



**THE EUROPEAN UNION CENTER**  
and  
**CENTER FOR WEST EUROPEAN STUDIES**  
**NEWSLETTER**



February 2002

The University of Pittsburgh

University Center for International Studies

**SUMMER VISIT TO “HAIDER-LAND”**

**THE NEW CONTOURS OF POPULIST GOVERNMENT**

by **Professor Reinhard Heinisch, Department of Political Science and Director of International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown**

Work on an upcoming book on political change in Austria prompted me to visit “Haider-Land” last summer; specifically, the southern state of Carinthia, to which the controversial former Freedom Party (FPÖ) leader Jörg Haider retired to serve out his five-year term as elected governor.

Prior to my visit, I essentially shared the view held by many political observers that, with Haider out of the picture, the new Conservative-Freedomite government of Austria was on a course to political normalization. We attributed this fact primarily to the efforts of the Conservatives and their leader, Austria’s current Chancellor, Wolfgang Schüssel. He is widely regarded as a savvy politician, who had outmaneuvered both Haider and his former Social Democratic partners in government to form a coalition with the FPÖ. Despite international condemnation, he stayed the course, restoring his nearly collapsing party to political preeminence and domesticating the Freedomites by transforming Europe’s erstwhile xenophobic populist *enfant terrible* into an ordinary right-of-center party.

If anything, the performance and condition of the once fearsome Freedom Party invited ridicule and disbelief at what seemed unprecedented incompetence and political chaos (reflected also in painful defeats in three

state elections). Within less than a year, half of the FPÖ’s cabinet ministers had to be replaced, and a string of scandals, mishaps, and growing internal divisions suggested that the party survived only thanks to a series of political rescue operations mounted by the Conservative coalition partner.

The conventional wisdom was that the FPÖ could not cope with its new role in government and was hopelessly split between a more moderate, neoliberal wing, represented by the popular Finance Minister Karl-Heinz Grassler, and a Haiderite coterie clinging to the populist opposition politics of old (the provincial leaders, many local officials, and the party base). Accordingly, this division kept undermining the efforts of the small group of political pragmatists around the current FPÖ leader, Susanne-Riess Passer, who were trying to project an image of political respectability.

I have since come to realize that this analysis may be incorrect, as the situation is complex. A compelling case can be made for the political resurgence of the Freedom Party (including that of Jörg Haider). Following nine weeks of research in Austria and a series of interviews with the former FPÖ leader, his chief strategist Karl-Heinz Petritz, and other Austrian policymakers (including the Conservative parliamentary whip and

deputy party leader), I have become convinced that the internal shake-up of the FPÖ helped consolidate the position of an important new faction within the Freedom Party.

Having made its programmatic appearance under Haider’s leadership before the 1999 national elections, it rejected the old Freedomite opposition tactics of campaigning as an anti-party protest movement. Instead of all-out opposition, this new faction favored a specific model of populist government by presenting a detailed catalogue of policy initiatives and sweeping political reforms. Dubbing it “the Carinthian Model,” Haider has tried to implement his vision of populist government in his home state. It may be an indication of things to come, as the Carinthian model represents, in my view, the next logical step in the

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# FEBRUARY 2002 EVENTS

## Friday, February 1

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*Lecture: "The United States and the European Communities from the 1950s to the 1960s."* By Pascaline Winand, Visiting Distinguished Professor. 2:00 pm, Honors College, 3500 Cathedral of Learning.

## Saturday, February 2

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*Film: The Promise* (Belgium Film Series) Directed by Luc & Jean-Pierre Dardenn. In French with English subtitles. Introduction and discussion by Professor Philip Mosley, Penn State University. 7:30 pm, Carnegie Museum of Art Theater.

## Tuesday, February 5

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*Lecture: "Verres? Roman Values: Acquisition and Public Image in Late Republican Rome."* By Professor Anne Weis, Department of the History of Art & Architecture. Sponsored by HA&A. 12:00 pm, Frick Fine Arts Building.

## Thursday, February 7

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*Lecture: "DeGaulle's Europe vs. Lyndon B. Johnson's Europe: Conflicting Visions of Transatlantic Partnerships."* By Pascaline Winand, Visiting Distinguished Professor. Co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science. 12:00 pm, 4E51 Posvar Hall.

## EU CENTER/CWES NEWSLETTER

**Director:**  
Professor Alberta Sbragia

**Editor:**  
Mark Wintz

## Thursday, February 7, continued

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*Film: Rosie: The Devil In My Head* (Belgium Film Series) Directed by Patrice Toye. In Flemish with English subtitles. 7:30 pm, Carnegie Museum of Art Theater. (Repeated on Feb. 9)

## Sunday, February 10

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*"Inscription,"* a multimedia installation by Pittsburgh artist Diane Samuels, and a panel discussion on the intersection of art, memory, and history with artist Diane Samuels, archivist Roland Deigendesch, and Otmar Gotterbaum, whose memory is addressed in *Inscription*. Co-sponsored by CWES and the Carnegie Museum of Art. 2:00 pm in the Carnegie Museum of Art Theater.

## Thursday, February 14

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*Coffee & Culture: "Germany Today: An Individual's View on Germany as a Home."* By Gunnar Zamzow, an Act for Reconciliation Service for Peace volunteer at the Holocaust Center of Pittsburgh. Co-sponsored by the Holocaust Center. 12:00 - 1:00 pm, 4E51 Posvar Hall.

*Film: The Carriers Are Waiting* (Belgium Film Series) Directed by Benoit Mariage. In French with English subtitles. 7:30 pm, Carnegie Museum of Art Theater. (repeated on Feb. 16)

## Tuesday, February 19

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*Pizza & Politics: "Transparency of Governments and the European Union: A Race to the Top?"* By Alexandru Grigorescu, PhD candidate in Political Science. 12:00 - 1:00 pm, 4E51 Posvar Hall.

## Wednesday, February 20

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*Lecture: "Axiological Insight from Selected Contemporary Ethics."* By Malick Kouyate, Associate Researcher, Center for Family Excellence. 12:00 - 1:00 pm, 4E51 Posvar Hall.

## Friday, February 22

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*Lecture: "The European Union at the Beginning of 2002."* By Kurt Riechenberg, Chef de cabinet to the President of the European Court of Justice. Co-sponsored by the Center for International Legal Education and the University Honors College. 12:00 - 1:00 pm. Location TBA.

*Lecture:* Title TBA. By Kurt Riechenberg (see above). 2:00 - 3:00 pm, 3500 Cathedral of Learning.

## Saturday, February 23

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*Film: Pièces d'identités* (Belgium Film Series) Directed by Mweze Ngangura. In French and Wolof with English subtitles. 7:30 pm, Carnegie Museum of Art. (repeated on Feb. 24)

## Monday, February 25

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*Lecture: "Is the Euro a Model for Asia?"* By Professor Sweta Saxena, Graduate School of Public & International Affairs. 12:00 - 1:00 pm, 4E51 Posvar Hall.

## Thursday, February 28

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*Film: Mobutu: King of Zaire* (Belgium Film Series) Directed by Thierry Michel. In French with English subtitles. Introduction by Daniel Simpson, Foreign Editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* and former U.S. Ambassador to Zaire. 7:30 pm, Carnegie Museum of Art Theater.

## ***Inscription: The Intersection of Art, Memory, and History***

*Inscription*, a multimedia installation by Pittsburgh artist Diane Samuels, is on view at Carnegie Museum of Art through February 24, 2002. The exhibition evolved from her encounters several years ago with Otmar Gotterbarm and Norma Perlmutter, who were citizens of Bittenhausen, Germany in the 1930s. Bittenhausen was a typical rural German town that had a large Jewish population before World War II, and none after.

*Inscription* is not the retelling of the beginning-to-end narratives recounted by these two people but, rather, the presentation of fragments from the lives of individuals as filtered through Samuels as artist. It is about memory, about the ways we grasp and lose and reshape the past, and about the private and com-

munal elements of refiguring memory through storytelling.

A panel discussion on the intersection of art, memory, and history will take place on Sunday, February 10, 2002 at 2:00 p.m. in the Carnegie Museum of Art theater. Speakers will include artist Diane Samuels, Roland Deigendesch, archivist of the Munsingen region of Germany who first invited Samuels to the village of Bittenhausen, Germany in 1996, and Otmar Gotterbaum, whose memory is addressed in *Inscription*.

The panelists will each make a brief presentation and discuss their individual perspectives on issues related to art, memory, and history. This program is free with a Pitt ID and is cosponsored by the Center for Western European Studies. For information, call 412-622-3288.

## ***Sciences Po Exchange Agreements Signed***

The Center for West European Studies and the European Union Center are thrilled to announce a new opportunity for undergraduates, graduate students and faculty. On January 7, 2002, representatives of Institut D'Études Politiques De Paris (commonly known as Sciences Po) and the University of Pittsburgh signed an Undergraduate Exchange Agreement and a Visiting Scholar Exchange Agreement.

Sciences Po is one of the most prestigious schools of public administration and politics in Europe. They were eager to develop this exchange because of their commitment to international education and collaboration.

The exchange agreements include opportunities for both students and faculty. Undergraduate students may participate in a full-year study abroad program taught in French and designed for

international students, or a spring semester program taught in English called "Business and European Integration." Graduate students in the GSPIA and social science departments may also participate in studies or research at Sciences Po.

Pitt faculty will be able to apply for visits ranging in length from 2 weeks to a full semester for the purposes of research and teaching. Sciences Po will provide office space for faculty at their American Center.

Undergraduate students may see Stacey Beggs, Assistant Director of CWES, for an application and information. The deadline for undergraduate applications is March 12. Application procedures for faculty and graduate students will be announced soon; until then, inquiries may be directed to Dr. Alberta Sbragia, Director of the CWES/EUC.

## ***New Associate Director***



***Dr. Margaret Butler***

The Center for West European Studies/European Union Center extends a warm welcome to Dr. Margaret Butler, who recently accepted the position of Associate Director. She will oversee the activities of both centers.

Margaret has held administrative positions at the University of Kentucky Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research and Graduate Studies, and at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law's Center for International Legal Education. She holds the M.A. and Ph.D. in historical musicology from The Ohio State University. Having conducted dissertation research in Turin, Italy as a Fulbright fellow, she studies innovation in eighteenth-century Italian opera. A recipient of the Presidential Fellowship, FLAS, and Outstanding Dissertation Award from Ohio State, she has presented public lectures on her research at conferences around the country and in Italy.

Last year Margaret held a post-doctoral research and teaching fellowship at the University of Virginia. She moved to Pittsburgh in July 2001, and is delighted to join the staff of the Center.

Please stop by her office, 4E44 Posvar Hall, to introduce yourself. You may also send Margaret an electronic welcome to [butterm@ucis.pitt.edu](mailto:butterm@ucis.pitt.edu) or call her at 412-648-7422.

# The Distributional Consequences of European Integration: The Case of Italy's Participation in the EMS

by Francesco Stolfi, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Political Science

The process of European integration is bound to create winners and losers in the societies of the member-states. My pre-dissertation research involves the distributional implications of this process, and this article reports on some of the preliminary findings.

From the Treaty of Rome onwards, the process of European integration in economic and monetary affairs has been driven by a series of landmark decisions, the latest of which is the decision taken with the 1992 Maastricht Treaty to launch the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Each one of these decisions has represented a discrete step in a process of institutional change that has progressively reduced the policy autonomy, if not the sovereignty, of the member-states.

Explanations of this process that rest exclusively at the international level (namely explanations that consider states as unitary actors) concentrate on the costs and benefits (in economic and geopolitical terms) that accrue to the participating states. Thus, they fail to recognize that "the ongoing development of social institutions is not best explained as a Pareto-superior response to collective goals or benefits but, rather, as a by-product of conflicts over distributional gains" (Jack Knight).

Therefore, in order to understand the member-states' decisions that drove the process of European integration, we need to consider the distributional impact of these decisions; namely, we need to look inside the "black box" of the state. Important scholarship has opened this black box to find out "who wins and who loses" from the process of integration (e.g. Frieden, 1998; Moravcsik, 1998).

However, what has not been sufficiently explored is how this process of institutional change can have a distributional impact domestically by changing the bargaining power of the

relevant actors in the member-states.

An EU Center Graduate Student Fellowship allowed me to begin archival research in the Summer of 2001 on Italy's decision in 1978 to join the European Monetary System (EMS), an institutional arrangement that limited the exchange rate fluctuation of the participating currencies to a set percentage above and below a pre-defined parity. This decision provides some indication of how participation in an international institutional arrangement that limits the policy autonomy of national policy-makers can change the bargaining power of the domestic actors and thus have domestic distributional effects.

Membership in the EMS "tied the hands" of Italian monetary authorities, limiting their ability to practice competitive devaluations. In the 1970s, heightened workers' militancy forced Italian producers to agree to wage increases that largely outstripped productivity growth, thus threatening profit and investment levels. Traditionally, Italian monetary authorities had aimed to defend profit levels so as to encourage investment. In order to preserve profits in the face of rising real wages, monetary authorities had to allow firms to transfer the wage rises onto the prices; namely, they had to accept rising inflation rates. In an open economy like Italy's, domestic inflation rates above those of the country's international competitors would lead to a loss in **competitiveness** *vis-à-vis* foreign producers, unless the rise in prices is accompanied by the devaluation of the currency.

The route of competitiveness-enhancing devaluations was followed by the Italian monetary authorities for the best part of the 1970s. However, in the face of sustained workers' militancy, of the strengthening of the electoral posi-

tion of the Italian Communist Party, and of the employers' newly-found willingness to accede to the workers' demands with expectations that they could recover international competitiveness through further devaluations, the devaluation strategy backfired as it started a devaluation/inflation spiral that was accompanied by a dramatic drop in profits.

The EMS provided Italian monetary authorities with the opportunity to break the devaluation/inflation spiral and at the same time shore up profit levels. That is, the EMS supplied an "external constraint" that monetary authorities could use to resist pressure for devaluation. In turn, this provided employers with a commitment mechanism that made their opposition to wage increases and rigid employment conditions credible.

In the distributional struggle between firms and workers, the fact that devaluation was no longer an option increased the credibility of the firms' bargaining position, by committing them to a position of resistance to workers' demand, and this, in turn, increased the firms' bargaining power and facilitated industrial restructuring.

A powerful example of how this international constraint could work was offered in 1980 by FIAT, the car manufacturer. After the monetary authorities rejected FIAT's request for a devaluation, the corporation presented plans for the restructuring of production and the laying off of 14,469 workers. The unions responded with a strike, which led to a counter-demonstration of FIAT's white collar workers to defend the international competitiveness of their employer. This demonstration, known as "the march of the 40,000," broke the unions' resistance, allowing FIAT to proceed with its restructuring plans.

# FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND OPPORTUNITIES

## SUMMER POSITIONS WITH PGSIS

The Pennsylvania Governor's School for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh (PGSIS) is currently seeking applications for Resident Teaching Assistants. PGSIS is a 5-week enrichment program that brings together 100 high school seniors from across Pennsylvania to intensively study global and international issues. All RTAs are paid a one-time stipend of \$2200. To inquire, contact Melissa A. Reed, at (412) 648-7409 or [melissa@ucis.pitt.edu](mailto:melissa@ucis.pitt.edu). Deadline: Feb. 22, 2002.

**The PGSIS also has one open faculty position. The position requires teaching a course on Negotiations and Diplomacy as well as coordinating ICONS, a computer-based simulation. Ideal candidates have or are close to having a PhD in Political Science or a related field. They should have a solid background in international relations in order to teach our core Negotiations and Diplomacy course and must be very current in their knowledge of contemporary issues related to human rights, the environment, trade, security, etc. The position will pay at least \$3000, depending on experience/qualifications. The application deadline is March 1, 2002. Contact Melissa Reed (see above) for more information.**

## INTERNATIONAL STUDIES FUND GRANT PROGRAM

Full-time graduate and undergraduate students at Pitt are eligible to apply for funding through the University Center for International Studies' new International Studies Fund. The fund is intended to help students conduct research on international issues or present research in an international setting. The deadline for spring semester is Feb. 28. For more information, go to [www.ucis.pitt.edu/isf](http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/isf) or call 648-7400.

## CALL FOR PROPOSALS: STATE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION VOLUME 6

The European Union Studies Association (EUSA) seeks proposals from its membership for volume six of its book series. This volume should provide an overview of recent developments in the European Union, while addressing a current, important EU topic or theme.

Interested EUSA members should submit proposals of 3-5 pages in hard copy (send 8 copies) to be received in the EUSA office no later than Friday, April 26, 2002. Notification of the selected proposal will be made by letter no later than May 31, 2002. The final manuscript should be provided to Oxford University Press no later than January 31, 2003. Please direct inquiries to EUSA at [eusa@pitt.edu](mailto:eusa@pitt.edu) or 412-648-7635. Additional information is posted on [www.eustudies.org](http://www.eustudies.org).

## CALL FOR PANELS AND PAPERS

The first Pan-European Conference on European Union Politics, "The Politics of European Integration: Academic Acquis and Future Challenges" (Bordeaux, September 26-28, 2002) seeks to provide a broad forum for academic debate about the politics of European integration. It aims to attract a wide range of participants from different countries, approaches and specializations in order to permit the presentation and discussion of current academic research into various aspects of European integration. The conference will be open to contributions from both senior and junior scholars; participation of doctoral students is particularly encouraged.

Proposals for both individual papers and panels are welcome. For more details and themes, please consult the conference website at [www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/bordeaux/bordeauxhome.htm](http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr/standinggroups/bordeaux/bordeauxhome.htm)

## PITT IN ITALY: SUMMER '02

Applications for Pitt's one-month study abroad program in Florence will be accepted through Feb. 15. Dr. Dennis Looney (Chair, French & Italian) will be the on-site faculty. Contact Jennifer Novelli in the Study Abroad Office at 648-2299 for more information.

## DAAD SCHOLARSHIPS

The DAAD offers scholarships to highly qualified undergraduate students for study abroad, senior thesis research and/or internships in Germany. Applicants must have junior standing by the beginning of the award period. To apply, submit a well-defined study, research or internship plans for your stay in Germany. For terms of the scholarships and application procedure, please go to <http://www.daad.org/edude.htm>. Deadline: March 20.

## FACULTY NEWS

Professor B. Guy Peters (Department of Political Science) has been appointed as a Senior Fellow of the University of Leuven, one of the oldest universities in Europe. During this six month fellowship he is conducting research on "The Changing Structure of the State in Europe."

## STUDENT NEWS

Georg Menz (PhD. Candidate, Political Science) has accepted a position as Visiting Fellow at the Center for North American and European Studies at the Universität Göttingen (Germany) for the spring and summer semesters 2002. He will be a Fellow in the newly established interdisciplinary EUROCULTURES program, funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in cooperation with seven other European universities.

FPÖ's populist evolution.

As a matter of definition, the term "populist" (in conjunction with the FPÖ) has been used to denote the party's nearly exclusive use of symbolic politics and spectacular issues to maximize support at the polls, even at the expense of programmatic principle and consistency. In doing so, the Freedom Party has typically relied on wedge issues, verbal extremism, and provocative acts aimed at the permanent mobilization of core voter groups.

Besides pursuing popular(ist) policy issues ( a "baby check" for all mothers, twenty-three percent flat tax, using the powers of the government to lower rents and electric bills, lowering the state's immigration quota to nearly zero, etc.), Haider's government model is defined by four key features, as explained below.

### **Using an Expanded Plebiscitary Component and Enemy Groups**

A central feature of Haider's style of government is the continued mobilization of the public against selected "internal" and "external" "enemies." Last summer, Haider launched a campaign against organized labor ("internal enemies"), which began when he proclaimed in a nationwide address that he had uncovered a "plot" by the unions to overthrow the government. In the fall, the Freedom Party announced a thorough "house cleaning" aimed at excessively paid "union *apparatchiks*," prompting even Austria's (Conservative) President to come to the union's defense.

In Haider-Land, public enemy number one, however, is the European Union ("external enemy"). Taking advantage of the lingering public resentment over the "EU's sanctions," as well as several bitter policy disputes with Brussels (e.g. transit traffic, banking regulations, aid for border regions, and nuclear power), Haider is preparing a referendum on EU enlargement.

Haider: "*As net-contributors to the EU, Austrian taxpayers have a right*

*to determine what happens to their money"...."five million Austrians live within driving range of Eastern labor migrants, thus we will not support policies that are clearly not in our national interest just because European elites want to force this on us..."*

The matter is complicated by parallel campaigns against the Czech Republic involving the postwar expulsions of ethnic Germans and a newly opened Soviet-era nuclear power plant near the border (which all political parties in Austria want to see shut down). Similar issues also affect Austria's bilateral relations with Slovenia.

Haider: "*Until these issues are resolved, the discrimination against ethnic Germans is ended, and restitution questions are addressed, we will certainly not agree to any accession to the EU, especially not one that we pay for....I believe this will be widely supported in our referendum initiative and I doubt that Vienna can afford to ignore this outcome — if they do, we go into the next elections (2004) with this and let the voters sort it out.*"

Using the "voter" and the instruments of plebiscitary democracy have become a familiar pattern to legitimize controversial policy decisions by playing off different groups against each other (cutting social benefits to certain groups, curbing the civil service, steps against immigrants, changing labor laws, etc.), and this is likely to create serious pressure for the Conservatives, pushing the latter farther to the right than they intended.

### **Reorganizing the State Bureaucracy**

Knowing about the unpopularity of the bureaucracy, the new FPÖ administration in Carinthia tried to break open the entrenched state administrative apparatus. This combined genuine organizational reforms (flattening of hierarchies and better citizens' access) with formal and stylistic changes (partially abolishing bureaucratic titles,

encouraging casual manners and new dress codes). Haider and his closest advisors involve themselves personally even in the small details of political, administrative, and economic decisions, vastly reducing the traditional autonomy of civil service.

A key component is the planned outsourcing of state activities. Using the political power of the governorship, Haider had several departments either reorganized or their agenda transferred to private companies or new commissions, which in the cases I examined, included Haider benefactors and business friends. Since these groups often lack the appropriate expertise, civil servants reported in interviews to have been pressured (under threat of transfer to a more remote location) to quit their state-jobs and join these new entities. Since the corps of civil servants in Carinthia is mostly Social Democratic, the FPÖ's campaign to "modernize Carinthia" has the simultaneous bonus of weakening the political opposition.

### **Sophisticated Image-Making**

The leader as the personification of the state: sophisticated political marketing (according to Haider with help by the Hoover Institution and the Heritage Foundation) virtually turned Haider into a trademark. Physical and even sexual attributes were always key elements in creating the political "brand" of Jörg Haider. Posing in numerous depictions as an athlete, mountaineer, parachutist, bungee jumper, hockey player, and runner (with the requisite sports paraphernalia) fostered the image of the youthful and ever dynamic anti-politician, thus creating (according to a strategy paper) a natural hero, who is full of "charm, spontaneity, authenticity and boldness," capable of satisfying the hidden desires for uncompromising clarity and honesty in a world of contradiction and commercialization (such as popular Alpine ski stars).

Since he became governor, image-making has been taken to a new level so

that in the public perception, it has become nearly impossible to distinguish between Haider the private person and his duties as governor and politician (“Haider as the embodiment of the state”).

While his face thus appears superimposed on countless public billboards, state symbols/logos are featured in his political ads, falsely suggesting an endorsement by public institutions. Official state publications and brochures on everything from promoting investment to warning citizens against lime disease show the same “heroic” and emotional images of Haider that one also finds in his (politically powerful) campaign literature (much of which, I was told, was lifted from British Prime Minister Tony Blair’s election campaign).

Also, his official communications (appointments, awards, policy decisions etc.) are generally characterized by the use of rather informal and personal language, often implying that public and political decisions were really intensely private choices, thus alluding to a strangely intimate connection between the person and the state.

### **New Political Style: Fun and Event Culture**

The FPÖ’s rather dramatic break with the conventions of Austrian political campaigning attracted especially the young. Under Haider, the FPÖ’s share among young voters rose from five percent in 1983 to thirty-eight percent in 1999. By touring society events and emulating celebrities (posing in magazines, wearing trendy clothes, driving fast cars, etc.), he learned to stage his appearances and became recognized as a socialite, thus getting media coverage outside traditional political venues and attracting especially non-political and younger population segments.

In Haider’s home state this approach was perfected by orchestrating series of state-sponsored events that tie into the local fun and lifestyle culture, resulting

in calculated political synergies. Taking a page from Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, Haider strong-armed sponsors into creating a successful major league soccer club, over which he presides and which serves as an advertising venue for his administration.

Using his influence and political power to put together the financing and cut the bureaucratic red tape (while exerting his influence to block and/or drain investment from rival projects), his administration in conjunction with handpicked sponsors have created new oversized entertainment venues along with pop concerts, beach volleyball tournaments, biker meetings, and soccer games as well as countless local folklore events.

These are specifically designed to attract the “non-political crowd,” featuring the governor as the host in the requisite outfit (biker jacket, beach-surfer look, medieval costume, etc.) or the appropriate stunt (parachuting into the soccer stadium), which are guaranteed press coverage in Austria and even Germany. Despite economic and social data to the contrary, new polls show local voters felt “that since Haider became governor, things began happening and the province was moving forward again.”

“Close up and personal” and when watching Haider operate from a distance, he seems to exhibit a more profound understanding of how to use political power to affect change than other Austrian political leaders. This refers not only to his more uncompromising stance on issues but also his skill in applying power across different domains (*de facto* using blackmail to force a political opponent to resign, threatening utility companies with “state inspections” unless they lowered bills, etc.). As he put it “resistance is there to be broken to compromise.”

Haider argues that the Freedom Party has a political future only if it can deliver to its core constituents and also convince many other voters that the FPÖ

is the force behind change. While the party’s neoliberals are resented by the former, the old populists fail to attract the latter. Realizing that respectability alone does not win elections, the current FPÖ leadership has begun to apply aspects of the Haider Model to national politics.

Exposing the Conservatives (still wedded to the old consensus politics) as reluctant in using political power as uncompromisingly as possible, the Freedomites emerged as the major force behind recent sweeping reforms of the social insurance system (reflected also in polls released last summer in which a majority viewed the FPÖ as the true agent of change).

The Freedomite role in the Austrian government has been growing steadily so that the party’s future may indeed look brighter (especially since all impending policy initiatives will cut into the Conservatives’ political turf) than political analysts are willing to admit. Any future prospect for the Freedomites is most likely to include Jörg Haider in a prominent position because he is arguably still the party’s biggest asset. Paradoxically, he is also its greatest liability.

### **UPCOMING APPLICATION DEADLINES**

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|--|----------------|
| <b>Foreign Language-<br/>Area Studies (FLAS)<br/>Fellowships</b> | <b>Feb. 7</b>  |
| <b>EU Center Summer<br/>Fellowships</b>                          | <b>Feb. 15</b> |
| <b>Augsburg Exchange<br/>Applications</b>                        | <b>Feb. 15</b> |

## **Distinguished Visitors and Scholars February 2002**

**Cecilia Decurtins, European Union Center, GSPIA, and UCIS Center Associate (through August)**

**Spyros Konidaris, European Union Fellow at the European Union Center and GSPIA (through April)**

**Matteo Marini, Visiting Italian Fulbright Scholar at the European Union Center and the Department of Economics (February 15 through June)**

**Kurt Riechenberg, Chef de Cabinet to the President of the European Court of Justice (February 21 - 22)**

**Pascaline Winand, Visiting Distinguished Professor (through Feb. 7)**

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If you would like to receive the CWES/EU Center Newsletter or be added to our electronic distribution list, please e-mail the Center at [cwes+@pitt.edu](mailto:cwes+@pitt.edu). Include the subject line "newsletter" and your name, address, and affiliation. Or, call us at (412) 648-7405 or fax to (412) 648-2199.

In addition, the latest edition of the newsletter and a complete, updated list of events can always be found at our website: [www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes](http://www.ucis.pitt.edu/cwes).

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