

magazines, community radio stations, access cable television channels and electronic mail systems. Unlike the artisanal methods of eighteenth century printing, the modern access media are centred on collective forms of working and have the potentiality for mass distribution of their output. For example, in the cyberspace of the e-mail systems, a single global network is slowly being constructed out of a network of contributors and bulletin boards which even surpasses the centralisation carried out by the most ambitious media multinationals. In recent years, the community media has become an effective source of alternative information to the soundbite politics provided by the media corporations, as during the Gulf war. Even more importantly, this form of media has also partially realised the traditional interpretation of media freedom. But, instead of being restricted to a minority of male property-owners, the community media are used by all sections of society, including marginalised groups, as a means of expression. According to the visionaries of community media, all citizens will be able to exercise their right to participate directly in political debates within an electronic agora. Only then will the contradictions of media freedom be finally resolved.

Dr. Richard Barbrook is Visiting Lecturer in Media and Politics and Political Theory at the University of Westminster. He has recently concluded work on a book about media freedom in France in the last two centuries.

Europe, Europe...

by Richard Whitman

The debate on the implications and the lack of intelligibility of the Maastricht Treaty resonates through any contemporary discussion of the European Community. The three-pillar structure of the European Union as established by the Treaty would nevertheless appear to be

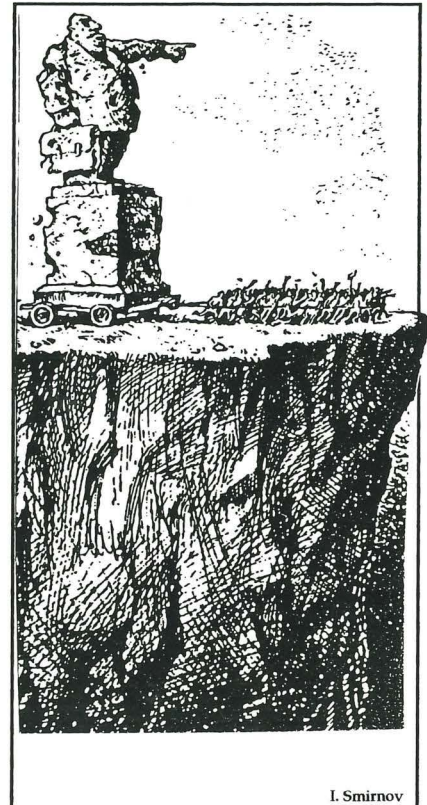
attractive as a framework for organising studies of the Community and its Member States. The importance of this structure is demonstrated if consideration is given to the international role of the Community. The dualism of both intergovernmentalism and integrationism, enshrined within the overarching framework of the European Union, presents new possibilities for the study of the EC in international relations.

Past literature on the international role of the European Community has largely drawn upon the distinction drawn by the Member States between those international responsibilities assigned to the Community and its institutions and those areas of co-operation between the Member States conducted intergovernmentally outside the institutions of the Community. In terms of this definition, the former are governed by the founding treaties of the European Community; the latter entail the co-ordination of foreign policy among the Member States of the European Community and are known as European Political Co-operation (EPC). Title V of the Maastricht Treaty establishes a putatively more far-reaching successor to EPC, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and trailers an eventual common defence policy.

The legal distinction between areas of Community competence and those of the Twelve, acting under the auspices of EPC, has been retained since the inception of the latter in 1970. However, in operational terms there has been a progressive relaxation of opposition to roles for the existing institutions of the Community in EPC. The desire of the Member States to attempt to harmonise their foreign policy derives directly from their membership of the Community. Likewise the Community represents the common avenue for enforcement of decisions within EPC; for example, dispensing aid, and economic sanctions represent Community instruments of policy implementation.

The increasing inter-

relationship between these two dimensions of the identity presented to the world by the Community and its Member States, and their recent subsumption within the European Union, make it possible to advocate a common conceptual framework for their study. The recognition that areas of Community competence and those of the CFSP have different foundations does not preclude specifying the components and



influences that are common to both. In this regard, using the European Union as a bounding framework and a systems approach as an organising metaphor for study, it may be possible to specify those factors, both internal and external to the Union, that either impact upon both areas of the international role or are germane to either one or the other. Therefore, using the European Union as a starting point for study, we can offer a model for exploring the international identity of the Community and its Member States.

Richard Whitman is a Quintin Hogg Scholar undertaking doctoral research on the International Identity of EC at CSD and Visiting Lecturer in International Relations and European Studies at the University of Westminster.

CSD is happy to welcome **Dr. Jean-Pierre Boyer** as a Visiting Research Associate. He is on sabbatical from the University of Québec in Montréal (Department of Media and Communications). Dr. Boyer obtained his Ph.D. from EHESS in Paris under the supervision of Armond Mattelart. His thesis traced the evolution of "social imagination" within the labour movement in Québec over a thirty year period, and involved the systematic analysis of almost a thousand worker's posters. He has

taught communications theory at the University of Ottawa and, from 1986, at the University of Québec in Montréal, where he coordinates an annual seminar on socio-political approaches to communication. He is also engaged in several research projects with non-institutional organisations and community-based groups. His current sabbatical project on the freedom of communications and citizenship culture, will be the topic of a CSD seminar he will give later this autumn.

*Doubt is not a pleasant mental state
but certainty is a ridiculous one.*

Voltaire

CSD SEMINAR PROGRAMME

OCTOBER

5 CSD STAFF AND STUDENT
ORIENTATION MEETING

12 PROFESSOR ALAIN TOURAINE
(CADIS - Paris)

"From the Politics of Citizenship to
the Politics of Recognition"

19 DAVID WOLFE
(The University of Toronto;
Ontario Provincial Government)

"The Wealth of Regions"

26 RICHARD BARBROOK
(University of Westminster)

"From Gutenberg to Cyberspace"

NOVEMBER

2 TOM NAIRN
(Scotland)

"The Death of the Monarchy"

9 JAMES CORNFORD
(Institute for Public Policy Research,
London)

"The Constitution of Europe"

16 DR. MARGARET BLUNDEN
(University of Westminster)
"Security in the Western Mediterranean :
France and Algeria"

23 GEOFF MULGAN
(Demos, London)

"Politics / Anti-Politics"

30 DR. TOMAŽ MASTNAK
(University of Edinburgh)

"Civic Education and Civil Destruction"

DECEMBER

7 DR. JEAN-PIERRE BOYER
(Université du Québec à Montréal)

"Freedom of Communications and a
Culture of Citizenship"

14 TIHOMIR LOZA (Sarajevo)
CORNELIA SORBAJI (Univ of Sussex)
MILOŠ VASIĆ (Vreme, Belgrade)

"The Return of War in Europe"

For further information regarding the seminars please contact CSD.