

## **GPSG NEWSLETTER 06 – JANUARY 2006**

Dear Colleagues

Welcome to the sixth newsletter of the Greek Politics Specialist Group and happy New Year!

In this edition you can find everything about our panels at the upcoming Annual PSA Conference at the University of Reading, along with information on how to register if you are presenting or wish to attend, and details on the GPSG grants for graduate presenters. Our Annual General Meeting will also take place during the conference (more details to be confirmed).

We are delighted to announce that starting from the next Newsletter, Theodora Kotsaka (University of Athens) and Antonios Aggelakis (University of York) will be joining us as Assistant Editors of the Newsletter.

Kind Regards

The GPSG Team

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## **1. GPSG Panels and Papers at the 56<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association (PSA), University of Reading, 3 – 6 April 2006**

The 56<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the PSA will be hosted by the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Reading. It is themed "Liberty, Security and the Challenge for Government".

We are delighted to announce that for the second consecutive year, the Greek Politics Specialist Group will be represented by a very strong team of scholars presenting on a variety of topics.

### **Panel 1: Political Marketing and Communication in Greece [collaboration with Political Marketing Group]**

Convenor: Roman Gerodimos (University of Bournemouth)

Chair: TBC from *Political Marketing Group*

Paper 1.1: I. Kotzaivazolou, Y. Zotos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), "The Transformation of Political Communication in Greece: Causes and Effects"

Paper 1.2: A. Veneti (University of Athens), "The TV political advertisement: an evaluation of its aesthetics and functions by the young voters. Greece: the case study"

Paper 1.3: S. Dimitriadis (Athens University of Economics and Business) and M. Zisouli (University of Athens), "Using the Web to create a "citizen-oriented" culture for a political party: evidence from the Greek socialist party"

### **Panel 2: The Changing Structure and Culture of Greek Political Parties**

Convenor: Maria Zisouli (University of Athens)

Chair: Roman Gerodimos (University of Bournemouth)

Paper 2.1: T. Kotsaka (University of Athens), "The Human Geography of PASOK: 1974 – 1981"

Paper 2.2: C. Tassis (University of Athens), "The 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of PASOK (2005): Towards an 'open' party(?)"

Paper 2.3: A. Tsakiris (University of Athens) and V. Aranitou (University of Crete), "The dark side of the moon: Greek political parties and factions in trade unions and professional organizations"

### **Panel 3: Greek-Turkish Relations in the Context of the EU**

Convenor: Andrew Liaropoulos (University of Wales, Swansea)

Chair: Prof. Michael Sheehan (University of Wales, Swansea)

Paper 3.1: S. Alifantis (University of Piraeus), "The Impact of Turkey's EU Candidacy in Greek-Turkish Relations"

Paper 3.2: A. Kotsiaros (University of Athens), "The European path of Turkey: implications of the 'Europeanization' process for Greek-Turkish relations"

Paper 3.3.: C. Matsouka (University of Athens), "The resolution of the Cyprus issue through the European candidacy of Turkey: Obstacles and Prospects"

#### **Panel 4. The Evolution of Greek Foreign and Defence Policy**

Convenor: Andrew Liaropoulos (University of Wales, Swansea)

Chair: Dr. Fotios Moustakis (Britannia Royal Naval College, Dartmouth, MoD)

Paper 4.1: K. Tsoukala (University of Sussex), "The Europeanisation of Greek Defence Policy"

Paper 4.2: C. Frangonikolopoulos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), "Civil Society and Greek Foreign Policy"

Paper 4.3: G. Koukoudakis (University of Athens), "The Role of Citizens in the current Greek-Turkish Rapprochement"

Paper 4.4: A. Samaras (Institute of Mediterranean Studies) and E. Katsara (Panteion University), "The Representation of Turkey and Greek-Turkish Relations in the Greek Press: a Home Front Management Perspective"

#### **Panel 5. Current Challenges in Greek Public Administration**

Convenor: Roman Gerodimos (University of Bournemouth)

Chair / Discussant: Dr. Dimitris Tsarouhas (University of Sheffield)

Paper 5.1: T. Chardas (University of Sussex), "'Bringing the State back in' the study of the Greek Political Economy: the European Union's Regional Policy in the Western Macedonia Region"

Paper 5.2: A. Aggelakis (University of York), "The EU's Structural Funds and the Public Investment Programme in Greece: 1985-2005"

Paper 5.3: A. Samaras (Institute of Mediterranean Studies), "The Vested Interest Frame and the Framing of Campaign Laws in Greece"



The University of Reading

## **2. PSA 2006: How to Register**

Those of you who are also members of the PSA will have already received the booking forms for this year's conference at Reading. If you haven't received these, you can still download them from the conference website: <http://www.psa.ac.uk/2006/bookings.htm>

The form should be sent to the conference organisers before the end of February. After the 28<sup>th</sup> of February there will be a late booking surcharge of £40.

The process is straightforward for non-members and for senior members of the PSA. Registration fees range from £235 (cheapest option for members) to £340 (most expensive)

option for non-members). However, there has been some confusion about the rates that **graduate PSA members** have to pay.

Here are some tips that may help you with the registration process:

1. Make sure you have renewed your membership to the PSA, or if you are a first-time presenter that you have joined the Association. The forms necessary for that are available here: [http://www.psa.ac.uk/about/abt\\_mem\\_cost.htm](http://www.psa.ac.uk/about/abt_mem_cost.htm) Membership to the PSA costs only £36 per year and has several benefits including a significant discount in the conference registration fee (which is far greater than the membership fee itself).
2. Once you have renewed / registered with the PSA, you need to send the booking form for the Conference registration. Please note, *this form should be sent to the conference organisers directly* (NOT to the PSA Headquarters or to the GPSG). Once again, the conference booking form is available here: <http://www.psa.ac.uk/2006/bookings.htm>
3. In order to make use of the graduate discount, **you must register for both the Graduate and the Main Conference**, in which case you should pay £155 for the Main Conference and £75-£35=£40 for the Graduate Conference (there are two separate forms), which is **a total of £195**. If you do not register for the Graduate Conference, then the Main Conference fee goes up to £235-£320.
4. Make sure you fill both forms for the Main and Graduate Conference ticking the appropriate boxes (£155 and £75 respectively).

For any further queries please contact Roman Gerodimos: [rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk)

### 3. PSA 2006: GPSG Grants for Graduate Presenters

For the second year in a row, and provided that our Budget for 2006 will be approved, we are delighted to confirm that the Group will assist our doctoral students presenting at the Reading conference. The amount of the grants will rise from last year's £75 to c. £100 per person, subject to budget confirmation and the final number of those eligible to receive it.

The criteria for eligibility are:

- PhD candidate
- Member of the GPSG
- Research not otherwise funded
- Based and residing in Greece

Based on those criteria, the following presenters are eligible for the £100 grant:

A. Kotsiaros  
I. Kotzaivazoglou  
G. Koukoudakis  
C. Matsouka  
C. Tassis  
A. Tsakiris  
A. Veneti  
M. Zisouli

The grant will be given in the form of a cheque drawn on the GPSG's account at the National Westminster Bank. In order to receive the cheque, presenters will need to:

- a) attend the conference
- b) provide us with evidence of their journey (e.g. air fare receipts)
- c) sign a statement confirming that they meet the above criteria

For more information please contact Roman at [rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk)

#### 4. Thematic Network Article:

### *“Towards a European Social-Democratic Party for the 21<sup>st</sup> century: Challenges and Prospects”*

by Nikos Bilios

*The identification of the modernized character of Social Democracy is the focal point of this analysis. This article, will try to offer some ideas on how we can modernize and cultivate a viable European social democratic party for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.*

*The material that is used derives from empirical study of social democratic parties in Europe within a comparative perspective.*

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The transformation of the character of the parties in the field of ideas, programs, initiatives, message, symbols and political rhetoric constitutes an expression of societal response in different periods of time. It is an important signal that relates with the historical route, the priorities and perspectives of every country, the class structure and the perspectives of its society, with the credibility and reliability of politics and of democracy in every socio-political framework.

In an era of great transformations and communications revolution that is taking place on a global level the modernization and the qualitative makeover of the structure and functions of the nature of the European Social-Democratic parties is imperative. These changes have a strong entry in the ideas, the values and morals, the desires and needs of the citizens and especially of the younger generations. It is crucial, therefore, that this radical “wind of change” touches upon the party structure and signifies a qualitatively new way for the future of the social democratic party structure in the national, European and global level (Moschonas, 2002: 287-313).

Parties and party systems form the basic component of modern representative democracy, the necessary entity for political representation and the crucial component that binds together citizens and political power in the quest for political interaction and active participation in the political sphere. Moving from the industrial to the post-industrial model of political membership, the party is undergoing a crisis of representation. (Spourdalakis, 1998: 25-50).

The model of the “catch-all” structure is going through a crisis of function, identity, and adjustment to the new circumstances. It needs, therefore, a new, modern analytical perspective focusing on its basic functions, structure and its dynamic capabilities. That “new” type of party appears capable and ready to welcome and to organize politically the post-industrial information society. The new organizational model of the collective political subjects of the post-industrial era is the “open” party (Mair, 1997).

The open party determines an intense organizational eclecticism, overcomes and synthesizes the old classical distinctions and schisms of the party phenomenon and signifies a new dynamic potential according to the left intelligencia (Bobbio, Giddens, Beck, J. Alexander, Katz etc.). It is a party with high level of organizational structure and of a decentralized base of active members that are carefully divided into different cells of political participation and can generate clear political outcome. The “open party” is a party that can function based on a clear communicative strategy within the framework of information society closely linked with monothematic political organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and civic societal unions in order to formulate and create a polycentric political identity. It has clearly a citizen-orientated approach. It is, therefore, synonym to the “network-party” thesis, the “party of the citizens”.

The open party idea clearly indicates that political parties cannot be seen as passive reflective mechanisms of class and class interests. On the contrary, parties are active organizations for the development, solidification and universalization of class interests and generally the interests of the citizens. They are par excellence voluntaristic institutions, which intervene actively in the relations and the conflict between classes, and social interests in general, and as such should be examined.

We could argue, though, that class participation is not enough to characterize or categorize a party along class lines (today we do not have solid class born entities anymore as we had in the past). The social nature of modern political parties should be interpreted as the result of the analysis of three variables: class participation, organizational effectiveness and political discourse.

A "network party" is a party with breadth, mass integration and elasticity. It is at the same time a party with identity, autonomous ideological cell and cohesion that safeguards and guarantees a viable, clear political message and a socially credible-well aimed political orientation that targets the needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century citizen.

The new structures that have to underline the modernized social democratic party of the future have to be against the "a-political" populist logic of a neutral meaningless political rhetoric that can guarantee a "short march to power". On the contrary, the party has to introduce a new modernized, innovative and socially just political discourse (i.e. the ideological and practical confrontation of issues when social interests are articulated). (Lyrintzis 1998, 2001). The party as an organization of citizens functions well and has meaning only when it operates as a collective organizer trying to integrate to its structures as many social forces as it can, synthesizing their views and creating a formula of dialogic democracy within party lines. The last indicates that a set of radical changes have to occur in order to achieve the desirable transformation as well as to establish new relationship between party members and party structures. Party organizational bases have to incorporate all the necessary personnel that can effectively implement the above and create a new modern party mentality. The reorganization of the old party mechanism together with the strengthening of the pedagogical role of the party will reinforce that transition and will create new party-member mentality necessary to generate genuine, modern and up to date political strategy and program (Ware, 1996: 20-50). With this new modernized party mentality we can guarantee the collective identity of the party as well as the personal political contribution of the individual party member. The point of the modern social democratic party project is to retrieve the power of the party. It is not to deny the power of the party.

Within this framework we should also reflect to the processes for the election of the party leader and the organizational team. It is obvious that these proceedings have to take place overcoming old shortcomings and giving the entire party base the role of the direct selector. The collective role of the leadership can safeguard a transparent, meritocratic organizational structure capable of creating new, fresh, democratic and important political outcome for the party and for the whole society.

The new physiognomy of social democracy is supported by a triple coherence: between its discourse in opposition and practice in government; between its resolutely catch-all programmatic/ideological profile and the interclassist structure of its organization and electorate; and finally between programmatic minimalism and 'electoral maximalism'. Contemporary social democracy is a force in equilibrium. And in all likelihood, because it is based on this 'triple' coherence, the new social-democratic identity is not merely conjectural in character (Moschonas, 2002) and (Tsatsos, D. Schefold, H.P. Schneider, *Parteinrecht im europaischer Vergleich. Die Parteien in den demokratischen Gemeinschaft*, Nomos 1992.)

Furthermore, Socialist efforts to strengthen their co-operation and presence at the European level can be interpreted as a contribution to European political integration. Nevertheless, political and partisan conflict in Europe remains primarily and profoundly 'national-territorial'. The socialist parties have neither defined a social democratic road to the European construction, nor hit upon the means to insert their combined weight in the variety of policy openings within the European Union. For its part, the PES (Party of European Socialists) (see M. Spourdalakis: *European Socialist Party: Tasks and Challenges. ISTAME-Athens-2001.*) despite reinforcement, remains at the 'project' stage – a project which, to this day, is vague, modest and uncertain in

its contours; a project that lacks radicalism either for Europe, or for Socialism. European Socialism in its entirety still lacks an effective transnational structure capable of coordinating the activities of the national socialist parties in hegemonic fashion. The 'European internationalism' of the PES is too respectful of liberal logic and national interests; its organizational structure, directed from above is problematic and its implantation in the European societies virtually non-existent. The social democrats therefore, have to strengthen PES role and to put forward a social democratic project for Europe, implementing individual membership directly to PES and encouraging citizens to participate and to form its organizational schema from below and not from above.

Finally, it is apparent from the above that modern social democracy has to reestablish a new Social Center capable of connecting organically and collectively all the social democratic parties with renewed goals, alliances and values. The dynamism of the Center Left has to override the neo-liberal political rhetoric that is apparent and strong today and to envisage a new political project with "self-luminous" (not borrowed by the neo-liberal market logic) characteristics and impetus that can play the protagonistic role in the European and the global level spreading the ideas of social justice, equality and social democracy to all.

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## 5. Contact Details and AGM Notice



Visit our website at <http://www.psa.ac.uk/spgrp/greek/GreekPol.htm>

Our 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual General Meeting (AGM) will take place during the Annual PSA Conference at Reading. More details will be circulate via email closer to the event and as soon as we have further information about the venue.

Future activities include an essay competition for graduate students. More details on both fronts to follow.

As always, we welcome suggestions and comments regarding all aspects of the Group, including how to improve this newsletter.

Please send us your news and views.

### **Convenors:**

Roman Gerodimos [rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:rgerodimos@bournemouth.ac.uk) +44 (0)7949 371714  
(UK) +44 (0)1202 965105

Maria Zisouli [zisouli@otenet.gr](mailto:zisouli@otenet.gr) +30 210 7641887  
+30 6977 573918

### **Secretary:**

Andrew Liaropoulos [A.LIAROPOULOS.360383@swansea.ac.uk](mailto:A.LIAROPOULOS.360383@swansea.ac.uk)

### **Membership Officer:**

Tassos Chardas [a.chardas@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:a.chardas@sussex.ac.uk)

### **Newsletter:**

Antonios Aggelakis [aa504@york.ac.uk](mailto:aa504@york.ac.uk) +44 (0)7789 420814  
(UK)

Theodora Kotsaka [theodorakotsaka@yahoo.com](mailto:theodorakotsaka@yahoo.com) +30 210 9410720  
(Greece)