiate regular (now annual) ministerial meetings between the E.C. and Australia. These meetings alternate between Brussels and Canberra. At these meetings discussions are not only focused on trade but also on international relations, the environment, energy, development aid programs and bi-lateral co-operation in areas such as science, technology and industrial affairs.

Ties of history, culture and sentiment play a significant role in defining the character of relations between Australia and Europe. Australia and Europe both share a common Judeo-Christian heritage, common liberal democratic and pluralist views. They are both developed economies and both share a commitment to more open international trade. On March 7th 1990, Senator Gareth Evans said that "Australia, now more than ever, should strengthen its links with Europe, not only because of legacies of the past historical, cultural and sentimental - but because of

the strategic and economic needs of the present and the future."

In 1989/90 total E.C.-Australia trade was equal to AUD18.2 bn. The EC has been Australia's largest import supplier 22.1% in 1989, primarily consisting of pharmaceuticals, motor cars, specialised machinery, machine parts and printed matter. The EC is Australasia's second largest export market 13.9% of total exports in 1989, consisting of mainly wool, coal, general exports, then base metal ores and copper. The EC is also Australia's principal source of investment with AUD66.9 bn at the end of 1988/89, 29.2% of total foreign investment in Australia. There are also a multitude of EC companies operating in Australia, making a significant contribution to Australia's economic performance. However, Australia's total trade with the E.C. accounted for only 5.1% of their total external trade

Australia and the E.C. are economic competitors, however they also share a large degree of economic interdependence. Australia has been allocated access to the E.C. markets in beef, buffalo meat, and cheeses. In return Australia gave the EC concessions in some industrial and agricultural products. These agreements, although never formal, were titled the Andriessen Assurance, and both parties agreed to abide by them. In addition to the above mentioned agreements, the EC undertook not to export to certain Asia-Pacific markets, including Japan, which are of importance to Australia.

In 1986, a 'co-operation agreement' was signed on science, technology and research. This hailed a new beginning in the relationship between Australia and the EC. Negotiations are presently underway to develop joint research ventures and co-operation agreements in telecommunications, industry, the environment, energy, competitive policy and development aid in the Asia-Pacific region.

The 1992 single market, also signals a new beginning in relations between Australia and Europe. The European single

market means that there will only be one frontier instead of twelve; and that rules, standards, tests and certification procedures will be either harmonized or uniform. This will result in a stronger European economy, leading to a healthier world economic and trade system; increases in the GDP of the E.C. will lead to increased investment and trade with Australia; the single market will simplify and liberalise trading with the E.C. However for this to be of advantage to Australia, Australia must gain further access to these markets through the Uruguay Round, and Australian companies must take advantage of the new environment by developing bases within the E.C.

The E.C. regards Australia as a natural and important economic and political partner. The relationship between them has already grown beyond the traditional areas of trade, to one encompassing co-operation in science and technology, industry, energy, development aid and environment among others.

Australia has a direct interest in the economic success of eastern European countries because of their potential as a market for Australian goods and services, for example: in telecommunications, transport, agricultural processing, environmental protection, technology and tourism as well as agriculture, raw materials, and trade in manufactured goods.

However, despite all of this, there are some issues which concern Australia in its dealings with Europe. These include the continuance of the Andriessen Agreement (this has however been confirmed by the E.C.); the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) - which is an integral part of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) talks - which for their own fiscal reasons the E.C. is looking to restructure; 'reciprocity' for financial institutions; and the continuance of state aid to industry (i.e. the coal industry in Germany). For their own part, Australia has begun to realise that some of the fundamental problems of the relationship come

from within Australia itself. These include: lack of cohesion with Australian preference for the United Kingdom rather than continental Europe; a need to improve lobbyists in Brussels; lack of formal links between peak industry groups (Chamber of Commerce - Manufactures) in Australia and the E.C.; a need to correct Australia's negative corporate industries in the E.C.; and to improve business confidence within Australia.

Even though Australia and Europe are economic competitors, they share political and moral values and Australia has the opportunity, to extend and entrench political freedom and economic prosperity in a volatile world. "It is a chance we must not forgo". Although Australia has begun to focus on Asia as a new source of economic interest, this should not be at the expense of its relations with Europe. Ultimately our European connections are of greater long term importance, because of the investment Australia gains from Europe.

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M.A. in European Studies in Belgium

Having recently completed an M.A. in European Studies at K.U. Leuven in Belgium, I thought that some comments about the experience may be of interest to those involved in the study/teaching of European Studies or to those contemplating tertiary study in Europe.

As with most interesting experiences, I came across the program by accident in the course of examining the M.A.s on offer in the U.K.. The advantages, as I saw them, were,

- * that Leuven was physically close to Brussels, the political and administrative capital of the E.C.;
- * that the program itself provided the areas of study that were of interest to me;
- * the opportunity to study in a non-English speaking country;
- * the cost of the program was considerably less than that of similar programs in the U.K.

Leuven is situated about 20 kilometres from Brussels in the Flemish half of Belgium and is a university town of some 70,000 inhabitants. The university is one of the oldest in Europe and boasts a history that includes such notables as Erasmus. The university has many campuses throughout the town and includes all of the traditional disciplines as well as a number of newer programs that are taught in English. Masters programs in European Studies and in Business Administration being two notable examples.

Belgium tends to be overshadowed in the media by its more prominent neighbours, France, Germany and the Netherlands, with the result that Australians know little about the country beyond its location. However there is much more to Belgium than its history as a buffer state between stronger nations, not the least being the tensions between the Flemings and the Walloons. The resolution to this ongoing conflict dominates the political fabric of Belgium which, to all intents and purposes, now operates as two separate countries since the new constitution was recently put

into place. Belgium is ethnically divided along a so-called language border with French being spoken in Wallonia and Flemish in Flanders although both languages have official status. The political upheavals of the 1960's resulted in Leuven University being split into two institutions with the French staff and students moving to a new university, Louvain la neuve, in Wallonia in 1970.

The M.A. in European Studies has a student intake of about forty students and requires participants to complete eight semester long courses (chosen from the twenty on offer) and two forty page papers. The courses tend more toward a lecture based style than a seminar oriented approach and highlight a basic difference in educational philosophy between Australian and Belgian tertiary structures. In Australia, universities tend to encourage students to examine material critically and to come up with their own argument in assignments and in tutorial discussions. The Belgian system is perhaps more traditional in outlook and tends to focus more upon students learning the material provided by the lecturer with less discussion. There is also a strong emphasis on examinations which form the sole or central form of assessment in most courses. (The majority of the courses I undertook had three hour written exams, while some had oral exams and others had both.) The two papers allow more scope to develop particular interests a student may have but, when combined with the amount of course material that needs to be covered, make for a fairly solid year.

Overall, the experience of studying the European Community in Belgium has provided me with a perspective on and knowledge of the machinations of the E.C. that would not have been possible in an English speaking country. Especially with regard to the degree to which underlying cultural assumptions influence the spirit and process of European integration. I can strongly recommend the M.A. at Leuven to anyone contemplating postgraduate study on the European Community.

Michael Pejovic 6 Church St. Balmain
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President's Report 1993

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 Committee

The CESAA's Executive Committee, 1992-93:

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:* Andrew Newton, Department of Political Science, University of Melbourne. *Committee Members:* Dr. Tom Behan, Dept. of Italian Studies, La Trobe University; Assoc. Prof. Irmline Veit Brause, School of Social Inquiry, Deakin University; Adam Koch, Dept. of Marketing and Organisational Behaviour, Swinburne University of Technology; Dr. Peter Lawler, Dept. of Politics, Monash University; Geoff Green, Australian Securities Commission, Melbourne.

The Committee met 8 times as a full committee, since last year's AGM, as well as in smaller subcommittees.

Liaison Members

While the executive committee was based in Melbourne, the following are Liaison members of the Committee:

Prof. Konrad Kwiet, European Studies, Macquarie University; Dr. Peter Monteath, History Discipline, Flinders University; Prof. John Milfull, Dean, Arts, University of New South Wales; Assoc. Prof. Ben Tipton, University of Sydney; Dr. Karis Muller, Modern European Languages, ANU; Dr. Joanne Wright, Dept. of Government, University of Queensland; Prof. David Moss, School of European Studies, Griffith University and Dr. Glenda Sluga, Dept. of History, University of Sydney.

CESAA Events

CESAA is a national association with organised events in several cities. For example, Peter Monteath organised a very successful seminar on 1 October 1993, given by Dr. Johannes M. Becker of the University of Marburg, on "A Country Goes West: The 'Winding Down' of the GDR", at Flinders University of South Australia. In addition, Glenda Sluga of the University of Sydney is organising a series of seminars in Sydney on "Women and Citizenship in Europe" for 1994 and Karis Muller plans to organise a series of seminars in Canberra

for 1994, and Peter Monteath is planning further seminars in Adelaide. All seminars organised in Australia under the auspices of CESAA are financed by CESAA.

Membership

CESAA now has 208 paid up members, an increase of almost 100 on last year's membership figures. 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, to University of Western Australia and Wollongong. There is also representation of lawyers, ambassadors and consuls, teachers, consultants, chambers of commerce, and the Department of Manufacturing and Industry Development in Melbourne, the Delegation of the European Communities in Canberra, the Australian Council for Europe, Minter Ellison, KPMG Peat Marwick and the Australian War Memorial. Many others are members through personal interest, and the number of student members has also increased.

CESAA Newsletter

CESAA's Newsletter, set up in July 1991, has gone from strength to strength. It is now edited by a board consisting of the following: David Moss, Peter Monteath, Philomena Murray, Lilian Topic and Walter Veit. The excellent layout continues to be carried out by Craig Lonsdale. The Association has now produced 8 Newsletters, in its short lifespan, and continues to feature articles on contemporary politics, economics, law and history, as well as conference news and reports and prizewinning essays.

The aim of the Newsletter is the

dissemination of information on European Studies, information on visitors from Europe and information on conferences. Offers to co-edit for 1994 are very welcome. So too are articles and contributions and letters. We would like to thank Craig Lonsdale for formatting the Newsletter in a professional and easily readable manner.

Register of European Studies in Australia

An innovative venture taken on vigorously by the Committee was the completion, early this month of the CESAA Register of Contemporary European Studies, edited by Craig Lonsdale, Lilian Topic and Philomena Murray, with the aim of collecting and disseminating 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 Register has information on 152 courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level, as well as on current research interests on European issues of members. The Register lists all courses according to University and area of specialisation, such as European Law, Politics, Literature, Culture, Economics, History, Economics, Languages, Business and Multidisciplinary Studies. The Register is the first such initiative for CESAA and we are confident that it will improve with each edition, as we plan to update it regularly. Members are invited to contribute corrections and additions for the next issue. The Register was distributed to all CESAA members free of charge early this month. There is a charge of \$5 for extra copies for members and \$10 for non-members.

The Committee wishes to express its special thanks to Craig Lonsdale, Professional Officer and desk-top publishing expert, 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.

Essay Competition

CESAA held its second Essay competition this year. The Competition awarded prizes for three categories — schools, 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 books on the European Community to the entrants. We would like to express our gratitude also to the Centre for European Studies in Monash University and the Programme for European Studies in the University of Melbourne and the Vice Chancellor of Monash University 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 to encourage student to enter the competition.

The winners of the Essay Competition for 1993 are Matthew Harvey, (Monash University) postgraduate, Gavin Mount, undergraduate, (University of Melbourne) Lisa Watts, (Siena College) schools. Katy Duff (University of Melbourne) was given a special commendation in the undergraduate section.

CESAA Seminars

The Association held several very successful seminars in Melbourne and Adelaide in 1993. CESAA will be holding more seminars in all the major cities of Australia in 1994 and members are warmly encouraged to set up seminars and talks.

On 13 May, Li Veit-Brause gave a thought-provoking seminar on "Germany 1990-1992: Coping with the Shock of the New" at Toorak campus of Deakin University. Mr. Roderick Skinner, Deputy Head of Delegation of the Commission of the EC to Australia, gave a personally-engaging seminar on "Reflections on the developing relationship between Australia and the EC" on 2 June in

Melbourne. Dr. Murray Masterton, Deakin University, gave a highly informative seminar on "Coming to terms with a free press: Journalism in Eastern Europe", on 24 June in Melbourne.

Two speakers who gave very stimulating talks were sponsored by the Monash University Flintoff fellowship scheme. These were John Palmer, European editor of the Guardian, who gave a seminar on "The European Community and Eastern Europe", in Melbourne on 22 July and Professor David Coombes of the University of Limerick, who gave a seminar on "The Deconstruction of Europe", on 26 August, in Melbourne.

CESAA co-hosted two excellent seminars with the Goethe Institut of Melbourne. The first was Professor Reiner Pommerin, on 8 September, on "A United Germany in a Still Divided Europe". The second was given by Professor Claus Leggewie on 5 October and the topic was: "Is Germany a Multicultural Society?"

CESAA would like to express its thanks to Monash University and the Goethe Institut for their support for speakers and Melbourne University and Deakin University for providing the venues for seminars. The Committee would like to thank Li Veit-Brause and Lilian Topic for their sterling work for the seminars.

CESAA Symposium: Europe Beyond 1992: Australia's Options

CESAA's inaugural one-day Symposium was held on 26 March, with the theme of Europe beyond 1992: Australia's Options? was held in University of Melbourne, from 9.00 to 6.00 with a buffet lunch and an evening reception. This first national Symposium was attended by 124 interested people from the academic, diplomatic and business worlds throughout Australia. One measure of the success of the Symposium was the fact that so many people attended it from interstate.

The Keynote address on The European Community, its political role and international future was presented by His

Excellency, Dr. Dietrich Hammer, Ambassador and Head of Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities. Australia's options into the next century: Europe or Asia, was the paper presented by Mr. Ian Haig A.M., Chief Executive, Monash-ANZ Centre for International Briefing and former Australian Ambassador, while Mr. Geoff Green, Barrister and Solicitor, Head of European Practice Group at Minter Ellison Morris Fletcher spoke of Australia's trade opportunities in the EC after 1992. The international dimension of the Common Agricultural Policy was explored by Assoc. Prof. Donald MacLaren, Head of Agricultural Economics and Extension at The University of Melbourne.

Ms. Kaye Nolan, Executive Officer of the Victorian Building and Construction Training Board and Co-ordinator of a European Community subject at Swinburne University of Technology addressed the issue of the implications of the Single Market for the Australian education and training system. Maastricht and European Union was the focus of the last session, featuring Dr. Philomena Murray, Lecturer in West European Politics, Department of Political Science University of Melbourne and President, Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia, and Dr. Janet Gardiner, Director of European Communities Section at the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Dr Gardiner addressed issues relating to Europe and Australia after Maastricht, while Dr. Murray explored Europe's choices after Maastricht, as it moves from economic community to Political Union.

The Conference dealt with a plethora of issues relating to Australia's relationship with the EC as well as current challenges to the EC itself. Politics and economics as well as trade and educational issues were all dealt with in an interesting and spirited fashion. Enthusiasm was high among participants and questioners alike.

CESAA will publish the conference papers, now all completed in written form, in the near future. Details will be placed in CESAA's Newsletter. Geoff Green, Andrew Newton, Lilian Topic,

Adam Koch, and I were on the Organising Sub-committee and I would like to thank my colleagues and also Craig Lonsdale for preparing and producing the posters, signs, registration forms and final programmes.

1994 National Symposium: Citizenship and National Identity

The next full day symposium is planned for Friday 25 March, [now changed to Friday 12 August] with the theme of Citizenship and National Identity in Europe. The plan is to explore what these issues mean in contemporary Europe and will bring together CESAA members, experts in the field and members of the general public for discussion.

Series of Occasional Papers

CESAA plans to launch its Series of Occasional Papers in 1994. The Papers will be available at a minimal cost to members. They will be papers delivered to CESAA seminars of other solicited work. The members of the Executive Committee will constitute an Editorial Board. In addition, we are drawing from CESAA membership only for the Referee Board and the following members have agreed to join that Board:

Professor Joan Beaumont,
Deakin University

Professor Cheryl Saunders,
University of Melbourne.

Professor Robert O'Neill
Oxford University

Professor Leslie Holmes
University of Melbourne.

Professor Richard Bosworth
University of Western Australia

Professor Alastair Davidson
Monash University

Dr. Martin Vranken
University of Melbourne

Ass. Prof. Donald MacLaren
University of Melbourne

Professor David Coombes
University of Limerick.

Dr. Derek McDougall
University of Melbourne

CESAA gratitude

I would like to extend my thanks to members of CESAA who have supported CESAA initiatives and thanks also to Liaison members throughout Australia. I would like to publicly thank the student volunteers for carrying out clerical and organisational tasks with enthusiasm. Finally, I enjoyed working with the Executive Committee on all CESAA issues and it was a pleasure to be part of such a committed and hardworking committee. I look forward to fruitful collaboration in the future.

*Philomena Murray,
CESAA President.
17 November 1993*

Treasurer's Report 1993

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia Financial Report 3.12.92 - 17.11.93

Forward from 3.12.92: \$1427.69

Expenditure:

PETTY CASH:	140.00	Wine and Cheese	49.75	
Symposium - Name Tags	57.00	Taxi Charges	23.70	
Symposium - Flowers	19.50	SEMINAR Claus Leggewie:		117.33
Skinner Seminar - Cheese	30.90	Copying, Postage, Envelopes	94.90	
Leggewie Seminar - Wine	7.50	Wine and Cheese	22.43	
Stationary -	16.00	SEMINAR in Adelaide, Johannes Becker:		140.00
Postal Order Lodgement fee -	1.50	Fee for Speaker	80.00	
\$3.45 forward from 3.12.92		Wine and Cheese	60.00	
(Total Spend: \$132.40		SEMINAR, Law, J. Coppel:		54.22
Amount remaining: \$11.05)		Copying, Postage, Envelopes	44.22	
CESAA Newsletter No.5:	127.26	Clerical Work	10.00	
Typing	78.00	ESSAY Competition:		610.25
Printing	49.26	Copying, Postage, Envelopes	80.70	
CESAA Newsletter No.6:	476.15	Clerical Work	25.00	
Typing	69.00	Book Prize	504.55*	
Clerical Work	40.00	* To be reimbursed as donation		
Printing, Postage, Envelopes	367.15	from EC Commission.		
CESAA Newsletter No.7:	680.13	LA TROBE Conference:		81.94
Typing	123.00	Copying, Postage, Envelopes	56.94	
Clerical Work	35.00	Clerical Work	25.00	
Printing, Postage, Envelopes	522.13	MONASH-ANZ Briefing Centre Mail-out:		25.20
CESAA Newsletter No.8:	320.48	STATIONERY:		26.80
Typing	27.00	Facsimile Paper	11.90	
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	293.48	Letterhead	4.95	
AGM No. 2:	213.80	Casetter Tapes	9.95	
Kenneth Davidson Address	189.00	FACILITIES Hire:		16.00
Drinks	24.80	Monash Univ. City Centre.		
AGM No. 3:	206.30	CESAA Supplies:		195.00
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	124.20	Glasses, Plates, Water Jugs.		
Wine and Cheese	82.10	SYMPOSIUM Europe Beyond 1992:		2502.50
SEMINAR Irmeline Veit-Brause:	145.18	Clerical Work	275.00	
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	85.08	Photocopying	28.00	
Clerical Work	15.00	Postage & Envelopes	285.90	
Wine and Cheese	45.10	Paper	14.80	
SEMINAR Brian Masterton:	63.62	Morning and Afternoon Tea	99.55	
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	48.62	Crockery Hire	84.00	
Clerical Work	15.00	Parking for Speakers	31.00	
SEMINAR Roderick Skinner:	44.75	Craig Lonsdale Production of		
Clerical Work	20.00	- Brochure		
Wine and Cheese	24.75	- Registration Form		
SEMINAR John Palmer:	215.82	- Posters		
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	117.54	- Signs		
Clerical Work	35.00	- Programmes	150.00	
Wine and Cheese	63.28	University House	1444.25	
SEMINAR Reiner Pommerin:	138.81	(- Lunch & Drinks, 920.50		
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	76.31	- Reception & Drinks, 523.75)		
Wine and Cheese	62.50	Towards publication of Papers	90.00	
SEMINAR David Coombes:	127.67	GOVERNMENT TAXES on cheque account:		
Copying, Postage, Envelopes	44.22	September 92 - November 93		20.41
Clerical Work	10.00			
		TOTAL EXPENDITURE:		\$6689.62

Annual General Meeting 1993 Secretary's Report

Income:

SUBSCRIPTIONS:	3598.00
DONATIONS:	1000.00
SYMPOSIUM Registration Fees:	2567.00
SEMINAR Entrance Fees:	154.00
Irmeline Veit Brause	20.00
Roderick Skinner	25.00
John Palmer	55.00
Reiner Pommerin	5.00
David Coombes	27.00
Claus Leggewie	22.00
INTEREST on cheque account:	45.19
TOTAL INCOME:	\$7364.19
Balance currently in bank account:	\$2102.26

*Lilian Topic,
CESAA
Honorary Treasurer,
17 November 1993.*

The Annual General Meeting of the Contemporary European Studies of Australia was held on Wednesday 17 November, 1993 at 6.30pm 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 tabled summarising the association's achievements of the 1993 year. Special mention was made of the association's increasing membership, newsletter, CESAA Register of Contemporary European Studies, essay competition, seminars, occasional papers and March symposium.
3. The Treasurer's report was received.
4. The Vice-President, Walter Veit, announced the winners of the essay competition, "Why is Australia interested in Europe". All winners were congratulated and each awarded a book kindly provided by the European Commission Delegation in Canberra, as well as cash prizes of \$250 for each category donated by the Monash University European Studies Programme, the Monash University European Studies Centre and the Monash University Vice-Chancellors Office.

The winners were:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Lisa Watts | - Best Essay by a Senior High School student |
| Matthew Harvey | - Best Essay by a Postgraduate student |
| Gavin Mount | - Best Essay by an Undergraduate student |
| Kate Duff | - Special Commendation for an undergraduate essay |

5. In the election of office-bearers for 1994 all nominations were unopposed except for the position of post-graduate committee representative. The following positions were accordingly declared filled:

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| President | - Philomena Murray |
| Vice-President | - Walter Veit |
| Secretary | - Andrew Newton |
| Treasurer | - Lilian Topic |

Committee

- Tom Behan
- Geoff Green
- Peter Lawler
- Kaye Nolan
- Anne Seitz
- Geoff Spenceley
- Irmeline Veit-Brause
- Carolyn O'Brien (Postgraduate Student Rep)
- Kate Duff (Undergraduate Student Rep)

With Business concluded those present listened to a talk by the visiting Director ad personam, European Parliament, Directorate General for Research, Alfredo di Stefano, titled "Has the European Community a Social Conscience".

*Andrew Newton (Secretary) CESAA
November 1993*

Books and journals

European Studies Journal

There is a Special Issue of the Journal of European Studies just published, which consists of the papers of a conference held in Sydney, sponsored by the Goethe Institut and the University of New South Wales, in 1991. It is entitled "United Germany and Europe: Towards 1990 and Beyond" and it is edited by Prof. Bernd Hüppauf, formerly of the University of New South Wales and now at New York University. Articles deal with issues such as German Unification, the historical dimension, Germany in Europe, the collapse of the GDR, Women under changing Conditions and Literary Reflections. There are 339 pages in this substantial volume and it is available from:

Reinhold K. Bubser, Editor,
European Studies Journal,
Dept. of Modern Languages,
University of Northern Iowa,
Cedar Falls,
Iowa 50614-0504,
USA.

Whither - or wither - the European Community?

by Philomena Murray

Monograph published by the Australian Institute of International Affairs (Victorian Branch) and the School of Australian and International Studies, Deakin University. 18 pages.

Five years ago, the European Community (EC) had set its agenda very clearly. It had made provisions to become the largest frontier-free market in the world. It had just enlarged its membership to twelve countries, taking in Spain and Portugal. The Community's leaders had signed the Single European Act, with provisions to establish the Single Internal Market, common to those twelve countries. The Community was becoming the largest economic bloc in the world, accounting for 20 per cent of the world trade. Its economic success seemed assured and European confidence was high. The era

of 'Euro-optimism' had well and truly arrived. Five years later, in the aftermath of divisive debates about the Maastricht Treaty, the whole European enterprise is causing concern.

In this paper Philomena Murray assesses the problems that have confronted the EC in the early 1990s, as it moves from being an economic community to a political one; its image problems with some of its members' electorates and the pressures on it to enlarge. She concludes by asking: where does the EC go from here?

Dr Philomena Murray is a Senior Lecturer in European politics at the University of Melbourne. She was formerly a member of the Irish diplomatic service, and worked with the Commission of the European Community in Brussels. She is president of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia.

The monograph can be purchased from the AIII.

The Australian Institute of International Affairs is an independent, non profit, non-political organisation which was established as a federal body in 1933 to stimulate and promote interest in, and understanding of, international affairs among its members and the general public, through discussion and publication.

Price: \$5.00 to CESAA Members

Contact AIIA: Dyason House 124
Jolimont Road, East Melbourne, Victoria
3002, Tel: 03 654 7271 Fax 03-654 6605.

Overseas Work Learning Holidays and Adventure Travel

The recently published *Overseas Work Learning Holidays and Adventure Travel* covers a rather wide range of travel styles, but according to one of the authors, the common theme is 'travel that is experiential'. Bryan Havenhand asserts that the nature of travel is changing as the expectations of travellers changes. Many travellers from Western cultures are looking to travel as a means to enrich

their lives rather than to 'blob out' (though this is sometimes necessary).

This 278 page book is a mix of directories and first person accounts, making for an interesting combination. Over 200 organisations are listed providing programs and tours under the title's categories.

There are several chapters under each of the main sections being: working overseas, development and volunteer work, adventure travel, study tours, learning a language overseas and programs for youth and students.

A very useful resource for those looking for travel of a different kind or if you are an advisor to students asking questions of these kinds. Available through your local bookshop (or direct from the publishers, Global Exchange, PO Box 5007, Alphington 3078. Telephone 03 489 2275).

The European Convention on Human Rights

Compliance without Incorporation

by David Kinley, Lecturer in Law,
Australian National University,
Canberra

The book provides a thorough examination of the issues that have contributed to the position of stalemate which the Bill of Rights debate in the UK now occupies. The book highlights the current inadequacies of the case for incorporation of the Convention and argues for an alternative means by which to ensure that the rights it enshrines are more keenly observed. The intractable questions of entrenchment and judicial enforcement of a Bill of Rights are side-stepped as the author describes the need for a means to make accountable the real 'culprits' of the Convention violations in the UK - namely, those in Whitehall and Westminster. Drawing on the related experiences of other countries (including Australia, Canada, France and New Zealand), the author provides a detailed proposal for the introduction of a system of pre-legislative scrutiny of all legislation

for compliance with the Convention. The book concludes with an assessment of how such a scheme might have operated in respect of a number of examples of recent legislation suspected of being in breach of the Convention.

Published July, 1993, 224 pages.

Contents

1. Compliance with the European Convention: Bill of Rights and Pre-legislative scrutiny;
2. Parliament, government and legislation; part I: Pre-legislative Scrutiny: Introductory Arguments; part II: Legislation: passing by Parliament?;
3. Infringement of the European Convention by primary legislation;
4. Infringement of the European Convention by secondary legislation;
5. Examples of pre-legislative scrutiny in other countries;
6. A pre-legislative scrutiny scheme for the United Kingdom: proposals and possibilities;
7. A suggested scrutiny scheme for primary legislation;
8. A suggested scrutiny scheme for secondary legislation;
9. Conclusions;
- * Appendix 1: Table of all UK case found by the European Court of Human Rights to constitute violations of the European Convention on Human Rights.
- * Appendix 2: Selected and abbreviated articles of the European Convention on Human Rights and Protocols Nos 1 and 4.

Copies are immediately available in Australia and can be ordered from:

Professor T D Campbell,
Faculty of Law
Australian National University,
ACT 0200.

Please pay by cheque for \$80 including postage and packing made out to: T D Campbell.

European Urban and Regional Studies A new journal

The following information on the journal European Urban and Regional Studies has been distributed to librarians:

Who could fail to be aware of the growing, and increasingly public, debate about European integration? The economic, social and political changes taking place are shaping the future Europe. Of course, much of what's going on will be of direct relevance to your own field of work.

How will it be different? ... in 5 important ways.

European Focus: EURS aims to offer the fullest geographical coverage of any journal currently available in this field.

Interdisciplinary Approach: No one discipline alone can adequately cover current developments, which is why EURS interprets urban and regional studies in the broadest sense. The journal will offer critical reviews of the full range of issues relevant to this field.

International Authorship: Each issue of EURS will include high quality, refereed articles at the forefront of current theoretical debates - and not just from West European authors.

Policy Reviews: In addition to articles (and book reviews), a unique feature of EURS will be its coverage of new European policies, and reviews of those currently in place, accompanied by commentary from the Editors and other policy specialists.

Setting the Standard: EURS aims to become the leading source of reference for the latest information and debate in all areas of European regional and urban development.

Longman Higher Education Longman House Burnt Mill Harlow Essex CM20 2JF UK Tel (0279) 623212 Fax (0279) 623862.

Articles already lined up for the first issues, include: Martin Osterland: "The

reestablishment of local government in the former GDR"; Professor Costis Hadjimichalis: "Fringes of Europe in transition: a view from the south"; Mick Dunford: "Competition, unequal development and the new interregional order"

As a special introductory offer, you can obtain a copy of Volume 1 (2 issues) completely free of charge. There will be no obligation to subscribe to Volume 2.

To register now for your free copy, simply complete the order form on the enclosed leaflet originally enclosed with this letter. (See your librarian).

Dr David Sadler
Editor, Department of Geography,
University of Durham

The New Europe

Oxford, Blackwell, 1993
by Johnathan Story

CESAA members who are teaching or researching European politics, economic or contemporary history will welcome this edited volume which is up to date and goes beyond the policy-making approach to the issue of European Integration. The book includes chapters on Europe in the global state and market system, the major countries and Europe, changes in World Politics, EC Policy and Diplomacy, Regime and system change (eastern Europe and reforms in the Soviet economy) and redefining Europe. The line up of contributors is impressive, including Elfriede Regelsberger, William Paterson and Geoffrey Edwards as well as Financial Times journalist Ian Davidson. It costs about \$45 in paperback.

Request for Book Reviews or Brief Book Notes

Are there any books you want to let CESAA members know about? If so, please drop me a line at the following address:

Dr. Philomena Murray,
Dept. of Political Science,
University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria 3052.
Fax: 03-344 7906.
email: murray@politics.unimelb.edu.au.

EC Trade and Professional Associations and their information 1994

First Edition ISBN 2 930066 08 3

Contains address, telephone and fax numbers, chairman and contact person, and working languages of some 600 associations.

Comprehensive details of information available from each association.

Names and addresses of each member organisation (some 4500 listed) and, in the majority of cases, telephone and fax numbers.

Three indexes (abbreviation, name of association and keyword) thereby facilitating research and consultation.

Price 4900 BEF from:
EUROCONFIDENTIEL s.a. - BP 54 - B
-1330 Rixensart (Belgium), Tel: +32 2
6520284, Fax: +32 2 6530180

Courses and scholarships

Goethe Institute A year in Germany

Would you like to spend a year in Germany?

The following two programs are offered by the PAD (Pädagogischer Austauschdienst):

- * Fremdsprachenassistenten
- * Language Course Scholarships

Fremdsprachenassistenten

Assist teachers of English in secondary schools in Germany. Duration of stay will be approximately from the beginning of September to June/July of the following year. Applications are invited from young teachers and students who have completed their degree (eg BA), preferably in a modern language. Applicants must have sufficient knowledge of German and should not be over the age of 30.

The salary is DM 1 150.- per month, for 12 lessons per week. Schools usually assist in finding reasonably priced accommodation and private tutoring to supplement the income. Successful applicants must meet their own travel expenses.

Applications close December each year.

Lehreraustausch (International Teaching Fellowship)

An Australian teacher of German and a German teacher of English exchange their posts for one Australian school year. They also exchange accommodation, but continue to receive their salary from their existing employer. Exchangees meet their own travel expenses.

Teachers are usually required to teach their native language in their host country, as well as another subject. The PAD matches candidates accordingly.

Applicants need to have a very good knowledge of German, as well as teaching experience, and must hold a full-time

position. Teachers in state schools must apply through their respective department, all other applications should be sent directly to the Goethe-Institut.

Applications close end of May each year.

Further details and applications forms are available from Eva Schulz, Goethe-Institut, Melbourne (03) 510 8838.

Language Course Scholarships

For an eight week language course at a Goethe-Institut in Germany GSD for students currently enrolled in a Diploma of Education course. GSU for full-time students currently enrolled in a German course at university. MS for persons working in key positions in education, or the arts. GDL for teachers of German with a need to upgrade their language skills. Course Dates: November, 1994 to January, 1995 Applications close 15 July 1994

Scholarship LM9 8 January to 11 February, 1995 For a five week seminar and study tour for teachers of German in secondary schools, with a very good knowledge of German. Applications close 15 May 1994

Further details and application forms are available from Eva Schulz at the Goethe-Institut, Melbourne (03) 510 8838.

Teachers please note: State school teachers must apply through their respective department, on the forms and by the deadline required by that department. Teachers in Independent Schools can apply directly to the Goethe-Institut. All scholarships are subject to budget approval.

The European Consortium for Political Research.

The ECPR is one of the most prestigious organisations for academics carrying out research on European issues (not exclusively about the EC by any means). Its members are universities or university departments and it is possible to join from Australia. For example, the Department of Political Science at the University of Melbourne is a member. The main advantage of membership is that members receive the Newsletter with information on member institutions, current research projects and workshops, and also, if one presents a paper at a Workshop, it is not necessary to pay the 250 pounds fee per person which applies for non-members to register for the sessions.

It holds an annual, week-long Joint Session of Workshops in a different European city each year, usually just after Easter, and this year's event will be in Madrid. The ECPR runs about 30 Workshops on different topics, for example, the foreign policy of the European Community, democratic representation and the legitimacy of government in the EC. The workshop papers are available from the ECPR secretariat, and further details on the workshops and on the ECPR are available from:

ECPR,
University of Essex
Wivenhoe Park
Colchester
Essex CO4 3SQ,
England.

Dr. Philomena Murray

European Studies Worldwide

CESAA members may wish to know of activities of associations like CESAA in other part of the world. The following may be of interest:

European University News

There is a publication called European University News, published six times a year by the University Information Section of the European Commission in Brussels, which has details of European Studies, Forthcoming Events, Book reviews and information on Higher Education in Europe as well as a special section for Historians. It has published information about CESAA in the past and we have heard from academics interested in CESAA through this medium. European University News can be obtained free of charge from:

Mme. Jacqueline Lastenouse,
Commission of the
European Communities,
University Information,
Rue de la Loi, 200,
B-1049 Brussels, Belgium.

Italian Association for European Studies

In addition, the Italian equivalent of CESAA now sends me its Newsletter. The Association is called AUSE (Associazione Universitaria di Studi Europei) and you can join for 30,000 Lire per year. The address is:
AUSE,
c/o Centro Studi sulle Comunità Europee,
Via S. Felice, 5,
27100 Pavia, Italy.

Council for European Studies

The US has a Council for European Studies Newsletter. Columbia University's Centre for European Studies produces this very useful European Studies Newsletter regularly, with details of European Studies in the US, forthcoming

conferences, fellowships and awards and publications. The Council's publications include Fellowship Guide to Western Europe, Handbooks on Libraries and Archives in France, Italy and Germany. Membership of the Council for European Studies is US\$15 for students and US\$25 for non-students. You can contact the Council at the following address:

Council for European Studies,
Box 44,
Schermerhorn,
Columbia University,
New York, NY 10027.

As I receive information of European Studies outside of Australia, I will publish details in the Newsletter. If there are issues or associations which you would like to publicise in the Newsletter please send the information to me:

Philomena Murray,
Dept. of Political Science,
University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Victoria 3052.
Fax: 03-344 7906.
email: murray@politics.unimelb.edu.au.

Philomena Murray

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

Chronological summary of items

			1994
Seminar:	Subsidiarity. What is its significance? A view from Europe, post-Maastricht European Community Law Seminar University of Melbourne, Faculty of Law	Melbourne	15th March
Conference:	European Student Fair & European Meeting on Higher Education	Brussels, Belgium	23rd to 26th March
Seminar:	Education and Training: The Case for cooperative and reciprocal relations between Australia and the European Communities	Hawthorn, Vic	29th April
Call for papers:	ECSA-Europe European Community Studies Association Second ECSA World Conference: Federalism, Subsidiarity, and Democracy	Brussels, Belgium	4th to 6th May
Conference:	International European Studies Conference Central Europe: Emerging Business Opportunities Swinburne University of Technology	Hawthorn, Vic	11th to 13th July
Conference:	Institutionalising Europe: Memory, Administration, Power Griffith University	Brisbane, Qld	13th to 15th July
Conference:	Citizenship and National Identity CESAA	Melbourne, Vic	12th August
Conference:	The European Legacy: Towards New Paradigms The International Society for the Study of European Ideas	Graz, Austria	22nd - 27th August
Conference:	Italian Towards 2000: International Conference The role of Italian Studies in Australasian Universities - Prospects for the future	Melbourne, Vic	22-24 September
Seminars:	International Seminar: New Directions in British European Studies	Australia	January 1995

European Community Law Seminar
Subsidiarity:
What is its significance?
A view from Europe,
post-Maastricht.
Professor Dr D. Pieters,
University of Leuven (Belgium)
Tuesday, 15 March, 1994
5.30 to 7.30 pm.
Council Chamber
Law School
The University of Melbourne

A seminar organised jointly by the European Law Interest Group and the Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies. The seminar is free of charge to all those interested in attending.

Professor Pieters has been appointed a Visiting Fellow at the University of Melbourne. He has a special interest in the constitutional and social law aspects of European Community Law. The seminar will analyse the allocation of

power between different levels of decision-making with particular reference to non-economic issues. Professor Saunders will also make some comments on the relevance of subsidiarity for Australia.

There will be a opportunity to meet Professor Pieters over refreshments prior to the talk. They will be served from 5.30 pm.
 Dr Martin Vranken, Convenor,
 European Law Interest Group

Prof Cheryl Saunders,
Director, Centre for Comparative
Constitutional Studies.
Enquiries; Law School,
The University of Melbourne,
Tel 03 3446161 Fax 347 2392.

**European Student Fair & European
Meeting on Higher Education
Brussels
23-26 March 1994**

From the conference organisers:

We are pleased to provide you, as a key decision-maker in your institution, with details of our activities.

You are doubtless aware of the far-reaching changes to be made to the EC Commission's mobility programmes as of 1994. Thanks to the European Student Fair (including the EuroMeeting on Higher Education), you can be among the first to seize the opportunities these new developments will present.

The European Student Fair in Brussels (23-26 March 1994) is the largest event of its kind in higher education, and the place to meet the top international decision-makers in the field of higher education, along with 120,000 students from all over Europe.

Get to grips with the issues behind the reform of the European Commission's mobility programmes by speaking to the officials responsible for designing and running them at the Euro-Meeting on Higher Education!

Raise the profile of your institution with a high-quality and genuinely international student intake!

Full details on the European Student Fair are enclosed. For further information, please call Christine Fisette or a member of her team on +32 2 514 1011 or fax them on +32 2 514 48 18.

I look forward to seeing you in Brussels next March.

Yours sincerely,

Isabella Lenarduzzi
General Manager

In-Medias Division of Reed Exhibitions
Belgium s.a.

Rue del La Caserne 86, B-1000 Brussels
Tel 32-2-514 10 11 Fax 32-2-514 48 18

**Education and Training: The Case
for Cooperative and Reciprocal
Relations between Australia and the
European Communities**

**Friday 29th April
Swinburne University of Technology**

The Commission for the European Communities has provided financial support for a conference to be held on the 29th April 1994 at the Swinburne Conference Centre.

The conference will explore the benefits of such linkages from the perspectives of academics, institutions and government in Australia and the European Union.

Contact: Anne Seitz, Department of Sociology, Swinburne University of Technology, Tel (03) 819 8911

**Commission of the
European Communities
University Information
ECSA-Europe European Community
Studies Association
2nd ECSA-World Conference
Federalism, Subsidiarity
and Democracy
Brussels,
May 4 - 6 1994**

Call for Papers

The papers for this conference are intended to provoke comparative debates and to clarify problems related to the institutional development of the European Community. Papers, based specifically on the EC experiences, have also been invited. Subjects fall within the framework of the following nine specialised groups.

- * The Federal Experience: Historical and Comparative Analyses
- * Economic Constitution I: - Fiscal Federalism; Central Banks, currencies and Economic Convergences

- * Economic Constitution II: - Subsidiarity and the Welfare State, the Public Sector and Subsidiarity
- * Citizenship and Federations: Regions, Nations and Wider Identities.
- * Institutional Structure: Federalism and the Courts
- * Institutional Structures: the Democratic Deficit
- * Implementation of Community Policies and the Principle of Subsidiarity: Comparative Experiences.
- * Integration Theories: Subsidiarity and Federalism
- * External Dimension of Federalism and Subsidiarity

For information contact:

Prof. Malcolm Anderson
c/- Commission of the European Communities
DGX/University Information (Mrs. J. Lastenouse), 200, rue de la Loi (T120 4/12) B - 1049 Brussels
Tel: 32-2-299 9454/299 9293
Fax: 32-2-296 3106

**Institutionalising Europe:
Memory, Administration, Power
Griffith University
13 - 15 July
1994**

A conference entitled Institutionalising Europe: Memory, Administration, Power will take place at Griffith University from 13-15 July 1994. It is to be hosted by the School of Contemporary European Studies at Griffith University in collaboration with The Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia.

The key themes around which we hope to organise discussion are:-

- * Using the past: the politics of memory
- * Manufacturing 'Europe': the social organisation of knowledge
- * Administering composite polities: the EC in historical perspective
- * Preventing violence: the reconstruction of internal and external security

- * Making money: power and identity in European finance and trade
- * Changing party systems: new cleavage, new rules

For more information please contact:
 Dr. David Moss,
 School of Contemporary
 European Studies,
 Griffith University,
 Queensland, 4111
 Fax 07 8757730

**International European Studies
 Conference
 Central Europe:
 Emerging Business Opportunities
 Faculty of Business
 Swinburne University of Technology
 11 - 13 July 1994**

Central Europe now attracts the attention of the business world as a very promising, quickly changing, significant trading and industrial area. With Poland and Hungary having already associate member status of the European Community, and all four countries aiming for full membership within this decade, this region may become both a direct source of profitable business and a strategic bridgehead into Europe for some Australian companies. Benefits may be substantially amplified by the advantageous geographical position of the region, market access to both Western and Eastern Europe, relatively low labour costs, complementarity of numerous Australian and Central European industries and companies as well as incentives for overseas businesses provided by the governments of all those countries.

Renewed interest in European affairs is reflected in this major European Studies Conference, to be run in July 1994 by the Faculty of Business of Swinburne University of Technology, conveniently positioned in the vicinity of the City of Melbourne. Whilst having a very practical business focus and aims, this conference has also the capacity to contribute to the relevant theories of international economic relations and international competitiveness. It will provide for a stimulating encounter between business people, policy makers and academics, whose expertise lies in the domain of international economic relations in general and, in particu-

lar, between four countries of Central Europe and Australia. The conference will:

- * examine new business opportunities for Australian companies that result from the emergence of the new market economies of Czech Republic, Hungary, Republic of Poland and Slovakia,
- * look at cultural, economic, technological and legal obstacles that impede a faster growth of trade and limit the variety and intensity of business contacts between Australia and the four countries,
- * propose solutions to some problems and, perhaps also,
- * lead to further analysis in the theory of international economic relationships and the theory of international competition.

The Conference Program

It is expected that the registration fee for the whole conference inclusive of reception evening, lunches daily, twice daily tea/coffee, conference dinner and conference proceedings will not exceed:

- for university students
A\$ 90 reception evening, conference dinner and conference proceedings excluded
- for full-time academics
A\$ 450 all inclusive or
A\$ 300 exclusive of reception evening and conference dinner,
- for others A\$ 600

The conference fees may be lowered should the registered interest exceed the anticipated level.

All correspondence relating to the Conference should be addressed as follows:

The Conference Committee
 Central Europe:
 Emerging Business Opportunities
 Faculty of Business
 Swinburne University of Technology
 John Street, Hawthorn,
 Vic, 3122 Australia
 Phone: (Int.: + 61 3) 819 8056
 Facsimile: (Int.: + 61 3) 819 0949

"The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms."

**The International Society for the
 Study of European Ideas (ISSEI)
 Graz, Austria.
 22-27 August 1994**

The International Society for the Study of European Ideas (ISSEI) will host its fourth conference in Graz, Austria. The theme of the conference is "The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms." The early registration deadline was **15 December 1993**. For more information, contact: Walter Holbling, Institut f. Amerikanistik, Karl-Franzens-Universität, Korblergasse 20/1, A-80 10 Graz, AUSTRIA; phone +43 316 3802466; fax +43 316 384898; Email, bitnet, holbling@edvzz.unigraz.ada.at; or Ezra Talmor, Department of Philosophy, Haifa University, Mount Carmel, Haifa 31999, ISRAEL; phone +972 3 938 6445; fax +972 3 938 6500.

Italian towards 2000 The role of Italian Studies in Australasian Universities Prospects for the future

**International Conference
 22-24 September 1994
 Victoria University of Technology,
 Melbourne, Victoria, Australia**

Call for offers of papers
 (Deadline 7 March 1994).

Key Speakers: Professor Michael Clyne The future of Italian as a community language in Australia, Professor Tullio De Mauro: The relationship between language and culture in the Italian curriculum, Professor Gianfausto Rosoli: The experience of Italian communities in Europe and the Americas in the eighties - prospects for the future. (Other speakers to be announced).

Offers of papers discussing the role of Italian Studies in the curriculum of Australasian Universities are sought, especially in the following areas:

linguistics; literary studies; trade, business and other professional fields; Inter-

cultural Studies: the Italo-Australian experience; migration, cultural and linguistic maintenance; European and Italian history, politics and Institutions; Italian Language Teaching: issues, goals, and strategies; the secondary/tertiary interface: Italian in Schools and Universities

Papers proposed should be maximum 30 minutes and workshop sessions 90 minutes. Details of Conference Program and speakers will be circulated by the end of March 1994. Papers may be delivered in English or in Italian.

For further information on offers of papers please contact: Ms Nina Bivona Conference Convenor Dept of Humanities PO Box 14428 MCC Melbourne 3000 or Dr Ilma Martinuzzi O'Brien - Office for Research Tel. 03 6884710 or Secretary Department of Humanities Tel 03 688 4167 Facsimile (03) 688 4805 E-mail Nina=Bivona@VUT.edu.au

Victoria University of Technology
Faculty of Arts Department of Humanities

More details of the speakers:

Professor Tullio De Mauro

The relationship between Language and Culture in the Italian Curriculum

Professor De Mauro is the Director of the Department of Linguistic Sciences at Università degli Studi di Roma, "La Sapienza". He is a highly distinguished scholar, with an international reputation. As researcher, author and lecturer, he is highly respected for his studies in the field of the philosophy of language, and linguistics.

In particular, he has dedicated much of his scholarship to documenting the linguistic patrimony of Italy showing the importance of the linguistic diversity which distinguishes Italy. He proposes that understanding linguistic variety and the related histories and traditions is the key to building an Italian cultural unity.

His many publications include: *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* (1963), *Idee e ricerche linguistiche nella cultura ital-*

iana (1980), *Ai margini del linguaggio* (1985), *L'Italia delle Italie* (1987).

The participation of Professor De Mauro for the International Conference will galvanise the attention of the academic community in Australasia and his contribution, as key speaker and discussion facilitator, will be of great interest to all institutions and individuals interested in the diffusion and maintenance of the Italian language.

Availability to other organisations

Victoria University of Technology, through its Faculty of Arts and Department of Humanities, is sponsoring the visit of Professor De Mauro to Australia. He will be in Australia for 2 weeks and will be available to visit other Universities and organisations in other States. Organisations interested in hosting him, as guest speaker, and in contributing to the sponsoring expenses, are urged to contact the Convenor.

Professor Gianfausto Rosoli

The experience of Italian Communities in Europe and the Americas in the eighties - prospects for the future

Professor Rosoli is the Director of Centro Studi Migrazioni-Roma and the Director and Editor of the international journal on migration issues *Studi Emigrazione/ Etudes Migrations*. He is a highly distinguished scholar with an international reputation as researcher, author and lecturer in the fields of migration, human population movement and settlement, intercultural relations, and has pioneered studies on the immigration movements into Italy, during the last decade.

Many Universities with departments in European Studies, Politics, Social Sciences, Centres for Migration and Intercultural Studies, the Bureau of Immigration and Population Research and community organisations will benefit from the opportunity to exchange ideas with Professor Rosoli, in person. He will be in Australia for 30 days and will be able to speak in many forums.

Professor Rosoli has already used his position as editor of the international journal *Studi Emigrazione* to further the Italian-Australian collaboration by publishing many works of Australian scholars helping to develop greater understanding between Italy and Australia.

Among his most recent works, we cite the following:

Un secolo di emigrazione italiana, 1876-1976 (ed) (1978); *Emigrazioni Europee e popolo brasiliano* (ed) (1989); *Colloquium "Multiculturalism, Teaching and Learning"* (1990); *Le politiche migratorie degli anni ottanta* in F. Calvanese (ed) (1990); *Movimenti migratori e nuove forme di carità e di assistenza*, in *Storia della Chiesa* vol. xxiii, (1991)

**The British Council
International Courses and Seminars**

**New Directions in British and
European Studies
Seminar
January 1995**

It was in May 1948 that the British Council held a ten day course at the Melbourne Teachers' College on the novel topic of "British Studies". Ninety Australians participated. It was a great success and the Council received many enquiries about similar courses in the future. Our files do not reveal if further courses did in fact take place. Follow-up activity is now being planned, albeit forty-seven years later!

The British Council is planning to organise in Australia the first of a new series of International Seminars (to cover a wide range of topics, with four per year from 1995-1996), the first being on British and European Studies. This will be held for a week in mid to late January 1995, and further details will be published in the next issue of the newsletter.

For many years The British Council has been organising hugely successful International Courses and Seminars (held mostly in Britain, but occasionally over-

seas, according to demand). Approximately 40 senior Australian professionals a year have travelled to Britain to attend a wide range of seminars in medicine and health; management, finance and law; the arts; education; libraries and information; science and technology; English language and literature, the structure of the European Community, and so on.

Each year the British Council organises sixty of these short seminars, courses and summer schools in Britain. Each seminar is directed by a leading British specialist and is aimed at senior academic and professional people. An average UK seminar attracts twenty-five participants. Speakers are invited from Britain and other countries. Comfortable accommodation is provided and a social and cultural programme is included.

The Director of Studies for the January 1995 Seminar to be held in Australia will be Professor Susan Bassnett of Warwick University's Centre for British and Comparative Cultural Studies. The working title for the residential seminar is:

"New Directions for British and European Studies in the Post-Colonial Environment".

The Seminar will be open to up to 50 applicants from Australia, New Zealand and other South-East Asian and neighbouring countries. Further details can be obtained after April 1st 1994, from Libby Couch, Education Officer, The British Council, 203 New South Head Road, P.O.Box 88, Edgecliff, NSW 2027, Fax:(02) 327 4868.

Preliminary expressions of interest would be welcome immediately in order for the British Council to assess likely demand. Please note this will be a residential seminar. Details of speakers and fees are not yet available.

James R Potts
Director

British and Irish Studies?

QUESTION: what was very conspicuously missing from the excellent but incomplete CESAA Register of Contemporary European Studies Courses?

ANSWER: Details of courses on English literature, British Drama, British Studies, British History (except for one, Course 44). Is Britain EXCLUDED from Australian concepts of European? Is there no ongoing research about Britain to be reported? In the Index of Courses there is much of interest about Italy, Poland, France, Russia and Germany, but next to nothing about Britain, or Ireland

Let's hope that the next edition will include all the courses which must exist about those other European countries which played no small part in the development of Australia!

James R Potts,
Director,
The British Council

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

Membership Form

Please reply to:

Lilian Topic,
Dept. of Political Science,
University of Melbourne,
PARKVILLE, VIC., 3052.
Tel: 344 6565

Name :

Address :

Fax Number :

Telephone Number :

Present position and institution (if applicable) :

Degrees (if appropriate) :

Activities (please tick) :

Teaching ___

Research ___

Other ___

Please describe _____

Courses involved in teaching :

Current research interests :

Other (please specify):
:

Fields (please tick) :

Economics ___

Political Science/Sociology ___

Geography ___

Contemporary ___

Law ___

Languages/Culture ___

History ___

Other (please specify) _____

Your Publications on European issues (title, publisher, year and place of publication). Attach additional information as appropriate.

Please forward with membership fee payable to CESAA to:

Lilian Topic, Dept. of Political Science, University of Melbourne, PARKVILLE, VIC., 3052.

Subscription fees:

Students\Retired\Unwaged:

\$15

2 years

\$25

Individuals:

\$25

2 years

\$45

Institutions:

\$100

2 years

\$170

* Please add \$5 to Overseas memberships to cover mailing costs.

Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia

Register of European Studies in Australia

YOUR NAME

NAME OF INSTITUTION

DEPARTMENT RESPONSIBLE

COORDINATOR/LECTURER IN CHARGE

NAMES OF COURSES TAUGHT

DETAILS OF COURSES: approx 20-25 words per course
(Specify individual lecturers as appropriate)

Please circle as appropriate:

European Law.....	1	European Politics.....	2	European Literature.....	3
European Culture.....	4	European Economics.....	5	European History.....	6
Multidisciplinary.....	7	European Languages.....	8	European Culture.....	9
Other, please specify....	10				

If Undergraduate, please indicate:

FIRST Year.....	1
SECOND Year.....	2
THIRD Year.....	3
FOURTH Year.....	4

LENGTH OF COURSE:

Is this course offered as part of a European Studies programme?

POSTGRADUATE: Please state names of programmes, eg Diploma or Masters

Research on European Studies carried out in your institution:

Title(s) of Research project(s):

Name(s) of researcher(s)/author(s):

Details of project and expected or actual completion date:

Please attach any additional information, brochures etc. as appropriate.

Please return to:

Dr. P. Murray,
Dept of Political Science
University of Melbourne,
Parkville, Vic. 3052.
Fax: 03-3447906