

# EVROPAEVM

## *Review*

**IDEAS  
OF  
EUROPE**

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**Voltaire on  
Europe today**

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**Making the  
Commission  
work better**

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**The view  
from Prague**

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**God and  
the Market**

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**Ian Brownlie on  
the Use of Force**

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**Joschka Fischer on  
Europe's destiny**

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**Paul Flather on  
good networks**

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# The EVROPAEVM Mission



Oxford



Leiden



Bologna



Bonn



Geneva



Paris



Prague

The Europaeum was founded in 1992 as an association of European universities, with a mission to:

- promote excellence in research and teaching collaboration between the Europaeum partners;
- act as an open academic network, linking the Europaeum partners and other universities and bodies in the pursuit of study;
- serve as a resource for the general support and promotion of European studies;
- function independently in the search for new ideas;
- provide opportunities for the joint pursuit of new pan-European initiatives;
- serve as a high level 'think-tank' exploring new ideas and new roles for universities in the new Learning Age;
- provide a 'pool of talent' to carry out research and inquiry into problems and questions confronting Europe today and tomorrow;
- help train and educate future leaders of a new Europe.

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*Je vois avec plaisir qu'il se forme dans l'Europe  
une république immense d'esprits cultivés.  
La lumière se communique de tous les côtés.*

Voltaire

In a letter to Prince Dmitri Alekseevitch Golitsyn  
14 August 1767

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Front cover: *The European Parliament in Strasbourg*  
(Credit: European Parliament)

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Classicists and Science Historians launch Europaeum projects; Human Rights or Constitutional Law?; Umberto Eco to lecture at Oxford; Charles welcomed into Europaeum club; Europaeum Professor of Jewish Studies elected; Lawyers to study e-commerce; Europaeum opts for trust status; a Common Space for intellectuals; Prague unveils Jean Monnet Centre; Next Bonn–Oxford Theology Seminar; First Policy Forum to be launched; Bonn Monitor Group warns on Euro data.

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# From the editor

**T**he Europaeum is a project of our times, of new times. Indeed, given its launch in 1992 before the Internet and email became universal, it was probably slightly ahead of its times. The aim was always to create an intellectual European space for debate and discussion. No wonder that we turned to Voltaire to capture this idea of 'European space'. Indeed I have long felt Voltaire our unofficial patron, alongside our more formal founders in Lord (George) Weidenfeld and Sir Ronnie Grierson). These ideas of Voltaire's Europe are unraveled for us by Haydn Mason in a marvellous article that looks back – and forward – through the great man's eyes.

Continuing this theme, we have a number of articles relating to ideas of the new Europe. We are publishing key extracts from Joska Fischer's recent address in London, following up his widely reported lecture on European Federalism, delivered last year at Humboldt University (where we plan one of our international events in the autumn) and so provocatively reported in the media. We have an important analysis on consensus-building and tension-easing between the European Parliament and the European Commission; an article from the Czech perspective on Enlargement and the Republic's battle to get 'back to Europe'; and an article on historians collaborating across frontiers to discover the real Europe.

As usual, there is all the latest Europaeum news, including our five new research project groups; the involvement of new groups of academics in our activities including Classicists, Theologians, and History of Scientists; a report on one of our summer schools last year on the relations of religion and politics; one of our Lectures – delivered by Ian Brownlie on the use of force in international interventions; and a report on the Oxford-Geneva link scheme, a good example of how the Europaeum boosts multi-lateral links.

We believe Voltaire would have thoroughly approved the Europaeum as an 'enlightened' network, contributing to the Republic of Letters.

Indeed, it is much more than a network, more an association in that its members collaborate together to deliver real activities. But just to make sure, we review some of the ingredients that go up to making a good network. We trust you agree that the Europaeum passes muster.

Paul Flather



# Voltaire on his

It comes as little surprise to find that the *Europaeum* Mission Statement ends with a text by Voltaire, “our unofficial patron”, in Dr Paul Flather’s words. But what, one wonders, would this man, born in 1694, have made of the recent summit meeting in Nice? What would he have thought of majority voting? the national veto? the Euro? further enlargement of the community?

Such questions are, of course, in one sense otiose. As well expect the awakened Rip Van Winkle to make head or tail of a changed world. A unified Europe, in whatever form, would have been unimaginable to an 18th-century Frenchman. The building-blocks in an age of dynastic politics were the nation-states; they were the necessary point of departure. Like Gibbon, amongst many contemporaries, Voltaire saw that a balance of power was essential, precarious though it might be. Indeed, modern Europe was better off with the heterogeneity of its 20 states than had been the unitary world of ancient Rome. Diversity was a bonus: “la jalousie même qui règne entre les peuples modernes, qui excite leur génie et anime leurs travaux, sert encore à élever l’Europe au-dessus de ce qu’elle admirait stérilement dans l’ancien monde” (M.xxiii.252). Enlightened rulers were now on the thrones of Berlin, Sweden, Poland and Russia. The discoveries of “notre grand Newton” had become “le catéchisme de la noblesse de Moscou et de Pétersbourg” (M.xxvii.352). The term “holocaust” was reserved only for past horrors, never to be repeated. In the coming centuries, much would have to happen, before the urgency of a union to prevent definitively another European civil war could become paramount.

From his early days, Voltaire thought in European terms. One of his Jesuit school teachers recalled that already “il pesait dans ses petites balances les grands intérêts de l’Europe”. Before the age of thirty he had made two lengthy visits to the Netherlands. On the second, in 1722, he noted a whole new way of life in Amsterdam, “un paradis terrestre”, opulent, industrious and highly civilised. Voltaire was also forging links with England; these would come to fruition with his visit in 1726, leading to a stay of two and a half years. At the same time, he was making overtures to the government with the aim of getting sent to Vienna. He did not, in fact, succeed in this venture, and he was never to see the Imperial city. But all

**Voltaire would have approved of the *Europaeum*: indeed he is counted as an unofficial Patron. But what would he make of Europe today? HAYDN MASON interprets Voltaire’s Europe and its lessons for us today.**

these initiatives testify to a constant urge, while still young, to discover other countries and their way of life. A letter from Amsterdam characteristically announces: “je vis . . . à la hollandaise et à la française” (D128). This Protean capacity will remain throughout his life. In later years he would write: “J’étais devenu anglais à Londres, je suis allemand en Allemagne”, thanks to his “peau de caméléon” (D5786).

Curiously, Voltaire did not, in fact, travel as widely as this might suggest. He never crossed into Italy (despite wanting to see Rome) or indeed any part of southern Europe; Lyon and Geneva were the furthest points he reached in that direction. But those lands which he did visit, he knew in some depth: not only the Low Countries and England, but also Prussia and Switzerland. As one who spent over 20 years in or near Geneva, he would surely have approved of the new links now being formed by *Europaeum* between that city and Oxford. On top of this, his correspondents and contacts ranged all over Europe; and he was a member of many foreign Academies, from the Royal Society and Edinburgh as far as St Petersburg and a whole clutch of Italian institutions – including, it is interesting to note, the *Accademia di Bologna*.

Of all these links, that with England was the most important and long-lived. His sojourn in this country occurred when he was yet in his early thirties, and at a crucial stage in his intellectual development. He met a wide variety of Britons: “lords, players, merchants priests, whores, poets”, as he whimsically summed it up later (D488). One aspect of his stay deserves particular mention. In the rest of Europe he could converse with ease, since French was the language used by all educated people. But today’s universal tongue, English, was another matter; and yet it had to be learned if Voltaire were to penetrate into English society and culture as he wished. Not only did he master it so well that he was to write countless letters in English in subsequent decades. He came to see the English language as in itself an embodiment of liberty, and a weapon in the defence of philosophical values.

As his *Lettres philosophiques* show, England provided the blueprint for a European civilisation. It was a modern land in its practice of scientific enquiry free of religious oppression, its support for men of letters and thinkers, its promotion of trade, above all in its spirit of tolerance and freedom. The cosmopolitanism which characterises

# Europe and ours



Voltaire's entire outlook on the world derived its basis from the discovery of England.

Did he ever visit Oxford? We know that he travelled to Blenheim Palace, so he must surely have gone through the city. But alas! he does not talk of it, and one must regretfully accept that the University, at the time both clerical and conservative, would have held little attraction for him. If one is to see any influence of Oxford ideas upon Voltaire, it is necessary to go back to one of his great heroes, John Locke, who had in a previous generation taught there.

The same interest in a world outside France shows up in Voltaire's historical work: it includes a large biography, while still quite young, of Charles XII of Sweden, an even more substantial one in later years of Peter the Great and, above all, his world-history *Essai sur les mœurs*, which focusses mainly upon European culture, and the progress



that has been made despite the unremitting background of horrors and follies.

This tale of Voltaire as promoter of Europe could easily turn into a catalogue. More useful is it to ask: What did Europe mean to him? Voltaire's view is simple, and held consistently. For him, Europe is a great confrérie of enlightened minds. But this is a recent phenomenon. After the Fall of Rome, the continent had languished for long in a barbaric state, until at last, in the sixteenth century, "l'Europe voyait naître de beaux jours". But even then, the internecine rivalry between Charles-Quint and François I cast a deep shadow, before the religious wars "souillèrent la fin de ce siècle" (M.xii.219).

Only in Louis XIV's reign did things clearly change for the better. For the Sun King's Court had inaugurated a civility of manners which spread first to England and later everywhere, from St Petersburg to Madrid. So Europe had become, by Voltaire's day, "une espèce de grande république partagée en plusieurs Etats, les uns monarchiques, les autres mixtes, ceux-ci aristocratiques, ceux-là populaires, mais tous correspondant les uns avec les autres". Christian morality had established certain principles common to all: "les nations Européennes ne font point esclaves leurs prisonniers . . . respectent les ambassadeurs de leurs ennemis . . . s'accordent surtout dans la sage politique de tenir entre elles, autant qu'elles peuvent, une balance égale de pouvoir". Therefore, even when at war with each other, nations should continue to trade and negotiate, to circumvent the imperialistic aims of any single power, and to protect the weaker from depredations by the stronger (M.xiv.159).

It was through the efforts of enlightened sages across the continent, few though they have been in number, that Europe has advanced beyond the Roman world in scientific knowledge, promotion of the arts, thriving commerce and affluence. No longer is Paris an uncivilised small town, Amsterdam a marshland, Madrid a desert; no longer does savagery hold sway from the Rhine up to the Gulf of Bothnia (M.xxvii.351). Europe is above all a cultural élite, bound together by the rule of Reason. Its moral base may be Christian, but it is far removed from medieval Christendom. The new norm is secular.

Who are these sages? Pre-eminent among them figure Locke and Newton. So too is Erasmus, the Renaissance humanist (who travelled widely, including to Oxford, Cambridge and Paris) who, greatly daring in a time when heretics were burnt at the stake, dared to make fun of



preposterous superstitions (M.xxv.339–44). The list of past heroes could be extended indefinitely. Amongst his contemporaries, Voltaire sought out in Leiden two great men of science: the physician Boerhaave, and the philosopher 'S-Gravesande, whose classes Voltaire attended at the University of Leiden in 1737.

It scarcely needs stressing how far reality derogated from the European ideal in Voltaire's eyes. Even the most cursory reading of *Candide* makes that abundantly clear. The Seven Years War affected him deeply, not least because it left France humiliated before the victorious British; cosmopolitan attitudes did not exclude an enlightened patriotism. Nor were his views on the international plane always error-free. He thought, for instance, that Catherine's aggressive policies towards Poland and Turkey were based on a desire to import Enlightenment values into those countries.

*N'empêche*. The only way forward, faltering though it might be, was through the pursuit of rationality, tolerance and emancipation from prejudice. René Pomeau, the leading Voltairean of our time, espoused this same belief in intelligence and work, the sole remedies to the ravages of war, plague, natural disasters; his wide-ranging account of the Enlightenment, *L'Europe des Lumières*, is itself a political programme as well as a history. And it is this same ideal, the shared pursuits of scholarship and understanding each other's views, which underlies the ever-expanding activities of the Europaeum Mission.



The young Voltaire as depicted by de la Tour (Musée de Versailles)

So there can be little doubt that Voltaire would have reacted positively to this European project. It would have appealed to him on every level: the re-establishment of a "République des lettres"; the sense of widening frontiers; the new technology. As a populariser, ever keen to direct public opinion and defend embattled causes, he would have been delighted by the resources opened up by e-mail and the Internet in providing the instant exchange of views. They would have been ready allies in sustaining the energy and commitment of this ceaseless activist for the rule of Reason.

One can easily imagine Voltaire writing today, as he did in 1767: "Je vois avec plaisir qu'il se forme dans l'Europe une république immense d'esprits cultivés" (D14363).

Haydn Mason, currently General Editor of the Voltaire *Complete Works* being published by the Voltaire Foundation, was formerly Editor of the review *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century* (1977–95), and President of the International Society for Eighteenth – Century Studies (1991–95). He is the author of several books on French literature and society.

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# Vf

The **Voltaire Foundation** was established at Oxford University in 1976 by a bequest from Theodore Besterman to promote scholarship on Voltaire and the 18th Century in general. Its keynote project is the *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*. It publishes *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century*, available on subscription. The VF is also providing students of the period with innovative ways of accessing and using its scholarly resources, including *Voltaire électronique* (a fully searchable database of Voltaire's works on CD-ROM). Work is underway on a database of the complete correspondences of Voltaire and Rousseau. The **Voltaire Foundation** is open to collaborative projects on the 18th century. For more information please visit: [www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk](http://www.voltaire.ox.ac.uk).



What price peace? A Europaeum team is studying the Balkans

One of the Europaeum's underlying goals has been the promotion of new collaborative research across the association. Following the launch of the new scheme, an Advisory Panel considered a first round of applications last autumn, leading to the award of grants to five research groups. The grants will contribute to the development of these collaborative research projects, and assist the groups to secure further funding both through the Europaeum and from other sources.

Following on from these awards, further applications for funding will be considered twice a year, with annual deadlines of 1st March and 1st September. The projects ranged widely in terms of subject matter and academic discipline, as follows:

■ **The Kosovo Stability Pact and the future of the Balkans**

Co-ordinated by Professor Michael Kaser (Oxford), and linking in researchers from all seven Europaeum institutions, this group aims to synthesize research from across a number of disciplines aimed at exposing and analysing the heterogeneities and communalities existent in South East Europe. At both domestic and cross-border levels, this pan-European initiative will focus on nine specific themes including conflict, intolerance, socio-linguistics, law, social inter-relations, demographic trends, regional demographic geography, transport and physical topography, and political heritage. The project will throw light on the Balkans crisis and contribute

**In the first round of the recently launched Europaeum Research Project Groups scheme, five collaborative research projects have received grants**

to the discussions centred on the Kosovo Stability Pact.

■ **Unilateral Action without Security Council authorisation but within the Framework of Collective Security**

Examining the phenomenon of 'unilateral acts' and 'unilateralism', this project, aims to investigate in particular the extent to which such actions are a serious threat to the international system, or whether they are the indispensable vehicle for humanitarian intervention where normal methods of enforcement have failed. This research group is co-ordinated by Professor Guy Goodwin-Gill (Oxford) and Professor Vera Gowlland-Debbas (Geneva).

■ **Financial integration and the future of the International Monetary System**

Co-ordinated by Professor Giorgio Basevi (Bologna) and Professor Hubert Kempf (Paris), this research group also links in academics from both Oxford and Prague. The project is assessing the functioning of the Euro and the European Monetary System at both the rhetorical and empirical levels; contributing to the understanding of the process of financial integration underway in Europe; and to the analysis of currency consolidation processes at the world level.

■ **The Churches and the Family in Western European Society**

Following on from the *Church as Politeia* Summer School in Oxford, and linked to the ongoing development of a joint Theology teaching programme between Oxford and Bonn, a research project

# Five research project groups win awards

initiated by Reverend Professor O. M. T. O'Donovan (Oxford) is bringing together moral theologians from major Christian churches in Western Europe (Anglican, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed) to create a common orientation for valuing the family and facing the challenges and changes affecting family life today. The project has a conceptual and theological component, alongside a component looking at problems and opportunities, and will operate through three-day annual meetings over the next three years.

■ **European identity: Reason, Science and Law**

A multidisciplinary research project co-ordinated by Professor Grahame Lock (Oxford/Leiden), the project aims to provide a multi-faceted approach to the problem of European identity rooted broadly in philosophical research, but drawing on History, Law, Science and so on. Linking Oxford, Bologna, Leiden and Prague, this project is developing some of the ideas raised by Husserl in his 1935 lecture on the Crisis of European Humanity and Europe with his notion of an elite Europe of intellectuals.

Professor David Marquand, Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford and Chairman of the Oxford Europaeum Committee said: "We are delighted to have launched these five research groups, and we hope future rounds of awards will continue to stimulate new, internationally based, research, within, but not exclusive to, the Europaeum academic community." Future bids from interested groups of researchers should be sent at any time to the Europaeum Secretariat for consideration in the next round of awards.

Details and Guidelines for the scheme can be found on the web at <http://www.europaeum.org/erpg.shtml>



# The City of God in the

2000 years after the birth of Jesus, academics from the US, Germany and Britain met to discuss the political self-understanding of Christianity. Europaeum students attended too, as HOLGER ZABOROWSKI reports.

What are the political implications of Christianity? Does Christianity essentially transcend the borders of any particular society? Is there a political theology that is characteristic of Christianity? How can the political claim of the Christian church be made known in a time when relations between church and state have increasingly become problematic? How is the church, as a political community, to be characterised accordingly? For, according to philosopher Carl Schmitt, the political is the total, and even a negative answer presupposes a political dimension of Christianity and thus of Christian theology. The millennium year provided the inspiration to review historically the political dimensions of the Christian churches without overlooking the presence of the contemporary challenges posed to Christianity.

So it was that British, American and German academics met to examine the political implications of Christianity at a conference of the Becket Institute at St Hugh's College, Oxford from September 28th to October 1st last year. The conference *Church as Politeia: The Political Self-Understanding of Christianity* was also linked to a Europaeum Summer School, attended by students from Bonn, Prague and Oxford. The students were given the chance to fully participate in the programme of the conference and

received additional tutoring by Andrew Goddard, a member of the Oxford Faculty of Theology.

This was an international, interdisciplinary and inter-denominational event with Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Anglicans interpreting the political rôle of their churches in their respective ways, while also debating the views brought forward by their colleagues. The question of how church and state are to be related and how the political self-understanding of Christianity is to be understood, was thus answered in distinctly different ways.

The selected topics represented a cross-section through the main epochs of Christian history, from the Patristic Period and the canon law of the first millennium via the high Middle Ages, the Reformation, the Council of Trent to the ecclesiology of German Idealism, and finally contemporary

issues of the relationship between church and state.

Thus, many controversial issues were raised during the event between the various Christian denominations, such as how church and state can cooperate in a way that does not force the church to undersell itself and thus to betray its mission, and how are the Christian notions of God and of Man related to each other. Indeed, these issues were also debated within the denominational groups themselves.

An early question for the conference was how to formulate the challenges of modernity to Christianity. Eilert Herms, a Systematic Theologian from the University of Tübingen, outlined the tendencies of post-modern societies against which the message of Christianity needs to be reconceptualised and justified. According to Herms, the tendency of the economy to subject more and more areas of life to itself,

## OXFORD THEOLOGY SUMMER SCHOOL

*'Both the conference and the summer school were certainly an experience for which I cannot be grateful enough. Several professors advised me to regard all papers and discussions, in fact, the entire weekend as a pleasant change from student life. That is what I did, especially with the conference being an ideal synthesis of my own two areas of study, Protestant Theology and English. This weekend has truly broadened my horizons.*

*This tutorial structure for the Summer School – I was with a student from Prague – is quite an experience for a German student, who is not used to such forms of private teaching. In the tutorials, we took up themes from the conference, and we had many lively discussions about the future relationship between the church and the state, with special reference of course to Great Britain, Germany, and the Czech Republic.*

*The sixteen papers presented by English and German-speaking professors examined this relationship with regard to exegetical, historical, systematic, practical-theological, philosophical, juridical, political, and sociological issues.*

*Against the charming background of Oxford, and in the pleasant atmosphere of Harris Manchester College, I became witness of an academic discourse which had been unknown to me until then. I was especially impressed by the fruitful cooperation amongst Catholics, Protestants, and Anglicans. Happy the student who is given the chance to learn in such an environment!*

*Thus, I can only conclude by thanking everyone for allowing me this experience, and by appealing to all professors of the Europaeum to nominate more students in future for such summer schools.'*

Barbara Tonn, University of Bonn

# age of the market



poses a particular challenge to Christian theology. The churches, Herms argued, have to emphasise the Christian understanding of human beings as created beings, against the tendency to make the market into the paradigm for understanding humanity and social and political interactions between human beings. Human beings as ‘created beings’ are neither merely consumers, nor merely citizens. Christianity thus questions a totalitarian claim of the state as well as one of the market.

Henry Mayr-Harting, Regius Professor for Ecclesiastical History at Oxford University, analysed the common roots of the different Western European ways to conceptualise the relation between politics and Christianity. His interpretation of Charlemagne and his influence made clear that the Christian churches subsequently defined their political significance either ‘with’ or ‘over’ against the decisions made by Charlemagne and his contemporaries. The church always had to face the danger of being ‘instrumentalised’ by the state. Likewise, the secular powers were in danger of being instrumentalised by the church. The Christian church thus had to define its place between the political functionalisation of Christianity and theocratic tendencies. It had to define its relation to political power without neglecting the fact that the City of God is, essentially, not of this world – no simple task.

In the formative centuries of Christian history, the Eastern and the Western churches accentuated differently the political rôle of Christianity, and the character of the earthly pilgrimage of Christians. Thus John Chrysostom, bishop of Antioch, exercised political influence as an ascetic reformer, and was involved actively in political intrigues, argued Stephan

Kessler, church historian of the University of Freiburg. Chrysostom also defended the idea of a church that was organised according to monkish ideals. The church was thus interpreted as the sign of salvation for the world. In contrast, Thomas Aquinas distinguished sharply between secular and spiritual power and made this distinction the basis of his political ethics, as Eberhard Schockenhoff, Professor of Moral Theology at the University of Freiburg, emphasised.

How the Christian churches went on to define their relation to the secular power in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation period was the subject of papers presented by the systematician Georg Pflieger of the University of Basel, and by the political scientist, Armin Adam, of the University of Munich. While the former focused upon the Lutheran confessional writings, the latter examined the Council of Trent. Pflieger and Adam examined the way the 16th century developed political and theological solutions to define the relation between church and state. These solutions, the subsequent discussion underlined, still determine contemporary issues, though in an often problematic way.

Christoph Stumpf, a research student at Oxford, compared the political theologies of the Anglican theologian Richard Hooker with that of the Dutch lawyer Hugo Grotius, arguing that both concepts aimed at emancipating the Church in relation to the state, while at the same time synthesising the spiritual community of the Church with the



The Pope ‘crowns’ Charlemagne Holy Roman Emperor

civil community of the state. The lawyer Heinrich de Wall, of the University of Halle-Wittenberg, focused upon the theories on the relationship between the Church and the state that were developed within Protestantism in early modernity. Roman Catholic canon law developed the ecclesiological crucial idea that both church and state are ‘perfect societies’ with their own respective legislation. This theory was contrasted with the so-called territorialistic theory, which subjects the church legally to the state, and fails to distinguish strictly between secular power and power over the church, as de Wall argued on the same theme.

The Oxford theologian Bernd Wannewetsch examined the way in which the church is a *polis* in its liturgical life and refers critically to the secular *polis* by undermining the claim of the secular. Similarly, Oliver O’Donovan, Regius Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at Oxford, argued that the Christian understanding of Man and the political is different from merely secular



approaches to it. Thus forgiveness, O'Donovan's argument goes, can only be understood fully against the background of Christianity.

The theologians Albert-Peter Rethmann and Thomas Schlag discussed the question of how the church can convey its message in a pluralist and liberal society. Rethmann, a Catholic theologian of the University of Passau, examined the role of the Second Vatican Council for Catholic Social Teaching. The Protestant theologian Schlag, of the University of Tübingen, analysed way in which the German Protestant Church understands itself theologically in the modern society, and how it aims to convey Christian values in a society which is decreasingly influenced by Christian ideas. In discussion it was noted as to how the Church can still remember the political implications of



Martin Luther and Pope John Paul II: politics was also their sphere.

Christianity by exercising an influence upon the modern society's way of finding and conveying values.

The conference, including the summer school, represented a conversation between past and present, in a time in which the relation between church and state becomes more problematic, in particular in the UK and in Germany, and in which Christian political theology and its implications are again central to Christian thought. This conversation, however, can only be understood properly as oriented towards a future which is not made

by human beings. Against any totalitarian claim, many participants maintained, the *polis* church bears witness to a peace that transcends the political and the economic, and to a forgiveness which questions and undermines the secular.

*Church as Politeia* also involved recalling many key events of European history and the contemporary efforts to preserve Christian identity in a pluralist society. Thus, the conference also dealt with the identity of Europe and Christianity at the beginning of the third millennium – Europe in between secularisation and Christian heritage. This is a heritage that remains a mandate to the Christian churches of today.

Holger Zaborowski, a research student at Oxford now studying in Washington DC, participated in the Conference.

## Europaeum Scholarships 2001–2002

### One-year Graduate Diploma in Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford

Up to six scholarships will be available in 2001–2002 to enable graduates from other universities within the Europaeum (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Universiteit Leiden, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Institut Universitaire de Hautes Etudes Internationales, Genève. and Univerzita Karlova V Praha) to study for the one-year Oxford University *Diploma in Jewish Studies*.

The Diploma course is administered by the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies. The Centre teaches the entire *Diploma in Jewish Studies* course. The course is intensive and based on small classes: seminars and close faculty-student contact. Accommodation is provided at the Centre's Yarnton Manor estate.

The award will cover all tuition fees and accommodation on the Yarnton Manor estate. Students must provide for their own maintenance and travel expenses.

To be eligible for the award of a scholarship a candidate must:

(a) be recommended to the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies by their own university;

- (b) hold a first degree of an equivalent standard to at least a British upper second class Honours degree;
- (c) show a high level of English proficiency. Except for those candidates whose higher education has been conducted in English, score of 8.0 in the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test is a normal requirement for admission, and individual scores of at least 7.5 must be achieved in reading and writing. Candidates with a slightly lower overall score may be considered;
- (d) be registered for a postgraduate degree in the area of European studies at another Europaeum institution.

Up to three candidates may be nominated by each Europaeum institution. Nominated applicants should complete the application form for admission to the *Diploma in Jewish Studies* by 31 August 2001. Subject to their acceptance for the course of study, the Centre would seek to award a scholarship to at least one candidate from each institution.

For more information see <http://www.europaeum.org/schjs.shtml>.



# Good networking for universities

**Network fever seems to be all the rage in this age of globalisation. But how do you get the best out of your network? PAUL FLATHER offers a reappraisal for positive university networking.**

There is a powerful scene in Verdi's opera *Forza del Destino* when the protagonists and would-be lovers and partners, Leonora and Don Alvara, suddenly discover that they have been technically neighbours for five years, one in a monastery, the other in a nearby nunnery, while each thought the other lost for good. They would surely have found each other much earlier if they had had better networks and, perhaps, all the tragedy could have been avoided (not good opera, though, I grant you!).

Communication is the buzzword of our age. It was not so long ago that the facsimile machine burst upon our lives. Today we struggle to imagine life without email, the Internet, the mobile telephone and, now, text messaging. Communication with our fellow human beings has never been easier or offered in more diverse ways.

Moreover, such interaction with our fellow men and women determines how we operate as socialised beings, according to philosophers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists. To quote Montaigne: "There is no pleasure to me without communication; there is not so much as a sprightly thought that comes into my mind but I grieve that I have no one to tell it to." Relations with our family, our friends, our colleagues, our peers, make us and define us. In short, man is a social animal that evolves and develops by forming contacts.

A collection of such contacts, of course, becomes a 'network' and such networks are useful, even essential, as we can all testify. Family networks can provide emotional, or economic bulwarks for individuals; social networks can aid a whole range of routine tasks from delivery of children to school to choosing a pension. We build networks through our professional work, economic status, gender class base, ethnicity, religious and political beliefs, and so on. Networking helps us to acquire knowledge, share experiences, make money, acquire status, and countless other functions. In short, communication is the foundation of society, of our humanity, of our own identity, and our economic activity.

This article focuses on academic networks, particularly the more formal networks built up between different university institutions, between individual departments and

professors, particularly across international boundaries. One can trace the forerunners of modern academic networking in the famous *peregrando academia*, the wandering scholars, who set out to travel from one university institution to the next, seeking as well as spreading learning. These were surely the pioneers of our modern networks, who needed to travel to broaden their intellectual horizons and make personal contact with the leading minds of the day. Knowledge, they knew, was not – and should not – be confined to particular institutions or countries.

Today, the arguments in favour of such academic networking are even stronger, aided of course by jet travel, new technology and the web. In those days it was still possible for, say, Newton and Leibnitz to work separately on important developments in physics without, as we believe, knowing about each other's work. Now it is inconceivable for a top science team to work in ignorance from another research team working in the same field, even if they are working independently. Indeed, it is argued by some that to make a serious intellectual research breakthrough today, more often than not, requires academic collaboration across international boundaries and often across intellectual disciplines too.

With the internet opening access to information wherever scholars happen to be based, and providing the wherewithal to share complex knowledge and information rapidly with particular individuals, departments and groups, it is hard to constrain information and knowledge flows. The case for networking today is therefore fuelled by a new pressure, the very need to link groups of specialist researchers that can work together to make the best use of the mass of shared and available information.

There have been other catalysts for networking. As countries have clubbed together in *blocs*, so their universities have been encouraged to build bridges, and to create international links and networks. This has been happening all over the world, though perhaps it was promoted most notably within the EU bloc in the 1990s, reflecting the spirit of European integration. Such has been the funding of programmes and initiatives promoting networks, particularly with the arrival of the internet, some claim this has even led to a kind of 'networking fever'. Second, in the age of globalisation and increased mobility, both universities and students have had to adjust to a world employment market: international networks have provided opportunities to broaden curricula and study opportunities. Finally, the era of globalisation has strengthened a commitment to internationalism within universities, a desire to develop links with



colleagues in other countries, for overseas students to experience the culture and values of students from other parts of the world.

Based on the twin forces, the necessity for people to “socialise” through communication, and the increasing access to “knowledge without boundaries”, all these factors have led to a burgeoning of academic networks.

Some have even complained of ‘network fever’, the creation of networks for their own sake, simply because the material conditions are cheap and available, and because communication via the internet has become so fashionable and accessible. A survey by the Conference of European Rectors (CRE) revealed well over 100 busy university networks across Europe, including, for example, Utrecht, Nuffic, Cluster, ECIU, Baltic, Lisle, Universitas 21, and the *Euro-paeum*. Network fever can lead to network fatigue, as you answer another e-mail, fill in another form, perhaps receive another foreign visitor, deal with another unexpected exchange arrival, and prepare for another joint international declaration. So, clearly, there must be a good case for each successful network. Some ideas for a reappraisal for the positive university networking are now explored, beginning with key characteristics for ‘successful’ networking.

- **Purpose:** Most important, a successful network must define its purpose. It could, for example, set as its mission sharing experiences, pooling knowledge, or raising additional funds. Other goals could include defending a tradition such as academic freedom, or a set of values such as tolerance, free association and equal opportunities to study for all; lobbying for the network’s particular interests; working together for financial gain, for example making joint bids for external funding, or running joint international programmes; raising the profile and status of all the individual members of the network in ways which would not be possible if done individually; and working to maintain universities at the heart of society’s cultural, economic, and social development.
- **Style:** There can be several different styles of operation for a successful network. Discussion tends to focus on ‘top-down’ networks versus ‘bottom-up’ operations. In fact, the most successful networks seem to involve both styles, and indeed it is arguable that rarely does a network succeed without somehow borrowing from both styles, the top-down approach providing the institutional support, and the bottom-up approach providing the vital injection of energy and personal ownership of individual projects.
- **Members:** Most networks are set up to include ‘members’. The optimum size of a successful network group should not be

too large, so as to value each member: the actual numbers will vary according to the level of work involved. The members should all be of the same type, i.e. institutional or departmental, and, preferably, of similar academic standing, to help generate a strong and fair sense of partnership. Equally, one must expect to be able to mix up members in order for a network to achieve a particular goal, or allow members to learn from each other.

- **Frontiers:** The geographical reach of a network is a key feature to be considered, even though the Internet provides for the death of distance. While networks do, of course, exist within countries, here we are considering networks crossing frontiers between countries or regions, or over continents, or linking specialists with a region under study. Each network must define its scope, its frontiers. If these are defined by reference to a particular theme, the network may not be so concerned with geographical limits.
- **Duration:** The life of networks should clearly vary according to their stated mission. Thus, they could be created for a certain fixed period, for example focused on a single project goal or a particular research “bid” or programme, or on achieving a common teaching goal. There are clear advantages in this as it gives a sense of finality to the amount of energy and commitment required from individuals involved in the network. Alternatively, a network could be established as an *ad hoc body*, becoming active or ‘live’ in response to particular goals. Some networks, though, are perceived as indefinite, or certainly long term.

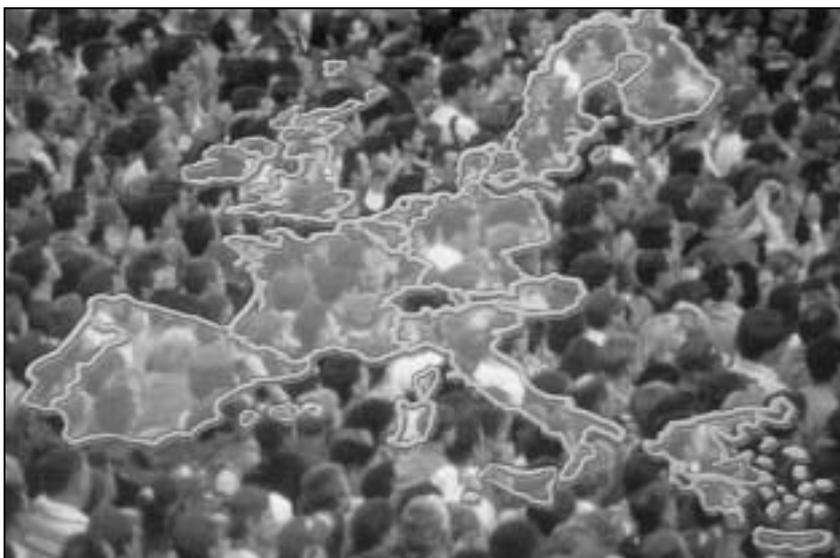
It is now time to offer a few Golden Rules for sound networking (borrowing a few guiding principles from the likes of Adam Smith, Jurgen Habermas and Josef Schumpeter).

## 1

Every good university network should have its **own agreed mission statement**, encompassing aims and objectives, types and range of membership, geographical scope, academic themes of special interest. The mission should also indicate likely duration and style of operation for best results. But networks do evolve, and mission statements should allow for development over time, and with experience.

## 2

Good networks must always **reflect and even add to the existing mission of your own university**. Overall, successful networks reflect the underlying joint aims and mission of all the members. But from your point of view, a useful network must clearly reflect your own institutional aims and ambitions, and not take an institution into uncharted territories. Good networks must also add to the achievement of your mission and the goals of your university by widening your theatre of operation or extent of partnerships, or levels of achievement.



All good networks ultimately depend on dynamic people

### 3

Good international networks should also **reflect wide humanistic goals** of promoting international understanding, cooperation and all-round development. A network that simply reflects the narrow institutional aims of individual universities, and somehow undermines or ignores these wider goals, cannot, in fairness, be deemed a 'good network', and, in any case, all universities do aim to share these wider humanistic goals.

### 4

Good networks must engender a **consensus approach** amongst their members, with regard to goals, and project development and management. This requires mechanisms and structures that allow open consultation and participation in decision-making and decision-taking. These should be clear, simple, and never overly bureaucratic, and the Internet provides a virtual way to achieve this.

### 5

Good networks should involve **institutional support** both from the top (*top-down*) and generated from below (*bottom-up*) – as neither approach usually works well alone. The 'bottom-up' approach allows individual 'ownership' of projects – but needs the endorsement of senior management, who must be content it fits in with an institutional plan. (For example, there is little use developing links with Latin America because of a strong personal academic push, if the University as a whole aims to specialise in relations with Africa.) The 'top-down' approach ties in the senior managers – but must allow space for individuals to 'create' working projects.

### 6

Networks only really flourish with **active communication**, that is engagement in debate, exchanging intellectual ideas, participation in debate, and, ultimately, live interaction between participants, what the German sociologist, Habermas, called *communicative action*. This is much more than mere communication, much more networking in the simple and more common sense of linking up individuals via the Internet. Participants must meet, engage, and like each other.

### 7

Good networks **depend on individuals** and so must **adopt a client approach**. The dynamo for successful networking remains the



individual departments and individual advocates. All the evidence suggests that without this, there are no building blocks around which academic partnerships can flourish, giving coherence and durability to a successful network. Successful networks therefore must identify the likely needs and benefits for participating individuals, students and faculty, senior managers and benefactors. These must be well presented, updated regularly, and reinforced at all times.

### 8

Good networks depend on **good quality inputs**, which in turn lead to good quality outputs. This requires commitment on behalf of the key participants, to deliver what is expected of them and what they have pledged to do, and within the agreed timescale, not always a characteristic of academic life. Such responsible participation is all the more important given the lack of sanctions involved in networking, and the interdependency of members for successful outputs.

### 9

Overall **cost-benefit analysis** is most valuable. Benefits in terms of, say, new grants, exposure to new ideas and new values, internationalism and successful lobbying, can be set against such costs, as time spent, travel, language obstacles, misunderstandings, varying expectations and abilities, etc. This is not easy, especially as any such assessment must be done carefully to include so-called invisible earnings. The full benefits will not be measurable, (even if the Rector or Director of Finance so require it!) by a simple balance sheet approach. Invisible earnings, in terms of talks, meetings, connections and pooling of knowledge, will need to be included, along with benefits of *informal networking*. (For example, in the margins of a recent European Studies international conference, I explored new Classics exchange and links with non-English-speaking African countries in the *Maghreb*.) The balance sheet will also need to be reckoned.

### 10

Good networks must **have the ability to sustain themselves** – and to do so without the need for continuous 'fresh capital'. This means the benefits, in the fullest sense mentioned above, must provide the momentum and energy for the network both to continue and to thrive. All networks, therefore, need to develop mechanisms that allow for self assessment, based on comparing the aims against the achievements, and deciding whether they are being met in a sustainable way.

All these will help chart a course, en route to the good network. Perhaps one should add, finally, that it is important that while we engage on all our various networking journeys, we should also make sure we have some networking fun.

Dr. Paul Flather was Oxford University's representative on the Coimbra Group for five years. He now runs the Europaeum network.



# Oxford and Geneva deepen links

The past year has seen a flourishing of academic links between Oxford and Geneva.

PAUL FLATHER reports.

Academics have been shuffling in greater numbers between Oxford and Geneva's Graduate Institute for International Relations over the past year in pursuit of academic collaboration, thanks to a generous gift to the Europaeum by M. Pierre Keller to strengthen links specifically between the two institutions.

Of course, links between Oxford and Geneva go back a long time. Voltaire shuttled between the two Oxford and Geneva in the 18th Century (see pages 2–3), while another unusual link came in the original statutory duties of the holders of the Montague Burton Chair of International Relations at Oxford, currently Professor Adam Roberts, to spend some time each year in Geneva 'studying the latest workings of the League of Nations'. More recently, one can discern a dramatic link in the invention of the Internet, carried out at the European Particle Physics Laboratory at CERN in Geneva, by an Oxford graduate, Tim Berners-Lee.

The Europaeum Oxford-Geneva Link Programme, for its part, has several facets – including a student bursary scheme, a Europaeum Lecture series, a new research project group stimulated by the Europaeum small grants scheme, and joint teaching links.

The scheme was, in fact, launched at an international Europaeum conference on the *Limits to Europe* held at the Institute in 1996, examining relations between identity formation and various exclusion processes at work in the European context. The focus was on the apparent trade-off between exclu-

sion and dilution. A follow-up five years on is being considered.

The student bursary exchange scheme, which provides for an Oxford graduate to spend time in Geneva, and a Geneva student to spend time in Oxford, was launched last October. The Oxford student, Anne Hammerstad, has completed of a semester of study at the Graduate Institute. She comes from Norway, previously studied at Oslo University and the London School of Economics, and is in her third year of an Oxford D.Phil. degree in International Studies. Her topic is the evolution of a security discourse in UNHCR and its impact on refugee policies and practice with particular reference to Bosnia-Herzegovina and

**It is hoped that over the coming years, ties will also deepen between historians, economists and social policy specialists.**

Kosovo. In addition to attending lectures and seminars at the Institute, she has been able to interview staff at the nearby UNHCR Headquarters and to make use of their documentation centre and library. She also had the opportunity to present a paper to the *International Security Forum*. The student from Geneva is also working in the area of international relations, and is spending two terms in Oxford undertaking research towards his Ph.D on the effect of the media on national security decision-making. Applications are currently being considered for the second year of this scheme (see the website for details).

The first of the Europaeum Lectures was a tour de force given by Ian Bownlie, a former Chichele Professor of



Professor Peter Tschopp (left) greets Ian Brownlie as he prepares to deliver his Europaeum Lecture

International Relations at All Souls College, Oxford, who has now returned to full time practice, on the *Use of Force* (see full report, page 13). The second in this Oxford-Geneva series is to be given by Professor Philippe Burrin, the distinguished HEI historian, in Oxford on May 16th on *Aspects of Nazi Anti-Semitism*. Further lecturers will take place next year and the year later.

One key to the relationship has been the roles played by Professors Guy Goodwin Gill and Vera Gowlland-Debbas who together are collaborating in a project research group looking at unilateral interventions carried out without UN authorisation but within the framework of collective security. They have also been collaborating on a teaching programme in the International Protection of Refugees, which proved popular, with more than 50 students participating. They plan to continue this teaching collaboration in 2001–2002. It is hoped that over the coming years, ties will also deepen between historians, economists and social policy specialists.

Professor Peter Tschopp, Director of the HEI, expressed his delight at the way the Europaeum link scheme was working: "The scheme is of course a welcome addition to our range of academic activities, and we would be keen to add to these activities, perhaps with a new visiting professors' scheme. We are very grateful to Mr Keller who has made all this possible."



# Why humanitarian aims do not justify use of force

The NATO allies have claimed humanitarian objectives to justify their armed interventions in the former Yugoslavia. In a major Europeum Lecture delivered in Geneva, IAN BROWNLIE looks at the theoretical arguments for the use of force in such interventions and concludes that the humanitarian justification does not add up.

Professor Brownlie's lecture took as its starting point his own renowned book, *International Law and the Use of Force by States*, which investigates the status of war from ancient civilizations and in early Christian doctrine to the United Nations era. The book gives considerable importance to the 1928 General Treaty for the Renunciation of War, often referred to as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which indicates two elements sponsoring an ambitious doctrine of self-defence. The first is a right to self-defence which exists in customary law formed in the nineteenth century. The second element (discerned from the practice of the period 1928 to 1945) includes the following: the obligation not to have recourse to war for the solution of international controversies; the obligation to settle disputes exclusively by peaceful means; the reservation of the right of self-defence and also of collective self-defence; and the reservation of the obligations of the League of Nations Covenant. These essentials reappear in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter brought into force in 1945.

This raises the questions discussed by Professor Brownlie concerning the formulation 'against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State' and the meaning of the phrase 'armed attack', which had obvious importance in the *Nicaragua v United States of America* case and the recently discontinued proceedings brought by the Congo against Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda.

In his full lecture Professor Brownlie also discussed the four significant sources of turbulence in the period from 1945 until 1990, namely: The alleged right of intervention to protect nationals; hegemonial intervention on the basis of regional arrangements in the absence of Security Council authorization; intervention on the basis of consent of the territorial sovereign; and intervention in the form of assistance to national liberation movements.

I want to review the sources of turbulence which have become prominent in the period since 1990. First, the authorisation of the use of force by individual States, or a group of States, by the Security Council by way of delegated enforcement action. This topic obviously does not feature in the book, although the action in Korea in 1950 was a precursor of this phenomenon. Important as this practice is, as I indicated at the outset, it belongs to the category of Charter interpretation and will not be examined further here.

The second and third sources of turbulence both relate to the category of humanitarian intervention and call for careful formulation. For the present the legal status of such intervention will be left in abeyance. There appear to be two

models. The first of these models is the subject of examination in the book. This is the nineteenth century doctrine of humanitarian intervention which is described in the book as follows:

'By the end of the nineteenth century the majority of publicists admitted that a right of humanitarian intervention (*l'intervention d'humanité*) existed. A state which had abused its sovereignty by brutal and excessively cruel treatment of those within its power, whether nationals or not, was regarded as having made itself liable to action by any state which was prepared to intervene. The action was thus in the nature of a police measure, and no change of sovereignty could result. The doctrine was inherently vague and its protagonists gave it a variety of forms. Some writers restricted it to action to free a nation oppressed by another; some considered its object to be to put an end to crimes and slaughter; some referred to 'tyranny', others to extreme cruelty; some to religious persecution, and, lastly, some confused the issue by considering as lawful intervention in case of feeble government or 'misrule' leading to anarchy.'

At the time the book was published very few experts believed that humanitarian intervention had survived the legal regime created by the UN Charter, and it was not considered to be a significant issue.

The second model is connected with the NATO bombing of targets throughout Yugoslavia for a period of 78 days, commencing on 24 March 1999. There is a preliminary and major difficulty in classifying the action. This is because the authenticity of the subsequent claims that the action had humanitarian motives is substantially undermined by the fact that, beginning in October 1998, the threats of force were linked directly to a political agenda, that is, the acceptance by Yugoslavia of various political 'demands' concerning the status of Kosovo under threat of a massive bombing campaign. This background has been ignored by many commentators.

In any event, it is necessary to examine the justifications offered by the UK and other members of NATO. First of all, there were statements in the House of Commons. The primary characteristic of the statements is the relative absence of reference to specific considerations of public international law.

The statements by Ministers fall into three general categories. The first was the assertion of a legal right to take action "to prevent humanitarian catastrophe". Thus on 1 February 1999, the Foreign Secretary, in reply to a question, made the following statement:

'My Hon. Friend asked also about the legal base for any action. We are clear that we have legal authority for action to prevent humanitarian catastrophe and we are all deeply worried that we shall be looking at just such a catastrophe unless we are able to get a political settlement under way. I stress to my Hon. Friend and to the



House that the proposal that I have outlined this afternoon was welcomed unanimously by the Security Council and that no permanent member disagreed with it.’

Similar statements were made on other occasions.

The second category of statements involves the assertion that military action, or the threat thereof, would be undertaken “in the event of Belgrade not complying with the Contact Group’s demands”. This is a reference to the peace talks at Rambouillet. The third category of statements involves reliance upon Security Council resolutions 1199 and 1203, neither of which legitimates the use of force.

The extent to which international law is being relied upon in these various statements (of all three categories) is difficult to assess. The statement made on 1 February (*supra*) by Mr. Cook refers in clear terms to “the legal base for any action”. On the other hand, the Prime Minister’s major statement on 25 March (the day after the bombing commenced) makes no single reference to legal considerations, and, also on 25 March, Mr. Lloyd, the Minister of State, referred only to “a moral obligation”. The position is complicated further by a continuing tendency to combine the humanitarian theme with the use of force to implement “the Rambouillet Accords”: as in the PM’s statements on 23 March and 13 April, while the bombing continued.

The official position of the UK was set forth in a statement by the Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, on 24 March. The key passages are as follows:

‘Mr. President, In defiance of the international community, President Milosevic has refused to accept the interim political settlement negotiated at Rambouillet; to observe the limits on security force levels agreed on 25 October; and to end the excessive and disproportionate use of force in Kosovo. Because of his failure to meet these demands, we face a humanitarian catastrophe. NATO has been forced to take military action because all other means of preventing a humanitarian catastrophe have been frustrated by Serb behaviour. . . .

The action being taken is legal. It is justified as an exceptional measure to prevent an overwhelming humanitarian catastrophe. Under present circumstances in Kosovo there is convincing evidence that such a catastrophe is imminent. Renewed acts of repression by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would cause further loss of civilian life and would lead to displacement of the civilian population on a large scale and in hostile conditions.

Every means short of force has been tried to avert this situation. In these circumstances, and as an exceptional measure on grounds of overwhelming humanitarian necessity, military intervention is legally justifiable. The force now proposed is directed exclusively to averting a humanitarian catastrophe, and is the minimum judged necessary for that purpose.’

This statement makes the clear assertion that the action is legal but no specific international law source is invoked and, in particular, no reference is made to the UN Charter.

In May 1999 Yugoslavia sued 10 Member States of NATO before the International Court of Justice in respect of the bombing campaign and its consequences, including civilian deaths, injuries and privations, the effect on navigation on the Danube, and damage to the environment. The first procedural development involved a request by Yugoslavia for interim measures of protection. For present purposes the proceedings constitute a further source for official indications as to the legal justification for the air strikes against Yugoslavia.

The Belgian delegation produced the most elaborate essay in justification, presenting the justification in the form of four elements. First: reference is made to Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998) and 1203 (1998). Second: it is asserted that armed humanitarian intervention is compatible with Article 2, paragraph 4, of the United Nations Charter. In this context the Belgian argument is that Article 2, paragraph 4, only applies to interventions directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of the State in question. Third: certain historical episodes are invoked as precedents: the intervention of India in East Pakistan, the intervention of Tanzania in Uganda, and the intervention of West African States in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Fourth: the state of necessity is invoked. Four delegations failed to offer any clear *legal* justification. Five delegations used the formula relating to the existence of a humanitarian catastrophe, though without giving the formula any distinct *legal* underpinnings. Two delegations placed emphasis upon certain Security Council resolutions.

What conclusions are to be drawn from all this? The Governments of the NATO States have been generally consistent in their assertions that the action taken against Yugoslavia was legal. However, the various statements avoid giving any particulars relating to the legal framework. A further difficulty is the emphasis in some of the key Ministerial statements in the House of Commons and in the NATO statement of 24 March on the purpose of forcing the Yugoslav Government to accept the political “demands” of the Contact Group. It is not easy to reconcile the enforcement of the Rambouillet “Proposals” with the humanitarian motivation stressed in other statements.

The phrase “humanitarian catastrophe” is anomalous: why was the more normal phraseology – “humanitarian intervention” – generally avoided? The probable antecedent



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appears to be the reference to “extreme humanitarian need” and “risk of a serious humanitarian emergency” in statements by Mr. Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, in 1992, concerning the air exclusion zone established by the Allies in southern Iraq with the stated purpose of protecting the Shiite population from aerial attacks.

It will be noted that the Government is here espousing a “customary international law principle of humanitarian intervention”. It is very difficult to envisage what practice of States the Government had in mind or which authorities supported this assessment. It may be recalled that it was stated on behalf of the Government that “There is no general doctrine of humanitarian necessity in international law”.

The proponents of humanitarian intervention are distinctly in a minority. More significant, however, is the position in customary international law, which depends upon the practice of States based upon *opinio juris*, that is to say, a belief that the action is in accordance with international law. There can be no doubt that the United Nations Charter can be modified by the congruent practice of the Member States crystallising as a new principle of customary law. But there is a burden of proof upon proponents of a change in the customary law. The central point is the absence of evidence of a change of view by a majority of States. The assertions of legality made by the British and other Governments in relation to the military operations against Yugoslavia were unaccompanied by any convincing particulars of supporting State practice.

The experts who support the legality of humanitarian intervention do not provide even incipiently convincing evidence of State practice in support. Professor Franck refers to the customary law “beginning to take form” (in 1993). Judge Higgins refers to three episodes. The first is the Belgian and French interventions in Stanleyville in 1963. The difficulty with this episode is that the Government in Zaire gave its consent. The second episode invoked is the US’ intervention in Grenada in 1983. This is an odd precedent. Various States, including Canada, had nationals on the island but they were not consulted. The reasons publicly advanced by the United Kingdom Government in relation to Grenada did not include a reference to humanitarian intervention. The Entebbe rescue operation of 1976 is rarely invoked as a precedent. Professor Dinstein places it within the category of self-defence. The

attitude of States generally, as revealed in the Security Council debate at the time, either took the form of criticism on legal grounds or a waiver of the illegality.

In conclusion, there is very little evidence to support assertions that a new principle of customary law legitimating humanitarian intervention has crystallised. And I would refer again to the position taken by 132 States in the New York declaration of 24 September 1999.

Various lawyers, including myself, were invited to make submissions to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Commons on the Kosovo crisis and its conclusion must be recorded. After summarising the opinions of Professor Greenwood, who argued that the right of humanitarian intervention had evolved in the previous ten years, the Committee continued:

‘An entirely contrary view is taken by Professor Brownlie, who provided the Committee with an exhaustive review of the authorities, including jurists of twelve nationalities, three of whom had been President of the International Court of Justice. He concluded that “there is very little evidence to support assertions that a new principle of customary law legitimating humanitarian intervention has crystallised”. Professor Brownlie’s view that the right of humanitarian intervention was at least doubtful was also held by Professor Lowe (who told us that “few lawyers would claim that the ‘right’ is at present clearly established in international law”) and Professor Chinkin (who wrote that she did “not think that state practice is sufficient to conclude definitively that the right to use force for humanitarian reasons has become part of customary international law”). We are persuaded that Professor Greenwood was too ambitious in saying that a new customary right has developed. We conclude that, at the very least, the doctrine of humanitarian intervention has a tenuous basis in current international customary law, and that this renders NATO action legally questionable.’

(*Report*, pp. xlvi–xlix, para. 132).

It is time to move to my concluding observations. There is no use in offering a general summary, but some questions of special sensitivity can be identified. There are three such questions. It is helpful if I point out that the sensitivity resides in the risks entailed in certain types of action, whatever high-flown language is used in order to seek to confer some level of legitimacy on the action concerned.

The first, and surely the most significant, is intervention in civil strife, whether on the side of the lawful government, if identifiable, or otherwise. Such intervention may be classified



as action based upon the request or consent of the State concerned, or may be described as humanitarian intervention, or if the UN is involved, as peace-keeping. Such intervention, whether it is lawful or not, almost always exacerbates internal tensions and conflicts, triggers off new levels of hostility between groups, and makes the recovery of internal legitimacy more difficult. In the worst cases the result is a foreign military occupation which, paradoxically, has the purpose of fostering democracy by the methods of dictatorship.

At this point it is necessary to examine the policy of humanitarian intervention based upon the NATO model. This model involves deliberate intervention in a state, on an ethnic basis, and accompanied by an intention to bring about the fall of the central government. There are major considerations of policy and prudence which militate strongly against the practice of intervention on a unilateral or “allies” basis, in the absence of the authority of the Security Council. It is a practice only available to the strong States or other States acting alongside the powerful.

The principle of self-determination is always a possible source of destabilisation. If it is to be used as a lever to induce secession from outside, the result will be disastrous. This will be particularly the case when intervention takes place in favour of an ethnic group which is distributed across several boundaries. Intervention in one of the relevant States immediately creates a normative parallel for the elements of the group living in the other relevant States.

Intervention in an ethnic context is bound to create or exacerbate the very human rights abuses it is supposed to prevent or terminate. The NATO intervention in Kosovo was blatantly pro-Albanian. Non-Albanians were not seen as potential victims. After the removal of the Yugoslav administration the Albanian group expected the benefits of the victory achieved on their behalf. The victory was seen in exclusively ethnic terms, *but that had been the basis of the intervention*. This perception of a pro-Albanian intervention has been reflected in Albanian conduct since June 1999 in respect of Serbs, Gypsies and other ethnic groups.

There is another dimension to the problem. Humanitarian intervention (as a matter of morality) should involve a short-term operation with the purpose of ending the human rights abuses and improving public order in co-ordination with the lawful Government. The Kosovo intervention was

### With rare exceptions, humanitarian intervention forms part of a political agenda

the culmination of a political agenda intended to *force* Yugoslavia into accepting a regime of autonomy in Kosovo imposed from outside, and also to change the lawful

Government of Yugoslavia as a further political dividend. These aims have been stated publicly on numerous occasions.

In a general historical perspective, little has changed. With rare exceptions, humanitarian intervention forms part of a political agenda and there is no authenticity. That is why separatist movements in Russia, Turkey, Indonesia, and other States, do not receive the assistance of the U.S. Air Force.

The second area of special sensitivity involves the use of missile technology to target the infrastructure of terrorist groups attacking American targets. After the missile attacks on the Sudan and Afghanistan in 1998 the US sent the following letter to the President of the Security Council:

‘These attacks were carried out only repeated efforts to convince the Government of the Sudan and the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to shut these terrorist activities down and to cease their cooperation with the Bin Ladin organization. That organization has issued a series of blatant warnings that “strikes will continue from everywhere” against American targets, and we have convincing evidence that further such attacks were in preparation from these same terrorist facilities. The US, therefore, had no choice but to use armed force to prevent these attacks from continuing. In doing so, the US has acted pursuant to the right of self-defence confirmed by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. The targets struck, and the timing and method of attack used, were carefully designed to minimize risks of collateral damage to civilians and to comply with international law, including the rules of necessity and proportionality.’

At least three levels of difficulty present themselves. First, there are the rule of law problems arising from unilateral fact-finding and from haste leading to error as in the case of the Sudanese target. Secondly, there is the extreme form of self-defence based on damaging infrastructure. And, thirdly, there is the strong impression that reprisal and punishment constituted the real motivation.

The third area of sensitivity takes the form of use of the language of negotiation when, in fact, one side openly resorts to threats of force, which, according to the provisions of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, can only result in a voidable agreement. International diplomacy is developing a language of distortion worthy of the characters in Orwell’s *Ninety-eighty Four*.

© Ian Brownlie 2001: the full lecture is available on the Europaem website. It is to be published shortly.



# Unravelling the tensions inside Europe

**The European Commission is seen as all powerful, rooted in ignorance and prejudice. Here, in extracts from his recent Europeum Lecture JOHN TEMPLE LANG argues this is based on a misunderstanding of a unique institution that can initiate, but not impose, law. He sets out an agenda for the Commission to recover its self-confidence and institutional self-assurance.**

**T**he Commission is **not** a government, nor a civil service. It is neither a secretariat for the Council of Ministers, or the European Parliament. Nor does it act as a committee of representatives of the Member States. It has no power to impose legislation or create new obligations; this can only be done by the Parliament and the Council acting together. When the Commission acts alone, its only power is to apply rules that the other institutions have adopted, or which are enshrined in the Treaties. Its functions are detailed in the box. The populist myth that the Commission is all-powerful is rooted in ignorance and prejudice.

One unsatisfactory aspect of the present situation is that many people, including some MEPs, do not understand how the institutional balance works. This certainly applies to lobbyists and journalists who perhaps have their own reasons for not understanding. The Parliament is involved in legislation and policy-making but should not try to influence the Commission when it is required to act independently.

It is important to stress that although only the Commission can initiate proposals to be adopted by the European Parliament and Council of Ministers, it is expected to develop new policies. It was never intended merely to wait for instructions, even from heads of government. Its job is to try to reach a consensus on the best policy for the EU as a whole. The Commission must take a single coherent view that is more comprehensive than the individual views of member states. Unless the Commission makes suggestions, intergovernmental meetings, at any level, would only be in a position to consider ideas emanating from the national interest of one or more member states. The Commission's role is to reflect the common interest and put forward the best available solution, not simply the common denominator of different national interests.

## Commission and Parliament

There is one striking feature of the present relationship that flows from the Commission's policy-proposing role. The

European Parliament is handicapped. It is a Parliament that cannot initiate legislation. This is an unusual situation that needs to be understood.

The European Parliament, like any other Parliament, acts by a simple majority of MEPs. There is no institutional or procedural mechanism that can oblige it to take minority interests into account, although in practice no doubt it attempts to do so. If the Parliament was free both to initiate and (in partnership with the Council) to adopt legislation, a Member State which was in a minority on the issue could be outvoted in both institutions. The **only** safeguard for the minority interest is the Commission, with its political duty to propose only measures in the interests of the Community as a whole. (The European Court of Justice can be asked to rule that a legislative proposal is contrary to the Treaties, but judicial review cannot deal with political problems.)

The European Parliament is a consensus-building institution, and its members try to be aware of different national sensitivities, but each MEP is answerable to one constituency only and the Parliament can only act by majority. There can be no mechanisms to enable the Parliament to reconcile divergent interests satisfactorily, without the intervention of the Commission.

The Commission's independence is rooted in the fact that its members are not appointed and removed by the same bodies. The Parliament may dismiss the whole Commission, for policy or political reasons, but may not force out individual Commissioners or give the Commission "instructions". Incapacity or misconduct by an individual Commissioner is a judicial matter, to be decided by the Court of Justice. It is not a political matter to be dealt with by the Parliament. A political majority in Parliament would not remove a Commission of a different complexion unless the MEPs were sure that the governments of the member states would appoint a new Commission with a different political balance. If, instead of the present system, the Commission was both appointed and removed by the Parliament, the Parliamentary majority would be too powerful and prevent the Commission from providing an effective safeguard for minority interests. Similarly if a majority of MEPs had power to give the Commission binding instructions, it would be prevented from performing its role as a mediator on policy issues; there would be no safeguards for the minority. This may be frustrating for those MEPs who do not understand the reasons for the Treaty provisions, but it is necessary. If Parliament could give the Commission instructions, there would be no point in having a Commission.



But, it is said, the role of the Commission is undemocratic: the Commission is a kind government with limited powers, and should be subject to democratic control. In fact the Commission is not any kind of government, and the Commission is subject to some democratic control: the European Parliament may censure the Commission and, if it achieves a two thirds majority, remove it from office. However, as long as the Commission has not been dismissed, Parliament must allow it to carry out the tasks it was set up to do, and to do them in the way which provides the safeguards which the Commission was set up to provide. The independence of the Commissioners is functional and practical: it was not invented to make Commissioners important, but to protect the interests of smaller member states, and even of large member states when they happen to be in a minority. No one complains that judges are not elected, or because regulators are not subject to parliamentary instructions.

If commissioners were to be elected by national bodies, they would inevitably campaign by promising to defend national interests, whereas their job is to reconcile them with other interests, without showing favouritism. If Commissioners were elected by the European Parliament, on the basis of one commissioner from each member state, most of the MEPs would be choosing people without being aware of their respective merits.

### Improving the relationship

Before considering any structural or institutional changes, it is essential to understand why the EC was designed as it was, and what tasks the Commission needs to perform. Some of the suggestions that have been made would do more harm than good. The implications of reforms that would eliminate safeguards or alter the system of checks and balances must be properly addressed. Putting aside major issues such as number of commissioners and the changes to QMV in the Council, other possible institutional and structural improvements are as follows:

- The Commission could be given the sole right to propose JHA measures and a more prominent role in CFSP.
- The co-decision procedure could be modified so that the Commission's proposals would be altered only by unanimity in the Council, or with the Commission's agreement. This would be important when co-decision is extended with majority voting in the Council.
- Members of the Commission might be nominated by two or three national governments, rather than by only one as at

### The Commission's Functions

The European Commission was created as an independent institution representing all member states, with six basic functions, each of which needs to be performed by an autonomous institution:

- To propose all policy and legislation to the Parliament and Council, thus balancing minority interests against majority voting;
- To negotiate, on instructions from the Council, with non-members in the interests of the Community as a whole;
- To take decisions on state aid and other aspects of Community competition law impartially, and with the trust of member states;
- To bring proceedings against member states in the European Court of Justice impartially when necessary to enforce their treaty obligations;
- To advise and arbitrate independently in disputes between member states;
- To administer certain Community funds, choose consultants and approve projects independently.

The Commission acts as a mediator when a new measure or policy needs to be adopted, and *never* enacts legislation. This is the responsibility of the Council and the Parliament, acting on the basis of a Commission proposal.

The independence of the Commission is based on Treaty provisions which say that Commissioners are nominated by agreement between member state governments, and approved "as a body" by the European Parliament. They must resign *en bloc* if the Parliament adopts a motion of censure by a two-thirds majority. Commissioners must not take instructions from any government "or from any other body".

present. This would tend to improve the quality and strengthen the independence of commissioners.

- The President of the Commission could be given the power to remove commissioners without proof of incapacity or misconduct. This would greatly strengthen the position of the President and his powers to re-allocate portfolios would be increased. Changes on these lines were proposed by the "three wise men" in October 1999.
- Parliament could be given the power to ask the Court of Justice to remove an individual commissioner for incapacity or misconduct. Such a procedure would have to protect individuals from being made scapegoats for unpopular decisions on matters such as state aids. Commission decisions are taken collectively, and it could not be misconduct to enforce Community law.
- The Commission might refuse to try to carry out tasks for which governments have not provided the necessary resources. It should strictly limit the number of national civil servants on secondment to it, so as not to erode its independence.

Proposals to strengthen the powers of the President of the Commission must be considered with care. There is a risk that this would make the Commission less representative of the Community as a whole, thereby putting its *raison d'être* into question. It is not clear that the president should have an unrestricted power to remove a commissioner whose presence



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is needed to maintain the representative character of the College. The presence of a powerful president does not sit well with the independent and representative character of the whole Commission. Removal of a commissioner for incapacity or misconduct is a judicial matter. Giving the president the power to remove a commissioner without evidence of either appears to be unnecessary and excessive.

Equally the European Parliament's natural desire to expand its power and influence must not be allowed to undermine the Commission's role or prejudice its impartiality and independence as the "Guardian of the Treaties". The reasons for establishing the Commission in the first place must always be kept in mind.

### Adapting the Commission

The six different functions the Commission performs (see box) do not all require the same internal administrative structure. The need for all significant Commission proposals and decisions to be taken by a body which is both representative and independent makes it necessary that such matters are decided collectively, and not delegated to individuals or groups of commissioners. The individual portfolios are for administrative convenience and efficiency. Commissioners are not like ministers in national governments; each has one vote in all Commission decisions.

Some portfolios are clearly linked to others, and it has been suggested that there would be advantages if there were groups of commissioners with related areas of responsibility, perhaps with a commission vice president at the head of each group. It is not impossible to reconcile some such system with both the equal status of commissioners, and their collective responsibility. Such a reform would not require any change to the treaties: a statement from the Commission to the effect that the status of commissioners was not affected by the new administrative structure would be all that was needed. It would be like the distinction between executive directors of a company, concerned with day-to-day operations, and non-executives concerned with strategy and policy.

The German Lander have been demanding that the European Union adopt a constitution that would place limits on the further transfer of powers reserved to the states as opposed to the Federal German Government. It is doubtful if the Community has yet reached the stage in its development

when such limitations would be appropriate. These moves have been attacked by British euro-sceptics on the grounds that any form of EU constitution would be a step on the road towards a super state. It is ironic that those euro-sceptics who would normally be expected to support any measures to prevent further concessions of sovereignty should be opposed to a "constitution" irrespective of what it actually contains. In fact the

Germans, who already have a written constitution have understood correctly that this is an effective method of defining and safeguarding regional and federal powers from encroachments from the centre whereas sceptics wrongly believe it is a means of transferring more powers to Brussels.

The European Community is not perfect, and it needs to adapt to the new circumstances created by the probable accession of so many more member states. Many suggestions for reform have been made, and are still being made. A number of these have not been thought through, and some of them are vague or confused, or prompted by prejudice rather than reason.

Proposals for change must reflect the following:

- They must reflect a proper understanding that the existing institutions were designed to provide safeguards for minorities. These will be even more important in the context of an enlarged European Union.
- They must be capable of clear and precise explanation, and their advantages and disadvantages must be objectively set out. There is no point in demanding simplification when what is needed is better understanding of the unique nature of the EU as a constitutional order of states. The independence of the Commission is a crucial feature of the institutional structure. The Commission is not a government nor is the EU a traditional inter-governmental organisation. Still less does it aspire to be a super-state.
- Those who advocate more power for the European Parliament must explain what the effects would be for small states. A Parliamentary majority does not necessarily respect the interests of minorities, and this is a problem that will become more obvious as the numbers of smaller member states increases. The more small states become members the more the Commission's independence and representative character will be important. Otherwise they will not feel comfortable within the Union.



## Conclusions

The principal question raised here is whether the role of the Commission as set out in the Treaties is compatible with the present and future needs of the European Union. A number of things need to be said:

- There must be one policy-proposing body that is both independent and representative. The alternatives put forward are not serious possibilities and will certainly not be viable after enlargement;
- Each of the Commission's tasks needs to be carried out by an autonomous institution of the Union. None of these tasks could be abandoned or left to an intergovernmental forum.
- Accordingly, if any powers were to be removed from the Commission, it would be necessary to set up a new institution to carry them out. There is no reason why they should not continue to be carried out by a single institution although different legal and political considerations apply to the Commission's different powers and this causes confusion.
- The role of all-purpose executive that has been thrust on the Commission in recent years cannot be carried out with the existing resources and staff. The more work the Commission undertakes without increasing its manpower, the less satisfactorily it will do the work that it was set up to do. Seconding national civil servants to the Commission will not resolve the problem.

The second question is what steps need to be taken, by the Commission with the support of the Council and the European Parliament to recover its self-confidence and institutional self-assurance so that it can function effectively?

- Above all there needs to be a clearer understanding of why the Commission was established in the Treaties. There is no need for a new job description or mission statement but an urgent need to remind people what it is for and why it must be independent. Election as opposed to appointment is not an option.
- The Commission must continue to include one Commissioner from each Member State, as long as it retains its present responsibilities. Different issues would arise if a new and separate institution were set up to carry out some tasks.
- The Commission's main problem is that it is under-resourced for the work that it has been given to do. If this

can be resolved, the Commission can be expected to perform satisfactorily.

- The quality and status of commissioners needs to be enhanced. One way to do that would be to require each commissioner to be nominated by two or more member states, not merely by one.

The last question is: what is the best institutional or structural arrangement for achieving the right balance between the collective interests of the European Union as a whole and the interests of a minority, whether a single member state, a region or special interest?

- The EU deals with this in two ways. It has the independent and representative Commission as a mediator and policy-initiating body and several other institutions (the Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions), as well as the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers, in which a satisfactory consensus can be achieved. In this context the Commission is crucial.
- Greater understanding of the need to balance collective and minority interests would be helpful, but there is no reason to institute additional procedural arrangements. There is no case for setting up another European institution to act as a watchdog and supervise those that are there already. It is better to improve the institutions that already exist rather than inventing new ones unnecessarily.
- In many cases an acceptable balance can be achieved without too much difficulty. However, there must be underlying procedural or institutional rules on which the parties can fall back if no agreed solution can be found, and these rules, even if they are not often used, must be seen to be fair and reasonably effective. If the Commission's role was abolished, or if it ceased to be independent and representative, there would be no safeguard.
- Solutions are found because the only proposals that can be discussed come from an impartial source, the Commission, which can be relied on when appropriate to modify its proposal.

The core conclusion is that the existing system is sound, and should be strengthened rather than altered. But it can only be improved if we are all prepared to understand it.

The full Europaeum lecture was delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford, last November. It is based on an essay written for the Action Centre for Europe, and we are grateful to ACE for permission to reproduce this. A full version of this Europaeum lecture is available on the Europaeum website. It will also be published shortly.



# Europe's final destination after Nice

**JOSCHKA FISCHER'S address on the Final Destination of Europe, delivered last May at Humboldt University – venue for a major international Europaeum conference this autumn – provoked great reactions across Europe when he was even branded “the most dangerous man in Europe”. He took up the same themes after the Nice Summit in an address in London in January. Here we reprint key extracts.**

I was not surprised that my Humboldt speech provoked controversy. But I had not anticipated it to launch such a broad, Europe-wide debate. Apparently the time was ripe for such a debate. With fifty years of European integration behind us and facing a radically different environment, everywhere in Europe people were feeling a strong need for renewed reflection and passionate debate on what European integration is all about and where it should be heading.

In the wake of the Second World War, European integration emerged as an entirely new way of shaping relations between the countries of Europe. Integration, the step-by-step aligning of national interests, radically changed European history for the better. That is why integration is the most important lesson to be drawn from this past “century of extremes”. And by integration – this I want to make clear right away – I do not mean everything should be taken over by a superstate. I shall go into more detail on that later on.

The European Union has evolved in a dynamic and balanced process along two main axes, enlarging and deepening. Now that the EU is embarking on the biggest ever enlargement, it is crucial that the balance between these two axes remain intact. An EU of 27 or more members will hardly function merely as a common market. Enlargement will generate strong pressure for deeper integration, pressure that is bound to alter the current status quo within the Union. If that does not happen, the EU will inevitably be more and more paralyzed.

We are approaching a decisive crossroads: do we continue down the path of integration or will we allow the EU's capacity to act, to erode? It is the growing awareness of this dilemma that fuels the debate. The European Union is confronted today with a unique, unprecedented challenge. It needs to successfully carry through three mega-projects – all at one and the same time.

**We are approaching a decisive crossroads: do we continue down the path of integration or will we allow the EU's capacity to act, to erode?**

First of all, enlargement. For the countries of Western Europe this is a historic responsibility, yet we also have a manifest interest in ensuring that, through the EU, democracy and the market economy take firm root in Eastern Europe. Once the Cold War was over, the EU had to open up towards the East. Anything else would have undermined and ultimately destroyed the whole idea of European integration. We only have to look at the four wars of succession in Yugoslavia to see where that might lead. With an EU remaining limited to Western Europe, the continent would be split in two: integration in the West, and in the East the old balance-of-power politics with all its insecurities and dangers of nationalism. And sooner or later these traditional lines of conflict would inevitably spill over into the EU itself.

In Helsinki we decided in concrete terms on enlargement. And in Nice we reached an agreement that fulfils the historic task we had set ourselves, making the EU fit for enlargement. The importance of the Nice summit is that it paves the way both for enlargement and for the so-called post-Nice process, the deepening of the Union. We should not underestimate what has been achieved in Nice, even though some would have liked to see more progress in certain areas. The Nice accords go well beyond the Treaty of Amsterdam. Nice was a success for Europe. Now enlargement must be made a practical reality at the earliest possible date.

Secondly, Europe must respond to the challenge of globalization in a comprehensive way. Whether we are talking about preventing wars, arms control, development assistance, effective help for refugees, global warming, regulating global financial markets or trade matters: on such issues no European country, not even the biggest, can have real influence unless they join forces. Now that the original goals of European integration, securing peace and prosperity within the Union itself, have been accomplished, it is these issues that will lend new momentum to European integration in the 21st century.

My third and decisive point is that, at the same time as tackling enlargement and the new challenges, we must deepen the European Union. The EU must radically reform its decision-making mechanisms so that a union of 25 or more members remains able not only to act but also to convince the citizens of its member states of the legitimacy of its actions. Recent events have clearly demonstrated that we are already up against the limits here. There needs to be greater clarity about who is responsible for what within the Union. And



these responsibilities should, where necessary, be reorganized. That should happen at two levels: horizontally, between the different European institutions, and vertically, between Europe and the member states.

The most important issue is to clearly define the tasks of the EU and the member states. It was decided in Nice that this should be clarified at the next inter-governmental conference in 2004. The Union already has the principle of subsidiarity, according to which it is only responsible for those matters that absolutely require to be dealt with at European level, all else should remain a matter for the nation states. This principle serves as an important point of reference, but its operational value is limited when it comes to determining in practical terms who should be responsible for what.

Some people were surprised when I emphasised the importance of the nation state in my Humboldt speech – but I would like to make this point again today. The idea that European integration means the end of Europe's nation states derives from a strange misconception that integration is some kind of zero-sum game. The truth is, integration is in its essence a win-win formula. With its cultural and democratic traditions, the nation state is the primary source of identity for the citizens of all European countries and will remain so for the foreseeable future. For culture, language and tradition it will continue to be the principal framework. Of course, people have numerous sources of identity – a football club, the town they live in, the region they come from, also Europe – but only the nation state can credibly lend full democratic legitimacy to European decisions.

It follows then that European integration has to take along the member states. Only if their own national institutions are neither undermined nor likely to disappear altogether, will European integration come about. The nightmare of British eurosceptics, the so-called “superstate”, a new sovereign that would abolish the old nation states along with their democratic governments – is therefore nothing but a synthetic construct that has nothing whatsoever to do with European reality.

But let me be clear on one thing: in key areas of common interest we cannot get by without “Europe”. “Almost every major nation has been obliged by the pressure of the post-war world to pool significant areas of sovereignty so as to create



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more effective political units” – that insight we owe to Margaret Thatcher, commenting on the British referendum on Europe in 1975. Although at that time – a period of my life I have to remember right now in vivid detail – we had little in common as far as politics goes – on this particular point I find myself in complete agreement with Lady Thatcher.

Definition of competences should be a two-way street. It should neither tilt the balance towards renationalization nor towards intergovernmental cooperation, even if in specific cases a retransfer

of competences may on occasion be objectively appropriate. The principle of integration is the outstanding achievement of 20th-century European history. To “roll back” integration would be a fatal mistake. Renationalization would mean not only that Europe would lose its capacity to act. It would in fact also immediately confront us once again with the old problem of coalition-building and renewed intra-European tensions. Europe would revert to balance-of-power politics and playing off one against another. That surely cannot be in anyone's interest.

The purpose of the post-Nice process is to spell out clearly what falls within “Europe's” competence and what falls within the competence of the member states. The Union of the future will have strong European institutions fully capable of taking European decisions but building at the same time on strong member states. The EU is never going to be a state, let alone some kind of superstate. No one – in Germany, France or anywhere else in Europe – wants a centralized super-bureaucracy with anonymous actors and structures totally remote from the ordinary citizen. The union we want is the exact opposite of such a superstate.

Let me repeat: my Humboldt University speech was not a call for a European superstate. The EU is an entity *sui generis*. The European nation states will continue to exist within the Union. But only if we succeed in building an economically and politically integrated Europe with reformed institutions, with the means to act, a Europe that its citizens can understand and that enjoys democratic legitimacy in their eyes, will this European project, this enlarged Europe of 27 or more member states, have a real future. And only then will Europe be able, both on our continent and in the world at large, to play the important role that we all want it to play in building freedom, peace and prosperity in the 21st century.



# Czechs prepare for final steps back to Europe

The Czech Republic has been knocking loudly on the door of the European Union. LENKA ANNA ROVNA analyses the question of EU enlargement with special reference to the case of the Czech Republic

The controversial Nice conference of December 2000 arguably failed to make the European Union more manageable. The summit generated a lot of emotion, especially among member states and European institutions themselves. The only happy participants were the candidate countries, who received the green light for the further enlargement of the EU, with a new Intergovernmental Conference scheduled for 2004.

After the fall of Communism in 1989, the slogan “Back to Europe” expressed the wishes of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to join the European Community as well as NATO, and to rejoin the European family of democratic and prosperous nations.

At the time of Nice summit the Czech Republic, like other candidate countries, was negotiating with the EU for full membership. Public opinion polls show steady support among Czech citizens for accession to the Union. Indeed, all the major political parties consider membership of the EU to be their priority, though the Czech Government expects to hold a referendum before entry. What is the Czech approach to European integration? Are the outcomes going to be sweepingly positive? And how does the EU see the Czech Republic? Answering these questions requires a more detailed analysis of Czech attitudes towards the EU.

## The EU and the Czechs

In January 1996 the Czech Republic submitted its application to join the EU and was invited by the Luxembourg Summit of the European Council to be one of the first six countries to start negotiation in December 1997. Screening, the first phase of discussion on accession to the Union, prior to negotiation itself, started in April 1998. During the screening, legal analyses are carried out through multilateral and bilateral discussions scrutinizing Czech legislation’s compatibility with EU norms. This screening process was due to finish in the summer of 1999.

The EC’s Regular Report documented the Czech Republic’s progress towards the Copenhagen criteria, and especially the rate at which it was adopting the Union *acquis*.

It described the relations between the Czech Republic and the Union; analysed the situation in respect of the political conditions set by the European Council concerning democracy, rule of law, human rights, and the protection of minorities; assessed the Czech Republic’s situation and prospects relative to the economic conditions set by the European Council, including the functioning of the market economy and its capacity to cope with competitive pressures within the Union; and addressed the question of the Czech Republic’s capacity to adopt the obligations of membership, that is the *acquis* of Europe as expressed in the Treaty, secondary legislation and policies of the Union.

As a result, the EU itself emerged as a crucial factor influencing the transition towards democracy, with the report provided a sort of a cold shower for Czech politicians and Czech society. The evaluation on Political Criteria was far from satisfactory, mentioning as medium term priorities: “Further work on the integration of the Roma; strengthening of laws which guarantee press freedom; further attention to ensuring equal access to public services,” and further stated that: “The change in Government has not

resulted in any major shift in the country’s policy towards the European Union.”

It was necessary to acknowledge, as a serious warning, the critique of the Czech Republic’s handling of human rights, and the lack of progress in public administration reform since July 1997. A functioning civil service is considered to be the precondition for the functioning of democracy, and a factor guaranteeing the functioning of market economy, including the control of capital markets, economic competition, and the functioning of financial offices. A degree of institutional cooperation at all levels of the internal market is seen as a key condition for the adoption of *acquis communautaire*.

Accession to the European Union became a true priority in June 1998 with the new minority government applying a much more open policy. The European dimension was transformed from a question of foreign policy, to a domestic issue, and the democratisation and accession processes, with some small exceptions, now went hand in hand.

A year later, in October 1999, the European Commission published its next report, the *1999 Regular Report from the Commission on the Czech Republic’s Progress towards Accession*. It was, of course, always going to be hard to overcome quickly the heritage from the Communist past, and so there was little surprise that the Commission’s introduction stated that

It was necessary to acknowledge, as a serious warning, the critique of the Czech Republic’s handling of human rights



Czech progress was very unbalanced. Eight chapters of the negotiations were completed, but seven were still open. Positive developments had occurred in the economic field, with exports from the EU to the Czech Republic up from 11.8 to 14.7 billion Euro. Exports from the Czech Republic grew by 11 percent, with trade exchange with the EU representing 60 percent of Czech foreign trade.

The Pre-Accession aid was supplied through the PHARE program (representing 629.1 million Euro for 1990–1991) with 30 percent being used for strengthening institutions involved in the implementation of the *acquis* [for instance twinning], while 70 percent was directed to investment in economic restructuring, and support of economic and social cohesion, including promotion of civil society organizations, educational support to anti-racist events, the development of Roma education program, and support for Roma community centres. Other financial resources were channelled into cross-border cooperation, international programmes such as TAIEX, programmes for small and medium sized companies, and infrastructure projects.

The Report again criticised slowness in the adoption of *acquis*, which had been complicated by long procedures at the ministries, three readings in Parliament with a minority government, and the reluctance of the previous governments to accede to the whole process.

In the part dealing with minorities, the Report stated that the situation of Roma people had not changed very much: special schools for slow learners were attended by 70 percent of Roma children; while unemployment among Roma population was between 70 and 90 percent. While a Government action plan drawn up in 1997 helped to establish Roma advisors and assistants ministries, district councils and schools, and preparatory schools for Roma children had been founded, and the Interdepartmental Commission for Roma Questions was already in place, the health and boarding situation of Roma population had not improved.

The micro-economic situation, according to the Report, was also uneasy, with unemployment growing and both GDP and real incomes falling. The recession was felt to be deeper and longer than expected, and the outlook not optimistic, but fortunately this did not prove to be right, and a slow improvement occurred in the first half of 2000.

The 1999 Report also played an important 'educational' role, with the Czech political elite putting tremendous effort into regaining flagship position among countries candidate countries. The European Parliament noted these efforts in March 2000, with the publication of *The Czech Republic and*



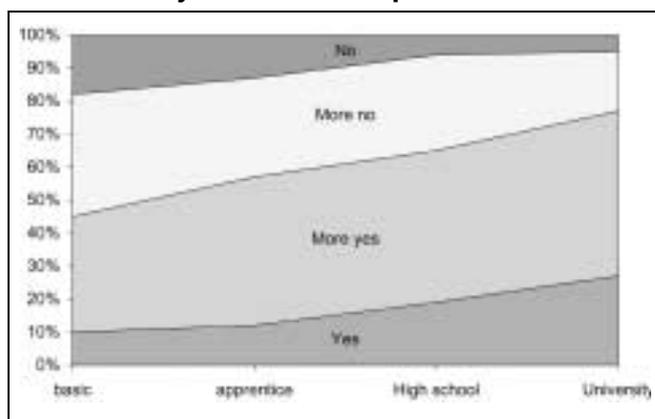
The Czechs came under fire from the European Union for failing to deal with plight of their Roma

*the Enlargement of the European Union*, especially the renegotiated opposition agreement between Miloš Zeman's minority social democratic government and the ODS opposition, led by Vaclav Klaus, which included increased collaboration on preparations for EU accession. Yet, in spite of this increased effort, the European Parliament still repeated many earlier reservations stated by the Commission.

Meanwhile Czech political élites and the Czech media eagerly awaited the publication of the *2000 Regular Report from the Commission on the Czech Republic's Progress towards Accession*. Besides PHARE, this report introduced two other support programs: SAPARD for agricultural and rural development, and ISPA to finance infrastructure projects in the fields of environment and transport. Other resources were provided for human resource development, environmental protection, and a Pan-European rail corridor running from Berlin to Vienna. The Report welcomed improvements in Parliamentary procedure, which had significantly accelerated the legislative process by introducing a fast track for EC-related draft laws. A major failure was considered to be the absence of the Act on the Civil Service, while anti-corruption measures were felt not to have proved efficient enough. Judicial reform and training of the judges had also not yet been finalized.



### Do you trust the European Union?



Source: IVVM Report on the Development of Czech Society, 1989–98, p. 319

this dispute between the representatives of the EU and the Czech government was quickly overshadowed by the outcomes of the Nice Summit, which were welcomed by Czech officials.

### The Czechs and the EU

Regular reports and comments from the Commission and Parliament addressing the Czech government and society clearly help the country in the continuing process of further democratization, until democracy becomes “the way of life”. The other important feature influencing the attitude of Czech citizens and political élites is the level of international support for the rapid accession of the Czech Republic into the EU. The further positive development of Czech citizens attitudes towards the EU can be encouraged by a more open approach on the part of the Government itself, which was not always the case in the past.

The result of an increased flow of information about the EU is increasing such support, indicating that the slogan “Back to Europe” is taking on a real shape and structure. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has specified the aims, principles and tools for its Communication

Strategy towards defined target groups, using Czech TV, regional dailies and specialized magazines, publications, and Internet sites. All these activities are intended to prepare the citizens for the forthcoming referendum and to provide the knowledge necessary to make their choice freely and democratically.

The Czech internal debate about European integration can be divided into three periods: 1989–1991, which was mainly connected with a slogan “back to Europe”; then 1991–

Progress toward the Political Criteria had been accelerated by the adoption of a new document, *Concept of Government Policy towards Members of the Roma Community*, by the Czech Government, focusing on the key areas of education, employment, housing and the fight against discrimination. The enhancement of multi-cultural educational programs in school syllabuses increased the availability of information concerning Romany culture, and positive steps were also taken in the field of housing, and in the provision of Roma assistants, and preparatory schools for Roma children.

The 2000 Report stated that the macroeconomic situation had improved since end of the three-year recession in the middle of 1999. The Czech Republic had also accelerated structural reforms, for example as could be seen in the processing of the sale of the Czech Saving Bank, *Česká spořitelna* and the preparations for privatising the largest commercial bank in the country, *Komerční banka*, in 2001. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development’s *Transition Report* also indicated improvement, showing an increase in foreign direct investment, which in 1999 represented an inflow of 4.79 billion Euro (9.2% of GDP), more than the double the level of 1998. All this demonstrated an improvement in the overall business climate in the Czech Republic.

In the chapter dealing with the Czech Republic’s ability to assume the obligations of membership (which is divided into 29 parts structured in accordance with the list of 29 negotiating chapters dealing with four freedoms, sectoral policies, economic and fiscal affairs, economic and social cohesion, innovation, quality of life and environment, justice and home affairs, external policies, and financial questions) the main reproof was regarding the fight against fraud and corruption, where there was still a lack of qualified staff and inter-institutional co-operation. Bad loans, found to represent 26 percent of GDP, also remained a serious problem.

But, in general, the 2000 Report acknowledged progress in many fields, while drawing the attention to many problems such as the reform of the civil service and judiciary, and the protection of human rights. However, the high expectations of Czech politicians and professionals working in the area of European Integration were hurt particularly badly by part of the document, *The Strategy for Enlargement*, which accompanied the Report. This stated that Czech economy “could be considered to be” a market economy, while the economies of countries such as Poland, Hungary and Estonia “are” market economies. But

... the slogan “Back to Europe” is taking on a real shape and structure



1997, forming of the political attitudes of Czech subjects vis-à-vis EU; and 1998 onwards, forming the attitudes towards different aspects of European integration.

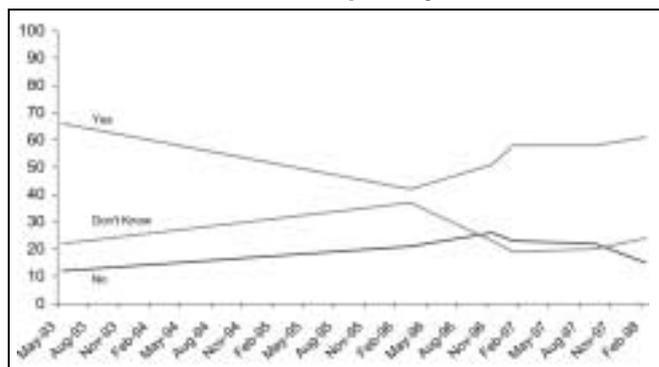
The analysis carried out by the government's communication strategy team came to the conclusion that knowledge of the EU among Czechs remains quite vague. Strongest support for joining the EU comes from young people, those with higher education, and those with a right-of-centre orientation. The best-informed social groups are young people and entrepreneurs from small and bigger companies. Less knowledgeable are old people, housewives and people living in the countryside. The benefits expected from EU membership by Czech society are an improvement in the economic situation, cooperation on the European level, freedom of movement of persons, capital, services and goods, and the improvement of legislation. Meanwhile, the following issues are most often of concern: the cost and thus higher taxes; unequal status for the Czech Republic; loss of sovereignty; economic dependence; an influx of foreigners; growth in unemployment; increased competition for Czech enterprises; the elimination of agriculture; and the decline of industry. Only 46 percent of the general population was found to understand the EU, so there is still a crucial role to be played by the media, but only 26 percent of the media provides a professional picture.

There is also an important role for the Government itself. According to the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and main negotiator of the Czech Republic, Pavel Telička, there was a 'curing' effect from the Commission's Regular Report of autumn 1999, which criticized heavily the slow attitude of the Czech Republic towards Accession, generating a 'turning point' in the Czech political approach, and a will to reach consensus within Czech society and political elite. European integration became the number one topic, and is now functioning as a unifying element in the country. The proof of this can be seen in the agreement between the main political parties, the ODS and Social Democrats, which speeded up the process of the adoption of the legislation of the EU.

### Public Debate

Until recently, the main protagonists in the debate over Europe were President Václav Havel and former Prime Minister Václav Klaus. Havel presents himself as a federalist, and for him a politically and economically integrated Europe is a natural framework for the vital development of the Czech nation. In his speech in Strasbourg in February 2000, Havel stressed the necessity of further democratization of Central

### Should the Czech Republic join the EU?



Source: STEM, Trends 2/2000, p. 3.

Europe and the "Europeanization" of the area connected with the development of civil society. He also proposed the creation of a European Constitution, a proposal accepted quite warmly by MEPs. The proposal to create an upper House of the European Parliament was not so well received.

Václav Klaus, the former Prime Minister who submitted the Czech Republic's application to EU, and now Speaker of Parliament, claims himself to be a 'Eurorealist', while many perceive him more as a 'Eurosceptic'. Klaus stresses the role of 'nation-state' as a space for political sovereignty, and sees the EU as an inter-governmental organization cooperating mainly within the framework of liberalization of markets and trade. His Civic Democratic Party (ODS) has always claimed EU membership as a foreign policy target. Under the influence of its Chairman, the ODS is however quite reserved about some postulates such as the "Europe of regions" or "social state".

In spite of the fact that several top ODS politicians, headed by Václav Klaus himself, are quite careful, even suspicious, of the EU, the party as a whole is very pro-European, with 79 percent of members expressing support. Klaus remains, though, a maverick politician, whose approach towards to the EU is notorious, as characterised by a recent Economist article headlined *Václav Klaus, an unusually combative Czech*.

The Social Democrats (ČSSD) on the other hand, used to criticize the Eurosceptic approach of their conservative counterparts in the ODS. However, support amongst party members is lower, at 52 percent. The ČSSD as a Governmental party is at present shouldering responsibility for both the Commission's negative evaluations of the Czech Republic, and for trying to speed up the whole process of accession. The ČSSD approach seems to be based on shared values with other



socialist, social democratic and labour parties, and their idea of a 'Europe with social dimensions'.

The Union of Freedom (US) party, formed after the split in ODS ranks in 1997, identifies itself as Euro-optimistic, and 81 percent of its members support accession. The US supports further deepening and widening of the EU, and tries to use the 'European card' as a key difference between themselves and the ODS.

The Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People Party (KDU-ČSL) understands the EU as a fulfilment of its Christian democratic values, with 83 percent of its members expressing trust in the Union.

Finally, the Communist Party (KSČM) has an ambivalent approach towards EU. Its members, mainly representatives of the older generation, are in general not extremely keen on the accession into the EU, with support running at only 24 percent, while the leadership of the party has a more open view.

## Conclusions

Since the beginning of 1999, a rather lethargic Czech society has become increasingly aware of the necessity of open discussion about membership of the EU. Several NGOs have been created to support the accession of the Czech Republic to the Union (*Impuls 99, Děkujeme, odejděte!* etc.) Discussion in the mass media is growing, both because of the increasing

impact of Governmental communication strategy, but also because common citizens are now convinced that EU membership is going to influence their everyday lives. Indeed, the STEM opinion poll in February 2000 found that trust in the EU, was 58 percent, compared to the Czech Government's 24 percent approval rating.

Discussion had down the years mainly focused on questions related to the foundation, functioning and aims of the EU, and to the changes we can expect from our membership. Only after 1999 and the degrading Regular Report, has discussion

about internal aspects of accession spread. Step by step, European Integration has become a domestic issue, not a foreign policy one.

The Czech Republic is now getting closer to becoming a functioning and stable democracy, with a prosperous market economy and a modern effective state serving its citizens. Such an important processes cannot remain the exclusive preserve of Brussels officials and a narrow stratum of Czech political élites. Czech civil society has a rare historical chance to manage its own life and to steer the country "back to Europe". This process is not going to be easy, but Czech citizens must play their part, making their own choices, in full knowledge of what is at stake and what is required.

Professor Lenka Anna Rovna is Jean Monnet Professor at Charles University's European Community Studies Association, who has been an advisor to the Czech government on the EU accession process.

### Havel stressed the necessity of further democratization of Central Europe

## Europaeum New Initiatives Scheme

A new scheme to provide small grants to support new innovative schemes linking academics across Europaeum partner institutions, was initiated in January 2001.

Each successful new initiative will receive a pump priming grant of up to £2,000 to aid its launch and development.

The aim is to stimulate new links within, but not exclusive to, the Europaeum academic community. While co-ordinators must hold a post at a Europaeum institu-

tion, and at least two partner institutions must be involved, collaborators need not be from the Europaeum alone.

Applications can be submitted to the Secretary-General at any time during the year, and will be considered by an Advisory Panel, which will aim to support projects drawn from a wide range of subject areas.

For further information please contact the Europaeum Secretariat or visit <http://www.europaeum.org/nis.shtml>



## CLASSICISTS AND SCIENCE HISTORIANS LAUNCH EUROPAEUM PROJECTS

Classicists are for the first time set to join the Europaeum to widen their academic links across Europe, building on an established partnership forged between Leiden and Oxford.

The Europaeum is to support the visit of a group of six Oxford graduates to a two-day event held at Leiden University under the auspices of OIKOS, which brings together Classics scholars from all over Holland. Leiden Classicists have also been attending a regular November jam-boree in Oxford, which last year examined



Professor Oliver Taplin

the 'pulp fiction' of Roman times, the sub-literary texts that ordinary Romans read aside from Virgil and Cicero.

Professor Oliver Taplin, professor of Classics and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, said: "We are very keen to develop our links with Dutch and other European Classicists. All the Europaeum partner institutions have significant classics departments and we would keen to explore ways of bringing young scholars for a summer school or conference."

Meanwhile, History of Science scholars at Oxford and Bologna who have been collaborating for more than a decade, are planning to extend their work, and to develop fresh European links, again within the auspices of the Europaeum.

Professor Robert Fox, professor of the History of Science and Fellow of

Linacre College, Oxford, is planning a series of conference meetings on the theme *Transmissions and Understanding in the Sciences*, with reference to three distinct periods, 1500–1700, 1800–1918 and the 1930s to the present, with scholars from Paris joining those from Oxford and Bologna.

Meanwhile, student exchanges continue between Oxford and Bologna, and a new book by Professor Fox and Dr Anna Guagnini of Bologna, entitled *Laboratories, workshops, and sites: concepts and practices of research in industrial Europe 1800–1914*, has just been published by the University of California. "We look forward to expanding our network with our Europaeum partners," Professor Fox said.

## HUMAN RIGHTS OR CONSTITUTIONAL LAW?

Tensions between national autonomy and the universalisation of human rights, through the common adoption of the European Human Rights Convention, formed the basis of a Europaeum Lecture given at Prague by Dr David Robertson, Fellow in Politics at St Hugh's College, Oxford, as part of the ceremonial proceedings to welcome Charles University into the Europaeum.

Dr Robertson argued that there was a pressing need to develop a European wide 'common constitutional law'. This would strengthen constitutional courts against their own governments in the protection of human rights. It would further help in bringing about convergence in the structural problems of constitutional interpretation. Such a constitutional common law could best be derived by courts thinking more clearly about their role in spelling out the specifically European vision of Liberal Democracy.

He illustrated his arguments with examples drawn from across Europe – including the Czech Republic and other



Dr David Robertson

new Central European democracies which had prepared new constitutions following the 1989 revolutions, and embraced human rights legislation with gusto.

But these new democracies had, arguably, put too much faith too early in constitutional courts, without always being sure of their role. They had also, perhaps too uncritically, adopted the German model of constitutional adjudication at the cost of some of the benefits of a model drawn from the common law world, whose prime examples of constitutional engineering were the United States, Australia and Canada.

The Lecture can be found on the Europaeum web site. It will be published shortly.

## UMBERTO ECO TO LECTURE AT OXFORD

Professor Umberto Eco, Professor of Semiotics at Bologna University, well known expert on cultural analysis, and author of such celebrated works as *The Name of the Rose* and *Foucault's Pendulum* has been appointed by the University of Oxford as Weidenfeld Visiting Professor of European Comparative Literature, for 2002 when he will deliver a series of eight lectures in Oxford from March.

Professor Eco has recently founded the *Scuola Superiore di Studi Umanistici*, a centre of excellence supported by Bologna



### Charles welcomed into Europaeum Club



Charles University was formally welcomed into the Europaeum at a sparkling ceremony held in the heart of Prague last autumn. Professor Ivan Willhelm, the Rector of Charles (left) is seen exchanging copies of the accession agreement with Professor Peter Tschopp, Director of Geneva's Graduate Institute for International Studies, representing the current Europaeum members. The ceremony was followed by a Europaeum Lecture, reception and dinner. Charles has been an active member since the beginning of 2000, sending students to the Summer Schools and bidding for Research Project Group grants.

University, to promote the role of Humanities and humanistic culture in the development of an information society. It will run courses in psychology, literature, political science and languages, open to the academic and scientific world and to citizens, with lectures by personalities of international renown. "I believe humanistic culture is the wrong card in the software universe, those who have studied ancient Greek will be much more perceptive than experts in electronics", he says.

Professor Eco will be attached to the European Humanities Research Centre at the University of Oxford, an institute allied to the Europaeum, which has expanded its academic programmes and international collaborative research links. The EHRC, now accommodated in premises at St Hugh's College, serves as an academic base for the Weidenfeld Visiting Professors of European Comparative Literature, and, with St Anne's College, administers the Weidenfeld Translation Prize of £1000. The award for 2001 will be announced in June. Last year's



Professor Umberto Eco

competition attracted submissions from 70 publishers worldwide, with 19 different languages represented.

The director of the EHRC is Professor Malcolm Bowie, FBA, FRSL, Marshal Foch Professor of French Literature at All Souls College, who is supporting the Europaeum's various language initiatives.

The centre stimulates post-doctoral interdisciplinary research in the humanities and it's academic programme for the coming year includes conferences on Yiddish in Europe; the 18th Century Body; the Anatomy of Laughter; and Opera.

The EHRC also has an extensive research publication programme under its *Legenda* imprint, with some 60 titles in five languages, including 30 scholarly works published last year alone. Amongst these was *Medea in Performance 1500-2000* edited by Edith Hall, Fiona Macintosh and Oliver Taplin of Oxford University.

For more information about the EHRC: enquiries@ehrc.ox.ac.uk and http://www.ehrc.ac.uk

### PROFESSOR OF JEWISH STUDIES ELECTED

Professor Avishai Margalit has been elected to take the post as the first Europaeum-Bertelsmann Visiting Professor of Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford. He will be attached to Mansfield College, and deliver a series of lectures during two visits to Oxford, first in Michaelmas Term 2001 and then Trinity Term 2002.

Educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he received his BA in Philosophy and Economics in 1963, and an MA in philosophy in 1965. His doctoral dissertation, on *The Cognitive*



Photo by Joseph Rat

Professor Avishai Margalit

*Status of Metaphors*, was written under the supervision of the late Yehoshua Bar-Hillel. After he received his Ph.D., in 1970, he joined the Philosophy Department at the Hebrew University, where he has remained, serving as its Chairman twice.

Professor Margalit was a British Council Scholar at Oxford University, and a Tutor at The Queen's College, Oxford (1968–70); a visiting Scholar at Harvard University (1974–75); a Visiting Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford (1979–80); a Visiting Professor at the Free University of Berlin and a Fellow at the Max Planck Institute, Berlin (1984–5); a Visiting Fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford (1990); and a Rockefeller Fellow at the Center for Human Values, Princeton University (1995–6). In addition, he has held short-term visiting professorships at the Central European University in Prague, and at the European University Institute in Florence.

Professor Margalit is a frequent contributor to the *New York Review of Books*, and has been published widely in various philosophical journals, on a variety of philosophical topics, including philosophy of language, logical paradoxes and rationality, social and political philosophy, and the philosophy of religion.

Professor Margalit was among the founders of *Peace Now*, an organisation striving to pursue a lasting and equitable peace in the Middle East, and he continues to be an active member.

## LAWYERS TO STUDY E-COMMERCE

Europaeum lawyers have been preparing a series of new initiatives for the coming year, beginning with a seminar in May on *e-commerce regulation*. The programme, currently being finalised, will “pair” speakers from Leiden and Oxford on each topic or theme in order to sharpen comparative debate.

The Law Faculties of both Oxford and Leiden Universities have considerable strengths in the relevant areas, and expect new research ideas to flow from this seminar, in turn stimulating further collaboration involving other Europaeum partners.

Professor Stephen Weatherill, Jacques Delors Professor of European Community Law, and Director of the Oxford Institute of European and Comparative Law, said: “E-commerce is inevitably governed by national and transnational legal rules, including those established by the EU, and therefore offers opportunities for investigating the viability of a system of multi-level governance based on overlapping layers of legal authority.”

Questions to be explored include whether the law can up with the rapid advance of new technology? Can ‘settled’ legal principles deal with these new market phenomena or is it necessary to re-shape those principles? Is there a danger that current laws attuned to more orthodox forms of communication and business may even inhibit the growth of e-commerce? Who should up-date these laws given that political boundaries are irrelevant?

“We may not live in a ‘stateless’ world but plainly the role of the state has changed and is changing under the influence of technological development,” Professor Weatherill said. “Thus e-commerce provides fertile material for research investigation that must itself

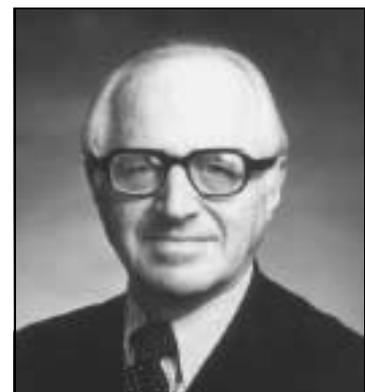
operate at a cross-border level, and the Europaeum is the appropriate arena for this.”

Oxford lawyers are also planning a larger international conference in the autumn on the legal repercussions of the formation of global political and economic blocs, such as ASEAN, NAFTA, EU – and especially the significance of the European Union as a world role model. Leiden law graduates are also planning a conference on legal aspects of human rights in the context of Europe on Community Law, probably to held at the University early next year.

## EUROPAEUM OPTS FOR TRUST STATUS

As part of its continuing drive to seek out the most appropriate and flexible structure, the Europaeum Council has agreed to turn the association into a trust company that will have greater flexibility, especially in responding to new initiatives and raising new funds.

The Europaeum will remain very much under the control of its constituent member universities, but lawyers are preparing for the Europaeum to become a not-for-profit company, registered for convenience under UK charity law because the central secretariat is based in Oxford.



Sir Ronald Grierson



The Europaeum in Oxford joins Mansfield

Each member university will have the right to appoint two 'trustees' to sit on the new Europaeum Trust Council, its Rector, President or Vice-Chancellor, plus a senior academic figure. There will also be scope to appoint individual trustees as well, and it is hoped that both Lord Weidenfeld and Sir Ronnie Grierson, founding fathers behind the Europaeum, will be among the first such to be appointed.

It is expected that the new trust will be formally unveiled at the forthcoming meeting of the Europaeum Council in Paris on June 29th.

Meanwhile, to confirm that the Europaeum will remain fully embedded within Oxford University, it has developed a formal link with Mansfield College, which was founded in 1886 as the first non-conformist foundation in Oxford after the law was changed, breaking the Anglican monopoly of the ancient universities. Mansfield teaches across the broad range of subjects, and comprises 200 undergraduates, 70 graduates and 35 visiting students.

As part of the new arrangements, the Europaeum will be 'based' at the college, with an additional college fellow sitting on the Oxford Europaeum Group, and Dr Paul Flather, the Europaeum Secretary-General, joining the college fellowship.

## A COMMON SPACE FOR INTELLECTUALS

Editors, writers and thinkers from Europe's leading intellectual weeklies are to gather in Bologna to create 'a space for free European cultural and political debate', akin to Voltaire's Republic of Letters. The initiative, launched under the aegis of the Europaeum is to bring leading European intellectual together to share ideas and create new European perspectives.

The event is being hosted by the Faculty of Political Science at Bologna University on 1st and 2nd June, and is entitled *The Space of Opinion: Cultural and Political Reviews in Europe*, it will also mark the golden jubilee of the Italian cultural journal *Il Mulino*.

The conference, being convened by Paolo Pombeni, Professor of Comparative History of European Political Systems, aims to examine the role of intellectuals in building the new Europe of the 21st Century. Amongst the speakers at the conference will be Gian Enrico Rusconi from *Il Mulino*, Roger Mongin from *Esprit* in Paris, Karl Heinz Böhrer from *Merkur* and representatives of other magazines including London-based *Prospect* Professor David Marquand, Principal of Mansfield College, and Chairman of the Oxford Europaeum Group will also



Romano Prodi to speak in Bologna

speak, while the concluding address is to be delivered by Romano Prodi, President of the European Commission, and previous a professor at Bologna before he became Prime Minister of Italy.

The project is being supported by *Il Mulino* which has expanded since its foundation in 1951 to become one of Italy's most important cultural and academic publishers. It is envisaged that, following this breakthrough opportunity, a number of Europe's intellectual journals attending the meeting will together develop a collaborative annual review of European thought.

## PRAGUE UNVEILS JEAN MONNET CENTRE

Charles University has founded a new Centre for European Studies at its Institute of International Studies, under the directorship of Professor Lenka Rovna.

The citation, *Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence*, is a prestigious title awarded by the European Commission to outstanding University institutions in the field of European Studies. Charles University in Prague is the first, and thus far is believed to be the only, institution in Central and Eastern Europe with this title.

New facilities for the Centre include a special lecture room, and a library for European Studies. The lecture room is highly equipped with the latest technology: data projector, video, DVD, overhead projector, satellite, a lecturer's computer for presentations and computers connected to Internet. The library's collect current encompasses some 400 volumes, and is steadily growing. Substantial financial support for the new Centre came from the TEMPUS project: *Institution Building – European Studies*.

Lenka Rovna, Jean Monnet Professor and President of the Centre's Executive Council, chaired the official opening



on November 13, 2000, which was addressed by the Vice-Rector of Charles University, Professor Jirí Kraus; the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor Lubomír Mlcoch; the Director of the Institute of International Studies, Professor Jirí Pešek, and His Excellence Ramiro Cibrian. The Ambassador of the European Commission in Prague, Dr. Marie Chatard, also attended, along with the Director of the EU Communication Strategy Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In addition to organizing lectures, seminars and workshops, the Centre has launched a journal, *Intergrace*, and hosts the Czech European Community Studies Association. The Centre also runs a training programme in European Union matters for Czech officials and civil servants.

For further information about the Centre, visit [www.ecsa-czech.cz](http://www.ecsa-czech.cz).

The journal *Intergrace* can be found at [www.intergrace.cz](http://www.intergrace.cz)

## NEXT BONN-OXFORD THEOLOGY SEMINAR

The Europaeum Bonn-Oxford Seminar in Theology will take place in Bonn again between the 15th and 21st September 2001, continuing a 20 year tradition. The Bonn-Oxford Seminar aims to strengthen the links between the two Europaeum universities beyond the necessities of academic networking. The last meeting was held at Oxford in 1999, and provided intellectually stimulating exchanges, which attracted participants not only from the two Theology faculties but also from other fields.

The 2001 session features an interdisciplinary program around the general theme *Dogmatics and Biblical Theology*, with contributions from Old and New Testament scholars, encompassing patristics, classics, and history, ethics, systematic and practical theology. It will also

include a cultural programme especially for the participants from abroad.

For further information please see <http://www.ev-theol.uni-bonn.de>

## FIRST POLICY FORUM TO BE LAUNCHED

The Europaeum is set to stage its first Policy Forum designed to focus on a major intellectual debate of the day with high-profile participants. The aim is to produce recommendations for further action and thought. It is hoped to stage an annual policy forum around the Europaeum partner institutions.

The first such event will focus on the impact of the Internet on the way our democratic politics functions, including for example the way protesters such as those opposing Milosovic in Serbia or those active in Greenpeace in Europe or the Countryside Alliance in the UK, now use the internet and mobile phones to stage direct action activities.

The event will also feature experts reviewing the current and likely future impact of the Internet and interactive television on how we vote, how political messages are sent, and how interest group networks can organise to have an impact in an election campaign.

The event is being sponsored by BT, and one of the speakers will be Sir Peter Bonfield Chief Executive Officer of BT, who will talk about the future development of the Internet. It is also planned to review findings from a major Oxford research programme.

## BONN MONITOR GROUP WARNS ON EURO DATA

Bonn University's EMU Monitor group, consisting of a panel of six leading European macro-economists which meets from time to time to analyse the progress



The Euro: under the microscope at Bonn

of monetary union in the EU, has been discussing the weakness of the Euro.

Following a meeting at the end of November, the panel, which is chaired by Professor Jurgen von Hagen, Director of Economic and Social Issues at ZEI, argued that the European Central Bank should not, in fact, publish its inflation forecast and its monetary policy orientation for 2001.

The group, which works under the auspices of the Centre for European Integration Studies (ZEI), argued that the weakness of the Euro could well reflect fundamentals or structural macro-economic factors, and that intervention by the ECB alone would fail to provide any long-term boost to the Euro.

The panel believes that if ECB does continue to publish its forecasts, it is likely to come under pressure to adjust rates if forecast differ from the ECB inflation objectives, even if such moves were deemed to be premature.

For the coming year, the monitor group advised that the value of M3 money stocks should grow at 4.5 per cent, while the ECB assess whether the current slow-down in economic activity proves to be transitory before taking any further action on interest rates.

For more information see <http://www.zei.de>



# Theology heads crop of new teaching initiatives

The Europaem's Academic Committee has set up a working group to focus on promoting joint teaching collaboration in the wake of a flurry of activity to promote teaching initiatives. The working group, being chaired by Professor Hubert Kempf of Paris I, who chairs the European Academic Conference will look at criteria and means to aid new teaching initiatives.

Meanwhile progress is being made on three new teaching initiatives, and two established projects. First, Bonn has announced the launch of a Master degree course, **Ecumenical Studies in Protestant Theology** designed to give students with a degree in theology or similar subjects, the opportunity to study various theological traditions, especially with regard to the German contributions to European theology.

Professor Wolfram Kinzig of the Evangelical Theological Faculty, the course co-ordinator, stresses the European dimension of the new course "This will be the first programme of its kind in German theology. It will bring together a mixed group of students from both Bonn and foreign universities who are prepared to discover new religious and theological concepts, but who bring also their own distinctive perspective on the programme." Professor Kinzig believes that the programme will equip participants with flexibility of ideas and sense of mobility between intellectual traditions and European universities which are so strongly needed in today's Europe.

The programme, building on the experience of earlier inter-university

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**The Europaem is busy pursuing joint teaching initiatives designed to develop a European intellectual tradition. PAUL FLATHER reports.**

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exchanges, especially between the two Europaem partners Bonn and Oxford, will include an obligatory study and research visit of several weeks to other Europaem universities and Christian communities abroad. The courses of the first semester will be taught partly in English, and students will complete the two semesters of their study with exams and a Master thesis in the field of Ecumenical Theology. Fees will be moderate, and also contribute to a cultural programme designed especially for participants from abroad. The closing date for applications, to reach the Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät Bonn, is 15 June for the course (starting in mid-October). There are also longer-term discussions for a Europaem BA-level Theology degree, which would involve studies at at least two partner institutions.

Good progress has also been made on the Oxford-Leiden 'Post-Masters' programme which is now planned as a series of modules to be taken at Leiden, Oxford and possibly other Europaem partner institutions, together with a placement at a leading European company. Initial investment for the course, which will be a leadership programme in **European Business and Culture**, is likely to come from Leiden University's Worldwide Fund. Discussions are also underway to turn the Bologna Masters Level Programme in **Political Cultures**

and Political Systems into a Euro-Masters programme, initially linking Bologna and Oxford but also inviting other Europaem partner institutions to join in. They come as new legislation in Italy requires all universities to review and reform the way they are carrying out their postgraduate programmes, and encourages universities to seek out and develop new international links. The previous Europaem Bologna programme was taught at Bologna's Forli campus by staff drawn from across the Europaem. One of the key themes, as before, will be interactions between the political culture of a nation and its present-day political system.

Meanwhile, the **Economics of the European Integration** programme is being run again at Paris I from February to April as a European programme with teaching participation from partner universities, and the lawyers have been extending their teaching collaboration efforts. The **Oxford-Leiden law exchanges** continue to go from strength to strength facilitated personally by Professor Marcel who is a joint appointment between the Oxford and Leiden faculties, shuttling more than 20 times a year between the two universities. Oxford and Geneva lawyers have also been collaborating on a course on the **International Protection of Refugees**, which attracted 50 participants and there are calls to expand the links, drawing in the well-known Refugee Studies Programme and human rights and international relations courses based at Oxford.

For further information, please see <http://www.ev-theol.uni-bonn.de>



# Oxford Historians reach out across Europe

**M**odern European history has long been a central concern of scholars at Oxford. Notable practitioners over recent decades have included Alan Bullock, Raymond Carr, Richard Cobb, John Elliott, Michael Howard, Denis Mack Smith, Hugh Trevor-Roper and Theodore Zeldin. A large number of young historians, British and foreign, have received their professional training at Oxford in the area. Library and archival resources for its study are enormously rich and diverse, yet members of the History Faculty had become increasingly conscious over recent years that provision for research in Oxford in modern European history needed clearer focus, greater coherence in organization, and a more outgoing approach.

It was this that led to the foundation in 1999 of the **Modern European History Research Centre (MEHRC)**. The first priority of this Centre, which already enjoys the active support of more than 30 academics, including modern linguists and political scientists as well as historians, was to inaugurate a new graduate programme in Modern European History. This has taken the form of a two-year M.Phil. course, incorporating the possibility of a free-standing M.Stud. as a first-year qualification. The first students, who enrolled last autumn, are currently being introduced to central methodological and historiographical issues in the field, as well as to a choice of core subjects in European history. These range from religion and politics in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Enlightenment and the upheavals of the mid-19th century, to the First World War and the existential crisis of the 1930s and 1940s, not forgetting the changing experiences of women over the period as a whole. They will shortly begin work on the thesis

**The recent expansion of the Europaeum to Historical Studies has coincided with the foundation at Oxford of a new centre for the study of European history. ROBERT EVANS explains that this is no mere coincidence.**

element in their course, which, typically, will involve them in an extended stay abroad in one of the countries of continental Europe. There is obvious potential here for liaison with our partners in the Europaeum.

The extra seminar and lecture provision associated with the M.Phil. is already designed as a first step towards benefiting modern European Studies within the faculty at large as well as beyond it. We envisage the Centre as enhancing the overall visibility of the subject area, promoting more fruitful contacts with other disciplines at Oxford, of course, and reaching out to those at other European universities.

We have begun to attract funds for conferences and guest lectures and we are now aiming for support to provide funding and facilities to academic visitors, post-doctoral fellows, graduate assistants, and the like. We have premises, modest at present, and more ambitiously, we have begun to bid for major sponsorship of large research ventures. Another matter of pressing concern is to help researchers in the acquisition and maintenance of relevant European languages.

What does 'European' history mean in this context? It is not conceived, as still so often in common parlance in the UK, as standing in contrast to 'British'. We look forward to collaborative projects with colleagues whose expertise lies on the other side of the English Channel from ours: and

extending the openness of Oxford History to like-minded scholars and teachers on the Continent, and to the new institutions of the EU.

An important aspect of our co-operation will naturally be with the Europaeum. The Centre already liaises closely with the Oxford Group and secretariat. It has members with professional interests in all the participating countries and cultures of the Europaeum, and a number of long-standing links with our partner universities. Thus we are preparing to host a prominent lecturer from the Geneva Institute, and practical steps are currently being taken to extend our contacts with Leiden and Prague in particular. We should like to establish closer connections to all those within the Europaeum, whether in History departments or not, who share our agenda of collaboration to investigate crucial aspects of the European past over the last five centuries.

Two themes attracting attention at the centre are the phenomenon of violence in 20th Century history, and the study of the nature and impact of national historical traditions across Europe – a project that could fit Europaeum goals particularly well. Only by furthering work which crosses the traditional political and cultural frontiers within the continent shall we be able to assess what constitutes 'European history' – its scope and its limitations – since the very word 'Europe' began to come into prominence through the parlance of humanists and diplomats at the beginning of our period.

Robert Evans is Regius Professor of Modern History and a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and a coordinator of the MEHRC. The new centre can be contacted via +44 1865 277265. email: mehrc@history.ox.ac.uk



# New Rectors emerge on the Europaeum stage

Crucial to the functioning of the Europaeum has been the active support of the Rectors of the seven partner institutions. Here each of the current group of University heads is briefly introduced

## GENEVA

Professor Peter Tschopp, Director of the Graduate Institute of International Studies since October 1998, studied at the Universities of Geneva and Basel, and has developed his academic career in Geneva 1966 when he completed his PhD in Economics. After spending a year at Yale, he became an assistant professor in 1969, and full professor in Political Economy in 1971. He served as Deputy Rector of the University of Geneva between 1975 and 1977, before becoming Director of the Political Economy department in 1980, and Dean of the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences in 1983.

He also has had an extensive political career, and was a member of the Swiss National Council between 1991 and 1999, also serving on the Commission on Foreign Affairs. He served as Vice-President of the liberal-progressive Radical Democratic Party between 1996 and 1999. He is also President of the *Vivamos Mejor Foundation*, which leads development projects in Central America.

## PARIS

Professor Michel Kaplan, director of the Centre for the History of Medieval Middle-Eastern and Byzantine Civilisations, serves as President of Paris 1 until May 2003. He studied History at the Sorbonne, graduating in 1968, and



Professors Peter Tschopp (left), Michel Kaplan (centre) and Ivan Wilhelm in discussion at a Europaeum Council Meeting in Prague

continuing his academic career in Paris. He specialised in medieval history, and later in the Middle East in particular, becoming a Professor in 1988. His post-doctoral thesis *La terre et les hommes à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle, propriété et exploitation du sol* was published in 1992, and his *All the gold of Byzance* has been translated into eight languages.

Professor Kaplan has served as Director of the Faculty of History, between 1990 and 1995, and Vice-President from 1997 to 1999. His current research interest is the social attitudes and behaviour of the Byzantine period.

## PRAGUE

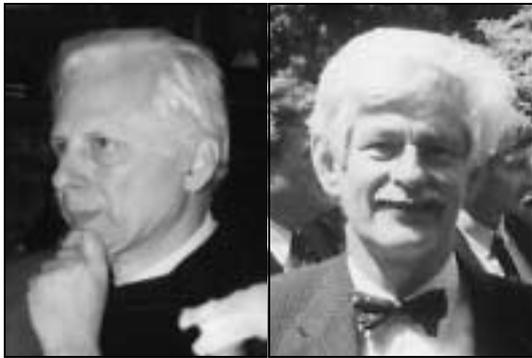
Professor Ivan Wilhelm was appointed Rector in February last year, for a three-year term, and finalising Charles University's accession to the Europaeum was one of his first achievements. Since 1994 he served as Vice-Rector for Development. His teaching career began at the Czech Technical University in 1964, where he joined the faculty of

Technical and Nuclear Physics and specialised in the physics of the atomic nucleus.

He moved to Charles in 1971, and also worked at the Combined Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna, making important breakthroughs in the measurement of scattering and spin dependence for polarised nucleons. He has produced over 80 research publications during his career, and scores of articles. In 1990 he became Director of the Charles University Nuclear Centre, and contributed to the collaboration between Charles and CERN on the ATLAS project.

## BOLOGNA

Professor Pier Ugo Calzolari was elected as the new Rector of Bologna University last year, taking up office on November 1st. He succeeds Professor Fabio Roversi Monaco and will serve until 2005. Professor Calzolari was previously Director of the Department of Electronics and Computer Science (DEIS), between 1988 and 1994, a member of the Academic Senate from



Professors Pier Ugo Calzolari and William Wagenaar

1991 to 1996, and since 1994 has been responsible for the University's International Relations.

He was born in Bologna and studied at the university, graduating with a *laurea* in Electronic Engineering in 1962. His primary interest is in the field of semiconductor device physics, and the dynamic behaviour of integrated circuits. His research also covers photovoltaic energy conversion. In 1964 he became Assistant Professor of Radiotechnics at the Engineering Faculty, and received his full professorship, in Applied Electronics, in 1979.

### LEIDEN

Professor William Wagenaar was elected Rector of Leiden University in 1997. He trained as an experimental psychologist at the Universities of Utrecht and Leiden. After 20 years at the Institute for Perception TNO, an institute of the National Organization for Applied Research, he moved in 1985 to Leiden University, where he developed two research programmes: one on human error, with a special emphasis on industrial safety; one on human memory, with special emphasis on autobiographical memory and eyewitness reliability. The first led to the design of the TRIPOD-system for proactive and reactive safety analysis, used by industrial enterprises worldwide. The second programme has

resulted in his involvement as an expert witness in over 200 court cases. Professor Wagenaar has served in many national and international posts, and is a member of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences. As a hobby, the Rector has collected hundreds of magic lanterns and ten thousands of slides.

He even has his own magic lantern theatre, with seating for fifty visitors.

### BONN

Professor Klaus Borchard became Rector of Bonn University in 1997. He was born in Muenster, and completed his undergraduate studies in Architecture and Town Planning at University of Technology, Munich in 1964. He spent two years at the Institute for Town Planning and Housing and three years as Government Building Deputy Surveyor at the Bavarian Interior Ministry. He became a Government Building Surveyor in 1967 and later Chief Research Engineer at the University of Technology, Munich, while holding a lectureship at the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Technology, Munich-Weihenstephan.

In 1974, he took a PhD from the



Dr Colin Lucas, Chairman of the Europaeum Council, and Professor Klaus Borchard

University of Technology, Munich. In 1976 he was appointed to a C4 level Chair in Urban Development and Settlement Politics at Bonn University, and became Director of the Institute for Town Planning, Land and Soil Management, and Cultural Technology. Professor Borchard has undertaken urban development and planning projects, research visits and lecture tours in many overseas countries. He is a member of several professional societies of town planning and urban development, and holds many honorific posts.

### OXFORD

Dr Colin Lucas, Chairman of the Europaeum Council, has been Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford since 1997 and his term lasts until 2004. He did his undergraduate and post-graduate work at Lincoln College, Oxford. He was a lecturer at Sheffield University from 1965 to 1970, and at Manchester University from 1970. He was Fellow and Tutor in Modern History at Balliol College (1973–90) and Professor of History and then Dean of the Division of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago (1990–94).

He was Master of Balliol College between 1994 and 1997. He has also been a Visiting Professor at the Universities of Lyon-II, Indiana and Cornell. Among his publications are *The Structure of the Terror* (Oxford, 1973), with Gwynne Lewis; *Beyond the Terror* (Cambridge, 1983), ed. *The Political Culture of the French Revolution* (Oxford, Pergamon, 1988), and ed. *Rewriting the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991) as well as numerous essays and articles.

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# EVROPAEVM Diary

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## April 2001

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### Academic Committee

The Academic Committee meets in Paris on April 6th, under the Chairmanship of Professor Hubert Kempf, accompanied by a roundtable on *The Euro and the International Monetary System*.

### Europaeum Conference

*The Turning Point of the 1960s* a Historians' conference on the late 20th Century, at Bologna University on 20th–21st April.

For details contact: Professor Paolo Pombeni – [pombeni@spbo.unibo.it](mailto:pombeni@spbo.unibo.it)

## May 2001

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### Europaeum Conference

*Telecommunications, the Internet, and Learning* An international conference at the University of Bonn.

For details contact: Dr Hartmut Ihne – [ihne.cicero@uni-bonn.de](mailto:ihne.cicero@uni-bonn.de)

### Research and Communications Network

New Theme Groups, each with its own Academic Directors and Supervising Editors, will be launched. For more information about the network and how to register, see [www.europaeum.org/ercn.shtml](http://www.europaeum.org/ercn.shtml)

### E-commerce Workshop

A workshop on the impact of e-commerce on European Law, to held in Oxford between 15th and 17th May, is being organised by lawyers in Oxford and Leiden.

For details contact: Professor Stephen Weatherill – [stephen.weatherill@some.ox.ac.uk](mailto:stephen.weatherill@some.ox.ac.uk)

### Europaeum Lecture

Professor Philippe Burrin, of Geneva University, will lecture on *Strands of*

*Nazi Anti-semitism* on Wednesday 16th May, at 17:00 in the Taylorian Lecture Theatre. There will also be a roundtable involving Europaeum academics the following morning, between 09:30 and 11:30, at Magdalen College.

## June 2001

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### Europaeum Conference

*The Space of Opinion: Cultural and Political Reviews in Europe*, an international conference on the role of intellectuals in building a new Europe for the 21st Century – to be held 1st & 2nd June at Bologna University, promoted by *Associazione Il Mulino*. For details and registration, please contact: Professor Paolo Pombeni – [pombeni@spbo.unibo.it](mailto:pombeni@spbo.unibo.it).

### Europaeum Council

The Council will meet at the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne on June 29th. This event will also be accompanied by a Europaeum Lecture.

## August 2001

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### Summer School – Economics

*The Monetary Theory and Policy* ZEI Summer School will be held from August 6th to 15th, 2001 in Bad Honnef near Bonn. Application deadline: 31st May 2001

See [www.zei.de](http://www.zei.de) for details and application procedure.

## September 2001

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### Europaeum Policy Forum

*Democracy and the Internet* addressing the impact of new technologies on democratic processes. Sponsored by BT. Date to be confirmed.

## October 2001

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### Research Project Groups

October 10th is the closing date for the next round of funding applications – please submit applications to the Secretariat.

See [www.europaeum.org/erpg.shtml](http://www.europaeum.org/erpg.shtml) for full details.

## Autumn 2001

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### Europaeum Lawyers Conference

A conference on *World Blocs and their influence on Law, Politics and Economics* will be organised by Oxford Lawyers

For details contact: Professor Stephen Weatherill – [stephen.weatherill@some.ox.ac.uk](mailto:stephen.weatherill@some.ox.ac.uk)

## December 2001

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### Europaeum Conference

*Borderless Education: Bridging Europe*, the first of the *Europaeum-DaimlerChrysler Project* international expert conferences linked to the theme of new partnerships, will be staged at Humboldt University, Berlin on 3rd and 4th (t.b.c.) The project, sponsored by DaimlerChrysler Services, is investigating how European universities will lead the Knowledge Revolution.

## Spring 2002

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### Europaeum Students' Conference

*Human Rights and European Community Law*, at Leiden University, will be linked to the introduction of Euro notes and coins.

For updated diary see

<http://www.europaeum.org>