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Modernity and Reforms: The PSI between Political Entrepreneurs and Gamblers

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Modernity and Reforms: The PSI between Political Entrepreneurs and Gamblers

Gianfranco Pasquino

The efforts by the Italian Socialist Party to renew its organization and to break through the two major parties in Italian politics are analyzed and evaluated in the light of its declared goals. The PSI has succeeded in conquering the much coveted office of President of the Council of Ministers. But it has not been able to increase its vote to any significant extent. The author suggests that the reasons for this mixed performance are to be found in two shortcomings. First, the party organization has been weakend by the concentration of power in the hands of the Secretary-General and by the growing inclination of local leaders to play their own political game. Second, the Socialist anaysis of the evolution of Italian society and the role played by the DC and the PCI has proved to be flawed. Italian society, contrary to what the Socialists believe, is not becoming undifferentiated and cannot be politically mobilized through mass media messages. The DC and the PCI still retain their organizational and cultural hold over significant socio-economic strata. Moreover, the PCI in particular has been capable of renewing itself. Without incisive institutional reforms, the PSI will be unable to improve its position. It might retain political power, but it will not play a reformist role and will not gain more political space.

The Problem Defined

How can a relatively small party break through the supremacy of two major parties? How can a party polling about 10% of the national vote acquire a political role such as to become pivotal? How can such a minor party produce a major political and electoral realignment? Which are the conditions for its success, which the obstacles to its strategy, which the preliminary results of its efforts? Defining the problem, identifying the conditions, and evaluating the results of the PSI efforts from 1976 to 1984 is the task of this paper.

The task is ambitious. But much of the ground has been covered elsewhere.[1] Therefore, following some brief remarks on the 1976-1980 period, I will devote much of my analysis to the more recent developments. Few flashbacks will suffice to explain some of the turning points and some of the intricacies of the Socialist strategy. And few, hopefully illuminating strokes will produce the necessary information on the major components and structural elements of the Italian political system.

A Changing Society, A Stagnating Party

The starting point is represented by the deep disappointment of the Socialists following their poor electoral showing of 1976. Having led the wave of criticisms against the Christian Democrats, having launched the formula for change - the leftist alternative - , having supported the requests of the two most dynamic groups in Italian society - the workers and the students -, having also sponsored some important pieces of legislation for the women -abortion and divorce - , the PSI felt confident in an electoral increase. Instead, the voters rewarded the PCI and, to a lesser extent, the Radicals and other minor groups of the left.

The most visible impact on the party was the replacement of the Secretary-general and the ascent to that office of Bettino Craxi. A somewhat unexpected generational revolt, uniting the right-wing faction and the left-wing faction,

swept away what were considered the remnants of old policies and moved towards the formulation of an ambitious blueprint for change. The Socialist Project for a Leftist Alternative constituted the platform on which the generational alliance easily won the Congress of Turin in 1978 and consecrated Craxi's leadership. At that point in time, the Socialists were engaged in a bitter controversy with the Communists since they opposed the historic compromise and were trying their best to separate the Communists from the Christian Democrats and to create a left-wing alliance.[2)] However, at the end of this very brief phase, the PSI decided to campaign for the Italian elections against both poles of the party alignment and asked for a vote which would allow the Socialists to implement governability against "bipolarismo".

Once more, in spite of the sharp losses suffered by the PCI, the Socialist party is not rewarded by the electorate. However, the Socialists decide to join again governing coalitions led by the Christian Democrats. Indeed, in this phase, new coalitional formulas are experimented which will mark the Eighth Parliament as well as the first year of the Ninth Parliament: the pentapartito (five-party coalition). It used to be that the simultaneous presence of the Liberals and the Socialists in the same government was considered incompatible by both. Indeed, the opening to the left in 1962 consisted exactly in the exclusion of the Liberals and the inclusion of the Socialists. In 1972-73 one of the most conservative government in Italian politics was characterized by the participation of the Liberals while the Socialists were thrown out. Now, the PLI is considered acceptable by the Socialists and the PSI is considered a legitimate governmental partner by the Liberals. As a matter of fact, the PLI had moved towards the center of the political alignment and the same trajectory was being followed by the PSI. The idea of a Lib/Lab coalition was burgeoning.

But Craxi's strategy was, once more, more ambitions. The creation of an alliance with the Liberals and the Republicans, the Socialdemocrats and the

Radicals was to be the precondition for a reduction of power and votes both of the Christian Democrats and the Communists. Such an outcome was not only desirable, but possible. It required, first, the defeat of Craxi's former allies within the PSI: the left led by Claudio Signorile. This was accomplished at the Congress of Palermo, April 1981, with Craxi's relection to the office of Secretary-general directly by the delegates (70% voting for him): an unprecedented and controversial decision. Never had Socialist secretaries been elected this way, but by the Central Committee elected by the delegates.

Firmly in control of his party, having produced major reshufflings of factional strength and made the party visibly autonomous from any subordination to the PCI, Craxi could proceed in its long-term strategy. To signal this historic transformation Craxi changed the label of his faction from Autonomist to Riformisti. The time of reforms had come. Indeed, Socialist governability was meant to give the country "stability and reforms", political stability and socio-economic reforms, and even more: institutional reforms. A Grand Reform of the "outworn" Italian Constitution was often brandished either as an urgent need for the political system or as the contribution by the Socialists to governability.[3] Of course, all these positive effects would accrue from more electoral strength given to the PSI. And new, more advantageous power relationships (between the PSI and the DC, and the PSI and the PCI) were highly overdue since Italian society had changed, matured, become less tied to old party identifications.

It was (and is) the contention of Socialist ideologues that Italian society had outgrown its two major parties, that for different reasons the electoral and political decline of the DC and the PCI was in the making, and that, for some specific reasons, the Socialist Party was going to be the inheritor of the (growing) modern portion of the electoral consensus as well as of the central position in the political alignment. After all, the process of modernization of Southern European countries had already produced or was producing both the growth of Socialist Parties and their ascent to governing roles and the decline of Communist and centrist parties. Why should Italy be so different, make an exception to the general trend? The Socialist Party, as Socialist spokesmen never tired of saying, was renewing itself (by 1984: had renewed itself, obviously according to those same spokesmen) and becoming more and more representative of those large modern sectors of Italian society which, for different reasons, could not or could no longer identify either with the DC or with the PCI.

The challenge was posed. For a certain period of time the term of comparison was the experience (and the success) of Mitterrand in renewing the Parti Socialiste and in winning the elections. Indeed, three major elements of the (alleged) Miterrand strategy were stressed by the Italian Socialists: the renewal of the party organization; the creation of flexible, but productive ties with a trade union; and the importance of the Fifth Republic Institutions in setting the environment for an expanded role for the PS. And, to some extent, Italian socialists will attempt to follow this path. Their reformulations and their hesitancies, however, will somewhat change the very nature of the overall project and, in the end (or, at least, at this stage) affect negatively its outcome.

The Renewal of the Party

Rinnovamento, first, and auto-riforma, in the second place have been the two most frequently used key words in explaining what was going on within the party. For a time, the renewal of the party organization appeared as a top priority. After all, both the inability to increase votes in 1976 and the unsatisfactory showing of 1979 could be attributed to the poor conditions of the party organization. Several factors accounted for that poor condition, all of them well known to party spokesmen, often perceptively identified, as much often bitterly criticized. (4)

Fundamentally, the PSI had become with the passing of time a factionalized party and a party of patronage (of assessori, as Nenni with his sharp and no-nonsense definition put it, already in 1975). Therefore, the party was capable of mobilizing when factions wanted to and when administrative elections were being held (its local vote being always higher than its national vote). But it was never capable of producing a unified, coherent strategy at the national level, always thorn between the need to support governmente led by the DC and the inclination to side with the Communists, both at the local level and with reference to a long-term view of the transformation of the Italian political system (not to mention that the Socialists collaborated, and still do, with the PCI not simply in many local governments, but also in many "mass" organizations, first and foremost in the CGIL, the major workers' union, in the Peasants' Confederation, in the League of Cooperatives, thriving especially in the Red Belt, in the Cultural and Recreational Association called ARCI - and, due to their importance in terms of their pivotal support, they are adequately rewarded in terms of offices and privileges).

Dispassionate (as well as impassioned) analyses and suggestions on how to reform the Socialist Party organization proliferated. Old models were reformulated, new ones elaborated. Rejecting as inapplicable both the

Christian Democratic experience of a party of factions and the Communist one of a mass party based on democratic centralism, the Socialists proceeded groping towards an original model of their own. Some of the models which were entertained lasted for a very short season.(5) For istance, up to 1978, some sectors of the PSI hoped to open up the party to the collective movements whose interests were felt close to the libertarian aspirations of the PSI, or anyway of Socialist voters, and which seemed to challenge both the DC and the PCI. But the internal organization of the party and its structure of opportunities and rewards could not accommodate the leaders and the requests of the students, the workers, the femminists. The PSI was bypassed and those votes (and militants) went either to the PCI or to the Radical Party.

More or less at the same time and in coincidence with the great upsurge of the workers'movement, the PSI (or better, some of its ideologues) entertained the idea of creating a Labour Party, that is a party capable of representing the interests of the workers' movement broadly conceived - not only industrial workers, but private employees, not only technicians, but intellectuals. Being unable to break the Communist hold over a majority of the industrial working class, the Socialists moved quickly into two opposed (but perhaps not conflicting) directions . On the one hand, they proclaimed that the marxist idea of the industrial working class as the "general" class was made obsolete by the class transformation of Western societies, and therefore dead. No political strategy could be built anymore on that obsolete view. New social sectors and groups deserved attention and representation.(6) On the other hand, they tried to acquire control over one union themselves to have what amounted to their own transmission belt. The UIL was chosen and a close and loyal Socialist trade unionist, Giorgio Benvenuto, soon became the Secretary-general. At this moment, the idea of a Labour Party had already been abandoned and replaced by the attempt to

imitate some features of the experience of the Parti Socialiste. The PSI would then become a parti fédérateur.

Most Socialist clubs, cultural institutes, and research groups had been closely affiliated with some specific Socialist factions. Funds coming from state financing of political parties and money allocated by local governments to so-called cultural activities could now be used to expand the network of Socialist flanking associations. The decline of the factions and, above all, the defeat of the left, opened up the possibility for the creation of a Federation of Clubs, the Club dei Clubs, which could serve the purpose of renewing the party organization and, at the same time, of reaching some new intellectual sectors of Italian society.(7) However, instead of having a mobilizing effect, this operation led to a sort of retrenching of the party. Anyway, by the time the operation was under way, no mention was any more made of the idea of a parti fédérateur. Indeed, what was emerging was a "presidentialist" party: the Party of the President of the Council of Ministers Bettino Craxi.

Nowhere was this more evident than at the Party National Congress held in Verona in May 1984. Instead of the customary competing theses submitted by the different tendencies (no more "factions") of the party, only one unitary document was drafted - with few critical comments, addressed specifically to the new conception of the party, by Michele Achilli's leftving.(8) Instead of the customary four-five days of debates, the time was compressed into less than three days - "Central and Northern European Socialist style" claimed vice-secretary Martelli. Instead of the customary (and well-mannered) presence of the Secretary to the debates, the Secretary-President of the Council of Ministers left after his speech to come back only towards the end of the Congress. And the final touch of class: instead of the customary election of the Secretary, be it by the delegates, as in the previous occasion, or by the Central Committee, the Secretary

was "acclaimed". No Central and Northern European Socialist style could justify that. Only the new nature of the Socialist party can and, indeed, does.(9)

The party as such does not exist any longer. Horizontally, it is an assortment of provincial federations whose main title to political influence is the ability to control power at the local level and the capability to deliver votes. Most provincial federations are now controlled by political leaders who identify themselves as "craxiani". Some of the most important ones, however, are in the hands of one major opponent (former Secretary and several times Minister Giacomo Mancini: Cosenza) or of lieutenants-potential challengers (Rino Formica: Bari; Gianni De Michelis: Venice; Lelio Lagorio: Florence). From this point of view, then, not so much a Mitterrand-style party emerged, rather something resembling the old SFIO of Guy Mollet and his challengers (Defferre and Mauroy, especially). Moreover, the struggle for power at the local level has often implied the resort to unscrupulous means and corruption (the two most infamous cases being Turin and Savona).

Vertically, the links between the local level and the nationale level are practically non-existent. Moreover, as many Socialists have complained, following the Congress of Palermo, the Central Committee, where policy ought to be formulated and ratified according to the existing charter, has rarely met. The Executive Committee itself has rarely met, and then only to ratify decisions taken by Craxi and his loyal, small group of close collaborators.(10) Surprisingly, pratically no criticism was addressed to this transformation, neither by reviving the standards of party democracy nor by referring to the needs for an effective flow of information and exchange of ideas. In the end, what remained of the party organization, that is the loose association of office holders at all levels, some trade unionists, some intellectuals and journalists were asked to commit themselves to support the governmental action of the PSI, of the Socialist Presidency, unwaveringly.

There are two appropriate descriptions for these developments, both formulated with reference to a Socialist syndrome. The first one is the famous prophecy by Trotsky on the dynamics of the Socialdemocratic party in Russia: (the party organization at first substitutes itself for the party as a whole; then the Central Committee substitutes itself for the organization; and finally a single "dictator" substitutes itself for the Central Committee...)[11] A less complimentary and more encompassing description of several changes is provided by Otto Kirchheimer: a) drastic reduction of the party's ideological baggage; b) further strengthening of top leadership groups; c) downgrading of the role of the individual party member, a role considered a historical relic which may obscure the newly built-up catch-all party image; d) deemphasis of the classe gardée, specific social-class or denominational clientele, in favor of recruiting voters among the population at large; e) securing access to a variety of interest groups ...in order to secure electoral support via interest-group intercession.[12]

Thus, at the end of its trajectory, willfully or unconsciously, the Socialist Party had transformed itself (or had been transformed) into a catch-all party. But the test of a catch-all party is the ability to collect votes from possibly all sections of the population, but above all many, many votes. Still, even a catch-all party must identify some specific constituencies where an electoral breakthrough appears more likely and easier. At first, the PSI tried to revamp its ties with the working class movement, specifically strengthening its hold over UIL. Then, it decided to identify new social groups defined in terms of their "merits" and their "needs". Finally, it appealed to a national constituency which would support the PSI and "its" government, because the PSI would provide governability. Not simply political stability and socio-economic reforms, but decisions. At this point, the specificity of the politico-electoral

appeal was purposively abandoned and Italian society was treated as an undifferentiated entity. Indeed, one Socialist spokesman went so far as to predict the emergence of a post-syndical society - where trade unions, that is the organized working class would find no role and no place.(13)

It was vice-secretary Martelli who launched the idea of an alliance between merits and needs: They were identified as follows:(14)

> Women and men of merit, of talent, of capabilities are persons useful to themselves and to the others, those who advance and make advance a complex of the entire society through their work, their imagination, their creativity, their production of more knowledge: they are those who can act.
>
> Women and men drenched in need are those persons who are not in a condition to be useful to themselves and the other, those who are kept in the margins of a job or of knowledge or of affection or of health: they are those who must act.

On the basis of this rather rough dichotomy, which was anyway to sweep off any kind of remaining marxian class analysis, Martelli proceeded to a slightly better elaborated identification. Again, it might be worthwhile to quote him in full:

> Who are the indivuduals or the persons of merit?...the individual who owns knowledge, the individual who knows some techniques, procedures, the individual who has some expertise, the individual who governs the mechanisms of social reproduction, the transmission and the innovation of culture, knowledge, fashions and habits, the individual who is master of her own daytime, her week, her leisure, her education and her children's, her vacations and consumption, the person who cannot be trimmed down to her activities but who accepts to be evaluated also with respect to her activities, her consequences.

And how does one come to define the world of needs?

> I think of the inmates, the alcoholics, the drug addicts, the insane, the ill, the handicapped, senior people, those who have a minimum pension and no family to look after them, the children themselves, those women and men who are lonely and would not like to be, young men and women who knock at the labor market door and do not succeed in crossing that threshold, who look for a house in order to get married and have to postpone their marriage, who are kept off from culture and wellbeing. The world of need adds up the old and new poverties, but it also includes something else, it includes non-economic poverties, not deriving from lack of merit or spirit. In truth, it has another and only one minimum common denominator, someting which we have even ceased mentioning: pain.

Martelli's analysis was quoted at length because his identification of merits and needs was, at the time, widely hailed as a breakthrough for a reformist policy. Nobody ever asked Martelli to be more precise as to how to combine this hodge-podge of persons, individuals, categories, groups, merits, and needs, old, and new poverties and pain into a viable reformist program (such as, for instance, the now criticized "strategy of alliances" put together and implemented by the Communist Party). The fact is that Martelli's proclamations were not meant to draft a program, but to reach an audience. They were intended for the mass-media consumption and, to some extent, they hit their target. As to the party delegates, most of them party functionaries or office-holders, having duly and even enthusiastically applauded their young and attractive party vice-secretary, they went back to their traditional way of doing things. Keeping together their entrenched electorate was, anyway, the most they could do in the absence of devoted activists, a functioning structure, appropriate policies, and in many cases suitable political coalitions.

Indeed, this was the very paradox of the merits-and-needs proposal. Where the Socialists were collaborating with the Christian Democrats, they could not sound very credible. Moreover, they were challenging some of the very features of the Italian welfare state through which the Cristian Democrats had offered their support to the neediest (as politically biased, clientelistically channeled, economically wasteful as it might have proven). On the other hand, the Cristian Democrats had always tried and often succeeded in presenting themselves as the party of the "individualistic mobilization" in Italian politics. (15)

Private enterprise, freedom of initiative, individual capabilities were protected and, at least, in principle, rewarded. Moreover, in recent times, the Republicans had been trying to displace the Christian Democrats by offering the same in a cleaner and less wasteful version.

Where the Socialists were collaborating with the Communist -that is, in several important local areas and large cities - much of what they were promising had already been offered by Communist -Socialist coalitions. The Socialist problem was that they had always been the junior partner in those coalitions. They had never been capable of claiming credits for some innovations, often submerged by the superior Communist organizational (and propaganda) machine, always second in quality and number to Communist activists.

At this point, that is around 1982, the Socialist strategy was finally sharpened in all its details. The PSI ought to present itself as the party of modernity and to criticize the DC and the PCI as remnants of the past. The DC had to be depicted as inevitably declining because of its incapacity to go beyond its representation of Catholic interests in the light of the crisis of the welfare State. The Communist had to be criticized for representing social strata such as the industrial working class, inevitably declining in numbers and quality. Both major parties remained, however, capable of masking and slowing down their erosion thanks to a continued access to patronage, the DC at the national level, the PCI at the local level, and

the resulting exposure to and through the mass media. Therefore, the Socialists had to conquer the control of the mass media. To some extent these were considered potentially favorable to the PSI because representative of those very professional sectors whose merits the Socialists were extolling, and to some extent they were inevitably attracted by the newsworthy style of the new Socialist leadership. This approach and to be implemented also because the Socialists political and electoral appeal had to go beyond the usual party boundaries and to reach sectors to which the PSI had not had access previously, sectors which were "liberating"themselves from the Catholic" and Communist "subcultures".

In the second place, the Socialists had to dislodge the Christian Democrats and the Communists from as many positions of power as possible.(Power breeds power(was the emerging motto within the Socialist ranks.Power was not only needed to reward some of the new followers, many of them inaeed attracted to the party exactlu because of those opprtunities(in order to consolidate their professional success or to enhance it).National and local power was considered indispensable to erode the electoral and political strenghth of the Christian Democrats and the Communists.The presumption was that many voters at the national level had elected the Christian Democrats simply because they were obtaining,expecting, anticipating, receiving benefits from the DC. Deprived of this channel or reduced in their expectations, they would quickly because available for a new kind of electoral behavior and reward the Socialists as the most attracrive alternative.

A similar kind of reasoning was applied to the strength and resiliency of the Communist vote at the local level (after alla the identification of the PCI and the DC was founded on the, misleading, analogy produced by a Socialist sociology, Francesco Alberoni, according to whom, the two parties were representing two"churches", inevitably declining in an age of secularization).Much of this vote, the Socialists surmised, accrued to the Communist party on a sheer exchange basis. The voters provided their electoral support and the PCI,through its powerful administrative-organizational-political machine, provided the benefits (be they resources, socio-economic

investiments, political stability and therefore an environmet conducive to sustained economic activities). Some of these voters, however, were thought not to be tied to the PCI.

Indeed, they would much prefer to vote for a non-Communist party (and were probably voting for a non-Communist party at the national level). By offering an alternative, providing the same political stability and the same socio-economic peace, the Socialists could become a more attractive reference point. Excluding the Communists from local power where alternative majorities were possible, the Socialists would at the same time considerably trim the Communist vote, acquire more political power obtaining a pivotal role in the formation of an alternative coalition, and in the end become the repository of the votes of those interested in excluding the Communist party.

Deliberately, the PSI pursued a policy of destabilization at the national and the local level. The pars destruens was dramatized. The phase of governability, that is the epoch of the pentapartito governments, was characterized by almost unprecedented political instability (six governments led by four different Prime Ministers, the longest one lasting 405 days, the shortest 80 days, for an average of 208 days, and 248 days of crisis). In the end, it was the alleged party of governability which provoked a couple of damaging governmental crises and the premature dissolution of the Eighth Parliament. At the local level, in addition to a continued guerrilla activity in many local governments in Emilia-Romagna, and Tuscany with some reversals of alliances following the above-mentionded principles, the PSI destabilized two very important city governments. In the case of Florence, the Socialist-Communist junta (the Communists polling more than 40% of the votes and being the party of relative majority) was overthrown just in order to show that one can do without the PCI. The Socialists, however, were unable to obtain the office of mayor. In the case of Turin, after the involvement in a major instance of corruption of several Socialist politicians, including the vice-mayor, the Socialists all but paralyzed the city admini-

stration in retalation without having the strength and the guts to ask for new elections fearing the popularity of the Communist mayor.

The pars construens ought to have been identified and formulated in the Socialist proposal for a Grand Reform of the constitutional and institutional structures of the Italian political system.(16) Indeed, the Socialists almost compaigned as the party of institutional renewal. Their proposals seemed to affect the entire architecture of the Italian politico-constitutional system. Their iconoclastic fury was directed against some of the most sacred taboos of Italian politics: the proportionality of the electoral system (equated by the Communists with democracy as such), the nature of the Parliamentary system, the role and powers of the President of the Republic (even hypothesizing his direct election), the strengthening of the Executive (again anathema for most Communists and many Christian Democrats). In the first stage of their formulations, most proposals were meant to break the supposedly consociational agreement existing between the DC and the PCI and to create the conditions for a government of the left and its ascent to power. Later on too many different proposals were entertained and their systemic character (that is a genuine interest in improving the overall functioning of the political system) faded into a more and more visible partisan character (that is an understandable, but overemphasized preoccupation with the specific benefits accruing to the PSI out of the various preposals which were, then, accordingly reformulated).

The third, and present stage is represented by the inauguration of a Socialist President of the Council of Ministers. At this point, the Socialists realized that the system as it is produces good favorable results for them. In the past it might have been a good idea to challenge the institutional immobilism of the two major parties (even though several institutional reforms had indeed been introduced in the seventies, i.e. the creation of regional governments and the approval of a law on referendum, to mention only the major ones) and their vested interests. Now it was more advisable not to

rock the boat where a Socialist P.M. was steering a difficult course.

The purely opportunistic character of most Socialist proposals came to the fore in a very visible way. The system was now rewarding the pivotal position of the Socialists both at the national as well as at the local level. None of the mechanisms which had produced such an outcome ought then to be touched. Therefore, the Socialist interest in a reform of the electoral system waned as it did any preoccupation for those devices potentially introducing a bipolar competition. As to the newly instituted Bicameral Committee on Institutional Reforms, the Socialist presence has not been very incisive. Their proposals have mainly characterized themselves for an attempt to identify those mechanisms which might strengthen the Executive vis-à-vis Parliament and for the implementation of stricter control over the judiciary. Overall, however, the Socialists do not seem much interested in pressing for institutional reforms. They probably (and rightly) feel that most reforms would lead in the short run at least towards a greater political role for the two major parties.

Two good reasons have been recently mentioned by Gianni De Michelis, the outspoken Minister of Labor, a Socialist himself, not to produce any reform in the Bicameral Committee. The first one is that any meanigful reform ought to be negotiated with the Communists.

But the Communists should be excluded from all negotiations, not included and shown to be relevant. The second is that "il Governo le riforme le fa con i fatti" (the Cabinet makes reforms through actions). The not too obscure reference being to the extremely controversial decree which has divided the trade union confederations and cut the indexation system (scala mobile). While its economic content was scanty, the decree was meant, above all, as a grand piece of a new system of governing, precisely by decree.

Immediately dubbed "decisionismo", the new style of governing (not a new substance because previous governments too had often engaged in the production of decres, and, moreover, because there was not much substance to

it) was a deliberate projection of a strategy. Craxi and his advisors (paramount among them professor Giuliano Amato, Undersecretary to the Presidency of the Council) were aiming at several targets. The first one was the conscious inauguration of a new era through a sharp break with the past. The past being the reality of previous Christian Democratic Prime Ministers and even of the Republican Spadolini, all being identified, in Craxi's opinion, with the devastating practice of mediation, brokerage among various competing and, sometime, conflicting interests. The outcome being a slow, incoherent, unproductive, erratic decision-maling process, the State machinery having become a hindrance to the development of an allegedly ebullient, energetic, dynamic society. And here was Craxi, the Prime Minister capable of making decisions and representative of a society which wants to change.

The second target was Parliament. Representative institutions were accused of being capable of legislating only on special brands of raw ham, procedures for cleaning chicken, and treatment of molluscs. That is, while the Socialist government was drafting some grand pieces of legislation, Parliament was engaged either in log-rolling and pork-barrel activities or in filibustering. Twofold consequences ensued from these accusations. On the one hand, that parliamentary regulations had to be changed so to make it possible for a government to really govern. On the other, that the opposition was playing a perverse game.

Indeed, the opposition and specifically the Communists vere the third target of "decisionismo". They were considered responsible not simply for the filibustering which took place on the scala mobile decree (filibustering which did not prevent several important bills and even decrees from being approved in those very months), but for the ills of the system because of their latent consociational inclinations. Craxi and the PSI were trying to show and highlight both the irresponsibility of the Communist opposition and its irrelevance. However, the attacks on Parliament and the Communist evoked three institutional responses.

Both the speakers of the House (Communist Nilde Jotti) and the Senate (Cristian Democrat Francesco Cossiga) published tabulations of data showing that the productivity of Parliament had been good, comparable with, if not better than that of previous Parliaments at this early stage of its mandate. And that indeed the government had been delinquent in its many promises and proposals. As to the President of the Republic, Pertini reminded Craxi that he is no enemy of the Communists. Implicitly he was saying that the political climate the Prime Minister had been consciously producing was not conducive to good and effective government.

While to some this incident, followed by some embarassed letters by Craxi to the other institutional authorities, might seem a minor one, its importance is apparent in the light of the overall Socialist strategy. There are three components of this strategy, never lucidly formulated but pursued with some coherence: istitutional, political, socio-electoral. Institutionally, the PSI is trying to exploit as soon as possible and as much as possibile all the alleged advantages deriving from holding the office of Prime Minister. The positive effect which allowed Spadolini to increase sizably the Republican vote is hoped for the Socialist Party as well. And even more since the Socialists start with a larger electoral basis. But the Presidency of the Council of Ministers is considered an institutional resource also because it might serve to break the vested interests and the several social rigidities fed by the Christian Democratic system of power and by the remaining, if any, consociational arrangements. The Presidency can and indeed should be used in order to remove most, if not all obstacles to policy-making, by producing a tabula rasa and obliging all major interestsito look at the Presidency directly, with no intermediation.No doubt, Craxi must have considered a great success the favorable assessment and moreover the support explicitly given to him by Gianni Agnelli, the owner of the FIAT Company. The Presidency could and should address itself to all sectors of Italian society at large in a direct way.

Politically, the Presidency is an asset which can be used in order to show that the crisis of "bipolarismo" can be overcome. Indeed, the beginning of the solution as well as the most obvious manifestation of the crisis are rapresented by the Socialist Prime Minister. He will work at the same time to isolate the Communists and to displace the Christian Democrats in order to occupy the central role in the political system. The DC will then be deprived of one of its most important resources, while the Communists will be criticized for not being the party of reforms. Socialist centrality in the political alignment will produce political stability and socio-economic reforms. However, the weak link in this kind of reasoning is represented by the Socialist attempt to purport as reformist their coalition with the Liberals, the Republicans, the Christian Democrats and the (Italian 'poujadist') Socialdemocrats.[17] In all other countries these parties constitute a neo-conservative, if not an outright conservative coalition. There ought to be no reason while in Italy, and suddenly, the much criticized Christian Democrats, for instance, would move in a reformist direction. After all, the DC had repeatedly been the object of attack by the Socialists, and it still was, though indirectly, because of its style (mediation) of governing and its substance (clientelism), not to speak of its overall inability or unwillingness to respond to a lively and changing society. On the other hand, the Socialists were criticizing the Communists as a non-reformist opposition while, at the same time, they were collaborating in many local governments which could be defined with perfect adherence to reality as "reformist" (and, indeed, the Socialists themselves had repeatedly done so in the past). Therefore, the reformist style and the reformist alliance forged by the PSI never appeared totally credible. Moreover, the reformist substance showed more than one difficulty in materializing-which explains the nervousness and the anger of some Socialist spokesmen and even of the Prime Minister himself.

Some commentators surmised that Craxi was hoping to do with the governmental coalition what he had done within his party. To compress the strength of the other partners as he had marginalized internal factions. To increase the powers of the President of the Council of Ministers as he had strengthened the office of Secretary-general. To reduce the role of the parliamentarians as he had limited the role of party members. In synthesis, to "normalize" the coalition and Executive-Legislative relations as he had normalized the Socialist party. However, a major difference existed and persisted. Within the Socialist party, Craxi had been able to proceed towards this kind of normalization and concentration of power in his hands after having received 70 percent of the votes of the delegates. In the governmental coalition, he was, after all, representing a party which had polled only 11.4 percent of the votes (the Cristian Democrats, though undergoing a major organizational and political crisis, remained still almost three times as large).

The solution to this problem, however, was entrusted to electoral shifts, to massive transfers of votes. Before the European elections, in his reply to the Socialist Congress, Craxi reminded his political adversaries (or, perhaps, threatened them) that between now and 1990 the country would undergo several electoral campaigns (1984 European; 1985 local; 1988 national; if taking place as scheduled; 1989 European; 1990 local). At the end, Craxi intimated, major transformations would be achieved. Anyway, an intermediate showdown was provided by the 1984 European elections, which the PSI faced confident in a very positive outcome.

The socio-electoral analysis was a mixture of wishful thinking and quasi-truths, of expectations and anticipations of trendes. The most important manifestation of Socialist wishful thinking is represented by the controversial syllogism they took for granted. The PSI is the most modern political party; Italian society is becoming very modern; therefore, Italian voters will incre asingly choose the PSI. The most visible element, among the various quasi-truths Socialist ideologues were producing, is represented by the dominant characteristic they attributed to the Italian electorate: fluidity, mobility, or even volatility. Even though it is possible and likely that the Italian electorate be mobile, this does not guarantee at all that mobile voters would transfer their electoral allegiance to the Socialist Party nor that the increase in the number of mobile voters would for electoral gains for the PSI.[18] As to expectations and anticipations of trends, while it might be likely that the Catholic and the Communist subcultures are slowly eroded by socio-cultural trendes and may be doomed (at a different rythm, the DC being much more affected than the PCI whose "subculture" is more secular, more political, better rooted from an organizational and administrative point of view), these are long-term trends (and in the long run even the PSI, as all of us, will be dead).

In the meantime, however, the PSI overestimated the (potential) decline of the socio-cultural implantation of the DC and the PCI and underestimated its own politico-organizational weaknesses. In general, one can say that the DC and the PCI begin every electoral campaign with a sizable pool of faithful voters, respectively around 80-90 percent. Barring extraordinary events, earthquakes and positive or negative landslides, their overall vote is relatively stable, from one election to the other-even though, of course, it has been shifting considerably with the passing of time. For several reasons, the Socialist vote is much less strong in its core of loyal supporters(probably only about 60-70 percent) so that, before gaining votes, the Socialists must recapture all previous supporters and the add new votes on top of them.

The second major mistake made by the Socialists, which can be largely attributed to a firmly held wishful thinking, is the overall evaluation of Italian society. While the Presidency was used to accelerate the breaking down of class loyalties, party ties, political affiliations, the fundamental premise of these operations is that Italian society is becoming and in some instances already is largely unstructured. Therefore, it is accessible to and available for new messages, new forms of political behavior, new, more flexible allegiances. Because less encumbered by the weight of the past, the PSI is the best placed party to provide what Italian society (allegedly) needs, though in some instances it might not know it in a precise way.

The Socialists were certainly aware of the characters assumed by Italian society in the chaotic transformation processes of the fifties (mass migrations and industrialization), of the sixities (economic boom and private consumption) of the seventies (economic crisis and youth unemployment) and of the emergence of the segmentation of the labor market, the appearance of fragmentation of social classes and strata and the push towards corporatization of several sectors located in a strategic position in the Italian socio-economic system. Nevertheless, they conveniently ignored all of this in their political pronouncements. Above all, they neglected that it has been through a thorough interpenetration between local, and especially State political power that social strata have been redefined, their identities reshaped, their politico-economic interests accommodated, that, in sum, as Habermas would put it, an autonomous sphere of public opinion did not exist any longer.

However, some Socialists equated the preceding processes - i.e. segmentation, fragmentation, and corporatization - with the decline of the socio-political implantation of the two major parties (forgetting that DC and PCI national and local power was still considerable and only marginally affected by the socio-economic crisis). Others went even farther. They thought, believed, deluded themselves in hoping that by the end of the seventies, fed up with the DC-PCI "bipolarismo", liberated in their voting behavior through the

emancipating experience of the referenda (which allowed many voters to choose differently from their parties' indications), Italian society had become available, almost totally so for a new kind of mobilization.

The axis of this mobilization was accordingly shifted: away from traditional party organizations and their networks of activists towards the (dynamic, growing, 'immediate') role of the mass media.[19] The image is the message. No need to persuade through endless meetings, but the attempt to reach large and growing groups of individual (atomized) voters through a homogeneous message and the image of the leader. On this (faulty) analysis, the Socialists based their strategy and restructured their party. They tried to cater for the alleged need for leadership felt by the Italian voters at the same time as they accommodated the will for leadership of their Secretary general and utilized it functionally in order to create a unified party. But, as anticipated before, the party organization as a working structure of roles and offices was destroyed and never replaced with anything else: the negative outcome of the will for leadership and the inability (and unwillingness) to work patiently with complex details. And, perhaps, also an enormous diffidence for intermediate bodies (and control structures) which Bettino Craxi has shown also in his governmental experience (or, should I say experiment?).

The Proof of the Pizza

Boasting their modern political culture, their non-ideological, indeed pragmatic outlook, their popperian vision of science and politics, the Socialists could not but take the verdict of the voting booths very seriously. The 1983 results were barely satisfactory.[20] True that the PSI increased their votes overcoming the 10 percent threshold after fifteen years and three very disappointing national elections. But the trend, the polls, and the predictions had all been much more favorable to the Socialists than the actual results. Moreover, once again the PSI results indicated that the party of modernity was stronger in those areas, such as the South, where modernity was, at best, an aspiration, a goal to pursue (and where both the strata representing the 'merits' and those showing the 'needs' deriving from new poverties were definitely a minority). It was weaker, indeed worryingly so in those areas,

such as Northern regions and particularly Northern cities where its appeal ought to have fallen on favorable grounds. Finally, it was making practically no inroad into the Communist electorate.

However, the most favorable data for the Socialists were represented by the unexpected and massive decline of the Christian Democrats (-5.4percent), a real negative landslide. This opened the way to the Socialist Presidency and put the strategy, the ideas, and the (remaining) structure of the PSI at work as well as at a task. While the proof of the electoral pizza had not been very tasty or sweet, the proof of the political pizza might result in something better. Everything was then subordinated to the Socialist Presidency. The party flattened on it, as the Italian political jargon would put it, in order to highlight and exploit this major novelty in the Italian political system. But while a Socialist as a Prime Minister in Italy was, indeed, a most important novelty, the coalition he was leading (and spurring) belonged to the old Italian tradition of weakly cohesive, quarreling, conflicting coalition governments. Even more so since everybody knew, but especially Craxi, Republican Spadolini, and Christian Democrat De Mita, that the coalition was only preparing the ground for a political and electoral showdown within the coalition itself.

Another proof of the pizza was inexorably in the making and was taken as such by all political actors: the June 1984 elections of the European Parlament. They provided a welcome opportunity to test several developments. First of all, whether the Socialist Presidency with its image of swift, tough, and effective decision-making had captured the imagination (and votes) of Italian citizens. Second, whether the Christian Democrats with their image of a weak and undecided party still retained a hold on the Italian electorate or were being continuously eroded. Third, whether the Communists, attacked and pushed at the margins of the political alignment by Craxi, were perceived by the electorate as obsolete and out of the political game or whether they were still successfully relying on their mobilizational capabilities and their socio-political implantation. Finally, whether the Republicans (and their Secretary General Spadolini) were perceived as the only, or more convincing alternative to Craxi's government in terms of economic rigor, Atlantic

loyalty, European commitment and, perhaps, political style and whether, therefore, their growth would suggest a different opportunity of breaking the (supposedly dangerous and immobilistic) 'bipolarismo'.

Burdened with all these meanings, the European elections became several referenda at once. Specifically, however, and more precisely, they sounded as a referendum pro or against the Socialist government and pro or against the Communist opposition (which had engaged a long tug-of-war with the Socialist Prime Minister over the decree issue). If this was the meaning, the results were inequivocal. This time the pizza was bitter for the Socialists. They were stuck more or less at their 1983 electoral level, while in the previous European elections they had made sizable gains on their national results. Indeed, they lost somewhat percentagewise and in absolute numbers. On the other hand, not only did the Communists gain considerably and almost uniformly in all the areas of the country, showing therefore that they were in no way isolated. But for the first time in Italian electoral history the PCI became the largest party. The sorpasso (the overtaking) of the Christian Democrats had finally materialized. Whether it was due to the emotional wave created by Berlinguer's sudden and tragic death or by the commitment of Communist activists in turning out the vote, it remains to be seen (local elections of a national scale are to be held in May 1985).

Critical comments ensued from within the Socialist party itself. Vice-secretary Martelli advocating a decision by Craxi whether to remain as a Prime Minister or to return actively to the guide of the party (only to revise his statement to add that he meant that the statutory organs had to be elected and made to work: almost two months after the National Congress, the PSI had no Direzione -Executive Committee- and no Secretariat, but a National Assembly of political, cultural, professional, even sports,

notables with, not unexpectedly, little or no political influence. The National Assembly was indeed convened, but for electoral purposes). Sen. Roberto Cassola who had given several interviews indicating the great novelty of a party such as the PSI capable of self-reforming itself now declared flatly that no self-reform had taken place. Hon. Biagio Marzo, the Socialist in charge of organizational problems, denied any responsability of the organizational structure in not delivering the votes. He surprisingly attributed the poor results to the traditional clientelistic networks of the PSI capable of mobilizing themselves only when (real) resources are at stake (local power). After 8 years of party renewal, then, no major change had taken place in the operational code of the Socialist party at the local level. A great genetic mutation at the leadership level, but the same germs at the local level. Finally, Hon. Giorgio Ruffolo, Chairman of the House Committee on Finances and Treasury, asked himself and the party, rhetorically, whether some kind of agreement and cooperation with the PCI ought not to be looked for. The usual barrage of interviews and articles, declarations of intentions and of preferences not followed by actions and in the silence of the party leader (and in the vacuum of political activity, debates, decisions in the statutory organs). No agonizing reappraisal, then, but the continuation of the same game. However, an impassioned, though objective analysis and explanation of the poor results so far achieved by the Socialist strategy must be provided.

Political Entrepreneurs or Political Gamblers?

It is not easy to provide an evaluation of the Socialist trajectory so far.[21] First of all because this trajectory is not yet over. And also because in Italian politics, for several reasons, few defeats are final. In the Socialist case, perhaps, one can say that the party has indeed suffered many defeats, but its leader has conquered that not so obscure object of desire that is the Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

Second, the evaluation is difficult and complex because the Socialists have never declared precisely which are their long term goals. Tactical goals have been sometimes achieved, sometimes redefined, sometimes missed. Strategic goals have been presented with so many modifications and variations that cannot be pinned down satisfactorily. However, some strategic goals can be identified and deserve a close discussion.

The starting point was frequently mentioned by Bettino Craxi: primum vivere. That is, the Socialist Party had to think (and act) in terms of its very survivability and, of course, of its aggrandizement. From this point of view, it is easy to understand why the Italian Socialists looked with interest (and envy) to the experience of François Mitterrand and the Parti Socialiste. Not only had the French Socialists been capable of growing electorally and politically, but, goes the Italian Socialist interpretation, by occupying the political center of the French party alignment, they had succeeded in winning the Presidency and in obliging the Communists to become a subordinate ally. If this is correct, the first standard by which to evaluate the Socialist experience in Italy since 1976 must be their ability to grow electorally. From this point of view, the risults so far have been disappointing. The second is their ability to occupy the center of the political alignment. And the third their success in obliging the Communists to come to terms with them.

To some extent it is probably true that the Socialists have been able to occupy the center of the political alignment.[22] To a large extent they are indispensable for the formation of whatever coalition. But so it was even before 1976 (and barring unforeseable dramatic changes so it will be in the near future). The problem for the Socialists is that they have been unable to displace the Christian Democrats from that center pushing them to became a moderate party of the right and convincing the electorate that that is indeed the case. Moreover, there has been a rush tiwards the center. The Liberals and the Republicans, not to speak of the

Socialdemocrats have moved tovards that coveted position in the past few years so that the center space is very crowded today. The Socialists have no monopoly over it or in it. The voters tend to fluctuate among the various center parties, as to be sure it has always occurred in the past, according to the type of electoral consultations, the nature of the stake, the kind of candidates, short-term considerations. Therefore, an electoral breakthrough for the Socialists has not taken place. Moreover it does not seem to be in the cards.

On the other hand, by moving towards the center the Socialists could not possibly believe to be able to attract dissatisfied leftist voters, and especially former Communist voters. However, they did entertain that belief as well. They thought that several leftist voters would have chosen the winning party of the left (a sort of bandwagon effect) and would have abandoned the outdated party of the working class whose irrelevance the Socialists were decrying every other day. Both in their expectations of displacement of the DC and in their declarations of irrelevance of the Communists, the PSI was relying on a wrong analysis of Italian society, its social groups, its electorate. The foundation of this analysis, as mentioned above, was the belief that Italian society was becoming less and less structured and its electorate more and more mobile, while the two major parties were no longer reflecting any cleavage, socio-political, economic, regional, and anyway representing the old which was fading away.

Again, so far the results have been more negative than just mixed. The Christian Democrats lost heavily in 1983, but their lossess went to increase the electoral loot of the Republicans more than that of the Socialists. The Communists have not been confined to the margins of the political alignment and might even acquire additional votes after their European sorpasso. At present, the Italian situation on the left is almost exactly the reverse of the French situation: the Communists are almost three times

as large as the Socialists (33.4 vs 11.2 percent).

Finally, as to objective changes, the Socialist Party has been drastically transformed in its vertical lines of communication, in the strengthening of its political leadership. But its functionality is severely impaired. Its local branches are subject to degenerations. Its ability to spread a unified, appealing electoral and political message must be seriously questioned. Especially in this instance it is very true that not all that glitters is gold.

Deinde philosophari. Having survived, the next (best) thing to do is to, think philosophically, to theorize. In the Socialist case, this thinking might take different forms and versions. To be sure, it has done so. As the Socialists were fond of telling the Communists: a reformist party is the one which makes the reforms. While the era of the reformers, of reform-mongering might be over, the fact remains that the coalitions made up of the five centrist parties have certainly not engaged in dynamic reformist activities. On the contrary, according to some observers they are dismantling previous reforms such as a very progressive law on psychiatric asylums, or abandoning others such as a very careful project for the reform of the Public Administration: Rapporto Giannini.

Perhaps some reforms might be considered useful tools to increase the electoral visibility and to sharpen the political profile of the PSI. However, the limited inclination of the ruling Socialist Presidency to produce socio-economic reforms might be explained by the attempt not to discourage any social group from voting for the Socialists while the twofold operation of displacing the Christian Democrats and confining the Communist to the margins of the political system is underway. Since the Socialists have also soft-pedaled institutional reforms, the above-mentioned explanation seems to be correct. It is likely that the Socia-

lists resorted to the idea of a Grand Reform of the Italian political system both to challenge the DC and the PCI and to appeal to those voters who were tired of the malfunctioning and the slowness of the politico-institutional system. Now that the PSI is enjoying (but for how long?) the many advantages deriving from its strategic positioning and utilizing the political resources of the Presidency against the DC and the PCI, those reforms seem less useful and urgent. Indeed, they might be counterproductive.

The philosophy of change and modernity, of the streamlining of the politico-institutional system has been abandoned as it had been jettisoned around 1978-1979 the major premise of post-war Socialist strategy.(23) The Socialists had always conceived their role in terms of the linchpin of the system. They prevented the total isolation of the PCI in 1948. They put into motion a slow process of change in the fifties which led to the opening to the left in 1962 and to an enlargement of Italian democracy. They had obliged the Communists to start their own process of revision. In the seventies by advocating the alternative of the left they were performing the historic task of creating the conditions for a democracy with alternation in pover.

At the same time they were collaborating to the total legitimation of the PCI in the Italian political system without breaking its reformist elan. Through the unblocking of the system, the PSI would have contributed to the full blossoming of Italian democracy. At the same time, as initiator and guarantor of that development, it would have reaped sizable partisan, political results.(24) All this changed with the ascent to Craxi to the leadership of the party. Not that the results of that strategy had been positive, but probably the problem lay not in the strategy, but in its implementation. Anyway, Craxi and his advisors reversed the course followed up to that moment in order to primum vivere, deinde philosophari.

Why have the Italian Socialists only succeded in surviving and for that matter without much philosophizing? Several answers are possible.[25] Combined, they deliver a probabilistic explanation the Socialists themselves are looking for. The first answer which must not be overplayed is that once more the Socialists arrived at positions of political-administrative responsabilities without sufficient preparation. Craxi has only held a minor executive position in the local city government of Milan. For that matter, most of his entourage (Martelli included) has had no executive experience. With some notable exceptions (such as De Michelis), the new Socialist political class is "political" and does not have nor shows administrative-managerial capabilities. The party of the modern professionals, of the managers, of the merits is paradoxically unable to promote and to select within its ranks those very groups. And the PSI seems to be increasingly bound to lack the channels of recruitment, selection, and promotion of its governing class at the local as well as the national level, being permeable by outside interest groups and having become a battle ground for holders of preference votes. Since its administrative and parliamentary personnel lacks those qualities, one may come to the conclusion that the party as a whole does not have a governing culture. This goes a long way towards explaining several shortcomings and sheer mistakes.

The second answer follows from the first one, expanding its scope. The PSI has now created what amounts to a "presidentialist party". It is from many points of view an unprecedented model in the sense that there are no instances comparable to what the PSI has become. It is no more a factionalized party such as the DC, nor a centralized party on a powerful structure of militants as the PCI, nor a federation-based party such as the Parti Socialiste. The PSI is a party which for better or worse is centered around its leader. But can such a (presidentialist) party be, or become a viable political instrument in a political system whose institutions are characterized by parliamentary features? Or should it try to shape political insti-

tutions capable of increasing its own potentialities, of exploiting its dynamic characteristics? The answer is probably yes. But Socialist constitutional engineers have moved very cautiously and hesitantly into that direction and have deprived themselves of some of the advantages that Mitterrand enjoyed in competing first within the left, later against the center-right. By so doing, the Socialists have shown their timidity and have not provided those arrangements which might facilitate the mobility of the Italian electorate. Greater competitiveness might increase the chances of the Socialists exactly because it will enhance the incentives to behave in a more incisive way for those voters willing to introduce changes in the electoral strength of the various parties and in the likely coalitions.

The Socialists have been unwilling to risk their positions of power neither at the national level, by pressing for incisive institutional reforms, nor at the local level, by challenging, if that was the path to be followed to isolate the Communists, leftist local administrations and reversing their alliances, suddenly and throughly. Again, too many Socialist local groups were not inclined to jeopardize their positions of power for a national strategy they might share or not, but which appeared risky. Therefore, in very many local areas the Socialist party appeared as a destabilizing force with only power goals in its mind. Power positions were increasingly sought, not changes in the way of governing or in the content, the substance of the policies. Ruthless tactics were implemented to mask the lack of an overall, national, well-formulated strategy.[26] Just a political patchwork. Too often, then, the Socialists were showing a tough, anti-communist face at the national level while continuing their collaboration with the Communists at the local level and in the very many mass organizations they share with Communist organizers, militants, rank-and-file. Obviously, their credibility was as a consequence impaired.

Above all, there are those who say that the PSI (in addition to all previous inconvenients) suffers from a major structural obstacle. The Italian political system as it has been shaped will never allow the breakthrough

of a minor party. Therefore, the Socialists will soon encounter or have already encountered a ceiling in their electoral growth and in their political development. Unless the rules of the game are changed profoundly, unless new situations of uncertainty, risk for all parties, and renewed competitiveness are created, the Socialist party will survive, but not revive.

This is indeed the sorest point. The fact of the matter is that the Socialist party has so far prevented the creation of new rules of the game. It is the purported party of modernity and change which has not accepted changes in the institutions; which has rejected the hallmark of modernity: political-institutional innovations in the systemic arena; which has feared uncertainty; which has repeadetly avoided taking risks. The PSI might have become the party of political entrepreneurs those which, according to David Apter, are capable of shaping new institutions and exactly because they risk much, they may succeed in winning much. It has instead so far been the party of political gamblers. The results have not been good neither for the system nor for the party. It is time to draw the sums.

N O T E S

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2. For a survey of the attitudes of Socialist delegates to the regional congresses of Piedmont, Veneto, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, and Campania, see G. Pasquino and M.Rossi, 'Quali compagni, quale partito, quale formula politica? Un'indagine sul PSI', Il Mulino, vol. 29, No.1 (January-February 1980), pp. 74-101.

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6. The influential book by the Socialist economist P. Sylos-Labini, Saggio sulle classi sociali, Bari: Laterza, 1974 became a reference point for all subsequent analyses.

7. For the necessary information see the issue of the review of the Club of the Clubs, 1999 Italia devoted to 'Riformare la politica' which contains the proceedings of the conference on the same issue, vol. 1, No. 3 (1983).

8. Per un riformismo moderno. Le tesi per il 43° Congresso del partito , Avanti!, March 20, 1984. Achilli's contribution is at pp. 18-19.

9. A scathing and impassioned criticism of that acclamation came from the Socialist political philosopher N. Bobbio, 'La democrazia dell'applauso', La Stampa, May 16, 1984,p.1. The developments which created the conditions for such an outcome are analyzed, in a rather sympathetic way, by L. Cavalli, Plebiscitary Democracy in the West: The Socialist Case in Italy, Florence: Working Papers del Centro di Sociologia Politica, Facoltà di Scienze Politiche 'C. Alfieri', 1984, No. 1.

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11. As quoted by I. Deutscher, The Prophet Armed. Trotsky: 1879-1921, New York Vintage Books, 1954, vol. I, p. 90.

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13. G. Giugni, 'La società post-sindacale', La Repubblica, February 22,1984.

14. All quotations are from Martelli's speech to the Conferenza programmatica del PSI held in Rimini, March 31-April 4, 1982 now published in a booklet Governare il cambiamento, Roma: Rotostilgraf, 1983. The title of speech is 'Per un'alleanza riformatrice tra il merito e il bisogno', the quotations are at pp. 181-182. My own understanding of the issue is presented in an expanded form in 'La strategia del PSI: tra vecchie e nuove forme di rappresentanza politica', Critica marxista, vol. 21, No. 1 (January-February 1983), pp. 29-50.

15. As suggested long time ago by A. Pizzorno in an essay published in the special issue of Daedalus, 1964 devoted to 'A New Europe?'. See also his 'I ceti medi nei meccanismi del consenso', in F.L. Cavazza and S.R.Graubard (eds.), Il caso italiano, Milano: Garzanti, 1974, pp. 314-337.

16. One of the most perceptive and most sympathetic analysis of these developments is offered by J. Lapalombara, 'Socialist Alternatives: The Italian Variant', Foreign Affairs, Spring 1982, pp. 924-942 which should be read on its own merits as well as in order to counterbalance my less favorable view.

17. As it was explicitly done in the theses published in Avanti!, March 20, 1984, precisely pp. 14-16. A more subtle delegitimation of the reformist role played by the PCI is conducted by G. Amato and L. Cafagna, Duello a sinistra. Socialisti e comunisti nei lunghi anni '70, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982.

18. For a balanced and innovative evaluation of electoral trends see P. Corbetta and A. Parisi, Struttura e tipologia delle elezioni in Italia: 1946-1983, Bologna: Materiali di Ricerca dell'Istituto Cattaneo, 1983.

19. As it has already been done in the 1979 national electoral campaign. For details, see my 'Alla ricerca dell'elettore d'opinione: il caso del PSI', in A. Parisi (ed.), Mobilità senza movimento. Le elezioni del 3 giugno 1979, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1980, pp. 103-132.

20. A thorough, imaginative analysis is provided by F. Anderlini, 'PSI: appropriazione di potere e paralisi politica', Democrazia e diritto, vol.24, No.5 (September-October 1984), pp. 57-85. An equally detailed and sound empirical evaluation is offered by G. Martinotti, 'La base elettorale del neosocialismo italiano', 1,2,3, Socialismo oggi, respectively April 15, May 1, July 1, 1984, pp. 1-4, 10-13.

21. A wealth of data and interpretations is presented in the forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Wolfgang Merkl (University of Heidelberg), advisor Klaus von Beyme.

22. See the very lucid discussion of what meaning the center might have by H. Daalder, 'In Search of the Center of European Party Systems', American Political Science Review, vol. 78, No. 1(March 1984), pp. 92-109.

23. I have argued this point at length in my 'Centralità non significa governabilità', Il Mulino, vol. 31, No. 3 (May-June 1982), pp. 321-338. Admittedly, this is a most controversial interpretation.

24. A different interpretation, certainly not based on a systemic view nor on his "model" of the Italian party system (which cannot and does not accommodate behavioural variations) is provided by Sartori: 'the Italian political game is today unblocked by the "Craxi challenge", by a PSI far different from what it was', Teoria dei partiti e caso italiano, Milano: Sugarco, 1982, p. 252.

25. D. Hine's analysis, 'The Italian Socialist Party under Craxi: Surviving but not Reviving', in P. Lange and S. Tarrow, Italy in Transition. Conflict and Consensus, London: Frank Cass and Co., 1980, pp. 133-148 has missed some of the elements leading to these answers, perhaps because they were not visible enough at the time of his writing.

26. The most recent statement to this effect is by G. Ruffolo in trying to revive what remains of the Socialist left: 'The Socialist left had a strategy not a politics. Craxi had a politics, however without a strategy', quoted in Il Messaggero, June 30, 1984, p. 2. Another of those strange stamements such as the one made by Martelli in analyzing the European vote: 'The Communists have the votes to govern, but not the legitimation. We have the legitimation to govern, but not the consensus'! (La Repubblica, June 21, 1984, p.3).

Democratization and Party Building: Contradictions and Conflicts Facing Party Elites in the Spanish Transition to Democracy [1]

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> I believe that we gave to the world an example of how an important political transition could be successfully accomplished. But we also gave a negative example of how a party in power can destroy itself.
>
> -- excerpt from an interview with a former UCD prime minister

The creation of a democratic regime in Spain following the death of Francisco Franco involved two distinct tasks. First, the basic political institutions of the state had to be substantially altered. In writing a new constitution and other "organic laws" which would establish and regulate political relationships within Spanish society, it was necessary to make far-reaching changes-- in such areas as Church-state, center-periphery and labor-management relations, not to mention the basic legitimating formula and central institutions of the political regime itself. Apart from this all-important task of re-writing the basic rules which would govern the game of politics in a new regime, a second institution-building task had to be undertaken: competing political parties had to be created anew, or (in some cases) transformed from tiny and almost politically irrelevant clandestine groups into large organizations, capable of mobilizing voters and supporting the various delegations in parliament. The transition to democracy was related to, but distinct from the process of founding a competitive party system.

Political developments in Spain during the ten years since Franco's death reveal mixed results in the completion of these two tasks. On the one hand, remarkable success has been achieved in dismantling an authoritarian regime and in establishing a fully democratic regime in its place. No electorally significant groups challenge the legitimacy of the system, or even seriously entertain thoughts of amending the constitution or the various regional statutes of autonomy. [2] Profound political change, moreover, was accomplished in such a fashion as to lay to rest several historically divisive issues, or at least to secure compromise agreements over others which facilitated acceptance of the new regime by nearly all significant political forces. Only the question of the Basque country's status within Spain has given rise to intense and sometimes violent conflict. Overall, the transition to democracy can be regarded as an impressive achievement and the new regime as well on its way to full consolidation.

The recent history of Spain's political parties, however, has revealed much greater instability and a lack of adequate consolidation. This has been manifested in the high level of

volatility exhibited by Spanish voters between the 1979 and 1982 elections (see Table 1), and in the outbreak of intense intra-party conflict at the elite level. Indeed, each of the four major nationwide parties which emerged from the first democratic election in 1977 has experienced periods of internal chaos and crisis which, at a minimum, culminated in the temporary resignation of the party leader. The present prime minister, Felipe González, temporarily resigned as head of the Socialist party (PSOE) after suffering a series of humiliating defeats at a party congress in May, 1979. He returned to the leadership of the party only after he and his allies had thoroughly routed their opponents in the so-called "critical sector", and established a dominance within the PSOE which has occasionally given rise to unflattering comparisons with the Franquist Movimiento Nacional and the Bulgarian Communist party. Manuel Fraga, currently leader of the principal party of opposition, Alianza Popular, has also had to deal with major party crises. The most serious of these occurred in 1978, when his decision to endorse and campaign on behalf of the new democratic Constitution led to a deep schism within the original AP coalition and to the departure of several leaders of the party's right wing. A second crisis followed the March 1979 general elections, in which the AP lost nearly half its seats in the Congress of Deputies, and which led to Fraga's temporary resignation as head of his party. By the time of the 1982 elections, however, both the PSOE and AP had stabilized themselves internally, and the leadership status of Felipe Gonzalez and Manuel Fraga was firmly established.

The same cannot be said of the once dominant governing party, the Union of the Democratic Center (UCD) and the Communist party (PCE), both of which were caught in the throes of divisive intra-party struggles on the very eve of the 1982 election. Largely as the result of the electorate's negative reaction to intense intra-party squabbles which had wracked both parties over the preceding two years, they suffered disastrous electoral defeats. [3] The PCE lost 19 of its 23 seats in the Congress of Deputies; party secretary general Santiago Carrillo (who had dominated the PCE since 1956) was forced to resign; and the party was plunged into a rancorous leadership struggle from which it has not yet fully recovered. In that same election, the governing UCD suffered perhaps the single greatest electoral disaster ever to befall a contemporary Western European party. Its share of the vote plunged from 35% to 6%, and its delegation in the Congress of Deputies shrank from 168 seats to 11. Faced with bankruptcy, the party which governed Spain from 1977 until 1982 has ceased to exist.

How can we explain these uneven patterns in the evolution of political institutions in post-Franco Spain? In my view, the answer is to be found in the behavior of political elites. Party leaders played the key roles both in the negotiations which culminated in founding the new regime, as well as in efforts to create party organizations and project a party image to the electorate. In the transition to democracy and the constituent processes of 1977-1979 they represented the conflicting demands of social groups sometimes deeply divided over traditionally explosive issues. They chose to

TABLE 1

Results of 1977, 1979 and 1982 Elections for Congress of Deputies

Party	1977: Pct. of Total Valid Votes	1977: Seats Won	1979: Pct. of Total Valid Votes	1979: Seats Won	1982: Pct. of Total Valid Votes	1982: Seats Won
UCD	34.0%	165	35.1%	168	6.3%	11
PSOE	28.9	118	30.5	121	48.4	202
PCE-PSUC	9.2	20	10.8	23	4.1	4
AP	8.0	16	6.1	9	26.6	107
CDS	-	-	-	-	2.9	2
PNV	1.7	8	1.7	7	1.8	8
PDC/CiU	2.8	11	2.7	8	3.7	12
Others	15.6	12	13.1	14	6.3	4

UCD Unión de Centro Democrático and Centristes de Catalunya, CC-UCD
PSOE Partido Socialista Obrero Español and Socialistes de Catalunya
PCE-PSUC Partido Comunista de España and Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya
AP Alianza Popular (in 1979, Coalición Democrática; in 1982 includes AP-PDP-PDL-UCD coalition in Euskadi)
CDS Centro Democrático y Social
PNV Partido Nacionalista Vasco (includes Nacionalistas Vascos in Navarra)
PDC/CiU Pacte Democràtic per Catalunya (1977) and Convergència i Unió (1979 and 1982)

Sources: Dirección General de la Política Interior, Ministerio de la Gobernación, Elecciones Generales 1977: Resultados Congreso por Provincias; Dirección General de Política Interior, Ministerio del Interior, Elecciones Generales 1979: Resultados Congreso por Provincias; and Alejandro Muñoz Alonso, Las Elecciones del Cambio, Barcelona: Editorial Argos Vergara, 1984, p.229.

articulate those demands in a moderate fashion, however, and employed quasi-consociational procedures in largely successful efforts to secure compromise agreements over matters crucial for the future legitimacy of the new regime. Thus, in interactions between competing parties, potentially disruptive conflicts were laid to rest (or at least postponed) in large measure because party leaders took great care to avoid a repetition of the rancorous and polarizing behavior of the constituent elites who founded the Second Republic. Such concerns were absent from intra-party interactions. Party elites engaged in intra-mural struggles were not constrained by "historical memories" of civil strife which might erupt should conflict be permitted to become too intense (as they were in various dealings with opposition parties). Neither, in some cases, did they greatly value the preservation of their respective parties (as compared with their frequent expressions of concern over the fragility of the new democracy and commitment to its preservation). In short, the values, perceptions and calculations which led them to enter into "the politics of consensus" in the transition to democracy were not prominent in their various party-building efforts. In the absence of such constraints, intense intra-party struggles erupted frequently, while inter-party negotiations were characterized by much higher levels of civility and willingness to compromise.

A second origin of intra-party conflicts, particularly within the UCD and PCE, can be traced to the constituent process itself. I will argue that the quasi-consociational rules adopted by leaders of those parties gave rise to great tensions within them, as well as between those parties and their respective electoral clienteles (or, at least, groups claiming to represent their clienteles). In some respects, the demands of party building and founding a new regime are incompatible. The demobilization of party militants, the involvement in inter-party negotiations of only a few top-ranking party leaders, the holding of those negotiations behind closed doors, and the securing of compromise between opposing groups greatly contributed to the prospects for success of the transition to and consolidation of a new regime; but those same practices often created great dissatisfaction within parties and a sense of alienation or betrayal on the part of their respective clienteles. In some respects, then, the UCD and PCE may be regarded as paying a high price in 1982 for having made important concessions during the previous constituent process. In more general terms, the examples of the UCD and PCE are manifestations of the tensions inherent in the employment of consociational or quasi-consociational methods of conflict resolution. They make it clear why the abandonment of the usual majoritarian rules of the game of partisan competition make the employment of consociational practices difficult to sustain over time.

The principal thrust of this paper will be to attempt to explore some of the reasons why intra-party conflicts have been so frequent and destructive in post-Franco Spain, while inter-party elite interactions have been marked by restraint and compromise. This paper will not attempt a thorough explanation of the origins of elite-level instability within Spanish parties: such an analysis would

entail an exploration of the ideological heterogeneity of each party's elite, the lack of internal consensus over organizational structures and procedures, simple blind ambition among rival party leaders, and, perhaps most importantly, the low level of institutionalization of these new party organizations. [4] Instead, I will restrict my analysis only to those factors linking party-building efforts with those central to the transition to democracy, and I will focus my attention upon that party within which the most devastating conflicts erupted-- the UCD-- and, to a lesser extent, the PCE. This analysis is based upon over 250 hours of interviews with national and provincial-level party leaders undertaken at various intervals since 1978, 28 hours of which were with the highest-level former leaders of the UCD undertaken in 1983 and 1984. [5]

From time to time I will also make reference to certain characteristics of the political attitudes and voting behavior of the Spanish electorate. In order to justify my predominant focus upon the roles of political elites in producing these two seemingly contradictory political developments (successful regime consolidation and an unstable party system), two competing sets of hypotheses must be examined. The first would argue that the success of the transition to democracy and the writing of a consensual Constitution were nothing more than reflections of broad consensus at the mass level of Spanish society concerning each relevant constitutional issue dealt with in the course of the 1977-1979 constituent process. While there was, indeed, a widespread desire among Spanish citizens that the transition be accomplished without violence and with as little disruption as possible [6], and a moderate center-left predilection of most voters (which has led them to consistently eschew extremist parties), it is also clear that cleavages still divide Spanish society which might have been deepened and intensified during the constituent process in such a manner as to undermine the legitimacy of the new regime. There was, moreover, a pronounced polarization of opinion at the mass level concerning specific issues which had to be dealt with in the constituent process. Compromises secured concerning each of these issues were not dictated by the structure of mass-level opinion, but were, instead, the products of initiatives by party leaders acting in the absence of a clear mandate from their respective electoral clienteles.

Space does not permit an exploration here of the second set of implicit hypotheses linking elites and masses: this involves my contention that the great change in the Spanish party system which resulted from the 1982 parliamentary election largely represented a rejection by voters of certain patterns of elite behavior which had become highly visible during the preceding two years. Our data clearly suggest that this electoral change was not produced by a significant shift in the basic ideological or programatic stands of voters, nor was it primarily a response to deteriorating economic conditions. Instead, the weight of the evidence suggests that voters cast a voto de castigo (vote of repudiation) against the UCD and PCE elites for the seemingly incessant internal squabbling in which their leaders had been embroiled throughout the preceding two years. It should be noted that it is not my purpose to undertake a thorough

analysis of the dynamics of voting choice in the 1979 and 1982 elections, nor to set forth a fully adequate substantiation of my contention that the origins of the 1982 realignment can be traced primarily to the unruly behavior of UCD and PCE party elites-- that analysis has been published elsewhere. [7] It is important to note, however, that our analysis has indicated that the personal appeal of party leaders has played a very important role in determining voting choices made by the Spanish electorate both in 1982 and in earlier elections. Mass-level data presented in this paper or in other publications substantiating these arguments were derived primarily from two large surveys (of over 5,400 Spanish citizens each) undertaken after the 1979 and 1982 elections. [8]

A Successful Transition to Democracy

A basic function of political party leaders is to represent the interests of different social groups. The articulation of conflicting demands, in fact, lies near the very heart of most "procedural" definitions of democracy. [9] And yet, as it has frequently been pointed out, in order for a democratic regime to survive, its partisan representatives must achieve a balance between conflict and consensus. While it is the duty of party leaders to articulate conflicting demands, they must not do so in a manner which would polarize society or threaten the legitimacy of its representative institutions. Excessively rancorous behavior or unwillingness to compromise on fundamental issues may weaken or even topple a democratic regime, as Spain discovered in the 1930s. The need for some minimal level of consensus is particularly acute in newly emerging regimes: the institutions and rules of the game set down in constitutions should be acceptable to all significant political groups in order for the new regime to secure an adequate level of legitimacy. The fragility of new, unconsolidated political institutions, moreover, may make it difficult for them to regulate or resolve intense conflict. Thus, the manner in which conflicts are expressed might critically affect the stability of a new democracy, especially in a society as historically divided as that of Spain.

Upon entering into the post-Franco era, Spain's party leaders were forced to address directly issues which divided Spanish society and had given rise to considerable political instability and/or violence over the previous century. These involve the monarchy, Church-state relations, class conflict, and decentralization of the Spanish state. In this paper, I shall deal with three of these four critical sets of issues. I will not deal with center-periphery relations, because the complexity of the autonomy process is so great as to preclude an adequate treatment in this short paper. [10]

Ever since the beginning of the 19th century, the monarchy has often been the object of bitter partisan conflict in Spain. [11] Consequently, in little more than a century, Spain has switched back and forth between monarchical and republican forms of government four times. Similarly, the close association between the Catholic Church and the Spanish state (an institutional tie which can be traced as far back as Visigothic times) ultimately produced numerous outbursts

of violence, as well as drastic pendular swings between highly confessional regimes at one extreme (such as that of General Franco) and harsh anti-clericalism at the other (as manifested during the Second Republic). Finally, while class conflicts are present in all societies, they have been particularly disruptive in Spanish history. Party and trade union leaders often fanned the flames of class or ideological animosity, thereby directly or indirectly contributing to outbreaks of political violence (such as those which occurred in Barcelona in the first two decades of the 20th century, in Asturias in 1934 and throughout Spain in 1936-1939). [12]. A critical question surrounded the creation of a post-Franco democracy: in dealing with these issues, would Spain's contemporary political elites follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, with perhaps tragic consequences, or would they interact with each other in a manner which would serve to moderate the intensity of these conflicts?

Answers to these questions were by no means obvious at the outset of the transition to democracy or on the eve of constitutional deliberations in the Cortes. The initial stands on these issues taken by the two parties of the left (the PCE and PSOE) were diametrically opposed to those taken by the two Spanish parties of the center and right (the UCD and AP). And these conflicting positions were fully consistent with those of the electoral clienteles of those parties. Nonetheless, in the absence of a mandate from their respective blocs of supporters, the elected representatives of these parties (with the exception of the right wing of Alianza Popular, which defected from the party in the aftermath of Fraga's endorsement of the Constitution) reached compromise agreements concerning each of these sets of issues. This constitutional consensus (followed one year later by agreements of comparable importance with Basque and Catalan nationalist parties over statutes of regional autonomy) paved the way for acceptance of the regime by all electorally significant forces.

The Monarchy

Acceptance or rejection of the constitutional monarchy was among the first basic issues to be confronted in the constituent process. It had important implications for the legitimacy of the new regime, and yet acceptance of the monarchy by the parties of the left was by no means a foregone conclusion. Since the instauration of the monarchy had been undertaken at the behest of General Franco, it was regarded by them as part of an effort to perpetuate the authoritarian Franquist regime after the departure of its founder.

The new party system was sharply divided over this issue. The two "internally created" parties enthusiastically supported the monarchy, while the two "externally created" parties initially opposed it. [13] That is, the UCD and AP, both of which were founded principally by persons who had occupied posts within the Franquist state apparatus, favored continuation of the monarchy. Conversely, the two major parties which reemerged from the illegal, clandestine opposition to the former regime-- the Socialist and Communist parties-

- favored establishment of a republic as part of a complete break ("ruptura") with the authoritarian past. Indeed, PCE leader Santiago Carrillo at one time predicted that the new King, Juan Carlos, would ultimately be referred to by historians as "Juan the Brief".

These differences were reflected at the mass level of Spanish society as well. As late as 1979 (one full year after the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties had officially endorsed the monarchy, and over two years after the King had made clear his commitment to democracy), the monarchy was supported by only small minorities of Socialist and Communist voters, while overwhelming majorities of UCD and AP supporters endorsed the monarchical form of the state:

Preference for "Monarchy" vs "Republic"
by Reported Vote in 1977 Election [14]

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP	N
"Monarchy"	13.1%	28.5%	60.9%	68.8%	1420
Neither or Both	20.5	31.4	29.9	24.4	887
"Republic"	65.2	38.2	6.2	6.4	668
N =	295	925	1577	176	

Survey data reveal that Juan Carlos was (by 1978) much more positively evaluated than the monarchy in the abstract. [15] But even so (and particularly taking into consideration the greater uncertainty over Juan Carlos' intentions at earlier stages of the transition), these data suggest that institutionalization of the monarchy was not the first choice of most Communist and Socialist voters.

In the early stages of constitutional deliberations, their elected representatives acted accordingly. PSOE representatives in the Congress of Deputies introduced a voto particular (substitution amendment) to Article 1 which would have replaced the constitutional monarchy with a republic. Socialist justification of this republican amendment was multi-faceted. One PSOE Deputy claimed that his party was obliged to oppose the monarchy out of respect for the wishes of its electorate, whose support in 1977 constituted a mandate for republicanism. [16] Most of the speeches in support of that voto particular involved references to abstract principles and traditional party values. In defending that amendment before the constitutional committee of the Congress, for example, Eduardo Martín Toval (PSC-PSOE) claimed that the very concept of monarchy is "incompatible with democracy; that a monarch is sovereign goes, in principle, against popular sovereignty." [17] In practice as well, Martín added, Spanish monarchs frequently intervened in politics in support of "oligarchies interested in maintaining situations of injustice and of monopolized power." [18] His Socialist colleague, Luis Gómez Llorente, concluded with an oratorical flourish: "In Spain, liberty and democracy have come to have only one name: Republic!"

Given the King's ultimate importance as a stabilizing and legitimizing force during the transition to democracy, his

displacement could have jeopardized the success of that enterprise. Termination of the monarchy was, after the 1977 election, a very remote prospect, but rancorous debates or persistent attacks on the constitutional monarchy could have undermined the legitimacy of the new regime. Socialists were well aware of the disruptive potential of this conflict. Even before the first vote was taken on this issue, Gomez Llorente informed the constitutional committee that his party would "accept as valid whatever results from this point in the constituent parliament... We will democratically respect the establishment of the Monarchy." [19] With the defeat of their republican amendment in the constitutional committee, the Socialists withdrew that amendment from consideration in all subsequent stages of the constituent process, and, in effect, definitively laid to rest this historically divisive issue.

The Communist party was even more prompt in abandoning its traditional opposition to the monarchy, by endorsing the monarchy prior to the start of formal debate over the Constitution in the Cortes. Santiago Carrillo explained his party's consummately pragmatic stand during the opening round of debate before the constitutional committee of the Congress of Deputies:

> As you know, the Communist party has always considered the democratic republic as the ideal form of democracy,... and, once the Republic had been installed as a constitutional regime [in 1931], we defended it with our blood... Prior to the beginning of [the current transition] I must confess with all sincerity, we Communists not only nourished reservations but an evident hostility towards the figure of the Chief of State, who appeared as the inheritance from the past dictatorship. And at no time did we hide that hostility... But afterward, in the process of change, we came to see that the Chief of State had learned how to become the echo of democratic aspirations, and had assumed the conception of a democratic and parliamentary Monarchy. The reality is that the Chief of State has been a decisive piece in the difficult political balance established in this country, and continues to be so. He has functioned as a hinge between the apparatus of the State and the profound democratic aspirations of civil society. If he were not there... the apparatus of the State and civil society would have clashed, and the civil society itself would have been divided, with dramatic consequences for the peoples of Spain. For those reasons, succinctly explained, we Communists, for the sake of democracy and civil peace, will vote for Article 1 of the constitutional draft as it now stands, and we affirm that as long as the Monarchy respects the Constitution and popular sovereignty, we will respect the monarchy." [20]

It must be noted that compromise positions adopted by the PCE and PSOE in this matter were the product of initiatives taken by the leaders of those parties, and cannot be regarded as a natural response to mass-level public opinion: even one year after elite-level resolution of this matter, significant pluralities of Socialist and Communist voters preferred the concept of "republic" over

"monarchy". Instead, avoidance of potentially disruptive conflict over this issue must be attributed to the restraint, pragmatism and commitment to democratic stability of political party leaders.

Church-State Relations

Resolution of conflicts over the constitutional relationship between the Catholic Church and the Spanish state were, for several reasons, more difficult to achieve, and posed a greater disruptive potential for the new regime. First, unlike the largely symbolic character of the monarchy, the church/state relationship involved several controversial substantive issues as well, such as legalization of divorce and abortion, and reform of the structure and financing of the education system. Secondly, the degree of polarization and politicization of mass-level attitudes toward the Church was most extreme. Finally, organized interest groups actually mobilized their supporters in attempts to influence the deliberations in the Cortes. Oscar Alzaga (a leader of the Christian democratic faction within the UCD) described the extent of such pressures surrounding the most sensitive of these issues, education: "Probably over no other [part of the Constitution] have more articles been written in the press during the constituent period, because the debate over this precept was not confined within the halls of the Cortes, but really spilled over into the streets. Demonstrations, assemblies of teachers and parents, thousands and thousands of telegrams and letters directed to members of parliament were good exponents of the expectancy and unrest awakened by the constitutional regulation of education." [21]

Under the Franquist regime the Catholic Church enjoyed an array of privileges not normally found in modern industrialized societies: it was formally regarded as the official state religion; it held a monopoly over marriages and burials; it received state subsidies for the payment of priests' wages, for construction of Church buildings and for the costs of operating an extensive system of private education. Church influence over education was not restricted to its own schools-- selection of textbooks for public schools was also under Church control, and religious instruction was mandatory for all students from primary through university levels of education in both the private and public sectors. Prior to the start of the constituent process, it was widely acknowledged that this relationship would have to be altered, but the manner in which church and state would be separated remained an open question.

As in the case of the monarchy, basic stands on Church/state issues were clearly reflected in the party system. The two externally created parties, the PCE and PSOE, tended to favor a complete break with the past, while the UCD and AP preferred more modest changes which might permit the Church to retain some features of its previously privileged position. But the extent to which mass-level opinion on these issues was polarized along party lines is most striking. In 1979 (one year after an elite-level compromise on religious issues in the Constitution had been reached) our survey sample of 5,439 Spanish citizens were asked: "In general, would you

say that in Spain the Church has a beneficial influence on society, a harmful influence on society, or has no influence?" Their responses, broken down by their self-reports of how they had voted in 1977, are as follows:

Influence of the Church on Spanish Society
by Reported Vote in 1977 Election

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP	N
Harmful	64.1%	33.0%	9.1%	9.9%	668
No Influence	21.4	34.0	24.6	25.8	831
Beneficial	11.7	29.2	62.4	63.7	1438
N	291	908	1563	176	

The overwhelmingly negative evaluation of the social role of the Church as perceived by Communist voters contrasts sharply with the equally overwhelming positive assessment by supporters of the AP and UCD.

These results were confirmed by "feeling thermometer" evaluations of the Church by our respondents. They were asked to describe their feelings by selecting a number, with 1 representing extreme hostility towards the Church, with 10 reflecting great warmth and positive affect towards it, and with other numbers representing various shades of opinion somewhere between those extremes. The results of this analysis reinforce the conclusion that Spanish society at the mass level was divided and polarized in its attitudes towards the Church: the mean thermometer score of Communist voters was 2.7, representing a pronounced hostility, while UCD and AP voters' attitudes were quite favorable (7.2 and 7.1, respectively). Again, Socialist party supporters (with a mean score of 4.9) were closer to the middle of the spectrum.

A similar pattern emerges when these partisan groups are examined with regard to their stands on important public policy and constitutional issues relating to Church/state relations. When asked to choose between the phrases "Libertad de creacion de colegios privados" ("freedom of creation of private schools"-- a phrase reflecting support for continued existence of the largely religious private education sector) and "Ensenanza obligatoria a traves de los Centros del Estado" ("Obligatory education through state schools"), our sample of Spanish citizens responded as follows:

Freedom of Creation of Private Schools vs Obligatory
Education in State Schools, by Vote in 1977 Election

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP	
Obligatory Public Ed.	81.5%	71.0%	43.4%	23.8%	1662
Neither or both	10.7	14.3	21.1	17.6	541
Private Education	7.0	13.0	33.2	55.0	781
N =	297	928	1588	171	

A nearly equivalent distribution of opinion was produced when our respondents were asked about one of the most difficult of

constitutional issues-- whether the state should be obliged to subsidize private centers of education:

State Aid for Private Schools vs No State Aid for Private Schools, by Reported vote in 1977

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP	N
No Subsidies	69.1%	55.2%	26.5%	19.4%	1193
Neither or Both	8.1	15.3	18.0	18.0	493
Subsidies	20.0	27.3	51.3	60.3	1258
N =	291	923	1557	173	

While these figures are revealing in their own right, the high degree to which the Spanish party system is, at the mass level, polarized on the religious/anticlerical dimension can best be demonstrated by placing Spain in a comparative context. In the following table, I have arrayed an extensive sample of western industrialized societies according to the degree of correspondence between religiosity and position on a left-right continuum (which, as we have shown elsewhere, is highly correlated with partisan support). [22] The figure for each country represents the product-moment correlation between respondents' self-placements on a ten-point ideological scale and their levels of religious involvement. Since two different measures of religiosity were used in calculating these figures, they are not perfectly comparable [23]. Nonetheless, they are useful for illustrative purposes:

Left-Right Self-Placement and Religiosity [32]

Spain	.49
Luxembourg	.46
The Netherlands	.44
France	.37
Belgium	.33
Germany	.26
Italy	.25
Switzerland	.25
Denmark	.21
United States	.17
Great Britain	.16
Ireland	.08

It would appear from these figures that there is a closer association between religiosity and left-right political ideology in Spain than in any other western democracy for which such data are available. At the level of the mass electorate, the party system is more highly polarized on religious issues in Spain than elsewhere.

Given the polarized distribution of general affect towards the Church, the interaction of religiosity and the left-right dimension, and the lack of consensus on church-related public policy issues at the mass level, the potential for disruptive conflict over constitutional provisions regulating Church/state relations is plainly apparent. If party leaders had clearly and intransigently

articulated the opinions of their supporters, bitterly divisive conflict might have resulted.

Instead, both during the course general election campaigns and in writing the new Constitution, party leaders avoided rancorous conflict over these religious issues, and sought compromise resolutions of the more potentially disruptive matters. The most notable example was, once again, the position taken by the PCE. Instead of articulating the decidedly anticlerical attitudes of most Communist voters, the PCE leadership took a more-or-less neutral stand on the most divisive issues. The Communist Party's elected representatives in the Cortes quickly embraced moderate positions on basic constitutional issues: in the constitutional committee of the Congress they supported the addition of softening language to Article 16, to the effect that, while the Church was therewith disestablished, "the public powers will take into account the religious belief of Spanish society and will maintain the consequent relations of cooperation with the Catholic Church and other confessions"; they abandoned their earlier efforts to legalize divorce through the text of the Constitution itself; and they voted for articles permitting religious instruction in public schools, as well as those which established the principle of continued state subsidies to private centers of education. These are hardly the issue stands that one would have predicted on the basis of the anticlerical attitudes of most Communist voters.

In contrast (and somewhat surprisingly, given the more moderate stands taken by their heterogeneous electorate), the PSOE elite initially defended markedly anticlerical positions on most of these issues. The party's Programa de Transicion, adopted at its 1976 congress, for example, called for creation of "la escuela publica unica"-- that is, a unified system of "public education, which signifies the progressive disappearance of private education, as well as the elimination of subsidies or state aid to private education." [24] While Socialist representatives in the constitutional negotiations quickly abandoned this demand, they vigorously defended the state's right to supervise the private sector of education, demanded that the decision-making processes within both public and private schools be "democratized" (i.e., governed collectively by representatives of teachers, parents and administrators), and opposed language introduced by UCD representatives which they regarded as excessive concessions to the Church. Socialists also wanted the text of the Constitution to legalize divorce.

The UCD, meanwhile, was internally divided over religious issues. Its Christian democratic factions favored generous state financial support for private schools and constitutional language which would would foster close relations between Church and state, and they opposed opposed PSOE demands for internal democratization and state regulation of private schools. Some also favored constitutional language which would have prevented subsequent legalization of divorce and abortion.

Negotiations between the UCD and PSOE over religious issues fared

badly during the early spring of 1978. Indeed, the Socialist representative in the Ponencia (drafting subcommittee) walked out in protest over what were perceived to be excessive concessions to the Church in the draft of the constitution. [25] From March 6, 1978 (the date of the Socialist walkout) until the night of May 22, when a new decision-making procedure was adopted, prospects for achieving a consensual resolution of Church-state conflicts were very much in doubt. But fortunately, the introduction of quasi-consociational deliberations between party representatives facilitated a prompt resolution of these differences. [26] As its contribution to this compromise, the PSOE accepted the aforementioned explicit reference to the Catholic Church in Article 16 (which served to soothe clerical anxieties over disestablishment); it acknowledged a binding obligation of the state to subsidize private centers of education and the right of parents to have their children receive religious training (on a voluntary basis) in public schools; and it abandoned all attempts to create "la escuela publica unica" and legalize divorce through the Constitution. Defenders of religious education within the UCD and AP were forced to acknowledge that, in return for state financial support, the state would have the authority to inspect and license educational centers. They also acceded to Socialist demands that the administration of private schools would have to be democratized in general conformity with self-management principles, and that future legalization of divorce would not be precluded by the language of the constitution itself.

Acceptance of these compromises was not without cost. In the case of Alianza Popular, the nature of that sacrifice was immediately apparent: endorsement of the constitutional text by Manuel Fraga and the executive committee of AP provoked a schism within the AP Federation and the consequent defection of several of its principal political figures. Despite pressures to return to more conservative and traditionalist positions, and the likelihood that such internal conflicts would seriously weaken the party, Fraga remained steadfast in his support for the Constitution.

In the case of the UCD, the exacerbation of tensions between the Christian democratic sector of the party and those individuals who bore primary responsibility for making these concessions to the PSOE (particularly Adolfo Suárez) became obvious to outside observers over the following two years, and culminated in the resignation of Adolfo Suárez as prime minister and head of the UCD in January 1981. These conflicts were greatly intensified by enactment of a bill legalizing divorce introduced by the social democratic UCD Justice Minister Francisco Fernández Ordóñez the following summer, which also represented a compromise between the demands of those defending the interests of the Church and more secular concerns.

In writing a Constitution which was ultimately ratified by a positive vote of 88% in the 1978 referendum, the leaders of Spain's four major nation-wide parties made a positive contribution to the evolution of a new democratic regime. In several issue areas, traditionally disruptive matters were consensually resolved. At a minimum, it must be acknowledged that the very act of founding the

new regime would not undermine the long-term legitimacy of that regime, as was the case in 1931. It must also be acknowledged that these compromises were the product of independent actions of political leaders, and were not dictated by their respective electoral clienteles.

Class Cleavages

To a much lesser extent than we have seen above, the four major Spanish parties during the formation and consolidation of the new democracy were divided along class lines. In part as a result of the catch-all electoral strategies pursued by each of these parties, their electorates were very heterogeneous. Only AP voters were drawn heavily from one particular social stratum-- upper and upper-middle business, managerial and professional groups. [27] The other parties may have been more successful in attracting the support of a particular economic group than others (the UCD, for example, attracted a disproportionate share of votes cast by small farmers), but overall they received votes from a wide array of economic groups.

Nonetheless, these parties represented the interests of specific economic clienteles in negotiations over the constitution and over the formulation of important economic and social policies. The PSOE and PCE were closely linked to trade unions, while the UCD and AP received much financial support from business and banking interests. And the general public perceived these parties as clearly representing the interests of distinct social classes. Voters interviewed in 1978 by DATA (under the supervision of Linz, Gomez-Reino, Orizo and Vila) were asked, in separate questions, if they regarded each party as one which "defends the interests of workers" and which "defends the interests of businessmen." Their responses were as follows:

Perceptions of Parties as Defenders of Workers and as Defenders of Businessmen [28]

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP
Defends Workers	64%	71%	37%	16%
Defends Businessmen	12	20	65	74

And despite the heterogeneity of these parties' respective electorates in terms of objective measures of social class, their economic values were sharply divergent. When asked to choose between the terms "socialism" and "private property", these partisan groups broke down as follows:

"Socialism" vs "Private Property", by Reported Vote in 1977 Election

	PCE	PSOE	UCD	AP	N
Socialism	85.1%	73.7%	21.4%	9.5%	1315
Neither or Both	7.1	14.5	28.7	20.1	660
Private Property	7.5	9.6	43.8	66.9	943
N =	298	923	1525	171	

Class-related issues were addressed by these parties in writing the constitution (particularly those articles relating to freedom of trade union organization and to state intervention in the economy) and an organic law regulating labor relations. Again, satisfactory compromises were secured concerning these issues, the most important of which were resolved through the quasi-consociational procedures initiated on May 22, 1978.

But the most critical questions relating to economic interests involved the government's response to the economic crisis which began in Spain shortly before the transition to democracy. Just as the Great Depression of the 1930s complicated the tasks of creating and consolidating the Second Republic, a severe economic decline, triggered by the massive increase in Spain's energy costs in 1974, imposed an added burden on political elites. Unilateral adoption of harsh policies designed to check Spain's runaway inflation (which reached 26.4% in 1977) might have produced long-term economic benefits; but the resulting increase in unemployment might have substantially worsened labor relations and polarized Spanish society along class lines. The Suárez government chose, instead, to address this crisis in a different manner.

In October 1977 Prime Minister Suárez initiated a round of discussions among the major party leaders at his residence, the Moncloa Palace. The resulting Pacts of Moncloa represented yet another example of pragmatism and a willingness to compromise on the party of these elites. They pledged the government to a continuing program of reforms of political institutions, the social security system, and the regressive taxation system inherited from the Franquist regime; to government controls on price increases; to democratization of the education system; and to certain other policy changes. In exchange, the Socialist and Communist parties promised to induce those trade unions over which they had influence to refrain from excessive strike activity, limit demands for pay increases to 22 percent, and accept more restrictive monetary and expenditure policies. The first major step toward implementation of the pacts was enactment of tax reform legislation by the Suarez government, first introduced by the social democratic finance minister, Francisco Fernández Ordóñez.

The extreme difficulty of dealing simultaneously with high levels of unemployment and inflation almost certainly contributed to an undermining of public perceptions of the efficacy of government performance over the long term. The mixed economic consequences of these Pacts notwithstanding, they must be regarded as making an important contribution to the stability and legitimacy of the new regime. The pacts were, as described by Santiago Carrillo in a Cortes speech, "an act of national responsibility in order to restore democracy." [29] They established a precedent of inter-party elite consensus which carried over into the successful deliberations over the Constitution and the subsequent regional autonomy statutes. Moreover, there could be no greater symbol of change in the Spanish political system than that of Santiago Carrillo (who, less than one year earlier, had been arrested and jailed on returning to Spain from

exile) emerging from the presidential palace after deliberations over a wide range of government policies.

The Politics of Consensus and Intra-Party Dissensus

The success of the transition to democracy must be regarded, in retrospect, as a considerable acheivement. The Franquist regime was dismantled with little disruption of public order, and a new constitutional order was established through the active participation and with the full support of all significant political groups (except Basque nationalists). Endorsement of the constitution in 1978 meant that, with the exception of difficult matter of center/periphery relations, historically divisive issues had been dealt with in such a manner as to preclude rejection of the new regime by any significant political force. With the enactment of autonomy statutes for Euskadi and Catalunya in 1979, the transition to a new democratic regime was completed. While no Basque nationalist party explicitly endorsed the Constitution in 1978, support for the Basque autonomy statute by the regionally hegemonic PNV, and even by Euskadiko Ezkerra (which had been linked to ETA político-militar), played an important role in securing their support for the new regime. Subsequent disputes over implementation of Basque and Catalán autonomy statutes have frequently erupted since that time, but with the exception of Herri Batasuna, the institutional framework of the new regime is accepted as legitimate by all political forces.

To a considerable degree, these successes can be attributed to compromises made by political leaders acting in accord with quasi-consociational rules of the game. Apart from certain procedural features (involving the secrecy of negotiations among a restricted number of elite participants) [30], the most important characteristic of what Spaniards refer to as "the politics of consensus" is the explicit abandonment of majoritarian or winner-take-all principles of partisan interaction. Accordingly, the key participants in these successful negotiations defined their goals not as the maximization of the interests of their respective clienteles, but rather as the creation of a legitimate and stable regime within which their respective supporters' interests would merely be "satisficed" (to use Herbert Simon's term). This was most clearly stated by Adolfo Suárez in a speech before the Cortes in April 1978:

> During a constituent process, the government must restrict its options to those which would not produce dissensus, because that is the only way to avoid what would be the gravest danger to the body politic: the lack of a concord rooted in the country and [lack of] respect for the basic elements of national coexistence... The Constitution, as the expression of national concord, must be obtained by consensus. [31]

More generally, he said on a subsequent occasion, "I always believed that the construction of a future Spain after the death of Franco required the breaking of a historical pattern: that of imposition by some Spaniards on the rest. It was necessary to break abruptly from dogmatism and confrontation... Thus began a stage in which partisan

interests could not prevail; instead, the interests of state had to prevail-- that of consolidating a system of liberties in which all Spaniards, whatever may be their ideology, would feel comfortable." Similarly, the PSOE representative in the ponencia [drafting subcommittee] of the Congress of Deputies, Gregorio Peces-Barba, said on the eve of Cortes deliberations over the Constitution that it was necessary to secure a constitutional consensus, consisting of "not in being in agreement with everything, but [in the fact] that the Constitution would not contain any aspect which would be absolutely unacceptable to any political group." [32]

One origin of the destructive internal conflicts which erupted within the elites of the UCD and, to a lesser extent, the PCE, lies in the fact that this definition of objectives clashes with the interest articulation function which party leaders are expected to perform. As a key UCD participant in the inter-party negotiations of 1978 and 1979 explained in an interview, the "politics of consensus"

> has produced a process of disaffection of Spanish society from political parties, because political parties in Spain at that time were not adequately performing their function of representation of interests; they were not serving as channels for the demands of the various sectors of society... This problem has been felt with greater intensity within the UCD than in other parties because its position, as the majority party and as the governing party, has been determinative... But this has been unavoidable: [a successful transition required] a certain consensus among political parties. This is the only way to construct a country in a civilized manner. It could not be any other way. We could not risk a radical confrontation.

The compromise stands taken by the party in the course of these negotiations activated the latent tensions among the UCD's component political families. This intensification of intra-party conflict contributed to the disintegration of the party. Similarly, active PCE support for the Pacts of Moncloa and the compromise stands taken by party leaders in dealing with other controversial issues disrupted the internal stability of the Communist party. Thus, in retrospect (and at the risk of engaging in post hoc rationalization), UCD and PCE leaders may be regarded as having sacrificed party unity in the interests of establishing a legitimate democratic regime. More generally, the intra-party struggles which were exacerbated by these compromises may be seen as negative side-effects of consociational or quasi-consociational elite interactions.

Concessions made to opposition parties in the course of "the politics of consensus" intensified hostility among the UCD's factions and towards Adolfo Suárez. This was particularly true with regard to liberals and conservative Christian democrats close to big-business organizations, who were outraged by the 1977 tax reform and other facets of the Pacts of Moncloa, as well as some Christian democrats who preferred a stronger defense of Church interests in the constituent process and during deliberations over legalization of divorce. These were regarded by one prominent crítico (in a 1982

interview) as part of a pattern of "constantly making concessions to pressures from the PSOE". A prominent Christian democratic leader said that this gave the UCD the image of "the party of weakness-- the party which constantly has to beg for votes from one side or from the other." And virtually all respondents of the critical sector regarded these compromises as representing a "betrayal" of the UCD electorate.

These complaints by the críticos were vigorously rejected by those close to Suarez. Lack of support for the "politics of consensus" was regarded by them as short-sighted and potentially destabilizing. "If we had had an absolute majority in parliament," speculated one prominent suarista, "we probably would have been unable to secure a Constitution acceptable to all. In my own party there were efforts to dogmatically impose a Constitution more favorable to those who wanted to 'simplify' the ideologies and interests represented by the party." "After a time," added another, "those on the right completely ceased to feel represented by the UCD. At that moment there began an enormous offensive against all that the UCD represented, as a party of the center or center-right, which did not serve the interests of the right. [This led them to adopt] a deliberate strategy of destruction of the UCD as a party. The Spanish right wants a party clearly of the right, which represents the interests of the right." [33]

A prominent PCE leader said in a 1983 interview, "We Communists have, in part, been victims of this phenomenon, because we undertook a style of politics which would contribute to the transition which was, in some ways, the equivalent on the left of what the UCD was doing on the right. That is, we were the stabilizing force on the left." This, too, had some negative consequences for the party. As an editorial published in the PCE magazine, Nuestra Bandera, argued in 1981, the policy of moderation and consensus, especially visible on the occasion of the Pacts of Moncloa, was perceived as a loss of the Communist identity, especially in light of the economic crisis and extremely high levels of unemployment which worsened steadily. The ultimate consequence was "disenchantment within and outside of our ranks, upon the observation, apparently, that all parties are saying the same thing, and that there is no clear Communist identity in the PCE." [34] The secrecy of inter-party negotiations which were part of the politics of consensus, the marginalization of party militants from this decision-making process, the granting of concessions to opposition parties in the interest of reaching compromises, and the imposition of restraints upon the activities of trade union allies, all contributed to the satisfactory outcome of the constituent process and to the stabilization of Spanish democracy. But, at the same time, they disappointed and alienated party militants more accustomed to confrontational rhetoric, the manipulation of ideological symbols and the excitement of clandestine mobilization against the former regime. The immediate consequence was an increase in intra-party conflict. The longer-term consequence was the rejection by voters of a party which by 1982 appeared to be unstable and irresponsible. A former high-ranking Communist leader further argued that the restraint exercised by the party's trade

union ally, the Comisiones Obreras, also undercut the PCE's electoral appeal. "We contributed to the transition", he said, "but when the transition was over we had twice has many workers without jobs. When you explain what was accomplished in the transition, unemployed workers say, 'That's fine, but in the meantime, I'm paying the consequences,' and they cast their votes for a change which we were not offering."

Central to the greatly differing political calculations of proponents of "the politics of consensus" and those advocating a return to "politics as usual" was the perception of threat to the emerging democracy. Those who were the strongest advocates of the "politics of consensus" also believed that the prospects for failure of this democratic experiment were relatively high, and that Spanish political history revealed a dangerous pattern of polarization and destabilizing conflict that only extraordinary efforts towards compromise could prevent from being re-played in the post Franco era.

The strength of the relationship between perceptions of system fragility and a deep commitment to secure compromise agreements concerning basic issues and constitutional provisions can perhaps best be seen by examining the behavior of parties on the left side of the ideological continuum. In the 1977-1978 period, strongest support for the "politics of consensus" came not from the Socialist party but from the Communist PCE. It had less unambiguously supported the Pacts of Moncloa, had more promptly reached compromise stands on basic constitutional issues (e.g., concerning the monarchy and Church-state relations), and had more studiously moderated its verbal and behavioral style. In contrast with the youthful elite of the Socialist party, the leadership of the PCE included, and in many respects, was dominated by individuals who had been politically active at the time of the Civil War. [35] The behavior of the PCE elite was profoundly affected by an awareness of the mistakes that culminated in the Civil War and by painful memories of suffering under the Franquist regime. Typical of the kinds of references to the past made in the course of numerous interviews with PCE leaders interviewed in 1978 and 1979 was the following (made by an important historic figure within the party):

> This memory of the past obliges us to take these circumstances into account, that is, to follow a policy of moderation. We feel responsibility for this process [of democratization, and] the need to make a super-human effort so that this process is not truncated. This is a unique moment in Spanish history. After more than a century of civil wars and a vicious cycle of massacres among Spaniards, which began after the war of independence and ended in June 1977, with the first elections based on universal suffrage, this is the moment when it is possible to end this cycle and open a period of civilized life, politically speaking. In this sense we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of expressing opinions which might be misunderstood, which could be, or appear to be, extremist. Thus, we have a very prudent policy, very closely adapted to the realities of today, and we make efforts to demonstrate that we really want to

institutionalize democracy. We don't want this process to be interrupted. [36]

This memory of the past was specifically cited by Santiago Carrillo as a factor justifying his party's compromise stand on religious issues in the Constitution. In a speech before the Congress of Deputies he said:

> I believe that the religious question has been surmounted in its essentials in this country; we should all do everything to overcome it once and for all. Particularly the forces of progress, the democratic forces, we forces who want socialism, have a special interest in not clashing with the Catholic Church and in not contributing to maintain any obstacle which could confront these forces, which let us not forget, gave an ideological basis to the [Franquist] rebellion and "the crusade," and which could still give an ideological basis to a resistance that would be very dangerous for the advance of democracy and socialism. [37]

On numerous occasions, PCE leaders publicly warned of the fragility of the current democratic experiment and criticized other parties for their occasional lack of restraint. Santiago Carrillo, for instance, at a pro-Constitution rally in 1978, criticized those parties (particularly, the PSOE) "which have not had the same sense as we have and the same awareness of the dangers which threaten our society...[Instead] they have accused us of being catastrophists... The current democracy, which is still ugly, is a thousand times better than the buried past." [38] It is important to note that the marked change in PCE strategy and tactics since the 1982 election (towards a much more overtly conflictual stance, particularly with regard to economic matters and NATO membership) has been accompanied by a formal proclamation of the end of the transition to democracy. Current party policy contends that the consolidation of the regime now makes possible a more active opposition to government policies, including mass mobilizations in the streets.

Given the relatively small number of interviews undertaken with UCD leaders, it is not possible to be statistically rigorous in generalizing about the exact degree of attitudinal uniformity present within each camp. Nonetheless, here as well there appears to be a strong relationship between perception of the fragility of the new regime and willingness to engage in (or at least tolerate) the "politics of consensus" which clearly differentiated suaristas from críticos. Those close to Suarez much more frequently expressed concern about threats to the survival of the system: Suarez is reported to have believed that the greatest fear of the Spanish populace following the death of Franco was of another civil war. [39] Indeed, Suarez and his supporters in the Centro Democratico y Social still speak of the necessity of maintaining moderate centrist positions as a means of preventing polarization and potential regime destabilization. Críticos, however, often complained that their party was excessively timid in parliamentary debate and other arenas of conflict with opposition parties. They complained bitterly about

policy concessions involving fiscal reform, regulation of the private sector of education, regional autonomy policies and legalization of divorce. Insofar as *criticos* regarded these concessions as unnecessary-- while Suarez and his collaborators argued that they were essential contributions to the establishment of a stable and legitimate new regime-- it can be argued that the progressive disintegration of the governing party was one of the long-term costs of "the politics of consensus."

From a different perspective, however, the special requirements of the transition to democracy may have helped to hold the UCD together over the short term. As described by a former UCD minister, the UCD was "an omnibus party, within which there was perhaps one adhesive element-- that was to undertake a political change in a different manner from the *ruptura* model favored initially by the Socialist party, and from the continuist manner favored by the AP." In order to secure this higher objective of regime transformation, party leaders were more willing to cooperate with one another than they would be after the transition had been completed. "The tension inherent in the transition experiment," claimed a Suarez collaborator, "made each one of the leaders of the various factions accept secondary positions. As long as they were collaborating on that principal objective, the transition, they were capable of overcoming their differences and their particular personal and group interests." Once that objective had been secured, however, "they began to position themselves in advance of the new phase. They sought to gain their shares of power and positions of advantage, so that they could hold and enjoy the fruits of power... [The UCD] was converted into a kind of underworld, within which everyone was engaging in tricks and deceipt, one minister against another, one group against another. There was then a brazen struggle for power."

In a different respect, as well, the UCD and PCE gained some short-term benefit from their participation in the "politics of consensus:" their respective campaign appeals in the 1979 parliamentary election were enhanced by their contributions to the transition. Both were able to present themselves to Spanish voters as stable, responsible parties which had placed the interests of the new regime above partisan interests. [40] But by 1982 those short-term images had been displaced by the appearance of disunity and irresponsibility-- which, to some degree, can be attributed to the intensification of internal conflicts as a long-term consequence of "the politics of consensus".

One final point which must be made in this exploration of the relationships between the party-building and regime-building roles played by political elites concerns the degree to which the institutional objectives of those two processes was intrinsically valued. Individuals can be more readily induced to compromise their partisan, factional or personal interests in pursuit of a highly valued objective than one which is merely secondary in perceived importance. In this respect, UCD party leaders approached the tasks of party building differently from the manner in which they entered into the initially more formidable transition to democracy.

Elite interviews are replete with references to the necessity to moderate one's behavior in the interests of creating a stable, legitimate democracy. Under such circumstances, individuals can be (and between 1977 and 1979 were) called upon to compromise their respective demands in the interests of securing a higher goal-- that of securing widespread support and legitimacy for a new democratic regime. All respondents claimed that they highly valued the creation of the new democracy. Very rarely, however, did national-level former leaders of the UCD make comparable comments about their own party. Few expressed concern (in 1979 or 1981 interviews) about its fragility, and some even stated (in 1983) that they felt no sense of loss over the party's demise. A former Christian democratic minister, for example, said:

> If you accept the notion that the UCD was a unitary party, then you can say that the UCD has disappeared, that there were no precedents in the western world for a governing power to disappear like that. But if you accept the hypothesis-- which in my opinion is more realistic-- that the UCD never was a party, then it never could disappear, and you would have nothing special... It was a coalition of parties which continued to exist as groups, as factions, as tendencies. If you take this into account, then it is not that they disappeared, they have just been distributed in another manner. It's not as if a political force had disappeared overnight... Even now in the parliament, instead of saying that there are 12 centrist deputies, you can say that there are 40 or more. It's just that they are situated in other places.

Other comments of this kind were made by several UCD leaders which suggested that they cared less about loyalty to the party than to their respective factions (or their personal ambitions). Indeed, some even expressed contempt for the heterogeneous party which had first elected them to office. And a significant number of key elites questioned, even prior to the 1982 election, the continuation of the UCD as a separate entity, preferring some kind of alliance or merger with Alianza Popular or creation of their own independent party organizations. In short, for too many of the national-level leaders of the UCD, (such as a former minister interviewed in July 1983), "It was not a party but a cluster of groups, united by electoral victory, united by the attractive image of Adolfo Suárez, but nothing more."

Footnotes

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2. The only significant exception is Herri Batasuna, which received just under 1% of the total votes cast in the 1982 election, but whose relationship with ETA-militar gives it a much greater disruptive potential than its electoral strength would suggest.
3. Empirical support for this claim has been set forth in Richard Gunther, "Un Analisis Preliminar de las Alteraciones Producidas en 1982 en el Sistema Español de de Partidos", Revista de Estudios Políticos, #45, May-June 1985, pp. 7-41.
4. That will be the subject of a much broader forthcoming study, undertaken in collaboration with Juan Linz, Hans-Jürgen Puhle, José Ramón Montero, Goldie Shabad, Giacomo Sani and Pilar del Castillo.
5. I conducted four waves of interviews with national- and provincial-level leaders of the UCD, PSOE, PCE, AP, Convergencia Democratica de Catalunya, and the Partido Nacionalista Vasco, in Madrid and in a sample of 16 provinces. 72 interview were held between April and July 1978; 52 interviews were conducted in June and July 1979; 15 interviews were undertaken in June 1981; and 59 interviews were undertaken in June and July 1983. Extensive follow-up interviews with Felipe González and Adolfo Suárez (totalling over 10 hours) were conducted in May 1984.
6. Large volumes of data concerning the state of public opinion in Spain at the outset of the transition may be found in Juan J. Linz, Manuel Gómez-Reino, Francisco A. Orizo and Darío Vila, Informe Sociológico sobre el Cambio Político en España, 1975-1981, IV Informe FOESSA, vol. 1, Madrid: Editorial Euramérica, 1981; Rafael López Pintor, La Opinión Pública Española: Del Franquismo a la Democracia, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1982; and Jose Maria Maravall, La Política de la Transición, 1975-1980, Madrid: Taurus Ediciones, 1981.
7. See Gunther, "Un Analisis Preliminar..."; and Richard Gunther,

Giacomo Sani and Goldie Shabad, Spain After Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1985.

8. 5,439 interviews were undertaken by DATA, S.A. in April-May 1979, and 5,463 interviews were conducted in November-December 1982. The sample design was identical for both surveys. The survey samples were first stratified by region and size of community. The number of interviews to be administered in each stratum was determined with probability proportional to the number of inhabitants. After establishing a total of 200 sampling points within the strata, tracts and households were randomly selected and individuals were randomly selected within households. Given our interest in regional political developments, oversamples were drawn in Euskadi, Catalunya, Galicia, Navarra and Valencia. Data presented in this paper were subsequently weighted to compensate for this oversampling procedure.
9. Extensive procedural definitions of democracy may be found in Juan J. Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes", in Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, eds., Handbook of Political Science, vol. 3, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley, 1975; and Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
10. For overviews of the autonomy process, see Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther, "Spanish Regionalism in the 1980's," in Stanley Payne, et al, (eds.), Europe in the Eighties: A Comprehensive Assessment of Politics, Economics and Culture, Princeton: Karz-Cohl, forthcoming; and Goldie Shabad, "After Autonomy: The Dynamics of Regionalism in Spain", in Stanley Payne, ed., The Democratization of Spain and Portugal, Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, forthcoming.
11. For a summary of the fate of 19th and early 20th century Spanish monarchs, see Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974, p 86.
12. For a description of violence in Barcelona between 1916 and 1923, see Brenan, op. cit., pp. 57-77. For a description of the Asturian revolt, see Stanley G. Payne, The Spanish Revolution, New York: Norton, 1970, p. 156. Descriptions of political violence preceding the outbreak of the Civil War may be found in dozens of books on that conflict, including Brenan, op.cit. and Payne, op.cit.
13. This distinction is set forth in Joseph La Palombara and Myron Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
14. "Recall error" has inflated the number of persons who claim to have voted for the UCD and underrepresented actual votes for Alianza Popular.
15. See Linz, et al, Informe Sociológico..., pp. 140-148.
16. See the statement by Luis Gómez Llorente before the Comisión Constitucional of the Congress of Deputies, in Cortes Españolas, Diario de sesiones del Congreso de Diputados, Comisión de Asuntos Constitucionales y Libertades Públicas, May 11, 1978, #64, p. 2194.
17. Op. Cit., p. 2204.
18. Ibid., p. 2204.

19. Statement by Luis Gómez Llorente, Diario de Sesiones:.., May 11, 1978, #64, p. 2197.
20. Diario de Sesiones..., May 5, 1978, #59, pp. 2037-2038.
21. Oscar Alzaga Villaamil, La Constitución Española de 1978, Madrid: Ediciones del Foro, 1978, p. 250.
22. See Gunther, Sani and Shabad, Spain After Franco, chapter 8; and Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani and Goldie Shabad, "Party Strategies and Mass Cleavages in the 1979 Spanish Parliamentary Election", in World Affairs, vol 143, #2, Fall, 1980, pp. 203-213.
23. The measure of religiosity used to calculate the correlation coefficient for Spain is self-designation as Muy buen católico, Católico practicante, Católico no muy practicante, Católico no practicante, Indiferente, Ateo or Creyente de otra religión. The measure of religiosity used for other countries was frequency of church attendance. Data from Spain are from our 1979 survey. Data for other countries from Ronald Inglehart and Hans Klingemann, "Party Identification, Ideological preference and the Left-Right Dimension among Western Mass Publics," in Ian Budge, Ivor Crewe and Dennis Farlie, eds., Party Identification and Beyond, New York: Wiley, 1976, p. 268.
24. See PSOE, XXVII Congreso, Programa de Transicion: La Ensenanza, pp. 6-8.
25. See Informaciones, March 3, 1978, pp. 3-4, and March 11, p. 4.
26. For an analysis of these quasi-consociational practices in the constituent process, see Richard Gunther, "Constitutional Change in Contemporary Spain", in Keith Banting and Richard Simeon, eds., The Politics of Constitutional Change in Industrial Nations: Redesigning the State, London: MacMillan, 1984; and Richard Gunther and Roger A. Blough, "Religious Conflict and Consensus in Spain: A Tale of Two Constitutions", in World Affairs, 143, Spring 1981.
27. See Gunther, Sani and Shabad, Spain After Franco, chapter 5.
28. Data from Linz, et al, Informe Sociologico..., p. 234.
29. ABC, edicion semanal aerea, November 3, 1977.
30. See Gunther, "Constitutional Change...".
31. Informaciones, April 6, 1978, p.6.
32. El Socialista, May 7, 1978, pp. II and III.
33. These two quotes are from interviews with former high-ranking leaders of the UCD conducted in 1983 and 1981, respectively.
34. Joaquín Sempere, "Un Malestar en Busca de Coordenadas," Nuestra Bandera, #106, 1981, p. 33.
35. On the demographic composition of party elites, see Gunther, Sani and Shabad, Spain After Franco, Appendix B, p.421.
36. For a similar statement by Santiago Carrillo, see Maria Eugenia Yague, Santiago Carrillo, Perfil Humano y Politico, Madrid: Editorial Cambio 16, 1977.
37. Cortes Espanolas, Diario de Sesiones..., July 7, 1978, #106, p. 3994.
38. Informaciones, December 5, 1978, p. 4. Also see warnings by Marcelino Camacho about the emergence of a "Spanish Pinochet," Mundo Obrero, August 16, 1977.
39. From an interview with a former high-ranking UCD leader conducted in May 1984.

40. See Gunther, Sani and Shabad, Spain After Franco, chapter 8; and Jorge de Esteban and Luis López Guerra, Las Elecciones Legislativas del 1 de Marzo de 1979, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1979.

JORDI SOLÉ TURA
Catedrático de Derecho Político

Barcelona,24. II. 1985

International Political Science Association
World Congress of Political Science
PARIS

Dear Sirs,

I ambenclosing a chekk for 125 dollars as my registration fees for the Woild Conbgress to be hedd at Paris. I see that due to a mistake of my banking office the check amounts to 125 dollars and the registbation fees amount to 120. I hope that you will take in account this excess.

I don't need accomodation. So I am including my adress and telephone number in Paris.

Thank you. Yours sincerely

El Pedró de la Creu, 21, ático, 1.º - Tel 205 03 44 - BARCELONA - 34

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

R E Ç U / R E C E I P T

0802

. Nous avons bien reçu les versements détaillés ci-dessous, et vous en remercions. Vous trouverez sous ce même pli votre carte d'inscription au Congrès ; veuillez la présenter à Paris au bureau d'enregistrement.

. Thank you for your payment as indicated below. You will find enclosed your registration card - please bring it with you for final registration in Paris.

Prof. Jordi SOLE TURA
El Pedro de la Creu, 21,atico,1°

Barcelona - 34

ESPAGNE

Droits d'inscription/Registration fee: $ 120.-

Acompte sur logement/Deposit on accommodation: —



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DEPARTAMENTO EXTRANJERO

AVISO PARA →	00/000000/0 JORDI SOLE TURA BANCO DE VIZCAYA SARRIA

Muy Sr. nuestro:

Tenemos el agrado de adjuntarle el cheque en divisa solicitado por Usted.

En correo aparte le remitimos la liquidación correspondiente.

Le saludamos atentamente,

Por el BANCO DE VIZCAYA

Mod. 1.189.4 - 70.000 (6-83) Reg. Mer. de Vizcaya. Hoja 825, folio 141, libro 16, sección 3ª.

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CONGRES MONDIAL, 15-20 JUILLET 1985
WORLD CONGRESS, 15-20 JULY 1985

CERTIFICAT D'INSCRIPTION
REGISTRATION CARD

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Congrès mondial, Paris, France, 15-20 juillet 1985
World Congress, Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985

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Ottawa, K1N 6N5, Canada

ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: IPSACAN
OTTAWA, CANADA

(613) 231-5818
TELEX: 053-3338

Cher(e) Collègue,

J'ai le plaisir de vous confirmer que votre formulaire d'inscription nous est bien parvenu, et vous en remercie. Vous trouverez ci-joint un reçu pour les paiements que vous avez effectués, ainsi qu'une carte attestant que vous êtes inscrit au Congrès. Si vous avez demandé une réservation de chambre, ou des renseignements concernant les voyages, notre agence officielle vous donnera bientôt les précisions voulues.

J'aurai à vous écrire à plusieurs reprises d'ici à juillet 1985 pour vous fournir diverses informations et pour vous envoyer le programme détaillé. De votre côté, n'hésitez pas à m'écrire pour me poser des questions - j'y répondrai très volontiers ou les transmettrai à ceux qui pourront y répondre mieux que moi.

Nous espérons très vivement que votre participation à ce deuxième Congrès de Paris de l'AISP se déroulera dans des conditions satisfaisantes, et que vous garderez un bon souvenir de ce Congrès. Nous ferons de notre mieux pour qu'il en soit ainsi.

++ Dear Colleague:

I am pleased to confirm, with thanks, that your registration form has been received. You will find enclosed a receipt for your payments and a card which certifies that you are duly registered. If you have requested accommodation or information about travel, our official agency will soon answer your requests.

Between now and July 1985, I shall write to you several times to provide information and send you the final program. Do not hesitate to ask questions - I shall be glad to answer them, or pass them along to others if they can answer them better than I.

We hope very much that your participation in the second Paris Congress of IPSA will prove satisfactory and that you will remember the Congress with pleasure. We shall do our best.

Serge Hurtig
Responsable de l'organisation locale
Local organizer

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ASSOCIATION INTERNATIONALE DE SCIENCE POLITIQUE
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

Congrès mondial, Paris, France, 15-20 juillet 1985
World Congress, Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985

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TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS

Please note that the Organization Committee have selected AIR FRANCE as the official airline for the Paris Congress. AIR FRANCE agencies throughout the world have been instructed by Paris headquarters to provide their best advice and services to all participants and persons accompanying them.

VOYAGES

Veuillez noter que le Comité d'organisation a nommé AIR FRANCE transporteur officiel pour le Congrès de Paris. La direction générale d'AIR FRANCE a demandé à l'ensemble des agences du monde entier de fournir les conseils et les services les plus attentifs aux participants et aux personnes qui les accompagnent.

MINISTERIO DE
EDUCACION Y CIENCIA

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SUBDIRECCION GENERAL
DE COOPERACION INTERNACIONAL

SOLICITUD DE BOLSA DE VIAJE AL EXTRANJERO PARA PROFESORES UNIVERSITARIOS

Apellidos y Nombre: Jordi SOLE TURA

Nacionalidad: Española

DNI núm.: 37849230 **Fecha y lugar expedición:** Barcelona 22 julio 1980

Dirección particular: Pedró de la Creu, 21, ático, 1ª Barcelona 08034

Dirección oficial: Departamento de Derecho Político. Facultad de Derecho. Universidad de Barcelona **Teléf.:** 205.03.44 **Teléf.:** 205.11.12.

Categoría profesional: Catedrático.Numerario.

Centro de Destino: Facultad de Derecho.Universidad de Barcelona

N.º Registro de Personal: A01EC-2541

Tipo de dedicación: Exclusiva

Títulos académicos, centro y fecha de obtención: Doctor en Derecho. Universidad de Barcelona, Facultad de Derecho, 1967

Fechas del viaje (ida y vuelta): Del 13 al 21 de julio de 1985

Ciudad, país e institución de destino: París.

Itinerario preciso: Barcelona-París

Cuantía de la Beca que se solicita: Gastos de viaje y estancia, más los derechos de inscripción (ciento veinte dólares). Total 60.000 (sesenta mil) pesetas.

Solicitado otras Bolsas de Viaje a instituciones públicas o privadas? (caso haber sido concedida indicar cuantía)

No.

Convenio interuniversitario en el marco del cual se va a desarrollar el viaje (en su caso):

__///

Curriculum vitae resumido del solicitante:

Licenciado en Derecho por la Universidad de Barcelona, en 1958.

Doctor en Derecho por la misma Universidad en 1967.

Profesor Adjunto de Derecho Político en la Universidad de Barcelona (interino). en 1959-60.

Profesor Adjunto por oposición en 1970 (misma Facultad.)

Ingresado en el Cuerpo de Adjuntos de Universidad en 1974.

Profesor Agregado de Derecho Político, numerario, en 1976.

Catedrático de Derecho Político en 1982, por concurso de méritos.

Todos los puestos han sido desempeñados en la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Barcelona.

Diputado en las Cortes Constituyentes y miembro de la Ponencia encargada de redactar el Proyecto de Constitución de 1978.

Miembro de la Ponencia redactora del Proyecto de Estatuto de Autonomia de Cataluña.

Autor de ocho libros, desde "Catalanismo y revolución burguesa"(Madrid, 1970) hasta los más recientes;"Constituciones y períodos constituyentes en España"(Madrid 1977,13 ediciones hasta la fecha) y "Las Cortes Generales en el sistema constitucional"(Madrid,1984. Autor de numerosos ensayos y colaborador habitual en las revistas especializadas y en la prensa.

Descripción pormenorizada de la actividad que se va a desarrollar e interés de la misma:

La reunión general es el XIII Congreso Mundial de la "International Political Science Association"(IPSA).

Estoy inscrito para participar en el Grupo de Trabajo III.4 ("The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope", dirigido por el Profesor Peter GERLICH, de la Universidad de Viena. El tema es de un interés extremo y, a mi entender, constituye una de las vías más fecundas para la renovación de los estudios de Derecho Constitucional.

También voy a participar en las sesiones del"Research Committee on Political Pluralism", dirigido por el Profesor Stanislaw EHRLICH, de la Universidad de Varsovia. En la reunión celebrada por dicho "Committee" en Bielefield (R.F.A.) en septiembre de 1984 fuí elegido miembro de dicho Comité Permanente de la IPSA y como tal participaréen sus sesiones de París.

Deberá acompañarse a esta solicitud, la siguiente documentación:

— **Si el objeto de la Bolsa es la asistencia a Congreso o Reunión científica internacional, documento que justifique la admisión por la entidad organizadora de alguna comunicación o ponencia del solicitante.**

— **En otros casos, documento de la Universidad o institución extranjera que justifique el desplazamiento a la misma del solicitante.**

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— **Ciudad (en España):** Barcelona

Lugar, fecha y firma,

Barcelona.10 de abril de 1985

Fdo.: Jordi Solé Tura

Ilmo. Sr. Secretario General Técnico
MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION Y CIENCIA
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Universität Osnabrück

Prof. Dr. Rainer Eisfeld

Fachbereich
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Prof. Dr. Jordi Solé Tura
El Pedró de la Creu, 21, át., 1º
E-08034 Barcelona
SPANIEN

D-4500 OsnabrückPostfach 4469
Albrechtstraße 28
Telefon (0541) 608-1
Telex 944887 uni os d

Ihr Zeichen	Ihre Nachricht vom	Mein Zeichen	Datum
			December 6, 1984

Dear Professor Solé Tura,

Thank you very much for your letter of November 26. Following an urgent phone call from the IPSA Secretariat in Ottawa, Professor Ehrlich had to prepare the programme for the IPSA Congress in Paris already during the first week of November. For the second session ("Special Problems"), he has now scheduled the following four topics: Limits of Pluralism in the Catholic Church / Armed Forces and the Limits of Pluralism / Pluralism and Markets in Communist Countries / Employees' Self-Management.

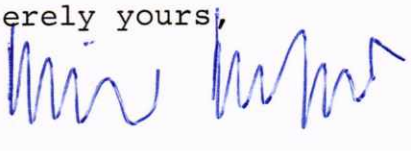
In an attempt to consider also those colleagues from which, at the time, he and I had had no news, Stanislaw Ehrlich put in their names as commentators (discussants), assigning them to one of the four topics. In your case, this meant the third topic, "Pluralism and Markets in Communist Countries".

However, our colleague W. Brus from Oxford, who was to prepare the paper on "Pluralism and Markets...", has written that he will definitely not be able to participate in the IPSA meeting. I was only able to inform Stanislaw Ehrlich of this after he had put out the programme.

So, may I suggest that you write to him directly, telling him of your proposal and asking him for some sort of arrangement. Please keep me informed about further developments.

Looking forward to meeting you in Paris,

Sincerely yours,



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FAKULTÄT DER UNIVERSITÄT WIEN
(o.Univ.Prof.Dr.Peter Gerlich)

HOHENSTAUFENGASSE 9/7
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TEL. 0222/63 44 03

WIEN, 1985 06 26

JORDI SOLÉ TURA
Catedrático de Derecho
Politico
El Pedró de la Creu
21, ático
Barcelona 34
Spanien

Dear Colleagues,

Due to two short-term withdrawls we had to change the programme of our IPSA-session on "The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope" as the enclosed programme sheat indicats. We may preferably also concentrate all the papers in one session, to be held in the morning of July, 19th.

I am looking foreward to meet you in Paris.

Sincerly yours

Dr.Peter Gerlich

IPSA - XIII WORLD CONGRESS, Paris, July 15-20, 1985

Subtheme III: Comparative Public Policy and Governmental Action

III.4. The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope

Convenor: Peter Gerlich/Co-Convenor: Erik Damgaard

Chairpersons Peter Gerlich and Erik Damgaard

Papergivers/Papers	Discussants
Herbert Gottweis/Wolfgang C. Müller (University of Vienna) Legislating Equality. Some Austrian Evidence	Erik Damgaard (Aarhus)
Grant Jordan (Univ. of Aberdeen) Consultation Procedures as de facto Legislation	Klaus Schubert (Bochum)
Wolfgang Zeh (Bonn/Univ. of Speyer) The Impact of Interest Groups upon Legislation and Implementation	Stanislaw Gebethner (Warsawa)
Krzysztof Palecki (Univ. of Krakow) The Problem of Relation between Law and Political Power in the Social System	Jordi Solé Tura (Barcelona)

IPSA - XIII WORLD CONGRESS, Paris, July 15-20, 1985

Subtheme III: Comparative Public Policy and Governmental Action

III.4. The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope

Convenor: Peter Gerlich/Co-Convenor: Erik Damgaard

1st Session: Chairperson: Peter Gerlich

Papergivers/Papers	Discussants
Graham Wilson (Univ. of Wisconsin) Social Regulation in Comparative Perspective	Klaus Schubert (Bochum)
Herbert Gottweis/Wolfgang C. Müller (University of Vienna) Legislating Equality. Some Austrian Evidence	Erik Damgaard (Aarhus)
J.Wil Foppen/Menno van Duin (University of Rotterdam) Legislative Initiatives in the Field of Disaster-Policy	Jeremy J. Richardson (Strathclyde)

2nd Session: Chairperson: Erik Damgaard

Grant Jordan (Univ. of Aberdeen) Consultation Procedures as de facto Legislation	Peter Gerlich (Vienna)
Wolfgang Zeh (Bonn/Univ. of Speyer) The Impact of Interest Groups upon Legislation and Implementation	Stanislaw Gebethner (Warsawa)
Krzysztof Palecki (Univ. of Krakow) The Problem of Relation between Law and Political Power in the Social System	Jordi Solé Tura (Barcelona)

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WIEN, 1985 03 07

JORDI SOLÉ TURA
Catedrático de Derecho
Politico
El Pedró de la Creu
21, ático
Barcelona 34
Spanien

Dear Collegues,

Herewith I can let you know the date of our IPSA session on "The Extended process of Legislation and its Scope". Both meetings will be held on Friday, 19th July 1985.

I am looking foreward to receive your papers and to meet you in Paris.

Best wishes

P. Gerlich

(Prof.Dr.Peter Gerlich)

IPSA - XIII WORLD CONGRESS, Paris, July 15-20, 1985

Subtheme III: Comparative Public Policy and Governmental Action

III.4. The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope

Adress List

Erik Damgaard, Institut of Political Science, University of Aarhus, Universitetsparken, DK-8000 Aarhus, Denmark

Menno van Duin, Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, Postbus 1738, 3000 DR Rotterdam, Netherlands

J.Wil Foppen, see Menno van Duin

Stanislaw Gebethner, Academy of Science, Zakzad Nauk, Zakrza Dzania, Pan Pazaz Kultury, I Nauki 00/901, Warszawa, Poland

Peter Gerlich, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Universität Wien, Hohenstaufengasse 9/7, 1010 Vienna, Austria

Herbert Gottweis, see Peter Gerlich

Grant Jordan, Department of Politics, University of Aberdeen, Edward Wright Building, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland, Great Britain

Wolfgang C. Müller, see Peter Gerlich

Krzysztof Palecki, Jagiellonian Univerity, Sociology of Law Department, Ziai 5, 31-114 Krakow, Poland

Jeremy J. Richardson, Department of Pokitics, University of Strathclyde, McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ, Scotland, Great Britain

Klaus Schubert, Zentrales Sozialwissenschaftliches Seminar, Ruhr Universität Bochum, Universitätsstraße 150, Postfach 10 21 48, 4630 Bochum 1, FRG

Jordi Solé Tura, Catedrático de Derecho Politico, El Pedró de la Creu, 21, ático, Barcelona 34, Spain

Graham Wilson, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin 53706, USA

Wolfgang Zeh, Deutscher Bundestag, Verwaltung, Fachbereich Parlamentsrecht, Bundeshaus, 5300 Bonn 1, FRG

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(o.Prof.Dr.Peter Gerlich)

HOHENSTAUFENGASSE 9/7
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WIEN, 1984-07-04
PG/jt

Dear Prof Turo

As you may have noted I am organizing a section on "The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope" at the Paris Congress of IPSA next year (July 15.-20). The purpose of this letter is to ask you whether you would be interested to participate either by presenting a paper, as specified below, or as a discussant.

Unfortunately communications with IPSA authorities have not worked out optimally. Therefore now considerable time pressure exists. Please let me know by August 15th at the latest whether you are willing to participate, what the title of your paper will be or whether you would prefer to act as discussant.

I include a brief proposal outlining a framework for our discussions (an earlier version has allready be used for a ECPR meeting this year), a few pages of information on the organization of the congress as well as an important communication from IPSA (Please read!)

Yours sincerly
P. Gerlich
(o.Prof.Dr. Peter Gerlich)

I hope you can present the paper which you promised in your letter of January!

JORDI SOLÉ TURA
Catedrático de Derecho Político

Barcelona, August,3, 1984

Prof. Dr. Peter Gerlich
Institut für Politikwissenschaft
Universität Wien

Dear Prof. Gerlich,

Thank you for your invitation to participate in your IPSA Congress section on "The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope", at Paris next year. I accept the invitation and it will be for me a pleasure to meet you at Paris.

Unfortunately, I think that it will be quite difficult for me to prepare and present a paper. My working programme is very charged and I think that the deadline of Febrary 1985 limits seriously my possibilities. So I prefer to act as a discussant. Of course, I'll do my best to present working materials on the Spanish legislative experiencies at the discussing sessions.

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely

El Pedró de la Creu, 21, ático, 1.º - Tel 205 03 44 - BARCELONA - 34

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World Congress, Paris, France, July 15-20, 1985

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M E M O

TO: All participants in the 1985 IPSA XIIIth World Congress, Paris

FROM: John E. Trent
IPSA Secretary-General

DATE: June 6, 1984

I am sending this memo to ensure that you are aware of an important new policy that affects your participation at the IPSA World Congress. The IPSA Executive Committee enacted a policy requiring all programme participants to pre-register for the Congress. The purpose of this policy is to ensure participation in the Congress of those listed in the programme. Unfortunately, at recent Congresses there has been a growing number of people who submit their names and then do not show up, thus greatly inconveniencing their colleagues.

The rule applies to every person whose name is to be listed in the final programme, whether that person is appearing on the programme as a convenor, paper-giver or discussant.

Failure to pre-register means deletion from the programme. To avoid disappointment and missed sessions, participants must pre-register.

The deadline for pre-registration is February 1, 1985. The names of participants who are not pre-registered by that date will be deleted from the final programme.

Prof. Peter Gerlich, University of Vienna

The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope

Some suggestions

Undoubtely legislation occupies a pivotal position within the political processes of Western democracies. Nevertheless political science in as far as it has studied decisionmaking at all tends to look at lawmaking only in limited ways or from limited perspectives. On the one hand one often finds analyses that are inspired by quasitechnocratic views. Either they see lawmaking as a legal problem which has to be studied only up to the point of the final vote in parliament, its later effectivity being taken for granted. Or they look at implementation from an economic point of view: How can the goals embodied in the respective statutes which have to be taken as givens reached in costefficient way. On the other hand not too rarely encounters critical evaluations of legislation either of a normative or a leftist variety which agree in diagnosing the lawmaking activities of parliaments as phony execises of noneffective pseudorepresentative institutions.

What might be called realistic analyses occupy a middle position. They analyse lawmaking either as the interaction of powergroups or as that of individuals and statutes as the results of these interactions either as compromises between collective or between individual interests and power positions. This approach often limits its interests to the phase of parliamentary and possibily preparliamentary negotations and rarely takes earlier or later developments into account.

The problem of lawmaking as an extended process including the causes as well as the consequences of legislation is one that seems of particular interest within the central-European contexts of legalistically influended political cultures. It is felt that a cross-cultural perspective extending the analysis to other national contexts might prove illuminating.

In doing so it might be useful to compare empirical case studies of the legislative process in its most extended sense. This should include the initiation of laws, their preparliamentary preparation, the legislation phase proper as well as the implementation of legislative decisions. A number of interesting questions could be discussed concerning the respective four phases. First under what conditions are initiatives for legislation as a rule taken or, what causes for legislation exist: electoral campaigns, foreign incentives, group interest articulation? Second what are the roles of interest groups and legislative bureaucrats in the preparatory phase? How is popular legitimacy created for the proposed statute? Third which laws are changed in parliamentary procedures and why? Is it true in all countries as in some that a courious kind of division of labour exists in that parliamentarians are interested in "producing" statutes but dont realy care what happens after they have fullfilled this their duty? Is there any conception of legislative planning practized?

Fourth and final how can administrative bureaucracies further or impede the implemantation of laws? What consequences does legislation have? Does a feedback mechanism exist indicating the efficiency of laws? Do new statutes generelly as in some cases only cause ripples in the pound of bureaucratic routine and does everything regularely return to normal before long? Under which conditions are amendments initiated and why?

All these questions and more might be discussed on the basis of comparing casestudies which should incluce the four phases of legislative politics and should try to integrate them into a comprehensive view. It will be not only interesting to compare such studies crossnationally but also to contrast between or within national contexts statutes of different content, eg regulative vs extractive/distributive legislation or laws of general impact vs those concerning only limited groups of citizens.

In the sessions three kinds of papers should be discussed

a. theoretical pieces analyzing the general problems outlined above on an abstract level
b. especially case studies describing individully or comparatively national legislative processes on an empirical basis
c. comparative pieces which contrast preferably comparable specimens of legislation across national contexts.

Each paper should also point out both the legal structures and the political culture of law making in the country resp. countries which are analysed. Case studies should also deal with the relevance of the law which is examined.

GUIDELINES REGULATING PARTICIPATION IN THE XIIIth IPSA WORLD CONGRESS

PARIS, July 15-20, 1985

1. The programme will consist of three parts:

   1.1. Sections and Plenary Sessions under the Main Theme, comprising 60 to 70 sessions.

   1.2. Sections organized by IPSA Research Committees and Study Groups. Each Committee will normally organize two sessions and each Study Group one session.

   1.3. Special Meetings proposed by IPSA members, which will normally consist of one session each. The Programme Committee may accept 30 to 35 such sessions.

2. The Main Theme of the programme is: THE CHANGING STATE AND ITS INTERACTION WITH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY.

   2.1. The Main Theme is subdivided into four Subthemes:

   I. State and Government in Recent Political Theory

   II. The Changing Structure of the Governmental Apparatus

   III. Comparative Public Policy and Governmental Actions

   IV. Global Problems: Challenges to the State

   2.2 Each Subtheme has a consultant, who will generally advise the Programme Chairperson and, when requested, aid in solving problems within their own subtheme.

3. In order to facilitate communications and facilitate decision-making and the preparation of proposals to be submitted to the Programme Committee and to the Executive Committee, a Planning Committee has been constituted.

   3.1. Such Committee is formed by the IPSA President, a member of the French Organizing Committee, the Programme Chairperson, the Programme Vice-Chairperson and the IPSA Secretary-General.

   3.2. The administrative facilities for the Programme, to be performed in close contact with the IPSA Secretariat, will be located in Paris.

4. The Programme Chairperson will have the following responsibilities:

   4.1. He will be in charge of coordinating and distributing all relevant information as well as proposing decisions to the Programme Committee and the Executive Committee, in matters pertaining to the intellectual organization of the Congress.

   4.2. In consultation with the respective Theme Consultants he will make decisions, or propose them when pertinent to the Programme Committee or the Executive Committee, about any issue arising during the process of organizing sections or sessions, including replacements of Section Convenors who for any reason cannot, or are failing to, perform their duties.

   4.3. He will be responsible for gathering, inducing and processing proposals for the third part of the Programme, Special Meetings.

5. The Theme Consultants will have the following responsibilities:

   5.1. In cooperation with the Programme Chairperson they will propose Section Convenors in the framework of the Main Theme and subthemes of the programme.

   5.2. They will organize together with Co-convenors Subtheme General Sessions, focussing on a broader topic within each subtheme.

   5.3. In case of disagreement between the Subtheme Consultants and the Programme Chairperson, the pertinent decision will be made by the IPSA President.

6. The organization of the sections within the Main Theme, each comprising 2 sessions, will be the responsibility of Convenors in collaboration with Co-convenors.

6.1. The Section Convenors will coordinate all aspects of their sections. They are responsible for initiating all organizational matters for their sessions and preparing proposals which will be submitted for consultative purposes to the Co-convenor. But, it is the Convenor who is responsible for correspondance and contacts with participants, the Programme Chairperson and IPSA Secretariat.

6.2. In addition to the paramount concern with quality of scholarship, the Section Convenors will strive to obtain a balanced representation of the diverse approaches, regions, political systems, sex, age, and other criteria springing from the plurality embodied in IPSA and our discipline.

6.3. The Convenors will inform the Programme Chairperson and the respective Subtheme Consultants of developments and problems in their sections: selection of Chairpersons for sessions, selection of papergivers and discussants, possible replacements or additions of papergivers, titles and content of papers, and other matters relevant to the successful functioning of their sessions.

6.4. The Convenors should not reach closure prematurely on participants, in a way that forecloses the possibility for interested scholars to put forward proposals for papers or volunteer their participation in other capacities. However, the Convenors should forward the names and addresses of the Chairperson of their sessions to the Programme Chairperson and the IPSA Secretariat no later than February 15th, 1984, and the programme for the sections (title of papers, names and addresses of papergivers, and discussants), no later than June 15th, 1984.

6.5. If more high quality papers are offered to the Convenors than can be accommodated in a session, the Convenor may name these authors as "Submitted Paper Participants". Special letters of invitation will be written where necessary. They will not be listed in the official programme, but they may on the Convenors' (Session Chairpersons') discretion, be given the opportunity to present their papers.

6.6. The Convenors are responsible for circulating a list with names and addresses of the Session Chairpersons, papergivers and discussants to the participants in their sections.

6.7. In the event of any problem or dispute that the Convenors cannot resolve with respect to the respective Section, the pertinent decisions will be made by the Programme Chairperson, in consultation with the Subtheme Consultants.

6.8. The Convenors will submit by September 15th, 1985 a short report on the proceedings of their sections to the IPSA Secretariat.

6.9. The Convenors are required to pay their registration fee by February 1st, 1985.

7. The Session Chairpersons are responsible for conducting the sessions, and should make every effort to maximize the opportunity for discussion in their session. This implies:

   1. restricting each papergiver to a maximum of 15 minutes of his/her oral presentation;
   2. restricting to no more than 30 minutes the period reserved for discussants and the responses of papergivers;
   3. allowing at least one hour for general discussion from the floor; and
   4. following judicious practices in eliciting comments and questions from those attending the session.
   5. Chairpersons are requested not to permit lengthy and irrelevant interventions.

   The Session Chairpersons are required to pay their registration fee by February 1st, 1985.

8. Only seven names, including the Chairperson (eight if Co-Chairperson), may be listed for any one session (two and one-half hour in length). Normally, there will be no more than four papergivers.

9. The responsibilities of the Papergiver in a session are as follows:

   9.1. The Papergiver should prepare a written paper in English or French of no more than 25 typewritten pages (8 1/2 x 11) (A-4) single-spaced and typed on one side of the page only.

   9.2. The Papergiver must send a 125 world abstract of his/her paper in English or French to the Programme Chairperson, Francesco Kjellberg (Institute of Political Science, University of Oslo, 1097 Blindern, N-Oslo 3, Norway) and to Serge Hurtig (Fondation

nationale des sciences politiques, 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, 75341 Paris, Cedex 07, France) no later than February 1st, 1985. Instructions to facilitate the standardization of these abstracts will be sent to each papergiver.

9.3. Copies of the paper should be sent, no later than March 15th, 1985 to:

1. the Section Convenors
2. all listed participants in the relevant section;
3. the Subtheme Consultants;
4. the Programme Chairperson; and
5. the IPSA Secretariat in Ottawa.

Papers submitted after the deadline may not be listed in the official programme nor in its Book of Abstracts; in these cases, the Section Convenor shall decide whether or not to permit the paper to be presented orally in the respective session.

9.4. The Papergiver is responsible for getting to the World Congress Paper Room at least 50 copies of his/her paper and addressed as follows: The Paper Room, XIIIth IPSA World Congress, Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, 75341 Paris, France.

9.5. A person who has not paid his/her registration fee by February 1st, 1985, will not have his/her name printed on the programme.

10. The Programme Chairperson will process and evaluate proposals for Special Meetings, as well as submit to the Programme and Executive Committee the general criteria and the specific decisions concerning approval of Special Meetings in the Congress.

11. Requests from Research Committees and Study Groups should be addressed to the Programme Chairperson, who will be responsible for informing and proposing decisions, whenever pertinent, to the Programme Committee.

12. To permit maximum participation in the World Congress, it is necessary to limit the number of appearances of any single individual. Accordingly,

    1. Any individual may make no more than one appearance on the programme in each of the following categories:

        i. convenor of a section;
        ii. chairperson of a session;
        iii. papergiver; and
        iv. discussant.

    2. That is, a person may convene a section, chair one of its sessions (or some other session), present a paper and serve as a discussant; the person may not chair two sessions or act as a papergiver or discussant in two sessions.

    3. In calculating such appearances, the entire programme (including the Main Theme sessions, Research Committee and Study Group sessions and Special Meetings) will be taken into consideration. The Programme Chairperson may waive this rule for the Plenary Sessions and the Subtheme General Sessions.

MR Dr. Zeh
- Privatdozent -
DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG
- Verwaltung -
Fachbereich Parlamentsrecht

5300 Bonn 1 , 7. August 1985
Bundeshaus
Fernruf 16 - 2649

Die Wahl dieser Rufnummer vermittelt den gewünschten Hausanschluß.
Kommt ein Anschluß nicht zustande, bitte Nr. 161 (Bundeshaus-Vermittlung) anrufen.

Herrn
Jordi Solé Tura
Catedrático de Derecho Politico
El Pedró de la Creu, 21, ático

Barcelona 34

Spain

Dear Colleague,

during our session on the IPSA Congress in Paris I promised to forward my paper to you. Here it is; let's hope that it will be useful for you.

With best wishes
yours faithfully

Dr. Zeh

Paper for IPSA - XIII World Congress, Paris, July 15-20, 1985

Session: "The Process of Extended Legislation and its Scope
Convenors: Peter Gerlich and Erik Damgaard

The Impact of Interest Groups upon Legislation and Implementation

by Wolfgang Zeh (Deutscher Bundestag, Bonn/University of Speyer)

1. Influence of Organized Interests on Legislation Process

The development of political issues and the formulation of legal rules and programms are influenced by interests. This has been so often scrutinized and underlined, that we can renounce a new explanation. That's as old as politics is. In democracies it's just more visible because of their relative transparence and the better chances of access to political process for much more pluralistic interests. Politics in absolutism or in monarchies were, of course, performed under a similar impact of interests, but less open to different groups of society.

In the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) - and especially its conditions are coverd by my considerations - the influence of interests is partly regulated by law. According paragraph 24 of Gemeinsame Geschäftsordnung der Bundesministerien (GGO II), during the draft phase of laws the pressure groups, associations and so on are formally allowed and invitated to take part by talks, hearings, and transmission of papers and comments. In the Bundestag (the Federal Parliament) the committees use to performe public or non-public hearings with representatives of

interest groups. The groups have to be enlisted in a role, kept and published by the President of the Bundestag. This list contents round about 1.200 organizations, including their purposes, number of members, chairpersons, representatives in Bonn, and so on. Denying those data means for an organization to be not invited to hearings and to renounce of taking part in bargaining within the committees.

2. Interest Groups as Implementation Partners for Administration

This regulated allowance of interest influence can be explained by the specialized information which the groups make available to legislation; by their impact upon their clients behaviour in elections; and by the idea that regulated access gives more control than a free bargaining does. But that makes not completely clear the administration's obvious demand of a well organized partnership with the interest groups. An important reason is to be added: Government today wouldn't be able to ensure at least some impact of programms and laws without support of interest groups. The problems of implementation make it inevitable for government to cooperate with the organizations.

The relative free and legal access for organized interests is the cost for their backing the results of bargaining and for their support in implementation. The reason why they must support is their co-responsiveness for the results of legislation process. After cooperation with the public authorities and with parliament in the formulation of legal rules, the interest groups feel forced to proof that the results are good for their clients. Otherwise, they would look like beeing unable to defend and promote their clients' demands.

On the one hand, organizational self-interests of the group's personnel makes them cooperate in persuading the clients of the usefulness and advantage - or at least the inevitability - of the current results. On the other hand, they have to proof

for the governmental view, that there is further necessity and advantage in working together and exchange informations. They must show their control of clients' behaviour. Otherwise, authorities and parliamentary parties would ask why to waste time with a partner who cannot really speak for his clients and guarantee their acceptance, and the access and influence position of this pressure group would fade away. And that would, of course, weaken the clients' chances of getting adopted their interests.

As a result, the interest groups inform, adjust, and domesticate their clients as a precondition for their acceptance of the formulated programm or law. For the governmental side, this means not only better control of an important implementation factor. It means also an opportunity to strengthen the acceptance of the groups over the measure they would tolerate from the sight of their own. There is a chance for a certain overload of regulations and requirements on each concerned group. Perhaps the public interest, the "advantage of the whole", is only the result or the sum of these little excesses of burdens on each group.

This way, the control capacity of administration is better than it would be if the organized interests stayed outside the formulation process and brought their power positions to the surface not before implementation phase.

3. The Impact of Interest Groups on Implementation

As interest groups are constrained to back the results of their bargaining with the governmental side, it should be significant which manner they realize that. We can observe different ways they support implementation.

3.1 At first, the interest groups take part in publishing the results of legislation. That's an important precondition for a laws' implementation. No doubt the formal promulgation of laws is done by the law gazette. But this wouldn't guarantee not at all the knowledge of all concerned citizens, social groups, entrepreneurs, and so on. In the FRG, we have some thousands of laws and ordinances in effect. The conditions regulated by law are complicated and difficult, and so the regulations are. A real understanding demands explanation and interpretation. This promulgation in a sense of actual information is realized by public authorities at the one hand and by interest organizations at the other.

The interest groups serve themselfes of a couple of means. They publish own technical journals and gazettes for their members and clients. Partly they run publishing houses and distribute specialized literature and reports. They performe or take part in lectures, meetings, and congresses. They offer press services and circulars, law consulting, and advice, and all other kinds of useful information to their clients.

The clients depend on this specialized information. Otherwise, they wouldn't learn fast enough of new regulations concerning their branch. Or, if they would hear about it accidentally, each one would interprete on his own what the new legal status demands or allows, or which advantages and disadvantages a new programm brings to them. The clients' demand of technical and judicial information is fulfilled by the interest organizations. That gives them the transmission shaft for adapting the clients on implementation necessities. They shall react on political and legal change in similar way, and more or less they will do. This avoids opposition and outflanking.

Naturally the interest organizations couldn't manage that in a direct manner. They also criticize new regulations or the disadvantages of a programm, and show how they protect the rights and interests of their clients. But also this composure of delegated protest, together with the other information, will have the effect of furthering acceptance. The clients are in leading-strings of their interest representatives. A lot of requirements they would never accept when presented by governmental agencies or public authorities, but presented by their confidential agents they are ready to obey.

3.2 Annother reason for the organizations' impact on implementation is the high technical level of some modern regulation fields. For example environment protection, policies against pollution of air and water, nuclear energy regulations, provisions on data protection or computer criminality, or a lot of medical and chemical issues require much technical and scientific knowledge in the implementation phase. This isn't available to each single actor in the respective issue. Also the authorities liable for application and supervision cannot easily dispose of all required technical and scientific terms.

In these fields happens a close cooperation of public and private actors. The technological standards are developed and determined in a permanent dialogue of the informed participants. The interest groups play an important role within that, besides specialized authorities, sciences, and the greatest private and public entrepreneurs. In order to ensure their influence, the organizations make intensive efforts in training staff for scientific advice, financing research projects, organizing discussions in technical publications and meetings, and so on. The effect is, oncemore, an adjustment of the actors' knowledges

and opinions in the concerned field. They all scoop of the same sources, which they feed at the same time. The common developed and agreed technological standards are inevitable preconditions for implementation of those policies.

A secondary effect of that is a well informed position for the interest groups also in the formulation process. They use their role in implementation as feed-back for bargaining on further programms and provisions. The adjustment with the world of specialists and scientists underlines their self-reliance as serious and responsive partners.

By the side, this connection allows some purpose-gaining activities to the governmental side of implementation process. In the FRG we observe during the last 10 years an increasing influence of ministries and authorities on research projects in universities and scientific foundations. Some of them run remarkable budgets for placing research orders. Of course the authorities are much more interested in this input of objectives to the science system than in using the results.

3.3 A particular case of the interest groups' impact by technological terms can be observed in Germany as a result of our system of industrial nomalization. The standardizing of measures and weights for indurstrial products, production processes, and materials, of securitiy provisions, of performance data for machinery and equipment, and so on, is not a public but a private business. The sheet of paper on which I drafted this report is standardized by the German Institute for Normalization (DIN), and the data of my electric razor are standardized by the Association of Electric Engineers (VDE). Here's an open field for interest groups. They are all members of the concerning nomalization institutes and associations of their branchs.

Legal regulations and official provisions give just a wide framework. What really goes on, what's to observe or to neglect, is not established by authorities but by private institutes and supervisory committees. That means an intensive preformation of economic and technical realities by the united influence of interest groups. We shouldn't say that politics doesn't matter, but of course it's not easy for politicians and officials to deal with this well organized world of specialized competency.

3.4 A further result of that is a striking reserve of government in providing independent regulations for implementation, at least in technological pretentious issues. As you know, Germany's administrative cultur is characterized by written law and regulations with a tendency of covering the whole public and private life, much less by case law and customary law. So the execution of law depends on further regulations on several descending levels, f. e. ordinances, decrees, official circulars, and so on. The hierarchy of law looks like a staircase of regulations.

In the last years more and more of those ordinances and decrees on technological influenced or preconditioned issues are no longer drafted and voted just by the competent authorities. The laws provide in some cases an official participation of interest groups in formulation of those ordinances, which is a necessary part of implementation. Former they took part, too, but in an informal way. Today some laws provide explicit committees formulating and enacting the required ordinances under participation of interest organizations, with the number of each organization's members in the committee decided by the law itself (besides municipal or county participation).

The products of those committees are official legal regulations, remember, not just mere conventions between public and private actors without obligation for third persons. The official approbation makes the difference: The public competency for law is partly delegated to a new form of mixed "legislation" of public and private partners on an equal official level.

In my sight, that doesn't only strengthen the interest groups' position. The other side of the coin is, that interest groups, involved so tight in official purposes and proceedings, run a risk of loosing their clients' confidence. They have to take over a close co-responiveness for what goes on in the concerned field, and perhaps they feel obliged to double their activities in explaining and advocating the results vis-a-vis their clients. That would make one advantage more for the governmental side in the difficult implementation game.

3.5 A further implementation factor under impact of pressure groups is, finally, the change of values and awareness within the people's minds. In some issues we observe a particular kind of interest groups operating by others than the "classic" methods. Environment protection, nuclear arms limitation, urban renewal programms, traffic planning, or education reforms, in the FRG are fields for citizens' movement groups or local initiatives, which act immediately in the public in order to obtain awareness for their purposes. This isn't public relations business, it's better than that: Those movements manage to concentrate the public attention on their purposes and so to change the ranking list of political issues.

The theory of legislation knows very well the impact of mental preconditions on the efficacy of law. The question wether legal regulations can be carried in effect or not, wether

citizens accept laws ore not, is substantial decided by those preconditions. Implementation can be blocked up or faciliated by this mental background. That makes the activities of that kind of interest groups very significant. In the FRG, the outcome of environmental legislation and even its possibility is due to the increase of environmental consciousness within the people. In urban renewal legislation we observed an interesting coincidence of an amending bill with a change of the public's mental attitude against so-called "bulldozer sanitation" of residential quarters. The law on high-school education subsidies was implemented relatively successful because of a simultaneous increasing attention of many parents on better education level for their children.

In such cases there appears the necessity - but also the chance -, that a law or programm improves its implementation destiny by built-in inputs to those mental changes. This way the purposes of a law and those of interest groups can mutual support each other.

Once more organized interests appear in the role of helpmates during implementation process. Naturally those groups will never believe that the outcome of the concerned law is high enough. But other groups and sometimes the people's rest will do so, and government may get the opportunity of being estimated wise and moderate.

4. Conclusions on Legislation

Interest groups seem to be not just opponent to the purposes of public welfare, even if they wouldn't back those purposes for their own. In the implementation, they can't help to support not only their own but also governmental interests, due to reasons drafted above.

In my sight, that should lead to consequences for the formulation process of laws and programms. Legislation should focus the implementation factors much more than it does. In Germany we do implementation research just since about 5 or 6 years. The impact on the methods of legislation is yet too slight. No doubt a lot of case studies has been published. Government orders more and more evaluation and implementation research. And parliament asks more intensive for official accounts on the outcome of several policies. But that's not enough. Parliament itself should obtain or develop own methods for better monitoring the implementation phase and for evaluation from a political point of view.

The parliament's instruments for this attempt could be its Select Committees. In the German Bundestag we have a permanent committee for each one of the administration's departments. Each committee is scrutinizing "its" ministry, reflecting it in the parliamentary discussion and legislation. An important instrument for the committees is public hearing. But in the Bundestag it's mainly performed in the formulation phase of laws and amendmends. Parliament should extend it on implementation and evaluation. "Evaluation hearings", i. e. 3 years after a law's approval, would show much better than now wether the regulations did work or not, wether the administration executed it or not, and by what reasons. That would not only confront the interest groups to the results of their activities in implementation, but would also give a more realistic picture of the unevitable preconditions for efficient legislation.

SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS



European Consortium for Political Research

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

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Provença 324. Barcelona 37 (Spain)

CIRCULAR Nº 5, June 1984

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Introduction

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Political Culture in the Mediterranean Countries

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I.- INTRODUCTION

The opportunity afforded by the ECPR Joint Sessions held in Salzburg in April of this year was used by the SOUTHERN EUROPEAN POLITICS GROUP to organize a short briefing session, in accordance with the custom observed each year since its foundation.

In the course of the meeting information was exchanged on certain activities sponsored by the Consortium which affect the SEP group. One of these is the policy of the Exchange-Mobility Committee, which seeks to encourage Nort-South exchanges between academics. Details were also given of the progress of the workshop entitled "Left, Right and Centre in Southern Europe", heades by Prof. G. Mavrogordatos and J. Botella, which was first sponsored by the SEP group and has now obtained a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation.

With reference to future activities, one of the tipics discussed was the opportunities provided by both the ECPR Joint Sessions to be held in Barcelona in April 1985 and the IPSA Congress which will take place in Paris in the summer of the same year. Group members should be encouraged to participate in both meetings, both within the officially scheduled activities and by making it possible for informal gatherings to be held as on previous occasions.

Regarding organizational matters, the question was raised as to whether the Secretariat -which is located in Barcelona as decided by the Group at its founding session- should be transferred to other headquarters in order to facilitate more widespread diffusion of its activities. Following an exchange of views, it was agreed to maintain the present situation, though the members of the Secretariat announced that they would again raise the matter at the march 1985 meeting in Barcelona.

Finally members of the Secretariat appealed for items of information suitable for publication in the News Circular, which has so far received few outside contributions, despite the fact that membership in the Group has been growing since it was set up and that it has been playing an ever greater role in the various activities organized both within and around the Consortium.

Josep M. Vallès

NEW ADDRESS: ECPR/SEP. Fundació Jaume Bofill
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II.- CONFERENCE ON POLITICAL CULTURE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES: STATE OF THE STUDIES

The Conference took place at Firenze, 27th-28th January 1984, organized jointly by the **Southern European Politics Group** (ECPR) and the **Mediterranean Group** (IPSA), with the collaboration of AMELA.

The goal of the Conference was to present and discuss "state of the art" presentations on political culture research in Mediterranean countries. Reports were presented on Italy (by Bruschi, Cartocci and Marradi), France (Ritaine, Grunberg), Portugal (M.J. Stock), Spain (Botella, Vallès), Greece (Tsoucalas), Turkey (Vaner), Yugoslavia (Siber and Perko-Separović) and Israel (Keres).

It is not possible to summarize here the contents of the papers, nor the lively discussions which followed. In a general way, it was felt that a homogeneous concept of "political culture" was used in research on Mediterranean countries, but,

a) its clearly non-Mediterranean origins make necessary, in the opinion of some scholars, to modify the original Almond/Verba model, in order to adjust better to the Mediterranean political world;

b) its operationalization is far from being entirely homogeneous;

c) the lack of general national studies (with a few exceptions) does not allow a complete assessment of the model and, more specifically, of its explanatory power.

Conversely, a strong agreement emerged in favour of taking into account other research, in fields such as anthropology, history, etc.

Some current projects were presented. On one hand, the CIS (Madrid) project of coordinating a survey on political culture in Southern Europe; on the other hand, the possibility of creating either an ECPR "research group" or an IPSA "study group".

Finally, it was agreed to make a proposal for a meeting during the next IPSA Congres (Paris, 1985), on "Political Culture in Southern Europe", and to check the possibilities of a meeting of the group by the end of 1985.

Joan Botella

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BILAN DES TRAVAUX RÉCENTS EN FRANCE

La notion de culture politique est peu utilisée dans les travaux français contemporains.

Cependant un ouvrage récent tente une approche critique de cette notion et propose un renouvellement de la sociologie politique contemporaine par le récours à une sociologie historique de la culture:

BADIE Bertrand: **Culture et politique.** Paris. Economica. 1983

On trouvera donc plutôt des travaux allant dans le sens d'une étude de la culture politique, mais formulés en problématiques différentes: une sociologie des représentations collectives ou une généalogie des idéologies politiques.

Deus axes de réflection y sont lisibles: l'un est orienté vers l'analyse des symboliques, l'autre vers l'étude de la production et de la réactualisation (socialisation, réseaux, stratégies) des représentations.

1) TRAVAUX À DOMINANTE/HISTOIRE:

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INTERVENTION. Les cultures politiques de la gauche européenne. 1983. nº 4.

MICHELAT G, SIMON M.: **Classe, religion et comportement politique.** Paris. Presses F.N.S.P. 1977.

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RITAINE E.: - **Les stratèges de la culture.** Paris. Presses F.N.S.P. 1983.
- (recherche en cours): **Groupes d'appartenance et mobilisations politiques en Italie et en France.** C.E.R.V.L. F.N.S.P.

SCHWEISGUTH E. (recherche en cours): **Culture de droite et culture de gauche.** CEVIPOF. F.N.s.P.

Evelyne Ritaine - Fondation nationale
des Sciences politiques.
Institut d'Études Politiques

III.-WORKSHOPS OF BARCELONA JOINT SESSION, MARCH 1985

A total of 25 proposals were approved for the Barcelona Joint Sessions:

1. **Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective**
   Michael Gallagher and Michael March, Trinity College, Dublin
2. **The International Politics of Outer Space**
   (Planning Session)
   Mahindra Naraine, Lancaster
3. **Confidentiality, Privacy and Data Protection**
   Charles Raab, Edinburgh
4. **The Stability and Instability of Democracies**
   Frank Bealey, Aberdeen
5. **Exploitation**
   Andrew Reeve, Warwick
6. **Voluntary Association and Political System**
   A. Garrigou and B. Lacroix, IEP, Bordeaux
7. **Styles of Economic Policy and Ways out of Economic Crisis**
   Heikki Paloheimo, Turky and Hans Keman, Amsterdam
8. **Backbenchers, Cadres, Conference Delegates: Middlelevel Elites in Western Political Parties**
   Karlheinx Reif and Oskar Niedermayer, Mannheim
9. **Inside Communist Parties in Western Europe, 1984**
   Meindert Fennema, Amsterdam Jesus Rodes, Autonoma, Barcelona
10. **Problems and Prospects of Public Management**
    (Planning Session)
    Jan Kooiman, Delft
11. **The European Community as an International Actor**
    Jeremy Moon, Strathclyde
12. **Centre-Periphery Structures and the Revival of Peripheral Nationalism in Western Democracies**
    Daniel Seiler, Lausanne; Anna Melich, Geneva
13. **The Politics of Industrial Subsidies**
    David Willis, Hull
14. **Socialist Governments in Southern Europe**
    Jordi Solé Tura, Faculty of Law, University of Barcelona
15. **Cycles in Politics**
    (Planning Session)
    Wilhelm Bürklin, Mannheim
16. **Corporatism in Mediterranean Europe**
    Carlota Solé, University of Barcelona
17. **Policy Effects: Theories, Methods and Application in Evaluation research**
    Geoffrey Roberts, UMIST; Andries Hoogerwerf, Twente
18. **Models in the comparative Study of Political System**
    Frank Aarebrot, Bergen; Jeremy Mitchell, Open University
19. **The 1984 Direct Elections to the European Parliament**
    Juliet Lodge, Hull

20. **Territorial Voting Patterns as a Lasting Phenomenon: Their Survival to Periods of Dictatorial Rule**
Eugènia Salvador, Autònoma, Barcelona

21. **Politics and Business in Western Democracies**
Rinus van Schendelen, Erasmus University, Rotterdam

22. **Metropolitan Government**
Finn Bruun, University of Aarhus

23. **L'U.R.S.S. et le Tiers Monde: Étude des strategies et des representations**
Zaki Laidi, FNSP, Paris

24. **The Politics of Health**
Giorgio Freddi, University of Bologna

25. **Justice and Politics**
Giuseppe di Federico, University of Bologna

IV.- SECOND SYMPOSIUM ON ELECTORAL SOCIOLOGY

The second Symposium on Electoral Sociology organized by the Equip de Sociologia Electoral of the Political Science Department, Autonomous University of Barcelona, in collaboration with the Jaume Bofill Foundation, was held in Barcelona on February 10th 1984. The subject under discussion was: "Electoral choice and political culture in Spain: hypotheses on their interaction".

Lecture

López Pintor, R., **Decisión electoral y cultura política en España**

Papers

- Aguiló, Sevilla, Visiedo, **Notas a la ponencia presentada por Rafael López Pintor Decisión Electoral y cultura política en España**

- Bravo, Pilar **Comentario a la ponencia "División Electoral y cultura política en España**

- Cillan, M. del Coro & Morenas, Blanca **Comportamiento electoral en Extremadura 1977-83**

- Germán, L. **La sociología electoral en Aragón: Balance de una ausencia.**

- Martinez Sospedra, M. **Tres notas críticas a la ponencia del Prof. López Pintor**

- Montero, José R. **Elecciones "normales" y elecciones "excepcionales": algunos datos y factores de la movilización electoral de octubre de 1982**

- Ortiz, C. **Decisión electoral y cultura política en España. 1977-83**

- Ruiz Olabuénaga, J.I., Maranón, M. & Yarza, Javier **Notas sobre la evolución Electoral de los Partidos Vascos. Bases sociales de los partidos**

- Salvador, E., **Los análisis sobre el comportamiento electoral**

V.- OTHER NEWS

FONDAZIONE GIANGIACOMO FELTRINELLI
Centro di Scienza Politica
20121 Milano. Via Romagnosi 3. Tel. 803 911 - 806 732 - 874 175

November 1983

Programme outline

Conference on **Political Science in Italy: present situation and future prospects**

Milan, Palazzo Ex-Stelline, Corso Magenta 61
17-18-19 May 1984

In collaboration with the Faculty of Political Science of the Università degli Studi, Milan, and the Italian Political Sciency Society.

1st Day. **The state of the art**
Thursday May 17th, 9.30 a.m.
Opening of the proceedings and words of welcome.
F. Pocar, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, Università degli Studi, Milan.
A. Spreafico, Chairman of the Italian Political Science Society (SISP)
K. Von Beyme, Chairman of the International Political Science Association (IPSA)
N. Bobbio, University of Turin, **La scienza politica e la tradizione di studi politici in Italia.**
J. La Palombara, Yale University, **Dipendenze e interdependenze nel della scienza politica italiana.**
G. Sartori, Columbia University, **Dove va la scienza politica.**
Chairman: G. Procacci, Chairman of the Feltrinelli Foundation.

Thursday, 4 p.m.
Self-definition of the discipline through areas of research.
Introductory remarks by: F. Cazzola (Catania), G. Freddi (Bologna), U. Gori (Florence), L. Graziano (Turin), G. Miglio (Università Cattolica), G. Pasquino (Bologna), M. Stoppino (Pavia).
Debate
Chairman: A. Spreafico, Chairman of the Italian Political Science Society.

2nd Day. **New fields of research**
Friday May 18th, 9 a.m.
Study Group: Mass media and political systems.
Convener: G. Pasquino, University of Bologna.

Study Group: Politics and Economics.
Convener: G. Urbani, Università Bocconi.

Study Group: Present approaches to institutional studies.
Convener: G. Zagrebelsky, University of Turin.

Friday, 3 p.m.
Study Group: **Studies on public policy.**
Convener: A. Martinelli, University of Milan.

Study Group: **Hidden forms of power.**
Convener: M. Stoppino, University of Pavia.

In each study group, 3-4 papers will be presented and discussed.

3rd D ay. **Democracy Today**
Saturday May 19th, 9.30 a.m.
Round-table in collaboration with the Instituto Universitario Europeo, Florence.
Transformations of democracy today
G. Amato, University of Rome
F. Cardoso, Chairman of the International Sociological Association, CEBRAP, San Paolo.
U. Cerroni, University of Rome.
H. Daalder, University of Leida.
A. Pizzorno, Harvard University and University of Milan.
G. Sartori, Columbia University
Ph. Schmitter, University of Chicago and Instituto Universitario Europeo.
Chairman: K. Von Beyme, Chairman of the IPSA.

Saturday, 3 p.m.
The use of political science
Introductory remarks by: L. Bonante (Turin), D. Fisichella (Rome), G. Galli (University of Milan), S. Passigli (Florence), F. Ferraresi (Turin), P. Ostellino, C. Tognoli, F. D'Onofrio.
Debate
Chairman: E.A. Albertoni, University of Milan.

UNIVERSITY OF PADUA

THE COMMUNIST VOTE IN ITALY AND FRANCE

The Institute of Political and Social Science of the Faculty of Political Science, in collaboration with the Italian Society for Electoral Studies, organized a study meeting on March 30th last on the subject **The Communist Vote in Italy and France.**

Studies on France were presented by F. Platone (chargé de recherche, CNRS) and J. Ranger (maître de recherche, CNRS) and a study on Italy was conducted by R. Mannheimer (docente di Metodologia della ricerca sociale, University of Milan).

For further information about these papers write to:

Università di Padova
Facoltà di Science Politiche
Instituto di Science Politiche e Sociali
35100 Padova
Via del Santo, nº 28

UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX

17th Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis and Collection

The Essex Department of Government and European Consortium for Political Research will be sponsoring the 17th school to be held at Essex in three continuous but independent sessions from 6th july to 17th autust 1984.

Special emphasis will be on introductory courses for participants who lack any training in statistics or computing. Full supporting Interactive Computing Facilities, including the use of micro-computers, will be available. Among the courses offered will be:

Introductori level

Introduction to Data Analysis with SPSS
(Probality, crosstabulation, regression, factor analysis)
Data Analysis for Beginners
Mathematics for Social Scientists
Introduction to programing (Basic and Pascal)
Econometrics for non numerate economists

Intermediate and Advance level

Basic Scaling
Theories of decision making
Cluster analysis
Linear structural relationship
Survey desing and analysis
Experimental desing/small sample statistics
Advanced econometrics
Analysis of textual data
Multi-dimensional scaling
Analysis of contingency tables
Time series and forecasting
Graph theory and analysis
Multi-level data analysis

Financial support may be available to participants from their own institutions or National Research Councils. The organizars particularly wish to attract advanced students, researchers and academics. Interested persons should write to:

The Organizing Secretary, 17th Essex Summer School,
Department of Government, University of Essex,
Colchester CO4 3SQ, England.

VI.- NEW PUBLICATIONS

Miguel Angel APARICIO **Introducción al sistema político y constitucional español**
Barcelona (Ed. Ariel), 1983

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Joan MARCET **Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya.El partit i el Moviment polí-tic**
Barcelona (Ed. 62), 1984

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George Th. Mavrogordatos **Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in greece, 1922-1936**
University of Califormia Press. Berkeley, 1983

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Howard R. PENNIMAN **Greece at the Polls: The National Elections of 1974 and 1977**
American Enterprise Institute. Washington, 1981

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Professor Jean Blondel
(University of Essex)
M. Frédéric Bon
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I CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT

After twelve years of existence, the European Consortium for Political Research has now become the major body concerned with the growth and development of political science in Europe. Grouping more than 110 institutions across 16 countries, it is also the leading European organisation for the social sciences as a whole.

The formation of the ECPR followed discussions in the late 1960's about the extent to which political science in Europe remained both nationally and institutionally restricted. It appeared that a breakthrough on the international scene could only be achieved if the barriers between national traditions were broken down and a genuine community of scholars created within Europe. Set apart from such a community by barriers of language, training, and resources, most European political scientists, particularly younger members of the profession, often seem to be under-used intellectually or engaged in projects which had been tried elsewhere, and were therefore of little value to the discipline.

The main aim of the ECPR is therefore to provide a strong base and an infrastructure to help scholars in their research activities: by fostering collaboration, by increasing the level of training, by making data more readily available to those requiring it, by improving computer software capabilities, by disseminating information on research, and by facilitating exchanges and visits of scholars and teachers of political science throughout Europe. This is why the ECPR is an organisation linking institutions rather than individuals. Institutions provide the financial, technical and professional base for the development of the activities of the Consortium; for the organisation and running of summer schools; for organisation of workshops, for a Data Information Service which encourages the exchange of data between institutions; for the building up of a computer software network; for the maintenance of a small Central Service, and for fostering exchanges between members, thus generally promoting the development of the Consortium's aims. The creation of the *European Journal of Political Research* was also one of the main objectives of the Consortium, as an important instrument for the dissemination of ideas on a European basis.

The activities of the ECPR have consistently expanded since its inception. Workshops have been held regularly since the Summer of 1971 and the annual ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops are now an integral feature in the academic calendar, providing a unique European forum for the activities of political scientists. A more recent initiative has been the development of Research Groups, geared to producing published research on a specialised topic over a period of two to three years. These sessions of from four to eight groups are held in the autumn.

In addition, the ECPR helps sponsor three summer schools. Two are on quantitative research methods — at Essex (English-speaking) and Grenoble (French-speaking). A substantive Summer School on Comparative Politics takes place each year at the European University Institute in Florence.

Exchange visits of researchers, teachers and students and their general mobility across national boundaries are subjects very close to the ECPR's heart. The committee on Exchanges and Mobility helps disseminate information to graduate students and staff on the graduate programmes at member institutions. It also publicises the grants available for travel and awards some grants itself. These are available for younger members of the profession to explore contacts or use specialised facilities abroad.

The Consortium has been organised as a federation of universities or research departments and institutes. The ECPR Council, which includes a representative from each member institution, meets every three years to decide on policy and to elect an Executive Committee. The subscription fee has been fixed at 1100 European Currency Units per year per institution. This sum covers both the general activities of the ECPR and substantial contributions towards travelling and accommodation expenses of participants at the various activities of the Consortium.

The ECPR's future activities will continue to be concerned with the establishment of better communication between European scholars, while it intends to continue with its programme of workshops and Summer Schools, and through these to generate interest in its research developments. In the last resort, the ECPR depends on the cooperation of member institutions and of their scholars to achieve a genuine expansion of collaboration. The links which the ECPR has already established make this collaboration much more likely than in the past, and should give all scholars greater opportunity for the dissemination of new ideas.

TWELVE YEARS OF ACTIVITY

1970

SEPTEMBER	Orientation meeting at Munich for the launching of the Consortium.

1971

JANUARY	Setting up of Central Services, Essex; of Data Information Service, Bergen.
JULY	First ECPR Summer School, Essex.
AUGUST	Joint ECPR/UNESCO workshop on *Indicators of National Development*, Lausanne.
SEPTEMBER	Conference on the role and future of the ECPR, Bruges.

1972

JANUARY	Workshop on *European Cabinet Coalitions*, Helvoirt, The Netherlands; First Editorial Board Meeting of the *European Journal of Political Research*, Amsterdam; First meeting of group on computer software developments, Leiden.
MARCH	First Edition of the Directory of European Political Scientists.
APRIL	First meeting of consultative group of the Data Information Service, Bergen.
JUNE	Pre-workshop on *Ideology*, Grenoble; Workshop on *Policy Studies*, Strathclyde.
JULY	Second ECPR Summer School, Essex.
AUGUST	First ISSC Summer School with ECPR participation, Cologne.

1973

JANUARY	Conference on graduate exchange and mobility, Oslo.
MARCH	Meeting of Alpine area representatives, Turin.
APRIL	First Joint Sessions of Workshops, Mannheim. Also held in Mannheim: First meeting of Committee on Exchanges and Mobility; Meetings of Computer Applications Group and Consultative group of the DIS; First Council meeting.
JUNE	Workshop on *Western European Communism*, Paris.
JULY	ECPR Summer School, Essex; Second ISSC Summer School with ECPR participation, Strathclyde.
OCTOBER	2nd Edition of the Directory of European Political Scientists.

1974

MARCH	Data Information Services meeting, Paris.
APRIL	Second Joint Sessions of Workshops, Strasbourg.
JULY	Third ISSC Summer School with ECPR participation, Amsterdam; ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	*Local Politics* Workshop, Göteborg, followed by the institution of a standing group on Local Politics

1975

JANUARY	Bad Homburg, Planning Conference.
APRIL	Joint Sessions of Workshops, London.
JUNE	Joint CES/ECPR Workshop on *'Comparative Study of Contemporary Switzerland'*, Geneva.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
SEPTEMBER	Conference on Training, Geneva.

1976

APRIL	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Louvain-la-Neuve; First Joint Workshop with CPSA on *The Politics of Multi-cultural Societies*; Second Council Meeting.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
OCTOBER	Commencement of the four ECPR Project Groups sponsored by a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation.

1977

MARCH	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Berlin.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	Joint Workshop with CPSA on *Federalism*.

1978

JANUARY	Workshop on *Nationalism and Regionalism*, Ross Priory, Scotland.
FEBRUARY	Doctoral Seminar on *Consistency or Inconsistency of the Mass European Electorate in Relation to the Problems of European Integration*, Louvain-la-Neuve.

APRIL	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Grenoble; Publication of the first volume in the Sage Modern Politics series.
MAY	Workshop on *Chinese Politics after Mao*, Saarbrücken; Joint Workshop with the OECD on *University Governance: Policies, Problems and Performance*, Paris.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	First French-speaking Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble.
SEPTEMBER	First Research Sessions, Mannheim.

1979

JANUARY	Joint Workshop with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales on *Cohesion and Division in the International Communist Movement*.
APRIL	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Brussels; Joint Workshop with the CPSA on *Authority in Industrial Societies*; Third Council Meeting.
JUNE	First Summer School in Comparative European Politics, Florence.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex; Third edition of *Directory of European Political Scientists*.
AUGUST	Second French-speaking Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble.
SEPTEMBER	Second Research Sessions, Essex.
NOVEMBER	'Think-tank' Meeting, Kent.

1980

MARCH	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Florence.
JUNE	Second Summer School in Comparative European Politics, Florence.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	French-speaking Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble; Publication of the first volume in the Sage Research series in European Politics.
OCTOBER	Research Meeting, Siedelsbrunn.

1981

MARCH	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Lancaster.
	Inaugural meeting of Standing Group on China and East Asia.
JUNE	Summer School in Comparative European Politics, Florence.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble.
	Research group meeting on *'Industrial Policies in OECD Countries'*, Essex.
SEPTEMBER	Research Sessions, Essex.
NOVEMBER	Research group meeting on *'The Politics of the Latin Peoples in Europe'*, Essex.

1982

MARCH	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Aarhus.
	First Stein Rokkan memorial lecture.
	Meeting of ECPR Council.
	Inaugural meeting of Standing Group on Southern European Politics.
JUNE	Summer School in Comparative European Politics, Florence.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble.
SEPTEMBER	Research Sessions, Nijmegen.
	Doctoral Seminar on *Correspondence Analysis*, Grenoble.

1983

MARCH	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Freiburg.
	Constituent meeting of the Standing Group on *Soviet and East European Politics*.
	Second Stein Rokkan memorial lecture.

FORTHCOMING

JUNE	Summer School in Comparative European Politics, Florence.
JULY	ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Essex.
AUGUST	Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, Grenoble.
SEPTEMBER	Research Sessions, Trento.
NOVEMBER/ DECEMBER	Fourth edition of *Directory of European Political Scientists.*

1984

APRIL	Joint Sessions of Workshops, Salzburg.

II STRUCTURE

CONSTITUTION

1. NAME

There is hereby formally established the European Consortium for Political Research.

2. OBJECTIVES

The general purposes of the Consortium shall be to promote the development of political science in Europe, to foster collaboration between universities and other European institutions active in political research, to place better facilities at the disposal of political scientists throughout Europe, to increase the contacts between them and their knowledge of each other's research and to make it easier for them to engage in cooperative advanced training and research.

3. MEMBERSHIP

Any University, College, or Department of any University or College, or Institute or any other comparable scholarly institution in Europe engaged in teaching and research in political science may apply for membership of the Consortium and be admitted at the discretion of the Executive Committee or of the Executive Director acting under their instructions. Once admitted, such an institution shall be known as a member of the Consortium until it resigns or its membership is withdrawn.

A Member shall subscribe each year a sum in accordance with a scale prescribed by the Council.*

4. THE COUNCIL

Each Member is entitled to designate one person to serve as its representative on the Council and an alternate to represent it in the absence of the designated representative, except that any Member which is more than two years in arrears with its subscription ceases to be eligible to be represented on the Council.

5. The Council shall meet in regular session at least once every three years at such time and place as may be determined by the Executive Committee.

6. Three months before the regular meeting of the Council the Executive

*The subscription has been fixed by the Executive Committee at 1100 European Currency Units.

Director shall communicate to each Member the date, place and provisional agenda of the Meeting. The provisional agenda shall include:

a) a Report from the Executive Director on the work of the Consortium since the last meeting of the Council, including a report on the accounts, the financial position and prospects;
b) a Statement by the Chairman indicating plans and prospects for the succeeding three years;
c) reports submitted by Members about their activities;
d) items proposed by the Executive Committee;
e) items proposed by Members;
f) election of the Executive Committee.

7. The Council shall determine the general policy of the Consortium, including the main lines of the income and expenditure of the Consortium, and review the accounts, and confer upon the Executive Committee appropriate authority to carry out the programme and direct the affairs of the Consortium during the period between meetings of the Council.

8. A special meeting of the Council may be convened by the Executive Committee and shall be convened by the Executive Director upon the request of one-third of the Members of the Consortium. The Executive Director shall give reasonable notice of the date, place and object of any such special meeting.

9. Each Member shall have one vote, exerciseable by its representative present at the meeting. Subject to this the Council may adopt its own rules of procedure.

10. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
The Executive Committee shall consist of not less than 10 nor more than 15 persons elected by the Council at each regular Meeting. Those elected must at the time of their election be representatives on the Council or alternates designated by Members of the Consortium.

11. The Executive Committee must meet regularly once a year. Special meetings shall be convened upon the request of the Chairman or of a majority of the Committee.

12. a) the Executive Committee shall elect a Chairman and may, if it

so wishes, also appoint a vice-chairman, both being from among its membership;

b) the Executive Committee shall appoint an Executive Director on such terms and conditions as they think proper. He shall be responsible to the Executive Committee for the development and activities of the Consortium and be in charge of the Central Services. They may also appoint other officers either to assist the Executive Director or to administer any of the special activities of the Consortium;

c) in no case shall the Executive Committee appoint a Chairman or Executive Director for a period longer than the date at which a newly elected Committee comes into power;

d) the Executive Committee may establish its own rules and procedures and may delegate authority to the Chairman, the Executive Director or to any sub-committee to act on their behalf;

e) the Executive Committee shall be responsible for the adoption of the annual budget and for ensuring that the accounts are properly audited.

13. a) a member of the Executive Committee who ceases to be attached to a member institution shall cease to belong to that Committee;

b) any vacancies which occur in the Executive Committee either for this reason or by death, resignation or other cause shall be filled up to the extent of three by drawing in order from the list of those elected for that purpose.

14. The Executive Committee shall have the power to appoint committees, receive and expend monies, enter into contracts and any other form of activity consistent with achieving the aims of the Consortium subject to any decisions or policy made by the Council.

15. The Executive Committee shall circulate to Members an Annual Report about its activities and finances and an auditor's report on the accounts.

16. AMENDMENTS

a) this Constitution may be amended by two-thirds majority of the Members represented at a meeting of the Council provided that those present constitute at least one-half of the total membership

of the Council;

b) no proposal for amendment of the Constitution shall be considered unless at least two months' notice has been given to all members and the meeting at which it is to be considered shall have been properly convened.

MEMBERSHIP

The members of the Consortium are institutions of higher education (departments, centres, and institutes) which are wholly or principally engaged in teaching and research in political science and are located in Europe. In cases of doubt about the interpretation of this definition, the application for membership is referred to the Executive Committee for decision. Otherwise the Executive Director accepts applications.

The Executive Committee has adopted the following criteria for admissions to membership of the Consortium:

1. The parent institution and the department/institute making the request for membership should be engaged in direct teaching and research, not simply financing this through grants or contracts with other bodies.

2. The parent institution and the department/institute making the request for membership should be directly teaching in the tertiary sector (students should be aged at least 17 years and there should be none below the age of 17).

3. The department/institute making the request for membership should contain a group of members actively involved in teaching and research in politics.

4. Exceptionally, membership will be open to departments/institutes engaged solely in political research: members must, however, be directly engaged in such research themselves, and the research must extend across the main areas of political science.

5. The parent institution and the department/institute making the request for membership should have no direct affiliation with any political organisation or with a government.

6. The department/institute making the request for membership should

be able to guarantee regular annual participation in the Consortium's activities by its members.

7. The department/institute making the request for membership should be able to guarantee regular annual payment of ECPR subscriptions.

8. Notwithstanding the previous criteria, the Executive Committee reserves discretion to refuse membership on other grounds.

An institution is deemed to have joined the Consortium when the Director or the Executive Committee of the Consortium has accepted an application from a representative of that institution who is acting on its behalf and who accepts the contents of this memorandum on membership and organisation. The yearly subscription is fixed currently at 1100 European Currency Units (or its equivalent in convertible currency); invoices are sent out yearly in the summer. The financial year of the Consortium runs from 1 October to 30 September.

The workshops, summer schools and other meetings are arranged primarily for the benefit of members of the Consortium. They will only be open to non-members by special invitation. Each member institution is given full advance information of all these activities. Each is guaranteed places for qualified applicants for the summer schools, and preferential consideration for applicants for the workshops and seminars. The ECPR pays a considerable proportion of the travel and accommodation costs of participants from member institutions who attend workshops; it waives tuition fees for a designated number of summer school participants from member institutions and contributes towards their travel and accommodation expenses. Each institution has full access to the Data Information Service and receives free copies of all newsletters, announcements and other materials sent out by the ECPR Central Services, including the *European Journal of Political Research.*

Each member institution designates an official representative. The official representative is responsible for communications between the institution and the ECPR and for distributing material and announcements from the Central Services. The representative notifies the Consortium of requests emanating from colleagues in his institution and, specifically, submits the names of applicants for the summer schools and of potential participants in seminars and workshops. He is also one link between his institution and the Data Information Service.

ADMINISTRATION

THE CENTRAL SERVICES

The Central Services are responsible for the co-ordination of Consortium activities. They disseminate information relating to the Consortium to member institutions and to colleagues belonging to these institutions; they foster developments designed to increase collaboration across institutions; they promote exchanges and mobility of scholars between member institutions; they produce a number of information publications; and they liaise between the Consortium and other political science organisations, both within Europe and outside.

The Central Services are located in the Department of Government, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, England.

III WORKSHOPS

Workshops are designed to be a forum for substantive discussion on research in progress and collaboration among scholars. In order to emphasise the need for real interchange during these sessions, the large conference model was rejected, as was that of the round table. Workshops are informal gatherings of fifteen to twenty participants from several institutions, lasting about one week. The topics of discussion are precisely defined, and only those scholars currently working in the workshop's field are invited. The main aim of the workshops is to produce a feeling of participation, and of equality of endeavour between advanced students, younger members of the profession and well-established professors. To help achieve this the size of each workshop is restricted. Each participant presents a paper or research document for discussion as well as taking part in the discussion of the other papers presented. It is hoped that some of these workshops will lead to the creation of permanent research groups and standing groups as well as to collaboration between members.

The first Joint Sessions of Workshops were convened in April 1973 at the University of Mannheim, where eight workshops and three planning sessions for future workshops were held. The Joint Sessions are now one of the major annual events in European Political Science. Since Mannheim, they have taken place in Strasbourg, London, Louvain-la-Neuve, Berlin, Grenoble, Brussels, Florence, Lancaster, Aarhus and Freiburg where 286 attended 23 workshops and one planning session. Forthcoming sessions will be held at Salzburg (1984) and Barcelona (1985). The ECPR is extremely indebted to all the member institutions who have taken on the organisation of these Joint Sessions.

The Joint Sessions of Workshops give political scientists from member institutions the opportunity to meet each other on a much wider basis than could occur in the context of a single workshop. This provides for greater exchanges of ideas and also encourages exchanges of staff and students between institutions.

The following pages specify the general principles for the organisation of workshops including the submission of proposals.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES ON THE ORGANISATION OF WORKSHOPS

I WORKSHOPS TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE JOINT SESSIONS

A General Organisation

1. The Workshop Committee of the ECPR is responsible for the preparation of the academic programme of the Joint Sessions, and for the supervision of the administrative arrangements. It decides on workshop topics and appoints workshop directors. It decides on the location of the Joint Sessions; negotiates with the host institution; and in consultation with the Chairman and the Executive Director, agrees the financial arrangements, including the level of financial support given to participants within limits of a budget voted by the Executive Committee.

2. Any scholar belonging to an institution which is a member of the ECPR has the right to propose to organise a workshop. A detailed proposal must be sent to the Central Services for consideration at the Workshop Committee meeting held in the November 18 months prior to the Joint Sessions to which it applies. The final decision on the programme is made at the Joint Sessions preceding those under consideration.

B Academic Preparation

3. The responsibility for the academic preparation of each workshop lies with individual workshop directors. In particular, workshop directors decide on the topics to be covered by the workshop, and select participants. However, in order to ensure that all member institutions of the ECPR draw maximum benefits from the Joint Sessions, the following guidelines should be observed:

   a) INFORMATION TO MEMBER INSTITUTIONS: the programme of the Joint Sessions is published in the June ECPR News Circular. Special brochures on the Joint Sessions are also published by the Central Services and are sent out at the beginning of October. Workshop directors are asked to provide the Central Services with a brief (6 line) summary of the plans for their workshop for inclusion in this brochure as soon as possible after being appointed, and in any case *no later than 15 June.* The director of the Joint Sessions is asked to let the Central Services have a preliminary social programme by this date also for inclusion in the pamphlet.

b) Each workshop director should also send by *15 June* to the Central Services a short memorandum of 3-5 pages detailing the themes to be covered in the workshop, and requesting names of potential participants. The Central Services will then send details of all workshops to official representatives.

4. **DEADLINE FOR NOMINATIONS**

It is the responsibility of official representatives in each institution to ensure that all their colleagues are informed about the workshops. Nominations should be communicated to workshop directors as soon as possible, and in any case *no later than 1 December.*

5. **SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS**

5.1 Workshop directors are responsible for the selection of participants on the basis of their own contacts and nominations made by member institutions. To be considered, potential participants must currently be conducting research in the field of the workshop; they are expected to present a paper or a research document.

5.2 Where a paper is co-authored, only 1 of the authors should be invited to attend the workshop.

5.3 Scholars from outside the ECPR should not constitute more than 10% of the total number of participants, and their participation should be sought only where this is essential to the academic development of the workshop.

5.4 Workshop directors should endeavour to ensure that there is a wide spread of participants from all institutions. No more than two participants should be included from one institution.

5.5 Directors are expected to go beyond their own established contacts in the field, as such networks are often confined to either Northern or Southern Europe. Care should therefore be taken to publicise arrangements in the other area.

5.6 In order to ensure that the aim of the workshop is attained — namely the active participation and collaboration of political scientists of all levels — directors should bear in mind that anyone from a postgraduate student and above, working in the field of the workshop, is entitled to apply.

5.7 SIZE OF WORKSHOP: workshops shall not normally include more than 15 participants and must never include more than 20.

5.8 LIST OF PARTICIPANTS: workshop directors should communicate the list of names and addresses of participants with titles of their papers to: participants in their workshop; the Chairman of the Workshop Committee; the Director of the Joint Sessions and the Central Services by *15 January.*

6. PROGRAMME OF WORKSHOP

6.1 A workshop should be planned to last eight sessions (each session being a morning or afternoon). The timing of each workshop will be such that participants will be given the opportunity to attend one meeting of another workshop of their choice. Sessions when each workshop should not meet are designated by the Central Services.

6.2 A detailed programme of the workshop meetings should be sent by *1 March* to all participants in the workshop, the Chairman of the Workshop Committee, the Director of the Joint Sessions and the Central Services.

7. DUPLICATION AND CIRCULATION OF PAPERS

7.1 Each participant is responsible for the duplication of his paper or research document and its circulation. These should be circulated before *1 March*. A copy of each paper or research document, which should be printed on A4 paper, must be sent to each participant in the workshop and the Director of the Joint Sessions. *Five* copies should also be sent to the Central Services.

7.2 Expenses may not be reimbursed to participants until papers have been received by the Central Services of the ECPR.

7.3 Provided participants express no objection, their papers will be made available to any interested members of the profession on request at a price covering the cost of duplication and postage.

8. CONDUCT OF WORKSHOP

This is a particularly important point, as the quality of discussions and the satisfaction of participants with the proceedings depend largely on the arrangements for meetings. The following points should be strictly observed:

8.1 PROCEEDINGS: workshop directors are requested to appoint from among their participants a 'secretary' for each workshop meeting, to summarise the main points of the discussion. These summaries will be published in the ECPR News Circular.

8.2 At the first session, the Directors should take steps to identify persons whose English is likely to inhibit their participation in and understanding of the proceedings. They should take care in the seating of such participants to ensure that they are placed next to someone who can help them (preferably someone speaking their language). Directors should also give them every opportunity to speak or ask questions during the sessions, and check with them throughout that they are following the discussion.

8.3 Presentations should not simply be made verbally, but accompanied by written summaries of important points on the blackboard. Participants should also be encouraged to bring short, printed summaries of their paper as well as the paper itself.

8.4 If the Director is not himself to act as Chairman for each session, he should ensure that persons who do are familiar with the points 8.1 to 8.3 above.

8.5 All participants are expected to attend all eight sessions of the workshop.

C Administrative and Financial Arrangements

The detailed administrative responsibility for the Joint Sessions lies with the host institutions, which shall appoint an organising committee for this purpose.

9. ACCOMMODATION

Participants will receive information relating to accommodation and other arrangements for their stay from the host institution.

10. FINANCE

10.1 Individual participants are expected to endeavour to raise finance for both travel and accommodation from sources in their own country. Workshop directors should always make an application to an appropriate research Council or Federation for support for the workshop as a whole. Only on evidence that such an application has been made can the ECPR proceed to provide financial support for the workshop.

10.2 In the event that they are unable to raise such finance, the ECPR may make a contribution towards the expenses of participants from ECPR member institutions. Requests and queries relating to finance should be addressed directly to the Central Services of the ECPR. Any contributions made by the ECPR will in no case constitute more than half of the travel costs calculated on the basis of:

a) 2nd-class train fare for participants located less than 1,000 kms from the location of the Joint Sessions or petrol costs of a car, *whichever is the cheaper.*

b) Economy air fare for participants located at 1,000 kms or more from the host institution. Participants in this category will be expected to take advantage of cheap flights (economy, minimum stay or night flights) which may be available.

10.3 A per diem grant towards the cost of the accommodation, may also be made.

10.4 Official representatives should write to the Executive Director by *15 February* stating the number of participants attending the Joint Sessions from their institution and making a case for a claim towards their expenses. The mode of transport and approximate cost should be stated at this time. Financial support cannot be guaranteed for participants of member institutions who fail to do this.

10.5 The ECPR will provide financial support for no more than 2 participants from one institution attending the same workshop.

10.6 Any contribution from the ECPR will be sent *after* the Joint Sessions to the official representative, and *on condition of the effective participation* of the members of the institute/department. Participants wishing to receive an advance should ask their home institution.

10.7 NON-ECPR PARTICIPANTS

The ECPR is unable to make any financial contribution towards the expenses of non-ECPR participants.

10.8 WORKSHOP DIRECTORS

Workshop directors are reimbursed in full for their accommodation and travel expenses within Europe. Where there are co-directors, only one will have total expenses reimbursed.

11. FEES

11.1 All non-ECPR participants will be required to pay a fee of £35. It is the responsibility of workshop directors to collect these fees from non-member participants and forward them to the ECPR *before* the Joint Sessions.

12. PLANNING SESSIONS

Alongside workshops, Joint Sessions may include planning sessions. The principles of organisation are the same as those of workshops, except that the number of participants is expected to be smaller and, *with the permission of the Workshop Committee,* they may last only 3 or 4 days.

II SINGLE WORKSHOPS

The ECPR has sponsored single workshops meeting outside the framework of the Joint Sessions.

Single workshops may be held on specific topics in any field of political science, to enable scholars to benefit from the latest developments taking place in this field. They are also designed to serve the special interests of

different regions within the Consortium, and may operate in whatever language or languages seem most appropriate to the director.

Workshops of this kind are however expensive, and whilst the ECPR is willing to offer general sponsorship and some degree of financial support, it is essential that local sources of finance are explored.

Organisation of Single Workshops

1. Any scholar who is a member of an institution belonging to the ECPR is entitled to propose to the Workshop Committee the holding of a workshop in his institution. This proposal is made in the form of a short document sent to the Chairman of the Workshop Committee (currently Professor Maurice Vile of the University of Kent) stating the general purpose and the main themes of the workshop. The document should also include a statement indicating that the institution supports the proposal and is willing to undertake the necessary administrative commitments.

2. Once the decision to hold a single workshop at a member institution has been approved and a director of the workshops has been appointed by the Workshop Committee, the Chairman of the Workshop Committee or the Executive Director is entrusted with the detailed negotiations with the director of the workshop. He ensures in particular that all member institutions receive full information well in advance and are given the opportunity to propose names of participants. He makes final decisions on suggestions made by the workshop director about potential participants from institutions not belonging to the ECPR.

3. Workshop directors are responsible for both the academic and the administrative organisation of the workshop.

4. Workshop directors prepare the detailed programme of the workshop and select participants on the basis of the following principles:
   a) Participants must currently be conducting research in the field of the workshop and should normally prepare a paper to be discussed during the session;
   b) the number of participants should normally be 20 and in no case exceed 25;
   c) the final list of participants is drawn up at least three months before the workshop is to take place and is communicated to participants, to the Chairman of the Workshop Committee and

to the Central Services, together with a detailed programme of the session;

d) participants are responsible for the duplication and circulation of their papers, which are sent to all participants, to the Chairman of the Workshop Committee and to the Central Services of the ECPR by a deadline set by the workshop director;

e) workshops normally last for about one working week.

5. Workshop directors ensure that participants receive well in advance a note relating to accommodation and other arrangements. Expenses are reimbursed to participants from ECPR member institutions, *after the workshop* and within the limits of the sum allocated to the workshop director by the ECPR. Reimbursement is conditional on the director's being satisfied that participants have not received support from their own institution or from other sources.

6. The workshop director should appoint a 'secretary' to take notes on the proceedings of the workshop, which can then be forwarded to the Central Services in the form of a report for circulation to the Workshop Committee and publication in the ECPR News Circular.

III CO-SPONSORED WORKSHOPS

The ECPR has jointly sponsored workshops with the Council for European Studies, the Canadian Political Science Association and the International Political Science Association.

Proposals for new joint ventures are always welcome. Conditions for these workshops are the same as for both single workshops and workshops held in the context of the Joint Sessions, except that participation is divided between ECPR members and representatives of the sponsoring organisation.

IV STANDING GROUPS

The experience of the various workshops which have been held by the ECPR and in particular the experience gained at the Joint Sessions of Workshops, indicated that there was still a need for providing a means of increasing collaboration between scholars specialising in the same field. Quite often workshop sessions end with promises of exchanges of papers; in most cases, however, few participants hear from others at the workshop. It seemed imperative therefore for the ECPR to provide some flexible and informal structure which aimed at ensuring that a closer form of exchange took place in the future between specialists in the same field.

Accordingly, the Executive Committee approved the setting up of Standing Groups. Proposals outlining the area of the standing group, its projected activities and the names of associating colleagues representing member institutions in five countries, should be sent to the Central Services for consideration by the Workshop Committee.

These groups are led by a small Steering Committee constituted quite informally; the groups themselves are quite open: any specialist in a particular field may ask to be on the mailing list of the group. It is assumed that the groups may wish to issue circulars from time to time to their members in order to draw attention to activities which might interest them; it is also hoped that papers or research documents will be widely but informally circulated among members of the group.

As the group develops, it is assumed that they will wish, from time to time, to sponsor meetings and conferences: some of these could take place within the framework of the ECPR Joint Sessions; but others might also take place outside the specific framework of the ECPR and be held, for instance, in conjunction with other organisations.

The ECPR may make a small grant towards the running costs of a Standing Group. The Directors of Standing Groups are expected to make an annual report to the Workshop Committee, before consideration can be made to extend funding.

Current Standing Groups include *Local Politics* directed by Ken Newton of the University of Dundee, *China and East Asia* organised by Jürgen Domes of the University of Saarbrücken, *Southern European Politics*, formed by colleagues at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona with sponsorship from Jaume Bofill Foundation, and *Soviet and East European Politics*, co-ordinated by Alex Pravda of Reading University.

V RESEARCH PROGRAMME

The first major research initiative of the ECPR took place in 1975, when a proposal was submitted to the Stiftung Volkswagenwerk for finance to establish a programme of policy-oriented research. The Stiftung responded favourably to the first approach and asked for detailed proposals for a first set of project groups. Four such proposals were submitted and approved by Volkswagen in the summer of 1976.

The projects thereby set up were:

Problems of European Urban Government
Director: Ken Newton, University of Dundee

Recent Changes in European Party Systems
Directors: Hans Daalder, University of Leiden and Rudolf Wildenmann, University of Mannheim

International Developments, Regional Policies and Territorial Identities in Western Europe
Directors: Stein Rokkan and Derek Urwin, University of Bergen

Models of Governing: The Problem of Overload
Director: Richard Rose, University of Strathclyde

These projects have drawn together existing theory, methods and data and applied them in a meaningful way to some of the major problems facing advanced western industrial societies today. The groups have thus contributed a broader perspective to problems hitherto treated only on a national basis.

In 1980 the first volumes to emerge from these four projects were published in the Sage Research Series in European Politics, a new monograph series sponsored by the ECPR. All but one of the books stemming from these projects have now been published.

A logical consequence to the four Volkswagen projects was the Joint Sessions of Research Groups which took place in September 1978 at the University of Mannheim. As with the Standing Groups, these sessions were in part a response to the feeling that workshops should not simply be an end in themselves, but should in some cases provide the starting point for longer-term collaboration. Participants at the Grenoble Joint Sessions were therefore asked to consider possible collaborative research topics and to present proposals to the Research Board. As a result of the subsequent meeting at Mannheim three projects emerged:

Party Differences and Public Policy
Director: Frank Castles, Open University

The Intercorporate Structure
Director: Frans Stokman, University of Groningen

Regulative Policy and National Administrative Cultures
Director: Renate Mayntz, University of Cologne

Research Sessions were again held in 1979, at the University of Essex and gave rise to four projects:

Trade Unionists Confront Economic Crisis
Director: Georges Couffignal, University of Grenoble

The Structure and Activities of the Main Interest Groups and their Relations with the European-level Interest Groups
Director: Emil Kirchner, University of Essex

The Analysis of Party Manifestos and Platforms
Directors: Ian Budge, University of Essex and David Robertson, University of Oxford

Violence and Social Change
Director: Keith Webb, City University

Despite limited finance, these projects have made good progress and some publications have already emerged. Since 1979, the ECPR has held a research meeting at Siedlesbrunn, West Germany in 1980, and research sessions in 1981 and 82 at the Universities of Essex and Nijmegen. Current projects include *The Political Economy of Industrial Policy, Nuclear Policy, Media Policy* and *Over-Time Analysis.*

Anyone interested in submitting a research proposal for possible ECPR support, or in receiving further information about the ECPR's research activities, should contact the Chairman of the Research Board, Professor Ken Newton, at the Department of Political Science, University of Dundee, Dundee DD1 4HN, Scotland.

VI SUMMER SCHOOLS

The ECPR currently sponsors three summer schools, in Essex, Grenoble and Florence.

The ECPR Summer School in Social Data Science Analysis, held at the University of Essex and now in its thirteenth year (1983), is designed to develop the training of political scientists in various aspects of statistical, mathematical, and other technical skills which are increasingly required in modern research.

However, the range in participants' basic skills varies appreciably and it is therefore possible for social scientists from a wide variety of backgrounds and prior training in mathematics and statistics to attend the summer school profitably.

In 1982, 113 participants of whom 86 were from ECPR institutions attended the summer school.

Since 1975, participants have been able to register for a post-graduate diploma in Social Science Data Analysis, leading to an M.A. of the same title from the University of Essex.

Member institutions are entitled to send qualified participants to the Essex Summer School; tuition fees are waived for up to three participants from each member institution; travel and local expenses of up to two participants from each member institution may also be refunded in part, provided that no alternative funds are available to these participants.

Information relating to the ECPR Summer School at Essex can be obtained by writing to The Organising Secretary, ECPR Summer School, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, England.

Since 1978, the ECPR has sponsored a further Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, held in French, at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique at Grenoble.

The Summer School comprised initially three weeks' training in basic mathematics and computing and was designed for students without any prior mathematical training.

However, from 1983 more advanced courses will be available and it is intended that Grenoble should move closer to the format of the Essex Summer School.

Further information about the Grenoble Summer School can be obtained from the Director, M. F. Bon, B.D.S.P., Université des Sciences Sociales de Grenoble, Domaine Universitaire, B.P. 34, 38401 Saint Martin d'Heres, France.

For the past four years a Summer School on Comparative European Politics has been held at the European University Institute, Florence. This Summer School aims to promote the comparative understanding of European

political experience. An advanced programme of lectures and seminars by leading international specialists is directed to a select group of university lecturers and research workers from countries throughout Europe. It is expected that a short programme of intensive lectures and seminars will act as a catalyst for future research and teaching in European universities.

The 1982 Summer School which was attended by 26 participants, took as its major subject, 'The Future of Party Government'.

Further information on this Summer School may be obtained from: The Organising Secretary, Summer School on Comparative European Politics, European University Institute, Badia Fiesolana, Via dei Roccettini, 5, I-50016 San Domenico di Fiesole, Firenze, Italy.

RULES FOR THE SUBMISSION OF SUMMER SCHOOL PROPOSALS

To be considered by the Executive Committee, the submission of a proposal to hold a summer school shall:

1. be made to the Executive Director in time for it to be presented to the Executive Committee at its annual meeting in the year prior to the year of the summer school*

2. state the proposed length of the summer school, the topics to be covered and the level at which they shall be covered, the proposed arrangements for lecturing, tuition and supervision of participants, and the number of participants and their qualifications

3. list the staff who might be engaged in such a summer school, together with the position and qualifications of such staff

4. give the name of the proposed Director of the school

5. describe in detail the computing, library and duplicating facilities of the institution, including the number and qualifications of programmers available for service during the summer school

6. give evidence of the existence of board and lodging, and other amenities, at or near the institution

7. include a statement undertaking:
   a) to present a more detailed document to the Executive Director by the following July on the proposed summer school;

*the Executive Committee normally meets in March or April during the Joint Sessions.

b) to present a budget detailing the teaching and administrative costs as well as any outside grants which might be forthcoming to cover part of the costs.

VII DATA INFORMATION SERVICE

All the activities of the ECPR are designed in one way or another to step up the flow of information across countries and across institutions. The Summer Schools help to spread information about techniques, the workshops about current projects, and the European Journal of Political Research about theories, models and empirical findings. But political research also generates constantly increasing bodies of basic information; information about structures of governance, about processes of decision-making, about key factors, and about legislative and administrative outcomes. Large stores of such data have been accumulating in all the countries of western Europe and it is essential for the future of the profession that information about such efforts of data production and data organisation be made easily accessible across all centres of teaching and research. The service therefore plays the role of an information clearing house.

To this end the Service has built up a classification system for 'data documents': questionnaires, code books, collections of tables, and research reports. These files of information provide the basis for publication of a quarterly Newsletter: *European Political Data*.

European Political Data is published jointly by the ECPR and the Norwegian Social Sciences Data Services, at the University of Bergen. Apart from an Editorial Board comprised of representatives from the NSD and the University of Bergen, the Newsletter is serviced by an International Editorial Board of seventeen members.*

The EPD Newsletter offers information on developments in two fields: the generation of systematised data sets for political research, and the production and diffusion of computer programmes and other software facilities for political scientists.

The Data section of the Newsletter offers information about files and projects in the following areas which are of immediate interest in comparative political research:

- Cross-national aggregate statistics
- Data by locality or region
- Data on organisations
- Elite recruitment data
- Decision records data: roll calls, budgets
- Elite surveys
- Mass surveys
- Machine-readable texts

The primary aim of the Data Information Service is to help political

*see Appendix A

scientists in their efforts to find materials for their research. The work of the Service includes the collection and systematisation of information on machine-readable materials for research: data sets organised for retrieval and/or analysis via computers, as well as the traditional forms of data presentation: printed catalogues, reference volumes, collections of tables and graphs. Whilst publication of the EPD Newsletter makes up the major service and activity of the DIS, it also responds to inquiries about data sets, data archives, publications and computer programmes of various kinds.

The ECPR covers only part of the total cost of the Service: the current allocations are calculated to cover the cost of subscriptions to the EPD for all member institutions, and 2000 ECU's are provided for the travel expenses of the DIS staff.

For further information on the DIS, please write to: Data Information Service, The Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Hans Holmboesgate 22, N-5014 Bergen Univ., Norway.

VIII PUBLICATIONS

EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL RESEARCH*

The European Journal of Political Research is the official journal of the ECPR. The principal objective of the Journal is to foster communication and collaboration among European political scientists and to disseminate research findings and information about ongoing research across national and linguistic boundaries in Europe.

The journal publishes articles — either original articles or English translations of articles which have appeared elsewhere — by political scientists and other scholars engaged in political research, and who are affiliated to European institutions of higher learning. Preference is given to articles of a broadly theoretical or comparative nature. The work of scholars not affiliated to European institutions may also be published if it constitutes part of a collective enterprise with European scholars, such as a workshop sponsored by the Consortium, or if it deals with European comparative politics and international relations. Periodically, one edition is produced as a special issue, devoted to a single area, such as that of March 1980 on the first European Elections (Vol.8, No.1).

Since March 1981, in addition to the normal complement of articles, the Journal has carried a review section. This has concentrated on:

— critiques of various aspects of political science methodology and theory

— overviews of recent developments in the various fields of the discipline

— reports on current research projects and their comparative implications (in particular reports on cross-national projects)

— extended critical book reviews. Priority will be given to surveys of a group of publications that cover a particular subject, and above all to such extended reviews that discuss books published in languages other than English.

The Consortium invites scholars engaged in political research to submit their work for publication in the Journal. Further information may be obtained from the Editors:

Derek Urwin
Department of Politics
University of Warwick
Coventry CV4 7AL
England

Mogens Pedersen
Institute of Social Science
Odense University
Campusvej 55
DK 5230 Odense M
Denmark

*A list of members of the Editorial Board of the EJPR is contained in Appendix A.

DIRECTORY OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

The fourth edition of the Directory will be published in late 1983. It will contain approximately 3,000 entries, each offering the following information: full name and address; date of birth and nationality; degrees awarded; title of doctoral thesis; details of past appointments; current affiliations and position; major publications, including both books and periodical articles, and fields of interest and research areas. An index by subject fields and area focus is included, and use of the Directory should facilitate close collaboration between political scientists as well as being an invaluable reference work for all who are interested in, or need access to, information on scholars and research topics.

SAGE MODERN POLITICS SERIES

The ECPR sponsors a series of volumes based on papers produced at the Joint Sessions of Workshops. The object of the series is to have a relatively large print run for books of fairly general appeal, which may be adopted as textbooks on some courses. The first books were published in 1978.

SAGE RESEARCH SERIES IN EUROPEAN POLITICS

This monograph series, which was launched in 1980, emerged from the ECPR Research Groups. The series focuses on the major problems facing advanced western industrial societies today.

EUROPEAN POLITICAL DATA NEWSLETTER

The European Political Data Newsletter is published jointly by the ECPR Data Information Service (DIS), and the Norwegian Social Science Data Service (NSD).

The Newsletter is the only systematic review of data of all kinds being produced and stored in Western Europe. It combines a computer section with notes on the latest alogarithms and methods with a data section which reports on existing archival services in and beyond Europe. This section covers also specific projects of data generation and data organisation, data sources of potential interest, computer software problems, news and development of software packages, as well as technical questions of data transmission and data management. (See Chapter VII for further information on *European Political Data*.)

EPD is published quarterly in March, June, October and December.

ECPR NEWS CIRCULAR

The News Circular is mailed free of charge three times a year in March, June and November to individuals at member institutions of the ECPR.

Each circular contains up-to-date information on ECPR members and activities, as well as a general section providing a variety of information on international conferences and meetings, and advertising fellowships and vacant university posts. The June issue also contains an appendix listing papers presented at the Joint Sessions which are held in March or April each year.

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN EUROPE

This publication contains information on all the ECPR member institutions, including courses offered, the research interests of departments and lists of staff members detailing their specialist areas. The aim of *Political Science in Europe* is to make those in the profession more aware of what is going on in other European departments, and to enable them to make a preliminary choice of institutions at which they would like to work or study, or to discover departments with which they share common interests.

INDEX OF WORKSHOP PAPERS

The Index of Workshop Papers covering the years 1973-79 is a response to the need to catalogue and systematise the growing number of papers produced at the increasingly popular Joint Sessions. The Index is cross-referenced by author and subject and provides a valuable reference work and useful companion to the Directory of European Political Scientists.

PROBLEMI DI SCIENZA POLITICA

This is an annual publication, edited by the Centro Studi di Scienza Politica, 'Paolo Farneti'. It aims to make the most important contributions on specific subjects of international political science so far unpublished in Italy, available to scholars, students and also to non-specialists. The first number, which appeared in 1982 deals with party systems, whilst the subject of the second issue will be political violence.

SUMMER SCHOOL PUBLICATIONS

The ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis, at Essex, produces a series of monographs based on the courses taught. Five of these monographs have also been incorporated in a book, *Data Analysis and the Social Sciences,* published in 1983.

In 1980 a special issue of Quality and Quantity (Vol.14, No.1), entitled *Advances in Quantitative Analysis*, was published for the ECPR. This volume of ten specially commissioned papers from an international group of specialists offers:

— up-to-date reviews of recent developments in many areas of quantitative analysis

— comprehensive reviews of recent literature

— many worked examples illustrating new techniques

— a variety of perspectives from authors drawn from a number of social science disciplines including politics, sociology, psychology, economics and statistics.

The volume offers a complete supplementary course for those who wish to keep in touch with methodological developments and an excellent teaching aid for instructors in quantitative methodology in the social sciences. Each of the papers reviews and exemplifies principal developments in the last decade in a particular area of quantitative social science methodology.

A brochure detailing courses available at the Essex Summer School is available annually in February, free of charge.

Forthcoming:

In 1983, the Summer School will be publishing *Collected Reading Lists from the ECPR Summer Schools,* based on courses taught both in Essex and Grenoble.

A catalogue of ECPR publications, providing further information and giving details of cost and the placing of orders is available from the Central Services of the ECPR, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ, England.*

*A list of publications is contained in Appendix A.

IX STAFF AND STUDENT MOBILITY

The ECPR has been most concerned to increase the mobility of staff and students from one department to another, and in particular from one country to another. This clearly stems directly from the overall function of the Consortium, which is to ensure that political scientists in Europe form part of a united profession.

GRANTS FOR SHORT VISITS ABROAD

Th ECPR offers a limited number of grants, normally of 500 European Currency Units each, to political science departments to enable them to invite visitors for short periods of about two weeks. Priority is given to those younger members of the profession who do not already have access to funds for the purpose of scholarly exchange. The aim of the visit may be to establish contact with researchers working in the same field; to explore the possibilities for joint research; to use special data or library facilities, or to give lectures or seminars in the host department. Information on Exchange and Mobility grants is circulated to Official Representatives in January each year. Departments are asked to apply by March 1st.

TWINNING BETWEEN DEPARTMENTS

The ECPR has long been concerned with the lack of formal or informal links which exist between universities in different countries and has tried to encourage twinning agreements between member departments. Links exist between the universities of Bergen and Strathclyde; Geneva and Paris 1; Cardiff and Saarbrücken; Essex and Aarhus and Aberdeen and Oslo. The department of political science at Leiden University has entered into a formal tripartite arrangement with the University of Odense and the Catholic University of Louvain, to co-operate on research and staff and student exchanges.

X TRAINING IN THE ECPR

The ECPR is committed to the improvement of training in political science. Its major activity in this field is the sponsorship of two summer schools in Social Science Data Analysis; one held annually at the University of Essex, and the other, in French, at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Grenoble. (See Chapter VI for further information on the Summer School programmes.)

DOCTORAL SEMINARS

In 1978, the Consortium held a doctoral seminar at Louvain-la-Neuve on *Consistency and Inconsistency of the Mass European Electorate in Relation to the Problems of European Integration.*

A further seminar on Eurobarometers will be held in 1983. These seminars are open to doctoral students in the relatively early stages of development of their theses.

Proposals for doctoral seminars should be sent to the ECPR Central Services.

APPENDIX A ECPR Sub-Committees

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Dr McKay, as Executive Director, and Professor Wildenmann, as Chairman of the ECPR, are *ex officio* members of all the above committees. Professor Newton, as Chairman of the Research Board, is an *ex officio* member of the Workshop Committee, while Professor Vile, as Chairman of the Workshop Committee, sits *ex officio* on the Research Board. Dr McKay and Professors Newton and Vile also have *ex officio* seats on the Finance Committee.

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June 1983 — 111 members

APPENDIX C Ordering of Publications

European Journal of Political Research
Order from: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, PO Box 211, 1000 AE, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Advances in Quantitative Analysis
Order from: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, PO Box 211, 1000 AE, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

Data Analysis and the Social Sciences
Order from: Frances Pinter Ltd., 5 Dryden Street, London WC2E 9NW, England.

Directory of European Political Scientists
Order from: K.G. Saur Verlag, Pössenbacherstrasse 2b, Postfach 71 10 09, D-8000 München 71, Federal Republic of Germany.
or
Hans Zell Publishers, PO Box 56, Oxford OX1 3EL, England.

Sage Modern Politics Series
Order from: Sage Publications Ltd., 28 Banner Street, London EC1Y 8QE.

Sage Research Series in European Politics
Order from: Sage Publications Ltd., 28 Banner Street, London EC1Y 8QE.

European Political Data Newsletter
Order from: EPD Newsletter, Norwegian Social Science Data Services, Hans Holmboesgt. 22, N-5000 Bergen University, Norway.

Problemi di Scienza Politica
Order from: Franco Angeli, Casella postale 4294, Milano, Italy.

The following publications may all be ordered from the Central Services of the ECPR:
ECPR News Circular
Political Science in Europe
Index of Workshop Papers 1973-79
Summer School Monographs
Summer School Brochure
Papers presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops from 1973-83

A catalogue of ECPR publications, providing further information and giving details as to current costs, is available from the Central Services of the ECPR, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester Essex CO4 3SQ, England.

european consortium for political research

Programme of the
ecpr Joint Sessions
of Workshops

to be held at the

INSTITUT CATOLIC D'ESTUDIS SOCIALS
BARCELONA, SPAIN

25–30 March 1985

hosted by the

AUTONOMOUS UNIVERSITY, BARCELONA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF BARCELONA, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE JAUME BOFILL FOUNDATION AND THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

ORGANISING COMMITTEE:
Joan Botella
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Jordi Porta
Eugènia Salvador
Joan Subirats
Josep M. Vallès
Pere Vilanova

WORKSHOPS

MODELS IN THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Directors: **Frank Aarebrot, University of Bergen**
(Institute of Comparative Politics, Christiesgate 15, N-5014 Bergen U, Norway)
Jeremy Mitchell, The Open University
(Faculty of Social Sciences, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, England)

Comparison in political science takes place in several distinct ways: between whole systems, between sub-systems within systems, and between sub-systems across systems – as well as at the same or across different points in time. The aim of this workshop is to develop a more consistent set of concepts in order to integrate these different modes of comparison. Contributions should be theoretically grounded empirical studies which relate to the problem of cross-system or cross-level analysis.

THE STABILITY AND INSTABILITY OF DEMOCRACIES

Director: **Frank Bealey, University of Aberdeen**
(Department of Politics, Edward Wright Building, Old Aberdeen AB9 2UB, Scotland)

The workshop's theme is the concept of 'stable democracy'. As it is at least arguable that democracy is inherently unstable the term may appear to be paradoxical. The purpose of the workshop is to attempt to clarify the concept, both by analysis and by empirical research. This will involve consideration of those forces and factors which weaken democracy and those which strengthen it. Hence, in practice, crises of democracy may need to be investigated.

TERRITORIAL VOTING PATTERNS AS A LASTING PHENOMENON

Directors: **Einar Berntzen, University of Bergen**
(Institute of Comparative Politics, Christiesgate 15, N-5014 Bergen U, Norway)
Eugènia Salvador, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Stable territorial structures in the geographical distribution of voting are encountered in nearly all western democracies regardless of political regime. This continuity in geographical terms does not imply immobility in social cleavages, though it is usually possible to detect a few basic dimensions which account for most of the variability of the vote. The main aim of the workshop is to analyse the patterns of evolution of various western political systems, laying special stress on hypotheses referring to the variation and/or stability of particular geographical voting configurations, with a view to establishing a generic frame of reference for cross-national comparison.

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

Director: **Finn Bruun, University of Aarhus**
(Institute of Political Science, DK 8000 Aarhus C, Denmark)

During recent years the management of big cities has become increasingly complex due to major demographic, socio-economic and politico-administrative changes. It is the aim of the workshop to map and address these constraints on metropolitan government. The relations between cities, suburbs and rural areas are crucial to an understanding of the social composition of cities and service delivery and finance. Also the questions of size and democracy as well as intergovernmental relations are of the utmost importance. Case studies and theoretical papers are invited.

JUSTICE AND POLITICS

Director: **Giuseppe Di Federico, Università di Bologna**
(Istituto Politico-Amministrativo, Via Giuseppe Petroni 33, 40126 Bologna, Italy)

The great majority of liberal-democratic regimes has been characterised by an increase in the political significance of the judicial system. The general theme of the workshop is concerned with how this Great Transformation has occurred in different countries. Specific topics will be: a) changes in the recruitment of judicial personnel and their effects on its social background, cultural and professional characteristics; b) the emerging of new demands stressing a more purposive (i.e. result-oriented) justice; c) the ways traditional judicial structures are coping with the new tasks induced by a changing environment; d) the evolving balance of power between the judiciary and other political institutions.

INSIDE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Directors: **Meindert Fennema, Universiteit van Amsterdam**
(Subfaculteit der Algemene Politieke en Sociale Wetenschappen, Grimburgwal 10, gebouw 5, 1012 GA Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
Jesus Rodès, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
(Departament de Ciencia Politica, Bellaterra, Barcelona, Spain)

The workshop will concentrate on internal developments of Western European communist parties after 1968. The ideological, organisational and electoral impact of the student- feminist- and other social movements will be the main theme. Because of the comparative perspective, it is our aim to have a paper on each communist party in Western Europe, which should be written according to a checklist which will be provided by the directors.

THE POLITICS OF HEALTH

Director: **Giorgio Freddi, Università di Bologna**
(Istituto Politico-Amministrativo, Via Giuseppe Petroni 33, 40126 Bologna, Italy)

A drastic redistribution of decisional power takes place wherever governments intervene in the delivery of medical services. Where once the medical profession enjoyed a largely unlimited power in defining public needs and in meeting them, now a plurality of new actors share that power (be they political, bureaucratic or voluntary associations). This workshop is concerned with a comparative analysis of the relationships among such actors and with how they affect both the balance of decisional power and the performance of health systems.

CANDIDATE SELECTION IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Directors: **Michael Gallagher and Michael Marsh, University of Dublin**
(Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Dublin 2, Ireland)

Candidate selection is a key stage in the recruitment of political élites and an important indicator of the location of power within political parties. The workshop seeks to examine the candidate selection process comparatively, and to address two central questions. First, what causes variations in the process, and in particular in the control exercised over it by central as opposed to local organisations? Second, what consequences do these variations have on the recruitment process?

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

Directors: **Alain Garrigou and Bernard Lacroix, Université de Bordeaux 1**
(Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Bordeaux BP 101, 33405 Talence Cedex, France)

The workshop is concerned with the study of contemporary associationism in Western democracies for the purpose of understanding the rising and reappearing conditions of quite different kinds of associations as well as their social and political uses. Why do associations arise at very special moments? How do they succeed or become dormant? What resources do they offer to political (national or local) machines? How do they benefit those who make use of them? Contributions either related to case studies or to elaborate the preceding general issues are welcome.

POLICY EFFECTS: THEORIES, METHODS AND APPLICATIONS IN EVALUATION RESEARCH

Directors: **Andries Hoogerwerf, University of Technology Twente**
(Department of Public Administration, PO Box 217, Enschede 7500 AE, The Netherlands)
Geoffrey Roberts, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology
(Department of European Studies, Sackville Street, Manchester M60 1QD, England)

The study of 'policy effects' is an increasingly-important theme in policy analysis. This workshop will focus upon: theoretical problems associated with the definition and measurement of policy effects; methods employed for identification of policy effects and their assessment in relation to policy goals; analysis of policy effects, including the monitoring of effects over time. Papers based on comparative or case-study empirical research at any level of governmental structure will be welcome, as will papers addressing theoretical problems in the field of policy evaluation.

STYLES OF ECONOMIC POLICY AND WAYS OUT OF ECONOMIC CRISIS

Directors: **Hans Keman, Universiteit van Amsterdam**
(Grimburgwal 10, gebouw 5, 1012 GA Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
Heikki Paloheimo, University of Turku
(Department of Political Science, Kasarminkatu 6/24, 20500 Turku 50, Finland)

This workshop will examine the causes of the contemporary economic crisis, causes of low economic growth, unemployment and inflation. Both political and economic causes will be analysed as well as national and international causes. The main focus will be on different styles of economic policy and their economic outcomes as well as political preconditions.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE THIRD WORLD: A STUDY OF STRATEGIES AND REPRESENTATIONS

Director: **Zaki Laïdi, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques**
(CERI, 4 rue de Chevreuse, 75006 Paris, France)

The dynamics of relations between the USSR and the Third World will be dealt with from a double perspective; that of inter-state relations which will allow us to analyse the conditions under which articulation between the diplomatic-strategic objectives of the Soviet Union and those of the Third World take place; and that of representations of the Soviet Union as a preconceived model of national construction.

THE 1984 DIRECT ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Director: **Juliet Lodge, University of Hull**
(Department of Politics, Hull HU6 7RX, England)

The workshop will examine the 1984 direct elections to the European Parliament from the national, supranational and transnational perspectives. Both the campaign and the results will be scrutinised with reference to voter mobilisation, the various levels of party activity, public opinion, the role of the media, and electoral issues. The profile of the new Parliament and its future will be assessed. Comparative and cross-national papers are welcome.

CENTRE–PERIPHERY STRUCTURES AND THE REVIVAL OF PERIPHERAL NATIONALISM IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Directors: **Anna Melich, Université de Genève**
(Department of Political Science, Promenade des Bastions, 1211 Genève 4, Switzerland)
Daniel Seiler, Université de Lausanne
(Institut de Sciences Politiques, Rue de l'Université 5, 1005 Lausanne, Switzerland)

There is a worldwide activism of autonomist movements led by national minorities. What are the factors and conditions responsible for political mobilisation based on ethnic, linguistic and territorial senses of identity? The group intends to cover different levels of minority problems concerning either the formation of national identity, or the movements and autonomist parties or the centre–periphery relations. Papers should be comparative, or, if a monograph, they should draw general conclusions on periphery defence structures.

THE EEC AS AN INTERNATIONAL ACTOR: POLICY PROCESS AND INTERNATIONAL IMPACT

Director: **Jeremy Moon, University of Strathclyde**
(Department of Politics, McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow G1 1XQ, Scotland)

This workshop is intended to make some informed assessment of the nature and development of the international role of the EEC i.e. in relation to *non member* states, organisations and issues. It will be concerned with the processes of policy formation, the range of policies developed, and their international impact. It is hoped that some conclusions might be drawn as to the conditions under which policies are successfully formulated and implemented.

CONFIDENTIALITY, PRIVACY AND DATA PROTECTION

Director: **Charles D. Raab, University of Edinburgh**
(Department of Politics, 31 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9JT, Scotland)

This workshop explores issues and policies concerning confidentiality, privacy and data protection in different countries and in various fields. It deals with the development of measures to regulate practices concerning the collection, use and communication of personal data. It locates empirical studies within political theories about privacy, individual rights and public order. It also considers the related topic of governmental secrecy in aiming at an overview of information policies as an emergent field of political and governmental activity.

EXPLOITATION

Directors: **Andrew Reeve, University of Warwick**
(Department of Politics, Coventry CV4 7AL, England)
Geoff Smith, University of Lancaster
(Department of Politics, Fylde College, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YF, England)

'Exploitation.' Theme: consideration of the idea of exploitation as a critical category in social theory. Issues: (1) the historical development of the notion and (2) conceptual problems concerned with the relations between exploitation and exchange, exploitation and justice, and between exploitation and conceptions of the human agent.

BACKBENCHERS, CADRES, CONFERENCE DELEGATES: MIDDLE-LEVEL ELITES IN WESTERN POLITICAL PARTIES

Directors: **Karlheinz Reif and Oskar Niedermayer, Universität Mannheim**
(European Electoral Studies, D-6800 Mannheim 1, West Germany)

The workshop is to assemble scholars who dispose of quantitatively analysable data on party élites holding party or elective public office above the municipal level. The workshop will critically examine the actual and potential contribution of such data to a theoretical analysis of the structure and role of middle-level party élites across various types of parties, party systems and national as well as transnational political cultures.

CORPORATISM IN MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE

Director: **Carlota Solé, Universidad de Barcelona**
(Departamento de Sociologia, Facultad de Ciencias Economicas, Barcelona, Spain)

Mediterranean European countries like France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, provide different examples of neocorporatist arrangements and political

practices, at specific and different levels and stages of development. They can be examined as compared to other countries, like Austria and the Scandinavian countries with a long corporatist tradition. Historical, social and economic, as well as political differences might account for the difficulties and problems in the implementation of corporatist politics in those countries the workshop will analyse.

SOCIALIST GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE

Director: **Jordi Solé Tura, Universidad de Barcelona**
(Catedrático de Derecho Político, Facultad de Derecho, Avenida Diagonal s/n, Barcelona-34, Spain)

The workshop will be focused on the emergence and further evolution of Socialist-ruled Governments in Southern European countries in a capitalist general context, that is to say, in France, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy, this last one as a specific case of Socialist rule without majority. The aim is to identify the national roots of these Socialist party new majorities, but also to establish analytic approaches in a comparative perspective on the new conditions of access to political power in a European area where Socialist majorities are not only recent in time but also quite different from Social-Democratic government experiences in Northern and Central Europe.

POLITICS AND BUSINESS IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Director: **Rinus van Schendelen, Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam**
(Political Science Department, Postbus 1738, 3000 DR Rotterdam, The Netherlands)

Modern society experiences increasing State-intervention in the so-called private economic sector. This 'politicisation of business' is our theme and should empirically be described, explained and forecasted for its effects on the behaviour of business and politics as well. An analytical framework for cross-national comparisons is already available from the director of the workshop.

THE POLITICS OF INDUSTRIAL SUBSIDIES

Director: **David Willis, University of Hull**
(Department of Social Administration, Cottingham Road, Hull HU6 7RX, England)

This workshop will aim to bring together theory and empirical evidence on the interaction of public and private interests in the process of subsidy-giving and -getting, viewing industrial politics entailing redistribution between the different sectors and regions as a collective-action problem. Papers are invited relating empirical evidence to theories on the behaviour of governments, the individual firm and organised producer groups, the relationship between business organisations and regulatory agencies, the interaction between interest group and electoral politics, or undertaking general analysis of the changing patterns of government support to industry in the economies of Europe, the European Community and North America.

PLANNING SESSIONS

CYCLES IN POLITICS

Director: **Wilhelm P. Bürklin, Universität Mannheim**
(Ordinariat für Politische Wissenschaft, A5, 6800 Mannheim 1, West Germany)

'While in the classical notion political conflicts seem to be best explained by their "frozen" social bases, and more recent approaches stress the evolutionary development towards post-industrial society, most recent research suggests a conceptualisation of politics in several aspects as a cyclical process. As empirical evidence could be found for long- and short-term economic cycles, electoral cycles, mobilisation cycles, and ideological value change-cycles, the planning session will discuss systematically economic, institutional, policy induced, generational and individual effects of cyclical developments and relate them conceptionally. Both theoretical and empirical contributions are welcome.'

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Director: **Jan Kooiman, Graduate School of Management, Delft**
(Poortweg 6–8, 2612 PA Delft, The Netherlands)

In recent years and in the years to come the role and function of public managers are becoming more crucial. Pressures from the outside, such as growing demands and shrinking means, make it more and more necessary that governments take a closer and more fundamental look at their own way of operation. At the same time internal pressures grow tremendously because of the need to set priorities, to fight inflexibility, to decentralise and because of demands from civil servants for participation and co-determination. These trends have put and will put an enormous load on the management capacity of governmental organisations and their managers. Papers around this theme are invited.

THE POLITICS OF OUTER SPACE

Director: **Mahindra Naraine, University of Lancaster**
(Department of Politics, Fylde College, Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YF, England)

The workshop will be concerned with the major problems associated with the rapidly increasing usage of Outer Space. It intends to explore the linkages between the many uses of space technology, the importance of space technology to the economies of states, and to explore the formulation of space policies within domestic and international constraints.

The EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM FOR POLITICAL RESEARCH was formed in 1970 by representatives of eight political science institutions in Europe. The membership of the ECPR has now grown to 120 universities and other research and teaching institutions in 16 countries in Europe.

The main aim of the Consortium is to help foster communication and collaboration between political science scholars. This is done through the ECPR's formal activities such as the Joint Sessions, the ECPR Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis and through sessions of Research Groups, which are held annually in the autumn. The ECPR also sponsors activities to encourage exchange and mobility of students and scholars throughout Europe and is committed to the improvement of training in political science.

The Consortium produces a number of publications of interest to political scientists, including the *Directory of European Political Scientists*, and *Political Science in Europe* which contains information on member institutions. *The European Journal of Political Research* which includes among its articles papers presented at Joint Sessions is published quarterly from The Netherlands. An *Index of Workshop Papers* was published in 1982. All papers presented at ECPR Joint Sessions are available on request.

The Joint Sessions of Workshops are an integral part of the activities of the ECPR, and the political science calendar in Europe. They have now taken place on twelve occasions, most recently in April 1984 in Salzburg, Austria.

The main aim of the workshops is to produce a feeling of participation and of equality of endeavour between advanced students, younger members of the profession and well-established professors. To help achieve this, the size of each workshop is restricted. Each participant is expected to be carrying out research in the field of the workshop so that he or she can present a paper or research document for discussion as well as take part in the discussion of the other papers presented. Participants may attend only one workshop or planning session and must stay for the duration of the Joint Sessions.

The Joint Sessions of Workshops which have taken place in the past twelve years have shown that they provide an exciting forum for discussion in both the formal workshop sessions and the informal setting created by the social programme provided. They combine a real sense of personal benefit from discussions of personal research interests with that of joining in a wider gathering of the emerging European political science community.

Timetable
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