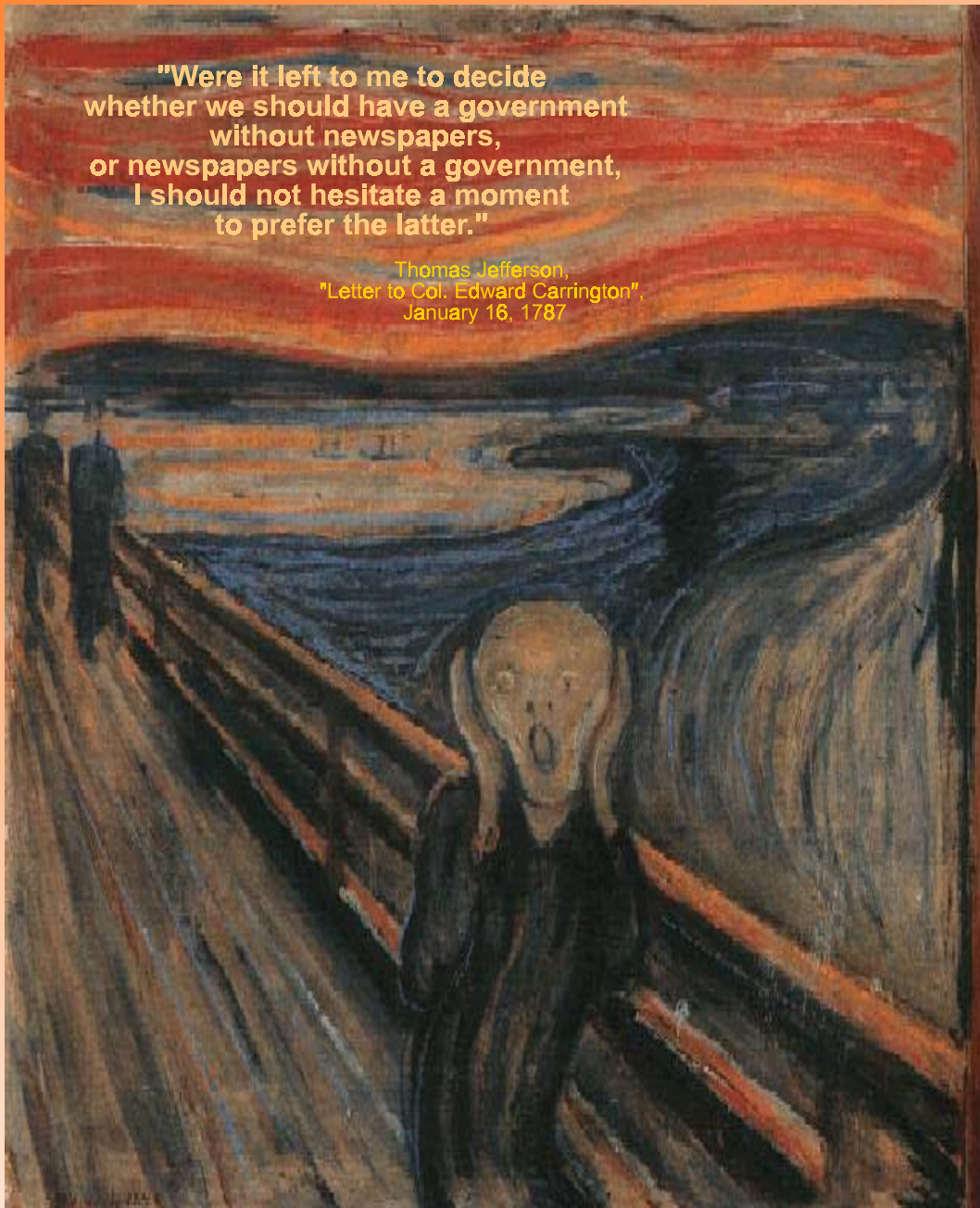


# Politikon

*the IAPSS journal*

"Were it left to me to decide  
whether we should have a government  
without newspapers,  
or newspapers without a government,  
I should not hesitate a moment  
to prefer the latter."

Thomas Jefferson,  
"Letter to Col. Edward Carrington",  
January 16, 1787



## the Columnist

*Politikon, first of many issues. Politikon, first of many years. Politikon, first step of a long long way that will become a tradition in short time. Politikon, the first edition of the first international political science students' journal.*

*Today is the day we all were longing for; it represents a big effort made by students of political science who decided to dedicate their energies to compose an editorial product such as Politikon. These people are the members of the board. On behalf of the Executive Committee and of the whole IAPSS I thank them to have transformed a project into something concrete. And I want to thank them in advance for the great work they will do for the next two issues.*

*Now, you have just printed issue no. 1 from your computer and you hold in your hands a 30 page copy. Many articles to inaugurate this journal, many articles written by students mainly for students, but not only. An issue to be spread all over our universities, an issue to share opinions and try to understand different points of view, an issue to deepen our studies, to have different sources, to find new approaches, to consider other possibilities, an issue like the ancient Athens docks, where new gods and new ideas came every day with ships.*

*The choice of the cover has not been casual. We wanted something to be strong and effective, something to shout to the world that Politikon is finally out there, something to remind us the essence of political science, thus the world is made of wrong and evil situations that we – as students of political science, as the next generation to be called to lead the world – should contribute to solve in the most peaceful way, to reach the best of the possible worlds. Today we inaugurate a new tool for IAPSS. May it last forever and prosper.*

**Alessio Sanguinetti**  
IAPSS Chairman

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<b>Giuliano Gennaio (Rome)</b>	<b>Alina Dragolea (Bucharest)</b>
<b>Jan Zutavern (Bern)</b>	<b>Andrea Theocharis (Marburg)</b>
<b>Allan Guldberg (Aarhus)</b>	<b>Per Martin Martinsen (Oslo)</b>
<b>Urs Wahl (Bremen)</b>	<b>Taina Ahtela (Helsinki)</b>
<b>Marcus Graetsch (Bremen)</b>	<b>Silja Sukselainen (Helsinki)</b>
<b>Benjamin Zyla (Goettingen)</b>	<b>Mojca Nemgar (Ljubljana)</b>
<b>Claudiu Craciun (Bucharest)</b>	<b>Juris Dubrovskis (Latvia)</b>

Graphic by "La-F Edizioni" ————— *Ottavio Di Bella*  
Pictures by Design Moments ————— *Eleonora Tantarò*

join the board: write to [<excom2001@iapss.org>](mailto:excom2001@iapss.org)

# A real IAPSS Odyssey

*The idea of establishing an association for political science students was born in 1996 in Rome (Italy), during a trip of the Society for Political Science Students in Leiden (The Netherlands), the SPIL.*

*People wondered why there was no such association. Most academic disciplines have a network, but political science had none.*

*Yet, in the era of international co-operation and unification among the world's nations, is there a study that could benefit more from such an association than political science does? Enormous challenges are awaiting us, from the future role of the United Nations to the further integration of Europe, from overcoming environmental problems to fighting terrorism and crime.*

*Political science is indeed a very suitable field to have its own international students association. **Our main goal is to build a large network of local societies and organise an exchange of information between those organisation by means e-mails, internet, phone and ordinary mail, thus offering a clear view of organisations in other countries to our students.***

*It will make it easier for students to find contacts for international study programs, it will make information and data more easily accessible and in general it will facilitate a more global view for essays.*

*By means of this network we want to set up international discussions about various subjects on the internet, and publish interesting outcomes in regularly published journal and newsletter that will be distributed to all fellow-societies.*

*These publications will probably also be the carrier of comments on new political science literature, news about the whereabouts of political scientists and their works, events and lectures about various other subjects.*

*The journal will also provide an exchange market for various empirical data and information that students need for their studies. Our association may also try to provide and stimulate the possibility to participate in a summer class, where political science students will be bale to benefit from local expertise among Europe's finest universities. Even within those existing student exchange programs, such as Socrates/Erasmus, the association will be valuable by making it easier to get in contact with students at a foreign university.*

*Main activity of the association is the organisation of an **annual congress** (conference) to meet our political science colleagues from abroad and find answers to questions that are especially suitable for multinational discussions.*

*Our ultimate goal is an active, world-wide association for political science students that can improve understanding among nations through their most valuable assets: its people and, especially, its students.*

Giuliano Gennaio—  
—ASP Roma Luiss

# Whom is political science for?

Andrea Theocharis  
-University of Mar-  
burg  
Marcus Graetsch  
-University of War-  
wick

## Abstract

*We all study political science, but - what do we actually do here anyway?*

*This essay expresses our thoughts about our subject. The everyday life in University doesn't seem to give enough space for questioning what is this all about? Maybe a debate on that issue does not exist extensively because of fears of the loss of entitlement. The aim of this essay is to support the heightening of student's awareness about the status quo of research and teaching in political science as we can judge it from our modest experiences. Trying to get to the basis of such a problem is not easy. The things here written are surely not the state of the art, but they could shine a better light on the problem what had been called the 'politics of political science' in an earlier Internet discussion on the IAPSS-website. This paper should be understood as a start for a discussion, where we all can express our surely different experiences and ideas.*

Since we have often been told to be one of the *elites of tomorrow* or even "*future leaders*" (e.g. on

IAPSS –Conferences in Oslo and Debrecen, on NMUN in New York), our self- reflection is directed at our possible future responsibility. A survey of our national association for political science students showed that many students entering the university pursue a career in the media business. For them, the reason to study political science is to become a journalist. Many other polsci-students want to work in International Organisations. Both ideas can be linked to something like having an influence on the public or even having a leadership function in a contemporary society, with a growing awareness of the international sphere. The word "Globalisation", whatever the differences of its definitions may be, puts the development in a nutshell.

So we asked ourselves: What do we actually learn? And

what does it may cause? For whom and how do we act, through learning specific ideas and later promoting them, may it as journalists who contribute to spread ideas or may it as bureaucrats who negotiate, govern or manage parts of public life?

## Let the ideas flourish

It is obvious that we learn from our social environment and especially from the scientific community of political science of today, of which we are already a part. Hence one has to keep in mind that this learning has an influence on political behavior. According to Peter L.Berger and Thomas Luckmann most people develop views and ideas which reflect closely the social and political circumstances that surround them. This 'sociology of knowledge' causes us to believe certain things and even convinces us that those things are objectively true (Berger/Luckmann,



LUISS University, Rome

1967, esp. pp.1-19). Since we are concerned about the contemporary situation of our planet and being aware of our future responsibility, it seems quite important to us to look at the current situation of political science in our universities and as far as we can value it also outside. To bring the spotlight towards the right direction we could ask 'how is the situation of political science' but we believe that doesn't go into it deep enough. Inspired by the claim of the international relations critical theorist Robert W. Cox 'theory is always for someone and for some purpose' (Cox et.al., 1996 [1981], p. 87) we asked us: For whom is political science?

Since the goal of every science is to produce knowledge and knowledge means power, we asked ourselves



concerning political science: *For whom is this power?* \*

According to Habermas, research in science is of all kind always related to a specific interest. Different interests are possible. Habermas distinguished between a technical-instrumental interest on learning, which enables humans to extend control over nature. Secondly a moral-practical interest through which humans learn how to achieve more consensual social relations. Thirdly an emancipatory interest which should lead to identification and eradication of unnecessary confinements and constraints (See Ashley, 1981, p. 233-234). Out of these interests deriving, through research of scholars, theories.

Contemporary political science research and teaching can be characterised by the dominance of positivistic approaches. Positivistic means, by doing research where



there is a belief in the unity of science, i.e. were the same methodologies apply in both the scientific and non-scientific world. These methodologies were used by Newton for the natural sciences and introduced by Comte and others to social sciences. The belief is that there is a possible distinction between facts and values, with facts being neutral between different theories. It also assumed that the social world, like the natural one, has regularities, and that these can be 'discovered' by our theories in much the same way as scientist do by looking for regularities in nature. Another assumption is that the way to determine the truth of statements is able by appealing to these neutral facts.

As political science students we are confronted often with this approach circumscribed with the term empirical analysis. Because of the dominance of positivistic theories that favor empirical-analytical research often every other approach is seen as unscientific.

In Habermas distinction these empirical-analytical approach has an interest to control nature, or for political scientist more relevant society. Related to our question for whom political science is the answer gives a heavy weight on this group of people who want to control society. Important to mention is that the question of what is the common good for the society stands in the background, if it is not fully neglected.

Once upon a time political science asked for "good government" but more and more the question transformed into that of "effective government". And we as students,

we get "hammered-in" all these methods how to control society effectively. How to measure income inequality, what effects does inequality have? Use of mathematical methods here and there and you became an expert. Use the Gini coefficient, make a regression analysis, do clustering. Sort humans AND their behavior into numbers and try to understand reality through these mathematical methods. And if you understand how to change income inequality then you can give a policy expert tip towards your government or whatever. You can tell them which screw they have to turn and how much to give the lower quintile (another nice word which separated humans from each other) exactly that income they need to keep them in silent.

It is all about how do we achieve this and how do we achieve that. We do not take our time and the departments of today lesser focus to set up lectures, which are concerned with the question why are we doing all this? Why do "big questions" – ethical or morally formulations of questions have less and less space in the political science community?

Recently in the American Political Science Association there started a revolt. Mr. Perestroika and other were not satisfied with the democratic situation in the association. One has to melt this away on ones tongue, the Association of a subject which is strongly related to democracy in a country which is called to be the most democratic in the world, this Association has a lack in - democracy.

One could think that this is a nice cartoon or comedy story, but it is real: "The Association never entertained the wildly radical notion of conducting internal elections. What rules is a cozy arrangement whereby a committee chosen by the president nominates its successor members who picks the next governing council who pick the next president, and so on." (Jacobsen, 2001). Are all these 'experts' of democracy not able to live it through their own association? Or is that on purpose? What seems clear is that in the open society the association of a subject, which is concerned with exactly this society, is closed.

Anyway the furthermore interesting thing is that under the "governments" of this association the main journal, the widely read and heavy important American Political Science Review, is suspiciously biased with articles which use the rational choice theory as starting point of research. "Rational choice theory derives from neo-classical economics, which ambitious political scientists notice grabs lots of Nobel Prizes. The theory deploys a set of assumptions about behavior that boil down complicated lives and societies to prioritized "rational" choices in any given situation. In short, political science is sancti-

#### Endnotes:

\* The power/ knowledge distinction is elaborated in Michel Foucaults 'Truth and Power', in: Michel Foucault, 'Power/Knowledge', 1980, New York and London, pp. 109-133

ifying a chalkboard universe inhabited by "Homo economicus," which, in the name of utility maximization, tries to erase all trace of culture, history, personality or any quirky quality that might smudge the one size fits all model." (Jacobson, 2001). Basically one could say we leave the social out of our science. Humans become a heartless, computer-like rational decision-maker. How could one expect to reach a "good society" in a world, which is full of such zombies?

The hope here is that the struggle of the Perestroika movement themes to take fruits. But the awareness of such a problem cannot be overemphasized. If we as students are not aware that these humanly constructed regimes of truth is nothing more than a construction, one runs in danger to take science of that way for granted. Follow your rational choice leader, do as he/she does and everything is fine could lead to a regime of truth which has totalitarian aspects.

Social science should and must live through pluralism. And any teacher of those subjects should be aware of his/her responsibility. They should not drop, systematically or not, other ideas of how to understand the world under the table. Students should have the offer of diverse ideas; they should make their own judgements of which theoretical approach serves MY interest and which not. If a single department or even a single teacher does not take this into account than the danger is there that students, through the mechanisms of the sociology of knowledge stated above, adapt to uncritical ideas which 'govern the universe'.

The Political Science Students Association could take the post-autistic student movement in France and elsewhere as a good example for fighting against the dictatorship of reason reflected through mathematical oversimplifications \*\*. But we not only should be concerned about those number games; also the underestimation of other research ideas should bother us.

Critical theoretical and all the post-modern ideas like for example post-structuralism, feminism have their right to become taught to us. We are the people who should decide what we want to use and what not. Every other teaching methods is undemocratic in the end.

#### Something to hide?

Although *power* is a main subject in the field of pol-sci, it seems to us that today power is analyzed insufficiently. Important structures of power are maybe intentionally or unintentionally not taken into consideration of political science analyses.

Structures of power have an influence on every dimension of human relations but the majority of political science analyses are state-centered. What about for example

psychological ties that have a determining influence on all social relations? Since "soul economy" can be influenced by every political and economical development, political psychology needs to be an integral part of research and curriculum in order to understand political events.

The situation described above, repressing some ideas, is also heavily related to power. Specific ideas could lead through practice to specific power relationships. Regimes of truth decide what is right or wrong, they could lead to the fact that for example a dictatorship is taking for granted within a society because, the members of the society do not have the other ideas, which dismisses dictatorship.

What has this to do with political science? Surely the impact of ideology is and was of concern in political science research. But one could say that contemporary student at universities simply do not learn enough of that impact.

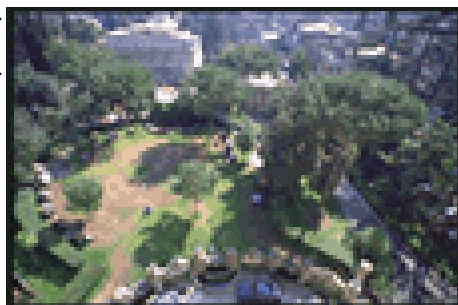
Let's take for example the political field of economic policy. Is not this field related to specific economical ideas of key thinkers in economy?

A political decision-maker is guided exactly towards those ideas which decision they should make to achieve this or that result. But if one looks at contemporary teaching of those economic ideas one could think their seems to be only one idea and that it is true. Nearly every economic first year textbook seems really to promote only specific ideas. But not all which became developed throughout economic research. You find for example nearly nowhere the ideas of Silvio Gesell who developed ideas of a 'Free Economy' which is a critical examination of the monetary system\*.

Even more and more the ideas of Marx went into the trashbin. But should a textbook which is used in so called 'open societies' simply underestimate even any idea, although there is no proof that everything of those ideas are wrong? And what exactly should that mean for the power relations if the future decision-makers simple only reflect and use what they got taught at the university? How open are those societies really? And in whose interest could this happen?

Another example of underestimated power relations is also related to the production of ideas. Gabriel A. Almond is well known to nearly every third year political science student.

His and Co-authors Sidney Verbas, 'Civic Culture' is quite popular. The research findings are chewed through in the early years of studying political science. Their methods became state of the art. But the knowledge



#### Endnotes:

\* The 'post-autistic economics network' website: <http://www.paecon.net/>

\*\* See Werner Onken's short paper: 'A Market Economy without Capitalism' for an introduction to Gesell ideas: <http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~roehrigw/onken/engl.htm>

which has been produced in the name of "objective"

science, which is concerned only to elaborate the truth and nothing but the truth, is under suspicion to serve in the first place the national security agency and/or the government. 'His scholarship tracked US foreign policy concerns, and it was part of a broader Cold War cultural formation. 'Political culture', thus, was not pure of the politics of national security.' (Oren, 2000, p. 543)

One could ask, what about all the fuzz? Well it is not the problem that it is a work for and maybe indirectly by the national security agency which is of concern, but more that it is not explicitly said that it is. A student and a scholar could make other judgements about research, if it is clear in whose interest it is made. Simple hiding it seems unscientific. Surely stating it does not necessarily lead to solve all those problems, for example we do not get the information which research is not made after the rejection of funding or whatever. Why do for example the American political scientists do not cover the important problem of racism in their country seriously enough? \* Or why is the process of German unification nearly uncovered as if it is not of importance?

#### Where is the action?

John F. Kennedy once said that he runs for president because there is where the action is. With action he surely meant power. So the political science community research a lot about the American presidency. The impact of parties, trade unions, business unions, social movements, think tanks, foreign governments and so on are all elaborated. But do we really take everything into consideration? What is the real impact of the several 'discussion councils' for foreign policy making like the Council on Foreign Relations in the United States the Royal Institute of International Affairs in the United Kingdom or the German society for foreign policy?

What is the effect of the meetings in the Mont Pelerin Society and the Bilderberg group? Do they drink tea and play golf and have only chitchat about the world like any group of political science students in pubs? Or do they *make* politics there, is there the action?

If those things aren't covered by anybody within the scientific community and only by a bunch of extremists in the outside than this is questionable.

#### Helo, helo - is there a world out there?

One of the main characteristics of pol-sci is that a quite little of its output reaches the public. Is the public really not interested in the results or can we find the reasons inside the working method of the scientific community?

If that is so, what leads to the building of the so-called "Ivory Tower" where the knowledge power is isolated?

In 1968 the Otto-Suhr-Department of political science of the Free University in Berlin agreed on new statutes, which stated: "The department – examines in research and teaching the shaping and structure of public life under empirical-analytical and normative aspects with a variety of scientific methods; because of that, it elaborates conditions for the broadening of freedom and self-determination in all areas of society." This can be labeled as a democratization agreement.

In reality, democracy has always been a subject of political science that has mainly been defended; but quite seldom it has been seen as a goal that still has to be reached and really worked on in the Western World.

But let's get back to the "Ivory Tower". Somehow scientists tend to create their own language, their political science jargon, which ensures them to appear scientific. This leads to exclusion and at least in Germany to the "worship of the incomprehensible". In the end, scientists write for scientists only and then science degenerates into an end in itself.

Lets take for example what an editor of the Political Quarterly Tony Wrigth wrote about bad language: "Here is one example, typically of many others, from a political scientists: 'It is possible to offer a discussion of the 'Pacific Asian model' in terms which gesture to an ideal-typical political-economic configuration, related to social-institutional structures, and associated cultural forms.' Is anybody supposed to read this kind of stuff? Academics are writing more and more about less and less, and in a mutilated language that cuts them off from the public arena. Is it because they really have nothing to say, or because – even if they had – they have forgotten how to say it?" (Wright, 2001).

The task of an emancipatory science can not be limited to university. If the democratization- task of our subject is

taken serious, political science needs to have broader demands to itself. The political scientist Harald May once said: "Parliamentarianism without feedback in society is Oligarchy." What about science then? One can then say: Science without feedback in society is oligarchy of knowledge.

But the use of language is also in other ways important. In social sciences we very often make definitions of specific concepts. The purpose to do this is to make things easier instead of saying for example "a person who is enrolled in a university for education" someone says just "student". If someone would talk about these unwashed



#### Endnotes:

\* Thank Mr. Ido Oren for that tip

persons then the word 'student' simply replaces the whole fragment. Concepts we often use in political science are for example 'leadership', 'authority', 'sovereignty', 'power' and so on. Many of these concepts are well known in the public opinion but others are not. Who knows what a concordance democracy is, or even a consensus democracy? But the main problem is if we take concepts just for granted, without taking them under critical investigation. Take for example the concept of the Gross Domestic Product, what does this number really measure? We use it to talk about the wealth of nations, how it develops, in what conditions the economy is and so on? But do we also relate it to the whole society of that country? We compare the GDP numbers of different countries, but do both numbers really are came in the same way about? Aren't their different national techniques to count them? And if so is that still comparable?

It is said that GDP reflects the wealth of a nation state. Wealth has to do with well being; therefore it is said that GDP reflects the well being of ... yeah the well being of what exactly? The economy, the whole society or what? If you drove with a car on the pedestrian walk and causes that one human has to sit in future in a wheel chair, that will increase the GDP. But did you really increase the well being than? What is with the well being of the person in the wheelchair? Does that life not count more than the production of a wheelchair, the repair service for the car and so on? The same with ecological problems, if you produce whatever in a factory which pollutes whatever does that really contribute to the well being of the society if humans became ill because of that pollution?

It should be made clear that this is not against any kind of measurements, but we should be aware that we know what we exactly know what has been measured if we use numbers of any authority. The way those numbers came about should be as transparent as possible in every situation. It is simply unjust if governmental administration changes for example the way the unemployment rate is set up from on legislature towards another. If that happens society could think well done party Y you decreased unemployment, whereas the real unemployment is the same ore even more, but now people who are in a specific education program, but waiting for a job, simply do not count anymore. And not only society is taken for a ride by administration, scientists often enough also are. Although measurements change over the years they seem to be used unreflective too often in comparison studies. For

what purpose should research be then, just to give a bunch of paper which could legitimize this or that policy? In the last years the debate about the aim of pol-sci focused on the idea of politics consulting/ management. The idea is not to inform the public but to inform, support or help specialists. Which is in general not a bad idea. There is of course the danger of mutual abuse. Anyway, why isn't there the same demand to inform, support or help society to really live their democracy? Isn't it a fact that people live in democracy but the vast majority doesn't really know how it works? It almost seems to be mainly a "spectator-democracy".

### Conclusion

"Power is if you can convince others of your definition of truth" (John R. Saul)

The way of teaching as we have experienced it so far suffers from a lack of creativity and does rarely encourage independent thinking. Since the scientific community also underlies structures of power, a danger of having an atmosphere of a "ruling" method or a "ruling" theory is given also in our university life. Of course dominating theories oppress other knowledge or theories. That means for us as a first step, as students to think about the possibility of searching for and using different literature than the one proposed by our professors. Unfortunately, this is by no means a matter of course. And this can by any case only be the start of trying to study and act more conscious. Looking at all the different problems listed above, one can sum up, that the prevailing political science as we describe it, can be suspected of disguising certain coherence and subliminal legitimising the status quo in a general way. It also runs the risk of getting totalitarian if we as student's do not get aware of our possibilities to bring pluralism back to our subject. Not sure of really having reached the bottom of all the questions we had, we conclude with a last statement. We have the possibility to broaden our demands to political science and can decide about the way we research, write and speak as far as we start thinking about it. What does that mean? You do not have to study many years first, to be able to judge certain developments in our scientific community, you can do this right now. And we hope that many of you share your experiences and thoughts with us in future discussions about political science as our sphere of influence.

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# The Case for Globalisation

By Allan Guldberg,  
Aarhus Universitet, Denmark

## What is globalisation?

Globalisation is a flimsy and unclear concept, used in various ways to denote various phenomena. In this article however, globalisation is taken as meaning the increase of trade and especially free trade, that is supposed to have happened over the last few years. This done mainly for the reason, that free trade is what is often being described by those who claim themselves to be opposed to globalisation, or at least globalisation at it is occurring at present.

## The least of all evils

In his book *Law, Legislation and Liberty* the Austrian economist Friedrich-August von Hayek, devotes an entire chapter(ch.9) to the question and phenomenon of social justice. The gist of the position of the whole school of Austrian economics, is that the market order is the result of a spontaneous process, in which untold amounts of information is dispersed among millions of persons, directing resources in directions where they are most effectively put to use for the greatest good of mankind (1). This is a process which no central authority or agency could ever emulate or better, mainly because it will lack the specific knowledge required from situation to situation. The result will always be a totalitarian government acting arbitrarily towards its subjects.

The issue of social justice, is the question of whether different levels of income and wealth can be defended, supposedly ending with the answer that they cannot in themselves. Hayek argues against this, that it is not possible to attain equality of result, without drastically curbing basic human rights. True, the market might not always reward the most merited, or always punish the undeserving, but neither will anyone else, the market is better at it. He then goes on to state, that even the question of justice and fairness is absurd in this context, since those concepts must

necessarily be the result of deliberate human action. A quality which the market order, or catallaxy (2), lacks. The market is not perfect, but infinitely better than the alternative (3).

## Is Poverty increasing?

The basic question, we have to ask is whether globalisation, necessarily creates winners and losers and leads to increased inequality in the world? The second question is

whether a poverty increase if it does exist, is occurring because of or perhaps in spite of, globalisation?

## Abstract

*This article starts with stating the Hayekian position, that social justice is an unattainable, and even undesirable goal for the development of human society. Whereas the market economy, might not always result in the best possible result for each and every individual, the alternatives are by far worse. It then goes on to the international level and shortly examines the findings of the UNDP, of increasing poverty and also why this might not be true. Next it reviews the possible connections between the so called globalisation, here defined as the evolvement of free trade, and poverty levels. It then clarifies some basic questions on how free markets would affect the developing nations, before finishing with the possible alternatives, that would only make matters worse.*

According to organisations such as the UNDP (United Nations Development Program), it appears that poverty is not only on the rise but rampant on the globe as we know it today. In their Human Development report published in 1999, the organisation examined the ratio of income among the quintile living in the richest countries to the quintile living in the poorest. It appeared that the ration had risen from 30:1 in 1960 through 60:1 in 1990 to 72:1 in 1997 (5). It thus ap-

peared that, not only where the rich getting richer but the poor getting poorer aswell.

However, a report published by the Norwegian Institute of Foreign Policy, asserts that this is a false picture (5). First of all UNDP's own numbers, shown in the corresponding publication from 1998, stated the 1995 ratio, as 82:1 which must mean that in the last six years inequality has been decreasing (6). Secondly, the Norwegian report criticizes UNDP, for failing to adjust their findings for purchasing power. If that is done, according to the Norwegian report, the conclusion is that inequality between countries has been reduced since the 1960, and the trend has continued through the 1990'ies. Even using the UNDP's own methods, and inequality measures such as the Gini coefficient.

This is not to say that the trend applies equally all over the world. In the last 30 years, it has been especially the East Asian countries that have developed, and lately the Latin American economies have been on the rise. Africa is still obviously lagging behind.

1-Hayek, Friedrich-August v. *Law, Legislation and Liberty*

2-From the Greek verb katalalein meaning 'to exchange\*' but also 'to admit into the community' and 'to change from enemy to friend'

3-Hayek, op.cit.

4-UNDP *Human Development Report 1999*

5-Melchior, Arne, Telle, Kjetil & Wiig, Henrik *Globalisering og ulikhet*(Norwegian:Globalisation and Inequality), Norwegian Institute of International affairs, 2000

6-UNDP *Human Development Report 1998*

### Three basic questions

It appears however, that the solution to the problems, that especially Africa seem to be facing, is not the halting of the globalisation process, but the opposite. The expansion of free trade to include the developing countries in Africa and elsewhere. It appears that these countries are not poor because of globalisation, but in large part because this globalisation has passed them by.

There are three basic questions which could be asked which I'll examine in turn. Will free trade benefit the developing countries at all? (1) Trade and an act of trade is generally not a process in which one person is left poorer and the other richer, but an exchange for the mutual benefit of both traders. Today, the developing countries are certainly not in a position in which they can trade their goods freely with, say, the West. The tariffs that most OECD countries, and especially those in the European Union, are imposing on typical 3<sup>rd</sup> world goods, are higher than the tariffs imposed between the OECD countries. This obviously robs the 3<sup>rd</sup> world manufacturers of the opportunity to gain an income on selling their goods on the global market, and where the consumers are, that is mainly in the West. This is a conclusion that was also made, in a report published by the British Labour government entitled *Making Globalisation work for the World's poor*. (2)

Shouldn't the developing countries protect their own industries, especially in the beginning?

There is nothing to indicate this. Since the 1970's the developing countries that have experienced the highest levels of growth are those that have maintained relatively open economies. Exposure to competition, helps the developing economies to innovate, and allocate their resources in the way in which they reap the highest benefits. Furthermore, where developing countries have been able to build some sort of industry, those that have maintained closed economies experienced stagnation and decay, whereas those that have maintained open economies did not. Research also shows that comparative advantages and not just absolute advantages is enough to keep an economy up and running.

Wouldn't globalisation lead to social dumping, and a race to the bottom? True, the particular person might lose his particular present source of income, but a well functioning economy, which is not necessarily a highly developed one, will be able to provide, alternative sources of income, for those who have lost either jobs, businesses or farms. Secondly it is a fact that the richest countries in the world, are also those that have the highest average wage, the best environmental records and rather effective labour organisations. Restriction of, say, unionist activities are often not a specific economic measure, but just one of wide array of policies restricting the basic economic, political and civil rights of the citizens.

### An unviable alternative

The Heritage foundation regularly publishes an Index of economic freedom. Different economic parameters, are ranked on a reversed 5 point scale, according to their correspondance to an ideal of openness. The different countries are ranked based on their average score. The evidence is clear, that the richest countries in the world are also those with the most open and unregulated economies. According to this statistic North Korea is the poorest country, scoring 5 on all parameters. Most African countries are in the bottom half of the table as well.

But what does the opponents of globalisation suggest? A radical solution would be to force the West to share its abundant wealth with the rest of the World. That, would not achieve anything I believe, since the problem is just as much a problem of maintaining high levels of prosperity, not just being given handouts.

Another solution, is to halt the globalisation process, and reduce trade. Preferably through increased protectionism. Thus ignoring the fact, that it is precisely the protectionism of the developed world that is keeping the developing countries on their knees. As an example can be provided the support certain opponents of globalisation has given to the Common Agricultural Policy or CAP, run by the European Union. This policy is responsible, not only for wasting the resources of the European tax payer, and keeping the price of agricultural goods artificially high, but also in maintaining an impregnable barrier against competition from the farmers in the developing world, who are just made to suffer, at the advantage their ineffective European colleagues.

### Free trade

Free trade is the only thing that can ignite economic growth in the developing world, thus reducing poverty. The market might not be perfect, but nothing in human society ever is. And it is this chase for the ideal state, that most often leaves mankind in misery. The market certainly has a stronger case that any conceivable alternative. The road ahead seems not to lie in the reduction, or remodelling of globalisation but the expansion thereof, and expansion to include the areas in the world which globalisation has so far been passing by.

*"If goods do not cross borders – soldiers will!"*

### Litterature

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1-The whole section is based on *Frågor och svar om frihandeln* (Swedish: Q&A on free trade), at [www.frihandel.nu](http://www.frihandel.nu)

2-Department for international development *aking Globalisation work for the Worlds Poor*,

By Mojca Nemgar

# Free trade or people?

The growth of the GDP seems much more important than overall development of the

country. The gap between rich and poor is increasing drastically. Everything that challenges profit e.g. worker's rights, pollution, decreasing absolute poverty is set aside and considered irrelevant. Only few are to decide what the world itself and world economy should be like. G-8, IMF, WB, WTO are deciding about the future of the world in a name of few, as they are deciding about the important matters of humanity away from the eyes of the public. Even the agreement of FTAA (Free Trade Area of Americas) was adopted away from the eyes of the public. Namely FTAA is compromising 34 states of Latin America and North America, although it seems that is only an extension of the NAFTA who has proved to be harmful both for the Mexico, which obviously does not have enough economic power to cope (financial crisis 1995) with thriving American economy, as for Canada, a member of G-8.

The Canada-United and NAFTA Trade agreement can more accurately be described as a economic integration treaty designed to integrate the Canadian, American and Mexican Economies. Among the most important provision are:

- creating a continental energy, water and natural resource markets, guaranteeing the United States privileged access to Canadian
- integrating the Canadian banking system and capital markets with those of the United States by granting U.S. banks national status in Canada, restricting Canada's right to control the inflow of U.S. capital and U.S. takeovers of Canadian firms and resources and granting all American firms national status and the right of operation in Canada,
- granting U.S. firms guaranteed access to Canadian market for services,
- restricting Canadian sovereignty over large areas of internal economic policy (e.g., although the classification of a prohibited subsidy has yet to be agreed upon the two countries, it will almost certainly restrict regional development subsidies, that have been the

backbone of economic development policies dating back to the Confederation.), and restricting the use of the public sector and state aid to promote economic development in Canada.

The NAFTA agreement incorporating Mexico, signed in 1995, is largely the extension of FTA to include Mexico, though the agricultural provisions are somewhat different (Ferfila, 1999).

The problem is that corporations use NAFTA to Attack Environmental Laws: Of the seven known challenges using NAFTA's investor right-to-sue-governments provisions, six involve U.S. corporations attacking federal- or state-level environmental measures in Canada and Mexico. In three cases, the U.S.-based companies are suing Mexico for the right to open hazardous waste disposal facilities. The other three cases involve U.S.-based corporations suing Canada claiming environmental laws are "regulatory takings" against which NAFTA created new investor rights. These include a British Columbia ban on the export by tanker of water to the United States; a federal public health ban on the import of a toxic gasoline additive; and a federal rule temporarily banning the export of PCBs for disposal. The best known of these is the Ethyl Corporation's successful 1997 claim against Canada, which forced the Canadian government to kill a major public health law. The U.S.-based Ethyl Corporation the company that put the lead in leaded gasoline used NAFTA against the government of Canada to get the ban of its gasoline additive MMT reversed. Canada banned MMT because public health officials determined that potential neurotoxins in MMT posed a public health hazard. Ethyl demanded \$251 million in compensation under NAFTA, arguing that Canada's ban constituted an unfair "taking" of Ethyl's property that property included the profits Ethyl expected to earn from the sale of MMT in Canada. Ethyl charged, among other things, that simply by debating the proposed ban, the Canadian parliament had damaged Ethyl's reputation an actionable offense under NAFTA's rights for intellectual

property holders. Faced with the growing likelihood it could lose the suit, Canada agreed to repeal the ban and pay Ethyl \$13 million in damages for lost profits to-date. Contrary to the views of its own Canada further agreed to pronounce MMT safe without scientific evidence and in direct contradiction to the views of the nation's environmental protection agency. Many trade lawyers viewed the Ethyl suit as a test case that would indicate whether NAFTA's investor rights provisions went too far.

*In the 1995 the UN set a target of a 50% reduction in the number of people existing in absolute poverty by 2015. This outcome is to be delivered not by any redistributive mechanism, but rather by application of the particular neoliberal model of development promoted in the 1980s and 1990s by global governance institutions. This model places its faith in the market rather than the state and focuses on export-led growth based on free capital mobility. The model represents a significant departure from the earlier embedded liberalism of the post-second world war period. It is even further removed from a critical alternative model of the development that places needs at the centre. The neoliberal model requires high and sustained growth to achieve the UN's target for poverty reduction, African economies, for example would need to grow at estimated 7% a year on average to reach the target by 2015 (Amoako, 1999).*

*Caroline Thomas, Global governance, development and human security: exploring the links, Third World Quarterly, 2001*

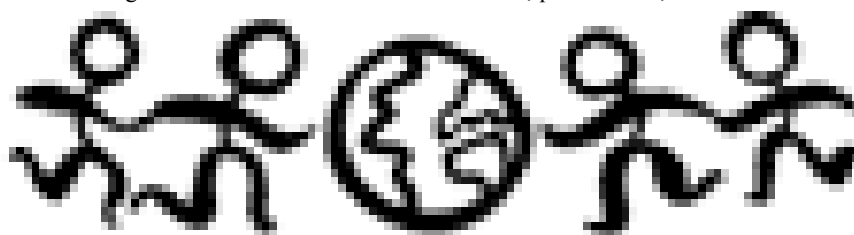
Ethyl vs. Canada certainly did prove that NAFTA provisions are favorizing multinationals not people. Implementing NAFTA did not help at all to create more working places in USA, Canada and Mexico, it just caused the wages to go down while working force in Mexico is cheaper.

Although i have just superficially revised some of the problems connected with globalisation and free trade agreements, it must be obvious from the problems stated above that Global governance institution are promoting neoliberal agenda.

With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe all the alternatives to capitalistic world-system seemed to be history, so we should live happily ever after in democracy and American model of world order. But human rights are also workers rights, right to free education, access to health services, etc. not just freedom of association, freedom of speech. The free market economy which is obviously not free of obstacles since third-world countries have problems with exporting their products to USA and EU, it is only a market dominated by economically and politically most powerful states, and multinationals. On the other hand World Bank and IMF structural adjustment policies have required 36 countries in sub-Saharan Africa -- where more than half of the population lives in absolute poverty -- to decrease domestic consumption and shift scarce resources into production of cash crops for export; state-owned companies and many state services have been privatized, civil services have been drastically downsized, and health and education expenditures have been cut and restructured. The absolute number of people

living in poverty rose in the 1990's in Eastern Europe, South Asia, Latin America the Caribbean, and sub-Saharan Africa--all areas that came under the sway of adjustment programs. What's more, the World Bank has an astounding 65-70 per cent failure rate of its projects in the poorest countries.

Obviously the neoliberal agenda is only blurring the real problems of the today world, since the deregulating of the markets, privatisation, will not make world more just and democratic, because the driving force of the world is not only the » mighty « market. We have not yet come to the end of the history.



## GENOA SOCIAL FORUM

Notes:

G-8 Group of

eight. Established in 1975 as the G5 (France, Germany, Japan and UK and USA) and subsequently expanded to include Canada, Italy and Russia. The G-8 conducts semi-formal collaboration on world economic problems.

GATT General agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Established in 1947. Has coordinated the multilateral negotiations to reduce state restrictions on cross-border merchandise.

It was replaced by WTO 1995, which has a wider agenda and greater powers.

IMF International Monetary Fund. Established in 1945. Membership of 182 states. The IMF oversees short-term cross-border money flows and foreign exchange questions. Since 1979 it has also formulated stabilisation and system transformation policies on states suffering chronic difficulties with international debt (many of Latin American states, Africa) and transitions from communist Central planning.

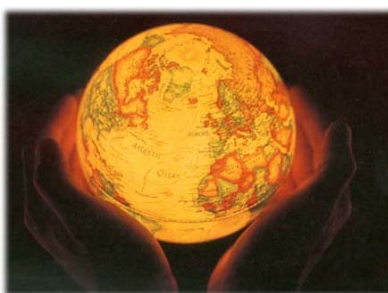
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# Brave new globalisation

by Taina Ahtela

The global economy. Global information exchange. Global politics. Global markets. Global values. Global responsibility. Globalization, “globality”, globalism, the “G-word”, “mondialisation du monde” or “worldization of the world”. Globalization defines both the development optimists’ greatest dreams as well as its critics’ worst nightmares. Its progression cannot be stopped, and mostly the real issue in discussions about globalization concerns the rules that regulate it or rather the lack of them. Whether one loves globalization or hates it, few doubt its existence. But the only thing about globalization that is certain seems to be that there is no agreement either on the concept nor its substance. With its self-legitimizing symptoms it makes talk of the end of history or ideology seem slightly amusing.



Has a significant structural transformation truly taken place and if so, what is it like; what is even meant by globalization? Two books, four specialists and a question: is there something new in all of this?

## Globalization and its criticism

The discussion on globalization is dispersed. There is no hope for an all-encompassing theory, when there isn't even a working set of scientific concepts applicable to globalization. It is a different thing to speak of economic, cultural or communications-technological globalization. Is politics globalized? Globalization is often seen as representing the unavoidable reality, the historical development phase, which, due to its focus on economic aspects, sometimes seems even value-free and outside political control.

Ulrich Beck, who is known for his concept of the “risk society” remarks that despite its value-free rhetoric, globalization hasn't meant the end of politics but rather its extension outside the conceptual structure of the nation-state, outside the traditional dichotomy “political” and “non-political”. (What is globalization? Beck 1999). This perception is common to almost all analyses of globalization and globalization is in fact most often defined as the extension of action (whether this be related to economics, political control, the definition of law or culture) outside the traditional level of the nation-state. It is of central importance, that no longer are individual actors' and, most of all, corporations' opportunities for influence limited to the sphere economic action. At its extreme it is a question of a “market-anarchic minimalist state utopia”

which transforms the world without revolution or even political debate- “business as usual”.

The critical attitude towards globalization usually presents criticism towards the ideology of the so-called “globalism”. What is meant by globalism is the dominance of neo-liberalism in the interpretations of the international economy which has been made possible by globalization's political and ideological side. Globalism sees the dismantling of political administration and the weakening of the role of the state as indicators of progress and, according to Ulrich Beck, all other dimensions as subordinate to this linear economic view. It dissolves the distinction between politics and economics, implicating that political action is replaceable by world markets. It is ironic that also the opponents of globalization have adopted this perception of the hegemony of world markets.

I asked four experts in their own fields how they understand the concept of globalization and how it presents itself to them. Common to all, was that globalization was not seen as a structurally new phenomenon, although, perhaps as something of a new degree, as deepening internationalization or as globalization amongst other phases of globalization. Between the lines were also apparent the threats emanating from globalism. The globalizing economy hasn't given birth to a functioning political, social and legal control mechanism at the global level. And I quote Beck: “a world society without a world state and without a world government”.

## The empire of the liberal market economy

Is there something new about globalization from an economic perspective then? Grahame Thompson and Paul Hirst question the concept of globalization from an economic perspective in their book *Globalization in Question* (Polity Press, 1996). According to them globalization has become a fashionable concept, which perceives the fundamental dynamic of the world economy as having changed structurally. But Hirst and Thompson reject the idea that the accelerating internationalization of the economy that has taken place after the 1970s reflects the formation of a “global” economic structure as something distinct from previous internationalization. They also demonstrate that the international economy was partly even more integrated at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century than now. And on the question of transnational corporations, Hirst and Thompson claim that the national level has not lost its meaning. Quite the opposite actually, the central actors in the



tions that have a national base.

Also the director of the Department of Economics at the University of Helsinki, Tapio Palokangas says that no qualitative break has taken place. Globalization has been happening gradually for centuries, although while progressing, it has affected institutions; the economic units have grown in size. But he still emphasizes, that although there were, for example, no customs or passport formalities at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, now they are being given up because of economic and not political reasons. When asked what an economist means when speaking of globalization, Palokangas says that economists have spoken of internationalization for centuries. "Now we can of course speak of globalization, which is the exact same thing. Actually, based on these previously mentioned reasons economists don't even use the concept".

From the point of view of traditional development studies and the group of developing countries, globalization reflects the politics which have defined the developing countries' position in the international economy for the past 15-20 years. Pertti Multanen from the Department of Development Studies (HU) emphasizes that independent of globalization and the ideology of globalism, the central questions, such as indebtedness, are old. "The image of globalization in the era of free international trade doesn't apply to developing countries. They still have significant obstacles to bringing their products to the world markets." This issue is closely related to the falling prices of raw materials, which goes far back in history by way of colonialism, and which has accelerated during the era of globalization. If we observe the concrete development of the past 20 years, we see that the results are really bad - in practice globalization has, in its current form, meant the isolation of the group of developing countries and the deepening of their societal crisis. Expressly due to the almost total lack of mutuality and equality, in the future there will have to be a discussion, which will decisively transform the concepts that are related to the liberalist, monetarist economic perception of, for example the role of the state in development. In the developing countries, the societal crises are so deep that their resolutions will require a democratically led state.

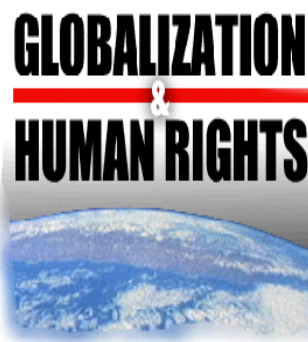
#### Global regulation, please?

There have been essential transformations in societal development during the past years., such as the birth of the "information society" and the increased mobility of capital. Problems have arisen that cannot be dealt with at the national level. But globalization itself is more than these developments, according to Burkhard Auffermann who specializes in international politics. "Too often it is forgotten, that globalization is age old. One should remember, that European welfare has been based for many centuries on the exploitation of colonies." From the point of view of political research the principal

challenges involve the grave disappearance of opportunities for democratic means of action and influence in the current state of globalization. As power internationalizes through the financial markets, does the action of citizens also become more international? Even at the level of the EU there is talk of the democratic deficit. "The EU at least has some institutions, through which citizens have the possibility to influence policy-making. At the global level there is none." The issue there is the effectiveness of international non-governmental organizations.

The director of the Katti-institute (Institute of Economic Law) Veijo Heiskanen (on leave of absence) also doesn't see globalization as a historically unique phenomenon, but as one amongst others. Even though, in the current - "conventional globalization" there are new aspects brought by technology, it is a matter of similar empire-building as was the Roman one- and practice makes perfect - colonialism. From a social-philosophical perspective, the genuinely new aspects are not sufficient to make globalization irrevocable. Although from the legal perspective it is a question of the legal system's substance being defined at the international level now, it is not necessarily permanent phenomenon. As opposed to international law, also informal actors participate in the formation of global law: corporations, NGO's and private individuals. But Heiskanen remarks that here "global" is actually restricted to the "West" or the sphere of liberal market economy.

The main challenge he perceives, is fitting together local and global regulation. Since conventional law is territorially defined, at the global level law becomes more and more abstract and less reflective of local needs. But Heiskanen sees globalization as an almost natural pendulum movement, that is in itself difficult to criticize but which can be, more or less, managed.



#### I know you are there

Veijo Heiskanen asked in his speech at the Law Graduate Study Conference: "Why is the world globalizing, "world-widening" or becoming world wide only now? Hasn't the world always been as wide as itself, so world wide? If not, how wide has it been previously? The answer to this question comes down to the fact that the world has always been world wide, but only the technological development of the last decades has allowed a wider awareness of this fact to

develop. The widening exchange of information has both enabled the world-widening of different sectors as well as made possible the discovery and analysis of these phenomena by specialists of different fields. But it is significant that this is not enough, and that "globality" is a collective feeling in our every-day lives. In a situation where our state has been taken away, as has the party and, seemingly, ideology as well, what would we do without globalization? We need to base our political awareness on something. Choose life. Get globalized.

## Latvia's Liberal Party (LLP) in post-Soviet Latvia: a glance into its programme and fate.

Di Juris Dubrovskis—LU RHI, Rīga, Latvia.

### Abstract.

*The aim of this article is to look at one of the two parties in Latvia, whose ideology is classical liberalism. In the situation of the transition from totalitarianism to democracy the liberal ideas appeared to be unpopular to the majority of the population of Latvia, due to different difficulties linked to transition, both economical and psychological. The article gives a glance to the programme and internal problems of LLP.*

When speaking of liberal parties in the sense of neoliberalism in Latvia, we should speak of parties, which ideology is classical liberalism. There were two such parties in Latvia—Latvia's Liberal party and Latvia's Liberal Democratic Party. Both parties participated in the elections of the Parliament (Saeima), but failed to get any places. These are not the only liberal parties in Latvia of course. In 1993 the party called "Latvia's Way" was founded and it's one of the leading parties in Latvia's politics, though it's ideology is not that of classical liberalism. Let's look at one of them, that is Latvia's Liberal Party (LLP).

The party was founded in 1990 and dissolved in 2000, due to a lack of members, as told the leader of the party Janis Danoss (1). It should be noted that the party had small amount of members from its foundation. The number was 40 in the beginning (spring 1991), then 130 (November 1991), (2). Though, the list of parties, organizations etc., published in Moscow in 1990, meant 140 as the number of members. The small number of members is an usual case for political parties in Latvia, but numbers for LLP were really small. The leaders of the party understood, that there will

not be much people in post-soviet Latvia, wishing to become members of liberal party. As Gunars Lansmanis put it "LLP doesn't wait for 700 000 pensioners and 100 000 invalids to support it" (3). The party stated, that it's the party of people, who can sell their work, that is party of businessmen, doctors, scientists, intellectuals. Free market, private enterprise etc. were aims of the party. LLP wanted to use the tactics of "shock therapy", which as they thought should heal the state in some months.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of LLP took place in November 1991 and the programme was adopted. As one of the problems the small number of members was mentioned. The programme (4) of the party in the field of economics stated that the private property, which was nationalised during the Soviet times, should be returned to heirs of oldier proprietors. LLP suggested the wide range privatisation of the state property at open auctions. The taxes system should be changed, and those, starting business, making export, enlarging the amount of work places, should be assisted. Speaking of the political system, the party wanted to recreate the democratic Parliamentary Republic, which was based on the Constitution of Latvia

(Satversme, 1922). One of the most interesting questions is the question of citizenship. The situation of Latvia was such, that there lived both descendants of citizens of independent Latvia, and people, which came to Latvia from the time it was Soviet. At the dawn of renewed independence Latvian People's Front (LTF), (5) proclaimed, that the citizenship will be given to all people now living in Latvia. After the independence was regained the balance of political powers changed, Latvian People's Front losing power, and the Latvia's National Independence Movement (LNNK), (6) suggested to give citizenship only to the descendants of the citizens of independent Latvia. Therefore 1/3 part of the population had no right to vote (7). LLP thought that the law should be prepared by the Supreme Council of LR and approved by referendum (8). Human rights were one of the central points in the pro-



1-Rīgas Balss, 23.03.00

2-Neatkarīga Cīņa, 8.01.91

3-Same.

4-Rīgas Balss, 18.12.91

5-The referendum was held, asking if people wanted to live in "independent and democratic Republic of Latvia". The results showed, that the numbers for independence were higher than the percent of ethnic Latvians in population of Latvia, that meant, that minorities voted for independence too.

6-Both LTF and LNNK formed in the period of Perestroika. LTF was the party, which aim was to assist Gorbachev's perestroika in the beginning. LNNK was proindependence from the start.

7-The Citizenship law was liberalised after the referenda was held in October 1998.

8-The Supreme Council was elected in 1990, those elections were first in Soviet Latvia, where relative concurrence to Communist party was accepted. First Parliament in the history of renewed Latvian Republic was elected 1993.

gramme: the party declared that death penalty should be abolished. According to LLP none should object the right of a person to one's sexual orientation. When speaking of prostitution, the party suggested to legalize it. To avoid alcoholism, the creation of the free market system was suggested, which should give people possibility to realize their talents. In the field of education, the party was for state financed education, suggesting to find money by limiting money spent for the needs of bureaucrats.

There were some internal quarrels in the history of Liberal party. The year 1992 was marked by the first crisis in the party—some members being expelled from the party without making them know, which was against the Statutes of the party. Expelled members published "Copenhagen declaration" and accused the leader of the party of authoritarianism and neglect of all traditions of liberalism. They asked international and Latvia's organizations to boycott the party, until it neglects the Statutes. The second negative moment in the history of LLP was its extraordinary Congress in 1993, when the leader of LDDP G.Čulkstēns was elected the leader of the LLP. The previous leader J. Danoss was not present at the

Congress and did not accept the result of elections. As a result both parties participated in the 5<sup>th</sup> Saeima elections with two different lists.

As it was told earlier LLP participated in the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> Saeima elections, but failed to get any of the candidates to be elected to the national legislature. Same is true to local government election of 1997. The programme of the party for the 6<sup>th</sup> Saeima elections had not a lot of changes, when comparing it to the first programme: decentralisation and more power to local government, less money to bureaucrats, the rights of person in the first place, lowering of taxes.

Latvia is told to have two antiliberal traditions—one that of authoritarian regime (1934-1940) and the second—the failures of reforms in the 1990-s, which are associated with liberalism, not with people, who realized reforms. The electorate of the Liberal party was very small. After the breakdown of planned economy, the economic situa-

tion was not that good and there were not a lot of people, who could start doing something. People, who looked for food and money, couldn't be pleased by the proposals of "shock therapy". No wonder, that in 1991 Gunars Lānsmanis had to note at the press conference some time before the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress, that the party unites people, who want to see economic prosperity of Latvia, not those, who



want to sell Latvia. As Valdis Blūzma noted, there were two things, that deprived the party from success: a) quarrels inside the party and b) the party couldn't understand interests of the largest part of the electorate and make their programmes fit interests of voters.

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1-Neatkarīga Cīņa, 5.06.92.

2-1<sup>st</sup> Saeima was elected 1922 for 3 years, 4<sup>th</sup> Saeima was elected in 1931, but it's work was interrupted by the coup d'état, made by K. Ulmanis.

3- Elections took place in 1993 and 1995.

4-The percent and number of those, who voted for the party: 0.13592% (1520)—5.Saeima, 0.22640% (2163)—6.Saeima.

5-Neatkarīga Cīņa, 8.11.91

6-V.Blūzma was one of those, who signed “Copenhagen declaration”.

# Report of developments of the German National

By Marcus Grätsch

(ERASMUS Student University of Warwick)

June 2001

Between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 2001 the third general meeting was held in Berlin.

*This report elaborates the actual projects of the German national association for political science students. Mentioned are the workshop "democracy in post-cold war Europe", the essay competition, the linklist, the excursion, the care&contact fair, the University department profiles, the volunteership databank, the Survey of new students, the book 'Introduction to Political science: by and for students', the Essay peer reviewing, the homepage, the Public relations work and finally the finances.*

So far 30 Students are members of the national association. This members study actually at 15 different universities all over the country. The Executive committee also produces an information newsletter distributed by mail for all people who gave a sign that they are interested in the association. This newsletter is issued unregularly, only important events became distributed.

On the general meeting there were discussions held on administrative (i.e. statute changes and elections) and on project matters. This report is about the several projects of the national association of political science students in Germany.

## *Workshop "Democracy in Post-cold war Europe"*

The workshop, which was organized by members of IPOSS was held in February 2001 in Marburg, Germany. About 50 people participated at the discussions and lectures, among them students from eastern and western Europe. These students were basically invited via IAPSS. Some essays are already on the website of IPOSS: <http://www.iposs.de/marburg2001/index.html>.

## **Essay competition**

A new project that is just in progress to become launched is an essay competition. Students of universities and schools could write essays about "Global Governance" and try to win several prizes. The idea of how the project would look like in the end is not very clear elaborated. Very many decisions have to be made by the organizing team over the next months. So far the idea is to set up a jury, maybe with IPOSS members and some international relation scholars. Also book publishers, foundations and so on have to be asked for possible prizes. The organization team has to develop a poster, which should be distributed for promotion in nearly all universities in Germany. The idea is to collect as many essays as possible until the end of April or the beginning of May 2002.

## **Linklist**

Our Website has the possibility to insert new Internet links, which could be of importance for political scientist students. So far not much input has been done. We hope that will change in future.

## **Excursion**

The members of the association want to visit a city in which we could visit Organizations related to the field of political science. In Berlin the decision was made to organize a journey to Brussel in Belgium. In the capital of the European Union we want to visit Organization who are important for the policy decisions in the social security policy field. The members who plan the trip want to try to get some meetings arranged with officials of the European Commission, the European Council, the European Parliament, European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) and the Union of Industrial and Employers' Confederations of Europe (UNICE). Another idea is to meet people who work for the project [www.eu-studentvote.org](http://www.eu-studentvote.org).

## *Care&contact*

Is a job fair of a different kind. Job fairs for students can be visited very often. On normal fairs students have the possibility to speak to future employers of several business fields. Large corporations present themselves on those fairs and try to seek new employees. Those fairs are more organized for students of subjects like economics, business studies, engineering and the like.

Our fair, which will be held in Berlin in November 2001 is one on which Organization are presented who work in fields of social and ecological responsible fields. The idea is to bring students who can not make their choice on normal

# Association for political science students (IPOSS eV)

job fairs because of their ethical attitudes, skills or whatever.

## *University department profiles*

If a pupil decides to study political science he or she has to make a difficult decision. How does a specific department look like? How many students are there? Which is the main field worked on in a specific department within political science? Do they have a bias towards a theoretical background or not (eg. Empirical-analytical, normative-ontology, critical-dialectical)? How many lecturers are there?

That are just some questions which should become answered through a questionnaire which was designed by a member of IPOSS and will be filled out in the next month by department officials and/or students of that department.

## **Volunteership databank**

A volunteership is in Germany in most study programs obligatory. We send to many organizations that are of interest for political scientist a questionnaire. The result of that survey can be reached over our Website. Students who want to do a volunteership can look there for specific details about Organizations who replied on our questionnaire. The databank should grow in the future, if we send again the questionnaire around the world, because next time the idea is to send the form also to organizations abroad.

## *Survey of new students*

Why do students decide for political science? From where do they get their information for those decisions? Which job do they think they could do with a political science degree?

These are some of the questions we asked in our first survey in October 2000. These and new questions will be also asked in October 2001, then the survey group will be widened to 2<sup>nd</sup> year and 3<sup>rd</sup> year students.

## **Introduction to Political science**

Some members want to write a book, which introduces to political science. This book will be a compilation of essays. Regarding to the specific topics should these essays provide overviews of the several political science fields and of research and study tips from students for students. The idea is to publish that book at the end of the year 2002.

## *Essay peer review*

Members who wrote essays for their study can send their work through our email distribution list and asking for people who want to read over it. In doing so we could help each other to make those study works better. Finished essays can be reached over our Website if send to our webmaster.

## **Homepage**

The Homepage is the main communication with the world "outside" IPOSS. Our webmaster designed just the layout new. You can visit it at [www.iposs.de](http://www.iposs.de).

There we have a formula for persons who want to get in contact with us. Also the possibility to set up a discussion forum.

People can read about our actual projects, visit the volunteership database and the university department profiles.

## **Public relations work**

Some interviews had been made with journalists and members of the association. These interviews became printed. We send not regularly press information throughout the country. We want to get more active in public relations. Our projects could be of interests for several governmental bodies, like for example the ministries for employment who are in Germany in charge for Job advises of pupils who had to left school. Also the German Association of political scientist (DVPW) could have an interest in our works. At the end of the summer vacation 2001 IPOSS will send Information packages with poster, flyers and other promotion material to all political science departments in Germany.

## **Finances**

Membership fees finance our association. Each member has to pay 10,- Euro a year. We got also some funding of the Marburg local political science student association who gave us some money which had been taken of the surplus of a party. (not the CDU more a celebration event ;-).



# Civil society against extremism

## Case study on 2000 Romanian General Elections

**Radu Nicolae,**

*3rd year, Political Science, Undergraduate studies*

**Horia Terpe,**

*3rd year, Political Science, Undergraduate studies*

**ASSP, Bucharest, Romania**

In this paperwork we will try to prove that, after the first round of the general elections in Romania, which took place on 26th of November 2000, the strong reaction of the civil society against the second candidate remained in the race for the Presidency of Romania, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, block the rise of his popularity and, consequently, to lowed his chances to become the President of Romania. We will assume that this reaction was effective. In addition, we will analyze the genesis and the ethical and political implications of this reaction.

Let us present the involved actors for some of the readers who may be less informed about the Romanian political life. After the first round of the general elections from 26th of November, two candidates remained in the race. The first one was Ion Iliescu-36, 35%, following the official counting, at that time the candidate and president of PDSR (The Party for Social-Democracy of Romania). Now, this party and another party -PSDR. (The Social Democrat Party of Romania) united and formed PSD (The Social Democrat Party.)

The second one was Corneliu Vadim Tudor-28, 34%-, the president of PRM (The Greater Romania Party). They will be more detailed presented later.

### *The Romanian society of the year 2000*

The social phenomena to which we relate ourselves is, of course, the Romanian Revolution from December 1989. This event meant the changing of the political regime and fundamental metamorphosis in all the areas of the public and private life: political, social, cultural and more painful economic (inflation and unemployment).

Dealing with our theme the peoples perception of the reality is maybe more important than the reality itself. So, this change is perceived as one from social protection and the safety of the job to economic insecurity, as one from order to chaos and corruption of the state (even if it is possible that the level of corruption to be almost the same "before" the fall of communism). The change was even broader Romanian society being forced to switch from determination in taking the decisions of state

(that means authoritarianism) to hesitations and contradictory decisions, taken with a lot of "democratic pain", from implicit independence, autarchy and military security to the dependence of the international financial organisms and military insecurity between the Russia (which we reject) and NATO (which rejects us). In a competition where we lost almost entire capacity to compete, foreign capital infusion and the status of market for foreign products (marketisation of the nations) completed the picture.

In this context it might be seen a phenomena of values dissolution. The clear old set of values dissolute itself into an ocean of values. Because of them diversity and contradictions, there is no more an easy eligible set of values. Romanian society deconstructed the old values but didn't to replace them. This generated a remarkable high level of the social anomie. The opinion polls constitute a clear prove: constantly, they are significant more people which answer to the question: "Do you consider that you live now better or worse as before 1989?" by "Worse" and rank very high mortal social fears (as poverty, war, illness). This matter of fact is extremely important for understanding the results of the 2000 vote.



### *The specificity of 2000 General Elections*

For the first time in the "post-revolutionary" history of Romania there was an exponential growing of the popularity of an party and candidate (with real chances to become the president of the country) in whose political and electoral message matched exactly those requests and frustrations we spoke about. The President of PRM promises were: order in the society, determinate fight against corruption and Mafia, protection the economy against the foreign capital, support for the Romanian traditional economic areas, granting social, economic and military security, determinate and radical decisions, support the national values and, generally, recovering the national pride (its lack is an essential part of values dissolution phenomena and social anomie). An important element of its message was the promise to over the revisionism of the Hungarian minority and its organizations, because of its possible intentions to reach the federalization and destabilization of the Romanian State. Against such a threat, special political actions are not only acceptable but necessary (authoritarianism and non constitutional actions). Those promises were presented in the past years in a violent language. This language and those declared intentions brought to Corneliu Vadim Tudor the label of extremist, nationalist and chauvinist.

Its opponent was Ion Iliescu, considered to be an enemy of the reform and the main culpable of its failure in the first years after 1989. His promises were: social protection, politics against unemployment, independence from the West, the slowing of the reform in order to ease the social costs. Even if in the case of the Romanian

political life the main cleavage is the rather classical left-right one (centered on the problem of the reform) during this election, the main debate was inside the left perspective.

### *The definition of the concepts*

From the beginning, we have to make clear the fundamental concepts that give resistance to the hole work. The title, first, compel us to detail some contradictions aspects. So the civil society concept in Romanian rise plenty of legitimate questions regarding as much its existence as its elements. Before we try a definition, it seems necessary a discussion about the roots of civil society post 1989 which must take in account the communist period as well. In the context of the 80's in Eastern Europe, Romania is different. The civil society failed to become as powerful as the civil societies in the rest of the communist camp. The civil society of the 80's in Eastern Europe brings together the independent, nongovernmental groups, associations, institutions which represent obstacles for the totalitarian ambition of complete domination over society. The Hungarian samizdat, the Polish KOR, the Czechoslovak 77 chart are attempts to banish the ideology from the public life, to pull the public life out of the pseudo-political manipulation which prevented the free exercise of the fundamental individual rights. Therefore, the civil society meant the first step in the process reinventing politics outside the official borders of politics. This process did not become reality in Romania or it had no relevance what so ever. The few dissidents either were forced to leave the country as the writer Paul Goma, the historian Vlad Georgescu, the poet Dorin Tudoran, the mathematician Mihai Botez, or they were on strict surveillance (Mircea Dinescu, Dan Petrescu, Doina Cornea). The agreement between the labors and the intellectuals was mist in 77 (the miners strike) and in 87 (the strike from Brasov). Therefore the Ceausescu regime succeeded to keep under control the attempts of free association, of building a civil society and this was one of the causes of its bloody collapse.

The true rebirth of Romanian civil society began late, after the year 1989 and the lack of tradition and political experience was felt a great deal.

The fight against the new communism sustained by FSN (National Salvation Front) represented one of the main directions of the Romanian civil society. Romanian civil society meant in the 90's a way of mobilization hinting the accomplishment of political objectives; it had an intellectual and cultural dimension. Nowadays, we see a revisiting of the conceptualization of the civil society in terms of élites who play professional roles. To conclude, Romanian civil society seems to contradict a dictionary definition, structuring in complex ways and sometimes behaving contradictory.

This short history was necessary in order to give legiti-

macy to a broader definition of civil society. Semnificant for this essay are the << intermediate structures >> between individuals and state (political power, politicians); structures that pretend talking on behalf of the citizens and in the same time structures that are sources from which people extract their political and civic beliefs. The structures not only that express the wishes, the beliefs and the expectations of the society but sometimes they shape these wishes, beliefs. In many cases do not matter the reality as the image about that reality (it is accepted the role of mass media in the political changes in 1996 and 2000). The way press uses it influence undermines the trust in the democratic institutions empowering the opinions the only solution is the authoritarianism. The language press uses is apodictus, splitting on criteria like personal interests and dislikes, the public sphere in good and bad guys, worshipping the good guys and diabolising the bad. The tints, the fair expression of the achievements and the failures, the fair presentation of the facts and statements are replaced with the emotional presentation of the corrupt people or those thought to be corrupt.

Therefore, these structures present interest to us and its reaction had a powerful impact on citizens. Obviously, we exclude from the beginning the political parties due to their purposes: the competition for the political power. Therefore the definition of civil society structures on three levels: NGO level, intellectuality level and independent mass-media level. This definition includes the

journalists also because they have a contribution in forming the political and civic options of the citizens.

The second concept in our analyses is the one of reaction. We assume as a premise that the civil society defined above, had a reaction more or less coherent to the results of the first round of general election of 2000. The reaction consisted in sending a message and realizing some actions (conferences, debates, seminars, and meetings) and suggesting actions. Our analysis will concentrate on the reaction, which will be analyzed in a communicational as well as in a political value perspective.



*Iliescu at the vote*

### *Hypothesis: the motivations of vote*

Why such an important part of the electorate voted Corneliu Vadim Tudor and its party? We will evoke a number of possible causes, specifying that they acted in several combinations, but all on the ground of the generally value dissolution phenomena and social anomie.

One of them is what we call "the tiredness of the transition": the wear of people's disposability to accept another sacrifices presented as necessary from each government after 1989 in order to attain national goals which become sacred, taboos: the integration in EU and NATO, capitalist free market economy, welfare state, stopping the inflation and lowering the unemployment level. Because

no significant, visible result appeared after making them, people largely voted Corneliu Vadim Tudor, which had the courage to reevaluate those "non-questionable" objectives. Such a result, well presented, could have had a curative effect on people, showing that the sacrifices were not useless. However, nothing happened in this direction. Very tide linked to this perspective, another two motivations appear.

The first of them is the disappointing of the West. Romanian society behaved as it expected too long at the Occident's doors. The west was the hopeful example in the Revolution' period: the reach and free alternative to the socialist system. But, because of the too long waiting, its perception changed from the trustful wait for its decisive help to its considering as something far, prohibited and with a touch of superiority. So, there is an important (still!) minority, which perceive the West as hostile, stupid or brutal (especially after Kosovo war). The political leader of this current is Corneliu Vadim Tudor.

In the same direction, another possible motivation is the need of national pride and international recognition: coming back to a global foreign politic, recovering the Romanian oriental and African traditional selling-markets, which were left for the European market.

Related to the "tiredness of transition" another possible vote motivation could be the blaming of the whole Romanian

political class for those failures. The explication is mainly referred to disposability of the electorate in accepting undemocratic, extra parliamentary and over the Constitution policies and ways of acting. That means, people were ready to sacrifice the democratic and representative character of the state's decisions in order to assure their efficiency.

We can also discuss about a vote due to crises of trust in the system. The trust in the democratic system disappeared because it was accused of not being able to solve the social problems. This thing could also explain a vote given to a threat to this system: the cvasi democratic solutions.

Following our opinion, the most important cause of this vote was the failure of the governing 1996-2000. In 1996, CDR (The Romanian Democratic Convention) was thought to be an alternative to the social-democrat governing of the years 1990-1996, which proved its incapacity in making the desired reforms. All the hopes were than

invested in CDR, its team, and its candidate, Emil Constantinescu. But its failure was almost total: the vote from the 26th of November, 2000 came as a severe sanction and a refuse to return to the 1990-1996 period by choosing the third option: Corneliu Vadim Tudor.

### *The genesis of the reaction*

The reaction against Corneliu Vadim Tudor was two folded: first, there was a blockade of the transmission of its message: his access on the media was limited as more as possible. Second, the quantity of messages against Vadim registered grows with 482,5% only in the written media, following our measurement.

It existed several conditions that made possible such a reaction. First, it existed an elite who become more active and: 1. realised its responsibility in such a situation and 2.

was in the possession of the middles to react: control of the media. It existed a common sense, more or less conscious of its role in those political events.

Second, as a very important factor was the negative signals of the occidental political circles on the address of the rise of the extremist ideas. The Romanian civil society is always very careful to those signals, because of the "non questionable"

European and Euro Atlantic integration.

However, the releasing condition was the extreme rate of the growing of his popularity in the opinion polls. This was a shocking alarm. If the rate was not so big, people could get used with the situation and many the civil society's members would have define the situation as "normal".

This reaction was a compromise for the civil society, marking its symbolical defeat: This one was needed to support Ion Iliescu, the enemy which enabled it to form during the 1990-1996 period. It was a nasty situation for many to choose between Iliescu and Vadim, but some of them have their share of responsibility for the situation.

Between the two rounds there was a widely manipulation of the public opinion media bombardment and a prohibition against the Vadim's message had their effect in the vote given in the second round of the elections. The winner of this round was Ion Iliescu, and he was saw as a saver near Corneliu Vadim Tudor.



*Waiting for the results*

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# European party jungle

## Transnational Parties: a European meander?

Benjamin Zyla  
-bzyla@gmx.de

### Preface

When you look at the discussion of the last years new terms like globalization, digitalization and individualization were coming up more and more and now even each children in school knows that notions. The democracy and its institutions are threatened with the movement of supranationalization which especially is a big problem for the European Union. Memberstates loose their competence and influence to the bureaucrats in Brussels.

But still parties in London, Berlin, Paris or Warsaw have an important function. They form and elect the government in their countries, candidates of the parties are running for the parliament. Parties aggregate ideas over whole Europe, figure out what people want and try to transfer this ideas into political movement, political action. Parties in western democracies play an important role; without those parties no government can be elected, no government can be controlled, no political decision be taken. So there's still a need for them.

To transform that thoughts to the European level you can ask why don't we need transnational parties, who surmount the complained lack of democracy. Why don't we install transnational parties who aggregate the thoughts, desires and wills of all European citizens to transform them conclusively into united European action? Or are European parties transnational parties?

### What is a Transnational Party? – A Definition

To understand the following explanations we have to define what we understand under a transnational party. From the first view this term seems to be a fantasy word, which only says that a party is transnational. But still this is an important character. What means transnational? It means that parties do not only focus on the domestic politics, but further on focus on the international political market. Parties run on the transnational or supranational level for elections, recruit élites and try to articulate and aggregate the will of the people.

In this sense we can assume that European parties like the SPE or EVD or EFA are transnational parties. In focus we can say European parties are party families, because they are a unity of lets say all social democratic parties over Europe. English social democrats are a member as well as the Spanish or the German social democrats are. Finally this essay assumes that transnational parties are European parties.

### What makes a party like a party?

The European Union consists of about 15 memberstates. And each memberstate has its own parliamentary system with differences. In England we only have a two party system, with two dominant parties, who formed the government now more than hundreds of years. And on the other hand we have a multiparty system like in Sweden, France and especially Italy, where more than two parties fight for the favor of the voters. Researchers have found five main functions political parties fulfil in parliamentary:

- The identifications of goals: Parties do have an ideology and programs. They try to develop strategies and alternatives.
- The mobilization and socialization of the general public within the system, particularly at elections.
- The articulation and aggregation of social interest. Parties present (quite similar to interest groups) interests, the articulate interests; but they bundle up (aggregate) these interests in the political willing process.
- And elite recruitment and government function.



*The European parliament*

*In other words these functions are representative for all European parties in all memberstates. So the main question when we are talking about transnational parties is now if transnational parties can fit with this functions? Can they have the sane functions or do we have transnational parties like parties in the US? Lets go into more detail and try to find out if transnational parties function like national parties in considering point by point.*

The first point: In western democracies parties always do have programs in which they mostly describe their view of the future. In this programs they are saying which kind of world they would like to have. In other words their ideology is written down in such programs. Parties try to work on guiding strategies and inform the people about try to develop strategies for the future and alternative action possibilities. To write down such a program takes a lot of time, because different party wings want to contribute their views. Especially for the huge parties this process is difficult, because their wings have grown up historically. Considering the social democrats for example, they traditionally have two completely different wings. The most crucial point discussing the program and the strategy for the next campaign is the labour market policy. Because the people want to grant from the polity and the new government. People mostly think rational, so they do not to pay attention that much to programs, they want to know which advantages they can expect from that party if it wins the election. And traditionally the different social democratic wings have different views about the right labour market policy.



nections between the personnel and institutional separated organs of the executive and legislative and the people.

Parties try to work on guiding strategies and inform the people about try to develop strategies for the future and alternative action possibilities. To write down such a program takes a lot of time, because different party wings want to contribute their views. Especially for the huge parties this process is difficult, because their wings have grown up historically. Considering the social democrats for example, they traditionally have two completely different wings. The most crucial point discussing the program and the strategy for the next campaign is the labour market policy. Because the people want to grant from the polity and the new government. People mostly think rational, so they do not to pay attention that much to programs, they want to know which advantages they can expect from that party if it wins the election. And traditionally the different social democratic wings have different views about the right labour market policy.

But on the other side a program binds party members together. So to say writing a program is a long and difficult process which has to run through party institutions and groups. Positions, sharpen opinions, opposite meanings and views from all sides come together. And the duty of each party leader now is to bind those different ways together. At the end a big compromise is the result. Each party wings contributed to that process and are satisfied with their position. And of course this result is, so to say, the common ideology of that party. This result of this discussion process or ideology has a main purpose: it borders the party members with their special view from other parties; so to say the ideology shows the difference of the parties.

So you can conclude that the process of writing a program is to border the party from the enemy other ones, to draw out the main ditches. This again binds the members together and sharpens their view for the enemies. The behavior within parties is more determined by the prevailing counter party. The ideal case is a solidly stand behind the program and the goal of the party which is the main prerequisite to run into a electoral campaign.

And here we come to the second point, the mobilization and socialization of the general public. Who else as the parties mobilize the public when it comes to elections. Therefore parties use their programs and try to combine a program with a candidate. This is of course a part of the strategy.

Parties and their candidates want to recruit people for political activity and political participation. During a federal election other candidates are running on a minor level for political responsibility, local responsibility at the same time. Therefore parties definitely need recruitment. But this people who are running to become the major of a city or village are not just appearing. They have to be formed on different party levels, so to say they have to learn the political business. And candidates have to be associated with the program the party they belong to. So one purpose is to build up long-term settings and examples to show the future of the society and the welfare of the country or the municipality and get this future plans

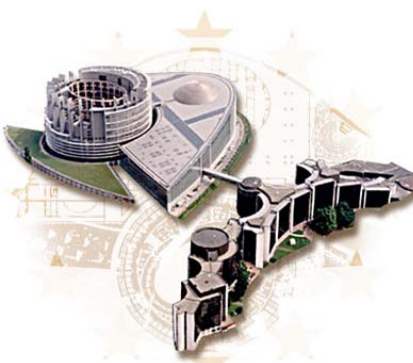
associated with persons. Regional strongholds are playing an important part in the mobilization, because here voters do pay more attention to their surroundings. It is quite obvious that one candidate by himself can not organize a whole campaign, so he needs help, help and support from outside. Often candidates can win old fellows for that job. And he needs the feeling that people do believe in him.

This point is related to my third definition point. Parties articulate and aggregate social interests. Now you critically can ask what is the difference between parties and interest group, because interest groups as well as parties articulate interests of a special part of the society. Modern society systems are segmented and fragmented, many singular interest are competing against each other. And only opinions which have a strong reputation have a chance to win public access. In earlier societies some of these functions were performed by the different classes or estates, or the bureaucracy.

But parties do not only have to represent one single aspect, not one single opinion like for example non governmental organization like WWF or Greenpeace. This is at least the duty of the major parties who want to be called "public parties". They want to represent and stand for social democracy as well for neo-liberal labour market policy. Their political establishment wants to be the agent of the higher class as well as for the working class. Parties can only stress general interests in its propaganda or even develop a tendency to see itself as the "natural party of government".

We have spoken already about that. What parties specially do is to recruit political personal, so called political élites. They are standing at the top of each party organization. This are members of the parliament, ministers, permanent

secretaries, party leaders and so on. With this persons the party will be associated in the public. On the other side they fulfil a main function. Politicians in the parliament on the local or federal level, it does not matter,



Strasbourg

form the government. Concluded to head you can say the political personal has government function, in electing and controlling the government. It could also mean to vote a member of the government out of his/her office. The correct term for this procedure is the vote of no confidence.

Parties affect as a transmission belt, they cause connections between the personnel and institutional separated organs of the executive and legislative and the people.



### Conclusions

Now the final question is do parties on the European level matter? The best way to answer that question is to look at the given explanations upper that article. Here we defined parties about their function in the political system. To stay in the line of the definition I would say each point has to be answered with "yes" to say this is a transnational party. I do not want to deny the fact that the definition of parties I have given is a result of a normative concept of democracy. This concept, this idea entails that parties should be representatively democratic and not bureaucratic. They should be oriented to lead the government, at least to from it or to get into opposition. But how is it now? Do transnational European parties have this characteristics given by Weber, Beyme and some others? And is it allowed to speak about transnational parties?

European Parties do have a common ideology and a common program which all the members are standing for. This program borders them from other European party families. This sharpens the view for the own members. European parties do have a program in which they extend their views of the future of the society.

Second European transnational parties do mobilize and socialize the general public. They do touch the interest of the European citizens. One good example for that is that most of the national laws are directives or regulations given by the European Union. So to say Brussels – governs more and more the memberstates. Some regulations and directives come from the initiative of the European parliament. And the parliament is nothing more than elected representatives of the people. And for each election to the European parliament representatives and parties organize a campaign, so they mobilize voters and try to convince them with different strategies.

In theory members of the parliament and their parties they belong to aggregate and articulate the interest of the people, also on the European level. The social democratic party for instance tries to aggregate the ideas, meanings, opinions about politics and polity of their party family subsidiaries. Abstractly you can say parties are the mouthpiece of the people. Here as well I would answer the question with yes.

Now we come to the crucial fourth point. Do European parties recruit political élites? And even more are they responsible for the government formation? My answer will be half and half. European parties definitely recruit political élites. Each European party has a leader, and each parliamentary group of the European parliament has a leader. On the other hand European parties do not train and recruit political personal for being in the government as a secretary or minister. So to say political parties in the EU-parliament do not form and elect the European government, because this does not exist. European parties do not form the government, they do not send their political personal in high political offices. You can say even the opposite. Parties on the European level are concealed as interest associations, because they miss this one important function to form, govern and control the government which is elected by the parliament. As we know the

"government" of the EU is the Commission and the Council. And they will not be elected by the parliament but by the national governments. Each European commissioner was sent into his office by the head of the government of the memberstate he/she belongs to. The same with the president of the Commission. He was as well elected by the heads of the governments of the European memberstates. The last years the parliament fought for more participation in the European political process and they won some rights concerning control of the Commission. Now each Commissioner has to be acknowledged by the parliament, they only have less influence on the fate of the Commission. Because of the fact that members of the EU-parliament are never forced to get responsibility in a government or where ever, the EU-parliament is a calm and silent institution, maybe a bureaucratic institution. And maybe this bureaucratic institution at the same time is the last station for careerists. The EU-parliament does not have any promotion prospects, it is very tough to get a step higher.

So European parties miss this main function. And for that one they only are interest associations, interest associations of the people, but also of companies, other interest groups, scientific staff, bureaucracies and so on. But they are not parties in the original sense. European Parties are parties of clients, but not parties of a huge amount of members.

Or you can say according to the American party system that European parties only are congressional parties. You can characterize this parties with the attributes "constituent". A constituent party priority effects the structure, composition and the function way of the political system. However a responsive party, the second type Lowi describes, is being responsible for their voters through a programmatic which leads its political acting. A responsive party develops coherent models for solving a problem with the obligation to make them to law in the case this party will win the election and form the government.

Now just two final comments. The main difference because European parties can not be parties in the conventional sense is that national parties like Labor in England or Democrazia Christiana in Italy are so called parties for the people. They still have a strong membership and still a lot of people are member of that parties. This is a strong basis for the parties, because this members are mostly loyal voters, so to say staunch supporter by election. Party leaders almost can count on that basis when it comes to federal elections. Where do these staunch supporter come from. In theory these supporter have grown up from a special milieu, lets say the working milieu in big industrial areas. These workers have been socialized with the problems of the working class, they were members of the same sports clubs and so on. So they almost had the same social and political education and experience which distinguishes them from other milieus. And especially this basis is missing for the European parties, because they do not have this staunch supporter. And so they do not have a special milieu where they recruit there political personal from.

# Experiences from the "National Model United Nations" 2001

Andrea Theocharis—

—University of Marburg

This year for the first time a delegation from Marburg participated in NMUN in New York, representing Canada. 19 students (most of them are pol-sci students) prepared more than one year to improve their English, learn the Rules of procedure, learn and research about the UN and about Canada and of course to find sponsors for the project. But actually, what they had to spend most of their time on, was dealing with teamwork. Throughout the year the group had to handle with several inner conflicts and in endless discussions they had to practice their diplomatic capabilities in the forefront of the simulation. Unfortunately one can not say, that these "negotiations" were always as open, peaceful and successful as one wishes UN-negotiations should have to be. But that's just sad reality isn't it?

As Canadian Governor in the Board of Governors of the Inter - American Development Bank

*The National Model United Nations claims to be the most realistic simulation of the United Nations in the world. Every year more than 2500 students participate in the NMUN in New York, which partly takes place inside the original UN-buildings. For five days, the students simulate the different bodies of the UN-framework (e.g. Security Council, General Assembly, ECOSOC) by using the original UN-Rules of procedure and negotiating to formulate and pass resolutions on various topics.*

## The Simulation

IADB – never heard about it? Me neither, before I decided to bring the Canadian perspective inside that body during the National Model United Nations this april in New York. The IADB is a multilateral development bank for Latin America and the Caribbean and has 47 member states. Next to American states several European countries, Israel and Japan are among them.

The issues discussed in the IADB during the simulation were: *Combating Corruption in Latin America and the Caribbean* and *Rehabilitation after Natural Disasters*. But soon it was clear that real substantial discussions were not necessary. Astonishing I recognized that many participants reduced negotiations on basic positions of their country. The session started with the opening of formal debate. During formal debate every Governor had the possibility to be set on the speakers list and once being in front as the next speaker, stressing in a limited time ones interests and priorities on the topic. These speeches were often used for diplomatic flourish without much substantial content but nevertheless with passion. (E.g. "Honourable Governors, I (or the State of Surinam) would (really) like to thank all of you for the amazing work you have done so far...") The more important and intensive discussions took place during suspensions of the meeting for the purpose of caucus.

Actually most of the time in session was spent in suspension of the meeting in New York in order to discuss more effective. Immediately the countries built blocs during informal debate. While the Latin American and the Caribbean states met in the corner of the conference room to talk about their strategy, the European countries discussed in the hall. The USA, Israel, Japan and Canada tried to negotiate with both blocs from the beginning on. The aim of the whole session was to formulate resolutions on the topic and get them passed in formal session. As in most committees, the Canadian part was a kind of an open-minded mediator. But unfortunately in the beginning the participants formed quite exclusive blocs, so that the USA, Japan and me as Canada were not really able to talk to the member states, since the Latin American bloc and the European bloc as well simply refused to talk to us. They wanted to clear their positions first to ensure a strong common sense among them. So spontaneously we (USA, Japan and Canada) went for a coffee in diplomatic style, doing small talk about cultural differences, reassuring us our mutual good relations and things like that, knowing that if the other states would want our support for their ideas they would have to talk to us anyway. After dropping some hints in this directions discussions were more open in the end.

The draft resolutions were elaborated on the few Laptops brought by some students. In fact this gave the owner of the Laptop a little power and influence which was in my opinion not very good for the simulation process. During the drafting of resolutions everybody tried to bring his own interests into the text. If you weren't loud enough or stood not near to the Laptop owner you nearly had no chance. Only when we reached the second topic on the last day of sessions someone had the idea of asking every nation about their perspectives and priorities on the topic X and continuing with formulating common points. But in the end both topics did not lead to extremely controversial discussions and we were able to elaborate and pass resolutions that also had the support of Canada.

Surprisingly on the 3<sup>rd</sup> day of the conference two real representatives of the IADB joined our session and we had the possibility to ask questions whenever we wanted to during informal debate. The attendance of these “real IADB diplomats” was a great motivation and actually it had a very positive affect on the atmosphere of our negotiations.

### **Saving the world, Manager qualities and the UN**

#### ***A Résumé***

Acting as a diplomat, see how it is to represent the interests of a country, standing inside the UN-Headquarter in New York – on the whole great experiences for every participant.

So long, and what else? What do I take with me after these five days with 2500 student “future leaders”, as we were called during the opening session? Now, some days later I try to keep the overview – why else does it make sense to take part in NMUN?

For me personally the main gain was the realization that the “diplomatic parquet” will not be my carrier perspective. Instead of representing, selling and carrying through (foreign)-interests as practiced in the model, I deem it more interesting to go into topics doing research.

If NMUN is was it claims to be, the most realistic model of the UN in the world, then the task of diplomats is reduced to transmitting national interests, which most of the time pursue mere national profit. It appears to me as if for this position the basic presupposition is not necessarily and by all means the ability of independent critical thinking. Not even extensive knowledge of the matter seems to be necessary. What is needed is what can be labelled as “manager qualities”: leader personality, rhetorical capacity, the ability to prevail and convincing appearance. All these qualities can be read every week in the newspapers if one looks at vacancies of business enterprises.

But shouldn't an organisation like the United Nations also apply other standards? Shouldn't the “political world elite” that works together in the worlds biggest multinational organisation, at least officially pursuing to fight together for World Peace, the realization of Human Rights and the reduction of the North-South differences as declared goals, differ from and stand out against the “worlds economical elite”, that simply pursues the maximum of profit for their own enterprises?!

During the time of my experiences with UN-models in Marburg, Hamburg and New York, unfortunately a discussion on the student level of



***UN General Assembly***

this kind did not take place; nor there was an evaluation at the end.

The idea of UN-simulations is in my opinion nevertheless a good one, because one can learn much about history, functions and structure of the UN as well as about the country one represents. Hope remains that in reality everyday life passes less “profile neurotically” as seen on NMUN level.

But even more then before, I deem the UN as an important and good element of international relations. What would happen, if this world forum would not exist? But it is no secret that it does not function really perfectly and just. That means the UN needs to stay in a process, having the ability to change and to improve into a more democratic and just direction. This can only start with criticism of the status quo and through its actors on state level as well as on the personnel level. Maybe I should keep my carrier perspective still open©?