



Bulletin n. 2-3/2012 - October 2012-February 2013

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Vandamme, Thomas

From Federated Federalism to Converging Federalism? The Case of EU Subsidiarity Scrutiny in Spain and Belgium

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.5 , 515-532

In political science literature, federal systems may be classified as dual or co-operative polities. This contribution further explores this dichotomy between dual and co-operative systems from the perspective of Spain and Belgium, two EU member states that may be qualified as dual systems. These countries are said to have developed more co-operative systems of government in order to meet the exigencies of participation in EU policy-building and its implementation. This research will be revisited by looking into the way these two countries have dealt with the implementation of the Lisbon Protocol on Subsidiarity. Is the EU-induced co-operative trend indeed confirmed in these countries or is it time to reassess earlier findings?

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Carey Doberstein

Applying European Ideas on Federalism and Doing It Better?

in *Canadian Public Policy* , volume 38 n.3 , 395-410

Despite not having explicit authority to legislate on matters local in nature, in 2000 the federal government launched the National Homelessness Initiative (NHI). I argue that this federal program, in many critical aspects, mirrors a governance model developed in the European Union called the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), a model developed in an institutional context whereby the European Commission has no formal authority to coerce member states into coordinating social policy, but nonetheless uses “soft” or voluntary mechanisms to work toward this goal. Vancouver and Toronto are examined more closely to demonstrate how the flexibility of the OMC-style model manifests itself in practice, and the implications for governance, accountability, and effectiveness. I conclude that while the issue of homelessness is principally plagued by insufficient and unstable funding, further application of principles in the OMC model—uniquely applied to the Canadian context—holds promise for improving governance, coordination, and effectiveness of the public policy response to homelessness. Application of the OMC model thus calls for more attention from Canadian federalism scholars and policy-makers.

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Cagiao y Conde Jorge

Autorité et conflit d'autorités en droit fédératif



in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 121-142

This paper proposes a reflection on the political and legal logic of federalism trying to characterize the federal subject. Here, the American and European federal systems are analyzed and compared by means of the notion of authority, most suitable, in the opinion of the author to give an account of the federative relations than the notion of sovereignty. Hans Kelsen's and, more recently, Olivier Beaud's fundamental contributions have been able to highlight the problems of a lexicon of State inspiration for a full understanding of the federative relations, as shown in the example of sovereignty (more in our European context than in the U.S., where the notion is not absolute granted the way it is in our legal culture). The author focuses first on the theoretical foundations and sources of legitimacy of the federated authority in the federal systems, both in its constituent phase (its founding act) and its subsequent operation. The second part of the article is dedicated to the federal authority and the central role of the judge in the process of autonomisation of the federal legal order, step necessary for the creation and development of a true federal authority. The article closes with a reflection on the place of the constitutional justice in federal systems and guarantees and conditions of impartiality which should guide its interpretative activity to be able to be perceived by the parties as real authority in the management and solution of characteristic conflicts of relations between the federated level and the federal in federalism.

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Bolleyer Nicole, Thorlakson Lori

Beyond Decentralization—The Comparative Study of Interdependence in Federal Systems

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 566-591

The degree of decentralization is an important explanatory variable in comparative federalism research. Nonetheless, the relationship between decentralization and the interdependence between governments is underspecified. This article distinguishes decentralization and interdependence conceptually, specifies institutional components of interdependence, and develops jurisdictional measures to capture them. A comparative analysis of eleven federal systems shows that decentralization indicators and indicators of interdependence constitute separate dimensions. Thus, their combined usage allows comparativists to do greater justice to the multidimensionality of federal systems.

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Éric Montpetit and Martial Foucault

Canadian Federalism and Change in Policy Attention: A Comparison with the United Kingdom

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 45 - Issue 03 , 635 - 656

Federal systems empower multiple policy actors from different levels of governments. For some scholars, the disagreements arising within such a diverse group of actors create policy stalemates. Others contend instead that new ideas are more likely to arise and diffuse from such a diverse group. This article is a contribution to this scholarly debate, proposing an original contribution on policy agendas. It argues that both perspectives are useful to understanding the dynamic of policy making within federal systems. Looking at change in policy attention in Canadian and British speeches from the throne, the article argues that federalism constrains change immediately following a party turnover in government. In the following years, however, federal arrangements encourage larger changes in policy attention than arrangements where power is centralized.



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Fenna Alan

Centralising Dynamics in Australian Federalism

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 58, Issue 4, December , 580-590

The steady centralisation that is generally held to be a characteristic feature of Australian federalism has occasioned thorough description and regular comment but much less attempt at explanation or theorisation. This paper reviews the way we account for centralisation in federal systems in general and Australian federalism in particular. In doing so, it considers institutional and societal modes of explanation in the context of patterns of difference between the leading federations. It concludes that as far as those broader patterns, or secular trends, are concerned, there is no avoiding a societal explanation — one that highlights the balance between forces of modernisation and the existence of a “federal society”.

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Rogers James R.

Democracy and Necessity: Rightly Dividing Political Power. Using Simple Game Theory to Identify When Policy Decisions Should be Centralized and When Decisions Should be Decentralized

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 73-93

This paper uses very simple models to identify the set of policies that should be implemented at the state level and identifies conditions under which other policies should be delegated to a national government. I then show that under intuitively reasonable parameters, judicial enforcement of that boundary is better than leaving it to congressional self-enforcement (although reasonable parameters exist when self-enforcement would increase public welfare more than judicial enforcement). When applied as necessary, federal structures—i.e., the combination of centralized government in some areas and decentralized structures in other areas—is a democracy-enhancing institution as well as an efficiency-enhancing institution.

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Fiseha, Assefa

Ethiopia's Experiment in Accommodating Diversity: 20 Years Balance Sheet

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.4 , 435-474

After years of centralised rule that emphasised unity, since 1991 Ethiopia has adopted a federal system that aims at accommodating diversity. This article assesses whether Ethiopia's experiment with federalism is achieving the promised goal of managing diversity or whether it is exacerbating conflicts. The federation's biggest risk is its entanglement with the ruling party, its reliance on soft institutions of democracy and narrowly based institutions of power sharing. Although states are given broad mandates to design policies that fit their local context, in actual terms, their role is limited to implementation of policies designed at the centre.



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Happaerts Sanders

Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations: The Multi-Level Politics of Climate Change Policy in Belgium
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 441-458

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the relations between the different layers of government in Belgium with regard to a typical multi-level issue, i.e. climate change. It addresses the question to which degree the characteristics of Belgian federalism shape those intergovernmental relations. Three major characteristics are identified: the constitutionally 'dual' but de facto 'cooperative' federalism, the Europeanization of competences and of relations, and the executive and politicized character of federalism. The impact of those characteristics are studied with regard to crucial cases in recent decision-making on (i) domestic climate change policy in Belgium and on (ii) the position and representation of Belgium in the international climate change debate. It is observed that intergovernmental relations on climate change are to a high degree institutionalized. That is the consequence of the fragmentation in many of the competence areas important for climate change (e.g. environment, energy, transport). The different cooperation mechanisms are based on consensus, as a consequence of the principle of no hierarchy between the two levels of government. Since climate change is a highly sensitive issue involving important interests, consensus-based decision-making has led to lengthy and difficult discussions. In the complex Belgian setting, the EU is often the number one reason to bring the different governments around the same table. Intergovernmental relations on climate change policy in Belgium are triggered by formal requests by the EU to take a stance or deliver certain policy outputs on specific issues. Yet international requirements and deadlines are unable to break domestic gridlock due to political stalemates. Intergovernmental relations are completely controlled by political parties and ministerial cabinets. That becomes problematic in a context of political asymmetry, where the distinct levels of government are ruled by different coalitions. In the case of climate change, the opposition between conservative and progressive climate goals has meant that Belgium was unable to take a stance in recent debates, and it increases the probability of policy failures.

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Piattoni Simona

Federalism and Its Competitors: Which Template for Contemporary Europe?
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 9-20

Introduction Federalism is a deceivingly simple concept: we think we know what it is because we know its general constitutional contours. We know that in federal systems there are two significant levels of government: the federal (national) and the federated (state). States have their own legislatures, which are represented in the second federal chamber of a bicameral parliamentary system and through...

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Miragliotta, Narelle Lucia - Sharman, Campbell

Federalism and New Party Insurgency in Australia



in **Regional and Federal Studies**, volume 22 n.5 , 577-594

The multiple forums for electoral competition that characterize a federal system might be expected to provide opportunities for new parties to use regional support as a springboard for success in national elections. Yet, since the 1950s, this has not been the pattern for new parties in the Australian federation; three of the four substantial party insurgencies in this period have had national, protest-based, origins. The exception has been the emergence of the Australian Greens with the party's origins in locally based environmental groups and its state organization. This study suggests that a subnationally orientated structure enables a party to take advantage of its federal institutional context and enhances the prospect of a new party enjoying a lasting presence in the party system.

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Mueller Sean

Federalism and the Concept of Political Territoriality Towards an Analytical Framework for Comparative Territorial Politics

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 363, 2012/1 , 95-120

The core issues comparative territorial politics addresses are how and why territory is used to delimit, maintain, or create political power; and with what kind of consequences for efficiency (output) and legitimacy (input). The aim of this article is to integrate various research strands into the comparative study of territorial politics, with federal studies at its core. As an example of a conceptual payoff, 'political territoriality' refers the observer to three dimensions of the strategic use of areal boundaries for political power. By focusing on territory as a key variable of political systems, the actors, processes and institutions are first analytically separated and continuously measured, enhancing internal validity, and then theoretically integrated, which allows more valid external inferences than classic, legal-institutionalist federal studies. After discussing the boundaries and substance of comparative territorial politics as a federal discipline, political territoriality is developed towards an analytical framework applicable to politics at any governmental level. The claims are modest: political territoriality does not serve so much as an explanatory concept as rather an 'attention-directing device' for federal studies.

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Fessha Yonatan Tesfaye

Federalism, Territorial Autonomy and the Management of Ethnic Diversity in Africa: Reading the Balance Sheet in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 265-285

The history of federalism in Africa is a history of ambivalence. In the run up to independence, federalism was an idea that galvanized several political movements that, following the retreat of colonial powers, emerged to represent the interest of ethnic groups that were anxious about their political status in post colonial Africa. But it was also an idea that was subsequently rejected by those that wield state power and thrown into historical dustbins. Recent developments indicate that the federal idea that was never given a chance to develop and was being strangled at birth is now re-entering the constitutional scene of several African countries. This short article examines how African federations have responded to the ethnic diversity that characterizes their societies. In particular, it examines how the territorial autonomy solution, implicit in these federations, have helped to deal with the challenges of ethnic diversity.



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Bertus De Villiers

Federations: Shared Rule and Self-rule in the Search for Stable Governance

in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies , Volume 39, Issue 3 , 391-410

In a world searching for stability, federations have flourished in situations of diversity, where flexibility and adaptability are required within the confines of national unity. Federations do not have the monopoly to accommodate diversity, but the essence of the philosophy that underpins federations is supportive of the existence of multiple identities, constitutional guarantees for power-sharing and self-rule, constitutionalism and judicial oversight. These are all elements that are attractive to many emerging democracies. This article investigates the reasons why federation has become so popular in young, developing democracies. The article concludes that the twin-characteristics of federations—constitutionally guaranteed ‘shared rule’ and ‘self-rule’—are essential ingredients and building blocks in a world where many emerging democracies are yearning for stability.

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De Villiers Bertus

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in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies , vol. 39, n. 3 , 391-410

ABSTRACT: In a world searching for stability, federations have flourished in situations of diversity, where flexibility and adaptability are required within the confines of national unity. Federations do not have the monopoly to accommodate diversity, but the essence of the philosophy that underpins federations is supportive of the existence of multiple identities, constitutional guarantees for power-sharing and self-rule, constitutionalism and judicial oversight. These are all elements that are attractive to many emerging democracies. This article investigates the reasons why federation has become so popular in young, developing democracies. The article concludes that the twin-characteristics of federations—constitutionally guaranteed ‘shared rule’ and ‘self-rule’—are essential ingredients and building blocks in a world where many emerging democracies are yearning for stability.

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Broschek Jörg

Historical Institutionalism and the Varieties of Federalism in Germany and Canada

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 662-687

This article uses two contrasting case studies, Canada and Germany, to illustrate how varieties of federalism evolve on diverging developmental pathways. Applying a historical institutionalist framework, the article explains how different forms of institutionalized relationships between governmental tiers grow out from early institutional alignments and become self-reinforcing. As federal institutional designs variously embody constraining and enabling elements, this institutional legacy has important consequences for the scope of entrepreneurial politics. Institutional variation, therefore,



is likely to generate different adjustment paths in federal systems.

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Segado Francisco Fernández

Il federalismo in America latina

in Italian Papers on Federalism, n. 1/2013

The study intends to evaluate the federal state model in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela to verify if and to what extent there is a South American federalism with its own specific characteristics. In analyzing the issue, account must be kept of two factors: the influence that US constitutionalism has on those Countries and the impact of the territorial structure established by Spain in the South-american colonies. Of great importance are also the historic and political events experienced by those States, that were such as to seriously undermine the federal model in those territories and, in certain cases, reduce it to a mere pretence. Among the most important elements, the Author recalls: the endemic constitutional instability (Venezuela), the hyper Presidential rule, the militarization of the political regime in Brazil, the party system (which lacked any sensitivity towards the federal principle), the considerable democratic deficit (in contradiction with the close connection between democracy and federalism) and the praxis of making constant and widespread use of federal intervention. Against the background of all of these elements, the study inquires into the characteristics of the federal state model, drawing attention to the different shades and declensions that they have had in the context of each of the countries taken into account. The subjects of the investigation are, in particular, the existence of an entrenched federal Constitution and the participation of member States in the procedure of constitutional reforms; the principle of autonomy, that should distinguish the relationship between national and local governmental units; the presence of organisms and procedures that have the function of conflict settlement between the Federation and the Member States, guaranteeing, at the same time, supremacy of the federal constitution; the participation of member States in federal decision-making, through the Second Chambers; the constitutional distribution of competences between the Federation and member States, as well as the the existence of an 'administrative federalism'; financial compensation and, finally, federal intervention. The picture that emerges from the investigation is variegated and composite, and the Author specifically underlines the cases where the peculiar characteristics of the federal state model have been considerably attenuated (and, in some cases actually abolished) thus reducing the term 'federal state' to an empty definition. The last section of the study, dedicated to the prospects of federalism in South America, shows that things have started to change even though until now Central Government has prevailed in the conflict of power between the latter and the member States. Although it is difficult to make forecasts as to future developments in these Countries, the Author highlights a positive element namely that there continues to be support for the federal principle understood as 'political and constitutional dogma'; and as being synonymous with constitutional guarantees.

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Sara E. Dahill-Brown and Lesley Lavery

Implementing Federal Policy: Confronting State Capacity and Will

in Politics & Policy, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 1747-1346

This article identifies two key constructs likely to influence implementation of federal policy. It theorizes that states'



institutional capacity and political will may constrain or facilitate application of national initiatives, and offers a way to reorganize implementation analyses. The argument is applied in the education policy arena using several years of data to examine how resources and political will influence state test rigor under No Child Left Behind (NCLB). We hypothesize that better resourced and more conservative states are less likely to develop rigorous exams. Using a multilevel model, we find that state-level capacity and political will (notably state-level partisanship and preexisting accountability regimes) explain a substantial portion of variance in response to NCLB. These findings suggest in particular that implementation researchers should more often take note of explicitly political factors like state partisanship to anticipate how layers of government interact as they translate policy into practice.

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Van den Brande, Karoline

Intergovernmental Co-operation for International Decision making in Federal States: The Case of Sustainable Development in Belgium

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.4 , 407-434

In federal states, intergovernmental co-operation between the federal government and the subnational governments can be instigated by international decision making. That is particularly interesting in the case of sustainable development, which is characterized as an outside-in policy or a policy that finds its way to the domestic policy agenda because of international pressures. The article analyses intergovernmental co-operation for international decision making on sustainable development and studies the federal state of Belgium. It consists of a framework that discusses the Belgian institutional context, and an empirical part that analyses in detail Belgian intergovernmental co-operation practices. Three international decision-making settings are examined: the UN Commission on Sustainable Development, the OECD Annual Meeting of Sustainable Development Experts and the EU discussions on its Sustainable Development Strategy. The article argues that there is no lack of intergovernmental co-operation for international decision making on sustainable development in Belgium. Yet, the co-operation practices are informal and ad hoc and Belgium lacks a formal framework.

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Vickers Jill

Is Federalism Gendered? Incorporating Gender into Studies of Federalism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 1-23

This article provides a roadmap for what gender scholarship offers scholars of federalism. It argues that applying a gender perspective can enrich the field by introducing new concepts, questions, hypotheses, and debates. Gender scholarship's focus on power and change will also make theorizing about federalism more dynamic. The article shows how the "gendering democracy" project's indices will help scholars measure federalism's role in women's continuing political marginalization and incorporation. It also highlights the importance a gender perspective confers on social movements, social policies, and normative issues. Finally, the article speculates that gender analysis could promote a new research theme exploring how different state architectures affect and are affected by interactions between territorial and nonterritorial interests and identities.



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Diop Pathé

**La souveraineté, pierre d'achoppement pour une fédération politique européenne
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 63-71**

European integration is an object of studies receiving a growing interest from different fields of political science. Theoretical approaches based on international relations are the more often used to investigate that object. Among them, neofunctionalism plays an important role, as a theoretical as well as practical approach of the European integration. However, evading the notion of sovereignty, as it is the case with neofunctionalism in the perspective of federalism, is called into question through the uprising of crises which prove the persistence of sovereignty. The federalist legal paradigm has reified the notion of sovereignty, and thus makes its political dimension unintelligible. Therefore, a reified conception of sovereignty is an obstacle to the reorientation of Europe into a political federation. Eventually, the best way to prevent that obstacle is to consider federalism within the international relations realist paradigm.

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Carrer Matteo, Rossi Stefano

**La sussidiarietà: metamorfosi e trasfigurazione
in Quaderni Costituzionali, numero : 2, giugno , 259-284**

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Scott Kyle A.

**Macrolevel Consent: A Defense of Federalism
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 592-612**

This article develops a defense of federalism that builds from a virtue ethics justification of consent. In doing so, it introduces macrolevel consent which permits a defense of federalism that is both normatively and practically satisfying. This article's defense of federalism is a necessary step in developing a theory of federalism. The first section of the article develops a virtue ethics defense of consent that is based on an Aristotelian view of human nature and human flourishing. The second section draws on Johannes Althusius to show the role of consent in a federal system. The third section outlines how the Iroquois Confederation used a version of macrolevel consent within a federal framework.

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Leuprecht Christian

Public Safety in Federal Systems: A Primer



in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 417-434

Four basic conditions have to be met for any society to function effectively: security, good governance, economic development and psycho-social conditions. Much of the literature focuses on the latter three aspects. Yet, security appears to be a precondition, a first-mover of sorts, without which it appears difficult for the other three to take root. Whilst security concerns are the *raison d'être* at the heart of many federal arrangements, the nexus of federalism and public safety has received little scholarly attention. In light of the exponential growth of federal systems and the newfound interest in public safety in federal systems as a result of heightened concerns about terrorism on the one hand, and about the capacity of federations to respond to both natural and anthropogenic emergencies on the other hand, this article proposes a preliminary theoretical and substantive framework to inform and entice the comparative study of public safety in federal systems.

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481–516

The Federalization of Iraq and the Break-up of Sudan

in *Government and Opposition* , Vol. 47, n. 4, October , O'Leary Brendan

In 2005, after the making of the Constitution of Iraq and the making of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement, many analysts expected the imminent break-up of Iraq, and that the South Sudanese would eventually opt for federalism and power-sharing rather than secede from Sudan. Six remarkable parallels in the histories of Iraq and Sudan suggest that analysts should have predicted that the Kurds and the South Sudanese would have been equally ardent secessionists in the early twenty-first century. Yet Kurdish nationalist leaders chose federalization in and after 2005, whereas South Sudanese nationalists eventually chose secession after a brief federal power-sharing experiment. The different choices of the respective nationalist leaders were therefore critical, but some plausible explanations of their different choices do not withstand scrutiny. The differing outcomes, so far, are necessarily but not sufficiently explained by the different geopolitical neighbourhoods of Iraq and Sudan. The author suggests that secessions are also driven by political parties who are willing to downsize their state rather than modify the existing regime, and by nationalists who calculate that they are unlikely to have political pivotality in a federal democracy. One implication is that federal power-sharing bargains have a better chance of working in deeply divided places when potential secessionists believe that they may have political pivotality within a federation.

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Cantú Francisco, Desposato Scott

The New Federalism of Mexico's Party System

in *Journal of Politics in Latin America* , Vol 4, No. 2

Federalism is widely lauded for its ability to manage deep social divisions and promote efficient policy in democratic systems, but it has been criticized for its impact on party system nationalization. In this paper, we explore the role of formal and informal institutions on party system nationalization in the Mexican political system, focusing on legislative politics. In Mexico, an end of one-party rule transformed the nature of center–periphery relations, empowering subnational actors and giving them incentives to act on the national stage. Using an original dataset, we show that these



changes resulted in national parties dividing along state lines on policy decisions, and that the magnitude of these divisions depends primarily on 1) the informal centralization of career resources, 2) the extent to which parties are ideological and programmatic, and 3) the personal vote incentives of electoral rules.

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Gamkhar Shama, Pickerill J. Mitchell

The State of American Federalism 2011–2012: A Fend for Yourself and Activist Form of Bottom-Up Federalism in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 357-386

The signature developments in intergovernmental relations and federalism in 2011–2012 were generally found at the state and local levels. Strapped for funds to balance their budgets, states and local governments have made significant cutbacks, taken legal risks, renegotiated labor union contracts, and rejected federal aid. Conversely, subnational governments have created jobs and taken the lead in various policy areas. The U.S. Supreme Court showed strong support for state sovereignty claims, which could perhaps encourage further the bottom-up activism by state and local governments. The president and his administration made deft use of executive powers to influence public K–12 education reforms and energy and environmental policy, but much of the year was spent in budget wrangling over how to reduce the mounting federal debt.

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Palermo Francesco

The “F” Factor in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Why is the international community afraid of federalism and why it should not be in Europe en formation (L’), n. 363, 2012/1 , 169-178

Virtually nothing has changed as to territorial arrangements over the last decade, particularly in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, where the role of the international community has been more prominent in constitutional assistance to democratic transitions. The paper investigates the reasons why it has been the case and argues that federalism (and regionalism) is handled with excessive caution, both by domestic and by international actors. A nonemotional, de-politicised approach to federalism is suggested, one that pays attention to good governance and not only to self-governance, divorcing the territorial question from minority issues. Federalism can better support minority participation the more it is used as an instrument for integration of a territory as a whole rather than of self-isolation of a minority group.

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Sarah Holsen

What's wrong with this picture? The case of access to information requests in two continental federal states – Germany and Switzerland
in *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 27 n4 , 283-302



More than 80 access to information (ATI) laws exist worldwide. Their primary objectives are to increase transparency and accountability in government. Given the similarity in the components of ATI laws across countries, one could expect per capita usage of the laws to be roughly similar. However, comparing the number of requests in seven countries, we found that far fewer requests are being made in Switzerland and Germany than in Canada, Ireland, Mexico, India, and the UK and that, in contrast to these five, the number is not increasing. Drawing on 28 semi-structured interviews with experts on the Swiss Law on Transparency (LTrans) and German FOI Law (IFG), we offer three primary explanations for the low use of the laws. The first is that few people are aware of the law in either country as a consequence of little promotion of the laws. The second is that people might have more interest in information held at the state or local level than at the federal level. The third is that other avenues to information in Switzerland reduce interest in using the LTrans and a culture of "amtsgeheimnis", or official secrecy, in Germany inhibits the administration from willingly disclosing information. We examine these hypotheses against the situation in the UK, where awareness of the FOI law is known to be high and the number of requests is high and has been on the rise for the past four years.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Turner Ed, Rowe Carolyn

Party Servants, Ideologues or Regional Representatives? The German Länder and the Reform of Federalism in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 2 , 382-404

ABSTRACT: This article considers recent attempts to reform German federalism, the failed 2004 reform, and the reforms agreed in 2006 and 2009. It compares partisan, ideological and territorial factors which contribute to an understanding of reform, finding that all three have a role in explaining actors' views of reform proposals. Two other claims are developed: that in some aspects of the reforms, a division between 'generalist' and 'subject specialist' politicians became apparent; and that a decisive change between 2004 and 2006 was the formation of a grand coalition at a federal level, which paved the way for agreement upon reform proposals.

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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Adeney Katharine

A Step Towards Inclusive Federalism in Pakistan? The Politics of the 18th Amendment in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 539-565

Pakistan's federal structures have been the subject of controversy since independence. Long-standing demands for change have been made, particularly changes to the vertical and horizontal division of resources and demands for a reorganization of provinces along ethno-linguistic lines. The 18th Constitutional Amendment of 2010 introduced major changes to the federal system, agreed by consensus. But have these changes gone far enough? This article analyses the changes that were made, engaging with debates concerning the wisdom of creating ethnofederal units, dividing core groups, as well as the optimal number of units. It concludes that while major changes have been made, they have not yet gone far enough. The diversity of Pakistan should be seen as a source of federal strength rather than as a weakness.



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Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Punset Ramón

Aporías de la reforma constitucional en España

in *Federalismi*, Anno XI - Nr 1

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Patmore Glenn

Justifications for Initiating a Constitutional Amendment to Establish an Australian Republic: An Empirical Study

in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 40 - Number 1

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Luc Detroux

La circonscription fédérale: du mythe à la réalité... ou à l'histoire?

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, n. 4 , 307-334

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Paolo Giangaspero

Le Regioni speciali dieci anni dopo la riforma del Titolo V

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 765-774

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Astrid Lorenz and Werner Reutter

Subconstitutionalism in a Multilayered System. A Comparative Analysis of Constitutional Politics in the German Länder

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 148-170



Even though there have been some revaluations of the Länder in the last two decades German debates on federalism hardly take subnational constitutional politics into account. For example, textbooks on federalism deal with amendments of the German constitution, i.e. the Basic Law, but they mostly fail to address constitutional adjustments at the subnational level or causal interrelations between the two constitutional levels.

In this paper we will, of course, not be able, to fill that rather huge gap. Taking G. Alan Tarr's highly intriguing paper on "Subnational Constitutional Space" as a blueprint, we analyze German "subconstitutionalism" in three steps. First, we will describe and compare Land constitutions in order to highlight differences between them and similarities among them (1.). Second, we will present some explanations for these differences and similarities (2.), and finally we analyze some issues concerning changes of Land constitutions (3.)

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Patmore Glenn

**The Head of State Debate: A Response to Sir David Smith and Professor David Flint
in Australian Journal of Politics & History**, Volume 58, Issue 2, June, 251-267

In the 1990s political leaders debated a constitutional amendment that would make Australia a republic. That debate continues to the present day. Republicans believe that becoming a republic means having an Australian as head of state instead of the Queen. Constitutional Monarchists see no need for Australia to become a republic since Australia, they argue, is already an independent nation-state. They contend that the head of state, the Governor-General, is an Australian citizen and has been since 1965, and that the Queen of Australia is the Sovereign. The purpose of this article is to provide a republican response to recent arguments of two leading Constitutional Monarchist, Sir David Smith and Professor David Flint.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Conti Gabriele

**Verso la sesta riforma dello Stato in Belgio
in Federalismi**, Anno XI - Nr 1

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Grant Bligh, Dollery Brian

Autonomy versus Oversight in Local Government Reform: The Implications of 'Home Rule' for Australian Local Government

in **Australian Journal of Political Science**, vol. 47, n. 3, 399-412

ABSTRACT: This paper examines Australian local government in terms of local council autonomy as set against the



oversight exercised by state governments. In particular, we investigate 'home rule' in the United States and its potential relevance to the Australian milieu. We argue that prima facie the operation of home rule is problematic due to its litigious nature, and that while the implementation of home rule might be possible in an Australian local government jurisdiction, it is improbable. However, consideration of home rule as a principle by which state–local government relationships might be organised sheds light on the limits to the autonomy and independence of Australian local governments.

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William Baude

Beyond DOMA: Choice of State Law in Federal Statutes

in *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 64, issue 6 , 1371-1430

The Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) has been abandoned by the executive and held unconstitutional by courts, so it is time to think about what will be left in its place. Federal law frequently asks whether a couple is married. But marriage is primarily a creature of state law, and states differ as to who may marry. The federal government has no system for deciding what state's law governs a marriage, though more than a thousand legal provisions look to marital status, more than a hundred thousand same-sex couples report being married, and many of those marriages ultimately cross state lines. Unless a federal choice-of-law system is designed, DOMA's demise will lead to chaos.

This Article argues that such a system can and should be designed. Because the underlying choice-of-law problem is ultimately a problem of statutory interpretation, Congress can and should replace DOMA with a clear choice-of-law rule. Failing that, federal courts can and should develop a common law rule of their own—they are not (and should not be) bound by the Supreme Court's decision in *Klaxon Co. v. Stentor Electric Manufacturing Co.* The Article further argues that different institutions should solve the problem differently: If Congress acts, it should recognize all marriages that were valid in the state where they took place. If, instead, the courts create a common law rule, they should recognize all marriages that are valid in the couple's domicile.

The implications of this argument run far beyond the demise of DOMA. In all areas of what is here called "interstitial law," federal interpretive institutions can and should devise a set of choice-of-law rules for federal law that draws upon state law, and what set of rules is proper may well depend on who adopts them.

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Riverstone-Newell Lori

Bottom-Up Activism: A Local Political Strategy for Higher Policy Change

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 401-421

In recent decades, local governments in the United States have repeatedly turned to activism to protest higher government policies, or to generate policy movement in an expanding array of domestic and foreign policy areas. There has been little scholarly effort, however, to categorize the behaviors of local activism or to understand why it occurs. This conceptual article introduces local activism as a political strategy comprised of several progressively aggressive behaviors. A typology for these activist behaviors is suggested and the potential goals and motivations of local activists explored, along with recent changes to the intergovernmental environment that may have provided both cause and



political incentive for local activism.

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Robert A. Mikos

Can the States Keep Secrets from the Federal Government?

in *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, vol. 161, issue 1 , 103-178

States amass troves of information detailing the regulated activities of their citizens, including activities that violate federal law. Not surprisingly, the federal government is keenly interested in this information. It has ordered reluctant state officials to turn over their confidential files concerning medical marijuana, juvenile criminal history, immigration status, tax payments, and employment discrimination, among many other matters, to help enforce federal laws against private citizens. Many states have objected to these demands, citing opposition to federal policies and concerns about the costs of breaching confidences, but lower courts have uniformly upheld the federal government's power to commandeer information from the states. This Article provides the first in-depth analysis of the commandeering of states' secrets. It identifies the distinct ways in which the federal government demands information from the states, illuminates the harms such demands cause, and challenges the prevailing wisdom that states may not keep secrets from the federal government. Perhaps most importantly, the Article argues that courts should consider federal demands for information to be prohibited commandeering. It suggests that the commandeering of state information-gathering services is indistinguishable in all relevant respects from the commandeering of other state executive services. The Article discusses the implications such a ruling would have in our federal system, including its potential to bolster the states' roles as sources of autonomous political power and vehicles of passive resistance to federal authority.

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Rodríguez Rogelio Hernández, Pansters Wil G.

Democracy in Mexico and the Return of the pri

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LII - NÚMERO 4

In 2012 the Mexican democratic system confronted a new kind of alternation of governments. One of the principal characteristics of this challenge was the electoral recovery of the pri, which seemed certain to win, representing for some a return to authoritarian rule. The essay considers this possibility in the light of analysis of the institutional maturity of political changes (electoral, in competency and participation, relations between branches of power and between the federation and the states), and concludes that such a return to the past is unlikely. However, this conclusion does not mean that democracy is becoming entrenched, given the resistance offered by numerous informal practices such as clientelism, corporatism, corruption and the lack of effective rule of law.

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Holste Heiko

Der Weg ins Weiße Haus. Recht und Praxis der Wahl des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika



in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 137, Number 3, July 2012 , 401-440

Abstract:

The U.S. Constitution states that the president is elected indirectly by an electoral college, but in practice the popular vote has overshadowed this election for a long time. State law mostly governs the popular vote instead of federal law and these often differ from state to state. That makes it difficult to get a comprehensive overview of U.S. election law, which can sometimes be a great burden for presidential candidates and their campaigns. In addition, state lawmakers make frequent changes to election laws, which are often driven by partisan interests. In 2012, the partisan conflict on new rules for voter identification attracted media attention: Republicans argue stricter rules will prevent voter fraud, Democrats claim that this will create unnecessary obstacles that will prevent people from voting. Because of the indirect election, the one-person-one-vote-principle is not fully in place. Consequentially, somebody can - like G. W. Bush in 2000 - become president even if an opponent gets more popular votes. But there is little hope for a constitutional amendment and therefore several states support the National Popular Vote Plan. If fully implemented, this plan will ensure that the candidate who gets the most popular votes will also be elected as president by the electoral college.

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Heinze Jana, Schneider Helmut

Dialogorientierte Regierungskommunikation im Status quo. Analyse und Implikationen auf Grundlage einer qualitativen Sprecherbefragung auf Bundesebene

in *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, Volume 5, Number 2, 2012

No abstract available

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Hegele Yvonne, Behnke Nathalie

Die Landesministerkonferenzen und der Bund – Kooperativer Föderalismus im Schatten der Politikverflechtung

in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 1, 2013

No abstract available

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Dregger Sebastian

Die Signing Statements als Machtressource der US-Präsidenten: Zwischen institutionellem Machtpotential und tatsächlicher Wirkung

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 6, Issue 2, 2012 , 303-334

Abstract



The article describes the mode of operation, the legal framework and possible applications of Signing Statements as a power resource of US presidents. It classifies Signing Statements under “direct unilateral actions”, presents several types of Signing Statements, addresses issues regarding the scholarly analysis of Signing Statements, and explains commonalities and differences of Signing Statements and other “direct unilateral actions” of US presidents. The subsequent part of the article demonstrates how the presidents Reagan, Bush Sr., Clinton and Bush Jr. used Signing Statements in everyday government proceedings. The analysis of well-documented cases of conflict illustrates that the abstract power potential inherent in presidential Signing Statements can only be partially materialized in concrete cases of dispute with Congress and the courts. Regarding the controversy about President George W. Bush’s reliance on Signing Statements, the article attempts to give a more nuanced account. In doing so, it clears up several related misconceptions. In conclusion, President Bush’s Signing Statements actually created problems due to their vagueness and the resulting confusion within the other two branches of government.

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Alberton Mariachiara

Environmental Protection in the EU Member States: Changing Institutional Scenarios and Trends in Europe en formation (L’), n. 363, 2012/1 , 287-300

The environmental challenges that the EU and EU Member States’ (EU MS) policy-makers and legislators confront have changed considerably over the last decades, as new and dramatic environmental problems have arisen. The public favour accorded to the ecosystem has increased, roles and capacities of institutional actors have been reconfigured and the influence of opposing global and local instances have become stronger. While environmental policy and law shifts may share a common basis in terms of rise, development and fall in the EU, the analysis of EU MS governments, as forms of constitutionalized divisions of power, institutional configurations and variances in intra-institutional relations, may reveal noticeable insights affecting environmental protection effectiveness within the MS systems, despite the EU common framework. Moreover, this preliminary study may offer an interesting and divergent insight into the general decentralisation trend observed in the EU MS.

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Cain Bruce E.

Governare gli Stati Uniti: come funziona la separazione dei poteri?
in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2010

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Roberton C. Williams III



Growing state–federal conflicts in environmental policy: The role of market-based regulation

in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 96 n.11/12 , 1092-1099

In recent years, cases in which state governments chose to override federal environmental regulation with tighter regulations of their own have become increasingly common, even for pollutants that have substantial spillovers across states. This paper argues that this change arose at least in part because of a shift in the type of regulation used at the federal level, from command-and-control regulation toward more incentive-based regulation. Under an incentive-based federal regulation, a state imposing a tighter regulation will bear only part of the additional cost, and thus has more incentive to tighten regulation than it does under federal command-and-control. This difference helps to explain observed patterns of regulation. In addition, it has implications for the choice of regulatory instruments. For a pollutant that causes both local and spillover damage, a federal pollution tax is likely to yield a more efficient outcome than federal command-and-control policy or a federal system of tradable permits.

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Vik Hanne Hagtvedt

How Constitutional Concerns Framed the US Contribution to the International Human Rights Regime From Its Inception, 1947–53

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 34, Issue 4, 2012 , 887-909

Abstract

The United States has been reluctant to agree to binding international human rights instruments ever since the very first meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1947. This article explores structural causes for that reluctance. Internal government papers show that US government officers worried that a human rights treaty might expand federal jurisdiction at the expense of the jurisdiction of the United States' constituent states and could provide an opening for judicial activism by the courts. These concerns made domestic political sensitivities more acute and raised principled questions about the desirability of pushing domestic reforms through international law-making. US representatives made repeated efforts to ensure that an international bill of rights was drafted as an aspirational declaration rather than a legally binding treaty. They also proposed clauses designed to delay or limit the domestic effects of any agreement, while reassuring the US Senate that domestic power balances would not be disturbed. Constitutional concerns thus framed the United States' contribution to the creation of an international human rights system from the very beginning.

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Giovanni Di Cosimo

Il potere regolamentare negli statuti regionali e nella prassi

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 6 , 1131-1138

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Simonato Alessandro

Il rapporto tra entità federate belghe ed ordinamento euro unitario alla luce delle tensioni tra rispetto dell'identità costituzionale degli Stati membri ed esigenze del mercato comune

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 12 -

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Reich Gary, Barth Jay

Immigration Restriction in the States: Contesting the Boundaries of Federalism?

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 422-448

Recent disputes over possible state preemption of federal immigration authority reflect the rise of a coalition that has sought to use state policy to restrict immigration nationwide. The advance of this restrictionist agenda, and the potential for conflicts over federalism, primarily reflect advocates' ability to wrest control of state Republican parties from interests that favor access to immigrant labor. Direct democracy has played a supportive role by facilitating innovations that could be diffused. Four cases illustrate the restrictionist coalition's influence on state policy, from domination of the policy agenda in Arizona, to more limited influence in North Carolina, Texas, and Florida. These latter three states suggest substantial barriers to the spread of state immigration policies that challenge federal authority.

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Kössler Karl

Immigration and Migrant Integration in Multicultural Societies. New Playgrounds for Subnational Governments?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 367-389

This paper analyzes whether the general trend towards increasing subnational authority concerning the governance of complex issues is also true for the fields of immigration and migrant integration in multicultural societies. It is argued that an analytical distinction should be made between 'immigration' as the mere regulation of international migration flows and the much more complex and multidimensional issue of 'migrant integration'. Precisely the multiple dimensions of integration—social, economic and political—entail that it is a cross-sectoral responsibility and an issue which involves more than one level of government. The field of immigration, by contrast, is with very few exceptions a stronghold of central government power. It is demonstrated how these different logics have serious repercussions on the coordination of immigration and migrant integration because the intrinsic interconnectedness of these policy fields is neglected.

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Stefania Parisi

**La potestà primaria alla deriva? Spunti ricostruttivi per ripensare un luogo comune
in Regioni (Le), n. 5 , 821-876**

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Federico Montalvo Jääskeläinen

**Las cláusulas notwithstanding y override del constitucionalismo canadiense
in Teoria y realidad constitucional, n. 30 , 387-409**

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Ilenia Ruggiu

**Le “nuove” materie spettanti alle Regioni speciali in virtù dell’art. 10, legge costituzionale 3/2001
in Regioni (Le), n. 5 , 775-820**

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Roberto L. Blanco Valdés

**Lo Statuto catalano e la sentenza interminabile
in Politica del diritto, n. 4 , 563-598**

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Filomena Manganiello

**L’interesse nazionale scompare nel testo... ma resta nel contesto. Una rassegna dei problemi
in Regioni (Le), n. 1-2 , 57-100**

No abstract available

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Miguel Ángel Cabellos Espiérrez

Nuevas formas de distribución competencial : la legislación divergente en el federalismo alemán
in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 96

El funcionamiento práctico de las técnicas de compartición competencial, en sus diversas variantes, acostumbra a dar lugar en los Estados compuestos a una progresiva ampliación de la competencia federal sobre las materias previamente compartidas, con la consiguiente disminución (y en ocasiones eliminación) de la competencia correspondiente a las entidades federadas. Alemania no ha sido una excepción a esta regla, y por ello los Länder habían venido reclamando desde hace décadas una reforma de las competencias concurrentes y marco. Tras algunas reformas constitucionales que no lograron cambiar la situación de partida, y que obligaron finalmente al TCF a poner por sí mismo límites a la expansividad del Bund, la reforma de 2006 introdujo una nueva técnica competencial que permite a los Länder apartarse de la normativa previa del Bund en una serie de ámbitos, y dictar en consecuencia una normativa propia que diverja de la de aquél. La puesta en práctica de esta nueva técnica en los últimos años permite verificar si ha funcionado de modo efectivo, si los temores que se suscitaron al principio se han cumplido o no y si, por tanto, resulta una técnica útil tanto para el caso alemán como para otros Estados donde se dé una problemática similar en el ámbito de la compartición de competencias.

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Figuirodo Marcel

Poderes Ejecutivo e Legislativo no Sistema federal brasileiro

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen nº XXV

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Vesperini Giulio

Poteri locali e regioni: le dinamiche del cambiamento

in *Carte e la Storia (Le)*, n. 1, giugno , 23-42

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 3. The division (and the conflicts) of powers and competences

Bologna Chiara

Sovranità degli stati federati e costituzionalità della riforma sanitaria: gli equilibrismi del chief justice Roberts

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 16

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Katia Blairon

The Legislative Power of Infra-National Entities in the European States

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 4, issue 2 , 217-238

Regional legislative power carries the same title as national legislative power. However, it is obviously different in nature. If Acts are general and impersonal – characteristics that distinguish them from regulations – regional Acts are general and impersonal in scope and are limited to the territory and the regional population, whereas national law applies to the entire territory and national population, namely, at least in the case of shared competences, to all the territories and populations of the infra-State communities. Within the various different European experiences, it is difficult to identify a commonly shared movement regarding regional legislative powers. In any case, however, regional legislative power is a fundamental element in the definition of the constitutionalism of the composed State in general and of the infra-state communities in particular.

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Stephen Engle

“It is Time for the States to Speak to the Federal Government”: The Altoona Conference and Emancipation

in Civil War History , Vol. 58, n°4

The Union victory in the Civil War was a triumph of American federalism. Preservation of its political structure guaranteed the continuance of a national existence and established a blueprint for transforming the antebellum union of states into a powerful nation. It also led to a reappraisal of the presumption that a federal system ensured a weak central government. Preservation of the Union necessitated that citizens place a significant degree of importance on a group known as “War Governors.” As guardians of the states, governors were well positioned to negotiate struggles between the state house and the White House and made themselves vital cogs in the war effort and Union policies. By exercising unprecedented influence and administrative leadership, governors assumed “statesmen-like” prestige that accorded them new-found respect among their constituents. Yet for such an enormous subject, we know so little about governors and their significance during the war. Without the willingness of northern governors who independently agreed to uphold the Union, marshal their states’ resources, and cooperate in establishing a national army and support Lincoln’s initiatives, Lincoln would have been hard pressed to preserve the Union. The Altoona Conference of September 1862 provides a small, but significant window into how and why governors came to see themselves as the guardians of a reconstituted federal structure that allowed them the opportunity to wield the power they believed they had been entitled by their cooperation in preserving the Union.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Jamie Carson, Michael H. Crespin, Carrie P. Eaves, and Emily O. Wanless

Constituency Congruency and Candidate Competition in Primary Elections for the U.S. House

in State Politics & Policy Quarterly, Vol.12, n.2, June , 127-145

Previous research has largely concluded that House elections have become less competitive in the modern era. Our



research examines one area where we expect to observe more competition—namely, primary elections. In this article, we investigate when and where a state legislator will emerge to run in a congressional primary. All else equal, we expect that state legislators who can carry a large portion of their old state reelection constituency to the “geographic” congressional constituency will be more likely to emerge and receive a higher vote share in the election. Using geographic information systems (GIS) techniques, we are able to derive a measure of constituency congruency by focusing on the degree of intersection between state legislative and congressional districts. Our results indicate that state legislators are more likely to emerge in a primary if constituency congruency is high, especially in open seat contests. Congruency does not appear to provide an electoral advantage at the polls.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Geys Benny, Mause Karsten

Delegation, Accountability and Legislator Moonlighting: Agency Problems in Germany

in German Politics, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 255-273

Members of parliament in many countries are legally permitted to execute (un)paid jobs in addition to their political mandate. It is often argued that such ‘moonlighting’ activities are unproblematic for the chain of democratic delegation and accountability as long as outside interests/earnings are disclosed to citizen-principals; the latter may then sanction (perceived) misconduct through the ballot box. Using principal–agent theory as an analytical framework and the German national parliament as a case study, this paper discusses why the accountability mechanisms of moonlighting disclosure and electoral control are often impaired in practice. We also illustrate that these concerns generalise beyond the German setting.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Juriansz John, Opeskin Brian

Electoral Redistribution in Australia: Accommodating 150 Years of Demographic Change

in Australian Journal of Politics & History , Volume 58, Issue 4, December , 557-579

Electoral redistribution (redistricting) is a process that has the potential to advance the principle of “one vote, one value” in the face of dynamic human populations. Using the Australian federal electoral system as a case study, this article examines the impact of changes in the size, composition and spatial distribution of the population on electoral boundary delimitation over the past 110 years, and analyses the likely impact of future population change over the next forty years. The article concludes that the Australian electoral system has moved progressively towards greater equality of voting power encapsulated by the “one vote, one value” principle. However, the capacity to achieve even greater equality through electoral redistribution is constrained by constitutional and pragmatic considerations.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Stephen Kirchner

Federal legislative activism in Australia: a new approach to testing Wagner’s law

in Public Choice, volume 153 n.3/4 , 375-392



This paper considers the relationship between government growth and real GDP per capita by developing models of federal legislative output in Australia since 1901. Growth in legislation is found to be negatively related to growth in real income per capita in the short-run, implying that legislation responds to temporary economic shocks, but without a robust long-run relationship with the level of income. The growth in the number of pages of legislation enacted and legislative complexity also show a negative short-run relationship with growth in real national income per capita and a positive long-run relationship with the level of income.

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Elena Griglio

Il legislatore "dimezzato": i Consigli regionali tra vincoli interni di attuazione dei piani di rientro dai disavanzi sanitari ed interventi sostitutivi governativi

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 3 , 455-502

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Heinsohn Till, Freitag Markus

Institutional Foundations of Legislative Turnover: A Comparative Analysis of the Swiss Cantons

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 3, September 2012 , 352-370

Abstract: The rate of turnover within parliaments remains an understudied area of research. The present paper contributes to filling this gap by presenting the first comparable macro-level data on legislative turnover in the 26 Swiss cantonal legislatures. In examining the strikingly different levels of turnover in sub-national Swiss parliaments between 1993 and 2011, the focus is on politico-institutional features. Multilevel models reveal that two hitherto neglected institutional variables are correlated with legislative turnover. In addition to the reduction of parliamentary size, we find the strength of a cantonal parliament to affect turnover rates on the Swiss sub-national level. Moreover, we show that proportional representation significantly promotes parliamentary elite circulation. Among the non-institutional covariates, we find that electoral volatility is also relevant in explaining legislative turnover rates.

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Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Roberto Louvin

La modifica dimensionale dei Consigli regionali: una trappola per le Regioni speciali

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1 , 99-114

No abstract available



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Eliot Olivier

Proroguing the Parliament of Australia: The Effect on the Senate and the Conventions that Constrain the Prerogative Power

in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 40 - Number 1

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Cristina Fasone

What Role for Regional Assemblies in Regional States? Italy, Spain and United Kingdom in Comparative Perspective

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 171-216

The article aims to underline firstly the trend towards the homogenization of the subnational forms of governments, at regional level, across regional States, focusing on Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom (UK). This is only marginally the outcome of constitutional provisions and jurisprudence, but it is mainly caused by the passive attitude of the Regions, which either remain inactive to the opportunity of reforms and adaptation or decide to adopt institutional solutions already experimented or 'constitutionally prepackaged', without any changes.

Secondly, it is highlighted that, with the exception of the UK, regional Assemblies with legislative powers have experienced a process of progressive weakening, especially on the side of the legislative function. Also in order to counteract this tendency, Regions of the three States are trying to enhance the role of legislative Assemblies as trait d'union between voters and institutions at subnational level, on the one hand, testing tools which are inherited at State level; on the other hand, strengthening the position of standing committees within the Assemblies

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Ryan J. Vander Wielen

Why conference committees? A theory of conference use in structuring bicameral agreement

in *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Volume 25, n. 1, January , 3-35

Little scholarly literature has examined why the chambers of the US Congress use conference committees to reconcile inter-cameral legislative differences. Historically, conference committees handle the most important legislation. Why would the chambers be willing to delegate conciliation authority to a subset of the membership that is then granted wide leverage in shaping the policy choices on legislation with such broad implications for the membership? We theorize that conference committees, by way of an information advantage, offer a means of promoting bicameral agreement and avoiding the risk of failure associated with bargaining between the chambers. We develop a formal model of two-sided incomplete information and find that certain conditions on preferences and information yield the chambers, who must be complicit in the decision to go to conference, higher expected policy returns to delegating this authority to utility maximizing conferees. The results of this model suggest that centrally located conference committees, and a reduction



in the chambers' information, encourage the use of conference. We offer preliminary empirical support for these propositions.

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Dull Matthew , Roberts Patrick S., Keeney Michael S., Choi Sang Ok

Appointee Confirmation and Tenure: The Succession of U.S. Federal Agency Appointees, 1989–2009
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 72, Issue 6 , 902–913

This article analyzes the confirmation and tenure of 2,300 Senate-confirmed, presidential appointees to U.S. government agencies between 1989 and 2009, linking patterns of appointee confirmation and tenure to institutional politics, appointee independence, and agency context. Consistent with prior research, the authors find that nominees of new, powerful, and popular presidents enjoy expedited Senate confirmation. Contentious congressional committee oversight, by contrast, tends to delay confirmation and reduce tenure. Agency heads and positions insulated from removal, such as for fixed-term positions and inspectors general, increase tenure. Extending empirical research, the analysis highlights program- and agency-level variations that speak to the many contingencies shaping appointee politics. Appointee positions associated with national security and broad statutory discretion receive expedited confirmation. Agencies with more professionals are associated with increased tenure, whereas agencies with more appointees among managers see shorter tenures. The results speak to scholarship on appointee politics and to public knowledge about the role of appointments in American government.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Stephenson Matthew C.

Can the President Appoint Principal Executive Officers Without a Senate Confirmation Vote?
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Volume 122, Issue 4

It is generally assumed that the Constitution requires the Senate to vote to confirm the President's nominees to principal federal offices. This Essay argues, to the contrary, that when the President nominates an individual to a principal executive branch position, the Senate's failure to act on the nomination within a reasonable period of time can and should be construed as providing the Senate's tacit or implied advice and consent to the appointment. On this understanding, although the Senate can always withhold its constitutionally required consent by voting against a nominee, the Senate cannot withhold its consent indefinitely through the expedient of failing to vote on the nominee one way or the other. Although this proposal seems radical, and certainly would upset longstanding assumptions, the Essay argues that this reading of the Appointments Clause would not contravene the constitutional text, structure, or history. The Essay further argues that, at least under some circumstances, reading the Constitution to construe Senate inaction as implied consent to an appointment would have desirable consequences in light of deteriorating norms of Senate collegiality and of prompt action on presidential nominations.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Sanders Will

Changing Scale, Mixing Interests: Generational Change in Northern Territory Local Government
in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47, n. 3, 473-490

ABSTRACT: This article examines recent local government reform in the Northern Territory from two perspectives. The first is a quantitative perspective on population and finances, which focuses on the mixing of diverse interests in the recent changes. The second is a more observational perspective gained from working with one pre-reform local government and the larger local government that has replaced it. The article argues that the recent changes are generational in nature in three distinct and significant ways. It also argues that the greater challenge for the new local governments may be their vast geographic scale, rather than their mixing of diverse interests.

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CHARLES M. LAMB and ADAM W. NYE

Do Presidents Control Bureaucracy? The Federal Housing Administration during the Truman–Eisenhower Era
in *Political Science Quarterly*, Volume 127, Number 3, 445-467

CHARLES M. LAMB and ADAM W. NYE show how the Federal Housing Administration continued to permit racial segregation in its mortgage insurance program for years after the Truman administration indicated that it must alter that policy. They argue that the case once again illustrates that presidential control has its limits as bureaucracy successfully defied presidential preferences and continued on a policy trajectory opposed by the president.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Maria Stella Righettini

Esecutivo regionale e “management”: il caso di Regione Lombardia
in *Amministrare*, n. 3, 333-376

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

JEFFREY E. COHEN

Interest Groups and Presidential Approval
in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 3, 431–454)

This article investigates the impact of interest group membership on presidential approval. Data come from the 2006 Cooperative Congressional Election Study, which asked respondents about membership in 11 interest groups. Distinguishing between easy and hard issues, I argue that interest groups will tighten the relationship between issue position and approval for hard issues because of the information that groups provide it members. Analysis looks at interest group effects on five issues: abortion and the Iraq War, both deemed easy; the environment and Social Security



Reform, which are harder issues; and stem cell research, which is harder for some. As hypothesized, membership in abortion or veterans groups has no impact on members' approval either directly or through the relevant issues. But for members of environmental and senior groups, the relevant issues are found to have statistically significant impact on approval. And membership in abortion rights groups affects stem cell research. The conclusions put the findings into perspective and discuss directions for future research.

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Subsection 5. The executive branch

Dilulio Jr. John J.

James Q. Wilson: "The Legitimacy of Government Itself"

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 72, Issue 4, , 485-486

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

José Gabriel Ruiz González

La cooperación intergubernamental en el Estado autonómico: situación y perspectivas

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomicos i Federals*, n. 15 , 287-328

L'existència de relacions de cooperació és, como ben aviat va proclamar el Tribunal Constitucional, quelcom consubstancial a l'Estat autonòmic. Tot i així, a Espanya, la cooperació entre els diferents poders territorials ha estat escassa, qualitativament i quantitativa. Durant molt de temps, les relacions intergovernamentals van pivotar sobre els mecanismes de cooperació sectorials, formalitzats legalment o estatutària, i van ser les conferències sectorials i els convenis bilaterals de col·laboració, en l'àmbit vertical, i els convenis de cooperació entre comunitats autònomes, en el àmbit horitzontal, els instruments cooperatius més importants. Tanmateix, coincidint amb l'últim procés de reformes estatutàries, s'han incorporat a la praxi política espanyola nous mecanismes de cooperació de caràcter general, com ara la Conferència de Presidents i la Conferència dels Governos de les Comunitats Autònomes. Aquest article se centra en l'estudi dels diferents instruments que s'han institucionalitzat per complir amb el principi de cooperació intergovernamental, analitzant els resultats obtinguts i determinant les dificultats que cal superar per consolidar-se i contribuir a aconseguir un funcionament més coherent i eficaç de l'Estat autonòmic.

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de Medici Marino

Le priorità della seconda presidenza Obama

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 107-114

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 5. The executive branch

Louis Fisher

Presidential Budgetary Duties

in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Volume 42, Issue 4, , 754–790

As an essential element of republican government, Congress possesses the power of the purse. It uses that authority to control presidents and executive agencies. From the start, however, there has always been tension between the two elected branches, with presidents insisting on exercising control over departments and agencies. A major collision occurred during the 1970s, when President Nixon claimed constitutional authority to refuse to spend appropriated funds (the impoundment dispute). He lost that battle in Congress and in the courts. Other issues include covert spending, Gramm-Rudman, Iran-Contra, item vetoes, legislative vetoes, and efforts in recent decades to control the national debt.

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Galbraith Jean

Prospective Advice and Consent

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 37, Issue 2

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Melanie J. Springer

State Electoral Institutions and Voter Turnout In Presidential Elections, 1920–2000

in *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 252-283

Expansive and restrictive state electoral institutions have been instrumental in structuring the vote throughout American history. Studies focused on a small number of reforms, years, or states lack the scope necessary to comprehensively evaluate the effects of institutional change over time. This work, however, places recent reforms in historical context and offers a long-term perspective. Using an original data set, it identifies the institutions that have generated the most substantial effects on state turnout rates during presidential elections from 1920 to 2000. Findings demonstrate that restrictive laws (those aiming to limit the vote or make voting more costly) produced large and consistently negative effects in the Southern and non-Southern states alike, but the effects associated with expansive reforms (those making participation more convenient or less costly) vary. Although a few expansive laws have increased turnout in the non-Southern states, they have had no effect in the Southern states where turnout rates are lowest.

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Gollob Justin, Leckrone J. Wesley

The Effectiveness of Intergovernmental Lobbying Mechanisms in the American Federal System

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 12 - Varia



The national and state governments share power in the American federal system. However, to the chagrin of states, the federal government often has the upper hand in intergovernmental relations. This article explores how state legislators perceive the health of federalism in the United States and examines the tools that they use to influence policy enactment and implementation in Washington, DC. It concludes that states are less than sanguine about federal-state relations and that they use a wide array of tools to take their message to the federal government even though they question their effectiveness.

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1143>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Abramson Mark A.

The Need to Understand the “Black Box” of Presidential Appointments

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 72, Issue 6 , 913–914

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Laura Frosina

Uno sguardo ai nuovi organi di raccordo intergovernativo nell’ordinamento spagnolo

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 1 , 124-155

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Perry Barbara A.

Ambition Counteracting Ambition: Separation of Powers in Supreme Court Appointments

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 37, Issue 2 , 134–147

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Brendan Lim

Attributes and Attribution of State Courts — Federalism and the Kable Principle

in *Federal Law Review*, Volume 40 - Number 1



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Julio Bustillos

Federalismo judicial constitucional: el proceso de aceptación de la procedencia del amparo federal contra el amparo local

in *Cuestiones constitucionales. Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 26 , 311-333

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Giuseppe Martinico

Is the European Convention Going to Be 'Supreme'? A Comparative-Constitutional Overview of ECHR and EU Law before National Courts

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 2 , 401-424

The aim of this article is to answer the question, 'are national judges extending the structural EU law principles (primacy and direct effect) to the European Convention on Human Rights'? This article does not intend to examine the broader issue of the rapprochement between the legal systems of the EU and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) but it concentrates on how national judges treat the norms of the ECHR compared with their treatment of EU law. I have structured this article in three parts. The first part offers a first look at the 'constitutional variety' existing in terms of constitutional provisions devoted to the impact of the ECHR and EU laws on the national systems. In the second part I will move to analyse the relevant case law of the domestic judges on three factors of potential convergence: consistent interpretation, disapplication of national law conflicting with European provisions, and emergence of a counter-limits doctrine. Finally, in the third part I will offer some concluding remarks on the convergence issue.

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Martina Conticelli

La decisione della Corte Suprema degli Stati Uniti sulla riforma sanitaria

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 3 , 878-882

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Swaimger Jonathan

Law and practice of politics in the Canadian Department of Justice: completing confederation

in *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, vol. 63 - n. 3



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Dian Schefold

Los Tribunales Constitucionales en los Estados federales y regionales

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 18

This essay goes back to the logical link between federalism and constitutional judicial review. It begins with the analysis of the constitutional autonomy as the ground of decentralized constitutional review. Secondly, under the German light, takes account of the positions against federalize constitutional review. Finally, think about the consideration of European jurisdictions as a part of that federal map.

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Giuseppe Martinico

Multiple loyalties and dual preliminary: The pains of being a judge in a multilevel legal order

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 3 , 871-896

This article deals with the multiple loyalties of national judges in multilevel contexts, and focuses on the particular issue of dual preliminary (doppia pregiudizialità) by examining some selected cases taken from national and supranational case law.

Dual preliminary refers to those cases where national judges simultaneously raise both the preliminary question to the Court of Justice of the European Union (concerning the validity or interpretation of an EU act) and the question of constitutionality (regarding the validity of a national norm) to their own constitutional court.

I will analyze the issue of dual preliminary both from the perspective of the national judges and from the perspective of their Constitutional Courts. This article is structured as follows: I first introduce the issue of dual loyalty of national judges by looking at selected cases; then I move to the discussion of dual preliminary.

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Killenbeck Mark R.

No Bed of Roses: William Johnson, Thomas Jefferson and the Supreme Court, 1822–23

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 37, Issue 2 , 95–124

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Heurlin Christopher

**Old Laws, New Citizens: Trust in the Courts in the New Federal States
in German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 411-428

After the reunification of West and East Germany, West German laws, lawyers and judges almost completely replaced the East German legal system, giving rise to a unique situation in which 'old laws' governed 'new citizens'. Are West German laws and legal institutions incompatible with the socialist values of East Germans? Or do East Germans judge legal institutions based on their performance? Using three surveys from the 1990s and 2000s this article shows support for both cultural and performance approaches to institutional trust, but suggests that the impact of cultural factors may have declined over time. Improved economic and political performance in the 2000s, moreover, has led levels of trust in the East to reach nearly the same levels as in the West. Surprisingly, the results show as well that 'socialist values' in West Germany are also a barrier to trust in the courts.

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Robinson Nick

**Structure Matters: The Impact of Court Structure on the Indian and U.S. Supreme Courts
in American Journal of Comparative Law**, Volume 61, Issue 1 / Winter , 173-208

The U.S. Supreme Court sits as a unified bench of nine justices. The Indian Supreme Court sits in panels, and can have up to thirtyone justices. This Article uses the divergent structures of the U.S. and Indian Supreme Courts to explore how specific court structures are adopted to promote different values or understandings of what a supreme court should be. It analyzes how structure impacts: (1) access to these courts; (2) the cohesiveness of the doctrine they produce; (3) interjudge relations; and (4) perceptions of these courts, including perceived politicization. It argues that a comparative analysis of court structure can challenge common assumptions about the ideal role of a court, as well as aid in judicial institutional design and reform. Such an analysis helps make explicit how law is permeated by the structure of the courts that interpret it.

I. The Supreme Court of India

A. History

1. The Court's Founding

2. The Court's Expansion

B. The Impact of Size and Structure

1. Access

2. Cohesiveness and Polyvocality



3. Inter-Judge Relations: Chief Justice Dominance, Judicial Entrepreneurs, and Judge Clusters

4. Image and Expertise

II. The Supreme Court of the United States

A. History

1. The Court's Early Years

2. A Backlogged Court and Tightening Access

B. The Impact of Size and Structure

1. Access

2. Cohesiveness

3. Inter-Judge Relations: The Swing Justice

4. Image and Politicization

III. Recasting Assumptions and Prescriptive Power

A. Unequal Judges and Institutional "Integrity"

B. Reforming Courts: Prescriptive Claims

Conclusion

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Giacomo Delledonne

Subnational Constitutionalism: A Matter of Review

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 4, issue 2 , 294-316

Which is the meaning of constitutional review for a proper assessment of subnational constitutionalism? The essay tries to answer this question by means of comparative analysis. To do so, it considers both federal systems (the United States and Germany) and regional or autonomic systems (Italy and Spain). The analysis of organs and procedures allows to draw some conclusions: the presence of a system of constitutional review at the subnational level is a crucial element for the development of an autonomous, well-grown subnational constitutional law. However, subnational constitutional courts tend to have a more complicated relation with legislative and executive bodies, as less guarantees of independence or court-overturning amendments show. Finally, subnational constitutional courts tend to develop a



quite interesting case law, whose experimental features sometimes anticipate major judicial trends.

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Scott Basinger and Maxwell Mak

The Changing Politics of Supreme Court Confirmations

in American Politics Research, Vol.40, n.4, July , 737-763

Senate voting on Supreme Court nominees offers a window into macro-political continuity and change. Clashes over confirmations once were reserved for a handful of exceptional cases, but recently have become the norm. Party cohesion in the Senate has also experienced a recent, rapid increase. An analysis of votes on 43 Supreme Court nominees reveals that senators polarize in response to rising levels of average party loyalty. The analysis further reveals that a senator who individually is more loyal to his or her party will be more likely to adopt an extreme position on confirmation, even after controlling for the effects of rising aggregate partisanship. Once the partisan trend is taken into account, our analysis contradicts the conventional wisdom that Robert Bork's nomination instituted a "regime change" with a lasting effect on Senate voting patterns.

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Brian T. Fitzpatrick

The Constitutionality of Federal Jurisdiction-Stripping Legislation and the History of State Judicial Selection and Tenure

in Virginia Law Review, vol. 98, issue 4 , 839-895

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Shortell Christopher

The End of the Federalism Five? Statutory Interpretation and the Roberts Court

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 516-537

The replacement of Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice O'Connor with John Roberts and Samuel Alito led to much uncertainty about the future of federalism jurisprudence. Six terms in to the Roberts Court, clear patterns of difference from the Rehnquist Court are emerging. My analysis of all federalism decisions by the high court since John Roberts was sworn in as chief justice in 2005 demonstrates that the Federalism Five bloc of justices is no longer the dominant paradigm for understanding responses to federalism cases. The emphasis on preemption cases and the increased role of statutory rather than constitutional interpretation have led to shifting coalitions and a different course for federalism cases on the Roberts Court, although there are legitimate questions about whether this will continue.

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Giuseppe Martinico

The Importance of Consistent Interpretation in Subnational Constitutional Contexts: Old Wine in New Bottles?
in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 269-293

In this paper I will focus on the role of national common judges (“giudici comuni”) in systems that are not characterized by a dual court system (one of the elements identified by Gardner as peculiar to fully fledged federal states) especially looking at the lower courts.

This paper is structured as follows: first, I am going to recall the debate on the consequences- in terms of legal uncertainty- of the proliferation of fundamental charters in non- federal systems; second, I am going to frame this issue within the categories of some fashionable constitutional theories; third, I will try to explain why national (lower) judges may play a fundamental role in solving many of the normative inconsistencies that this scenario creates

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Orth John V.

The Judicial Amendment

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 37, Issue 2 , 125–133

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Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Juscelino F. Colares

The Reality of EU-Conformity Review in France

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 369-413

French High Courts have embraced review of national legislation for conformity with EU law in different stages and following distinct approaches to EU law supremacy. This article tests whether adherence to different views on EU law supremacy has resulted in different levels of EU directive enforcement by the French High Courts. After introducing the complex French systems of statutory, treaty and constitutional review, this study explains how EU-conformity review emerged among these systems and provides an empirical analysis refuting the anecdotal view that different EU supremacy theories produce substantial differences in conformity adjudication outcomes. These Courts' uniformly high rates of EU directive enforcement and similar willingness to refer questions to the ECJ for preliminary rulings demonstrate that, despite adopting dissimilar approaches to the supremacy of Communitarian law, French judges have flourished as Communitarian law judges. The article concludes by presenting an explanation for this high degree of convergence: French judges, responding to growing European integration and enabled by a changing constitutional landscape, adjusted their views to ensure they would have a role in molding the integration of national and EU law.

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Ross William G.

The Supreme Court as an Issue in Presidential Campaigns

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 37, Issue 3 , 322–334

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Covino Fabrizia

La fiscalità di vantaggio degli enti territoriali tra l'art. 81 della Costituzione e federalismo fiscale

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 3, settembre , 621-624,

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Hatfield John William, Padró i Miquel Gerard

A political economy theory of partial decentralization

in *Journal of the European Economic Association*, June 2012 - Volume 10, Issue 3 , 605-633

We revisit the classic problem of tax competition in the context of federal nations, and derive a positive theory of partial decentralization. A capital poor median voter chooses to use redistributive capital taxes to provide public goods. The expectation of high capital taxes, however, results in a small capital stock which lowers returns to redistribution. The median voter therefore wants to commit to a lower level of capital taxes. She does so by setting a partial degree of decentralization in the Constitution. The equilibrium degree of decentralization balances the positive effect of tax competition on capital taxes with the loss in redistribution that results. We show that the degree of decentralization is nonmonotonic in inequality, increasing in the redistributive efficiency of public good provision, and decreasing in capital productivity. When public goods are heterogeneous in their capacity to transfer funds, all voters agree that goods with high redistributive capacity should be decentralized.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Ibrahim Tatal, Aysit Tanzel

An Analysis of Political and Institutional Power Dispersion: the case of Turkey

in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, volume 30 n.4 , 548-565

This study examines the effects of fragmented governments and fiscal authorities on budget deficits in Turkey along with political business cycle effects. For econometric analysis we will use annual data from the period 1960 to 2009. This article sheds light on various dispersion indices and their use in the field of political power and fiscal performance. The results show that the power dispersion indices of governments and fiscal institutions significantly explain the increases in



the ratio of budget deficit to gross national product. The article draws attention to the unification and better coordination of fiscal authorities in Turkey. The analysis has important policy implications for Turkey and other developing countries from the viewpoint of fragmented political and administrative dispersion of power and poor budget performances.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Mark Humphery-Jenner

Balanced Budget Rules and Expenditure Limits: Lessons from the US and Australia and Implications for the EU
in **German Law Journal**, vol. 13, issue 6 , 607-636

Governments periodically receive accusations of over-spending. These accusations are sometimes warranted. Some commentators propose that strict tax and expenditure limits (TEs) and/or balanced budget requirements (BBRs) may resolve excessive expenditure. Governments can implement TEs and BBRs through constitutional amendments, statutory schemes, or non-binding aspirational goals. They have been proposed as a remedy to allegations of over-spending in some European countries. However, it is not entirely clear if TEs or BBRs are effective or will resolve excess expenditure. I analyze TEs and BBRs as implemented in the United States and Australia. I argue that the Australian model of aspirational TEs and BBRs is beneficial if there is a political will to enforce them. However, if there is no such political will, then statutory (as opposed to constitutional) TEs and BBRs best strike a balance of flexibility and constraint.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Dagney Faulk and Georg Grassmueck

City-county Consolidation and Local Government Expenditures
in **State and Local Government Review**, Vol. 43, n. 3, December , 196-205

As more local governments consider consolidation of government functions, officials are concerned about the expected impact on expenditures. Using a treatment group of consolidated city-counties and a control group of city-counties that considered but rejected consolidation through the referendum process, the authors examine differences in per capita local government expenditures. The statistical analysis shows that per capita expenditures in consolidated communities are not statistically different from those that considered and rejected consolidation. These results suggest that consolidation is not likely to decrease expenditures in the typical consolidated local government.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Claudio Ferraz, Frederico Finan, Diana B. Moreira

Corrupting learning: Evidence from missing federal education funds in Brazil
in **Journal of Public Economics**, volume 96 n.9-10 , 712-726

This paper examines if money matters in education by looking at whether missing resources due to corruption affect student outcomes. We use data from the auditing of Brazil's local governments to construct objective measures of corruption involving educational block grants transferred from the central government to municipalities. Using variation in



the incidence of corruption across municipalities and controlling for student, school, and municipal characteristics, we find a significant negative association between corruption and the school performance of primary school students. Students residing in municipalities where corruption in education was detected score 0.35 standard deviations less on standardized tests, and have significantly higher dropout and failure rates. Using a rich dataset of school infrastructure and teacher and principal questionnaires, we also find that school inputs such as computer labs, teaching supplies, and teacher training are reduced in the presence of corruption. Overall, our findings suggest that in environments where basic schooling resources are lacking, money does matter for student achievement.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Gadea Maria Dolores, Gómez-Loscos Ana, Montañés Antonio

Cycles inside cycles: Spanish regional aggregation

in Journal of the Spanish Economic Association, Volume 3, Issue 4, December 2012 , 423-456

This paper sets out a comprehensive framework to identify regional business cycles within Spain and analyses their stylised features and the degree of synchronisation both within them and between them and the Spanish economy. We show that the regional cycles are quite heterogeneous although they display some degree of synchronisation. We also propose a dynamic factor model to cluster the regional comovements. We find that the Spanish business cycle is not the same as those of the 17 regions, but is the sum of the different regional behaviours. Clusters with a high industrial weight, per capita income and human capital and a low unemployment rate are also more synchronized. The implications derived from our results are useful both for policy makers and analysts.

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Thomas Michel & Andrew Taylor

Death by a Thousand Grants? The Challenge of Grant Funding Reliance for Local Government Councils in the Northern Territory of Australia

in Local Government Studies, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 485-500

In July 2008, the local government sector in the Northern Territory of Australia underwent wide-sweeping reforms whereby 53 councils, most of which were located in remote Indigenous communities, were amalgamated into eight regional shires. The dominant justifications for these reforms focused on internal 'deficit' views about the community council sector, including lack of competent and ethical staff, managerial workforce instability, inefficient use of resources, and poor oversight as the primary causes of chronic underperformance and dysfunction. This paper identifies and discusses the under-scrutinised role of grants revenue dependency and volatility in the demise of remote small councils in the Northern Territory. We analyse financial data to demonstrate the extreme volatility in year-on-year grants funding. With their high dependency on grants revenue, such volatility and unpredictability resulted in councils being hamstrung in their ability to strategically plan and ensure stability in service delivery, infrastructure management and employment provision. We argue that these fiscal dynamics, fuelled by hierarchical intergovernmental relations, contributed significantly to dysfunction in the sector, as well as mutually reinforcing pre-existing structural and endogenous weaknesses. This argument runs against the common conceptualisation of the sector as requiring of externally imposed structural reform. We conclude by suggesting that there are factors additional to scale that need to be incorporated into analysis of the effects of amalgamation policies on remote councils.



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Kim Yun Jung, Zhang Jing

Decentralized borrowing and centralized default

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 88, Issue 1, September 2012 , 121-133

In the past, foreign borrowing by developing countries was comprised almost entirely of government borrowing. However, private firms and individuals in developing countries now borrow substantially from foreign lenders. It is often asserted that this surge in private sector borrowing generates excessive borrowing and frequent sovereign defaults in developing countries. This paper analyzes the impact of decentralized borrowing using a quantitative model in which private agents decide how much to borrow and the government decides whether to default. Relative to a model in which the government determines both the level of borrowing and whether to default, decentralized borrowing drives up aggregate credit costs and sovereign default risk, and reduces aggregate welfare. Interestingly, decentralized borrowing may lead to either too much or too little debt in equilibrium depending on the severity of default penalties

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Linda Gonçalves Veiga

Determinants of the assignment of EU funds to Portuguese municipalities

in **Public Choice**, volume 153 n.1-2 , 215-233

The paper examines the determinants of the assignment of EU funds to Portuguese municipalities using a large and unexplored dataset covering all (278) mainland municipalities over 15 years. Empirical results reveal that besides normative objectives, political motivations also influence the distribution of funds by the national government across municipalities. Grants to municipalities increase during local election years, and more funds are transferred to municipalities where legislative elections have been closely contested and where the ruling national party had been supported by voters.

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Capello Marcelo, Griòn Nèstor, Galassi Gabriela

Distorsiones del federalismo como piedra angular de los problemas fiscales en las provincias argentinas

in **Cuaderno de federalismo**, Volumen n° XXV

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Salerno Giulio M.

Dopo la norma costituzionale sul pareggio del bilancio: vincoli e limiti all'autonomia finanziaria delle Regioni



in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 3, settembre , 563-586

A plurality of state laws invoke reasons of budgetary constraints to condition the activities of the Region and of the municipalities. These constraints are analyzed in this article by distinguishing between constraints that are linked to the overall constitutional system and constraints that have a direct financial implication. The article then analyzes the jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court to identify its major trend. Finally, by taking into account the recent constitutional reform introducing a balanced budget requirement in the Constitution, the article advances a possible way to rationalize the abovementioned limits and constraints.

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Bae Suho , Moon, Seong-gin, Jung Changhoon

Economic Effects of State-Level Tax and Expenditure Limitations

in **Public Administration Review**, Volume 72, Issue 5 , 649-658

As a result of devolution, state governments have taken on greater responsibility for financing and providing public services. Increasingly, states have adopted state-level tax and expenditure limitations (TEs) to manage the growth and size of state budgets. The adoption of TEs is supported by claims that they have a positive effect on state economies, although such claims lack empirical evidence and have been contested by several scholars. Despite the ongoing debate about validating the actual economic effects of state-level TEs, there is a lack of empirical assessments of their effects. The empirical results of this article indicate that the presence of state-level TEs has a negative effect on the level of employment but no effect on the state's personal income per capita. The presence of state-level TEs has no effect on either the growth of personal income per capita or the growth of employment.

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Nayar Baldev Raj

Economic Planning as an Integrative Mechanism in India: Changes and Challenges After Economic Liberalization

in **India Review**, Volume 11, Issue 4 , 226-258

Besides its principal purpose to plan for economic development, India's Planning Commission has also served as an influential integrative mechanism for the economy and nation, both spatially and socially. Despite economic liberalization, the state found the commission to be an eminently useful public policy instrument and has continued to retain it. The commission has proven to be a flexible and adaptable organization, receptive to new ideas. Since liberalization, its approach to planning has changed (a) from comprehensive planning to indicative planning; (b) from planning for state hegemony to adapting to private sector expansion; (c) from planning for a producer state to planning for a quasi-welfare state; and (d) from centralization to coordination in planning. Challenges abound, however. The commission's key role in economic integration both over the short and long run, particularly as a link between the center



and states, nonetheless makes it worthy of strengthening, not weakening.

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Wayne Simpson, Winnipeg Jared J. Wesley

Effective Tool or Effectively Hollow? Balanced Budget Legislation in Western Canada

in Canadian Public Policy , volume 38 n.3 , 411-435

Two decades have passed since the first wave of balanced budget legislation (BBL) in Canada. This passage of time and the recent economic downturn afford researchers the opportunity to evaluate the success of these regulations in encouraging fiscal responsibility. This paper provides both a quantitative analysis of the impact of BBL on expenditure growth and a qualitative assessment of BBL in Western Canada as these four western provinces confronted the Great Recession of 2008–09. On both accounts, our analysis suggests that BBL did not fare particularly well in terms of its original objectives. Our empirical analysis shows that BBL had no discernible effect in restraining expenditure growth relative to revenue growth in most provinces, leaving them in a vulnerable fiscal position to avert deficits during economic recession. We illustrate this vulnerability among Western Canadian governments when confronted with the Great Recession. In other [End Page 291] words, BBL was neither strong enough to limit expenditure growth during the good times nor adequate to prevent governments from choosing to run deficits during the bad times. Our analysis suggests that, like any piece of legislation, BBL is only as effective as the political will and public support surrounding it.

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Jesús Ruiz-Huerta Carbonell

El endeudamiento de las Comunidades Autónomas: límites y problemas en el contexto de la crisis económica

in Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals, n. 15 , 124-163

La persistència de la crisi econòmica a Espanya ha col·locat el dèficit i l'endeutament de les administracions públiques en un lloc central del debat polític i econòmic. En un escenari tan descentralitzat com l'espanyol, tot i reconeixent el protagonisme del deute estatal, una part del creixement del dèficit i de l'endeutament s'explica per les dificultats de les Comunitats autònomes per finançar els serveis que en depenen. L'article descriu les característiques dels desequilibris dels comptes públics de les comunitats en el context de l'Estat espanyol, així com les limitacions normatives en el finançament de les despeses amb deute. Per altra banda, s'ofereixen algunes explicacions d'aquests desequilibris, en bona part, vinculades a la mateixa crisi, tot i que, en opinió dels autors, hi ha altres factors que cal tenir en compte per explicar els desajustos: el pes de les despeses en serveis de benestar bàsics i de forta demanda (sanitat o educació), les polítiques expansives destinades a combatre la crisi en l'etapa inicial, l'existència d'abundants ingressos, considerats com a extraordinaris pels gestors públics (tributs associats al boom immobiliari) i el seu enfonsament amb la crisi, l'endeutament creixent a través d'empreses públiques, i, entre altres causes, l'absència de mecanismes efectius d'exigència de responsabilitats destinats a evitar els excessos de despesa produïts en algunes comunitats.

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Kalmanovitz Salomón



**El federalismo y la fiscalidad del Estado Soberano de Panamá, 1850-1886  **

in *Revista de economia institucional*, VOLUMEN 14, NÚMERO 27, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2012

La historia económica de Panamá durante el siglo XIX es bastante desconocida en Colombia y la de sus cuentas fiscales es un laberinto difícil de entender. Esta investigación enfrenta ambos problemas, recurriendo a la demografía, a la geografía y a los presupuestos del Estado Soberano de Panamá. Se plantea, además, que el sistema federal de 1855 y 1886 constituyó un *modus vivendi* aceptable para los dirigentes del istmo. Los intereses estratégicos de Panamá se vieron comprometidos por el centralismo que se consolidó con la Constitución de 1886. El reparto inequitativo de la renta del ferrocarril entre Bogotá y Panamá, el fracaso en la construcción del canal interoceánico, la Guerra de los Mil Días que ganaron los conservadores, y la negación del tratado Herrán-Hay se conjugaron para que las élites panameñas abandonaran a Colombia.

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Kalmanovitz Salomón

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in *Revista de economia institucional*, VOLUMEN 14, NÚMERO 27, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2012

La historia económica de Panamá durante el siglo XIX es bastante desconocida en Colombia y la de sus cuentas fiscales es un laberinto difícil de entender. Esta investigación enfrenta ambos problemas, recurriendo a la demografía, a la geografía y a los presupuestos del Estado Soberano de Panamá. Se plantea, además, que el sistema federal de 1855 y 1886 constituyó un *modus vivendi* aceptable para los dirigentes del istmo. Los intereses estratégicos de Panamá se vieron comprometidos por el centralismo que se consolidó con la Constitución de 1886. El reparto inequitativo de la renta del ferrocarril entre Bogotá y Panamá, el fracaso en la construcción del canal interoceánico, la Guerra de los Mil Días que ganaron los conservadores, y la negación del tratado Herrán-Hay se conjugaron para que las élites panameñas abandonaran a Colombia.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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David Albouy

Evaluating the efficiency and equity of federal fiscal equalization

in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 96 n.9-10 , 824-839

Theoretically, federal transfers that make household location decisions efficient should ignore local cost differences, subsidize positive externalities, and offset differences in federal-tax payments and local taxes levied on non-residents, but not local tax revenues from residents. Transfers that redistribute resources equitably across regions will likely target areas with individuals of low earnings potential or low real incomes. Applying these criteria empirically, Canadian equalization policy appears neither efficient nor equitable, but exacerbates pre-existing inefficiencies and underfunds minorities. Locational inefficiencies cost Canada 0.41% of income annually and cause over-funded provinces to have populations of 30% beyond their efficient long-run levels.

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Pratibha Agarwal

Federal Fiscal Transfers: Theories and Contestations

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 24th Issue, 2/2011 , 60-74

As opposed to a system of direct involvement of the central government in local service delivery, a system of formal inter-governmental grants distorts the tax effort or expenditure decisions of the local government. The incentives built into the transfer system determine the nature and extent of such budgetary effects. While in the earlier theorization of the impact of grants “flypaper effect” commanded greater attention, the dominant concern of the second-generation theories is equity and efficiency. Recent theories examine the role of federal transfers vis-à-vis these issues using principal-agent and game theory models. The paper observes that there is plethora of methodological, empirical and conceptual issues that need to be settled while analyzing the federal fiscal relations in Indian economy.

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John William Hatfield, Katrina Kosec

Federal competition and economic growth

in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 97 , 144-159

This paper exploits exogenous variation in the natural topography of the United States to estimate the causal impact of inter-jurisdictional competition on income growth. We find that doubling the number of county governments in a metropolitan area leads to a 17% increase in the average annual growth rate of earnings per employee over 1969–2006, and a 10% increase in 2006 income per employee. Decomposing income effects using 2000 Census worker-level data, we find that approximately half of the effect stems from making workers more productive, while the other half comes from changing the composition of the workforce and inducing workers to work more hours. We also present evidence that inter-jurisdictional competition leads local governments to raise more in taxes, spend more, and issue more debt (per capita), but does not help them obtain more inter-governmental transfers. However, the additional cost from this increase in expenditures to a median-wage employee is much smaller than the increase in that employee's wages due to greater inter-jurisdictional competition.

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Barbara Patrick

Fiscal Federalism, Performance Policies, and Education Reforms: Are States Using Performance Policies to Improve Workforce Quality?

in *Politics & Policy*, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 593–628

Performance policies aim to use provisions such as competitive recruitment packages, performance pay, outcome-based tenure decisions, and sanction to enhance the quality of the public sector workforce. Federal Race to the Top and No Child Left Behind policies have promoted the adoption of such principles among the states by linking funding to their implementation. While all 50 states have developed performance policies, the policies vary in strength and rigor. This research uses fiscal federalism and other state characteristics to assess factors affecting commitment to performance workforce development policies among the states. It finds that state need and commitment to federal



initiatives influence the strength of voluntary state performance policies. It also finds that performance workforce development policies influence the dismissal of underperforming educators and the retention of highly qualified employees. However, a negative relationship is reported between policy strength and the retention of highly qualified teachers.

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Isabel Argimón, Pablo Hernández de Cos

Fiscal Rules and Federalism as Determinants of Budget Performance An Empirical Investigation for the Spanish Case

in *Public Finance Review*, volume 40 n.1 , 30-65

This article analyses the role of different potential determinants on the fiscal results of the Spanish regions (RGs). The empirical analysis suggests several conclusions. First, the fiscal rule in force between 1992 and 1998 does not appear to have had a significant effect on the fiscal balances of the autonomous regions. With regard to the degree of fiscal autonomy, a higher level in this variable is associated with a more disciplined behavior by RGs. The results also show that the greater transfer of tax revenues to the RGs, associated with a greater devolution of power, has generated greater dependency of fiscal performance on the economic cycle. There is also a strong inertial component in the implementation of fiscal policy in RGs.

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Ong Lynette H.

Fiscal federalism and soft budget constraints: The case of China

in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 33, n. 4, september , 455-474

ABSTRACT: China has been held up as a modern-day exemplar of 'market-preserving federalism.' This article challenges this popular belief by showing that its local governments face soft budget constraints. Fiscal indiscipline among subnational governments, which risks national indebtedness and macroeconomic instability, can pose serious dangers to federations. A large body of literature which proposes solutions to fiscal indiscipline through electoral incentives and political party structure cannot be applied to China. The Chinese Communist Party's cadre-evaluation and dual accountability systems make it an imperative for local officials to augment fiscal revenue and allow them to tap resources at local credit institutions. This has resulted in mounting local government debt, the lion's share of which is unrepaid loans owed to local credit institutions. To harden budget constraints, political institutions need to be reconfigured to allow the central government more effectively to hold local authorities accountable for resources deployed in achieving their job-performance targets.

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Neliana Rodean

Fiscal federalism in Italy. Between necessity and sustainability

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 95 , 215-239



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Milio Simona

Gli effetti perversi della «Multi-Level Governance» e del principio di partenariato. Evidenza dall'esperienza italiana

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 1-2, marzo-giugno , 71-114

No abstract available

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Caruso Enza, Dirindin Nerina

Health care and fiscal federalism: paradoxes of recent reforms in Italy

in *Politica economica*, 2, 2012, agosto , 169-196

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Sascha O. Becker, Peter H. Egger, Valeria Merlo

How low business tax rates attract MNE activity: Municipality-level evidence from Germany

in *Journal of Public Economics*, volume 96 n.9-10 , 698-711

Most existing empirical evidences on the impact of profit taxation on multinational firm activity are based on cross-country data. One major drawback of such data is that countries differ not only with regard to taxes but also with other dimensions which might be hard to capture by means of observable characteristics. We compile a database of more than 11,000 municipalities in Germany to analyze the sensitivity of location decisions of foreign MNEs in Germany with respect to business tax rates which are levied directly by the municipalities. We find that higher business tax rates have a negative effect on three alternative measures of MNE activity, after controlling for other determinants of firm location decisions: the number of foreign MNEs, MNE employment, and MNE fixed assets. Our results suggest that tax competition among regional entities for foreign investors is a game of a few. In cross-section instrumental-variable regressions, a one-percent reduction of the municipal business tax rate (equivalent to a decline by about 0.14 percentage points) leads to an increase in the number of legally independent foreign-owned firms by about 0.45. The average municipality would have to reduce its business tax rate by about 2.2 percentage points (or 15%) from its average level to attract one foreign MNE. Hence, municipalities need to be attractive in other dimensions to be able to use tax instruments to attract foreign firms at the margin.

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Gianfranco Postal

Il concorso delle autonomie speciali agli obiettivi di finanza pubblica: il Trentino-Südtirol: dalle norme di attuazione statutaria del 1992 all'accordo di Milano
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 937-966

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Brancasi Antonio

Il coordinamento della finanza pubblica nel federalismo fiscale
in *Diritto pubblico*, numero : 1, gennaio-aprile , 451-482

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
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Sharon N. Kioko, Christine R. Martell

Impact of State-Level Tax and Expenditure Limits (TELS) on Government Revenues and Aid to Local Governments
in *Public Finance Review*, volume 40 n.6 , 736-766

This article investigates the impact of state-level tax and expenditure limits (TELS) on state government revenues and aid to local governments. Using an instrumental variable approach to control for endogeneity, the authors find that the general fund TELS (i.e., revenue and expenditure limits) have led to substantial increases in tax and nontax revenues. States with procedural limits (i.e., those with voter approval and/or legislative supermajority requirements votes) have significantly lower tax revenues. For states with these procedural limits, their ability to impose new or higher taxes is limited by the rules for passing such legislation. This study also finds that states with general fund TELS have higher levels of aid to local governments, while those with procedural TELS have lower levels of aid. Local government property tax limits do not have any impact on taxing authority of states and have only marginal impacts on the state-aid programs.

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Lily Hsueh and Aseem Prakash

Incentivizing self-regulation: Federal vs. state-level voluntary programs in US climate change policies
in *Regulation & Governance*, Volume 6, Issue 4 , Lily Hsueh and Aseem Prakash

How does program sponsorship influence the design of voluntary programs? Why and how do voluntary programs on climate change sponsored by the state and federal governments in the United States vary in their institutional design? Scholars emphasize the signaling role of voluntary programs to outside stakeholders, and the excludable benefits that induce firms to take on non-trivial costs of joining voluntary programs. Scholars have noted several types of benefits,



particularly reputational benefits programs provide, but have not systematically studied why different programs emphasize different types of benefits. We suggest that excludable benefits are likely to take different forms depending on the institutional context in which program sponsors function. We hypothesize that federal programs are likely to emphasize less tangible reputational benefits while state programs are likely to emphasize more tangible benefits, such as access to technical knowledge and capital. Statistical analyses show the odds of a voluntary program emphasizing tangible benefits increases by several folds when the program is sponsored by the state as opposed to federal government.

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Roger H. Gordon, Julie Berry Cullen

Income redistribution in a Federal system of governments

in **Journal of Public Economics**, volume 96 n.11/12 , 1100-1109

Though the traditional literature in fiscal federalism argues that the Federal government should have primary responsibility for income redistribution, U.S. states are in fact actively engaged in redistribution. This paper develops a positive model of the respective roles of state and Federal governments that can rationalize this observation. Redistribution by states creates positive horizontal fiscal externalities to other states due to migration, but negative vertical fiscal externalities to the national government due to changes in reported taxable income. We forecast that states will engage in at least some redistribution, though to a lesser degree the greater are mobility relative to taxable income elasticities. The Federal government can then choose the degree of Federal redistribution to assure that the net externalities are zero. Given such policies, we then estimate the welfare weights and migration elasticities for different income groups that would generate the effective net tax schedules observed in the U.S. The parameter estimates are broadly plausible, suggesting that the model can help explain the division of responsibilities for redistribution between state and Federal governments.

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Eichner Thomas, Runkel Marco

Interjurisdictional Spillovers, Decentralized Policymaking, and the Elasticity of Capital Supply

in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 102, No. 5, August 2012 , 2349–57

This paper points to the important role that the elasticity of aggregate capital supply with respect to the net rate of return to capital plays for the efficiency of policymaking in a decentralized economy with mobile capital and spillovers among jurisdictions. In accordance with previous studies, we show that under the assumption of a fixed capital supply (zero capital supply elasticity) the decentralized policy choice is optimal. If the capital supply elasticity is strictly positive, however, capital tax rates are inefficiently low in the decentralized equilibrium.

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Huart, Florence



Is Fiscal Policy Procyclical in the Euro Area?

in **German Economic Review**, volume 14 n.1 , 73-88

We test the relationship between the cyclically adjusted primary balance and alternative indicators of cyclical conditions for the euro area and 18 OECD countries over the period 1970–2009. A countercyclical stance of discretionary fiscal policy is found during bad times after 1999 in the euro area as a whole and in a few member countries only (France, Ireland and The Netherlands). It is also associated with high public deficits or low public debts. There is no significant case of procyclical fiscal policy after 1999, neither in good times nor in bad times

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Buglione Enrico, Filippetti Andrea

L'andamento dei rapporti finanza centrale-municipale nell'attuazione del federalismo fiscale

in **Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno**, numero : 1-2, marzo-giugno , 49-70

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Antonini Luca

La possibile dinamica del federalismo fiscale: dalla democrazia della spesa alla democrazia delle virtù

in **Diritto della regione (il)**, n. 4-5

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Eva María Cordero González

La reforma de la constitución financiera alemana. En particular, el nuevo límite al endeudamiento de la Federación y los Länder

in **Teoria y realidad constitucional**, n. 29 , 298-324

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Tosi Loris

Le problematiche conseguenti ai decreti attuativi della riforma del federalismo fiscale



in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 4-5

Section A) *The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government*

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Nicholson-Crotty Sean

Leaving Money on the Table: Learning from Recent Refusals of Federal Grants in the American States in fiscal federalism

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 449-466

Recent years have been marked by high-profile refusals of federal grant aid by state governments. These refusals raise several questions. First, is there anything new here? Second, does partisanship alone explain these decisions? And finally, do the explanations for recent decisions provide insights into state behavior over the longer term? This article reviews state refusals of federal money over the past fifty years, explores the degree to which partisanship can explain recent grant refusals, and uses those insights to predict state-level applications to three very different grant programs. The results suggest that there is little novelty in recent events and that the interaction of partisan and electoral pressures has been influencing state-level applications for grants-in-aid for decades.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Crivelli Ernesto

Local governments' fiscal balance and privatization in transition countries

in *Economics of Transition*, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2012

Several transition economies have undertaken fiscal decentralization reforms over the past two decades along with liberalization, privatization and stabilization reforms. Theory predicts that decentralization may aggravate fiscal imbalances, unless the right incentives are in place to promote fiscal discipline. This study uses a panel of 20 transition countries over 19 years to address a central question of fact: Did privatization help to promote local governments' fiscal discipline? The answer is clearly 'no' for privatization considered in isolation. However, privatization and subnational fiscal autonomy along with reforms to the banking system – restraining access to soft financing – may prove effective at improving fiscal balances among local governments.

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Paul Chaney

Mainstreaming intersectional equality for older people? Exploring the impact of quasi-federalism in the UK

in *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 28 n.1 , 21-42

Using an analytical framework based on European Commission directives and United Nations resolutions calling for a



mainstreamed and intersectional approach to age equality, this paper examines the UK's devolved administrations' governance practices and territorially specific public policy on older people. The findings reveal mixed progress. Whilst a number of mainstreaming prerequisites have been secured and divergent, 'regional' equality rights and welfare entitlements established, shortcomings are also apparent including reliance on an intercategory, additive approach to intersectionality, one that falls short of fully addressing the diverse needs and identities of older people.

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Giertz Seth, Tosun Mehmet S.

Migration elasticities, fiscal federalism and the ability of the States to redistribute income

in *National Tax Journal*, volume 65 n.4 , 1069-1092

This paper develops a simulation model in order to examine the effectiveness of state attempts at redistribution under a variety of migration elasticity assumptions. Key outputs from the simulation include the impact of tax-induced migration on state revenues, excess burden, and fiscal externalities. With modest migration elasticities, the costs of state-level redistribution are substantial, but state action may still be preferred to a federal policy that is at odds with preferences of a state's citizens. At higher migration elasticities, the costs of state action can be tremendous. Overall excess burden is greater, but this is dominated by horizontal fiscal externalities. Horizontal fiscal externalities represent a cost to the state pursuing additional redistribution, but not a cost at the national level.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Zimmermann Hubert

No Country for the Market: The Regulation of Finance in Germany after the Crisis

in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 484-501

The severity with which the financial crisis struck Germany in 2008 came as a shock to German elites. The relatively traditional shape of its bank-based financial system was supposed to isolate the country from the vagaries of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. Instead, the government was forced to unprecedented steps, such as the de facto nationalisation of banks and an unlimited guarantee on savings deposits. A comprehensive reform of financial regulation in the country seemed imperative. This article evaluates change in the institutional structure of financial sector regulation and supervision in Germany. The inconclusive debate about the reorganisation of financial supervision, the emergence of new regulation in the field of bank restructuring, and the attempted reform of the deposit insurance system are used as empirical cases. It is argued that the constraints of the German political system impeded the comprehensive reform that might have been expected after a major shock. Instead, a pattern of institutional layering was perpetuated which contains the germs of future dysfunctions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Tucciarelli Claudio

Pareggio di bilancio e federalismo fiscale

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4, dicembre , 799-828



The recent reform of the Italian Constitution establishes the balanced budget rule, in compliance with the fiscal compact treaty. The reform has a highly symbolic meaning. However, the actual impact of the amendment on the Italian legal system cannot be evaluated at the moment, but only after its full implementation through laws provided by the reform. Does the reform restrict the revenue and expenditure autonomy of Regions and local authorities? How does the reform affect the Italian «fiscal federalism», that already allows a widespread coordination role of the State? The answer to this questions can be only given at the very end of a complex implementation process

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Pérez Hualde Alejandro

Presupuesto: “subestimación” y federalismo

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 12 -

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Tim Lohse, Julio R. Robledo

Public Self-Insurance and the Samaritan’s Dilemma in a Federation

in *Public Finance Review*, volume 41 n.2 , 92-120

Motivated by recent disasters, this article analyzes the risk-sharing aspect in a federation. The regions can be hit by a shock leading to losses that occur with an exogenous probability and in a stochastically independent way. The regions can spend effort on self-insurance to reduce the size of the loss. Being part of a federation has two countervailing welfare effects. On one hand, there is the well-known welfare increase due to risk pooling. On the other hand, the self-insurance effort is a public good, because all regions benefit from the reduction of the loss. There exists a Samaritan’s dilemma kind of effect whereby regions reduce their self-insurance effort potentially leading to an overall welfare decrease. The central government can solve this dilemma by committing to fixed rather than to variable transfers. This induces regions that behave noncooperatively to choose the efficient level of self-insurance effort.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ekaterina Domorenok, Maria Stella Righettini

Qualità della governance e regolazione dei flussi finanziari. Il caso dei Fondi Strutturali in Italia

in *Rivista Italiana di Politiche Pubbliche*, n.2 , 253-284

The article aims to outline analytical and conceptual links existing between the quality of governance and the



administrative/institutional capacity by looking at the system of management and control of the financial flows of EU Structural Funds. Moreover, the present work tries to identify conditions of failure and success of the regulation process in the context of multilevel public policies. The article argues that variation in the effectiveness and efficiency of policy implementation across EU countries cannot be exhaustively explained by institutional variables embedded in the formal procedural and institutional requirements, whereas the performance of key actors involved in such a process should be taken into consideration. To this end the authors propose some criteria, which regard different dimensions of accountability and allow to assess the quality of governance.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Alber Elisabeth, Valdescalici Alice

Reforming Fiscal Federalism in Europe: Where Does the Pendulum Swing?

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 325-365

Against the backdrop of the financial and economic crisis, federal and regional States are engaging in several reforms. The financial constitutional design and institutional setting in the area of fiscal and financial matters are being revised in order to better adapt to the current challenges, which result both from the supranational sphere of economic governance and the domestic one. The rationale behind these reforming processes lies in the struggle between the apparent needs to re-centralize while accommodating decentralization claims. The paper focuses on federal and highly regionalized European States by adopting a comparative domestic perspective and investigates reform processes in the area of fiscal matters and financial intergovernmental relations. It explores the most significant features that permeate the various legal orders, trying to single out the different trends in shifting powers in favour of either (re)centralization or decentralization. To this extent the recognition of autonomy on the revenue side and the accommodation of autonomy and solidarity within the new fiscal regimes will be analyzed. Moreover, intergovernmental cooperation in fiscal and financial areas will be scrutinized trying to point out crucial characteristics from a comparative perspective. To this regard particular attention will be given to major recently established bodies and procedures in the fiscal and public finance area as well as to their role within domestic economic governance.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Maria Stella Righettini

Regional government and public management: the case of Lombardy

in Amministrare, 3/2012 , 333-376

This article deals with the public management reform undertaken by the Regional Government in Lombardy during the last two decades and examines how the adoption of the performance-oriented management system is influenced by the reorganization of the regional government. After focusing on the political and institutional context in which the reform has occurred, it outlines the main changes introduced in the regional government arena in the transition from the "first republic" to the "second republic" since the mid-1990s. In spite of the fact that legacy and administrative culture are usually considered a factor of continuity in the Italian administrative system, Lombardy represents a case of successful change management. A strong emerging political and bureaucratic leadership allowed regional government to modernize public management (mobility, evaluation and performance related pay). The article concludes that, aside from the upcoming changes to the political institution of government in the near future, the crucial challenge will be the



change management within the executive arena and the new relationship patterns between public managers and politicians.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Rivlin Alice M.

Rethinking Federalism for More Effective Governance

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 387-400

For common reasons the federal government and most state governments face rising structural deficits even as the economy recovers. An aging population requires retirement income and increasingly expensive health care, while a prosperous economy requires public investment in skills, technology, and infrastructure. However, stressed federal and state tax systems are increasingly inadequate. The author revisits proposals, made twenty years ago, for substantial changes in fiscal federalism designed to help both levels function more effectively. She argues that the case for dividing the governmental job more sharply between the two levels is stronger than ever and explores the pros and cons of devolving elementary and secondary education to the states. She argues for common shared taxes, especially a broad-based federal consumption tax shared with the states.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Carabba Manin

Riflessioni su federalismo e welfare

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 1-2, marzo-giugno , 5-10

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Doan Alesha E., McFarlane Deborah R.

Saying No to Abstinence-Only Education: An Analysis of State Decision-Making

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 613-635

As a rule, American states try to maximize their share of federal funds. This study addresses an unusual case of states rejecting federal dollars. Here, the spurned monies were block grants for abstinence-only education, intended to discourage adolescent sexual activity. These grants became available in 1998, but by 2009, twenty-five states had rejected them. Using a conceptual framework drawn from fiscal federalism and morality politics, we explore the dynamics of these state decisions through an event history analysis. The results suggest that states' rejection of abstinence-only funds were largely driven by partisanship and ideology rather than by fiscal maximization or state needs. We argue that this case is a bellwether for fiscal federalism in a polarized polity.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Staderini Alessandra

Spesa pubblica e decentramento fiscale

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 4-5

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Pagliarin Carola

Spesa sanitaria e federalismo fiscale

in *Diritto della regione (il)*, n. 4-5

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Libman Alexander

Sub-national political regimes and asymmetric fiscal decentralization

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 23, Issue 4, December 2012 , 302-336

This paper develops a model to explain how sub-national political regimes affect the variation in retention rates in a country in which a region and a central government bilaterally bargain over the distribution of tax revenue given a particular tax rate (and thus fiscal decentralization is asymmetric). This study examines cases in which both sub-national and national governments have the same political regime (democracies and non-democracies) and situations in which the

central and regional political regimes differ. This article shows that in the latter case, regions receive a smaller share of tax revenue for a broad set of parameters of the model (as opposed to the case of a pure non-democracy); in the case of identical political regimes, the comparative fiscal decentralization is determined by the productivity-enhancing effect of regional public goods.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Won Joong Kim, Shawkat Hammoudeh, Eisa A. Aleisa

Synchronization of Economic Shocks between Gulf Cooperation Council and United States, Europe, Japan and Oil Market: choice of exchange rate regime

in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, volume 30 n.4 , 584-602

Using a structural vector autoregression (SVAR) with block exogeneity, this study examines the impacts of external shocks originating from the United States, the European Union, Japan, and the oil market as well as those of the regional shocks, on the oil-rich countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), viewed as a prospective monetary union. It takes into account the implications of the shock impacts for selecting an appropriate common exchange rate arrangement. The SVAR variance decomposition and impulse response analyses strongly underscore the relative impacts of the global shocks over the regional ones. The findings imply that the world's two major currencies, the U.S. dollar and the euro, should figure highly in a GCC's common basket of currencies. Accordingly, a transitional movement to a more flexible exchange rate arrangement such as a basket peg may be desirable for these trade-dependent economies in the long run, as is argued in the optimal currency literature for developing countries.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Baskaran Thushyanthan

Tax Decentralization and Public Deficits in OECD Countries

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 688-707

This article explores the effect of sub-national tax autonomy and sub-national control over shared taxes on primary deficits with panel data for 23 OECD countries over the 1975–2000 period. The results suggest that sub-national tax autonomy has a U-shaped effect on primary deficits. We find that the “average” country in the sample could increase the fiscal stability of its public sector by reducing sub-national tax autonomy. There is also some indication that sub-national control over shared taxes increases fiscal stability, but we obtain this result only if Belgium and Spain are included in the sample.

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Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Ferede, Ergete, Dahlby, Bev

The Impact of tax Cuts on Economic Growth: evidence from Canadian provinces

in *National Tax Journal*, volume 65 n.3 , 563-594

We examine the impact of the Canadian provincial governments' tax rates on economic growth using panel data covering the period 1977-2006. We find that a higher provincial statutory corporate income tax rate is associated with lower private investment and slower economic growth. Our empirical estimates suggest that a 1 percentage point cut in the corporate tax rate is related to a 0.1-0.2 percentage point increase in the annual growth rate. Our results also indicate that switching from a retail sales tax to a sales tax that is harmonized with the federal value-added sales tax boosts provincial investment and growth.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Hamilton James D., Owyang Michael T.

The Propagation of Regional Recessions

in *Review of Economics and Statistics*, volume 94 n.4 , 935-948

This paper develops a framework for inferring common Markov-switching components in panel data sets with large cross-section and time series dimensions. We study similarities and differences across U.S. states in the timing of business cycles. We hypothesize that there exists a small number of cluster designations, with individual states in a given cluster sharing certain business cycle characteristics. We find that although oil-producing and agricultural states can sometimes experience a separate recession from the rest of the United States, for the most part, differences across states appear to be a matter of timing, with some states entering recession or recovering before others.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

González Lucas

The Redistributive Effects of Centralization and Decentralization across Subnational Units

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 47, Number 3, 2012 , 109-133

Several scholars have argued that decentralization benefits states and municipalities, granting them more autonomy for managing their budgets and more resources to deliver their services. Others have questioned this assertion, claiming that decentralization makes subnational units more fiscally dependent on central governments. This article argues that the fiscal impact of decentralization must be differentiated across states. It theoretically specifies and empirically demonstrates which states benefit during periods of decentralization and centralization. It argues that powerful presidents who centralize resources have imposed greater costs on more developed and fiscally independent districts (which prefer to administer their own resources and can be serious challengers to presidential power), thus relying mainly on support from less developed and more fiscally dependent provinces, which prefer more redistribution. I present empirical evidence for Argentina (1983–2004), a developing federation with strong governors and high cross-regional inequality, and discuss some implications for comparative studies on the topic.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kholodilin Konstantin A., Oshchepkov Aleksey, Siliverstovs Boriss

The Russian Regional Convergence Process. Where Is It Leading?

in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 50, Number 3 / May-June 2012 , 5-26

This paper investigates income convergence among Russian regions between 1998 and 2006. It makes two major contributions to the literature on regional convergence in Russia. First, it identifies spatial regimes using the exploratory spatial data analysis. Second, it examines the impact of spatial effects on the convergence process. Our results show that the overall speed of regional convergence in Russia, being slow by international standards, becomes even slower after controlling for spatial effects. However, when accounting for spatial regimes, we find a strong regional convergence



among high-income regions located near other high-income regions. Our results indicate that estimating the speed of convergence using aggregate data may result in misleading conclusions regarding the nature of the convergence process among Russia's regions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Padovano Fabio

The drivers of interregional policy choices: Evidence from Italy

in **European Journal of Political Economy**, Volume 28, Issue 3, September 2012 , 324-340

Theoretical developments in political economy analyses of intergovernmental transfers identify several factors previously ignored in the empirical literature and emphasize the importance of institutional details. Combined, these two developments create a degrees of freedom problem and make cross country samples less meaningful. This paper circumvents these problems by examining an Italian regional panel that minimizes the set of institutional conditioning factors and is large enough to examine a comprehensive set of explanatory variables. The estimates confirm the relevance of most political determinants and of standard economic and socio-demographic determinants of interregional redistribution. Differences in type of expenditures and intergovernmental relations are also considered.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Adam Stevenson

The labour supply and tax revenue consequences of federal same-sex marriage legalization

in **National Tax Journal**, volume 65 n.4 , 783-806

This paper estimates the effects of same-sex marriage legalization on federal income tax revenue using changes in taxation generated from the 2003 Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act. These estimates rely critically on the responsiveness of labor supply and marital choice to changes in the tax code. In addition, this paper proposes a novel measure of the marriage penalty that incorporates the fact that individuals will respond optimally to changes in marginal tax rates within the household. The estimates suggest that legalization will result in a small gain, around \$34 million per year, in federal income tax revenue.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Katherine Baickera, Jeffrey Clemensa, Monica Singhal

The rise of the states: U.S. fiscal decentralization in the postwar period

in **Journal of Public Economics**, volume 96 n.11/12 , 1079-1091

One of the most dramatic changes in the fiscal federalism landscape during the postwar period has been the rapid growth in state budgets, which almost tripled as a share of GDP and doubled as a share of government spending between 1952 and 2006. We argue that the greater role of states cannot be easily explained by changes in Tiebout



forces of fiscal competition, such as mobility and voting patterns, and are not accounted for by demographic or income trends. Rather, we demonstrate that much of the growth in state budgets has been driven by changes in intergovernmental interactions. Restricted federal grants to states have increased, and federal policy and legal constraints have also mandated or heavily incentivized state own-source spending, particularly in the areas of education, health and public welfare. These outside pressures moderate the forces of fiscal competition and must be taken into account when assessing the implications of observed revenue and spending patterns.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Martin Ruf, Alfons J. Weichenrieder

The taxation of passive foreign investment: lessons from German experience

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economie*, volume 45 n.4 , 1504-28

The paper evaluates the working of German CFC rules that restrict the use of foreign subsidiaries located in low-tax countries to shelter passive investment income from home taxation. While passive investments make up a significant fraction of German outbound FDI, we find that German CFC rules are quite effective in restricting investments in low-tax jurisdictions. We find evidence that the German 2001 tax reform, which unilaterally introduced exemption of passive income in medium- and high-tax countries, has led to some shifting of passive assets into countries for which the exemption was previously limited.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Lauren M. Phillips

Towards Greater Fiscal Union?: The Context and Precedent for Joint European Bonds

in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 32, Number 2 , 33-40

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Brollo Fernanda, Nannicini Tommaso

Tying Your Enemy's Hands in Close Races: The Politics of Federal Transfers in Brazil

in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, issue 4, november , 742-761

ABSTRACT: This article uses a regression discontinuity design in close electoral races to disclose purely political reasons in the allocation of intergovernmental transfers in a federal state. We identify the effect of political alignment on federal transfers to municipal governments in Brazil, and find that—in preelection years—municipalities in which the mayor is affiliated with the coalition (and especially with the political party) of the Brazilian president receive approximately one-third larger discretionary transfers for infrastructures. This effect is primarily driven by the fact that the federal government penalizes municipalities run by mayors from the opposition coalition who won by a narrow margin, thereby tying their hands for the next election.



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Bergo Monica

Una prospettiva comparata per un welfare federale

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 22

)

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Porto Alberto

Una revisión del funcionamiento del federalismo fiscal en la Argentina

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen n° XXV

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Roberto Di Maria

Un'ipotesi per la razionalizzazione del sistema economico-finanziario: i paradigmi del federalismo funzionale e della sussidiarietà verticale come "codici" per l'attuazione del federalismo fiscale e della "democrazia di bilancio"

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 1-2 , 21-56

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Barth James R.

Us Debt and Deficits: Time to Reverse the Trend

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 32, Issue 3, October 2012 , 97-101

This article provides a primer on budget deficits from the creation of the federal government. Today federal government spending is 24% of GDP (compared with its historical average of 8.8%), fuelling debt of historic levels. The only effective way to reduce debt levels is to cut entitlement programmes and then set a tax rate sufficient, over the course of the business cycle, to fund government spending.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Foster, John M.

Voter Ideology, Economic Factors, and State and Local Tax Progressivity
in *Public Finance Review*, volume 41 n.2 , 177-203

This study examines the relationship between voter ideology and the distribution of tax burdens across income groups using state and local data, aggregated at the state level, for 1995, 2002, and 2007. I find that average voter liberalism is positively related to subnational tax progressivity. However, the effects are economically insignificant. A states ethnic demographic context appears to be more important. The ethnic congruence between the poor and the nonpoor is positively related to progressivity and the effects are economically significant. The tension between ethnic groups, measured with an index of residential segregation, is inversely related to progressivity. The effects are larger in magnitude than those of average voter liberalism. It is possible that the ethnic demographic context reflects aspects of voter preferences that are not captured by measures of voter ideology.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Lederman, Leandra

What do Courts have to do with it? The judiciary role in making federal tax law
in *National Tax Journal*, volume 65 n.4 , 899-916

The Internal Revenue Code is an important source of federal tax law, but it is not the only source. The U.S. Department of the Treasury and Internal Revenue Service issue important guidance, and federal courts interpret all of these authorities. This essay provides an overview of federal tax litigation, at both the trial and appellate levels, and discusses the interplay among Congress, the Treasury, and the judiciary in developing federal tax law.

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Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Ray C. Fair

What it Takes to Solve the US Deficit Problem?
in *Contemporary Economic Policy*, volume 30 n.4 , 618-628

This paper uses a structural multi-country macroeconometric model to estimate the size of the decrease in transfer payments (or tax expenditures) needed to stabilize the U.S. government debt/gross domestic product (GDP) ratio. It takes into account endogenous effects of changes in fiscal policy on the economy and in turn the effect of changes in the economy on the deficit. A base run is first obtained for the 2013:1–2022:4 period in which there are no major changes in U.S. fiscal policy. This results in an ever increasing debt/GDP ratio. Then transfer payments are decreased by an amount sufficient to stabilize the long-run debt/GDP ratio. The results show that transfer payments need to be decreased by 2% of GDP from the base run, which over the 10 years is \$3.2 trillion in 2005 dollars and \$4.8 trillion in current dollars. The real output loss is 1.1% of baseline GDP. Monetary policy helps keep the loss down, but it is not powerful enough in the model to eliminate all of the loss. The estimates are robust to a base run with less inflation and to one with less expansion.



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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Gal Jens, Sehrbrock David

Verfahrens- und materiellrechtliche Anforderungen an die vorzeitige Abberufung von Vorstandsmitgliedern der Deutschen Bundesbank

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 137, Number 3, July 2012 , 360-400

Prima vista, the board members of the Central Bank of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Bundesbank, seem to be the only public servants in Germany that may not be divested of office. The authors of the present article, however, take the position that whilst no legal provision exists that would explicitly allow the board members of the Bundesbank to be relieved from office such a dismissal, nevertheless, remains possible. The necessity for such a power to dismiss was highlighted in 2004, when former Bundesbank President Ernst Weltecke was caught up in the so-called Adlon-scandal, which involved him accepting an invitation to the Adlon Hotel by the Dresdner Bank and to a Formula 1 race in Monaco by BMW (which is also the parent company of the BMW Bank). The necessity was reiterated in 2010 when public outcry formed against board member of the Bundesbank Thilo Sarrazin, who had repeatedly made headlines with his (personal) public statements on the unwillingness of immigrants of Islamic belief to adapt to German society and the supposed genetic reasons for their inaptitude to succeed in the working place. While the aforementioned affairs were both dissolved by the respective protagonist's resignation, they have shown that despite the Bundesbank's utmost need for independence, circumstances may arise that would make it inevitable to recall a member of the Bundesbank even against his will.

The authors adopt the view that the dismissal should be treated as something akin to an *actus contrarius* of the nomination and the revocation procedure should, thus, follow the lines of the appointment procedure in an inverted manner. In doing so, one has to reject the (unofficial) stance of the Bundesbank that the grounds for revocation and the revocation procedure may be laid down in the articles of employment concluded between the Bundesbank and each member of its board. Since revocation regards the termination of a public office, which comes into existence by a public administrative act, i.e. the appointment, its requisites and its procedure may not be left for a contract to decide. Since the procedure of revocation, thus, mirrors the procedure of nomination, only the Federal Government, the Bundesregierung, or the upper house of the German parliament, the Bundesrat, depending on which body nominated the member in question, may request the German President, the Bundespräsident, to recall the member from office. In divergence to the Bundesbank's position and its contractual practice, the board of the Bundesbank itself is not an admissible appellant. The board is only involved insofar that the respective appellant, i.e. Bundesregierung or Bundesrat, has to invite the board to submit its opinion before transmitting the request for dismissal to the Bundespräsident. The authors then elaborate what circumstances might amount to sufficient grounds for a revocation and identify all legal measures the board member in question, the board of the Bundesbank itself or the Governing Council of the ECB may take before German courts or before the ECJ against any decision relieving a member of the board of the Bundesbank from his office. The grounds for dismissal can be taken from Art. 14.2 of the Statute of the ESCB, which applies directly to the President of the Bundesbank - but also (although indirectly) to all other members - and allows a dismissal only where the person in question no longer fulfils the conditions required for the performance of his duties or if he has been guilty of serious misconduct.

Despite the solutions offered one must still regret the legal uncertainty that attaches to the permissibility of dismissal, of its procedure and its requisites. The legislator should, insofar, feel strongly invited to pass new legislation regarding the



dismissal of board members of the Bundesbank. Such provision should, however, pay heed to the Bundesbank's need of and right to independence, which has been paramount to the continued success of Germany's monetary policy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Robert L. Hetzel

Central bank accountability and independence: Are they inconsistent?

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.3 , 616–625

The language of discretion offers little information about monetary policy beyond the assurance that policymakers always “do the right thing at the right time”. This language renders problematic the reconciliation of central bank independence with accountability. Monetary policymakers should articulate an analytical framework using the language of economics that allows them to respond to the question, “What variables does the central bank control and how does it exercise that control”.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Jeffrey Miron

Comment on “Selgin, Lastrapes, and White’s ‘Has the Fed Been a Failure?’”

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.3 , 631–636

In “Has the Fed Been a Failure?,” Selgin, Lastrapes, and White (SLW) argue that U.S. aggregate economic performance has not obviously improved since the founding of the Fed in 1914. They also suggest that alternatives to the Fed, such as a gold standard, might have generated better performance. I present additional data that challenge these conclusions.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Michael D. Bordo

Could the United States have had a better central bank? An historical counterfactual speculation

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.3 , 597-607

This article argues that two alternative hypothetical central bank scenarios could have improved upon the Federal Reserve's track record with respect to financial stability and possibly overall macroeconomic performance in its first century. The first scenario is to assume that the charter of the Second Bank of the United States had not been revoked by Andrew Jackson in 1836 and the Second Bank survived. The second scenario takes as given that the Second bank did not survive and history evolved as it did , but considers the situation in which the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 was closer to the original plan for a central bank proposed by Paul Warburg in 1910.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Bofinger Peter

Das infernalische Dreieck. Wie Staatsschuldenkrise, Bankenkrise und Rezession den Euroraum gefährden
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2012, 51-62

Als Mario Draghi, der Chef der Europäischen Zentralbank, am 6. September ankündigte, dass die EZB ab jetzt unlimitiert Staatsanleihen von Euro-Krisenländern aufkaufen werde, brach speziell in Deutschland umgehend ein Proteststurm über ihn herein. Dabei hatte Draghi das einzig Richtige unternommen: Würde die EZB jetzt nicht aktiv werden und Anleihen aufkaufen, drohte das Auseinanderbrechen der Eurozone.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Helder Ferreira de Mendonça, Ivando Fari

Financial market reactions to announcements of monetary policy decisions: Evidence from the Brazilian case
in *Journal of Economic Studies*, volume 40 n.1, 54-70

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to make an analysis of the Brazilian experience after the adoption of inflation targeting concerning the effects caused by the new practices of transparency and communication in the monetary policy.

Design/methodology/approach – Changes in the financial market's expectations due to monetary policy actions are analyzed based on methodologies proposed by Cook and Hahn and Kuttner. Daily data from transactions in the interbank deposit futures market of the Securities, Commodities and Futures Exchange (BMF&BOVESPA) are used for the period July 1999-January 2009. Two sub-periods are also considered: the "maturation period" – the first phase of the effects caused by an increase in central bank transparency; and the "wisdom period" – the second phase in the financial market's perception regarding an environment with more transparency.

Findings – The findings are in consonance with the idea that an increase in central bank transparency and communication improves the efficiency of expectations hypothesis of the term structure of interest rate and the anticipation of changes in the interest rate target.

Originality/value – This study offers some new insights into how central bank communication improves the efficiency of the monetary policy for developing countries, which have adopted inflation targeting.

- See more at:

<http://www.emeraldinsight.com/journals.htm?issn=0144-3585&volume=40&issue=1&articleid=17073144&show=abstract#sthash.ek9yPLhM.dpuf>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

George Selgina, William D. Lastrapesa, Lawrence H. White

Has the Fed been a failure?

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.3, 569-596

As the 100th anniversary of the 1913 Federal Reserve Act approaches, we assess whether the nation's experiment with the Federal Reserve has been a success or a failure. Drawing on a wide range of recent empirical research, we find the



following: (1) The Fed's full history (1914 to present) has been characterized by more rather than fewer symptoms of monetary and macroeconomic instability than the decades leading to the Fed's establishment. (2) While the Fed's performance has undoubtedly improved since World War II, even its postwar performance has not clearly surpassed that of its undoubtedly flawed predecessor, the National Banking system, before World War I. (3) Some proposed alternative arrangements might plausibly do better than the Fed as presently constituted. We conclude that the need for a systematic exploration of alternatives to the established monetary system is as pressing today as it was a century ago.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Clark, William Roberts - Arel‐Bundock, Vincent

Independent but Not Indifferent: Partisan Bias in Monetary Policy at the Fed

in **Economics and Politics**, volume 25 n.1 , 1-26

Independent central banks are thought to be effective inflation hawks because they are run by technocrats with conservative monetary policy preferences. However, central bankers can only protect their independence by compromising with the elected officials who grant them their independence. Policy, therefore, is likely to be a weighted average of the preferences of the central bank and the government. Consequently, central bankers may be eager to help right‐wing governments stay in power and oppose the election of left‐wing governments. We show evidence from the United States that interest rates (a) decline as elections approach when Republicans control the White House, but rise when Democrats do; and (b) are sensitive to the inflation rate (output gap) when Democrats (Republicans) are in the White House. Thus, the Federal Reserve is a conditional inflation hawk. Since the Fed became operationally independent in 1951, the Republicans have exhibited a decided electoral advantage in presidential politics.

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Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Aglietta Michel, Carton Benjamin, Szczerbowicz Urszula

La BCE au chevet de la liquidité bancaire

in **Lettre du CEPII**, n. 321, May - 2012

Les tensions sur le marché de la dette souveraine, le processus de nettoyage du bilan des banques et les signes de récession apparus fin 2011 ont obligé la Banque centrale européenne à mettre en œuvre une série de mesures non-conventionnelles d'ampleur de plus en plus importante. Ces mesures ont permis une accalmie provisoire sur les marchés. Au-delà de cet épisode, la crise financière qui a débuté en août 2007 a souligné la nécessité, pour la BCE, de soutenir la stabilité financière et de répondre à l'hétérogénéité croissante des situations économiques au sein de la zone euro. Cette nouvelle donne exclut toute "normalisation" de l'action de la BCE et demande une redéfinition de ses objectifs et de ses instruments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Cosse Pierre-Yves

L'année du Draghi

in **Esprit**, Octobre 2012 , 122-124



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Benjamin M. Friedman

Rules versus discretion at the Federal Reserve System: On to the second century

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, volume 34 n.3 , 608–615

Much of the experience of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, during the institution's first hundred years, has revolved around controversies that fit squarely within the classical debate over rules versus discretion in economic policymaking. This paper looks back at the major episodes in this history since World War II, including the initial freeing of monetary policy from war-related interest-pegging, the Federal Reserve's delayed but ultimately successful response to the inflation of the 1970s and early 1980s, the brief experiment with monetary aggregate targets, the extraordinary actions prompted by the 2007-9 financial crisis, and the current tentative exploration of inflation targeting. The paper concludes that the tension between the desire for rule-based policymaking and the practicalities that lead central bankers to preserve discretion in actual policy decisions does not admit of any easy, straightforward solution, and therefore that this tension is likely to persist into the Federal Reserve's next century too.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Allan H. Meltzer Corresponding author contact information

The Federal Reserve (almost) 100

in **Journal of Macroeconomics**, volume 34 n.3 , 626–630

As the Federal Reserve reaches its hundredth anniversary, understanding its achievements and failures serves as a useful guide to needed reforms. My paper is an invited comment on the analysis by Selgin, White, and Lastrapes who conclude that the Federal Reserve's performance is not an improvement on pre-Federal Reserve policy. I draw a slightly different conclusion. The only periods in which the Federal Reserve achieved relatively steady growth and low inflation are the two periods in which it acted as if guided by a rule. The years are 1923–1928 under a modified gold standard and 1985–2003 when it acted as if it followed a Taylor rule.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Ehrmann Michael, Eijffinger Sylvester, Fratzscher Marcel

The Role of Central Bank Transparency for Guiding Private Sector Forecasts

in **Scandinavian Journal of Economics**, volume 114 n.3 , 1018-1050

Central banks have become remarkably more transparent over the last few decades. In this paper, we study the effects of this evolution, focusing on whether enhanced central bank transparency lowers dispersion among professional forecasters of key economic variables. We use a large set of proxies for central bank transparency in 12 advanced economies. We find evidence for a sizeable effect (e.g., by announcing a quantified inflation objective, or by publishing inflation and output forecasts). However, there are decreasing marginal effects to increases in transparency,



and the disagreement among the expectations of the general public is not affected. This suggests that there are possible limits to transparency.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Puriya Abbassi, Tobias Linzert

The effectiveness of monetary policy in steering money market rates during the financial crisis

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, volume 34 n.4 , 945-954

The financial crisis has deeply affected money markets and thus, potentially, the proper functioning of the interest rate channel of monetary policy transmission. Therefore, we analyze the effectiveness of monetary policy in steering euro area money market rates by looking at (i) the predictability of money market rates on the basis of monetary policy expectations and (ii) the impact of extraordinary central bank measures on money market rates. We find that during the crisis money market rates up to 12 months still respond to revisions in the expected path of future rates, even though to a lesser extent than before August 2007. We attribute part of the loss in monetary policy effectiveness to money market rates being driven by higher liquidity premia and increased uncertainty about future interest rates. Our results also indicate that the ECB's non-standard monetary policy measures as of October 2008 were effective in addressing the disruptions in the euro area money market. In fact, our estimates suggest that non-standard monetary policy measures helped to lower Euribor rates by more than 80 basis points. These findings show that central banks have effective tools at hand to conduct monetary policy in times of crises.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Petrevski, Goran - Bogoev, Jane - Sergi, Bruno

The link between central bank independence and inflation in Central and Eastern Europe: are the results sensitive to endogeneity issue omitted dynamics and subjectivity bias?

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, volume 34 n.4 , 611-651

This paper provides an empirical analysis of the association between central bank independence (CBI) and inflation for 17 Central and Eastern European economies from 1990 to 2009. We employ a dynamic panel data model estimated with a "system" generalized method of moments, which incorporates several control variables as well as accounts for the subjectivity bias in the construction and interpretation of CBI indexes. The main finding of our empirical research is that, after introducing dynamics in the empirical model and controlling for the effects of other macroeconomic and institutional variables, the usual significant and negative relationship between CBI and inflation disappears.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

William T. Gavin, Benjamin D. Keen

U.S. Monetary Policy: A View from Macro Theory

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 24 n.1 , 33-49



We use a dynamic stochastic general equilibrium model to address two questions about U.S. monetary policy: 1) Can monetary policy elevate output when it is below potential? and 2) Is the zero lower bound a trap? The model's answer to the first question is yes it can, but the effect is only temporary and probably not welfare enhancing. The answer to the second question is more complicated because it depends on policy. It also depends on whether it is the inflation rate or the real interest rate that will adjust over the longer run if the policy rate is held near zero for an extended period. We use the Fisher equation to analyze possible outcomes for situations where the central bank has promised to keep the interest rate near zero for an extended period.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Aleš Bulíř, Martin Řihák, Kateřina Šmídková

Writing Clearly: The ECB's Monetary Policy Communication

in *German Economic Review*, volume 14 n.1 , 50-72

The article presents a novel methodology for measuring the clarity of central bank communication using content analysis, illustrating the methodology with the case of the European Central Bank (ECB). The analysis identifies the ECB's written communication as clear in about 85–95% of instances, which is comparable with, or better than, similar results available for other central banks. We also find that the additional information on risk to inflation and especially projection risk assessment contained in the ECB's Monthly Bulletins helps to improve communication clarity compared to ECB's press releases. In contrast, the bulletin's communication on monetary developments has a negative, albeit small, impact on clarity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Boyer Alain

La coopération intercommunale en France

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 583 - 599

Municipalities with less than 20,000 inhabitants account for more than 60% of the French population; those with less than 10,000 account for more than 50%; more than one-third of the population lives in towns with less than 3,500 inhabitants. These data succinctly suggest why inter-municipal cooperation is a necessity in France in the 21st century. The French legislature has identified several forms of inter-municipal organization, featuring varying levels of integration. Their policy objective is to achieve a reduction in the number of municipalities, and inter-municipal cooperation has been identified as the tool to achieve this result.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Berionni Laura

La strategia macroregionale come nuova modalità di cooperazione territoriale



in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 727 - 754

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Akrivopoulou Christina , Dimitropoulos Georgios, Koutnatzis Stylianos-Ioannis G.

The "Kallikratis Program": The Influence of International and European Policies on the Reforms of Greek Local Government

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 653 - 694

The global economic crisis that broke out in 2008 has severely affected Greece due mainly to its unsustainable levels of public spending. Greece's major reaction, supported by measures agreed upon with the IMF, the European Central Bank and the EU, has been to introduce austerity measures that have focused primarily on cutting public administration costs and consolidating national and local government functions. The aim of the austerity measures is to cut local government spending to the lowest possible cost and in the most effective way. In this framework the "Kallikratis program" introduced in 2010 has aimed to implement the following reforms: (a) consolidate local and decentralized government entities to achieve their financial viability, (b) enhance transparency and legality in their functioning, (c) improve governmental effectiveness based on relevant EU standards. Consistent with Greek courts' longstanding deferential approach vis-à-vis local government reforms, the Kallikratis reforms are widely expected to pass constitutional muster.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jeremy L. Hall and Edward T. Jennings, Jr.

Administrators' Perspectives on Successful Interstate Collaboration: The Drug Effectiveness Review Project in State and Local Government Review, Vol. 44, n. 2, June , 127-136

Governance increasingly relies on intergovernmental and intersectoral collaboration in providing public services. This research reports perceptions of state representatives to the multistate collaborative Drug Effectiveness Review Project about the importance of factors influencing successful collaboration. Findings reveal state motivation to collaborate is closely tied to project governance and suggest how future efforts might be structured to achieve success. Among other factors, a disconnect between ends and means allows the process to function objectively; objective production of drug effectiveness information and subjective use of information in state policy decisions are distinct processes, reducing conflict that might otherwise jeopardize project sustainability.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Morrone Andrea

Avanti popolo... regionale!

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 3, settembre , 615-618

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Judith Bakker, Bas Denters, Mirjan Oude Vrielink & Pieter-Jan Klok

Citizens' Initiatives: How Local Governments Fill their Facilitative Role

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 395-414

In the context of drastic cutbacks many Dutch municipalities consider citizens' initiatives (CIs) as an attractive alternative for municipal policies aimed at improving the livability and safety in neighbourhoods, simultaneously building responsible citizenship. In this paper we combine different theoretical perspectives to analyse the institutional settings in which CIs are being realised, and how municipalities try to facilitate such initiatives. Municipalities can do this by either trying to structure the relevant networks or by various forms of process management. This analysis sheds light on how municipalities use a variety of instruments to mobilise citizens to participate in CIs. In using such instruments they can influence various factors (like motivations, personal resources, social capital and expected responsiveness; cf. Lowndes et al.'s CLEAR model) that increase the likelihood of civic engagement.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Madeleine Pilla* & Nick Baileyb

Community Empowerment or a Strategy of Containment? Evaluating Neighbourhood Governance in the City of Westminster

in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 731-751

The longstanding emphasis on the neighbourhood as a scale for intervention and action has given rise to a variety of forms of governance with a number of different rationales. The predominant rationales about the purpose of neighbourhood governance are encapsulated in a fourfold typology developed by Lowndes and Sullivan (2008). This article sets out to test this approach by drawing on an evaluation of neighbourhood initiatives in the City of Westminster which were delivered through a third sector organisation, the Paddington Development Trust. 'Insider' perspectives gathered at city and neighbourhood levels regarding the infrastructure for neighbourhood management are discussed and evaluated in the light of these rationales. The conclusions, while broadly reflecting Lowndes and Sullivan and a follow-up study of Manchester, suggest that in Westminster the civic and economic rationales tend to predominate. However, the Westminster approach is contingent on the prevailing ethos and funding regimes at central and local levels and remains relatively detached from mainstream services. While community empowerment is an important part of the policy rhetoric, it is argued that in practice a 'strategy of containment' operates whereby residents in the neighbourhoods have relatively little control over targets and resources and that new governance mechanisms can be relatively easily de-coupled when required. In retrospect, co-production might have been a more effective model for neighbourhood



governance, not least given its fit with policy direction.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Di Peri Rosita

Costruzione identitaria e democrazia locale in Libano

in *Meridiana*, n. 73-74, 2012 , 231-256

Identity Construction and «Local Democracy» in Lebanon

The article explores the relationship between identity, politics and «local democracy» in the contemporary Lebanon. Its aim is to analyse the increasing interest of the Lebanese political forces in the local dimension, in order to understand how and to which extent this is a genuine interest or a calculated interest. In the first section the article examines the aspects that, in a historical perspective, affected the construction of the State in Lebanon and had a strong impact in building the Lebanese confessional system, namely the cultural, religious and international factors. Those elements played a key role in slowing (and, sometimes, blocking) a process of empowerment from below that would lead to the emergence of a shared civic culture, a crucial element for the realization of a common path towards «local democracy». The second section will outline the «local decision-making process» of Lebanon, its limits and its intrinsic potential. After a short overview on the administrative structure, the article will analyze some recent projects and local dynamics (especially the municipal elections) in order to show how the «local democracy» dimension in Lebanon, despite its progress, is still deeply rooted.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wright Chris

Cutting Edge Thinking

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 3, July-September 2012 , 520-523

The Credit Crunch ushered in an era of austerity with massive cuts and job losses. It highlighted the gulf between the world of real people and the abstraction of high finance. Put simply, to prevent the melt-down of the global economy, the needs, hopes and ambitions of millions are being sacrificed. Who controls and issues money is key. To be viable any system must be big enough for people to have faith it won't fail, and it has to be administered soundly. Local government is accountable to its electorate and, as such, should put their welfare first. It is essentially an administrative machine and certainly isn't going to go away. A truly local economy could emerge with authorities initially paying part of their staff's wages in local currency and accepting it in payment of rates. At a stroke, job cuts could be reversed and people's skills and experience valued again.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Rudy Jarrett



Do You Have the Time? Modernity, Democracy, and the Beginnings of Daylight Saving Time in Montreal, 1907–1928

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 93, Number 4, December , 531-554

This article looks at the most significant public debate over time in Montreal's history: the beginnings of daylight saving time (1907–1928). Seeing daylight saving time as an example of the disembedding of time from place, the article demonstrates the importance of local social dynamics in the creation of meanings of modernity. Daylight saving time began as an idea to save money and improve people's lives, though it was ridiculed until the First World War, when it was put in place in Montreal and much of North America and Europe. Yet after the war, it was rejected as a national measure, and subsequently much of North America and eventually even the Island of Montreal turned into a patchwork of time zones. The article argues that the difficult beginnings of daylight saving time in Montreal were due to the unequal benefits of changing the clock, rural–urban tensions, the Canadian federal system, conflicts between ethno-religious institutions, Montreal's tenacious mayor, and the economic power of businesses to shape time.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Yan Wu, Wen Wang

Does Participatory Budgeting Improve the Legitimacy of the Local Government?: A Comparative Case Study of Two Cities in China

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 71 n.2 , 122-135

This research applies David Beetham's theory of legitimacy to analyse the current decision-making procedures of public budgeting in mainland China. Specifically, it evaluates the impact of two forms of participatory budgeting (PB) on improving the legitimacy of public budgeting in two regional provinces/cities; Wuxi (near Shanghai) and Wenling (a coastal city some 400 km south of Shanghai). Comparative case studies are employed to compare and evaluate the effectiveness of PB in the two cities. The comparisons are made from all three aspects of legitimacy based on Beetham's framework, investigating in which aspects and to what extent PB has contributed to enhancing the legitimacy of budgetary decision-making. Difficulties and limitations in promoting PB in China are also discussed.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Carlin, Patrick

Doing As They Are Told? Subregional Language Policies in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Wales

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.1 , 67-86

This article analyses efforts by subregional government to plan for and implement language policy (LP). It aims to show that this governance level is key to a more nuanced understanding of the locations within which language policies are created, brought to fruition and evaluated. With this in mind, data from six subregional authorities in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, the Autonomous Community of Catalonia and Wales are employed. Additionally, from the particularity of each region and subregional authority, these data are applied more generally to analyse party political support for LP activity as well as LP interaction across governance tiers. This paper discusses the extent to which regional governments' legislative and fiscal support (or relative lack of support) for overall LP objectives influences, restricts or otherwise engages subregional government LP activity. Understanding the relationship between



the first two objectives will help to link local empirical data with the third objective that of beginning to unravel the role that non-statewide nationalist and regional branches of statewide political parties play as LP facilitators at both subregional and regional level. Party activity in LP is subsequently interpreted as a measure through which to emphasize the values of (often overlapping) identity and solidarity patterns.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Belaunde Domingo García

Estado Y Municipio en el Perú

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 1/2013

After having explained the meaning of terms like Unitary State, Federal State, Regional State, Centralism and Decentralism, with historical and comparative remarks, the essay focuses on the Peruvian model of local government and on the main role of Municipalities. The survey focuses on the list of competencies that the Constitution reserves to these bodies, their evolution in the framework of constitutional changes, the characteristics of Peruvian Municipalism. In this regard, the work examines the concept of "Ley Organica", which accomplishes the integration of the regulations concerning the Municipalities, and investigates the normative nature of the Municipal "Ordenanzas".

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Yonatan Tesfaye Fessha

Federalism, Subnational Constitution and Local Government: Accommodating Minorities Within Minorities

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 77-100

Not a single federation has been successful in demarcating the territorial matrix of the federation into ethnically pure subnational units. This includes federations that are primarily designed to accommodate ethnic diversity. There are usually ethnic minorities scattered in the midst of subnational majorities. The focus of this contribution is on how the institutional design of states can be used to respond to the challenges of minorities within minorities. This article proposes the adoption of constitutional principles that would guide ethnically plural subnational units in their dealing with internal minorities. A subnational constitutional framework that is based on the constitutional principles of self-rule (and possibly shared rule), this article argues, represents the best hope in addressing the majority-minority tension that characterizes subnational units in multinational federations

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Barrutia Jose M., Echebarria Carmen

Greening regions: the effect of social entrepreneurship, co-decision and co-creation on the embrace of good sustainable development practices

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 55, Issue 10 , 1348-1368

Adoption of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) in Europe has been very uneven. However, the embrace (or eager adoption) of LA21-like tools by local governments is usually considered as a requisite to achieve the sustainable development (SD)



global aims. This research analyses a successful networking practice in the Basque Country (BC) over an 8-year period in order to identify the main dimensions that explain the embrace of LA21 by Local Governments (LGs). The Basque experience is studied using a qualitative and a quantitative approach. Results show that the factors of entrepreneurial presence (at the regional and local levels), co-decision and co-creation have an effect on local government embrace of the LA21. We also study the motivational mechanisms underlying co-decision and co-creation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jie Gao

How Does Chinese Local Government Respond to Citizen Satisfaction Surveys? A Case Study of Foshan City
in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, volume 71 n.2 , 136-147

Three decades of economic liberalisation in China have reshaped relationships between the state, market and community to a remarkable degree. In recent years, a growing body of literature has documented the rise of citizen satisfaction surveys in assessing the performance of Chinese local government. Yet little is known about how Chinese local government responds to such surveys. This article addresses this gap. Based on a case study of Foshan City in Guangdong Province, this article shows that information in citizen satisfaction surveys is used in two major ways in this locality: the city's leadership officials use the information to support pre-existing policies while departmental officials use it to improve service delivery. This study shows that, with the rising power of the community, citizen satisfaction surveys can be an important intermediary between the Chinese state and its citizens and help local government to be more responsive to citizen needs.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Nobile Riccardo

Il riordino delle province a Costituzione vigente: azioni del legislatore, riallocazione delle funzioni ed evidenti problemi di costituzionalità

in *Comuni d'Italia*, Numero 4-5

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Adam Gendźwiłł

Independent Mayors and Local Lists in Large Polish Cities: Towards a Non-partisan Model of Local Government?

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 501-518

The enormous success of local independent lists and independent mayors in Poland suggests it is important to examine their distinctive features, analyse the place they occupy in local politics, and explore the model of local government they encourage. This paper deals with these topics by investigating some extreme cases of non-partisanship at the local level. Research was conducted in three arbitrarily chosen Polish cities governed by independent mayors and dominated



by independent lists in the local legislatures. Mixed quantitative and qualitative methods were used: a survey among city councillors; and individual key-informant interviews (IDI). Non-partisans appear to be a separate category of local politicians, different in terms of their views on politics. They explain their non-partisanship using anti-partisan, historical or tactical justifications. It seems that non-partisanship can be a means of institutionalising a particular manner of understanding and engaging in politics. Local lists organised by independent mayors are informal, concentrating on the leader and performing only some of the traditional functions of parties. This paper demonstrates that, due to the vague nature of the links between local politicians and their administration, independent councillors may serve only as a 'democratic addition' to a local administration headed by a skilful manager.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

McGarvey Neil

Inter-Municipal Cooperation: The United Kingdom Case

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 3 , 523 -548

This paper outlines the practice of inter-municipal cooperation (more commonly referred to as shared services) in the United Kingdom. Like many things the UK approach leaves it as something of an outlier in relation to the continental European norm. The scale of local government, nonproportional electoral system and deeply embedded systems of centralisation contribute to its outlying status. However, recent developments would temper this thesis of UK exceptionalism. Local government in the UK is presently in the midst of what could be called a 'perfect storm' – a UK Government deficit reduction programme which is cutting back central grant coupled with rising expectations and demands for local government services. Faced with this climate councils are looking to new ways to increase efficiency, make savings and increase their own income. Sharing of services has emerged as an important part of that agenda. The institutional context (which influences the way actors define their interests and preferences) in the UK is changing, and the sharing of services between different local authorities is becoming more common practice.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Besley Timothy, Pande Rohini, Rao Vijayendra

Just Rewards? Local Politics and Public Resource Allocation in South India

in *World Bank Economic Review (The)*, Volume 26 Issue 2 2012 , 191-216

What factors determine the nature of political opportunism in local government in South India? To answer this question, we study two types of policy decisions that have been delegated to local politicians—beneficiary selection for transfer programs and the allocation of within-village public goods. Our data on village councils in South India show that, relative to other citizens, elected councillors are more likely to be selected as beneficiaries of a large transfer program. The chief councillor's village also obtains more public goods, relative to other villages. These findings can be interpreted using a



simple model of the logic of political incentives in the context that we study.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bilancia Paola

L'associazionismo obbligatorio dei Comuni nelle più recenti evoluzioni legislative

in Federalismi, Anno X - Nr. 16

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Agnoletto Roberta

La città metropolitana nelle recenti riforme

in Comuni d'Italia, Numero 4-5

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Boggero Giovanni

La conformità della riforma delle province alla carta europea dell'autonomia locale

in Federalismi, Anno X - Nr 20

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cerredera Marcos Alemeida

La cooperación entre Municipios: una posible alternativa a la reordenación de la planta local en España

in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 3 , 599 - 638

The article begins with a definition of what is meant by inter-municipal cooperation and then examines the principal means by which it is achieved (or could be achieved). The strengths and weaknesses of inter-municipal cooperation are highlighted, in order to identify solutions for the improvement of the discipline and the conditions for its implementation and promote its use among Spanish municipalities.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Woelk Jens

**La cooperazione inter-municipale in Germania: alla ricerca di un equilibrio fra autonomia ed efficienza
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 3 , 549 - 582**

Conceptually, inter-municipal cooperation (IMC) remains an exception in the German system of local government. The rule is the fulfilment of all tasks concerning the local community by the municipality protected in its autonomy through an essential core of guaranteed functions. The legislation in many Länder has provided for various forms of IMC in private as well as in public law, usually on a voluntary basis (sometimes stimulated by incentives). The article analyses the territorial reforms enacted in the 1970s and 1990s, which were intended to reduce the number of municipalities and increase their size in order to improve their administrative capacity and efficiency. The main forms of IMC are presented and illustrated before some problems related to specific issues of IMC are discussed, in particular concerning EU law. In conclusion, some critical observations are made regarding the effects of IMC on the institutional equilibria at the local level.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tubertini Claudia

**La razionalizzazione del sistema locale in Italia: verso quale modello?
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 3 , 695 - 726**

Under the pressure of the economic crisis, Italian local government has undergone reforms that have deeply changed its distinctive features. If the goal of these reforms – i.e., the reduction of public spending – and their effects – the reduction of autonomy – are clear, the resulting model of local government is less. The essay identifies the main features of this rationalization process and assesses its impact on local government's ability to address effectively citizens' needs.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cruz e Silva Pedro

**La riforma del potere locale in Portogallo
in Istituzioni del federalismo, n. 3 , 639 - 652**

The article, after a short introduction on the local government system in Portugal, focuses on current institutional reforms, which are leading to



a significant reduction and amalgamation of Portuguese local authorities (the fregusias). The author highlights the limitations and weaknesses of this process, which is bound to produce more wide-reaching organizational changes than the mere creation of a new map of the local administration.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Evelise Plénet

La réforme des collectivités territoriales: quand la Constitution s'en mêle

in *Droit et société*, n. 81 , 383-401

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Jorio Ettore

Le unioni dei comuni tra il caos delle funzioni e la (in)compatibilità con le risorse del federalismo fiscale

in *Comuni d'Italia*, Numero 4-5

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cecchetti Marcello

Legge costituzionale n. 1 del 2012 e Titolo V della Parte II della Costituzione: profili di contro-riforma dell'autonomia regionale e locale

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 24

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

de Janvry, Alain - Finan, Frederico - Sadoulet, Elisabeth

Local Electoral Incentives and Decentralized Program Performance

in *Review of Economics and Statistics*, volume 94 n.3 , 672-685

Abstract This paper analyzes how electoral incentives affected the performance of a major decentralized conditional cash transfer program intended on reducing school dropout rates among children of poor households in Brazil. We show that while this federal program successfully reduced school dropout by 8 percentage points, the program's impact was 36% larger in municipalities governed by mayors who faced reelection possibilities compared to those with lame-duck



mayors. First-term mayors with good program performance were much more likely to be reelected. These mayors adopted program implementation practices that were not only more transparent but also associated with better program outcomes.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Schefold Dian

Local Government in Germany

in Italian Papers on Federalism, n. 1/2013

The essay gives a full picture of the position and the regulation of local self-government in Germany. Its existence has an old historical tradition, and it is now recognized under art. 28 of the Basic Law (Grundgesetz, 1949), where local self-government is guaranteed, leaving to the Länder the legislative power on the subject.

The analysis starts from some basic facts, showing the number and importance of local communities. In some Länder a second tier of self-government exists; in some cases, smaller communities have a united administration with others, or may participate in unions of local communities.

The legal framework is provided by the European Charter of Local Self-Government, the Federal constitutional guarantee (art. 28 BL), and the legal concretisation, given only by the legislation of the Länder. The City-States (Berlin, Bremen, Hamburg) have a special position. This is followed by an analysis of competences, powers and services of local authorities; their basic organization; regulation of their human resources; financial resources; property and assets; control, supervision and oversight of their activity and the legal protection of self-government.

Finally, the difficult relations between local government and the European Union are taken into consideration, and in particular the participation of local communities in the decision making of the European Union, which is not guaranteed and is still linked to their influence on decision-making in Germany.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Laire Benit Gbaffou, Laurent Fourchard, Alex Wafer

Local Politics and the Circulation of Community Security Initiatives in Johannesburg

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, volume 36 n.5 , 936-957

The article analyses the emergence and circulation of community-driven security initiatives in two types of setting in Johannesburg, South Africa: street patrols and community courts in pre-apartheid and apartheid townships on the one hand; road closures in post-apartheid middle-class suburbs on the other. In spite of the obvious contrasts, the two types of community security initiatives share two important features: originating in a series of confrontations between the state and community groups; and being shaped, used and driven in accordance with local political interests, by existing or emerging local elites building their constituencies in the city. This grid of analysis stressing the political dynamics of community-driven security initiatives is applied to the global model of community policing, recently imported to South Africa. It usefully complements more classic neoliberal understandings of what community policing means for the governance of security in contemporary African cities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Moulaert, Frank - Hillier, Jean - Musterd, Sako - Miciukiewicz, Konrad - Novy, Andreas - Andreotti, Alberta - Mingione, Enzo - Polizzi, Emanuele

Local Welfare Systems: A Challenge for Social Cohesion

in **Urban Studies**, volume 49 n.9 , 1925-1940

In recent decades, local welfare systems have been emerging in many Western countries as a consequence of bottom-up and top-down transformative pressures. Local welfare systems are defined as dynamic arrangements in which the specific local socioeconomic and cultural conditions give rise to different mixes of formal and informal actors, public or not, involved in the provision of welfare resources. This article presents some of the most important implications related to the emergence of local welfare systems and the challenges they face in seeking to build social cohesion. After a brief description of the reasons that justify a local approach to welfare, an account is provided of the scientific debate on local welfare and an indication given of the possible relations and tensions between the emergence of local welfare systems and the production of social cohesion.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tiley Ian

Local government and regional development Australia committees in New South Wales: Why tensions exist and how they might be resolved - an insider's perspective

in **Public Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 1 , 107-120

In June 2009 and August 2009 respectively, the Commonwealth, in partnership with the NSW Government, commenced the operation of Regional Development Australia (RDA) Committees with the appointment of Chairpersons and members. Minister Crean confirmed broad roles for the Committees, including preparation of Regional Plans and significant involvement in the RDA Fund (RDAF) process. Commonwealth funding of vital hard infrastructure under RDAF has been well received by the local government sector. However, councils have been required to propose projects which, in Round One, were to align with RDA Regional Plans and demonstrate regional significance. Round Two funding required local government proponents to lodge Expressions of Interest (EOI's) for assessment by RDA Committees, which were required by the Commonwealth to select a maximum of three EOIs to go forward for more detailed consideration. These and other matters relating to RDAF have caused tensions between RDAs and local government. The paper discusses those tensions and suggests options to overcome the concerns of local government.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Grant Bligh, Dollery Brian, Kortt Michael

Local government and regional governance in Australia: History, theory and policy

in **Public Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 1 , 1-6

The idea of recasting the Australian political landscape to incorporate an increased recognition of regions is both longstanding and intriguing. For example, in his introduction to *New Australian States*, U. R. Ellis (1933: 9) observed that while 'no complete history of the fight for local self-government in Australia has ever been written the Riverina and New England movements date back more than seventy years and the desire for domestic independence in Central and North



Queensland has existed for almost as long'. Couched in these terms, arguments for increasing the number of states, based upon regional self-identification, were embedded in federalism as political theory. This theory recognised both the validity of the concept of local autonomy, or what Ellis (1933: 9) then referred to as 'home rule' (see, for example, Grant and Dollery, 2012), as well as the dangers of an 'unbalanced federalism', whereby regional and rural areas within states became subservient to the electorally-dominant industrialised cities.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

George Jones

**Local government: the past, the present and the future
in Public Policy and Administration**, volume 27 n4 , 346-367

Local government has faced critical issues since the 1970s. The case is made for local government as the government of local communities. Local government is presented as the government of difference, both responding to and creating differences between areas. The government of difference enhances the learning capacity of the system of government, a function not fully appreciated by central government. The role of local government has been weakened by the policies of successive governments. There has been a failure to recognise the need to strengthen local representative democracy. An almost continuous process of reorganisation has fragmented community government. These issues have arisen from a fundamentally defective relationship between local and central government. The government's approach fails to recognize that the main barriers to the development of localism lie in central government. Centralism remains dominant in the Localism Act and in Whitehall departments, even the Department for Communities and Local Government. The government has failed to provide a financing system for local government that sustains localism: local authorities continue to be dependent on government grants. The way ahead is to change the culture of central government through a code on central-local government relations coordinated across all departments by a unit in the Cabinet Office and monitored by a joint committee of parliament; a genuine Localism Act; and a financial system in which local authorities draw most of their revenue from their own voters with taxes whose rates they determine.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Grant Bligh, Dollery Brian, van der Westhuizen Gert

**Locally constructed regionalism: The city of greater Geraldton, Western Australia
in Public Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 1 , 79-96

Since 2007, the Rudd and Gillard Labor governments have demonstrated a heightened interest in both local government and regional governance arrangements. However, previous attempts at reinforcing the legitimacy of Australian local government and engendering regionalism across the Australian polity have faltered, (see, for example, Megarrity, 2012). Further, combined with forced or encouraged amalgamation programs across all state and territory jurisdictions, local government still resembles the 'poor cousin' in Australia's federal structure (Aulich, 2005). Yet local governments in the majority of Australian jurisdictions have recently been given extensive planning powers, particularly in the form of legislatively mandated Community Strategic Plans (CSPs) which are to be arrived at through processes of community engagement. This paper examines the recently initiated and on-going community engagement process in the City of Greater Geraldton in Western Australia. It is argued that viewed alongside the process of consolidation and federally-initiated regional institutions, an aggressive community engagement strategy is contributing to the reshaping of



the region, in both economic and ideational terms.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Staiano Sandro

Mitologie federaliste ed esperienza del regionalismo

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 20

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Stefania Zerbinati

Multi-level Governance and EU Structural Funds: An Entrepreneurial Local Government Perspective

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 5 , 577-597

This article explores some of the underlying forces that provoke local governments to participate in multi-level governance through the creation of networks at the local as well as European level. We focus on the European funding process within local governments to identify some differences in the process between the Italian and the English local government authorities. Subsequently we observe that entrepreneurship theory could assist in untangling and explaining this phenomenon; therefore we explore the EU funding process from an entrepreneurship angle.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Santiago Eizaguirre, Marc Pradel, Albert Terrones, Xavier Martinez-Celorrío, Marisol García

Multilevel Governance and Social Cohesion: Bringing Back Conflict in Citizenship Practices

in *Urban Studies*, volume 49 n.9 , 1999-2018

This paper revisits the relevance of conflict in governance and citizenship practices in cities. Europe national urban policies were readjusted in terms of economic policies and state expenditures in the 1980s and then again and more severely after the 2008 financial and economic crisis. Policy discourses in urban policy have emphasised the beneficial consequences of social and political consensus in helping cities to restructure economically as part of 'good governance'. At the same time, the paradigm of citizenship understood as a system of social and political inclusion based on economic redistribution and political participation has been substituted by one that has the objective to ensure social cohesion in societies. This substitution renounces the objectives concerning social justice, fails to face the tensions of increasing social inequalities and misses the contribution of social innovation and citizens' practices that incorporate counter-hegemonic ideals as equally important to an effective multilevel governance. A bottom-link approach is suggested as a synthesis of the tension between top-down policies and bottom-up practices.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Miguel Rodrigues, Antonio F. Tavares & J. Filipe Araújo

Municipal Service Delivery: The Role of Transaction Costs in the Choice between Alternative Governance Mechanisms

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 615-638

Service provision by local governments can be delivered using in-house bureaucracies, private firms, and partnerships with other governments or the not-for-profit sector. This production decision has been a major focus of discussion among scholars, practitioners and political agents for the last quarter of a century. The transaction costs framework is an important tool to analyse decisions regarding the production of local services. In this paper, the authors employ this framework to analyse service delivery in Portugal and find that service characteristics and the local political environment play a key role in local officials' choice among the three governance mechanisms to deliver public services.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wolf Frieder, Kraemer Andreas

On the Electoral Relevance of Education Policy in the German Länder

in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 444-463

Education policy in Germany experienced a boom throughout the 2000s. Numerous reforms were implemented, quite far-reaching shifts of party programmes occurred, and the scope of institutions with an educational mandate widened considerably. At the same time, Landtag elections came to be seen as less dominated by federal politics. Yet we still know little about education policy's electoral relevance. The present article, following a most-likely design, analyses those five Landtag elections that were held since the reform of federalism in 2006 for which the importance of education policy ought to have been highest. It turns out that even though education is one of the very few policies which the Länder can decide upon autonomously, and despite the recent upsurge of regional factors in determining the outcomes of such second-order elections, nearly all Landtag elections are won or lost on other battlefields.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Copus Colin, Erlingsson Gissur

Parties in Local Government: a Review

in *Representation*, Volume 48, Issue 2, 2012 , 235-247

Abstract

'Party decline' and 'crisis' have been a long-standing observation of the state of party politics explaining: how parties have lost touch with their electorates, the concentration of power in a small elite disconnected from rank-and-file members and poor internal party democracy. In a local setting we can expect those indicators of decline to be magnified and in this article, we suggest some lessons which may be learned, for the concept of 'party decline', by examining parties in local government. Across Europe, in local government, power has been concentrated in party groups with strong party discipline and important decisions are taken behind closed doors. We maintain that our review, exploring the similar patterns found from research in England and the Nordic countries, generates general insights about the state of parties today, making it reasonable to hypothesise that a general pattern of local party decline across Europe is



emerging, and that this has far-reaching consequences for the functioning of local democracy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Hefetz Amir, Warner Mildred E, Vigoda-Gadot Eran

Privatization and intermunicipal contracting: the US local government experience 1992–2007
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 675-692

Local government scholars are giving increasing attention to market solutions to urban service delivery. Intermunicipal contracting and privatization are two market approaches to reaching economies of scale. Using national data on over one thousand municipalities from across the United States for the 1992–2007 period, we explore the differences between intermunicipal contracting and privatization and assess how the use of these market approaches relates to efficiency, scale, and public engagement factors. Using probit models for each of four survey years (1992, 1997, 2002, 2007), we find these market solutions are only partial responses to the problem of regional coordination and exhibit important differences with respect to place, management, and political concerns. These market solutions exhibit limited efficiency, equity, and voice benefits.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Megarrity Lyndon

Regional dreams: Local government and its relationship with the commonwealth, 1943-75
in **Public Policy**, Volume 7 Issue 1 , 7-22

This paper traces the evolution of the Commonwealth-local government relationship from 1943 to 1975 with an emphasis on federal attempts to incorporate local government within broader regional frameworks. Between 1943 and 1975, local government was seen by the Commonwealth as an important feature of the federal system, but Labor in particular reacted to local issues by wanting to transform local governments into regional authorities, or, at times, by bypassing the local government sector altogether. The ambivalent nature of Labor's relationship with local government reflected the uncertain status of the local government sector in the federal system, as well as the Commonwealth's preference for generic, 'big picture' regionalism over addressing more specific local concerns such as autonomy and identity.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Thomas Denk

Size and Political Support on the Local Level in Sweden
in **Local Government Studies**, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 777-793

Does size of municipality have an impact on political support? This study investigates the connection between municipality size and political support in 55 Swedish municipalities. Three hypotheses about the connection between



municipality size and political support are developed from previous research. These hypotheses claim negative, positive, and no connection between municipality size and political support. In the empirical analysis, two aspects of size (area and population) and eleven aspects of political support (five aspects of political trust, participation in parliamentary and municipal elections, political interests, party identification, and activity in associations) are included. The analysis also includes six aspects of municipality composition (age, education, ethnicity, income, labour market activity and urbanisation). When the three hypotheses are empirically tested, the analysis indicates that several aspects of political support have negative correlations with area size, while only one of the aspects has a negative correlation with population size. However, a major part of the investigated aspects has no connection with municipality size and the connections that are indicated by the analysis are only moderate in their strength.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Arzheimer Kai

Sports Cars, Sleaze and Gamma Rays: Rhineland-Palatinate Elects its First Red-Green Government in German Politics, Volume 21, Issue 3 , 341-354

The 2011 election in Rhineland-Palatinate was a political earthquake: Following a string of political scandals, the SPD lost almost ten percentage points of their support, while the CDU could hardly improve on their disastrous 2006 result. The FDP is no longer represented in the state parliament. The Greens more than tripled their last result, allowing them to enter a coalition with the SPD for the first time.

Analyses at the municipal level show that the party improved most in their urban strongholds while still showing a (relatively) weak performance in rural areas. This will make it difficult to sustain the momentum of their victory. Moreover, the SPD is battered and bruised and needs to select a new leader, but veteran minister president Kurt Beck shows no inclination to step down. This does not bode well for a coalition that needs to organise the state's fiscal consolidation and structural transformation.

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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tima T. Moldogaziev, Martin J. Luby

State and Local Government Bond Refinancing and the Factors Associated with the Refunding Decision in Public Finance Review, volume 40 n.5 , 614-642

The decision to refinance existing debt is a significant one made increasingly by public financial managers. Since state and local governments are somewhat limited by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in their ability to refinance debt, the decision to refund bonds is critical due to the potentially large economic benefits associated with refinancing bonds in the future at lower interest rates. Because of these potential benefits, it would be instructive for policy makers to know some of the covariates associated with this important debt management decision. To that end, this study analyzes refinancing bonds sold by California state and local government issuers between 2000 and 2007. The authors attempt to understand and record a list of issue-specific characteristics, market dynamics, and issuer-related data that are more likely to be related to likelihood to refinance. The authors then discuss the policy implications from these empirical findings.



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Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Balboni Enzo , Carli Massimo

Stato senza autonomie e Regioni senza regionalismo

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 21

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mark Callanan

Subnational Collective Action: The Varied Patterns of Mobilisation of Local Government Associations

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 753-775

This article assesses differences in the way local government associations organise to influence EU legislation in different countries. EU policy outcomes have an increasing financial and administrative impact on local government. This has been increasingly recognised by both EU institutions and many national governments, and recent reforms have sought to ensure greater involvement of local authorities in the preparation of EU proposals and domestic pre-negotiations, with an emphasis on the aggregation of local government interests via European and national local government associations. Research suggests that representative organisations need to be well resourced to be able to mobilise at both European and national level to influence EU proposals. This article empirically assesses these claims by examining attempts by local government associations in England, Denmark and Ireland to influence EU environmental directives. The findings suggest that financial, staffing, and informational resources, as well as structural issues, are important factors influencing how local government representative bodies respond to EU legislative proposals.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Barone Guglielmo

Sull'ampiezza ottimale delle giurisdizioni locali: il caso delle province italiane

in *Politica economica*, 1, 2012, aprile , 77-102

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Cole Alistair

The French State and its Territorial Challenges

in *Public Administration*, Volume 90, Issue 2 , 335-350

This article focuses upon the territorial challenges to the French state. There is a genuine policy puzzle in terms of how to join up separate agencies of the state that is far from unique to France. Introducing new evidence based on interviews



with high ranking officials, politicians and representatives of territorial policy communities in 2010, the main body of the article focuses upon the two main territorial reforms of the Sarkozy presidency, the reform of the territorial state, and the local government reform. These cases reveal an original attempt to craft a political discourse based on public sector productivity and state puissance. The article explores the tension between synoptic models of reform, focused on the expectation of rapid and quantifiable macro-level change that suits the short-term returns of the political cycle; and institutionalized processes of meso-level implementation, with different timescales, logics of appropriateness and configurations of actors.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Andreas Ladner & Julien Fiechter

The Influence of Direct Democracy on Political Interest, Electoral Turnout and Other Forms of Citizens' Participation in Swiss Municipalities

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 4 , 437-459

Based on the data of a survey conducted among Swiss municipalities, this article inquires into the relationship between different institutional settings of local democracy and the amount of political interest of citizens as well as electoral participation and new forms of citizen participation like participatory planning or local agenda 21. The study identifies six distinct settings of local democracy in Switzerland, ranging from pure direct democracy to representative democracy. The analysis shows that the institutional setting of local democracy has no impact on the political interest of the citizens. It also reveals that instruments of direct democracy do not significantly weaken representative democracy as far as electoral participation is concerned. New forms of citizen participation are predominantly used alongside with means of direct democracy.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Matis Laisney

The Initiation of Local Authority Referendums: Participatory Momentum or Political Tactics? The UK Case

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 5 , 639-659

Local authority-initiated referendums have been a cornerstone of the UK Government's drive to improve citizen participation at the local level. Authorities have increasingly made use of local referendums since the 1990s, but little research has been carried out to explain and qualify this surge. Focusing on a case study of a recent referendum in Greater Manchester, and comparing it to other significant local referendums, this article analyses their initiation according to Morel's (2007) functional model. Findings reveal that referendums were most often held to smooth over divisions within local parties or assemblies, to legitimate a controversial decision or to weaken political adversaries. Local authorities therefore never employed referendums as genuine participatory tools, but rather as a pragmatic and tactical solution to a given political problem. Consequently, the long-term impact of local referendums on citizen participation remains questionable.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government



Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Müller Markus-Michael

Transformations to Clientelism: Democratization, (In)security and Urban Policies in the Federal District.
in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN LII - NÚMERO 4

In theory, under the conditions of open electoral competition, an active civil society and institutions that guarantee accountability, clientelism and vote-buying lose their attraction and disappear in the long run. Based on an analysis of political processes in the Federal District, this article examines the survival and transformation of political clientelism in democratic Mexico. An attempt is made to evaluate the causes and consequences of the persistence and continued relevance of political clientelism, placing emphasis on the diversification of "client supply" in the context of local democratization. This diversification increasingly includes the provision of individualized benefits relating to public security, in exchange for political support.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Mark K. Cassell and Sarah Mullaly

When Smaller Governments Open the Window: A Study of Web Site Creation, Adoption, and Presence among Smaller Local Governments in Northeast Ohio

in *State and Local Government Review*, Vol. 44, n. 2, June , 91-100

The vast majority of local governments in the United States have populations with less 5,000. Local government research, particular in the area of e-government, has focused on larger cities. This article addresses the gap in the research but examining empirically the factors that influence the adoption and development of Web sites by smaller local governments.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Esser Daniel E.

'When we launched the government's agenda ...': aid agencies and local politics in urban Africa

in *Journal of Modern African Studies* , Volume 50, Issue 03, September 2012 , 397-420

ABSTRACT

Political realities in the capital cities of impoverished countries emerging from violent conflict illustrate how local actors can be hindered in conducting political affairs independently from the interests and influence of national governments as well as international agencies. This experience problematises the argument that the main cause of political impasse in African cities governed by opposition parties is incomplete decentralisation, whereby a devolution of responsibilities is not matched by a downward reallocation of resources. Although resulting competition constrains local governments' opportunities to deliver basic services, we need to look beyond the national scale to uncover the drivers of institutional change and gauge the promise of donor-driven local political empowerment. Urban politics in Africa continues to be shaped by global aid discourses, which are translated into local policy frameworks through interest convergence between international and national actors. The case of Freetown, Sierra Leone provides an illustration of such



macro-level alignment and resulting local frictions. At the same time, it also demonstrates how local politics have challenged the technocratic, apolitical reinvention of urban governance in the global South perpetuated by the international aid industry.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Linda Michelotti

A dieci anni dalla costituzionalizzazione del regionalismo asimmetrico: una mano sul freno a leva oppure un piede sull'acceleratore per l'art. 116, terzo comma, Cost.?

in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 1-2 , 101-152

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Antonello Tarzia

Acqua, Costituzione e Statuti di autonomia (bienes comunes al resguardo del regionalismo político)

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 2 , 635-664

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Nadasdy Paul

Boundaries among Kin: Sovereignty, the Modern Treaty Process, and the Rise of Ethno-Territorial Nationalism among Yukon First Nations

in **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, Volume 54, Issue 3, July , 499-532

The Canadian government recently concluded a series of land claim and self-government agreements with many First Nations in the Yukon Territory. A result of First Nation claims to land and sovereignty in the region, these modern treaties grant First Nations some real powers of self-governance. They are framed in the idiom of sovereignty, but they also compel First Nation people to accept—in practice if not in theory—a host of Euro-American assumptions about power and governance that are implicit in such a framing. This article focuses on a central premise of the sovereignty concept: territorial jurisdiction. The Yukon agreements carve the Yukon into fourteen distinct First Nation “traditional territories.” Although many assume that these territories reflect “traditional” patterns of land-use and occupancy, indigenous society in the Yukon was not composed of distinct political entities each with jurisdiction over its own territory. Thus, the agreements do not simply formalize jurisdictional boundaries among pre-existing First Nation polities; rather, they are mechanisms for creating the legal and administrative systems that bring those polities into being. The powers these agreements confer come in the territorial currency of the modern state, and territorialization processes they engender are transforming First Nation society in radical and often unintended ways. One significant aspect of this transformation is the emergence of multiple ethno-territorial identities, and corresponding nationalist sentiments. |



examine these processes by focusing on two cases of contemporary boundary making among Yukon First Nations.

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Ilenia Ruggiu

Building Subnational Constitutionalism Through Identity Narratives. The Case of Spain

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 7-35

This paper analyses the process of reform of the Statutes in Spanish Comunidades Autonomas, which began in 2006, in order to stress the role that an identity narrative takes in it. Almost every Statute inserts clauses regarding culture, tradition, historical rights and institutions of the region. After an analysis of some of the main Statutes, the paper focuses on the reasons that have caused this attitude in legal text. In general, identity can be read: as a consequence of the crisis of the National State in favour of local belonging; as a form of reaction toward globalizing process; as a post-materialist value. In the case of Spain all these general causes are present, but the conclusion to which the paper arrives is that identity is played strategically as a tool to obtain more authority. The imitation of the Catalan model, a model of success in obtaining through the years more autonomy by stating 'reasons of identity', pushed the other CAs to play this card as well. If this is the main political reason that underlines the reform, the case of Spain is interesting at a more general level to show the pervasive role that regional cultural identity plays in building subnational constitutionalism as a source of legitimization of more powers, and more symbolic strength for the Regions. Rhetoric narratives, such as historical rights (to self government, to a regional legal and justice system, to regional institutions) or the fact of having an autonomous cultural order from the central state, implement the idea of regions as subjects in search of their own constitutional identity often in contrast with the broader constitutional order. In this sense judgment 38/2010 by the Spanish constitutional court took a clear position in this contrast.

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Rich and Jessica A. J., Gómez Eduardo J.

Centralizing Decentralized Governance in Brazil

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 4, Fall , 636-661

Contrary to the once-popular notion of the central bureaucracy withering away as an outcome of decentralization, scholars have shown that in cases of local policy success, national bureaucrats have instead redefined their roles, strengthening their focus on monitoring and accountability. Yet building national capacity for effective oversight presents a challenge within a context of strong subnational autonomy such as Brazil. Comparing the dynamics of decentralization across two areas of health policy, AIDS and tuberculosis, this article presents one strategy utilized by federal bureaucrats to increase their regulatory capacity: seeking resources located outside the formal political arena. Specifically, national bureaucrats utilize international resources to mobilize local civic groups as policy watchdogs, thus increasing the accountability of subnational politicians both to the center and to the public.

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Shahed Khana & Megumi Khan



Community Bus in Tokyo: Promoting Community Initiative through Decentralisation

in Space and Polity, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 129-151

Public transport can be justified as a public good. Its delivery, however, often proves problematic as it relies on significant government subsidies, especially in the context of low-density urban sprawls. Even in cities with extensive and efficient mass transit systems, coverage of local feeder bus services is often limited. 'Community bus' initiatives in Japan represent a major decentralisation of public transport service provision, whereby decision-making authority shifts to the local government at the city/ward level. A community bus initiative typically involves innovative and effective partnerships between local government, the local community and private operators. Focusing on the decentralisation of authority to enable city/ward governments to initiate innovation in local public transport plans and services through partnerships with the community, this paper describes community bus initiatives being tried out in Japan. Through a review of recent legislative changes and the literature coupled with a study of various community bus schemes in and around Tokyo, the study seeks to describe the roles assumed by main actors, the means adopted to mobilise community resources and the type and level of services provided by local authorities. The paper attempts to draw out models of governance, community engagement and the operationalisation of public-private and community partnerships in the inception and implementation of local transport solutions as part of local area improvement planning. The paper draws conclusions on the strengths and weaknesses of the evolving model and makes recommendation on improving its effectiveness.

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Asha Ghosh & Lalitha Kamath

Decentralisation and Local Government Innovation in Providing Urban Services for the Poor in South and South-east Asia

in Space and Polity, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 49-71

Advocates of decentralisation often assert that, through an efficient division of labour, decentralisation can improve governance, especially the delivery of goods and services. However, arguments for decentralisation typically focus on the formal provision of services by sub-national government agencies that do not cater to the poor, particularly in developing countries, since the poor often do not have access to formal land and services. When national and local governments fail to provide urban services to the poor, other 'intermediaries' (quasi-formal and informal institutions) step in to provide and mediate access to these services. These intermediaries have been found to offer more accessible, but often, less affordable and/or reliable services. This paper draws on new empirical and analytical insights to understand the role that local governments play in bridging the formal-informal service delivery gap, focusing, in particular, on whether stronger policies for decentralisation lead to more innovation and/or involvement of the local government in the provision of services to informal communities. This question is critical to discussions on decentralisation, since local governments are often assumed to be best positioned to provide more equitable access to services and/or regulate provision by intermediaries. The findings suggest that decentralisation, combined with pro-poor national policies, provide a basis for greater innovation by local governments to address the needs of the poor. However, the sustainability and replication of these efforts may be limited.

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Emma Porio

**Decentralisation, Power and Networked Governance Practices in Metro Manila
in Space and Polity**, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 7-27

The institutionalisation of decentralisation among urban local governments in the Philippines since the 1990s has been highly documented. While most of the studies have hailed its progressive development, a few have argued that decentralisation has also led to the further entrenchment of traditional élites and their allied power structures in local governance. This paper argues that, while decentralisation has allowed some local governments to initiate effective, efficient and accountable structures, thus becoming more responsive to the needs of their constituents, it has also led to the strengthening of traditional élites/political families and allied power structures as well as the creation of new ones. In short, decentralisation has ‘selectively’ democratised as well as reinforced existing power structures through the entrenchment of élite political families in urban governance and development. Utilising the concept of networked governance practices, this paper examines how local chief executives and allied officials have transformed local power structures through the mobilisation of decentralisation and democratisation discourses/strategies within and across the government bureaucracies, civil society organisations (non-government organisations, people’s organisations and private-sector or business groups). Their mobilisation of such strategies is part of the overall governance framework of local government units to become locally/globally competitive amidst a weak metropolitan governance system in Metro Manila. The study describes how decentralisation compels local governments and their officials to deal strategically with the competing demands of economic growth and social and environmental governance, by reconfiguring or recasting existing power structures/practices through democratisation strategies/discourses, to respond to the needs of their constituencies, especially marginalised sectors like the urban poor. The paper concludes that the concept of networked governance practices allows us a broader understanding of how decentralisation promotes democratisation while strengthening ‘selectively’ traditional political élites and allied power bases in civil society and the business sector. These arguments are illustrated by examining the implementation of two local government environmental and social housing programmes—the Pasig Green City Programme and the Land and Housing Programme in Las Piñas City in Metro Manila.

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Kenny Meryl, Verge Tània

**Decentralization, Political Parties, and Women’s Representation: Evidence from Spain and Britain
in Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 109-128

This article explores the hitherto underresearched relationship between state architecture and women’s political representation, specifically their descriptive or numerical presence. Using a qualitative comparative case study of gender quota reforms in Spain and Britain, we ask how party organizational dynamics mediate the relationship between formal institutions and representative outcomes in recently decentralized countries. We find that the impact of political decentralization on quota adoption and implementation is contingent upon a number of variables related to the party organization, particularly the internal distribution of authority between the central and the regional branches. We conclude that political parties need to be considered as complex and independent actors in analyses of the relationship between state architecture and women’s politics.



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Sempé Mathilde

Des mouvements «régionalistes» à l'institutionnalisation de la «région» : enjeux de luttes pour la construction d'une identité culturelle de la Bretagne

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 12 - Varia

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1130>

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Serna de La Garza J.M.

Descentralización vía Convenios: la experiencia mexicana

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen nº XXV

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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David Lublin

Dispersing Authority or Deepening Divisions? Decentralization and Ethnoregional Party Success

in *Journal of Politics (The)*, Volume 74 - Issue 04 , 1079 - 1093

Political scientists have fiercely debated the impact of decentralization on ethnic conflict; some see it as a panacea, while others contend that it sows the seeds of its own failure by stimulating ethnic divisions via ethnoregional parties. Using multiple methods—historical analysis, quantitative case studies, and multivariate models of the share of votes won by ethnoregional parties in 71 democracies—this article demonstrates that ethnoregional parties derive no benefit from decentralization in nonethnically decentralized countries. Even in ethnically decentralized countries, much ethnoregional party success is explained by the continuation of parties that originally pressed for decentralization. Any impact of decentralization on ethnoregional parties can be minimized through the careful construction of institutions to enhance regional autonomy but not statewide influence. Consequently, institutional designers should retain decentralization as an option when crafting political institutions even in countries with ethnic divisions.

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Lang Sabine, Sauer Birgit

Does Federalism Impact Gender Architectures? The Case of Women's Policy Agencies in Germany and Austria

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 68-89

This article investigates how strong German and weak Austrian cooperative federalism affect women's policy machineries. We find that it is the federal organization of both polities that has posited engrained advantages for the establishment and the sustainability of women's policy agencies (WPA). We also find that center/left parties are crucial



for sustaining and advancing the role of WPA. However, during economic crises, we see that the women's policy infrastructure in the strong federal state (Germany) was downsized while Austria's national social democratic WPA protects subnational institutions.

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Chappell Louise, Curtin Jennifer

Does Federalism Matter? Evaluating State Architecture and Family and Domestic Violence Policy in Australia and New Zealand

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 24-43

Does federalism make a difference to policy making in the area of family and domestic violence (FDV)? This article explores this question through a comparison of Australia and New Zealand whose state architecture aside from federalism is very similar. It argues that Australian federalism has provided laboratories for innovative policy making and the continual articulation of a progressive policy response to FDV. By contrast, in New Zealand subnational experiments have occurred, but continuous progressive policy responses have been less evident because centralization accentuates the need for left-wing governments to substantively advance the issue.

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Elisenda Casañas Adam

Drets fonamentals i devolution: el nou Tribunal Suprem i la proposta de Carta de Drets Fonamentals del Parlament britànic en el marc de l'Estat compost

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 15 , 10-43

El Regne Unit és actualment d'interès notable per a l'estudi de l'articulació de la protecció dels drets en els Estats compostos, ja que es troba immers en un moment de redefinició i debat en aquest àmbit, iniciat per la recent creació del Tribunal Suprem i la proposta de carta de drets del Parlament Britànic. Aquest treball estudia les reformes actuals i els debats que les envolten, centrat en el cas d'Escòcia, que a la vegada contribueixen a explicar la complexitat del model i la incidència del procés de devolution en el marc constitucional anterior. Amb aquesta fi, el treball s'estructura en tres parts que tracten la interacció entre la protecció dels drets i el procés de devolution, els debats entorn al nou Tribunal Suprem del Regne Unit i les propostes de creació d'una carta de drets per al Regne Unit. Les diferents posicions que s'observen posen de manifest les diverses percepcions de la forma d'organització territorial de l'Estat que existeixen al Regne Unit (unitari descentralitzat, federal, unió), que es tradueixen en diferents visions de com s'ha d'articular aquesta protecció, tant en la seva vessant legislativa com jurisdiccional.

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Anjali K. Mohan & Bérengère Mercier

Effective Decentralisation—Going beyond Reconciled Planning Scales and Capacities: The Need to Recognise Specific Socio-political Drivers

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 73-91



The 1990s ushered in two parallel changes in India. The first pertains to liberalisation, which meant the opening-up of the country to international trade and foreign investment, and the introduction of tax reforms and inflation control measures. The second, internal to India, albeit linked intrinsically to liberalisation, is decentralisation as initiated through the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act (CAA). The CAA seeks to strengthen urban local bodies as units of local self-government through functional and financial empowerment. Two decades hence, the country continues to suffer from a poorly executed decentralisation agenda. This paper, through the case study of the Bangalore Metropolitan Region (BMR), traces the impact of the decentralisation agenda on the socio-spatial fabric of the region. It highlights how, in the absence of empowered local governments, the state government is increasingly vesting decision-making powers in non-elected task forces, the latter being more or less individuals patronised by ruling parties. The approval of the statutory planning tool for the BMR was stalled on account of the lack of legitimate planning bodies. Consequently, growth continues to be investment-driven, with the metropolitan region emerging as a distorted spatial fabric. The paper argues that the reconciliation of planning scales and capacities renders decentralisation incomplete. In parallel, contending socio-political challenges are an imperative.

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Sofía Cordero Ponce

Estados plurinacionales en Bolivia y Ecuador. Nuevas ciudadanías, ¿más democracia?

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 240

Upon recognizing themselves as plurinational States, Ecuador and Bolivia are rethinking the forms of construction of citizenship and democracy in force since the 19th century, with the objective of reflecting the diversity of their societies. The possibilities of reconstructing the state configurations are based in the recognition of two new subjects: nacionalidades in Ecuador, naciones and pueblos indígena-originario-campesinos in Bolivia. However, the figures of self-government often clash with the objectives of the governments of Evo Morales and Rafael Correa in constructing active and strong States. For this, the transition to democratization is full of obstacles and paradoxical paths.

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Verge Tània, Gómez Raúl

Factionalism in multi-level contexts. When party organization becomes a device

in *Party Politics*, Volume 18, Number 5, September, 667-685

This article provides a dynamic framework through which factionalism can be examined and the circumstances of individual parties compared in multi-level contexts. We discuss the interaction between factionalism and party structure by setting out a model of factional organization dependent on the tolerance of host parties to dissent and their degree of vertical integration, their combination yielding four possible strategies for opposition factions: centralized, inter-layered, multi-layered and decentralized. We also consider what implications there are for the party's dominant coalition in episodes of high factionalism. These act as a catalyst for the modification of party rules that regulate dissent and vertical distribution of power. The hypotheses developed are tested on four Spanish political parties that differ on the autonomy of regional branches and factions, the competitive position in the party system and factionalism type – more policy or more patronage-oriented.



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Inman Robert P., Rubinfeld Daniel L.

Federal Institutions and the Democratic Transition: Learning from South Africa

in *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, Volume 28 Issue 4 October 2012 , 783-817

We present a model of a peaceful transition from autocracy to democracy using federal governance as a constitutional means to protect the economic interests of the once ruling elite. Under “democratic federalism,” the constitution creates an annual policy game where the new majority and the elite each control one policy instrument of importance to the other. The game has a stable stationary equilibrium that the elite may prefer to autocratic rule. We apply our analysis to South Africa’s transition from white, elite rule under apartheid to a multi-racial democracy. We calibrate our model to the South African economy at the time of the transition. Stable democratic equilibria exist for plausible estimates of redistributive preferences and rate of time preference (“impatience”) of the new majority during the early years of the new democracy. The future of the democratic federal bargain is less certain under the new populist presidency of Jacob Zuma.

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Mahon Rianne, Brennan Deborah

Federalism and the “New Politics” of Welfare Development: Childcare and Parental Leave in Australia and Canada

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 90-108

How does federal state architecture affect the design of welfare? We explore the development of childcare and parental leave in Canada and Australia to address this question. Both countries are considered liberal welfare regimes, but their federal institutions operate in quite different ways, providing an opportunity for comparative analysis. We consider the ways in which federal institutions have affected mobilization around childcare and parental leave and have helped to shape policy outcomes. There is a plausible connection between the institutional configuration of each federation and policy design. It is not definitive, but interacts with variables such as the nature and scale of federal fiscal and policy capacity, the gendered assumptions embedded in the structures of the welfare state, political party strategies, and feminist mobilization.

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Franceschet Susan, Piscopo Jennifer M.

Federalism, Decentralization, and Reproductive Rights in Argentina and Chile

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 129-150

Through a comparison of federal Argentina and unitary Chile, we ask whether federalism explains subnational protections of women's reproductive rights. We explore two factors: policy jurisdictions under decentralization and party system territorialization under federalism. We find that, under decentralization, subunits in both countries enjoy



autonomy in funding and delivering health care. Yet, decentralization does not explain why specific subunits comply with national policies while others deviate. We argue that federalism, in allowing party system fragmentation, makes subunit leaders more responsive to local concerns, especially when subunits vary in their principled opposition to or support for contraception. When party systems are centralized, as in unitary states, partisan allegiances better predict patterns of compliance and defiance. Thus, federalism matters for understanding patterns in the subnational variation of policy outcomes.

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Gomes, Sandra

Fiscal Powers to Subnational Governments: Reassessing the Concept of Fiscal Autonomy in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.4 , 387-406

Fiscal autonomy is understood as a type of funding arrangement that awards subnational governments more discretion over the allocation of funds and, therefore, the choice of public policies. From this concept a series of expected (positive and negative) effects on local governance is predicted by theories. However, the adopted assumption that once local governments have autonomous sources of revenue, they will necessarily have autonomy on the spending-side is false and leads to misleading conclusions. The article presents an empirical application of subnational revenue arrangements in the case of Brazil operationalized in two different ways: one following current methodology and another taking into account rules that limit decision-making autonomy to spend. Results are strikingly different and, it is argued, are not a simple matter of classification but indeed of theoretical validity.

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Shih-Ying Wu and Mei-Jane Teng

Fiscal decentralization and multinational firms' ownership: evidence from China in Economics of Governance, volume 13 n.3 , 237-262

China's fiscal decentralization increases the incentive for local governments to maintain economic prosperity and improve institutional environments for multinational firms. This study investigates the impact of fiscal decentralization on the ownership shares of multinational firms in China. Multinational firms located in regions with higher degrees of fiscal decentralization are found to own larger shares of their foreign subsidiaries. This result is consistent under various robustness checks, including instrumental variables estimations. The finding suggests that multinational firms respond to local fiscal decentralization by increasing their participation in investment. This study therefore provides additional evidence for the beneficial effect of fiscal decentralization on China's economic growth by highlighting the risk-mitigating role of fiscal decentralization.

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Alessandro Candido

Il "percorso accidentato" di un regionalismo in cerca di modello



in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2 , 317-346

No abstract available

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Cintioli Fabio

Il Governo regionale tra autonomia «verticale» ed autonomia «orizzontale» e differenziata.

in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2010

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Matteo Cosulich

Il Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol: la devoluzione realizzata?

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1 , 61-77

No abstract available

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Gabriele Conti

Il processo di federalizzazione e la crisi politica del 2011 in Belgio

in *Nomos*, n. 2/2012

SOMMARIO: Introduzione – 1. Dal Belgio unitario allo Stato bilingue – 2. 1970: la prima riforma dello Stato – 3. 1980: la seconda riforma dello Stato – 4. 1988 – 1989: lo statuto di Bruxelles e la terza riforma dello Stato – 5. 1993: la federalizzazione dello Stato belga – 6. Dalla quinta riforma dello Stato alla crisi politica del Governo Leterme – 7. La crisi politica del giugno 2010 e l'avvento del Governo Di Rupo - Bibliografia.

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Goldoni Marco

Il referendum sull'indipendenza scozzese

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 3, settembre , 632-634

No abstract available



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Colorni Felice Mill

Il ricambio generazionale e il federalismo interno

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n. 202/203 - agosto/settembre 2012

No abstract available

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Pierre Englebert

Incertitude, autonomie et parasitisme : les entités territoriales décentralisées et l'État en République démocratique du Congo

in *Politique africaine*, n. 125 , 169-188

Decentralization reforms in the DR Congo have taken place in a context of widespread uncertainty characterized by simultaneous recentralization, legal and institutional profusion, fiscal arbitrariness and the vulnerability of local state agents. This uncertainty, which derives in part from the state's weakness, reduces the scope and achievements of Congo's decentralization while increasing the autonomy of local actors. Given their precarious material circumstances, the latter have seized upon this autonomy to turn parasitic and predatory towards local populations, contributing to the development of a self-serving and somewhat unhinged local state. By passively giving its clients the means to provide for themselves, Congo's failed decentralization facilitates the regime's consolidation and allows for the reproduction of the Congolese state in its very weakness.

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Hernández F.M.

Informe sobre el federalismo argentino

in *Cuaderno de federalismo*, Volumen nº XXV

No abstract available

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Michelle Ann Miller & Tim Bunnell

Introduction: Asian Cities in an Era of Decentralisation

in *Space and Polity*, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 1-6

Introducing the Special Issue theme

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Keating, Michael - Cairney, Paul

Introduction: Policy-making, Learning and Devolution
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.3 , 239-250

This collection explores the idea that devolution in European states can provide laboratories of democracy as states experiment in different ways to address social and economic problems and engage their citizens. While there is a substantial literature on policy diffusion and learning among US states, and on transfer and learning between countries, there is not much on learning among European federated and devolved governments. This collection fills that gap with a series of studies based primarily on experiences in Germany, Spain and the UK (including a particular focus on Northern Ireland). The introduction sets up the analytical framework, discussing the concepts of learning and transfer, the direction of transfer (for example, from the centre to the devolved territory), the mechanisms involved (from voluntary to coercive) and the degree of transfer.

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Beltrán García Susana

Is There a Real Model in Spain for Autonomous Communities to Participate in the Council of the European Union or Is It Only a Mirage?
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 423-440

ABSTRACT: Since December 2004 the Autonomous Communities have been able to form a part of the Spanish Delegation in the Council of European Union. Specifically, in the Conference on Affairs Related to the European Union (Conferencia para Asuntos Relacionados con la Unión Europea, CARUE). In December 2004, the CARUE adopted two agreements to regulate the participation of the Autonomous Communities in some of the Council formations and its preparatory bodies. This article analyses whether there really is a system of participation for the Spanish regions before the Council and preparatory bodies, or whether it is merely a mirage. To answer the above question, we should consider two areas: first, the participation process of the Autonomous Communities in the preparatory bodies—the Working Parties and the Permanent Representatives Committee; second, the Autonomous Communities direct representation on the Spanish Delegation in some configurations of the Council. The application of these agreements has been a little confusing and subject to change depending on the configurations of the Council. The initial starting point was that greater involvement of the Autonomous Communities in the European Union decision-making process would strengthen the internal cohesion of the State. However, the extent of that involvement, far from being consensual, appears as a difficulty. At present, despite some attempts to isolate European affairs from other controversial issues regarding the Spanish territorial model, it is mixed in practice. In fact, the current model, instead of contributing to the cohesion between administrations, is an additional source of dispute.

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Delussu Riccardo

La curva del decentramento: problemi e possibili soluzioni nella classificazione delle esperienze federali
in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 13



No abstract available

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Anna M. Russo

La distribución territorial del poder en los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea: el “federalizing process” en acción

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Giancarlo Rolla

La evolución del principio unitario en Italia: desde la unificación hasta la República

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 18

This paper takes account of the historical development of the unity principle. It begins underlining the link between the monarchy principle and the territorial unity. After that, it studies the articulation of unity in the Italian constitutional process. Finally, in the last two points, it tries to explain the force of two forces: the reinforce of the Italian Regions in the Constitution and a tendency to homogenize those Regions.

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D'Andrea Antonio

La forma di governo regionale e degli enti locali nella prospettiva federalista

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 1/2013

This article makes the point that the reforms in local bodies and the Regions introduced in recent decades have shifted political decisions from the representative assemblies to the executive branches and in so doing they have produced a federal-oriented development in the legal order. In particular, after highlighting some shortcomings of the 1999 and 2011 constitutional reforms, whose most striking outcome is their failure to set up a second “federal” type of Chamber, it shows that as a result of the direct election of the Presidents of the executive bodies of the regions and of the local bodies, conflicting dynamics between Regions and local bodies have developed that have triggered an exacerbated and selfish localistic fragmentation.

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Juan Francisco Sánchez Barrilao

La giustiziabilità dei diritti riconosciuti dagli statuti nello Stato autonómico spagnolo

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 2 , 267-312



No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Lohest François, Aubin David

Les impacts de la libéralisation et de la régionalisation sur la durabilité du secteur aérien civil en Belgique in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 12 - Varia

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1134>

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Charles Conteh

Managing intergovernmental contracts: The Canada-Manitoba cooperation on regional economic development in *Canadian Public Administration*, vol. 55, issue 2 , 269-290

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

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Stephenson Paul J.

Napoleon, Nostalgia and Number Plates: An Analysis of the Reactions to the Attali Commission's Proposal to Abolish the French Département

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 477-495

ABSTRACT: Soon into his term as President, Nicolas Sarkozy commissioned Jacques Attali². Attali, J. 2005. C'était François Mitterrand, Paris: Fayard.

View all references, former adviser to François Mitterrand, to investigate ways to 'free up' economic growth. Decision 260 of the report published in February 2008 recommended doing away with the French department completely. The report reignited a decades-long debate about streamlining the levels of France's public administration. Drawing on websites and internet blogs, including Attali's². Attali, J. 2005. C'était François Mitterrand, Paris: Fayard.

View all references own, this article examines civil society reactions to the proposal, uncovering diverse and conflicting attitudes towards the department, while revealing it to be the most 'accessible' expression of the Republic, bound up with the self. In many senses, this artificial political construct, purposely created to bear no reference to history or belonging, has paradoxically become a significant carrier of French culture and territorial identity.

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Arzoz Xabier



New Developments in Spanish Federalism

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 179-188

The main development affecting Spanish federalism in the last few years consist of the elaboration, approval and review of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, a process that has lasted seven years (2003-2010). The new Catalan Autonomy Statute has been a historical test to the structure of the Spanish 'State of Autonomous Communities'. Another development concerns the constitutional consecration of the principle of budget stability. In both issues, a homogenous view of the Spanish decentralisation model has prevailed.

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Binti Singh

Parallel Structures of Decentralisation in the Mega City Context of Urban India: Participation or Exclusion?

in Space and Polity, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 111-127

This paper attempts to understand how decentralisation unfolds in the mega city context of urban India as a result of shifts in policy and practice since the 1990s through a study of recent civil society organisation partnerships with the urban local bodies in Mumbai. Using the cases of Advanced Locality Management (ALM) groups and Local Area Citizens' Groups (LACGs) as instances of parallel structures of decentralisation, it argues that such civil society organisations have usually been spearheaded by the professional middle classes and have transformed the public sphere in mega cities. However, a closer look reveals that many of the features of these state–civil-society partnerships are inherently exclusionary of lower socioeconomic city residents. Resultantly, these go against the letter and spirit of democratic decentralisation as envisaged in the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1992, which provides the framework for urban decentralisation in India. New initiatives in decentralisation under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission—a major urban development programme launched in 2005—have further rendered the space for decentralised participation extremely fragmentary.

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Brusis Martin

Party Strategies and Administrative-Territorial Reforms in Poland

in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 2 , 405-425

ABSTRACT: How well do electoral competition, ideological divides and territory-based cleavages explain the strategies of administrative-territorial reform chosen by political parties in Poland? The role of these logics is explored in the creation of regions and regional self-governments (1999), local electoral reform (2002), rules of adopting regional development projects (2006) and the creation of metropolitan regions (2008). The paper provides evidence supporting the significance of vote- and office-seeking strategies, the rise of a national conservative opposition to decentralisation associated with the weakening of the post-communist divide, and parties representing distinct eastern and western constituencies. Since its creation, subnational government has become more dominated by state-wide parties and has stabilised the emerging bloc party system on the central level.



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Verge Tania

Party Strategies on Territorial Reform: State-wide Parties and the State of Autonomies in Spain
in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 2 , 317-337

ABSTRACT: This article examines the interaction between political decentralisation and state-wide parties' strategies on territorial politics using Spain as a case study. It finds that electoral and territorial logics of action largely drive change. Parties in central government often become reluctant decentralisers as they seek to control the devolution process, unless they need the support of regionalist parties, whereas opposition parties tend to push for further decentralisation. Yet party strategies maintain a significant continuity over time as they are bound to particular ideologies which, in multinational countries, might translate into specific preferences for the territorial accommodation of culturally distinct regions. The article also shows that, under certain circumstances, some logics of action prevail over the others. Finally, while party politics significantly influences decentralisation, the article provides evidence of feedback effects of decentralisation on party strategies.

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Deschouwer Kris

Party Strategies, Voter Demands and Territorial Reform in Belgium
in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 2 , 338-358

ABSTRACT: This article examines the determinants of the positioning of parties on the question of territorial reform in Belgium. It argues that one cannot explain the high salience assigned to the issue of decentralisation among political parties by looking only at voter demands. Instead, it is the dynamics of party competition that has encouraged parties to adopt an electoral and territorial logic of action. The article shows that the main driver of territorial reform in Belgium has been the continuous relevance of regionalist parties in the Flemish party system, which have compelled mainstream parties to accommodate their demands for territorial autonomy, and, more recently, independence. Regionalist parties have capitalised on a strong sense of Flemish national identity, itself shaped by long-run structural factors. The article also shows that the adoption of an electoral and territorial logic has been strengthened by the split of the Belgian party system and the reinforcement of social cleavages, and, more recently, by the increasing competitiveness of elections and the opening up of party competition at multiple levels.

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Clark Alistair

Party organization and concurrent multi-level local campaigning: The 2007 Scottish elections under MMP and STV

in Party Politics, Volume 18, Number 4, July , 603-622

Parties often have to campaign for two or more levels of office at the same time. However, declining levels of



organization means that the demands of concurrent elections can potentially increase the demands on volunteer party organizations considerably. These demands are multiplied by the concurrent use of different electoral systems which provide party organizations with different incentives. The article examines how party organizations deal with such circumstances through a study of constituency party organizations in the 2007 Scottish parliamentary and local government elections. Parties were forced to campaign concurrently at three levels – local council, Scottish Parliament constituency and regional list – under two different electoral systems, STV (single-transferable vote) and MMP (mixed-member proportional). I argue that: there may be economies of scale for party organizations in fighting concurrent elections; while there may be evidence of vote-maximization activity at each level, local organizations are likely to give priority to their efforts towards higher level institutions and those on which their efforts potentially have a direct effort; and that the degree of local campaign effort is mediated by the extent of party organization and previous success in the area concerned.

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Keating, Michael - Cairney, Paul - Hepburn, Eve

Policy Convergence, Transfer and Learning in the UK under Devolution

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.3 , 289-308

This paper explores the policy transfer and learning process within the UK since 1999, examining the conditions in which transfer takes place among central and devolved governments. We distinguish among concurrent policies, policy competition, coercive transfer and policy learning. Policy transfer can be more or less coercive and constrained, while policy learning is voluntary. Mechanisms for transfer include financial instruments, political parties, the civil service and policy communities. Transfer can take place from centre to periphery, from periphery to centre and across the periphery. There is also transfer at the European and international levels. As it is England that has tended to break with older policies, notably on public service provision, the pressure has been to follow its lead, with the devolved administrations resisting or conforming. The UK government has paid much less attention to possible learning from the devolved territories and sometimes has sought to insulate England from debates there, especially where politically sensitive matters or large resources are at stake. Learning among the devolved territories is only now really beginning.

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Birrell, Derek

Policy Copying and Public Sector Reform in Northern Ireland

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.3 , 309-322

Policy copying or transfer has been identified as a significant feature of the operation of devolution in Scotland and Wales. Little attention has been paid to policy copying in relation to the system of devolution in Northern Ireland, particularly since 1999. One of the most important areas of change and policy implementation has been public sector reform. This paper examines the three main areas of public sector reform: the civil service, local government and the large quango/public bodies sector. Northern Ireland is compared to England, Scotland and Wales to identify examples of policy copying in changes to public sector governance. Following this analysis a number of factors which have determined the extent of policy copying are discussed. These include; a weak policy-making capacity, the dominance of managerialist and technocratic approaches, priority for cost-cutting measures and a lack of consensus on reform among



the political parties along with the operation of veto mechanisms. The paper concludes by noting that Northern Ireland has not adopted some of the policies and changes introduced in Scotland and Wales in relation to the public sector even though these may have improved the operation of devolved governance.

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Kim Jungbu

Political Decentralization, Subnational Political Capital, and Intergovernmental Transfers in Korea
in American Review of Public Administration (The), January 2013; 43 (1) , 109-129

Faced with ever increasing pressures for better performance and financial bottom line, governments around the world are devolving more responsibilities to subnational governments. Especially in developing countries, this trend has coupled with increased demands for greater democracy and disaffection with the services provided by the central government. This article examines what has happened in South Korea since its devolution reform in 1995. Specifically, it examines political capital factors in determining the amount of intergovernmental transfers to the regional governments. The analysis shows that political decentralization has resulted in financial weakening of the subnational governments of general purposes and that although the incidence of intergovernmental transfer is affected by the political considerations, Korea has substantially improved horizontal fiscal imbalance.

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Falcó-Gimeno Albert

Preferences for Political Coalitions in Spain

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 17, Issue 3, Special Issue: Voters and Parties in the Spanish Political Space.
Guest edited by Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca and Elias Dinas, September , 487-502

Spanish political parties opt whether or not to form alliances with other parties for a number of reasons, one of which is the coalition preferences of their voters. This work explores to what extent party preferences and ideological proximity on the two main dimensions of political competition in Spain affect voters' coalition preferences. Using survey data from 2009, we find that voters' coalition preferences are greatly affected by ideological proximity, especially on the left-right axis, whereas decentralisation preferences are much more salient for the supporters of regionalist parties. However, this general pattern varies depending on the coalition being assessed.

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Werner, Annika - Lacewell, Onawa Promise

Programmatic Supply and the Autonomy of US State Parties in 2008 and 2010
in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.5 , 533-552

This paper examines the extent to which US state parties are autonomous from national party influence, evaluates how much state party autonomy varies across the USA, and examines possible explanations for this variance. We use newly collected party platform data from US state parties between 2008 and 2010 to examine the policy autonomy of state



vis--vis national parties. In general, we find that US state parties have more extreme policy positions than the national parties. We also find significant variance in the levels of autonomy across state parties and that Democratic state parties are more autonomous than Republican ones.

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Werner, Annika - Lacewell, Onawa Promise

Programmatic Supply and the Autonomy of US State Parties in 2008 and 2010
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.5 , 533

This paper examines the extent to which US state parties are autonomous from national party influence, evaluates how much state party autonomy varies across the USA, and examines possible explanations for this variance. We use newly collected party platform data from US state parties between 2008 and 2010 to examine the policy autonomy of state parties vis--vis national parties. In general, we find that US state parties have more extreme policy positions than the national parties. We also find significant variance in the levels of autonomy across state parties and that Democratic state parties are more autonomous than Republican ones.

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Mingus Matthew S.

Progress and Challenges with Iraq's Multilevel Governance
in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 72, Issue 5 , 678-786

Nations in the Arab world are largely unitary states, yet Iraq has embarked on a seemingly ambitious agenda of decentralization and devolution mixed with federalism. While local elections have been delayed at least until 2012, and indeed may never take place, Iraq's constitutional commitment to decentralize and subsequent statutory enactments appear to be turning provincial governments into significant actors in Iraqi governance. Progress has taken place at a slower, more deliberate pace than both proponents and opponents feared in 2002–6. This article discusses the current state of implementation of this process as a cornerstone of Iraqi democratic development, from the perspective of a former U.S. Department of State senior governance specialist who served on an embedded Provincial Reconstruction Team in 2009–10. These reconstruction teams were dismantled in the year leading up to September 6, 2011, as the American relationship with Iraq was “normalized,” though they likely will continue in Afghanistan into 2013.

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Sarah Ayres

Promoting decentralized and flexible budgets in England: Lessons from the past and future prospects
in *Public Policy and Administration*, volume 27 n4 , 324-345

The UK has traditionally been viewed as a classic example of a unitary state in which central institutions dominate decision making. The recent Labour Government sought to counter this convention through devolution to Scotland,



Wales, Northern Ireland and London and administrative decentralization to the English regions. This article examines New Labour's efforts to promote sub-national policy discretion and fiscal autonomy via the Regional Funding Allocations (RFA) process. Findings are subsequently drawn upon to offer insights into the difficulties the Coalition Government is likely to face in its endeavor to decentralize functions and budgets to local authorities and communities. The paper addresses two central questions (i) Can New Labour's attempt to promote decentralized and flexible budgets in England be viewed as evidence of a transition to a more fluid, multi-level form of governance? (ii) What lessons can be harnessed from the RFA experience in taking forward the Coalition government's plans to promote fiscal discretion at the sub-national tier? It concludes that there are deep-rooted barriers in Whitehall that may limit the freedoms and flexibilities pledged to local government and could undermine efforts to decentralize.

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Lingxuan Liu, Bing Zhang, Jun Bi

Reforming China's multi-level environmental governance: Lessons from the 11th Five-Year Plan in Environmental Science & Policy, Vol. 21, 106-111

China's planned environmentalism during the 11th Five-Year Plan (FYP) period was successful at reducing sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and chemical oxygen demand (COD) due to the target responsibility system (TRS) on pollution reduction goals, which led to a redefined responsibility of environmental protection from local Environmental Protection Bureaus (EPBs) to local government leaders. However, the weakness of current mono-centric planning process is obvious in the context of governing complex socio-ecological changes. In this paper, two alternative approaches, decentralization of the nation's planning regime and participatory governance with public involvement, were proposed to improve China's environmental governance system.

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Kortt Michael, Dollery Brian, Grant, Bligh

Regional and local tensions: The role of shared services in Public Policy, Volume 7 Issue 1, 47-72

Regional development and local government often exist in a state of tension, especially where efforts to foster regional development are channelled through proposals to consolidate existing local councils into larger 'regional councils', and where this follows from the view that larger government authorities are more efficient than smaller ones. With respect to amalgamation, critics point to the controversy generated by local government consolidation, the absence of authoritative empirical evidence of scale economies, the equivocal outcomes reported in case studies, and the reduction of local democracy. Moreover, structural change through consolidation is often met with an auxiliary argument for the implementation of shared services arrangements between local government entities. Proponents of shared services commonly argue that since only some local government services exhibit economies of scale, structural change should focus on the joint provision of these services. Thus, shared services arrangements can play an important role in easing the tension between regional development and local development by fostering and supporting collaboration in an effort to improve local government service delivery, while at the same time maintaining 'local voice' and 'local choice'. Given the potential policy interest in shared services arrangements, this paper (i) reviews the current body of empirical evidence on the economic outcomes of shared services arrangements and (ii) considers the associated policy



implications. We conclude that cooperation between councils in the form of shared services arrangements should be pursued because it may not only result in cost-savings but could also lead to 'bottom-up' revival of regional development. In our view, this collaborative approach is a far better policy option than the 'top-down' policy approach that has been historically imposed on local communities in the form of forced council consolidation.

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D'Atena Antonio

Regionalism in Italy

in *Italian Papers on Federalism*, n. 1/2013

The essay illustrates the evolution of Italian regionalism from the 1947 Constitution to the present day. With reference to the first stage that lasted fifty years, it examines the characteristics of the original model and dwells on its failure. The model was a complex model in which the State's tutelary role was offset by a range of constitutional safeguards granted to the Regions (the most important being the constitutionalization of the division of competences). This model, however, never succeeded in asserting itself in practice because of centralistic interpretations that ended up cannibalizing the safeguards.

After highlighting the relationship between the crisis of regionalism and the (strongly centralized) structure of Italian political parties, the study emphasizes that the 1999 and 2001 constitutional reforms were extensively due to a radical change in the political system which saw new political forces come onto the scene after the disappearance of the parties that had dominated the scene during the first fifty years of republican history.

Subsequently the study dwells on the difficult path of constitutional reform and on the issues that its makers had to tackle.

The last part of the essay is dedicated to the new constitutional discipline whose biggest novelty is the inversion of the listing of legislative competences, thanks to which today the Italian Regions are no longer the holders of listed legislative competences, but of the general (or residual) competence. Among the other important novelties taken into account, a special mention must be made of the purpose-related (so-called finalistic) competences, the role of the principle of subsidiarity, the ordinary regional charters and the discipline of the form of government of the Regions.

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Charvier Fanny

Réforme de l'autonomie locale et régionale en Italie : du 'fédéralisme' administratif au 'fédéralisme' fiscal

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 3, 2012 , 663-680

No abstract available

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Masseti Emanuele, Toubeau Simon

Sailing with Northern Winds: Party Politics and Federal Reforms in Italy

in *West European Politics*, vol. 36, n. 2 , 359-381



ABSTRACT: Territorial reforms have been on the political agenda in Italy for the last two decades, becoming a stable issue of party competition. The breakthrough of Lega Nord (LN) in the party system has represented the main driver for federal reforms. The article argues that the bipolar and majoritarian institutional environment of the Second Republic has compelled the main state-wide parties to adopt an electoral logic that led them to accommodate the LN's claims. However, the ideological orientations and the territorial interests of centre-left coalition proved more compatible with this accommodative strategy than those of the centre-right coalition. The majoritarian and adversarial style of government–opposition relations has made compromise on territorial reforms difficult, contributing to their rising salience in party competition.

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Celis Karen, Mackay Fiona, Meier Petra

Social Movement Organizations and Changing State Architectures: Comparing Women's Movement Organizing in Flanders and Scotland

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 43, n. 1, Winter , 44-67

This article analyzes the impact of restructuring processes on the organizational structure and lobbying strategies of women's movement organizations (WMOs) in Belgium (Flanders) and the UK (Scotland). We argue that devolution/federalization and the resultant creation of new, intermediary levels of governance offers a devolution/federalism advantage to WMOs. Multilevel governance multiplies access points, allowing for accumulation of funds, limited forms of venue shopping, and avoidance of veto players. Nevertheless, a set of push and pull factors draws WMOs towards the regional level thereby "abandoning the center." These changes are driven by centrifugal dynamics that characterize the processes of devolution and federalization in these cases. In the long run, these may erase the devolution/federalism advantage, and also pose questions about state-wide women's citizenship and gender solidarity.

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Gallego, Raquel - Subirats, Joan

Spanish and Regional Welfare Systems: Policy Innovation and Multi-level Governance

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.3 , 269-288

The debate about the relationship between decentralization and equity has been intensifying in Europe and other parts of the world. In Spain, this debate has been alive over the past thirty years since the transition to democracy, as long as decentralization started and developed hand in hand with the construction of the welfare state. The question is what decentralization represents for the Spanish welfare system as a whole, or how future developments in this decentralized scenario condition the welfare role of the state. In this article we will analyse how devolution has resulted in different welfare policy options taken by the governments of the 17 Autonomous Communities, and how the emergence of different territorial welfare regimes has coexisted with a common structure of social benefits and rights for the state territory. We will also show how citizens' perceptions on the evolution of inequalities across territories do not fit the data available on the strong redistribution effect of state policies.



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Franz Xavier Barrios-Suvelza

Structural and Textural Dimensions of Territorial State Organisation

in *Local Government Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 6 , 841-865

In the framework of devolution, British scholars have inquired how to assess the constitutional position of the local government in the UK and its effect for improving or hindering autonomy and democracy at the local level. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the same topic from a more general and comparative perspective, combining conceptual tools of continental public law and political science. To do this the paper proposes to differentiate three concepts of territorial state configuration. These concepts are territorial structure, territorial texture, and vertical diffusion of state authority. This paper asserts that the confusion of these three dimensions has not only impaired an adequate assessment of the constitutional position of local governments, but that the structural dimension has been under-theorised, thus distorting measurements of subnational authority. Moreover, scholars have underestimated structural constraints upon changes in the local government position within the polity. Finally, an operationalisation of the new findings is offered by plotting selected countries in a Cartesian system comparing them from the perspective of territorial structure and vertical authority diffusion.

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Paulo Cardinal and Yihe Zhang

Subnational Constitutionalism in the SARS of the People's Republic of China. An Exceptional Tailored Suit Model?

in *Perspectives on federalism*, vol. 4, issue 2 , 101-147

Macau and Hong Kong Special Administrative Regions of the People's Republic of China enjoy, via a complex web of constituent legal instruments (international treaties, norms of the PRC Constitution and, last but not the least, the Basic Laws), a remarkable high level of autonomy – namely in key areas such as fundamental rights, the continuation and evolution of a distinct legal system, including an almost universal range of legislative power *stricto sensu*, an independent judicial system, the economic and financial dimensions, including taxation, and also, at least to some extent, in the spheres of political organization based on elements of separation of powers doctrines and openness to pluralism, and an international law capacity - which provides the condition for the existence and ongoing evolution of subnational constitutionalism.

The extent, scope and nature of these two imaginative and pragmatic autonomy arrangements clearly show that they do not fit in any classical model, whether federal or of territorial autonomy. Its results, albeit imperfect, are deemed positive so far. Hence, can these exceptional cases present themselves as a model, even if tailored in origin, in the research and consecration of subnational constitutionalism in other geopolitical arenas?

The Basic Laws of Hong Kong and Macau serve basically as subnational constitutions, which lay down the foundation for continuing development of subnational constitutionalism. The sovereign constitutional norms are the same and the Basic Laws – such as the Joint Declarations - are essentially identical; that is, the normative superstructure has a high degree of similarity. However, the dynamics of constitutionalism show certain divergences that appeared in the two regions with a first decade of evolutionary praxis pointing to somehow different avenues that may, by the end of the day (2047 and 2049, respectively), result in different SARS profiles and different sedimentation of the autonomic traits of Macau and of Hong Kong



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Sander Happaerts

Sustainable development in Quebec and Flanders: Institutionalizing symbolic politics?

in Canadian Public Administration, vol. 55, issue 4 , 553-573

Since the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987, governments at all levels have been struggling with the concept of sustainable development and its translation into public policy. In some federal countries, subnational governments have presented themselves as pioneers in sustainable development governance. This article critically analyses and compares the sustainable development policies in Quebec and Flanders – self-declared leaders in the field – and seeks to identify lessons for the broader area of sustainable development governance. The analysis reveals some similarities in the policies and several problems. While certain investments are made at the administrative level, the policies are characterized by symbolic politics, devoid of political significance and not moving beyond cosmetic, rhetorical engagement. A renewed political commitment for sustainable development, as set out by the recent Rio+20 Summit, is urgently needed.

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Bochsler Daniel, Szöcsik Edina

The Forbidden Fruit of Federalism: Evidence from Romania and Slovakia

in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 2 , 426-446

ABSTRACT: Territorial autonomy is one aspect of power-sharing in multi-ethnic societies. Nevertheless, the multi-ethnic countries of Central and Eastern Europe are still among the most centralised in the European Union. This article analyses the failure of any attempts to establish (symmetric) federalism or (asymmetric) autonomy, creating self-governed regions by the Hungarian minorities in Romania and Slovakia. The analysis focuses on the positions of the main parties of the ethnic majorities and the Hungarian minority parties in the two countries. In both cases, the parties representing the Hungarian minorities have favoured territorial autonomy along ethnic lines, but this demand has been rejected by the parties of the ethnic majority. Against the historical legacy of unstable borders, the parties of the ethnic majority argue that territorial autonomy or federalisation might be a first step for a revisionist agenda and separatism. Instead, supported by the European integration, the parties have been able to agree on decentralisation as a half-hearted compromise.

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Patricia Popelier

The Need for Sub-National Constitutions in Federal Theory and Practice. The Belgian Case

in Perspectives on federalism, vol. 4, issue 2 , 36-58

Comparative constitutional scholarship identifies sub-national constituent power as one of the defining features of federal systems. Moreover, according to public choice theory, devolutionary federal systems are expected to favor the



creation of sub-national constitutions. For these reasons, the absence of real constitutional power for the sub-states in Belgium appears to be an anomaly. The research question of this paper explores the validity of this approach. More generally, the question is: how important is it in a federal state for sub-states to have their own sub-national constitutions? Arguments pro and contra are analyzed and applied to the Belgian case. I argue that sub-national constitutionalism is a matter of political balance between national and sub-national powers, rather than a principle of federal theory

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Anant Maringanti

Urban Renewal, Fiscal Deficit and the Politics of Decentralisation: The Case of the Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission in India

in Space and Polity, Volume 16, Number 1 / April , 93-109

Decentralisation is seen as a panacea for a host of problems of governance thrown up by economic globalisation the world over. In the vast body of literature across disciplines, the term decentralisation refers both to the vertical devolution of power in political, administrative, regulatory and fiscal spheres and to the horizontal redistribution of activities away from the centre. Shortly after India embarked upon structural reforms in 1991, the Government of India made the first formal attempt at decentralisation through the 73rd and 74th (Constitutional) Amendment Acts of 1992. These two acts aim at decentralisation through vertical devolution of power to rural and urban local governments across the country. While implementation of these acts has been uneven, the Government of India in 2005 launched an ambitious urban renewal programme titled Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) in 65 cities nation-wide. The JNNURM is designed to release funds to cities on a competitive basis and is conditional upon full implementation of the 74th Amendment Act by state governments. This paper examines the implementation of JNNURM in Andhra Pradesh, a south Indian state, to demonstrate that, in the structure of governance in India, the state government remains the major stumbling block in the devolution of power. Importantly, through a careful analysis of city finances in Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh in the context of JNNURM, the paper argues that decentralisation qua state restructuring in India is a top-down process of devolving fiscal deficit to the city scale—in other words, urbanising fiscal deficit—which does not allow a coherent city politics to emerge. It documents the efforts under way to build new collective action framings which are driving a bottom-up change forcing city governments to demand a real devolution of power from the state governments but notes that such efforts have not as yet gathered adequate momentum to be effective.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Veronica Herrera

When Decentralization Matters: Subnational, Municipal, and New Intertier Relations

in Latin American Politics & Society, volume 54 n.2 , 153-163

Review article

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Benz, Arthur

Yardstick Competition and Policy Learning in Multi-level Systems
in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.3 , 251-268

Social scientists widely agree that intergovernmental competition can stimulate policy learning and can motivate governments to emulate innovative and successful practices. However, this assumption has to be qualified. Rather than market forces driving governments to compete for mobile tax payers, procedures known as yardstick competition promise to achieve policy learning and transfer. In this case, governments participate in comparative evaluation of their performance and try to improve their relative position in rankings or come closer to best practices. While theoretical reasoning provides convincing reasons for this assumption, in practice different conditions have to be met to make governments learn. Yardstick competition has to be organized, but procedures and evaluations are often disputed. Governments have to be willing to participate, which cannot be taken for granted unless we know what motivates them to compete. According to theory, parliaments or voters can drive executives to meet best practices. But members of parliaments or voters are regularly guided by party competition or by media debates inside their jurisdiction and less interested in what other governments do. The article discusses conditions that can impede or promote successful yardstick competition and policy learning. Empirical evidence is based on studies of inter-regional policy competition in Germany.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Smith Rhona

"To see Themselves as Others see Them": The Five Permanent Members of the Security Council and the Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 1, february , 1-32

ABSTRACT: The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (indeed all UN member states) have completed the first cycle of the United Nations Human Rights Council's universal periodic review of their compliance with human rights. While they were treated the same from a procedural point of view, this new mechanism represented a unique opportunity for other UN member states to examine the permanent five's human rights records, commenting thereon. Thus the interactive dialogue and resulting recommendations presented a unique opportunity to see themselves as others see them. Will they have liked what they saw?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Iglesias Fernando A.

2.0 and 3.0 International Criminal Court

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/797-20-and-30-international-criminal-court>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Death Carl

A predictable disaster for the climate – but who else won and lost in Durban at COP17?

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 6, November , 980-986

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Colacino Nicola

Ammissibilità e limiti del sindacato giurisdizionale diffuso sulle sanzioni individuali del Consiglio di sicurezza

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 565-592

Over the past ten years, the fight against international terrorism has involved States and international organizations (first and foremost, the United Nations and its organs) in the search for new legal instruments to target and punish those responsible for crimes, including individuals. Security Council Resolution no. 1267/1999 first imposed sanctions against the Taliban for their support of the Al-Qaida organization and established a Sanctions Committee for the dual purpose of designating Taliban individuals and entities associated with Al-Qaida and monitoring the implementation of the sanctions. After 11 September 2001, the sanctions regime was extended to the "Al-Qaida network" and strengthened through new measures, but it raised some problems with respect to the international human rights standard, because of the lack of transparency and due process in both the listing and the delisting procedures. These features affect the very nature of the sanctions, by making them similar to criminal penalties, although imposed without any trial. Given the absence of a judicial review mechanism of the Security Council's measures before the International Court of Justice, domestic and European courts have been required to ensure the respect of the rule of law principle towards individuals affected by targeted sanctions, as occurred in the famous Kadi case. In such a context, this paper aims to investigate the admissibility and the limits of the "diffuse judicial review" of the Security Council's sanctions regime in the light of the international human rights law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ban on Democracy: A Conversation with Ban Ki-moon

in **World Policy Journal**, vol. 29, n. 3, september , 49-55

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Reilly James

China's Unilateral Sanctions

in **Washington Quarterly (The)**, Volume 35, Number 4, Fall 2012 , 121-133



Over the past few years, Chinese experts began to clear some of their legendary legal, moral, ideological, and practical hurdles to using unilateral sanctions. While significant constraints remain, policymakers cannot ignore that Beijing is now exploring their use.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Julian Arato

Constitutionality and constitutionalism beyond the state: Two perspectives on the material constitution of the United Nations

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 3 , 627-659

This article examines the competences of the UN Security Council under the “constitution” of the United Nations, focusing in particular on its recent innovations in legislation. Certain critics decry Council legislation as unconstitutional, null and void. Apologists retort that the Charter delegates broad power to the Council, and the impugned legislative resolutions fall well within the broad textual limitations on its competence. I propose an approach to constitutional analysis to help cut through this debate, based on distinguishing between two perspectives on the “constitution” of an international organization: the juridical perspective emphasizing the transmission of validity in the creation, interpretation, and application of legal norms; and the political perspective from which the ordering of power among the constituted bodies may be assessed in terms of legitimacy and justice.

Distinguishing between the perspectives illuminates the merits of the arguments on both sides of the debate on the Council's competences. Juridically speaking, it is difficult to argue that the Council's innovations are unconstitutional and void. Yet the political perspective helps explain the critics' discomfort with the Council's expansive innovations; from the latter angle it appears that the Charter's broad, unreviewable, and effectively unamendable delegation of power to the Council yields a deeply flawed constitutional arrangement, entailing systemic risks of hegemonic international law-making and the demise of constitutionalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Solano McCausland Julieta, Carnero Rojo Enrique

Developments at the International Criminal Court

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 2 , 365-448

ABSTRACT: This column covers the activity of the International Criminal Court during the last third of 2010 through mid-May 2011. The Court has continued investigating situations in five countries (the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda, Sudan, the Central African Republic and Kenya) and opened a new investigation following a referral by the United Nations Security Council (Libya). The judicial activity of the Court continued with four accused persons undergoing trial, two more waiting for their trial to start, and six more awaiting the confirmation of charges hearing. The Chambers of the Court continued to develop the rules applicable to pre-trial and trial proceedings. In the period covered by this column they confirmed the law on the admissibility of a case, ruled on the proceedings concerning the first challenge by a State to the admissibility of a case and on stay of proceedings, and brought consistency on the issue of



victim participation across cases.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mwangi Wambui, Mphepo Tiyanjana

Developments in international criminal justice in Africa during 2011

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 12, n. 1 , 254-291

ABSTRACT: Africa experienced seismic political shifts in 2011 that had a significant effect on the development of international criminal justice on the continent. The year 2011 saw the finalisation of several noteworthy cases before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the conclusion of the case against Charles Taylor before the Special Court for Sierra Leone. The International Criminal Court was also in the spotlight, because of new events – the second referral by the Security Council of a head of state before the ICC; the transfer of the former head of state of Côte d'Ivoire to the ICC; as well as existing events – a co-operation request in the ICC situation in Kenya against the background of an upcoming general election; the ongoing proceedings in the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo and continuing complexities in the situation in Darfur. The article reviews the developments in these courts as well as the international community's response aimed at combating piracy off the coast of Somalia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Doyle Michael W.

Dialectics of a global constitution: The struggle over the UN Charter

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 4, december , 601-624

ABSTRACT: As a decentralized legal order, the international system arguably has no single constitution, but the closest candidate to a constitution that it does have is the UN Charter. Thus it is worth exploring how constitutional the Charter is in theory and practice. Sixty-plus years into its evolution we can see two dominant features. First, its key constitutional elements are: supranationality in its various forms; inequality; and, like all constitutions, an 'invitation to struggle' that leads to inevitable pushback from states when UN authority expands. Second, unlike in many domestic constitutions, the pushback more than holds its own. The UN has neither integrated its parts nor centralized authority. To illustrate those points, I start with a comparison of the UN Charter to both capital 'C' domestic constitutions and to ordinary treaties. I then address with a broad brush the main features of the UN's supranationality and inequality. The Secretariat and its neutrality and independence are the next topics. I then consider two examples of tension between UN supranationality and sovereignty. I explore the trend toward 'global legislation' associated with the Security Council's counter-terrorist resolutions, 1373 and 1540. I then focus on the example of the Millennium Development Goals, the UN's recent attempt to remake itself as a development body. I conclude with a discussion of the wider constitutional significance and prospects of the UN in the light of the contrasting success of the history of US federalism and European integration.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Greiner Lena

Die Libyen-Resolution: Was damals wirklich geschah

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2012 , 73-78

Die Lage in Syrien eskaliert von Tag zu Tag. Immer mehr Beobachter fordern daher eine humanitäre Intervention, doch der UN-Sicherheitsrat ist tief gespalten. China und Russland blockieren weiterreichende Resolutionen gegen Diktator Assad, etwa auf Grundlage der UN-Maxime der Responsibility to Protect. Von entscheidender Bedeutung für diese scheinbar aussichtslose Lage ist nicht zuletzt der vorangegangene Krieg in Libyen, der unter Berufung auf ebenjene Responsibility to Protect stattfand. Die Hintergründe der gegenwärtigen Lage beleuchten – in politischer und rechtlicher Hinsicht – die folgenden beiden Beiträge. – D. Red.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Pyta Wolfram

Die historischen Hintergründe der Genozid- Konvention der Vereinten Nationen

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 147–164

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Célio Bermann

Economía verde: ¿una vía para otro mundo posible? Debates científicos e intereses políticos en torno de Río+20

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 239

Twenty years since Eco 92, Rio de Janeiro will be the 2012 host of the conference Rio+20, which will have two main points on the agenda: green economy and institutional structure for sustainable development and the eradication of poverty. However, critical voices have risen which maintain that the green economy goes astray due to an excess of scientific positivism, as it trusts resolving problems arising from climate change by applying science above political debate. According to its detractors, it is betting on technologies whose risks are unpredictable, such as nanotechnology, synthetic biology and geo engineering, areas in which States and businesses have already invested billions of dollars.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Riquelme Cortado Rosa

El Protocolo Facultativo del Pacto Internacional de Derechos Económicos, Sociales y Culturales.

Comunicaciones de personas o grupos como piedra angular

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012



On 10 December 2008, General Assembly proceeded to adopt the (First) Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which establishes as key procedure the competence of the Committee to receive and review communications from individuals or groups of individuals claiming to be victims of any of the rights set forth in the Covenant. The Protocol provides for other monitoring mechanisms subject to express acceptance (opting in) to ensure compliance, namely the submission of inter-state communications and a confidential inquiry procedure in cases of grave or systematic violations of economic, social or cultural rights. Furthermore, it is envisaged the possibility to trigger complementary measures of international assistance and cooperation, Trust Fund included, with the consent of the State concerned. A certain frustration may nonetheless be felt at the fact that, in four years since its adoption, the Protocol has not yet received the tenth instrument of ratification or accession required to entry into force, being Spain, on 1 October 2012, the only Western European state listed among the Contracting States.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Olugbuo Benson Chinedu, Wachira George Mukundi

Enhancing the protection of the rights of victims of international crimes: A model for East Africa
in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 608-638

Victims of international crimes have had little, if any, role and voice in international criminal proceedings. In fact, victims in such proceedings have mostly been mere observers and witnesses. This global practice reflects the status of victims of international crimes as it was until the emergence of the International Criminal Court. The Court has brought about an era where victims of international crimes will not only have a true voice in criminal proceedings, but they will also participate in such proceedings as victims.

Of importance is the fact that they are now entitled, by right, to compensation and reparation. The article traces international legal developments relative to the protection of the rights of victims of international crimes.

It briefly examines comparable domestic and regional legal frameworks and practices on victim rights protection. The principal aim of the study is to discuss lessons that can be replicated in East Africa as a possible model for the protection of the rights of victims of international crimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Wanggi Jaunga, Jae Soo Bae

Evaluating socio-economic equity of REDD+ in a rights-based approach: Rapid equity appraisal matrix
in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 22 , 1-12

The success or failure of REDD+ will be determined not only by carbon emission reductions but also by equity for local communities and indigenous peoples. We have developed a methodology, the rapid equity appraisal matrix (REAM), for evaluating the equity capacity of REDD+ projects and stakeholders. REAM consists of three axes: a REDD+ project axis, a stakeholder axis, and an indicator axis. A systematic literature review was employed to establish ten indicators as minimum requirements for REDD+ projects to achieve socio-economic equity. The indicators were weighted according to their relative importance based on responses to an online survey of REDD+ experts and project proponents. Conjoint analysis was used for the weight estimations. Experts viewed "actions to improve governance and regulation are taken" as the most important criterion, whereas the lowest ranked criterion was "monetary benefits". This finding reflects a potential challenge for REDD+ mechanisms for making payments to affected indigenous peoples and local communities.



REAM was evaluated with two stakeholder groups involved in six REDD+ projects in Indonesia. The results suggested that Indonesia does not yet have sufficient capacity to achieve equitable REDD+ schemes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

de Zayas Alfred, Roldán Martín Áurea

Freedom of opinion and freedom of expression: some reflections on general Comment n. 34 of the UN Human Rights Committee

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 3 , 425-454

The United Nations Human Rights Committee is a body of 18 independent experts (including a member from the Netherlands, Professor Cees Flinterman) who are tasked with monitoring compliance with the provisions of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (in force 23 March 1976). The Committee deploys four principal activities – periodic examination of State Party reports, interpretation and progressive development of the provisions of the Covenant in the form of General Comments, and adjudication of individual complaints under the Optional Protocol, as well as follow-up procedures. This article analyzes the Committee's second General Comment on Article 19 of the Covenant, which stipulates freedom of opinion and freedom of expression. In 52 paragraphs the General Comment systematically examines, defines and delimits the concepts contained in the three subparagraphs of Article 19, basing itself primarily on the Committee's concluding observations upon examination of State Party reports and on the case-law in response to petitions under the Optional Protocol. The Committee highlights the primacy of freedom of opinion, recognizing that it is crucial for a democratic society that persons have access to truthful, reliable and pluralistic information, including through the internet, in order to develop a personal opinion whose expression must then be protected by law. The Committee notes, however, that whereas it is inadmissible to impose any restrictions on freedom of opinion, there are certain responsibilities that attach to the exercise of freedom of expression, namely the respect of the reputation of others as well as considerations of health, morals and national security. The Committee holds that so-called 'memory laws' as well as blasphemy laws are incompatible with Article 19 and that defamation laws must strike a balance between competing rights and interests. Paragraph 49 of the General Comment clearly affirms the right to hold non-conformist historical views and the right to be wrong. While it is not the function of lawyers or judges to establish what historical truth is, Article 20 of the Covenant imposes an obligation on governments to prohibit incitement to racial hatred or violence, the criminalization of which requires narrow definition of the elements of the crime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kertcher Chen

From Cold War to a System of Peacekeeping Operations: The Discussions on Peacekeeping Operations in the UN During the 1980s up to 1992

in *Journal of Contemporary History*, Volume 47, n. 3, July 2012 , 611-637

This paper examines the discussions on peacekeeping in the United Nations during the 1980s and up to the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It demonstrates that the call for wider implementation of UN peacekeeping operations and for the broadening of their functions began in the final stages of the Cold War. This was not a result of a shift in the policies of the Western powers or the work of the UN Secretariat; rather, the major source of change was an alliance between Western states which were veterans in contributing to peacekeeping operations and Eastern European states



led by the Soviet Union. These two groups of states identified a need for multifunctional United Nations peacekeeping operations as the appropriate instrument for dealing with conflicts in the new world order of the 1990s. Many UN member states supported the new ideas which suited their myriad interests, albeit with reservations on several new functions of the operations. Therefore, with the end of the Cold War the international community found in peacekeeping the most uncontested instrument available to maintain international peace and security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Daniel Berliner and Aseem Prakash

From norms to programs: The United Nations Global Compact and global governance in Regulation & Governance, Volume 6, Issue 2, June , 149–166

Norms shape policy when they get translated into concrete programs. What if a widely shared norm gets translated into a weak program? How might this influence the program's legitimacy? We examine these issues in the context of the United Nations Global Compact, a voluntary program that embodies the widely shared norm of corporate responsibility. While both international intergovernmental organization (IGO) and international non-governmental organization (INGO) networks support this norm, they differ on the adequacy of the Compact's program design. We explore how this tension affects the diffusion of the Compact across countries, which vary in their levels of embeddedness in IGO and INGO networks. Our findings suggest that embeddedness in IGO networks encourages adoption, while embeddedness in INGO networks discourages it. Our analysis provides important lessons for sponsors of voluntary governance mechanisms. Widespread support for a norm does not automatically ensure support for a program that claims to embody it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Arthur Mühlen-Schulte

Full faith in credit? The power of numbers in rating frontier sovereigns and the global governance of development by the UNDP

in Journal of International Relations and Development, Volume 15, Issue 4 , 466-485

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is the oldest dedicated development institution in the multilateral system, yet it remains one of the smallest in terms of funding and resources. This belies its central role in contributing to the rankings, benchmarks and ratings that have defined the process of development for states, non-governmental organisations and the private sector. The UNDP created the Human Development Report (HDR) and Human Development Index (HDI), coordinates the benchmarks of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and has recently partnered with Standard and Poor's (S&P) in devising sovereign credit ratings for developing countries. In this regard, mobilising numbers in support of development strategies is not new; yet, as this paper argues, the UNDP's development policy has seen a significant shift from the qualitative analysis presented in the HDR to the quantitative nature of credit rating. This paper will adopt a governmentality approach in looking at sovereign credit rating and analysing how the power of numbers informs the rationality underpinning the partnership between the UNDP and the rating agency S&P. It concludes that while pursuing sovereign credit rating may be seen as 'capacity development' for the UNDP, it in fact



represents a shift by the organisation towards quantitative practices that have particular consequences for the global governance of development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Witte Andreas

Gewaltenteilung im Völkerrecht? Zur Frage der rechtlichen Bindung und richterlichen Kontrolle des Sicherheitsrates

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 137, Number 2, April 2012 , 223-241

Abstract:

Since the end of the Cold War, even more so since the events of 11 September 2001, the United Nations Security Council has increasingly acted as a global quasi-legislator. It sets, in the form of Resolutions, norms which are legally addressed to the Member States but which require national governments to enact and implement laws of applicability to private individuals, often prescribing in detail what domestic lawmakers are supposed to decree with little or no scope for national discretion. The Security Council's Resolutions ordering the freezing of bank accounts and other financial assets of individually named suspected terrorists are the most controversial and practically relevant example.

These acts have, in the past, shown severe deficiencies with respect to rule of law, abridging procedural rights of suspects in a manner which most national constitutions would be unwilling to accept if attempted by autonomous domestic legislation. The paper, therefore, raises two closely related yet conceptually distinct questions. Firstly, it asks whether the Security Council is restricted in its activities by any legally binding norms which, hierarchically, rank above its Resolutions and which the latter must therefore comply with. If this is answered in the affirmative, the second question follows by necessity, namely, whether the Security Council is subject to any form of judicial review; in other words, whether a procedure exists by which its Resolutions may be scrutinised by an independent body against the yardsticks of these norms and struck down as void or inapplicable in case of incompatibility.

The answers found by this paper may be summarised as follows. The Security Council is fully bound by the United Nations Charter and the body of international jus cogens, but not by any particular international human rights treaty. In addition, the Charter leaves a great - but not unlimited - deal of discretion to the Council in choosing whether to act and which actions to take. As for judicial review, the paper submits the view that, under public international law as it stands today, there is no court or tribunal with the power to annul a Security Council Resolution. Attempts in scholarly writing to derive such a jurisdiction from precedents, especially of the ICJ, are not convincing. Consequently, the Council itself is the final arbiter of the legality of its own actions. Following the principle of dualism in international law, it is, however, possible that domestic courts annul a national implementing measure of a Council Resolution for violation of the national constitution. The potential for conflict between domestic and international law which ensues can only be reduced by mutual respect, in both spheres of law, for the other sphere's concerns.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Casini Paola

Gli Archivi delle Nazioni unite

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900* , numero 3, luglio 2012 , 569-580



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Otto Spijkers

Global Values in the United Nations Charter

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 59, issue 3 , 361-397

After a conceptual examination of global values and their role in international law, this article examines the role of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly, in the translation of globally shared values into legally binding international commitments. This process already commenced with the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held in 1945 in San Francisco, where the UN Charter was born. The way this process functions is illustrated by using the global value of social progress and development as an example. First, it is shown how this value ended up in the UN Charter in 1945. This is followed by a description of this value's evolution, especially the inclusion of a 'sustainability element', which took place at the General Assembly and various global conferences organized under the auspices of the United Nations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Spijkers Otto

Global values in the United Nations Charter

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 3 , 361-397

After a conceptual examination of global values and their role in international law, this article examines the role of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly, in the translation of globally shared values into legally binding international commitments. This process already commenced with the United Nations Conference on International Organization, held in 1945 in San Francisco, where the UN Charter was born. The way this process functions is illustrated by using the global value of social progress and development as an example. First, it is shown how this value ended up in the UN Charter in 1945. This is followed by a description of this value's evolution, especially the inclusion of a 'sustainability element', which took place at the General Assembly and various global conferences organized under the auspices of the United Nations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Frank Biermann

Greening the United Nations Charter: World Politics in the Anthropocene

in *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* , May/June 2012

Numerous science assessments indicate that the environmental crisis has reached a new stage, progressing from local ecological degradation to Earth system transformation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

De Brabandere Eric

Individuals in Advisory Proceedings Before the International Court of Justice: Equality of the Parties and the Court's Discretionary Authority

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 2 , 253-279

ABSTRACT: The recent IFAD Advisory Opinion of the ICJ has resuscitated the long-standing question of the access of individuals to the Court in advisory proceedings when the Court is acting as a 'review' body for judgements rendered by administrative tribunals of international organizations. Under such circumstance, the ICJ is confronted with the existence of an actual underlying dispute between two parties, although only one of the parties to the original dispute may appear before the Court, thus creating an obvious inequality before the Court. This article examines the review procedure before the ICJ, and the position of the individuals before the ICJ in such proceedings. In particular, this article discusses the different inequalities resulting from such procedures, and how the ICJ has remedied these in order not to use its discretion to not reply to the request for an advisory opinion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

C. Ryngaert and L. Gould

International Criminal Justice and Jus Post Bellum – The Challenge of ICC Complementarity: A case-study of the situation in Uganda

in *Revue belge de droit international*, n. 1-2 , 91-122

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Goggin Sean

Is UNESCO Clouding the International Culture Landscape: Legal Clarity?

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 121-143

ABSTRACT: Since its formation in 1945, UNESCO has established itself at the centre of the international debate on culture. In general, the forum has been a progressive force in the development of cultural policy. However, in spite of what has been a successful tenure by the body, its efforts are hampered by an unclear portrayal of culture. The research asks if the situation is compatible with the principle of legal clarity. Focusing on the protection of cultural identity, the research takes the form of an historical study of UNESCO's work on culture. The research also explores the implications of the situation for international human rights law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Rodríguez García Magaly



La Société des Nations face à la traite des femmes et au travail sexuel à l'échelle mondiale
in *Mouvement Social (Le)*, n° 241, 2012/4, 109-129

Resumé

Cet article donne un aperçu de l'information sur le trafic humain et la prostitution réunie par la Société des Nations dans les années 1920 et 1930. Les riches archives de cette organisation conservées à Genève contiennent de nombreuses données sur les conditions de travail de prostituées actives dans plus de cent villes à travers le monde, sur leurs antécédents et sur leurs motivations pour entrer dans la prostitution. Elles constituent donc une base de premier ordre pour l'étude comparative du trafic humain et du sexe tarifé à l'échelle mondiale. L'article fournit une brève histoire des origines du mouvement contre le trafic humain et de l'activisme initial de la SDN au début des années 1920. Il analyse les enquêtes menées par l'organisation internationale sur le trafic des femmes et des enfants du milieu des années 1920 au début des années 1930. Il rend compte des initiatives de la SDN en faveur de la réhabilitation des prostituées et de la prévention de la prostitution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ferrer Lloret Jaume

La insoportable levedad del Derecho internacional consuetudinario en la jurisprudencia de la Corte Internacional de Justicia: El caso de las inmunidades jurisdiccionales del Estado

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012

The Judgment of 3rd February 2012 in the Case concerning the Jurisdictional Immunities of the State (Germany v. Italy; Greece Intervening) serves as an instance of the consensualist postulates presiding the task of the International Court of Justice to the detriment of those objectivist theses attempting to gain relevance in the last decades, *ius cogens* norms being the latter's major reference. Under the said postulates, the Court carries out the analysis and appraisal of the means of proof in international practice ― internal legislations, domestic case law, codification procedures and ECHR case law ― and examines the existence of the *opinio juris* inherent in the international custom substantive element. All this allows the Court to reach the following conclusion: in Customary International Law, there cannot be found an exception to the jurisdictional immunity general rule in the event of injuries and damages caused by a foreign State's army within the territory of the forum's State, in a context of armed conflict, even if *ius cogens* norms have been violated. Certainly, the result offered by the Court through this Judgment, in spite of the complex task of determining Customary International Law in force, does not respond successfully to the legitimate interests defended by the victims of serious violations of human rights and International Humanitarian Law. But the international legal system continues to be an inter-State legal system essentially, where States' interests, represented by their Governments, prevail over the effective protection of individuals' rights on many occasions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Mario Bettati

Le Haut commissariat des nations unies pour les réfugiés (HCR)

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 144 , 91-111

Le HCR est en charge de presque 34 millions de personnes, réfugiés, apatrides et personnes déplacées. Les réfugiés palestiniens ne relèvent pas de son mandat, ils sont confiés à une agence spéciale : l'UNWRA. L'origine de l'agence réside dans l'initiative de Fridtjof Nansen qui créa le fameux passeport qui porte son nom et qui fut le premier haut commissaire de la SDN. Créé par la résolution 428 (v) du 14 décembre 1950, il est entré en fonction le 1er janvier 1951. Ses compétences se sont élargies du seul plan européen vers l'universalisation et des seuls réfugiés aux apatrides puis aux personnes déplacées. Il exerce une activité normative originale dans ce domaine, mais éprouve des difficultés administratives et financières qui ne le mettent pas à l'abri de critiques.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chloé Maurel

L'UNESCO entre européocentrisme et universalisme (1945-1974)

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 61-72

L'UNESCO, créée en 1945 dans le cadre des Nations unies pour contribuer à la paix par l'éducation, la science et la culture, s'est donnée dès le début un objectif universaliste : rapprocher les hommes, favoriser la compréhension internationale, encourager les échanges culturels entre les différentes parties du monde. Toutefois, de par sa localisation à Paris et...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Glucksmann André

L'impotenza delle Nazioni Unite

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 620-623

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Maureen G. Reed, Felicitas Eguny

Management effectiveness in UNESCO Biosphere Reserves: Learning from Canadian periodic reviews

in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 25 , 107-117

Calls for management effectiveness of protected areas have been made on the grounds that evaluation can help determine the ability of protected areas to meet their goals, identify opportunities and threats, and encourage stakeholders to adapt to changing conditions. In 1995, the Statutory Framework of the World Network of biosphere reserves included a requirement that all biosphere reserves must undergo a process of periodic review once every 10



years. The primary purpose of the periodic review is to evaluate the effectiveness of biosphere reserve organizations in achieving the objectives related to three functions: biodiversity conservation, sustainable development, and logistical support. Beyond meeting statutory requirements, the periodic review process can also be considered an opportunity for learning within and beyond the national and international networks. The purpose of this paper is to investigate how management effectiveness in Canadian biosphere reserves has been interpreted through the periodic review process conducted in Canada. A content analysis was performed on the 15 periodic review reports of the 11 Canadian biosphere reserves reviewed between 1995 and 2012. Determining compliance appears to be the dominant purpose of periodic reviews, while determining and providing learning opportunities through periodic review is emerging. We conclude that periodic reviews can be used as learning tools if systematic efforts are made to evaluate, reflect, and share lessons learned. Specific recommendations are provided to enhance this possibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Nophea Sasakia, Kimsun Chhengb, Sokhun Ty

Managing production forests for timber production and carbon emission reductions under the REDD+ scheme in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 23 , 35-44

Sustainable forest management (SFM) ensures the continuous flow of wood products and employment while improving the functionalities of forests as compared to conventional management. Until recently, many projects associated with the reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) scheme focused only on reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation, conservation of carbon stocks, or enhancement of forest carbon stocks. REDD+ is an extension of REDD that also includes, SFM, conservation of carbon stocks, and enhancement of forest carbon stocks. REDD+ projects concerned with securing timber production while reducing emissions are very few in number. In this report, we discuss how SFM through the adoption of appropriate logging practices can lead to a reduction in carbon emissions while securing timber in the tropics. Logging practices affect timber production, the structure of forests, and forest-dependent communities because of damages caused by logging itself and the large amounts of logging and wood wastes. By switching from conventional logging to reduced-impact logging practices, International Tropical Timber Organization producer countries could reduce carbon emissions by about 1.5–2.1 billion tCO₂ year⁻¹ while still producing about 164.9–280.8 million m³ of end-use wood under a 50-year project cycle, with the results being dependent on the chosen scenario. Study results suggest that a policy of reduced-impact logging combined with a 40-year or longer cutting cycle is appropriate for SFM projects as part of the REDD+ scheme.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Finnin Sarah

Mental Elements Under Article 30 Of The Rome Statute Of The International Criminal Court: A Comparative Analysis

in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 61 - Issue 02 , 325 - 359

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court is the first international instrument that includes a general provision on the mental element required before criminal responsibility for an international crime attaches (Article 30). This article analyses that provision from a comparative perspective, drawing on common law and civil law understandings of intent. It analyses the jurisprudence and commentary concerning Article 30 in detail, and attempts to draw some conclusions as



to what aspects of the common law and civil law concepts of intent are covered by it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Archer Colin

Military Spending and the UN's Development Agenda

in Peace Review, vol. 25, n. 1 , 24-32

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Stamatopoulou Elsa

Monitoring Cultural Human Rights: The Claims of Culture on Human Rights and the Response of Cultural Rights

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 34, number 4, november , 1170-1192

ABSTRACT: Given the reticence of states about cultural rights, this essay explores how the independent UN human rights monitoring bodies filled the gap. Cultural rights made the human rights system burst at the seams, and these bodies picked up the bold demand that culture poses for human rights. Through their practice, they crafted an understanding of the normative content of cultural rights and thus helped overcome the seemingly insurmountable political difficulties of states. Through an international law perspective, the essay unravels this practice and presents a critical analysis of the new developments in this area.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Coomans Fons

On the right(s) track? United Nations (Specialized) Agencies and the Use of Human Rights Language

in Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee, vol. 45, issue 3

ABSTRACT: The United Nations and its specialized agencies play a key role in international economic and social cooperation. This role covers a broad spectrum of areas and topics, such as the promotion of higher standards of living, solutions to health related problems and universal respect for and observance of human rights. Over the years many UN agencies, such as UNDP, UNICEF, UNAIDS and the FAO, have adopted a human rights-based approach which is supposed to underlie the carrying out of their mandate. Part of that approach is to clearly spell out the specific human rights that are at stake and frame policies and programs by using human rights language. The question that will be addressed in this article is to what extent UN (specialized) agencies have adopted and are using language on economic, social and cultural rights as a framework or basis for their policies and programs. The underlying presumption is that the implementation of social, economic and cultural rights would be strengthened if 'rights language' is used in the practice of these organizations. In the article particular attention is given to UN Development Assistance Frameworks (UNDAF) which have been concluded between UN agencies and governments of developing countries. The UNDAF's on Egypt and Kenya will be discussed in more detail. One of the findings of the research is that references to human rights have



become more prominent and visible. The article discusses a number of good examples of this trend, but also some more cautious practices and even a number of disappointing experiences. One conclusion is that rights language only means something when it is backed by a translation into implementation of clear and concrete activities, programs and projects. This requires political will and commitment by Governments that approve the policy decisions that underlie such programs and projects. Another conclusion is that in many instances it is unclear whether rights language used in the framework of policy documents, strategies, decisions or projects would give rise to legal responsibility and/or accountability of the agencies and other actors such as states. In many cases rights language used is of a promotional nature.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Constance L. McDermotta, Lauren Coada, Ariella Helfgotta, Heike Schroeder

Operationalizing social safeguards in REDD+: actors, interests and ideas in *Environmental Science & Policy* , Vol. 21 , 63-72

“REDD+” is a mechanism created under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) for Reducing {carbon} Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation and forest enhancement. In addition, REDD+ “safeguards” are intended to protect non-carbon forest values. While REDD+ countries are formally requested to provide information on safeguards, there is as yet no agreement on the relative priority of carbon versus non-carbon values, and the appropriate level of safeguard standardization.

This, we argue, has allowed REDD+ to function as a “boundary object” spanning disparate priorities. Meanwhile, the contestation of these priorities has been displaced from intergovernmental processes to the various organizations involved in operationalizing REDD+ activities. This article applies a set of organizational, substantive and conceptual typologies to compare differences in the balance of actors, interests and ideas across these organizations. It finds that multi-lateral funding programs have drawn heavily on existing safeguards for international aid, while private certification schemes have specialized in different niche priorities at the project level. In regards to the substance of safeguard requirements, the involvement of donors and investors appears correlated with a stronger emphasis on carbon and risk mitigation while greater NGO involvement and the decoupling of safeguards design from REDD+ funding appear correlated with greater emphasis on social rights and benefits.

These findings have several critical implications for future REDD+ activities. Firstly, the choice of organizations involved in defining, funding and verifying safeguard activities, and the balance of actors in their governing structures, are likely to influence the relative emphasis on non-carbon values. Secondly, a diversity of approaches to disbursing REDD+ incentives may be necessary to maintain widespread support for REDD+. Thirdly, it remains to be seen whether REDD+ will remain a boundary object if it transitions to a national-level, performance based system where the design and enforcement of safeguards competes directly with financial compensation for measurable emissions reductions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bordin Fernando Lusa

Procedural Developments at the International Court of Justice in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 2 , 325-363



ABSTRACT: The present column covers procedural developments at the International Court of Justice in the period beginning on 1 July 2011 and ending on 31 March 2012. These include: the consideration by the Court of the indispensable parties doctrine and judicial propriety in the Application of Interim Accord case; questions arising as to the extent of the Court's incidental jurisdiction in the Jurisdictional Immunities case and as to the extent of its discretion to choose which provisional measures to indicate in the context of interpretation proceedings in the Temple case; the notion of an "interest of a legal nature" as discussed by the Court in connection with Greece's application to intervene as a non-party in the Jurisdictional Immunities case; and the Court's discussion of the principle of equality of the parties in the criticism it made of the procedure for review of judgments of administrative tribunals in the IFAD advisory opinion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

van der Vyver Johan D.

Prosecuting the President of Sudan: A dispute between the African Union and the International Criminal Court in African Human Rights Law Journal, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 683-698

ABSTRACT: The indictment of the President of Sudan has provoked negative responses from the African Union, including a resolution that instructed member states of the AU not to co-operate with the ICC in arresting the President and surrendering him for trial in the ICC. The AU relied on article 98(2) of the ICC Statute in terms of which the ICC may not proceed with a request for surrender that would require a state to act inconsistently with its obligations under international law with respect to the sovereign immunity of, inter alia, heads of state. However, it has been decided that under the rules of international law, sovereign immunity applies only to prosecutions in national courts and not to prosecutions in an international tribunal, and article 27(2) of the ICC Statute accordingly provides that sovereign immunity shall not bar the ICC from exercising jurisdiction over persons enjoying such immunity. It is argued in this article that article 98(2) contradicts article 27(2): If a head of state does not enjoy immunity against prosecution in the ICC, there is no immunity to be waived by the national state. A pre-trial chamber of the ICC did not base the obligation of state parties (Kenya and Chad) to arrest and surrender the Sudanese President for prosecution in the ICC on the provisions of article 27, but on the fact that the situation in Sudan was referred to the ICC by the Security Council of the United Nations and a passage in the Security Council resolution calling on Sudan and all other parties to the conflict in Darfur to co-operate fully in bringing the President of Sudan to justice. The exact implications of article 98(2) therefore remain unresolved.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

O'Brien Melanie

Prosecutorial Discretion as an Obstacle to Prosecution of United Nations Peacekeepers by the International Criminal Court: The Big Fish/Small Fish Debate and the Gravity Threshold in Journal of International Criminal Justice, Vol. 10, Num. 3, July, 2012 , 525-545

United Nations (UN) peacekeepers have been accused of various offences (such as sexual exploitation and abuse, gun smuggling and trading, and gold or diamonds trading), which, under specific circumstances, could be even characterized either as war crimes or, more often, as crimes against humanity. The UN is not able to exercise criminal jurisdiction and in the majority of cases states have been either unable or unwilling to prosecute peacekeepers for criminal offences.



Arguably, assuming that various jurisdictional criteria are satisfied, one potential forum for the prosecution of peacekeepers would be the International Criminal Court (ICC). However, aside from all other requirements, prosecutorial discretion could be one of the greatest obstacles to such prosecution. In the exercise of such discretion, the two issues of gravity and the ranking/level of a perpetrator influence prosecutorial decisions on whether or not to prosecute. This article will examine the application of these two matters of contention as demonstrated to date in prosecutorial policy and ICC decisions in the context of criminal conduct by peacekeepers, and how this application may affect chances of their prosecution in the ICC.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cécile Bidaud

REDD+, un mécanisme novateur?

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 211 , 111-130

The following article discusses the theoretical and practical policy changes precipitated by the new REDD+ mechanism implemented in Madagascar. Three specific aspects are dealt with: scale of governance, payment for ecosystem services (PES), and results-based remuneration. Despite the conceptual discourse and innovative international governance mechanism, changes in real practice are still lacking in the first REDD+ pilot project in Madagascar. This pilot project in the Makira Forest does not differ greatly from past conservation efforts, but reproduces models used over the last fifteen years, with a protected area surrounded by a green belt of community-based natural resources management.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Betts Alexander

Regime Complexity and International Organizations: UNHCR as a Challenged Institution

in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 69-81

ABSTRACT: The existing literature on regime complexity has generally focused on its impact on the behavior of states; in contrast, this article explores its implications for international organizations. Many organizations within the UN system were established in the aftermath of World War II, at a time when they held a de facto monopoly in a given policy field. Gradually, however, institutional proliferation has created a range of institutional overlaps that may have complementary or competitive relationships to the referent organization of the original regime. Developing the concept of challenged institutions, this article explores how international organizations are affected by and strategically respond to growing institutional competition. Through a case study of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' response to an increasingly competitive institutional environment, it argues that the concept of challenged institutions highlights the dilemmas faced by multilateral organizations in a rapidly changing landscape of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Brattberg Erik

Revisiting UN Peacekeeping in Rwanda and Sierra Leone



in *Peace Review*, vol. 24, n. 2 , 156-162

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Chartier Denis, Foyer Jean

Rio+20 : la victoire du scénario de l'effondrement ?

in *Ecologie et politique*, n. 45, Écologie et politique, vingt ans après... , 117-130

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development held in June 2012 (UNCSD Rio+20) has disappointed many participants and observers. Its results are seen as somewhat inadequate in the face of the urgency of the ecological, social and economic situations and no clear alternative has emerged. In a context of global financial crisis and of transformation of geopolitical relations in favour of emergent nations, Rio+20 marks a return to the logic of realpolitik. Not only does multilateralism seem exhausted, but an integrated vision of sustainable development is losing steam to the hard form of developmentism still promoted in the deregulated world market. The increasing presence of the private sphere in the modes of management of the environment and the incapacity of the international community of truly taking into account the finitude of resources are manifestations of this political realism. Rio+20 reveals the difficulties that social movements (be they those present at the People's Summit or those accredited to partake in the official conference) have in truly impacting on international politics. Although it is difficult to draw a definitive assessment of Rio+20 so soon after the end of the conference, nothing seems to predispose the structuration – nevertheless urgent – of institutions and paradigms that will facilitate a politics of the Anthropocene.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Palea Roberto

Rio+20: Continuing to Hope

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/801-rio%2020-continuing-to-hope>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Brock Lothar, Deitelhoff Nicole

Schutzverantwortung und Friedenspflicht

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2012 , 79-88

Die Lage in Syrien eskaliert von Tag zu Tag. Immer mehr Beobachter fordern daher eine humanitäre Intervention, doch der UN-Sicherheitsrat ist tief gespalten. China und Russland blockieren weiterreichende Resolutionen gegen Diktator Assad, etwa auf Grundlage der UN-Maxime der Responsibility to Protect. Von entscheidender Bedeutung für diese scheinbar aussichtslose Lage ist nicht zuletzt der vorangegangene Krieg in Libyen, der unter Berufung auf ebenjene Responsibility to Protect stattfand. Die Hintergründe der gegenwärtigen Lage beleuchten – in politischer und rechtlicher



Hinsicht – die folgenden beiden Beiträge. – D. Red.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

McCully Murray

Seeking a security council voice: Murray McCully provides an update on new Zealand's campaign to secure a seat on the UN Security Council and discusses reform of the council.

in *New Zealand International Review*, September, 2012

In this article I will put on record the ground rules under which we are contesting a UN Security Council seat--because in some respects we appear to be testing what seems to have become conventional wisdom about such campaigns, and I want to make it clear that we are doing so with our eyes open. And I want to set out the government's thinking on the question of Security Council reform--on which matter I took a paper to the Cabinet during 2011. But, of course, it is impossible to address any of these matters meaningfully without first answering two underlying questions: does the Security Council matter? And does New Zealand's membership of that body matter? A quick glance at the newspaper headlines any day in recent months should have been sufficient to convince most New Zealanders of the importance of the role of the UN Security Council. The appalling tragedy that is Syria continues to unfold before our eyes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Paul Christoph Bornkamm

State Immunity Against Claims Arising from War Crimes: The Judgment of the International Court of Justice in Jurisdictional Immunities of the State

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 6 , 773-782

The recent judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Case Concerning Jurisdictional Immunities of the State (Germany v. Italy; Greece Intervening) marks the climax of a series of legal proceedings before Greek, Italian, and German courts, as well as the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) stretching over a period of more than fifteen years. The international community had eagerly awaited the ICJ's findings on the issue at the heart of the dispute, namely the scope of state immunity before foreign courts in cases concerning claims arising from serious violations of international humanitarian law. While most expected the Court to rule in favor of Germany and to uphold state immunity in principle, it was unclear whether the Court would acknowledge the increasing erosion of immunity with respect to serious violations of human rights or international humanitarian law. To the disappointment of many, the Court took a conservative approach and rejected the idea of an emerging exception from state immunity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Schwartzberg Joseph

Steps on the Path to Global Justice

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/794-steps-on-the-path-to-global-justice>



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Suzi C. Kerr

The Economics of International Policy Agreements to Reduce Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation in Review of Environmental Economics and Policy, Vol. 7, n°1, 47-66

This article synthesizes the key conceptual insights from economics for the design of international policies to reduce deforestation and forest degradation and increase reforestation (known as REDD+) as part of the international climate change mitigation effort. Most of the emphasis is on the contribution of economics to the effective design of results-based policies that introduce a price incentive for “strong” states (i.e., those with the institutional capacity to respond effectively to such policies) to address deforestation, degradation, and reforestation. The article also emphasizes how large-scale agreements can minimize leakage and adverse selection, the importance of allocating uncertainty with care, and the need to differentiate clearly among potentially conflicting objectives. It explores the conflicts between cost sharing and efficiency that arise because of private information and the inability of states to make long-term commitments. The article also examines policies that complement price incentives, and, for weak states, policies that can substitute for results-based agreements. (JEL: Q23, Q54, Q56, Q58)

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Juliane Kokott and Christoph Sobotta

The Kadi Case – Constitutional Core Values and International Law – Finding the Balance?
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 4, 1015-1024

The Kadi judgment of the European Court of Justice has provoked severe criticism. The Court’s dualist approach was described as unfaithful to its traditional fidelity to public international law and inserting itself in the tradition of nationalism. However, we argue that the Court indicated a possible opening to allow for precedence of Security Council measures, if sufficient safeguards for human rights are created. Moreover, it seems that the Security Council has risen to the challenge by introducing a strong review mechanism. Though this mechanism cannot exclude all possible conflicts between EU and UN law, it can significantly reduce the risk of divergent decisions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Legg Stephen

The Life of Individuals as well as of Nations’: International Law and the League of Nations’ Anti-Trafficking Governmentalities
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 25, Issue 03, 647-664

This paper will address an often-neglected agenda of the much-derided League of Nations: its ‘social’ and ‘technical’ works. These targeted human security through regulating different forms of international mobility, including the fight against trafficking in women and children. The League used conventions and conferences to commit nation-states, in a



legal model, to standardized anti-trafficking measures. It also, however, worked to educate and inform states, voluntary organizations, and the general public about the nature of trafficking and the ways of combating it. The latter techniques are here interpreted using Foucault's governmentality writings, which encourage us to look beyond the juridical epistemologies of international relations and international law, but not beyond the interlacing of laws and norms, here explored through interwar League governmentalities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Scott Shirley V.

The Securitization of Climate Change in World Politics: How Close have We Come and would Full Securitization Enhance the Efficacy of Global Climate Change Policy?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 220-230

There has been a growing awareness of the implications of climate change for national, international and human security. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies analyzes the process by which an issue comes to be represented as an existential threat in terms of a process of 'securitization'. This article considers what the full securitization of climate change would look like in world politics, including what role the United Nations Security Council might assume in climate change governance, how close we have come to that state of affairs, how likely we are to reach the stage of full securitization and why, and whether reaching that point would in any case be beneficial for the global policy response to climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Bromley Mark, Cooper Neil, Holtom Paul

The UN Arms Trade Treaty: arms export controls, the human security agenda and the lessons of history

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 5, september , 1029-1048

ABSTRACT: The UN conference to negotiate an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) concluded on 27 July 2012 without reaching consensus on the text of a draft treaty and saw both the US and Russia calling for more time to negotiate. The ATT process marks the latest in a series of attempts to insert human security concerns into arms export controls. The setback in July raises questions about the current level of international support for the human security agenda, as well as the relative power of different actors to shape global governance structures. This article locates the ATT negotiations in the broader history of multilateral efforts to regulate the international arms trade, from the 1890 Brussels Act to post-Cold War initiatives. The historical record shows that such efforts are more likely to succeed if they are negotiated or imposed by major arms exporters. The introduction of human security concerns, as well as the merging of export control and arms control agendas, went some way towards reversing this trend. In particular, it created a broad international coalition of supportive states and NGOs from the global North and South. Yet disagreements over the purpose of an ATT remained. The draft ATT included human security provisions, but China, Russia, the US and a number of emerging powers ensured that state security considerations remained paramount in decision-making on arms exports. The US was the first major actor to announce its unwillingness to sign the draft ATT in July 2012 and two alternative interpretations of US actions are considered. The article concludes by considering the options available to supporters of the ATT process following the 2012 conference and examines the notion that the ATT campaign has



become an initiative 'out of its time', one that might have had success in the 1990s but not in current circumstances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Forsythe David P.

The UN Security Council and Response to Atrocities: International Criminal Law and the P-5 in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 34, number 3, august , 840-863

ABSTRACT: A review of the UN Security Council and its permanent members regarding international criminal law shows, first of all, that while the Council has been consistently "seized" with this subject matter, narrow conceptions of national interest often negatively impact the quest for a humane rule of law in world affairs. Secondly, agreement among the P-5 often proves difficult, contributing to a wide array of adopted measures on this subject without great consistency. The Council's toolbox is large and varied, but a dependable and consistent pattern of policy making has proven elusive. Lastly, particularly for the "Big Three"—China, Russia, and the United States—double standards are blatant as they often demand of others what they are unwilling to accept themselves. Nevertheless, the Security Council has paid much more attention to international criminal law than many observers forecast during the Cold War.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Steiner Achim

The green economy: Re-thinking global governance in Europe's World, Issue 20, Spring

As head of the UN's environmental arm UNEP, Achim Steiner believes that multi-lateral governance structures are overdue for a radical overhaul.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21952/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Curtis Devon

The international peacebuilding paradox: Power sharing and post-conflict governance in Burundi in African Affairs, Volume 112, Issue 446, January 2013 , 72-91

At first glance, Burundi represents a successful negotiated transition to peaceful governance through power sharing, and a justification for regional and international peacebuilders' involvement. It is undeniable that Burundi is safer than it was a decade or two ago. Most notably, while Burundi was once known for its ethnic divisions and antagonism, today ethnicity is no longer the most salient feature around which conflict is generated. Nevertheless, this article argues that the Burundian experience illuminates international peacebuilding contradictions. Peacebuilding in Burundi highlights the



complex interplay between outside ideas and interests, and multiple Burundian ideas and interests. This is illustrated by the negotiation and implementation of governance institutions and practices in Burundi. Outsiders promoted governance ideas that were in line with their favoured conception of peacebuilding, and Burundian politicians renegotiated and reinterpreted these institutions and practices. Even as international rhetoric about peacebuilding emphasized liberal governance and inclusive participation, narrower conceptions of peacebuilding as stabilization and control became dominant. Thus, encounters between international, regional, and local actors have produced governance arrangements that are at odds with their liberal and inclusionary rhetorics. Paradoxically, the activities of international peacebuilders have contributed to an 'order' in Burundi where violence, coercion, and militarism remain central.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Sari Aurel

**UN Peacekeeping Operations and Article 7 ARIO: The Missing Link
in International Organizations Law Review**, vol. 9, n. 1 , 77-85

ABSTRACT: Peacekeeping operations conducted by international organizations raise difficult questions of international responsibility. In principle, breaches of international law committed by national contingents serving on such operations may be attributed either to the international organization leading the operation or to the State to which the personnel implicated in the wrongful conduct belongs. The ARIO suggests a seemingly simple solution to this dilemma: wrongful conduct should be attributed to the party exercising effective control over that conduct. The present note argues that this solution is misguided. It deliberately ignores the legal and institutional status of national contingents, does not reflect consistent international practice and may not serve the best interests of potential claimants. In the case of peacekeeping operations incorporated into the institutional structure of an international organization, a more appropriate solution to the dilemma of multiple attribution is to proceed on the basis of a rebuttable presumption that the wrongful acts committed by national contingents are attributable to the international organization and not to their contributing State.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Szewczyk Bart M.J.

**Variable Multipolarity and U.N. Security Council Reform
in Harvard International Law Journal**, Volume 53 Issue 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Joutsen Matti, Graycar Adam

**When Experts and Diplomats Agree: Negotiating Peer Review of the UN Convention Against Corruption
in Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 4, october-december , 425-439

ABSTRACT: The UN Convention Against Corruption is the only truly global convention in corruption control. Separate and rather difficult negotiations were conducted on a mechanism for the implementation of the treaty. These



negotiations broke ground by providing, for the first time, peer review of a United Nations treaty. This article, which is based on the authors' close observations and interviews with key participants, seeks to show how the dynamics between technical experts and diplomats led to a resolution that would not have occurred if either the technical experts or the diplomats had acted alone.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Nitsan Chorev

“A New Health Order as Part of the New Social Order”: The Strategic Response of the WHO to its Member States

in *Political Power and Social Theory*, Volume 23 , 65-100

This article explores the range of responses available to international bureaucracies when confronted with demands made by their member states through the study of the World Health Organization (WHO) during the 1970s and 1980s. It shows that the WHO bureaucracy successfully addressed the demands of developing countries for health policies compatible with a more equitable world economic order, but in a way that preserved the bureaucracy's own agenda and without upsetting the opposite coalition of wealthy countries. Drawing on insights from the sociology of organizations, this article shows that externally dependent international bureaucracies are able to preserve their autonomous agenda by strategically reframing countries' demands before responding to them.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Melber Henning

“In a Time of Peace Which Is No Peace”: Security and Development—Fifty Years After Dag Hammarskjöld

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 267-272

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gowan Richard

“Less Bound to the Desk”: Ban Ki-moon, the UN, and Preventive Diplomacy

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 4, october-december , 387-404

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Lardeux Laurent

«Libre consentement» au retour des réfugiés congolais (RDC) et nouvelles normes d'application du rapatriement par le HCR



in *Critique Internationale*, n. 56, 2012 , 95-116

“Free Consent” in the Return of Congolese Refugees (DRC) and New Norms for the Application of Repatriation by the HCR

Between 2005 and 2009, the UNHCR evoked the sole motive of “change of circumstance” in the country of return to justify and promote the repatriation of Congolese refugees to the Democratic Republic of Congo. Since then, reductions in the assistance and protection granted to refugees by host countries has qualified the notion of “free consent” to return, which is nevertheless broadly emphasized by the legal texts governing the terms of voluntary repatriation. The UNHCR is today obliged to take the interests of sponsor and asylum-granting countries into account, generally at the expense of the personal and subjective preferences of refugees and at the risk of erroneous evaluation of the level of security in the region of return. A multi-situated ethnography conducted in host and return regions allows one to grasp the various motivations of refugees in light of the structural and political conditions in which - but also against which - they may be forged.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ocampo Jose Antonio

A World Bank for the twenty-first century

in *Europe’s World*, Issue 22, Autumn

It’s time to re-think the role of the World Bank, says former Colombian finance minister José Antonio Ocampo, who was recently one of the three contenders for heading it. And a basic lesson the bank needs to re-learn is never to impose any particular development model.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22040/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Christian Deblock

Accords commerciaux : entre coopération et compétition

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver

L’OMC plaide pour la cohérence entre les accords commerciaux et le système multilatéral. Pourtant, l’histoire de ces accords commerciaux préférentiels montre que la tendance générale ne conduit pas à une cohérence croissante entre deux systèmes de règles, mais plutôt à leur découplage et à un rayonnement des accords à partir d’un petit nombre de modèles. On peut même se demander si l’on ne va pas vers une incompatibilité entre deux conceptions différentes de la coopération économique.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Yuichi Kono Daniel

Alliances, Trade Discrimination, and the Global Trade Regime
in *International Interactions*, vol. 38, issue 5 , 647-669

ABSTRACT: Although nondiscrimination is a central tenet of the global trade regime, discrimination was in fact common under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, particularly against developing countries. The latter have recently sought to end such discrimination through World Trade Organization rules: for example, the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC) prohibited quota discrimination in this sector. I examine the ATC's impact on US discrimination, asking whether the ATC ended the US policy of favoring allies with generous textile and clothing quotas. I find that, while the United States favored allies before the ATC, this favoritism vanished in the post-ATC period. The ATC thus accomplished its goal of ending explicit textile and clothing discrimination. This result underscores the potential for multilateral rules to control trade discrimination and implies that popular theories of trade policy may be contingent on such rules.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Best Jacqueline

Ambiguity and Uncertainty in International Organizations: A History of Debating IMF Conditionality
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 4, december , 674-688

ABSTRACT: How do international organizations deal with the persistent challenge of uncertainty? The most intuitive answer is through regulation. Yet, rules are not always the best solution in times of uncertainty or in dealing with complex and diverse problems. More ambiguous policies that leave room for interpretation, can often be more functional for an international organization (IO); moreover, ambiguities can also be a source of power—and are therefore often a subject of conflict among institutional actors. Focusing on the case of International Monetary Fund conditionality policy, this article provides several key insights into IO practices. It provides an account of the different forms that ambiguity can take in international organizations and develops an explanation for why institutional ambiguities appear and persist. Looking inside the IO black box, the study examines how interests, institutional culture, and legitimacy concerns shape actors' support for ambiguity, and how these preferences combine with broader structural factors to produce a predisposition toward institutional ambiguity. Finally, this article points toward certain implications of organizations' tendency toward ambiguity, suggesting that this may play an important role in enabling institutional expansion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bin GU

Applicability of GATT Article XX in China – Raw Materials: A Clash within the WTO Agreement
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.4 , 1007-1031

The Appellate Body's interpretation in China – Raw Materials regarding the applicability of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Article XX to China's Accession Protocol is highly controversial and stimulates wide debates in academia. The controversy is rooted in the absence of an explicit mention of 'consistency with the GATT 1994' in Paragraph 11.3 of China's Accession Protocol. That absence constrains China's defense in instances when it must



violate its export duty elimination commitments under the Accession Protocol by resorting to GATT Article XX. This article disagrees with the Appellate Body's legal interpretation in China – Raw Materials and provides a critical review of the Appellate Body's logical principle that 'absence equates to waiver'. The Appellate Body's interpretation on the relationship between GATT Article XX and China's Accession Protocol contradicted former Dispute Settlement Body (DSB) practices, demonstrated a failure to interpret the WTO Agreement in a systemic manner, and unfortunately resulted in inappropriateness in treaty interpretation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hatzivassiliou Evanthis, Triantaphyllou Dimitrios

Apropos NATO's first enlargement

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 12, n. 4, Special Issue: Greece and Turkey in NATO , 467-496

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Madhur Srinivasa

Asia's role in twenty-first-century global economic governance

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 4, july , 817-833

ABSTRACT: The basic foundations of today's framework for global economic governance were laid in the years following the Second World War. Reflecting the balance of economic power at the time, Asia did not play a major role in either designing the institutional architecture or setting the agenda for global economic governance. In more recent decades the centre of gravity of the global economy has shifted towards Asia, and this trend is likely to continue in the decades to come. Asia's growing economic weight enhances its potential to play a much stronger role in shaping twenty-first-century global economic governance. Realization of that potential will, however, depend upon how successfully Asia addresses five key challenges: rebalancing sources of growth; strengthening national governance; institutionalizing regional integration; providing political leadership; and adopting the global lingua franca—English. While the Asian policy-makers' ambition to play a bigger role in global economic governance is growing, their appetite for addressing the necessary policy challenges is not necessarily keeping pace with that growing ambition. This gap between ambition and action will need to be gradually closed—only then can Asia help itself in playing a bigger role in global economic governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Laurence Boisson de Chazournes and Edouard Fromageau

Balancing the Scales: The World Bank Sanctions Process and Access to Remedies

in European Journal of International Law, vol. 23, issue 4 , 963-989

The evolution over the years of the mandates and missions of international organizations has reached an important



milestone with the emergence and multiplication in the last decade of procedures and mechanisms having a direct impact on individuals and companies. This has gone together with the call for the creation of international remedies with judicial features. International organizations, including the World Bank, have established sanctions mechanisms in an effort to combat corruption and fraud. They are applicable to companies and individuals involved in activities with international financial institutions through procurement or consultancy activities. The World Bank experience offers an interesting example: the decision to sanction individuals and companies entailed the need to provide access to remedies to such non-state actors. External and internal pressures have pushed the institution into putting in place very quickly a mechanism with judicial features. Due process requirements have had a substantial impact on the profile of remedies available to non-state actors in this area.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Moro Domenico

Bancor vs. Unitas: la contesa di Bretton Woods per una moneta mondiale e il contributo dell'UE all'affermazione di un nuovo ordine monetario mondiale

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3, 115-139

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1386&lang=en&Itemid=77

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gazzo Fabrizio, Seghezza Elena

Bretton Woods and the legalization of international monetary affairs

in *Economia internazionale*, 2012, Volume 65, Issue 3, 415-446

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ito Takatoshi

Can Asia Overcome the IMF Stigma?

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012, 198-202

Asian countries still have the IMF stigma, which originates from the experiences of the Asian crisis of 1997-98. The feeling of being unfairly treated grew even stronger afterward. The Asian countries built large foreign reserves, carried out structural reforms, and became even stronger than pre-crisis period. Asians are confident in not repeating the same mistake of falling into a crisis with too much external borrowing. Whether IMF can entice Asia to new precautionary liquidity facilities remains uncertain. Asia may choose either to focus on completing a regional safety net or to engage in IMF, demanding for a greater voice and votes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marcoux Christopher, Urpeleinen Johannes

Capacity, not constraints: A theory of North-South regulatory cooperation
in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 7, n. 4, december, 339-424

ABSTRACT: While neoliberal institutionalists argue that treaties facilitate collective action, many North-South regulatory treaties focus on largely national problems in developing countries. As such, these treaties present a puzzle: why a global treaty to address national regulatory problems? We argue that while activists in industrialized countries often promote regulatory treaties, these treaties garner political support among developing countries because they allow governments to enhance their national regulatory capacity. Developing countries are often not interested in banning practices such as trade in hazardous waste. Instead, developing countries want to increase their ability to control them. We test the argument against data on the global regime for hazardous waste trade. Contravening the conventional wisdom, we find that weak regulatory capacity is a powerful predictor of ratification of the Basel Convention, a treaty that does not ban hazardous waste trade but allows regulatory enhancement. By contrast, other treaties in the regime that do aim at banning hazardous waste trade receive little support among developing countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mattoo, Aaditya - Subramanian, Arvind

China and the World Trading System

in *World Economy*, volume 35 n.12, 1733-1771

The WTO has been until recently an effective framework for cooperation because it has continually adapted to changing economic realities. The current Doha Agenda is an aberration because it does not reflect one of the biggest shifts in the international economic and trading system: the rise of China. Even though China will have a stake in maintaining trade openness, an initiative that builds on but redefines the Doha Agenda would anchor China more fully in the multilateral trading system. Such an initiative would have two pillars. First, a new negotiating agenda that would include the major issues of interest to China and its trading partners and thus unleash the powerful reciprocal liberalisation mechanism that has driven the WTO process to previous successes. Second, new restraints on bilateralism and regionalism that would help preserve incentives for maintaining the current broadly non-discriminatory trading order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Han-Wei Liu, John Maughan

China's Rare Earths Export Quotas: Out of the China-Raw Materials Gate, But Past the WTO's Finish Line?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.4, 971-1005

Several recent studies have discussed the ramifications of the China – Raw Materials case for China's rare earths. However, none of these studies has conducted a thorough investigation of China's current export quota regime for rare earths or how it might stand up under WTO rules, assuming that it would be treated the same. This article makes no such assumption, investigating China's export quota regime for rare earths as it stands in early June 2012. The regime is somewhat improved over that applied during the Raw Materials case and could allow a more favourable WTO ruling. However, if General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) disciplines are interpreted narrowly, as in China – Raw



Materials, this article finds that the current regime still falls short of certain GATT exceptions. This article informs future analyses of China's export quota regime for rare earths. Beyond the case of China, it also invites discussion on the appropriate amount of 'policy space' WTO Members should enjoy for imposing export quotas under the relevant GATT disciplines for resource conservation and environmental protection.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kennedy Matthew

China's role in WTO dispute settlement

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 11 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2012 , 555-589

This study describes and analyzes trends in China's participation in the WTO dispute settlement system during the first ten years of its membership. China has used the system to challenge differentiated treatment of its exports by its two largest trading partners, a theme related to sensitive aspects of its accession negotiations. The study reviews the record of China's conformity to WTO dispute settlement practices, and its contribution to their development, and finds that China is playing the role of a 'system-maintainer'. The study concludes by considering a future challenge that the emergence of this large new player may pose for the system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kedar Claudia

Chronicle of an Inconclusive Negotiation: Perón, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank (1946–1955)

in *Hispanic American Historical Review (The)*, Vol. 92, Num. 4 , 637-668

Argentina joined the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) in 1956—ten years later than all other American nations and only one year after President Juan Perón's overthrow. This fact has led scholars to conclude that Perón refused to join the Fund and Bank because he considered them to be tools of US imperialism. This article reveals that, contrary to populist depictions of Perón, he made significant efforts to make Argentina a member of the IMF and the World Bank. In effect, between 1946 and 1955 Perón conducted intensive and almost continuous negotiations with the IMF's and World Bank's most senior officials. During this period of confidential negotiations, Perón's economic policies became more flexible and liberal.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Guillaume Busseuil et al.

Chronique commentée des décisions de l'Organe de Règlement des Différends (juin 2010-novembre 2011)

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 26, n°2 , 161-225

Further to our previous reports, this year's dispute cases at the WTO Dispute Settlement Body permit us to observe and to try to estimate connections between liberalization of international trade and non-trade values. Non-trade values or economic interests ? Complainants who refer to such values (public health, environment...) frequently are suspected –



sometimes rightly – to do so in order to protect their national market (cf. for instance China – Raw Materials or United States – Clove Cigarettes). To present a case with convincing arguments is of an essential importance. In this respect, procedural matters are of an increasing importance – as is the role of the panels. Therefore, these matters hold a significant part in the present review. Several Agreements were invoked by complainants : most frequently the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the GATT of 1994), but also the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade (TBC) and the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM). Lastly, we can note for how much time some cases last (Australia – Apples from New Zealand, started in 2007 and now seems to have come to an end, or European Communities – Large Civil Aircraft, initiated with Airbus’s plaint in 2004).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Morgan Matthew

Consensus Formation in the Global Economy: The Success of the G7 and the Failure of the G20
in *Studies in Political Economy*, Vol 90, 2012

In “Consensus Formation in the Global Economy: The Success of the G7 and the Failure of the G20,” Matthew Morgan analyzes the G20 and argues that it is now seeking to play the role of a coordinating body for global elites, a role previously occupied by the G7. He suggests that both organizations foster consensus formation among elites, but the G20 has not been able to replicate the G7’s success in achieving such a consensus; the G7’s failures may lead to the abandonment of global coordination and also lead to its own replacement with regional systems of economic management.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nedumpara James

Corporate Tax Reform Proposals in the United States: What Lessons Can Be Learnt from the past GATT/WTO Jurisprudence?

in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 52, no. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Baris Karapinar

Defining the Legal Boundaries of Export Restrictions: A Case Law Analysis

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.2 , 443-479

It is widely recognized that the World Trade Organization (WTO) law on export restrictions is an area of ‘under-regulation’—as it neither defines the circumstances that justify quantitative restrictions nor regulates export duties. There are also additional legal uncertainties due to the ‘WTO-plus’ commitments imposed on a few new Members. In the absence of legal clarity, it is crucial to have a consistent interpretation of the existing law and the jurisprudence. In this context, by analysing five relevant cases which have been brought before the WTO/General



Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Dispute Settlement Body (DSB), including the recent China – Raw Materials, this article attempts to shed light on the legal boundaries of export restrictions. It examines the panels' interpretation of the definition of the relevant legal terms, such as 'critical shortage' of 'essential products', and 'temporarily applied'. It reviews the accession protocols of the new Members, and analyses how the emerging case law might constrain their policy space. It also scrutinizes the panels' interpretation of GATT Article XX in examining the relationship between the design of export restrictions and their intended environmental objectives. It is envisaged that the case law analysis of the legal scope of export restrictions could inform the future reform efforts in this field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Moonhawk Kim

Disguised Protectionism and Linkages to the GATT/WTO

in World Politics, vol. 64, n. 3, July, 426-475

ABSTRACT: Member states of the GATT/WTO have linked some issue-areas outside trade to the institution and did so with varying depths. At the same time they have chosen not to link other issue-areas. What accounts for this variation? The author argues that states establish a legalized linkage between the GATT/WTO and an issue-area outside it when they are uncertain about the possibilities of disguised protectionism. Such uncertainty exists under two conditions: when diversity in regulations in an issue-area across states generates a large adverse impact on trade (negative externalities) but that diversity can be justified at the international level for (1) having an independent objective apart from hampering trade and (2) when there are few alternative policies to achieve that objective (legitimacy). States establish a highly legalized linkage in these situations to reduce the uncertainty and minimize disguised protectionism. By contrast, when regulatory diversity exhibits low legitimacy, states establish only a weakly legalized linkage. In the absence of meaningful externalities, they do not establish any linkages. The author evaluates this argument in two ways. He provides an overview of eleven issue-areas about which there have been some debates or conflicts about linkages to the GATT/WTO. In addition, he carries out in-depth case studies of three issue-areas—labor standards, environmental standards, and health safety standards. The findings of this article contribute to a better understanding of international institutions and cooperation as well as of the evolution of the multilateral trade institution.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jong Bum Kim

Dual WTO Notifications of RTAs with Non-Reciprocal Trade Liberalization

in Journal of International Economic Law, volume 15 n.2, 647-672

Disagreement between the parties involved in regional trade agreements (RTAs) about the legal basis of RTAs has led to dual notifications of some RTAs to the WTO. Dually notified RTAs are characterized by non-reciprocal trade liberalization between developing and developed RTA parties. If all the parties of a dually notified RTA are 'developing' countries, the RTA can find its legal basis both under Article XXIV and the Enabling Clause. In that case, the Committee on Regional Trade Agreements (CRTA) and the Committee on Trade and Development (CTD) may both serve as forums for reviewing dually notified RTAs under the Transparency Mechanism for Regional Trade Agreements. However, if one of the parties of a dually notified RTA is a 'developed' country, the RTA's legal basis is solely in Article XXIV. To determine the development status of the parties to a dually notified RTA, the WTO should require the RTA



party notifying under Article XXIV to disclose its economic development status for the purpose of the WTO review based on the 'self-selection' principle. If the party notifying under Article XXIV declares itself a 'developed' country, the CRTA would be the sole forum for the review. However, if the party declares itself a 'developing' country, both the CRTA and the CTD may serve as appropriate forums for the review. A proposal made during the Doha Round to require all RTA parties to make a joint notification under a single legal basis is inconsistent with the WTO law and would not serve the purpose of effective review of RTAs under the WTO.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Carroll Peter, Kellow Aynsley

Fifty Years of the OECD and Forty Years of Australian Membership

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 58, Issue 4, December , 512-525

The Country Party leader Jack McEwen said that Australia would join the OECD "over my dead body" and it did not do so until 1971, the year he retired from politics. Since then Australia has taken part in what is a complex "network of networks" linking over 40,000 senior public servants from many of the most influential states via some 200 committees spanning a wide range of policy areas. Yet Australian scholars have paid little attention to the OECD and to its effect upon Australia. Our essay is a first step in remedying this gap. Using both archival sources and interviews with public servants, we examine Australia's reasons for taking up OECD membership and assess its impact on policymaking since, the most obvious of which has been upon policy learning. We also ask about Australia's impact on the OECD.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lee, Yong-Shik

**First WTO Case on Transitional Product-Safeguard Measure under Section 16 of the Protocol of Chinas
Accession to the WTO: Affirming Discriminatory Safeguard Measure by the WTO?**

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.4 , 913-936

On 5 September 2011, the WTO issued the Appellate Body report for the first WTO case on a transitional product-specific safeguard measure, United States - Measures Affecting Imports of Certain Passenger Vehicle and Light Truck Tyres from China (U.S. - Tyres). Transitional product-specific safeguard measures (TSMs) are controversial primarily on two grounds. First, unlike a general safeguard measure (GSM) which must be applied non-discriminatorily to all imports regardless of their source, a TSM is applicable only to the imports from a single country, China. Second, a TSM is applicable under more relaxed conditions than those stipulated for a GSM, subjecting imports from China to a more vulnerable condition against the protectionist pressure from competing domestic producers of the importing countries. The core principle of the WTO disciplines, including those for safeguard measures, is the most-favored-nation (MFN) principle which stipulates the requirement of non-discrimination among nations, and the inherently discriminatory nature of TSM undermines this core principle. This article examines the TSM provisions in comparison to the general safeguard provisions and discusses the implications of the first WTO case, U.S. -Tyres, for the TSM regime.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Mitali Tyagi

Flesh on a Legal Fiction: Early Practice in the WTO on Accession Protocols
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.2 , 391-441

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations
Romar Correa

For an international clearing union
in *Journal of Economic Studies*, volume 39 n.4 , 398-409

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to make a case for an international clearing house.

Design/methodology/approach – The systems postulate is used: the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Specifically, the 2007 Godley-Lavoie model is exploited.

Findings – Domestic banking arrangements are institutionally fragile; they import stability from their central banks. In like manner, relations between central banks must be conducted under a common metric, a world money.

Originality/value – The paper shows that a technical argument for a multilateral clearing house will not be found. The author teases “implicit dynamics” (Stephen Turnovsky) out of national income identities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations
Gari, Gabriel

GATS and Offshoring: Is the Regulatory Framework Ready for the Trade Revolution?
in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1365-1398

This article examines the relevance of GATS in light of the rise of trade in ICT-enabled services and, in particular, the rapid expansion of the offshore industry. It provides considerable evidence about the difficulties to adjust trade rules and specific commitments negotiated in the late 1980s and early 1990s to a significantly different commercial environment led by technological innovations and the emergence of global supply chains. It reviews various alternatives that could be considered for upgrading rules on trade in services and argues that inaction could result in GATS early obsolescence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations
Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations
Xun Cao

Global Networks and Domestic Policy Convergence: A Network Explanation of Policy Changes
in *World Politics*, vol. 64, n. 3, july , 375-425

ABSTRACT: National economies are embedded in complex networks such as trade, capital flows, and



intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). These globalization forces impose differential impacts on national economies depending on a country's network positions. This article addresses the policy convergence-divergence debate by focusing on how networks at the international level affect domestic fiscal, monetary, and regulatory policies. The author presents two hypotheses: first, similarity in network positions induces convergence in domestic economic policies as a result of peer competitive pressure. Second, proximity in network positions facilitates policy learning and emulation, which result in policy convergence. The empirical analysis applies a latent-space model for relational/dyadic data and indicates that position similarity in the network of exports induces convergence in fiscal and regulatory policies; position similarity in the network of transnational portfolio investments induces convergence in fiscal policies; and position proximity in IGO networks is consistently associated with policy convergence in fiscal, monetary, and regulatory policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Clegg Liam

Global governance behind closed doors: The IMF boardroom, the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility, and the intersection of material power and norm stabilisation in global politics

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 7, n. 3, september , 285-308

ABSTRACT: Up on the 12th floor of its 19th Street Headquarters, the IMF Board sits in active session for an average of 7 hours per week. Although key matters of policy are decided on in the venue, the rules governing Boardroom interactions remain opaque, resting on an uneasy combination of consensual decision-making and weighted voting. Through a detailed analysis of IMF Board discussions surrounding the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF), this article sheds light on the mechanics of power in this often overlooked venue of global economic governance. By exploring the key issues of default liability and loan conditionality, I demonstrate that whilst the Boardroom is a more active site of contestation than has hitherto been recognized, material power is a prime determinant of both Executive Directors' preferences and outcomes reached from discussions. And as the decisions reached form the backbone of the 'instruction sheet' used by Fund staff to guide their everyday operational decisions, these outcomes—and the processes through which they were reached—were factors of primary importance in stabilizing the operational norms at the heart of a controversial phase in the contemporary history of IMF concessional lending.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zeng Ka

High stakes: United States–China trade disputes under the World Trade Organization

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 13 Issue 1 January , 33-63

This paper examines United States (US)-China trade disputes under the World Trade Organization (WTO) and argues that both countries are increasingly resorting to the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism to target issues of most critical concern to their respective domestic constituencies. While the United States' WTO complaints against China tend to challenge Chinese industrial policy, cases involving anti-dumping and countervailing duties dominate China's WTO disputes against the United States. In addition, the significant expansion of bilateral trade relations in the past decades has provided opportunities for Chinese leaders to identify or to threaten retaliation against anti-protectionist groups in the United States in order to mobilize them against the disputed measure. Overall, United States–China trade disputes under the WTO increasingly reflect a distinctive political logic whereby domestic political considerations not only figure



prominently in the decision to launch WTO disputes, but also frequently influence the way the dispute is played out either within or outside of the WTO framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gray Julia, Slapin Jonathan B.

How effective are preferential trade agreements? Ask the experts

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 7, n. 3, september , 209-333

ABSTRACT: Limited data on regional and preferential trade agreements prevent social scientists from testing some of the international cooperation literature's most important claims. Expert surveys—a technique that is widely used in the field of comparative politics but thus far underutilized in international relations—allow us to capture many aspects of trade agreements for which data would otherwise be unavailable. They also provide us with a means of comparing agreements across regions and issue areas. We present a new dataset of expert opinion on the world's regional trade organizations. Our survey covers 24 dimensions of 40 different regional agreements—including the perceived effectiveness of trade liberalization, the degree to which dispute settlement mechanisms are easy to use, and the political and international influence of the agreement. Bayesian factor analysis allows us to extract a principal dimension of effectiveness.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Swinnen, Johan - Olper, Alessandro - Vandemoortele, Thijs

Impact of the WTO on Agricultural and Food Policies

in World Economy, volume 35 n.9 , 1089-1101

Most studies on the impact of WTO agreements on policies are ex ante simulations or focus on trade effects. We estimate ex post the impact of the WTO on agricultural policies, including both the total transfers by the policies and the policy instruments used, in particular their market distortions. We use OECD data on total support and instrument choice in agricultural policy. Our empirical analysis provides evidence that the WTO did not cause a significant reduction in the total amount of support to agriculture but that it caused a significant shift from distortionary to less distortionary instruments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Yeats Alexander J.

Implications of COMTRADE Compilation Practices for Trade Barrier Analyses and Negotiations

in World Bank Economic Review (The), Volume 26 Issue 3 2012 , 539-555

U.N. Commodity Trade (COMTRADE) statistics have major shortcomings for many analyses relating to tariffs and other trade barriers. The use of a cost-insurance-freight valuation base for these data results in an upward (sometimes severe) bias in the implied dutiable value of imports for countries that utilize free-on-board tariffs. This problem can be



greatly exacerbated by the “general” trade system procedure used to compile the U.N. statistics, as opposed to the “special” trade practice used for the World Trade Organization Integrated Database. U.S. International Trade Commission statistics show that the combined effects of these biases can reach magnitudes that preclude the legitimate use of COMTRADE for many tariff-trade simulations or related trade negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Basra, Hardeep

Increased Legalization or Politicalization? A Comparison of Accession under the GATT and WTO

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.4 , 937-960

An important task the WTO faces in pursuit of universality is the integration of non-members. Yet, becoming a member of the multilateral trade system is not easy. Accession to the WTO is a complicated and cumbersome process which, on average takes ten years to complete. Drawing from historical institutionalism, the article claims the current politics of WTO accession is better understood with an appreciation of GATT accession. The establishment of the WTO did not bring with it a change in accession procedures. Consequently, it is argued the difficulties and haphazardous process associated with WTO accession is best valued in light of how original accession procedures developed and evolved under the GATT. The paper finds that the current politics of WTO accession have been shaped by a rigid asymmetric path dependency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fattore, Christina

Interest Group Influence on WTO Dispute Behaviour: A Test of State Commitment

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1261-1280

This study examines the influence of interest groups on a state's willingness to pursue their most favourable decision during a WTO dispute. States are committed to their WTO agreements, but they also have to act as a watchdog for their domestic industries in states that may not hold WTO agreements in high esteem. Interest group influence on the state has been examined through case studies, but never at the systemic level. I hypothesize that states being pressured by many interest groups are more likely to pursue a dispute into the higher levels of dispute resolution. I test this using data from the WTO as well as interests groups from around the world. I find that complainant states are more likely to be pressured by their interest groups to pursue a favourable outcome rather than settle or accept an earlier decision. I will go anywhere in the world to open new markets for American products. And I will not stand by when our competitors don't play by the rules. We've brought trade cases against China at nearly twice the rate as the last administration, and it's made a difference.... It's not fair when foreign manufacturers have a leg up on ours only because they're heavily subsidized. - Barack Obama, January 24, 2012

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Salami, Iwa

International financial standards and the application of Basel III in emerging and frontier markets



in **Law and Financial Markets Review**, volume 6 n.5 , 336-342

There is no doubt that international financial standards are necessary in the ever-increasing integration of financial markets across the world. Perhaps no better illustration of this fact exists than the recent financial crisis which resulted in an increased co-ordinating mechanism for international financial reforms and which resulted in the creation of the Financial Stability Board. Nonetheless, international financial standards have mostly been inapplicable and/or irrelevant in the less-developed countries which constitute the majority of countries in the world. Even when they are adopted as laws in these countries, their implementation is a challenge. This questions the relevance of these standards to those countries and ultimately the effectiveness of instituting such standards, especially as over 80% of the countries of the world cannot effectively apply them. This article considers these issues and assesses other possible alternatives to international financial standards, particularly focusing on the international regulation of capital requirements for financial institutions especially under Basel III.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Cartland, Michel - Depayre, Grard - Woznowski, Jan

Is Something Going Wrong in the WTO Dispute Settlement?

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.5 , 979-1016

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is in crisis with all three of its main functions in decline. Most conspicuously, the negotiations in the Doha Round are stalled because of the profound shift in trade and economic power and after the repeated failure of a negotiating approach which ignored the lessons of the Uruguay Round, a round which succeeded by building consensus at the technical level before trying to take it to the political level. As a result of an excessive concentration on the negotiations, monitoring and surveillance of the implementation of WTO rules have been seriously neglected. It is most alarming that dispute settlement, the main focus of the paper and long considered the area in which the WTO has been most effective, is now in danger of losing the confidence of Members, following a series of questionable rulings by the Appellate Body. The Appellate Body Report on US - Definitive Anti-dumping and Countervailing Duties on Certain Products from China is a remarkable illustration of this troublesome situation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mrázová Monika, Vines David, Zissimos Ben

Is the GATT/WTO's Article XXIV bad?

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 89, Issue 1, January 2013 , Pages 216-232

The GATT/WTO Article XXIV prevents a customs union (CU) from raising its common external tariff. In this paper, we compare CU formation with and without this Article XXIV constraint. We show, in a multi-country oligopoly model, that for a given CU structure, Article XXIV improves world welfare by lowering trade barriers. However, we also show that Article XXIV has a composition effect on CU formation: it affects the endogenous choice of CUs. By encouraging more symmetric CUs, Article XXIV causes more trade to be subject to trade barriers. As a result, Article XXIV may be 'bad' for world welfare.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Patrick A. Messerlin

L'OMC, la France et l'Europe face au coma prolongé du Doha Round

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver

Le Doha Round est dans un coma prolongé. Mais l'OMC ne se réduit pas à un forum de négociations et elle a un agenda de travail très chargé indépendamment du Doha Round. Reste que ce coma fait des accords préférentiels le seul moyen pour ouvrir les économies, ce qui impose à chacun de choisir avec soin ses partenaires. Outre les États-Unis, le Japon et Taïwan apparaissent, pour de multiples raisons, comme le meilleur choix d'une Union européenne et d'une France à la recherche de plus de croissance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Laurent Warlouzet

La contribution européenne aux projets de régulation mondiale de la concurrence (1945-2005)

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 105-114

Si la mondialisation des marchés a progressé régulièrement depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, cette dynamique s'est accompagnée, depuis l'origine, d'une volonté de régulation des échanges . Ce « contre-mouvement » d'encadrement des marchés – pour reprendre les termes de Polanyi – s'est manifesté par la création d'institutions économiques...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Alain Dejammet

Les « G » : G7, G8, G20

in *Revue générale de droit international publique*, vol. 116, no. 3 , 511-518

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Renaud Witmeur

L'article XX a) du GATT : l'exception de moralité publique dans le commerce international

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 26, n°3 , 237-268

Quoique bénéfique au niveau global, l'ouverture des marchés peut constituer une menace pour les valeurs fondamentales qui constituent le socle d'une société. Elle suscite ainsi un débat sur le contenu et les limites à la souveraineté nationale et, par opposition, sur la légitimité de l'OMC en lien avec la reconnaissance de ces valeurs. À l'heure où les États membres ne semblent pas à même de s'accorder sur de nouvelles avancées ambitieuses, l'article XX a) du GATT constitue un élément cardinal d'une solution, car il offre la seule garantie contre une vision absolutiste du commerce international. Cet article rassemble les éléments nécessaires pour approcher la notion de moralité



publique. Par un examen de la genèse de cette disposition et de la jurisprudence de l'Organe d'appel et d'autres juridictions internationales, il relève le rôle important des États et expose les arguments pour que l'OMC, via son mécanisme de règlement des différends, reconnaisse d'une manière principielle que l'article XX a) conduit à une lecture des accords de l'OMC cohérente avec les valeurs fondamentales de chacun des États membres, sans contredire les objectifs du Traité.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kyle Hatton and Katharina Pistor

Maximizing Autonomy in the Shadow of Great Powers: The Political Economy of Sovereign Wealth Funds
in *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 50, issue 1, 1-81

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Federico Lupo Pasini

Movement of Capital and Trade in Services: Distinguishing Myth from Reality Regarding the GATS and the Liberalization of the Capital Account
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.2, 581-619

This article will analyze the interplay between capital movements and trade in services as structured in World Trade Organization (WTO) law, and it will assess the implications of the capital account liberalization for the freedom of WTO Members to pursue their economic policies. Although the movement of capital is largely confined to the domain of international financial or monetary policy, it is regulated by WTO law due to its role in the process of financial services liberalization, which generally requires liberalized capital flows. From a legal perspective, the interplay between capital movements and trade in services requires striking a delicate balance between the right of market access and the parallel right of economic stability. Indeed, a liberalized regime for capital movements could pose serious stability problems during times of crisis. For this reason, it is necessary that Members are able to derogate from their obligations and adopt emergency measures. Regulating the movement of capital in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) requires stretching the regulatory oversight of WTO law over different aspects of international economic policy. Indeed, capital movements are a fundamental component of the balance of payments and have a major role in shaping monetary, fiscal, and financial policies. This article will analyze how the discipline provided by the GATS on capital movements will affect not only trade in services, but also the Members' policy space on monetary and fiscal policy. The article will conclude that while the GATS offers enough policy space for the maintenance of financial stability, it does not fully take into consideration the need of Members to control capital movements in order to conduct monetary policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Seatzu Francesco

On the Roles and Responsibilities of the World Bank and Its Affiliate Institutions in Agriculture and Water (Mis)Investments



in *Indian Journal of International Law*, Vol. 51, no. 4,

◦

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rai, Rajnish Kumar

Parallel Imports and Unparallel Laws: Does the WTO Need to Harmonize the Parallel Import Law?

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.3 , 657-694

Parallel imports, one of the most complex and confusing phenomena of international trade, are a natural consequence of the doctrine of exhaustion. There exists a considerable divergence among the scholars regarding the need for harmonization of the 'principle of exhaustion' and parallel import laws. In this paper, we critically examine the need for harmonization of parallel import laws by analysing the economic considerations and consumer welfare aspects of different systems of exhaustion of rights. We also present the available sparse empirical evidence pertaining to the same. Prima facie the arguments for a minimum international legal standard of exhaustion doctrine in the TRIPS Agreement appear convincing. However, there is a lack of corroborative empirical evidence. Therefore, this may not be an appropriate time for the WTO to move ahead on this contentious issue, especially when it is standing at crossroads on several other major issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Howse Robert , Langille Joanna

Permitting Pluralism: The Seal Products Dispute and Why the WTO Should Accept Trade Restrictions Justified by Noninstrumental Moral Values

in *Yale Journal of International Law (The)*, Volume 37, Issue 2

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Adlung, Rudolf - Miroudot, Sbastien

Poison in the Wine? Tracing GATS-Minus Commitments in Regional Trade Agreements

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.5 , 1017-1044

Commitments in regional trade agreements (RTAs) that fall short of the same countries' obligations under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) are a relatively frequent phenomenon. However, they have gone widely unnoticed in the literature to date and drawn little attention in World Trade Organization (WTO) fora. Nevertheless, such 'minus commitments' are poisonous. Given the broad definitional scope of the GATS, extending inter alia to commercial presence, they may affect third-country investors, cast doubts on the status of the respective agreements under the GATS and have severe implications for the trading system overall. Without clear cross-references to existing GATS



commitments, many RTAs remain insulated and are virtually impossible to multilateralize. This study seeks to develop a reasonably comprehensive picture of the frequency of 'minus commitments' and their dosage in terms of sectors, measures and modes of supply. It also discusses potential remedies from a WTO perspective.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Doyle David

Pressures to Privatize? The IMF, Globalization, and Partisanship in Latin America
in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 65, n. 3, september , 572-585

ABSTRACT: Despite pervasive downward pressure on government policy from exogenous forces, the author argues that partisanship still exerts an effect on privatization in Latin America. When a country is indebted to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and a government of the right is in power, scholars can expect increased levels of privatization. However, when a country is indebted to the IMF and a government of the left is in power, electoral incentives will prompt these governments to ignore IMF pressure and reduce levels of privatization. The author tests this argument on a data set of eighteen Latin American countries, between the years 1984 and 1998.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Baccini Leonardo, Soo Yeon Kim

Preventing protectionism: International institutions and trade policy
in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 4, december , 369-398

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the role of international institutions in preventing the rise of protectionism. We analyze states' choices in trade policy during the current global economic crisis, a situation likely to exacerbate uncertainty in the conduct of commercial relations and to push countries toward "beggar-thy-neighbor" trade policies. The main argument of the paper is that the numerous international institutions present in the international system during the current economic crisis serve as conveyors of information and mechanisms of commitment and socialization. They mitigate the uncertainty problem that prevails in prisoner's dilemma settings such as trade. Economic international organizations increase the flow of information about the preferences and behaviors of its members. Non-economic organizations also have a role to play as social environments that encourage cooperation. Specialized international institutions devoted to trade, such as the WTO and preferential trade agreements (PTAs), not only provide monitoring and enforcement functions but also lock in commitments to liberal trade through legal obligations that make defections costly. We test our argument using a dataset of trade policies during the current economic crisis and of membership in international organizations. The paper finds strong support for the role of international institutions as commitment and socialization mechanisms in preventing the rise of protectionism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Floriane Galeazzi

Quelle place pour le régionalisme monétaire à l'OCDE ? Étude sur la coopération monétaire au sein du WP3 (1970-1987)



in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 139-152

Les années 1970-1980 sont celles de grands changements dans la gouvernance monétaire mondiale et européenne. Cependant, la construction de l'union économique et monétaire européenne est encore trop souvent considérée comme un processus indépendant des évolutions du système monétaire international. Or, l'instauration du régionalisme monétaire européen intervient dans...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Qin, Julia Ya

Reforming WTO Discipline on Export Duties: Sovereignty over Natural Resources, Economic Development and Environmental Protection

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.5 , 1147-1189

The current World Trade Organization (WTO) regime on export restraints comprises two extremes: at one end is the near-complete freedom to levy export duties enjoyed by most Members, which renders the WTO discipline on export restrictions largely ineffective; at the other end, the rigid obligations imposed on several acceding Members prohibiting the use of export duties for any purpose. The recent WTO ruling in China-Raw Materials has only solidified the latter extreme. This article seeks to expose the irrationality of the current regime, especially the problems created by the rigid obligations of the several acceding Members. It contends that such obligations deprive these Members of their ownership right to claim a larger share of their natural resources for domestic use and of an effective tool for managing environmental externalities associated with the resource products exported. The virtual immutability of such obligations is at odds with the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. To rectify these problems, this article proposes integrating all stand-alone export concessions into General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) schedules, which would provide the acceding Members with the policy space and flexibility available under the GATT. It is also submitted that the key to gaining support from developing countries for the establishment of a system-wide discipline lies in the recognition of legitimate functions of export duties. Rather than pushing for their elimination, the WTO should aim to regulate export duties in the same manner as its regulation of import duties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sgard Jérôme

Restructurer les dettes souveraines: la method efficace du FMI

in *Economie politique (L')*, n° 55, 2012/3 , 79-92

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hatzivassiliou Evanthis

Revisiting NATO's stabilizing role in south-eastern Europe: the Cold War experience and the longue durée

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 4, Special Issue: Greece and Turkey in NATO , 515-531



Balkan post-war animosities involved the osmosis of Cold War cleavages with older regional/nationalist disputes. By providing for deterrence and for the integration of Balkan affairs in a global context, NATO played a major role in discouraging territorial claims between Greece and Turkey on the one hand, and Bulgaria on the other. By the 1970s, the Cold War enemies of the Balkans were firmly on the path of détente. Ironically, NATO was less successful in facilitating a definite reconciliation between its two members, Greece and Turkey, although arguably it also contributed in averting a bilateral clash.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jaime Tijmes

Rousseau y la justicia de la Organización Mundial del Comercio

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 44, No. 172 , 49-59

This article takes Rousseau's proposition that a norm is just if everyone agrees with it unanimously, and applies it to the World Trade Organization's (WTO) law. Since WTO law is adopted and amended with every Member's involvement and consensus, it can be inferred that normatively it is just. Moreover, some factual doubts regarding the adoption and amendment are dealt with and finally rejected, as well as certain circumstances that could prevent deducing a norm's justice. Moreover, Rousseau's notions also allow us to highlight some interesting aspects of WTO dispute settlement. In sum, it is possible to infer that WTO law is just according to the criteria set out by Rousseau.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

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Clist Paul, Isopi Alessia, Morrissey Oliver

Selectivity on aid modality: Determinants of budget support from multilateral donors

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 3, september , 267-284

ABSTRACT: Since the late 1990s a selection on policy approach to aid was advocated such that more aid should be allocated to countries with good policies, but there is little evidence that this has occurred. This paper argues that donors may exercise selectivity over the aid modality. Specifically, multilateral donors will cede more recipient control over aid by granting more budget support to those recipients with better expenditure systems and spending preferences (towards the poor) aligned with the donor. We test this for European Commission and World Bank budget support over 1997–2009 and find some support. Both donors have given budget support to almost half of the countries they give aid, and it is usually a significant share of their aid. The principal determinants of receiving budget support are having a poverty reduction strategy in place, which can be considered a good indicator of aligned preferences, and indicators of government efficiency. These variables did not, however, influence the amount of budget support given. Multilateral donors have been more likely to give budget support to countries with aligned spending preferences and better quality systems, even if they have not reallocated the total aid envelope in that way.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Espa, Ilaria

The Appellate Body Approach to the Applicability of Article XX GATT In the Light of China Raw Materials: A Missed Opportunity?

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1399-1424

This article attempts to analyse and investigate the implications of the approach to the applicability of Article XX GATT adopted in the recent China - Raw Materials. Using the decision on the non-availability of Article XX defences for violations of China's WTO-plus commitments on export duties as a backdrop, it scrutinizes the more general, 'systemic' approach to the applicability of Article XX exceptions developed by the WTO dispute settlement bodies, and sheds light on the implications of such approach with respect to the relationship between GATT 1994 and WTO obligations arising from different instruments of the WTO Agreement, such as new members' accession protocols. It also suggests that an exception to this general approach could be envisaged when the fundamental environmental goals protected under Article XX b) and g) are at stake.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Klein-Bernard, Pablo - Huerta-Goldman, Jorge A.

The Cushioned Negotiation: The Case of WTOs Industrial Tariff Liberalization

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.4 , 847-878

This article is about the World Trade Organization's Doha Round negotiation on industrial tariffs - i.e., WTO law making process. We make a number of observations on the most recent negotiating text, the December 2008 modalities, based on simulations of its implementation for different types of WTO members. The imports of developed countries and advanced developing countries, which represent one third of the WTO membership but 95% of world trade, are liberalized to a small degree. The other two thirds of the WTO membership are covered under a complex web of special categories and exceptions that calls into question their future participation in the international trading system. Moreover, the tariff reductions are to be achieved in a highly differentiated manner across WTO members. All the different cases and carve outs in the text are like cushions that members use to avoid undertaking a more significant trade liberalization, but in doing so they also defeat the Doha mandate in terms of the degree of ambition required.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Qian, Wenjie

The Dilemma of China as Respondent to Anti-Subsidy Proceedings: A Study of the First EU Anti-Subsidy Investigation against China

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.4 , 961-992

The EU launched its first anti-subsidy investigation (the CFP case) against China on 17 April 2010. The CFP case has followed a similar approach to that of other WTO Members (such as the United States) vis-à-vis China. This paper analyzes the main issues in the CFP case: policy plans, loans and land-use rights. It is found that a mere allegation of government interference by the petitioners can trigger a request for nation-wide information on company ownership and operations. This takes the scope of investigation far beyond the producers and exporters of the relevant product, encompassing nation-wide providers of credit, raw materials, electricity and land. Any shortfall in the amount of



information provided can instantly lead the investigating authority to apply 'facts available' when making decisions. This practice is inconsistent with the Agreement on Subsidies and Countervailing Measures (SCM Agreement), as it aims to deal with government activities only. An unfairly high burden of proof was also imposed on China in the CFP case. Solutions are proposed in conclusion for a return to fair and legal anti-subsidy practices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sulima, Elena

The EBRD at the forefront of developing the Russian domestic capital market

in *Law and Financial Markets Review*, volume 6 n.4 , 296-298

This article discusses the role of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the process of developing the domestic capital market in Russia, describes its recent domestic bond issues and provides an insight into the challenges posed by the current Russian regulatory framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Van Waeyenberge Elisa, Bargawi Hannah, McKinley Terry

The IMF, Crises and Low-Income Countries: Evidence of Change?

in *Review of Political Economy (The)*, Volume 25, Issue 1, 2013 , 69-90

This paper assesses the policy role of the IMF in Low-Income Countries (LICs) in the wake of the global financial crisis and in response to its own claims of policy redesign and increased flexibility. The assessment focuses on the Fund's monetary and fiscal policy stance in a selection of case study countries over the period 2008−2010. The paper finds that while the IMF has allowed for modest and short-term fiscal and monetary accommodation as an immediate response to the crisis, the Fund's medium to long-term policy agenda has remained unchanged. Both theory and evidence suggest that the Fund remains committed to its pre-crisis policy priorities. Furthermore, the global financial crisis appears to have enabled the Fund to reassert its role as guardian of an orthodox macroeconomic order. These developments are particularly troublesome given that the Fund's prevailing macroeconomic framework continues to be inconsistent with the urgent development needs of LICs, where more expansionary fiscal policies and more liquidity-focused monetary policies are needed to support structural diversification, and foster sustainable and equitable growth and development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mukherjee Bumba, Bagozzi Benjamin E.

The IMF, Domestic Public Sector Banks, and Currency Crises in Developing States

in *International Interactions*, vol. 39, issue 1 , 1-29

ABSTRACT: The stabilization programs of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)—which are often designed to prevent currency crashes and promote exchange rate stability—frequently fail to prevent currency crises in program-recipient developing countries. This leads to the following puzzle: when do IMF programs fail to prevent currency crises in



developing states that turn to the Fund for assistance? We suggest that the likelihood that a currency crisis may occur under an IMF program depends on the market concentration of public sector banks in program-participating developing countries: the higher the market concentration of public banks in a program recipient nation, the more likely that the IMF program will be associated with a currency crisis. Specifically, if the market concentration of public banks in a program-participating developing country is high, then banks will compel the government to renege on its commitment to implement banking sector reforms. This induces a financial panic among investors that leads to a currency crisis. Statistical tests from a sample of developing countries provide robust support for our hypothesis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ali Burak Güven

The IMF, the World Bank, and the Global Economic Crisis: Exploring Paradigm Continuity in Development and change, Vol. 43, n°4 , 869-898

A thematic examination of the IMF and the World Bank's recent crisis programmes finds strong evidence of prescriptive continuity with the pre-crisis repertoire of these organizations, contradicting their legacy of policy adaptation during times of systemic turbulence. How are we to account for this anomaly? The current specialist literature on the Fund and Bank offers plausible explanations, mainly by stressing principal-agent relations and intra-organizational dynamics. Yet these lender-oriented approaches need to be complemented by looking at the demand side of the lending relationship as well, that is, by focusing on the Fund and Bank's borrowers. Of particular relevance is the growing diversification of development trajectories in the South, which creates strong disincentives against paradigm recalibration. The article highlights the analytic potential of one vital dimension of this diversification: the shrinking common ground of macroeconomic failure in large emerging economies, illustrated here in a brief comparison of Mexico, Thailand and Turkey.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gallo Daniele

The Immunities of the International Monetary Fund's Executive Head: The Quest for Legal Certainty in the "Strauss-Kahn Affair"

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 1 , 227-248

ABSTRACT: By looking closely at the New York State (County of Bronx) Supreme Court's decision on the "Strauss-Kahn affair", I have discussed the nature and scope of the immunities of top international officials, in particular the executive heads of specialized agencies of the U.N., with specific reference to the I.M.F.'s Managing Director. One of the major shortcomings of the decision is its superficial approach to the (international and U.S.) law applicable to the case. That approach prevents the Court from discerning the significant lacuna in the I.M.F. Articles of Agreement, that is to say the lack of a specific rule conferring immunity on the higher official of such organization. Based on a systematic interpretation of that Agreement, as well as of all other relevant international and U.S. norms, I have shown how that lacuna cannot be filled and interpreted in the sense of either excluding or asserting, with certainty, the application of personal – in addition to functional – immunity to the Managing Director. The Court has therefore lost an opportunity to reveal a gap in the law that I.M.F. Member States or the Fund itself should fill as soon as possible in order to provide legal certainty and strike a fine and clear balance between the victims of international organizations high officials'



conduct and the independence and autonomy of international organizations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Acikmese Sinem Akgul, Triantaphyllou Dimitrios

The NATO–EU–Turkey trilog: the impact of the Cyprus conundrum

in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 12, n. 4, Special Issue: Greece and Turkey in NATO , 555-573

The Cyprus conundrum presents a major challenge to western security structures and relationships in particular with regard to Turkey's European Union (EU) accession process and the stalled Berlin plus arrangements between NATO and the EU. This article argues that the Cyprus question is neither the sole reason for blocking the progress, nor is its resolution the panacea for unblocking the interwoven stalemate in the NATO–EU and the EU–Turkey relationships. In this context, this article will first provide a brief synopsis of the history of relations between Turkey and the EU as well as between the EU and NATO; and the gridlocks within these relationships with specific sections on the role of the Cyprus issue. It will then question whether or not the Cyprus issue is the decisive catalyst for blocking progress in the NATO–EU–Turkey triangle, through a thorough study on the relevance of other internal and external forces at play.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Marangos, John

The Post Keynesian retort to "After the Washington Consensus"

in **Journal of Post Keynesian Economics**, volume 34 n.4 , 583-610

The term "Washington Consensus," as John Williamson, the father of the term conceived it, in 1989, was a set of reforms for economic development that he judged the international financial organizations could agree were required in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Washington Consensus received a vast amount of criticism. The policy set was modified, by 2003, to the point that Williamson substituted the original name with a new label "after the Washington Consensus." The "after the Washington Consensus" designated a "new" set of policy reforms for Latin America and developing countries. The aim of this paper is to compare the two sets of controversial policies, the "Washington Consensus" and "after the Washington Consensus," and offer an alternative based on the Post Keynesian framework.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kang, Jing

The Presumption of Good Faith in the WTO As Such Cases: A Reformulation of the Mandatory/Discretionary Distinction as an Analytical Tool

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.4 , 879-912

Historically, the mandatory/discretionary distinction has been used as a deference tool in the WTO 'as such' cases. In recent years, the distinction has experienced fundamental changes from a threshold consideration to an analytical tool,



and its legal status and implication is increasingly subject to confusion and suspicion. This article proposes a reformulation of the distinction as an analytical tool. The proposal retains the rationale underlying the distinction, i.e. the presumption of good faith, and is formulated as an evidentiary technique that influences evidence evaluation. It has the prospect of serving the function of a deference tool while providing certainty and consistency to the jurisprudence of 'as such' cases.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Foltea, Marina

The WTO-WCO: A Model of Judicial Institutional Cooperation?

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.4 , 815-846

The examination of the relationship of WTO and other international organizations (IOs) has been mostly seen through prism of fragmentation of international law and institutions. This is fully understandable given that different IOs have received uneven treatment at the WTO, including in dispute settlement. This is a sign of an inconsistent and fragmented landscape of international legal order with different IOs playing differently defined roles, even within the narrow field of WTO dispute settlement. While many remedies have been offered to cure the problem, this article examines institutional fragmentation by using the example of interaction between the WTO and WCO. While the cooperation between the WTO and WCO has been quite prolific, the central question addressed in this article is to what extent this cooperation model can serve as reference for the WTO judiciary in shaping its interactions with other IOs and what would be the factors for such assessment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hansen Peter C.

The World Bank Administrative Tribunal's External Sources of Law: The Next Chapter (2006-2010) (Part I)

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 2 , 199-251

ABSTRACT: The World Bank Administrative Tribunal has begun its second quarter-century with a jurisprudential flowering of extraordinary proportions. Mr. Hansen's study, which builds on his earlier 25-year retrospective, comprehensively surveys the Tribunal's numerous doctrinal developments during this time. In this article, which is part one of two, Mr. Hansen revisits two of the four subjects explored in his retrospective: (i) the roles of the contract of employment, Bank rules, international treaties and national laws in the composition of the pactum established between a staff member and the Bank; and (ii) the development of binding custom from the practices of the Bank, other institutions and national governments. The third and fourth subjects, which deal with the Tribunal's use of general legal principles and precedents drawn from international and domestic tribunals, shall be handled in the forthcoming second part of this study. Extensively footnoted, Mr. Hansen's study is intended for both academics and practitioners specializing in international administrative law and comparative international jurisprudence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Hansen Peter C.

The World Bank Administrative Tribunal's External Sources of Law: The Next Chapter (2006-2010) (Part II)
in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 3 , 449-497

ABSTRACT: The World Bank Administrative Tribunal has begun its second quarter-century with a jurisprudential flowering of extraordinary proportions. Mr. Hansen's study, which builds on his earlier 25-year retrospective, comprehensively surveys the Tribunal's numerous doctrinal developments during this time. In this article, which is part two of two, Mr. Hansen revisits two of the four subjects explored in his retrospective: (i) the role of general legal principles as a source of Tribunal law, particularly with respect to the Tribunal's recent and extensive due process jurisprudence; and (ii) the role of external case law as a source of Tribunal law, including decisions from international courts, international administrative tribunals, international arbitral tribunals and national courts. Extensively footnoted, Mr. Hansen's study is intended for both academics and practitioners specializing in international administrative law and comparative international jurisprudence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Naudé Fourie Andria

The World Bank inspection panel's normative potential: a critical assessment, and a restatement
in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 2 , 199-234

Much has been said about the potential of the World Bank's Inspection Panel to contribute to the normative development of international law. Yet, empirical evidence to contest or affirm this potential has been scarce. This article situates the Panel as a body that operates within a 'system of quasi-judicial oversight', and expounds the Panel's development of normative standards in three areas: the compliance review process, international human rights and public participation in decision-making. The article concludes by restating the Panel's normative potential in the light of its institutional realities as a body functioning in a 'quasi-judicial oversight system'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ravallion Martin, Wagstaff Adam

The World Bank's publication record

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 4, december , 343-368

ABSTRACT: The World Bank claims to be a "knowledge bank," but do its knowledge products influence development thinking, or is the Bank merely a proselytizer? The World Bank is a prolific publisher; for example, it has published more journal articles in economics than any university except Harvard. But what about their impact on development thinking? Using citation data from Google Scholar it is hard to discern more than a negligible impact for a great many Bank publications. However, a sizeable minority of its journal articles and books have been highly cited. Compared to leading research universities and other international institutions, the Bank's ranking in terms of widely-used citation-based indices is no lower than for its journal article counts. This suggests that the Bank's research does much more than proselytize.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Schmelzer Matthias

The crisis before the crisis: the 'problems of modern society' and the OECD, 1968–74

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 19, Issue 6, 2012 , 999-1020

Abstract

'Economic crisis' is conventionally understood as the absence of economic growth. However, far from being straightforward and self-explanatory, this understanding is itself an expression of a very particular ensemble of statistical techniques, economic theory, state practices and broader societal beliefs; it is not adequate for the historical analysis of what people have historically perceived as economic crises. This article aims at illustrating this divergence by analysing debates within the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on the so-called 'problems of modern society' from 1968 to 1974. These problems, which occurred at a time of comparatively robust economic performance, were perceived by contemporaries as a crisis closely related to the economic system. This debate led to a new impetus to recast the formerly dominant quantitative-growth paradigm in terms of environmental policies and qualitative growth. It was spearheaded by critical intellectuals within the OECD Secretariat and the OECD's Committee on Science and Technology Policy, who were at the same time launching the Club of Rome. In this article I will draw out the main arguments, actors, relevant contexts and effects of this discussion to highlight some of the characteristics of the intellectual uncertainty so distinctive of this period. The author argues that a historical understanding of this 'crisis before the crisis' demands a broader conception of economic crisis, one that is able to grapple with the divergence of economic growth, human welfare and environmental sustainability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Dokos Thanos

The evolving security environment in the eastern Mediterranean: is NATO still a relevant actor?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 4, Special Issue: Greece and Turkey in NATO , 575-590

The article aims to briefly describe the main trends and drivers in the Mediterranean and the Middle East (with an emphasis on the eastern Mediterranean) and to assess whether NATO has a meaningful role to play, either as an autonomous actor, or in cooperation with the EU or regional actors. More specifically, the article will assess the possible contribution of NATO in the following areas/missions: (a) peacemaking operations/PSOs, humanitarian intervention (Libya-type) and post-conflict stabilization; (b) security sector reform; (c) maritime security; (d) combating WMD proliferation; and (e) energy security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wade Robert H.

The fight over the global development agenda: How the west tries to marginalise UNCTAD



in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 5, September 2012 , 304-306

The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) has a long history of intellectual independence. This article details how Western countries tried to marginalise the organisation and its work — which is often critical of Western powers — during the 2012 UNCTAD conference. While developing countries were able to mobilise and partially beat back these attempts for now, the organisation's ability to contribute to global macroeconomics remains under threat.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gowa Joanne, Hicks Raymond

The most-favored nation rule in principle and practice: Discrimination in the GATT in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 7, n. 3, september , 247-266

ABSTRACT: The conflicts of interest that prevailed between the great powers in the wake of the First World War eviscerated their ability to respond collectively to the advent of the Great Depression. Instead, each turned to discriminatory trade barriers and trade blocs to try to revive domestic output. Persuaded that trade discrimination exacerbated the political tensions that erupted in World War II, policy makers constructed a postwar economic order that institutionalized nondiscrimination. Thus, Article 1 of the charter of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) mandates most-favored nation (MFN) treatment. We argue here that the MFN clause itself encouraged the adoption of practices and policies that actually recreated discrimination. In particular, we argue, developing countries, long regarded as victims of discrimination, institutionalized it in their negotiations with each other. We examine two developing country PTAs that included about 80 percent of all developing-country GATT members by output (the Global System of Trade Preferences and the Protocol Relating to Trade Negotiations). We show that as in the GATT writ large, their patterns of tariff cuts and trade expansion were highly skewed toward a small number of their largest members. In trying to avoid discrimination, policy makers actually encouraged its de facto adoption.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Baker  Andrew

The 'public interest' agency of international organizations? The case of the OECD Principles of Corporate Governance

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 2012 , 389-414

This article seeks to outline and explore some of the conditions necessary for International Organizations (IOs) to perform in a public interest fashion through a case study of the Principles of corporate governance formulated by the OECD. Rather than the more commonly documented pathological and dysfunctional behavioural forms of IOs, the case of the Principles, both in their formulation by the OECD, and in their assessment by the World Bank through the ROSC process, represent an episode of IO agency protecting and promoting a wider public interest. In exercising their agency, IO staff, have made the Principles more agreeable to a wider range of interested parties, giving them a general interest orientation, in accordance with a proceduralist definition of public interest. This case should therefore encourage IPE scholars to consider carefully and systematically the sets of circumstances and conditions, which might be required for IO agency to take more socially useful forms. In the final section, three indicators are identified which might be evaluated



in future research into the positive public interest agency of IOs across a range of cases.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Chisik Richard

Trade disputes, quality choice, and economic integration

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 1, September 2012 , 47-61

Recent work demonstrates the importance of developing high quality output in order to compete in export markets and other recent studies verify the prevalence of fixed and ongoing trade costs while participating in those markets. I consider the joint choice of quality and export promotion costs when trade relationships are subject to temporary disputes. When transparency is low and macroeconomic instability is high, disputes arrive more frequently and, therefore, firms may inefficiently choose lower levels of quality and export promotion. These, in turn, build shallower trading relationships with less trade volumes and higher tariffs, and generate greater trade reductions during the more common trade disputes. Several institutional features of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism that are generally lacking in preferential trade agreements such as improved transparency, dispute investigation, and the provision to recommend asymmetric continuation payoffs can ameliorate these inefficient quality choice outcomes. Hence, lower quality output and lower quality trading relationships may be more endemic to countries that depend on preferential trading areas as opposed to the WTO

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Shintaro Hamanaka

Unexpected Usage of Enabling Clause? Proliferation of Bilateral Trade Agreements in Asia

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1239-1260

In forming Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs), developing countries mainly have two legal options: GATT Article XXIV and the Enabling Clause. The latter provision can be used when the RTA involves only developing countries. The way the Enabling Clause is used by developing countries in Asia is very different from other regions. Outside Asia, the Enabling Clause is usually used to form a plurilateral RTA that have an accession clause, which envisages gradual evolution into a (sub)region-wide cooperative agreement. In contrast, in Asia, developing countries started to use the Enabling Clause to sign bilateral RTAs after 2000. Such an innovative way of using the Enabling Clause is one of the contributory factors to the recent proliferation of RTAs in Asia. This paper also considers the implications of the proliferation of Enabling Clause-based RTAs to the ongoing policy discussions on the 'systemic issues' of RTAs at the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Clift Ben, Tomlinson Jim

When rules started to rule: the IMF, neo-liberal economic ideas and economic policy change in Britain
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 3, 2012 , 477-500

This article reassesses the neo-liberal shift within British economic policy-making and the international political economy, focusing especially the role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the 1960s. The IMF has always used the conditions attached to its lending to try and shape borrower's policy; here we explore the evolving content of that conditionality and the economic ideas underpinning it. Using recently released IMF records, as well as other archives, we argue that the negotiations between the IMF and the UK Government in the 1960s can be seen as part of the Fund's drive towards a crucial change from discretionary to rules-based approaches to macroeconomic policy making. This drive took place within a struggle over a specific policy instrument, domestic credit expansion (DCE), at that time regarded as an important measure of monetary policy. The article locates the IMF advocacy of DCE within an attempt by the Fund to constrain discretionary policy-making through increasingly specific and binding rules. In response, UK Government officials began to pre-empt and even deceive the Fund to avoid being tied down. Our analysis unpacks which neo-liberal economic ideas the Fund embraced, noting its rejection of monetarism. In the period charted here (1965–69), the rules-based regime remained compatible with Keynesianism. However, the UK Government's grudging acceptance of this approach provided a crucial condition of possibility for a significant qualitative shift in macroeconomic policy-making when rules later became infused with an increasingly neo-liberal character.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hodson Dermot

Why it's looking like game over for the G20
in *Europe's World*, Issue 20, Spring

The G20 has lost its clout and its way with murky questions about its legitimacy now surfacing. Dermot Hodson assesses whether its sense of purpose can be rekindled.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21923/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hawkes Shona, Kaur Plahe Jagjit

Worlds apart: The WTO's Agreement on Agriculture and the right to food in developing countries
in *International Political Science Review* , vol. 34, n. 1, January , 21-38

ABSTRACT: This article explores the implications of the World Trade Organization's Agreement on Agriculture for the right to food in the global South. In a context in which a worldwide backlash has developed against the World Trade Organization (WTO), the politics of the Doha Round negotiations are analyzed from a food rights perspective. It is argued that since 2004 attention in the WTO has shifted from overarching human rights concerns toward a focus on technical detail constraining developing countries from acting to respect, protect, and fulfill the right to food.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Shen Dingli

A Collaborative China-US Approach to Space Security

in Asian Perspective, Volume 35, Issue 4 (October-December 2011) , 521-536

China and the United States have developed a complex relationship. Facing common threats such as missile proliferation and regional instability, they tend to collaborate for mutual benefit. However, the two countries have hedged against each other for their respective national interests, often acting so as to reinforce each other's negative security perceptions. Their security dynamism in missile defense and antisatellite (ASAT) operations has furthered their mutual distrust. This article addresses their security dilemmas by suggesting that China and the United States take a more trusting view of each other's missile defense program, whether at the research and development stage or at deployment. They must develop such systems in an approach of mutual reassurance, allowing a degree of reciprocal vulnerability in order to avoid an arms race. An interim partial space security arrangement is also proposed here, namely, a limited ASAT ban for satellite security in outer space, to soothe respective security concerns and meet each country's present need.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Dionysios Chourchoulis

A nominal defence? NATO threat perception and responses in the Balkan area, 1951–1967

in Cold War History, Vol. 12, n°4 , 637-657

This article deals with NATO strategy in the Balkans from 1951, when Greek and Turkish admission to the alliance was decided, to 1967, when NATO revised its strategic concept for the last time until the end of the Cold War, while another serious Greek-Turkish crisis over Cyprus erupted. The analysis places emphasis on the defence posture of the southern Balkans, regional correlation of forces and the evolution of NATO military strategy throughout the period under examination. Consideration is also given to the integration of the southern Balkans in the NATO command structure, the provision of aid to Greece and Turkey, and Greek-Turkish relations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kvale Svenbalrud Hallvard

Apartheid and NATO: Britain, Scandinavia, and the Southern Africa Question in the 1970s

in Diplomacy & Statecraft, vol. 23, n. 4 , 746-762

ABSTRACT: In the 1970s, questions of apartheid and decolonisation rose to the forefront of international political debate. Building on recently declassified, multinational archival research, this analysis assesses the question of whether to impose international economic sanctions against the apartheid regime in both South Africa and white minority-ruled Rhodesia during this decade. The issue of sanctions became a strain on the relationship between Great Britain and the three Scandinavian states—Denmark, Norway, and Britain, were allies within the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.



Wary of communist influence in Africa as well as concerned about protecting their interests on the continent, the British preferred moderate measures and a long-term perspective when dealing with Southern Africa. The Scandinavian Powers, building a reputation as internationalist and progressive states and with few national interests in the area, presented themselves as leading advocates of sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia. These differences in approach caused recurring tension between the British and their Scandinavian allies, even leading some British officials to suggest sanctioning Norway and Sweden for their Southern Africa policy. However, the end of white minority rule in Rhodesia in 1980 as well as the increasing focus on European security matters during the second Cold War of the early 1980s reduced Anglo–Scandinavian tension over Southern Africa, with the Powers continuing their close relationship throughout and beyond the Cold War.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Richmond Oliver

Beyond Local Ownership in the Architecture of International Peacebuilding

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2012 , 354-375

'Local ownership' and 'participation' have become buzzwords for international intervention, whether military, humanitarian or developmental, by the UN, World Bank, agencies or non-governmental organizations. This has been partly to avoid accusations of intrusion and to enhance its legitimacy. Yet, such strategies have often not promoted local ownership in any meaningful way. Rather, they have denied it, confused which (local), and obscured the wider range of meanings of the concept. Internationals claim that they are referring to 'national' rather than local ownership because their focus is on a viable state that should become a member of the international community while also providing rights to its citizens. Despite good intentions such understandings of ownership do little to enhance a contextual social contract even if they do create relationships of conditionality between national elites and international donors, though they may indirectly enable the voices of a range of local actors, as this article outlines.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Daase Christopher

Die Historisierung der Sicherheit

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2012 / 38,3 , 387 - 405

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Rathbun Bryan C.

From vicious to virtuous circle: Moralistic trust, diffuse reciprocity, and the American security commitment to Europe

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 323-344

ABSTRACT: Constructivists maintain that a shared identity was crucial for explaining the creation of the North Atlantic



Treaty Organization and the multilateral form that it took. I challenge this view, arguing instead that the alliance was based on moralistic trust, the belief that others will live up to their moral obligations. Moralistic trust facilitates the initiation of cooperation, so that states can begin a virtuous circle of trust, collaboration, and enhanced trust. It is also the foundation of the diffuse reciprocity inherent to multilateralism. In two case studies of the domestic politics in the United States of making a multilateral security commitment to Europe, the first being the League of Nations, I demonstrate that identity was not a prominent consideration and did not lead individuals to embrace multilateralism. This social-psychological account improves upon constructivism and rationalism by offering a way to embed ideational variables in studies of strategic interaction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Binder David

Greece, Turkey, and NATO

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 23, Number 2, Spring 2012 , 95-106

Abstract:

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has some strange partners, in terms of history. The oddest couple of all may be Greece and Turkey. The two neighbors fought four wars in the space of a quarter century (1897 to 1922) and are still mutually suspicious. But they have followed parallel courses within the alliance—joining some group actions while remaining aloof to others. Meanwhile, the alliance has over the past two decades changed its posture from defense to offense and from a focus on the European continent to perceived enemies in North Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Now it is a heavily armed organization in almost desperate search of an antagonist. That is not what Greece or Turkey signed up for when they joined NATO in 1952.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Zwierlein Cornel

Grenzen der Versicherbarkeit als Epochenindikatoren?

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2012 / 38,3 , 423 - 452

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Reisinger Heidi

Großfamilie mit wachsendem Freundeskreis: Die Reform der NATO -Partnerschaftsprogramme

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* , vol. 5, n. 4, november , 525-539

ABSTRACT: The missions in Afghanistan and Libya demonstrate the increasing role of NATO's partners. Therefore,



NATO launched a much needed reform in April 2011, known as the Berlin Package, which was an attempt to square the circle: don't upset anybody, don't provoke endless discussions, but change everything for the better. Taking a look into the engine room of NATO's partnership policies illustrates the potentials and challenges related to the reform. NATO has introduced a "one-toolbox-only" management for individual cooperation programs. However, the reform raises more political questions than it answers.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Patzold Steffen

Human Security, fragile Staatlichkeit und Governance im Frühmittelalter

in Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Heft 2012 / 38,3 , 406-422

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ansorg Nadine, Haass Felix, Strasheim Julia

Institutions for Sustainable Peace: From Research Gaps to New Frontiers

in Global Governance, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 19-26

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Gude Ken, Podesta John

Libya's lessons for NATO's Europeans

in Europe's World, Issue 20, Spring

Europe's capabilities deficit was laid bare by NATO's Libyan mission, say John Podesta and Ken Gude. Although the U.S. took a back seat, the need for its assistance in many areas underlined European military shortcomings. Now it's time to address them.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21945/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Evanthis Hatzivassiliou

Out-of-area: NATO perceptions of the Third World, 1957–1967

in Cold War History, Vol. 13, n°1 , 67-88



This article discusses the reports of the NATO study groups on the situation in the Third World, from the aftermath of the Suez crisis until the 1967 reorganization of the alliance through the Harmel Report. These were the infamous 'out-of-area' issues which caused significant disagreements within the alliance. NATO analysis was dominated by the primacy of the Cold War: its major subject was 'Soviet penetration' of the periphery, rather than the problems of the global South as such. Arguably, this Cold War perspective prevented the NATO analysts from fully evaluating the dangers of the situation in the Third World.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Loizides Neophytosk, Kovras Iosif

Protracted Stalemates and Conflict Intervention: Policy (Un)Learning and the Cyprus–EU Debacle in Ethnopolitics, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2012 , 406-423

The article examines why a comprehensive settlement to resolve the Cyprus problem has yet to be reached despite the existence of a positive incentive structure and the proactive involvement of regional and international organizations, including the European Union and the United Nations. To address this question, evidence from critical turning points in foreign policy decision-making in Turkey, Greece and the two communities in Cyprus is drawn on. The role of hegemonic political discourses is emphasized, and it is argued that the latter have prevented an accurate evaluation of incentives that could have set the stage for a constructive settlement. However, despite the political debacle in the Cypriot negotiations, success stories have emerged, such as the reactivation of the Committee for Missing Persons (CMP), a defunct body for almost 25 years, to become the most successful bi-communal project following Cyprus's EU accession. Contradictory evidence in the Cypriot peace process is evaluated and policy lessons to be learned from the CMP 'success story' are identified.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Païtard Xavier

Préambule - L'Otan : perspectives après Chicago
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 752, Été 2012

L'évolution de l'Alliance atlantique, de sommet en sommet, révèle des tensions difficilement dépassables, qu'il s'agisse de lacunes capacitaires, d'équilibres institutionnels ou de cohérence doctrinale. Cependant, après le Sommet de Chicago, on voit que les Européens ont une responsabilité nouvelle dont la France peut aujourd'hui plus facilement assumer la charge.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Weber Katja

Recalibrating Sovereignty-Related Norms: Europe, Asia and Non-Traditional Security Challenges
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 19-35



This paper investigates how to address non-traditional security (NTS) challenges where the principal concern is to safeguard individuals. Since unilateral action cannot effectively deal with piracy, terrorism, cross-border conflicts, etc, there is a need for multilateral responses. Yet, time and again, the insistence on non-interference in the domestic affairs of countries has proven a major obstacle. European Union members, conceptualizing sovereignty in terms of 'constitutional independence', have made some progress addressing these challenges. Although, recently, some progress has also been made in Asia Pacific, there sovereignty often is still being used as a semantic weapon. Since states not only have rights but obligations, I argue, there is a need for a careful recalibration of sovereignty-related norms that stand in the way of improved human rights. Focusing on a specific issue area within NTS challenges, the Responsibility to Protect, I illustrate how a recalibration of sovereignty-related norms might take place.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kamp Karl-Heinz

**Reinventing NATO: the Chicago summit's daunting to-do list
in Europe's World**, Issue 20, Spring

Barack Obama's pre-election needs are putting pressure on NATO to transform its humdrum Chicago summit into a moment of radical change, explains Karl-Heinz Kamp.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21943/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Conze Eckart

**Securitization. Gegenwartsdiagnose oder historischer Analyseansatz?
in Geschichte und Gesellschaft**, Heft 2012 / 38,3 , 453 - 467

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Zwierlein Cornel

**Sicherheitsgeschichte. Ein neues Feld der Geschichtswissenschaften
in Geschichte und Gesellschaft**, Heft 2012 / 38,3 , 365 - 386

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Weinrod W. Bruce



The Future of NATO

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 23, Number 2, Spring 2012 , 1-13

Abstract:

Although fundamental questions concerning whether the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is still relevant or necessary have emerged, NATO remains necessary for the protection of Western security and political interests. The international security environment remains unstable, and threats can arise far from NATO territory. In addition to its traditional role of defending members' territory, NATO is assuming new security-related missions. In addition, the alliance has developed "partnerships" with numerous nations throughout the world. These networks can enhance NATO's military capabilities and also encourage democracy. Thus, NATO has the potential to play a significant and constructive global security and political role in the twenty-first century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Oğuzlu Tarık

Turkey's Eroding Commitment to NATO: From Identity to Interests

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 3, Summer 2012 , 153-164

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Andersson Nils

Vers une OTAN "à la carte"

in *Pensée (La)*, n° 372, Octobre/décembre 2012

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Di Paola Gianpaolo

Why NATO needs to play a global role

in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

The Atlantic alliance will never be a "global policeman", says Italy's defence minister Giampaolo Di Paola, but it needs to do more to promote stability around the world. And that means building new links with other regional players.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22038/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Richter Wolfgang

Zur Rolle der OSZE für die Sicherheitskooperation in Europa

in Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik , vol. 5, n. 4, november , 645-661

ABSTRACT: The comprehensive security approach of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and its objective of a common security space without dividing lines have come into jeopardy. Unresolved territorial conflicts have caused mistrust and new divisions; arms control is on the brink of failure. While the OSCE has committed to the revival of pan-European security cooperation in Astana, its role has been ignored in NATO's Strategic Concept. The article discusses new initiatives and the comparative advantages of the OSCE within the European security architecture

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kai He, Huiyun Feng

'Why is there no NATO in Asia?' revisited: Prospect theory, balance of threat, and US alliance strategies

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 227-250

ABSTRACT: Why did the US prefer multilateral alliances in Europe, but bilateral alliances in Asia after World War II? Rationalists and constructivists debate the impact of power, institutions, and identities in explaining this highly contested question. We introduce a new argument embedded in prospect theory from political psychology — a prospect–threat alliance model — to account for the variation in US alliance strategy toward Europe and Asia after World War II. Through setting the threat level as a reference point for leaders' prospects of gains or losses, we suggest: (1) high threats frame decision-makers in a domain of losses, and multilateral alliances become a favorable alliance choice because states are more likely to take the risk of constraining their freedom of action in return for more help from multiple allies as well as for avoiding further strategic losses; (2) low threats position leaders in a domain of gains, and bilateral alliances win out because states are risk-averse in terms of maintaining their freedom of action in seeking security through alliances with fewer allies. US alliance policy toward Asia after World War II is a within-case analysis that tests the validity of the prospect-threat alliance model.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Ruud van Dijk

"A mass psychosis": The Netherlands and NATO's dual-track decision, 1978–1979

in Cold War History, Vol. 12, n°3 , 381-405

When NATO took its so-called dual-track decision on Theatre Nuclear Weapons in December 1979, the Dutch government, while joining the decision, declared that it would not decide on the deployment of the Dutch share of the new weapons for another two years. With the help of new documents from Dutch archival collections, this essay examines the reasons behind this decision by the centre-right Van Agt government. It shows that there was great



reluctance in parliament, but also in the cabinet, to contemplate the coming modernisation. In order to survive politically and keep the Netherlands within the NATO fold, the Van Agt government tried to align NATO's decision as closely with Dutch policy as possible while seeking majority support in parliament for its proposed compromise solution. The essay provides new detail on both efforts, including the response of allied governments to the Dutch reservations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Lion Bustillo Javier

¿Por qué participan algunos Estados europeos en las operaciones de paz en el Líbano?

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012

Over the last decades, some European members of the EEC/EU have participated in several peace operations in Lebanon, mainly under UN command, contradicting their usual reluctance towards these kind of interventions. As a result, it is important to understand the reasons for the specificity of the Lebanese case and the long-lasting European commitment towards this country. The main factors that justify these interventions are the interests of some Mediterranean countries (France, Italy, Spain), which have considered them as a means to spread their influence in the region and guarantee their own security, avoiding any escalation of violence that could spill over into Southern Europe. But there is also a link with the European normative approach, that tries to turn the Mediterranean into an area of cooperation, prosperity and security, given the fact that the resolution of the Middle East conflicts would be a prerequisite for the success of the Euro-Mediterranean policy. However, these objectives are not easy to conciliate, leading to a lack of coherence in the EU policy towards Lebanon.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Colin Scott

Beyond Taxonomies of Private Authority in Transnational Regulation

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 12, 1329-1338

The emergence of non-state actors as regulators is a key feature of contemporary transnational regulation. This article first offers an analysis of the emergent private authority in terms first of the variety of non-state actors and second the modes for exercising authority. The article argues that a complete consideration of modes of transnational private regulation (TPR) must move beyond standard setting to examine techniques of monitoring and enforcement. A normative evaluation includes consideration of the extent to which TPR advances public and/or private interests and, in the absence of a direct link to democratic governance, alternative sources for legitimacy? The article suggests that it is insufficient to legitimate TPR on the basis of expertise and the technical quality of regulatory outputs as even more technical areas of private rule throw up evidence of a struggle of interests. Alternative and complementary modes for evaluating the legitimacy of transnational private regulation include consideration of first, the effective linkage of regimes to elected government (in mixed public-private regimes), second, the mirroring of administrative law processes within TPR regimes, and third the creation of alternative processes for building capacity for engagement, reflection and evaluation of regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elaine Fahey and Ester Herlin-Karnell

EU Law qua Global Governance Law? Deciphering Regulatory and Constitutional Competence Between EU Environmental Law and Global Governance

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 11 , 1147-1150

This special issue looks at the normative implications of EU global regulatory efforts in the area of environmental policy. The EU Environmental Emissions Trading System (EU-ETS) represents an example of successful application of EU environmental standards where global standards harmonization had failed. The intersection between EU law and global law, however, seems increasingly porous and difficult to decipher. Post-Lisbon, the EU increasingly functions like a State in its actions with the world. Nonetheless, the operation of international law internally within the EU legal order has been the subject of many distinctive constitutional periods, both prior to and after the Treaty of Lisbon. In the recent judgment of the Grand Chamber of the Court of Justice on the EU-Emissions Trading System, the Court rejected claims that the application of the EU-ETS scheme to the aviation sector, specifically US airlines, was unlawful under EU and international law. In the realm of the environment, EU environmental protection is both a value and normative aspiration. Yet what is a successful legal outcome of the adoption of ambitious and aggressive global legal regulatory frameworks in this domain? How should contemporary EU global policy and value ambitions be adjudicated in law? The case raises broader issues about the legitimacy of EU law and externalities arising from extended EU competences to positively promote EU constitutional values beyond Europe. While using this case as its starting point, this special issue sets out to look at the wider constitutional questions asked by it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christina Eckes

Environmental Policy “Outside-In”: How the EU’s Engagement with International Environmental Law Curtails National Autonomy

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 11 , 1151-1175

The EU legal system, with its many hands and complex architecture, in which national and European powers are closely interwoven, requires a particular form of cooperation. This delicately developed cooperation may be influenced by the EU’s ambition to take a state-like role in international relations. Indeed, the basic assumption underlying this Article is that it is not only the EU’s complexity that influences the EU’s external actions—usually seen as limiting the EU’s capacity to speak with one voice—but also that the EU’s external actions influence its internal set-up and cooperation practices. As a result of the EU’s participation in international legal regimes, established organizational principles might come under pressure. Furthermore, within the complexity of the European legal order, the potential consequences could be more disturbing for stability than within the—monolithic, in comparison—structure of states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gauri Varun, Sonderholm Jorn

Global poverty: four normative positions

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 8, Issue 2-3, 2012 , 193-213



Abstract

Global poverty is a huge problem in today's world. This survey article seeks to be a first guide to those who are interested in, but relatively unfamiliar with, the main issues, positions and arguments in the contemporary philosophical discussion of global poverty. The article attempts to give an overview of four distinct and influential normative positions on global poverty. Moreover, it seeks to clarify, and put into perspective, some of the key concepts and issues that take center stage in the philosophical discussion of global poverty. The four positions to be discussed are labeled the Maximalist Position, the Minimalist Position, Intermediate Position I and Intermediate Position II. After an account of these four distinct positions, we turn, in the conclusion, to a discussion of what role empirical sciences such as economics and political science should play in normative considerations about global poverty.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sara L. Seck

Home State Regulation of Environmental Human Rights Harms As Transnational Private Regulatory Governance

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 12 , 1363-1385

Home state mechanisms designed to prevent and remedy environmental human rights harms associated with overseas resource extraction have recently been proposed in Canada. This essay will examine whether such mechanisms could be viewed as transnational private regulatory governance, and the implications of doing so for our understanding of law and for the concerns of host state local communities. The essay will explicitly consider how insights from Third World Approaches to International Law (TWAIL) must inform the structure of home state mechanisms in order to overcome the neo-colonialist tendencies of international law. The essay will conclude by identifying how insights from TWAIL in relation to the design of home state mechanisms could be applied to other transnational private regulatory governance regimes, and will identify questions to guide future research. It will also offer reflections on how viewing home state regulation as transnational private regulatory governance can help to overcome the limitations associated with the phrase "extraterritorial jurisdiction" by moving beyond a state-centric conceptualization of international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gareth Davies

International Trade, Extraterritorial Power, and Global Constitutionalism: A Perspective from Constitutional Pluralism

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 11 , 1203-1223

This Article starts from two premises. The first is that power—particularly regulatory power—is increasingly exercised across and between jurisdictions, in particular as a result of the intertwining of economies via trade. The well-being of those involved in the production and trade in goods and services is determined by rules made in multiple jurisdictions, not just their own. Concern about the environmental and social impact of economic activity is a particular reason for jurisdictions to try and impose norms upon each other. The second premise is that the essence of constitutionalism is



constitutional values and principles rather than particular institutional forms. Such forms are contingent and instrumental, in the service of the values and principles. Many of those constitutional values and principles are concerned with the exercise of power (e.g., accountability, due process, and non-oppression).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kirsten Mikadze

Public Participation in Global Environmental Governance and the Equator Principles: Potential and Pitfalls in German Law Journal, vol. 13, issue 12 , 1386-1411

Traditional multilateral state-led efforts to provide regulatory protection for the global environment are proving increasingly ineffective. This performance is contrasted, accompanied—and perhaps reinforced—by a simultaneous experimentation with different forms of “soft” regulation that are authored, more and more, by non-state actors. The result is an evolving regulatory landscape in which environmental norms are in flux and real-life implications are uncertain. The Equator Principles (EPs), a voluntary code designed by global banks as a means of regulating their project finance activities, provide an interesting lens through which to view some of the ramifications of this evolution. When the EPs were introduced in 2003, it was hoped that they would offer, among other benefits, greater capacity for public participation in projects where adverse environmental impacts were anticipated. After several years of experience “under Equator,” however, this enthusiasm has waned. In this paper, with a view to illuminating the broader regulatory and normative significance, I seek to examine more closely the impacts that the EPs have had on public participation in environmental governance. Focusing on disclosure requirements, I argue that the EPs have the potential to facilitate broader public participation in environmental governance. I demonstrate, however, that this potential is vitiated by the EPs’ failure to meaningfully operationalize the institutions required to make this happen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elaine Fahey

The EU Emissions Trading Scheme and the Court of Justice: The “High Politics” of Indirectly Promoting Global Standards

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 13, issue 11 , 1247-1267

The European Union (EU) Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) is a cornerstone of the European Union's policy to combat climate change and its key tool for the cost-effective reduction of industrial greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, according to the European Commission, it is the first and biggest international scheme for the trading of greenhouse gas emission allowances, including sophisticated and far-reaching penalties. Notably, however, the scheme arose out of a failure at the international level to agree on global standards. When an amended directive included aviation under this scheme beginning in 2012, it ignited a global controversy that came before the Grand Chamber of the Court of Justice in December 2011. In its decision, the Court and Advocate General explicitly explain that the EU ETS regime arose because of the failure of the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) to evolve a global regulatory scheme. To some, the decision of the Court of Justice on the EU ETS represents a definitive view on the legality of the EU's ambitions to uphold high environmental standards and to compel others to uphold these standards also. To others, however, it represents a missed opportunity to pronounce upon the Court's own jurisdiction, or to explicitly consider its own contribution to the promotion of global standards.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ester Herlin-Karnell

The EU as a Promoter of Values and the European Global Project

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 11 , 1225-1246

The international arena is increasingly important in EU legal discourse. Using the word “global” is highly fashionable at present, but what does it mean to refer to this concept? It is not an exaggeration to claim that if “constitutionalism” is added to the picture you have a new catchphrase for understanding the EU legal architecture beyond the nation state and its interrelationship with the external sphere: “Global constitutionalism.” Much of the discussion on the normative dimension of EU powers is centered on the function of the EU as a promoter of values abroad. This is also what the Lisbon Treaty promises as set out in Article 3(5) and Article 21 in the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) by guaranteeing, inter alia, that the EU shall uphold its values in the relationship with the wider world and contribute to the protection of its citizens. As witnessed in the recent judgment on the validity of the EU’s Emissions Trading System (ETS), the EU’s values may sometimes spill over to the global level. In the ETS case, the Court of Justice set out to make a powerful statement on the importance of environmental protection, even when such concerns extend beyond the borders of Europe. Therefore, the question of global constitutionalism in the EU seems inextricably linked to the normative question of what values the EU should promote or conversely “borrow” from the outside world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Peer Zumbansen

The Ins and Outs of Transnational Private Regulatory Governance: Legitimacy, Accountability, Effectiveness and a New Concept of “Context”

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 12 , 1269-1281

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vanisha H. Sukdeo

Transnational Governance Models: Codes of Conduct, and Monitoring Agencies as Tools to Increase Workers’ Rights

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 12 , 1559-1570

This paper critically explores how to implement changes to corporate law that would increase the rights of workers through codes of conduct and monitoring systems. This paper draws on my experience in the Queen’s University Students Against Sweatshops (‘QSAS’) and how it fits into private transnational regulation. The monitoring agencies, the Fair Labor Association (‘FLA’) and the Worker Rights Consortium (‘WRC’), will be compared.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hugo Dobson

Where Are the Women in Global Governance? Leaders, Wives and Hegemonic Masculinity in the G8 and G20 Summits

in *Global Society*, Vol. 26, Issue 4, , 429-449

Although various studies have explored women's representation and participation in the central mechanisms of global governance such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, no similar study exists in the case of the summit meetings of the Group of Eight and Group of Twenty countries. This article begins by identifying the participation of women within these formal and informal fora of global governance and concludes that both summits represent sites of hegemonic masculinity in terms of space, style and, to an extent, substance. It then extends its focus towards an exploration and evaluation of the occasions when women have played an apparently dominant role in these summit meetings: as spouses. Whilst acknowledging the impact of their participation in terms of agenda setting and policymaking, in addition to the ceremonial roles they play through the various social events and photo opportunities organised on the periphery of these summits, the article concludes that these activities serve ultimately to reinforce the elite nature of summitry, in addition to a gendered division of labour and a hegemonic form of masculinity therein.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christian Joerges, Poul F. Kjaer, Tommi Ralli

A New Type of Conflicts Law as Constitutional Form in the Postnational Constellation

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 2, issue 2 , 153-165

The 'conflicts law approach' reconstructs the potential of primarily, but not exclusively, European law to address the threat to democracy that is posed by the concern that citizens would increasingly be subject to the effects of laws which they themselves had not authored. This structural democratic deficit calls for consideration of 'foreign' demands. It also calls for cooperation and mutual respect between political constituencies. The normative basis for understanding conflicts law as a constitutional form with democratically grounded validity claims stems from the proposition that states must acknowledge or establish a law that provides a forum for foreign demands and manifests deference through transnational rules. The approach sets out to examine three types of conflict constellations—horizontal, vertical and diagonal legal conflicts—and three types of law-mediated responses, layered as the scheme of a 'three-dimensional conflicts law'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Johnson Tana, Urpeleinen Johannes

A Strategic Theory of Regime Integration and Separation

in *International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 4 , 645-677

ABSTRACT: States frequently disagree on the importance of cooperation in different issue areas. Under these conditions, when do states prefer to integrate regimes instead of keeping them separated? We develop a strategic



theory of regime integration and separation. The theory highlights the nature of spillovers between issues. Positive spillovers exist when cooperation in one issue area aids the pursuit of objectives in another issue area; negative spillovers exist when cooperation in one issue area impedes this pursuit in another issue area. Conventional wisdom suggests that both positive and negative spillovers foster greater integration. We argue that negative spillovers encourage integration while positive spillovers do not. States integrate not to exploit positive spillovers between issues but to mitigate negative spillovers. To test our theory, we examine the degree of integration or separation among environmental regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Böhmelt Tobias

A closer look at the information provision rationale: Civil society participation in states' delegations at the UNFCCC

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 1, march , 55-80

ABSTRACT: The previous literature contends inter alia that states may welcome the participation of civil society groups in global environmental governance due to their provision of information. The following research takes this argument as a starting point for a closer examination of its validity within the international climate change regime (UNFCCC) and, specifically, with regard to civil society involvement in states' negotiation delegations. First, the author theoretically unfolds the information provision argument from a demand, i.e., state perspective along the bureaucratic quality of a country, the salience of a negotiation issue, and regime type. From this foundation, secondly, new data on the composition of states' negotiation delegations in the UNFCCC is analyzed. The results seem to indicate that the information provision mechanism is unlikely to apply in the context under study. The paper, thus, concludes by providing alternative explanations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Davies Thomas Richard

A "Great Experiment" of the League of Nations Era: International Nongovernmental Organizations, Global Governance, and Democracy Beyond the State

in Global Governance, vol. 18, n. 4, october-december , 405-423

ABSTRACT: This article aims to shed historical light on the contemporary debate concerning the role of international nongovernmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations in the democratization of global governance through an assessment of the experience and political thought of the League of Nations era. After introducing the interactions of international nongovernmental organizations and intergovernmental organizations in the present day and in the League of Nations period and the contemporary debate on their role in the democratization of global governance, the article discusses how democracy in global governance was conceived in the League of Nations era, with particular reference to the work of Alfred Zimmern. The analysis highlights not only the considerable continuities between interwar thought and that of the present day, but also the potential problems identified at the time that remain pertinent today.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kulovesi Kati

Addressing Sectoral Emissions outside the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change: What Roles for Multilateralism, Minilateralism and Unilateralism?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 193-203

It is commonly assumed that a coordinated international legal response would be the best way to mitigate climate change. Finding an effective solution for all key countries and sectors is, however, proving to be a considerable challenge. This article focuses on attempts to address sectoral emissions from international aviation and maritime transport outside the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). It highlights that emissions from these two sectors are growing significantly and have been discussed under the auspices of the International Civil Aviation Organization and International Maritime Organization for nearly two decades without an effective multilateral solution. The article argues that the lack of global agreement on how to address emissions from these two sectors has increased the temptation for independent action. Most notably, the European Union has already included emissions from all flights to and from European airports, including those by foreign airlines, into its emissions trading scheme and is in the process of considering measures to address emissions from international maritime transport. This has sparked both a heated political row and legal debate on the permissibility of unilateral trade measures to mitigate climate change. Against this background, the article analyzes whether and how independent action can promote mitigation action in these sectors, and whether it should be seen as unhelpful climate unilateralism or useful 'minilateralism' and migration of legal norms that serve to advance the ultimate objective of avoiding dangerous anthropogenic climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moncel Remi, van Asselt Harro

All Hands on Deck! Mobilizing Climate Change Action beyond the UNFCCC

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 163-176

While taking notable incremental steps forward, Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) have so far, in aggregate, been unable to scale up their ambition to mitigate climate change so as to hold a rise in global average temperature below 2° Celsius above pre-industrial levels. In this introduction to the special issue, it is posited that the UNFCCC has played and should continue to play an essential role in instigating and coordinating a global response to climate change. However, in the face of continuing difficulty in stabilizing the global climate at safe levels, it is argued here that the UNFCCC is by no means alone in addressing this challenge and that wider international cooperation is possible in a way that complements the international climate negotiations. This article shows how a variety of international institutions outside of the UNFCCC have sought – albeit with modest results to date – to address climate change, and indicates how these institutions could be enhanced to deliver greater climate change mitigation benefits. It then illustrates how these institutions may interact with the UNFCCC process, and examines the role of the UNFCCC in ensuring that the various institutions work in a complementary fashion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suzuki Yasushi

An institutional political economy view on Thomas Nagel's 'minimum humanitarian morality' in global justice



in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 8, Issue 2-3, 2012 , 169-178

Abstract

Thomas Nagel's conservative position of the political conception for world politics and his insightful 'Minimum Humanitarian Morality' (MHM) view on global justice are laudable. He admits that the path from anarchy to justice must go through injustice. But Nagel does not clearly identify the conditions under which we put up with global injustice. This paper reviews the conception of MHM through the lens of the institutional political economy. In my view, to recognize the degree of structural failure (weakness in governance) as well as the degree of transition failure (elite bargain or personalization of power being interlocked) in each state can give us a hint on how to conceptualize and apply Nagel's MHM. We also argue that the scope and degree of humanitarian aid may vary in accordance with the options to global justice open to each state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wouters Jan, Odermatt Jed

Are All International Organizations Created Equal?

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 7-14

ABSTRACT: This contribution briefly discusses the methodological and conceptual issues faced by the ILC during its work on the responsibility of international organizations. It examines some of the key challenges faced by the ILC, including the lack of relevant international practice, and the diversity of international organizations. It argues that while the responsibility of international organizations remains an important topic for international law, the law is not yet developed enough for codification of secondary rules to apply to all international organizations. In some cases, this led the ILC to rely heavily on its Articles of States Responsibility. This approach pushed the work of the ILC closer to 'progressive development' of the law than to codification.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yuval Shany

Assessing the Effectiveness of International Courts: A Goal-Based Approach

in *American journal of international law*, vol. 106, issue 2 , 225-270

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Valentini Laura

Assessing the global order: justice, legitimacy, or political justice?

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 593-612



Abstract

Which standards should we employ to evaluate the global order? Should they be standards of justice or standards of legitimacy? In this article, I argue that liberal political theorists need not face this dilemma, because liberal justice and legitimacy are not distinct values. Rather, they indicate what the same value, i.e. equal respect for persons, demands of institutions under different sets of circumstances. I suggest that under real-world circumstances – characterized by conflicts and disagreements – equal respect demands basic-rights protection and democratic participation, which I here call ‘political justice’. I conclude the article by considering three possible configurations of the global order – the ‘democratic world-state’, ‘independent democratic states’, and ‘mixed’ models – and argue that a commitment to political justice speaks in favour of the latter.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zangl Bernhard, Helmedach Achim, Mondré Aletta, Kocks Alexander, Neubauer Gerald, Blome Kerstin

Between law and politics: Explaining international dispute settlement behavior

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 2, june , 369-401

ABSTRACT: Over recent decades a judicialization process of international dispute settlement procedures has taken place. Yet, the judicialization of procedures remains meaningless if the procedures are not used and accepted by disputing states in practice. Prominent theoretical approaches point to different conditions under which this is to be expected. Realism emphasizes the international distribution of power, institutionalism stresses the importance of the institutional design of international dispute settlement procedures, and liberalism points to the domestic institutional setting of the participating states. The article confronts these theoretical expectations with states’ actual dispute settlement behavior in the international trade regime, the United Nations Security Council, the European human rights regime and the regime on the protection of endangered species in the 1970s/80s and 1990s/2000s, respectively. Its main finding is that, compared to realism and liberalism, institutionalism fares better in explaining the judicialization of states’ dispute settlement behavior.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bulkeley Harriet, Schroeder Heike

Beyond state/non-state divides: Global cities and the governing of climate change

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 4, december , 743-766

ABSTRACT: This article challenges the assumption that the boundaries of state versus non-state and public versus private can readily be drawn. It argues that the roles of actors — as state or non-state — and the forms of authority — public or private — are not pre-given but are forged through the process of governing. Drawing on neo-Gramscian and governmentality perspectives, it suggests that a more dynamic account of the state can offer a more nuanced means of analysing the process of governing global environmental affairs. In order to understand this process and the outcomes of governing climate change, we argue that analysis should focus on the hegemonic projects and programmes through which the objects and subjects of governing are constituted and contested, and through which the form and nature of the



state and authority are accomplished. We suggest that this is a process achieved and held in place through ‘forging alignment’ between diverse social and material entities in order to achieve the ‘right disposition of things’ through which the will to govern climate change can be realized (Murray Li, 2007a). We illustrate this argument by examining the governing of climate change in two global cities, London and Los Angeles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anderson Gavin W.

Beyond ‘Constitutionalism Beyond the State’

in *Journal of Law and Society*, Volume 39, Issue 3 , 359–383

For contemporary constitutional theory, the key challenge posed by globalization undermines the traditional link between constitutionalism and the state: in response to multi-level governance, theories of constitutionalism beyond the state have been advanced. This focus on levels obscures more fundamental epistemological questions raised by globalization about the nature of constitutionalism itself. Critical analysis of three leading schools of constitutionalism beyond the state – supranational, societal, and new constitutionalism – highlights their shared assumptions with state-based thought regarding the separation between economics and politics, and the necessarily hegemonic character of constitutionalism. However, globalization intensifies critique of these assumptions, and questions their translation to the transnational context. An alternative scholarly fault line to the state/non-state cleavage emerges between working within and transcending the politics of constitutional knowledge produced during the nation-state era. A broader globalization perspective reveals the extent to which such processes of constitutional rethinking are under way through developments in the global South.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elisa Morgera

Bilateralism at the Service of Community Interests? Non-Judicial Enforcement of Global Public Goods in the Context of Global Environmental Law

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 743-767

The interaction between bilateral and multilateral action is evolving in the context of ‘global environmental law’ – a concept that is emerging from the promotion of environmental protection as a global public good through a plurality of legal mechanisms relying on a plurality of legal orders. The notion of global public goods can thus help one better to understand recent bilateral initiatives aimed at supporting the implementation of multilateral environmental agreements and the decisions of their compliance mechanisms. Innovative linkages between the compliance system under the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species and bilateral trade agreements recently concluded by the European Union and the US provide an example. Innovative opportunities for bilateral initiatives supporting the implementation of the 2010 Nagoya Protocol on Access and Benefit-sharing are likely to lead to even more complex inter-relationships between different legal orders. This new approach to bilateralism that aims to support the interests of the international community can be assessed in the context of earlier debates on unilateralism, with a view to emphasizing the role of international law in the identification and delivery of global public goods, and the role of global environmental law in understanding the interactions among a plurality of legal orders.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hochstetler Kathryn, Viola Eduardo

Brazil and the politics of climate change: beyond the global commons

in Environmental Politics, Volume 21, Issue 5, Special Issue: Climate change, national politics and grassroots action, September , 753-771

Assessing the changing role of the emerging powers in global climate change negotiations, with special attention to Brazil, we ask why they have agreed to voluntary reductions at home without formalising those commitments in ways that might persuade other large emitters to make similar binding commitments. We argue that for very large emitters, the climate issue does not evince the 'global commons' logic often attributed to it. Instead, since their actions can directly affect climate outcomes alone or in small groupings, large emitters are more responsive to domestic cost-benefit calculations, making international commitments based on shifting interest group pressures at home. In Brazil, a coalition of 'Baptists and bootleggers' found principled and interest-driven reasons to support new climate commitments after 2007.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Underdal Arild, Hovi Jon, Kallbekken Steffen, Skodvin Tora

Can conditional commitments break the climate change negotiations deadlock?

in International Political Science Review , vol. 33, n. 4, september , 475-493

ABSTRACT: Can a conditional commitment by a major actor (for example, the European Union) induce other major actors (such as the USA, China, India, or Japan) to do more to mitigate global climate change? We analyse this question by first estimating the impact of emission reductions by one of these actors on the mitigation costs of the others and, second, by exploring how domestic politics influence the willingness of the European Union and the USA to contribute. We find that an emission cut by any actor will reduce mitigation costs for all the others and thereby expand the settlement range. These cost reductions seem, however, insufficient to induce significant unilateral policy change. Emissions trading can cut aggregate costs further, but also redistribute wealth. Domestic politics tend to add weight to the concerns of powerful actors that stand to lose from more ambitious mitigation policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Frisch Mathias

Climate Change Justice

in Philosophy and Public Affairs, Volume 40, Issue 3, Summer 2012 , 225-253

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weischer Lutz, Morgan Jennifer, Patel Milap

Climate Clubs: Can Small Groups of Countries make a Big Difference in Addressing Climate Change?

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 21, Issue 3, November, 177-192

Clubs, defined as smaller groups of countries that take action outside of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), have been suggested in the literature as a way forward for climate action. Some have suggested them as a replacement of the UNFCCC. This article, by contrast, explores how clubs could assist in catalyzing greater ambition, defined as emissions reduction targets in line with climate science, which would eventually be captured in the UNFCCC. An analysis of the existing climate club landscape shows that clubs currently promote dialogue and/or implementation of specific activities. While these clubs make important contributions, their mandate and configuration are not focused on significantly increasing ambition. Current clubs enable incremental, rather than transformational change. An analysis of selected proposals for new kinds of climate clubs shows that, as a common element, they call for further incentives for action to underpin greater ambition. The article further analyzes a set of incentives, predominantly economic, for 'transformational clubs', related to trade, investment, labour mobility or access to finance, and identifies a set of future research questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vanderheiden Steve

Coaxing Climate Policy Leadership

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 26, n. 4, winter, 463-479

ABSTRACT: The United States and China have recently been called upon to exercise more leadership in developing an effective international policy response to climate change, but without giving attention to either the risks inherent in taking on such a role or the mechanism by which leading can mobilize others to act in response. Here, I understand leadership as action by a sufficiently powerful actor in a cooperative scheme that is capable of triggering reciprocal actions by followers on behalf of that scheme, and argue that such leadership can be coaxed by potential followers through pledges of reciprocal action that are made conditional upon prior action undertaken by a leader. In the context of the current international impasse over post-Kyoto climate change mitigation commitments, I identify means by which leadership by the U.S. or China might be induced by such conditional pledges, potentially allowing some obstacles to international collective action on climate change mitigation to be overcome.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dong-Hun Kim

Coercive Assets? Foreign Direct Investment and the Use of Economic Sanctions

in International Interactions, vol. 39, issue 1, 99-117

ABSTRACT: How does foreign direct investment (FDI) affect the use of economic coercion? This article argues that while FDI matters, the effect depends on the entry mode of the FDI. The economic interdependence created by FDI does not have a monotonic effect on economic statecraft because the relative costs incurred by economic disruption differ depending on the forms of foreign investment. In particular, the FDI that creates wholly-owned subsidiaries (for



example, cross-border mergers and acquisitions) imposes greater costs to the sender's firms than cross-border joint ventures with local partners, while FDI through joint ventures incurs greater costs for the host than the home country and its firms. By utilizing US sanction episodes from the Threat and Imposition of Economic Sanctions (TIES) dataset, the empirical analysis supports the argument. The results show that economic sanctions are less likely to occur as the share of FDI through cross-border mergers and acquisitions increases.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wunderlich Jens-Uwe

Comparing regional organisations in global multilateral institutions: ASEAN, the EU and the UN

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 127-143

Structural change brought about by the end of the Cold War and accelerated globalisation have transformed the global environment. A global governance complex is emerging, characterised by an ever-greater functional and regulatory role for multilateral organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and its associated agencies. The evolving global governance framework has created opportunities for regional organisations to participate as actors within the UN (and other multilateral institutions). This article compares the European Union (EU) and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as actors within the UN network. It begins by extrapolating framework conditions for the emergence of EU and ASEAN actorness from the literature. The core argument of this article is that EU and ASEAN actorness is evolving in two succinct stages: Changes in the global environment create opportunities for the participation of regional organisations in global governance institutions, exposing representation and cohesion problems at the regional level. In response, ASEAN and the EU have initiated processes of institutional adaptation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernstein Steven, Cashore Benjamin

Complex global governance and domestic policies: four pathways of influence

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 585-604

ABSTRACT: Standard works on international environmental governance assume single-issue regimes with binding obligations designed to govern the behaviour of states. Yet many of the most pressing global environmental problems, including climate change, forest degradation and biodiversity loss, are governed by an array of mechanisms—legal, non-legal, governmental and non-governmental—in complex arrangements. Examining the combined effects of these international and transnational efforts on domestic or firm policies and practices—the usual targets of such efforts—requires expanding a focus on regime ‘compliance’ and ‘effectiveness’ to ‘influence’ factors from beyond state borders. To facilitate such a move, the authors develop a framework that distinguishes four distinct pathways through which actors and institutions influence domestic policies: international rules; international norms and discourse; creation of, or interventions in, markets; and direct access to domestic policy processes. Propositions are then developed on the conditions under which, and processes through which, actors and institutions affect domestic and firm policies and practices along each pathway. The framework is applied to the case of forest governance, a prototypical example of complex global environmental governance.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Beck Ulrich, Blok Anders, Tyfield David, Zhang Joy Yueyue

Cosmopolitan communities of climate risk: conceptual and empirical suggestions for a new research agenda in *Global Networks*, vol. 13, issue 1, january , 1-21

ABSTRACT: Mitigating human-induced climate change calls for a globalized change of consciousness and practice. These global challenges also demand a double transformation of the social sciences – first, from ‘methodological nationalism’ to ‘methodological cosmopolitanism’ and, second, an empirical reorientation towards ‘cosmopolitization’ as the social force of emerging cosmopolitan realities. One of these realities is the possible emergence, locally and globally, of ‘cosmopolitan communities of climate risk’ in response to a ‘world at risk’. A key research question for contemporary social science is thus: how and where are new cosmopolitan communities of climate risk being imagined and realized? In this article, we propose and explore a research agenda formulated around this key question. We both develop a theoretical perspective and provide short empirical illustrations of case studies regarding ongoing research in Europe and East Asia on such cosmopolitan climate risk communities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pasternak Avia

Cosmopolitan justice and the league of democracies

in ***Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy***, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 649-666

Abstract

Cosmopolitan justice calls for extensive institutional transformations at the international level. But in the absence of a global enforcing authority, such transformations are bound to be hampered by a range of obstacles, including non-compliance and coordination problems. What solutions can a cosmopolitan thinker offer to address these challenges? In answering this question, the paper focuses on the role that international cooperation between the world’s democracies can play in promoting cosmopolitan aspirations. It argues that such cooperation has a crucial role to play in executing global justice reforms; and furthermore, that the world’s democracies have a moral duty to lead the way in implementing cosmopolitan justice. The paper then suggests that a ‘League of Democracies’ – an intergovernmental organization which is open exclusively to the world’s democracies – could potentially facilitate the type of democratic cooperation that is necessary for cosmopolitan justice.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ecker-Ehrhardt Matthias

Cosmopolitan politicization: How perceptions of interdependence foster citizens’ expectations in international



institutions

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 481-508

ABSTRACT: Much of what can be subsumed under the label 'political cosmopolitanism' calls for the empowerment of international institutions because of increased global interdependencies. Surprisingly, however, few scholars have asked whether ordinary citizens share this way of thinking. Do people believe that international institutions are desirable because of their superior capacity to solve transnational problems? To address this question, falsifiable hypotheses about the quality of and scope conditions for a minimally defined 'public political cosmopolitanism' are derived from the literature and tested using the results of a representative survey of German citizens. I show that there is significant support for what I call the 'interdependence model' of cosmopolitan politicization: German citizens' perception of transnational interdependencies (in terms of functional sensitivity as well as moral commitments) fosters beliefs in the capacity of international institutions to solve problems. Remarkably, this relationship is moderated by citizens' sense of their own vulnerability, that is, their beliefs that the national government is incapable of solving such problems. The interdependence model has significant explanatory power, spanning different levels of education, and thus disproves claims that cognitive mobilization is a crucial scope condition for cosmopolitan politicization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jabri Vivienne

Cosmopolitan politics, security, political subjectivity

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 4, december , 625-644

ABSTRACT: Conventionally, the concept of cosmopolitanism is dealt with as a normative discourse. However, a far more useful understanding is to focus on the practices that the concept enables. The aim in this article is to highlight two manifestations of such practices, namely those that have as their imperative security, the cosmopolitanism of government, and those that might be defined in terms of solidarity, the cosmopolitanism of politics. Both the socio-historical context of the rise of liberal modernity as well as its late-modern manifestations in contemporary security practices suggest that these two articulations of cosmopolitanism should not be seen in oppositional terms, but rather as being mutually implicating and mutually present. While the concept enables a government of populations, containing within it a colonial rationality, the article suggests that there is an excess to the concept that steers it beyond government through security and towards the politics of solidarity. Placing the lens on the forms of political subjectivity generated through cosmopolitan practices, the article highlights the concept's potential in revealing the political implications of contemporary practices that have the postcolonial world as the primary target of their operations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lenard Patti Tamara

Creating cosmopolitans

in Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 613-630

Abstract

Cosmopolitan principles of justice tell us that it is the responsibility of the wealthy to ensure the immediate transfer of



resources to the poor. Yet, it cannot be denied that most countries, and most individual citizens, seem unwilling to act as these principles demand. At issue is motivation: although many people would agree that cosmopolitan principles of justice are right, at least to some extent, few seem motivationally inspired to act upon them. This paper evaluates one set of proposals for securing the transfer of resources from the wealthy to the poor, namely, those that suggest that the right way to achieve cosmopolitan objectives is to generate institutions that will, over time, produce cosmopolitans. I argue that we should focus, doubly, on the generation of supra-national institutions as a way to create a 'global demos' and on harnessing the motivational resources available at the nation-state level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Florian Rödl

Democratic Juridification Without Statisation: Law of Conflict of Laws Instead of a World State
in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 2, issue 2 , 193-213

For some time now, conceptual designs for statal unity over and above the nation state have been discussed not only in theory but also in politics, as a panacea for the problems faced by the old nation state in view of globalisation. This paper begins by restating a powerful criticism of this idea from a perspective of radical democracy articulated by Ingeborg Maus. However, if her point is taken seriously, transnational constitutional theory must develop an alternative to the nation state to cope with transnationalisation. The paper argues for a democracy-preserving 'law of conflict of laws'. But, as an analysis of the changed function of conflict of laws will show, such a conception has been marginal in conflict of laws as a legal discipline. Today, conflict of laws in its hegemonic articulation is even evolving towards becoming an anti-democratic tool to accelerate the commodification of the legal function.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fraser-Moleketi Geraldine J.

Democratic governance at times of crisis: rebuilding our communities and building on our citizens
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 78, No. 2 , 191-208

Crises have opened avenues to change and have often shown the way to progress and reform. Examples abound world-wide. Crises have proved beneficial when citizens and governments have taken pains to explore the lessons they may yield and listen to the messages that they contain. The goal in this article is to open a debate which sheds some light on the sources of our current deep malaise and tries to make some sense of the direction which international agencies, and governments at large, would be advised to follow. This article represents the outgrowth of the experience of years of public service on both the national level and, since January 2009, at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Though it does not pretend and should not be construed to represent the views of the UNDP on major global issues, it inevitably reflects the fruit of long hours of work on its behalf, in several parts of the world. Unlike some other inter-regional organizations, the UNDP encompasses all Member States in its remit. For obvious reasons, however, its workaday operations are more directly related to the concerns of developing countries. In democratic governance, which is a major area of UNDP activity, the countries and the regions that are currently undergoing a rapid course of change stand out for consideration. The author of this article has been intensely involved in consultations over



this process. Accordingly, what follows reflects, to some extent, the sum of this experience. It happens that my watch has seen years of deep crises, both natural and man-made. Indeed, some of these crises have also demonstrated the measure and the progress of globalization. Events in one part of the world were soon replicated in others. Thus, the uprising in Tunisia soon spread to Libya and Egypt. The financial meltdown, which began in the US, in September 2008, has already migrated to Europe and has not stopped there. In the words of Timothy Geithner, the American Treasury Secretary, addressing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum in Hawaii, in November 2011, 'We are all directly affected by the crisis in Europe' (New York Times, 2011c: A7). Though so far its effects have not been evenly felt across the board, this and other crises have shown that the countries that fared better and have been better able to weather the storm but also reap the benefits that come with globalization, were those whose state authorities and local government structures displayed a higher degree of competence, preparedness, commitment and professionalism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Reischl Gunilla

Designing institutions for governing planetary boundaries — Lessons from global forest governance

in Ecological Economics, Volume 81, Special Section: "Planetary Boundaries" and Global Environmental Governance, September , 33-40

The risk of interacting planetary boundaries highlights the challenge for contemporary institutional structures. This article shines light on the need to better understand how regime complexes manage overlaps. In developing this understanding, the article explores overlaps and coordination in the forest regime complex. By examining the work of an informal high level agency, the Collaborative Partnership on Forests, the article investigates how coordination in a dense regime complex could be achieved. In pursuing this analysis, the article draws lessons for how to manage increasingly complex problems that interacting planetary boundaries could give rise to. The article draws on the literatures of institutional interplay and institutional design in order to understand the more subtle forms of institutional decision-making. The article shows that there are many overlaps among international institutions with forest related mandate, and identifies the innovative mechanism as important in managing these linkages, although it does not take part in actual decision-making. In sum, the article's findings suggest that carefully designed mechanisms might be one way to, if not to overcome, at least to facilitate the institutional response of governance challenges in the complex setting of planetary boundaries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bapat Navin A., Heinrich Tobias, Kobayashi Yoshiharu, Morgan T. Clifton

Determinants of Sanctions Effectiveness: Sensitivity Analysis Using New Data

in International Interactions, vol. 39, issue 1 , 79-98

ABSTRACT: In the literature on sanctions effectiveness, scholars have identified a number of factors that may contribute to sanctions success. However, existing empirical studies provide mixed findings concerning the effects of these factors. This research note explores two possible reasons for this lack of consistency in the literature. First, informed by the recent theories that suggest threats are an important part of sanctions episodes, we analyze both threats and imposed



sanctions. Second, to lessen model dependency of empirical findings, we employ a methodology that permits us to check systematically the robustness of the empirical results under various model specifications. Using the newly released Threat and Imposition of Economic Sanctions data, our analyses of both threats and imposed sanctions show that two factors—involvement of international institutions and severe costs on target states—are positively and robustly related to sanctions success at every stage in sanctions episodes. Our analyses also identify a number of other variables that are systematically related to sanctions success, but the significance of these relationships depends on the specific model estimated. Finally, our results point to a number of differences at the threat and imposition stages, which suggests specific selection effects that should be explored in future work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hamilton Karen

Development as Freedom

in **Federalist Debate (The)**, Year XXV, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/795-development-as-freedom>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Holmes Stephen

Die globale Demokratieverdrossenheit

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2012 , 43-55

Ein Vierteljahrhundert ist es nun bald her, dass die Bürger in ganz Osteuropa für mehr Demokratie auf die Straße gingen. Doch seither ist so viel geschehen – Nine Eleven, Fukushima, die Arabischen Revolutionen –, dass die Demokratiefrage auf der ganzen Welt inzwischen nur noch durch ganze Schichten traumatischer Erfahrungen wahrgenommen wird. Ich möchte daher versuchen, einige Aspekte der postkommunistischen Demokratieenttäuschungen neu zu durchdenken und in einen größeren Rahmen zu rücken: nämlich in den Kontext einer Entwicklung, die man meines Erachtens nur als globale Unzufriedenheit mit der Demokratie bezeichnen kann.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Moyn Samuel

Die neue Historiographie der Menschenrechte

in **Geschichte und Gesellschaft**, Heft 2012 / 38,4 , 545-572

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Quirico Ottavio

Disentangling Climate Change Governance: A Legal Perspective

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 2, July , 92-101

Climate change is by definition a global problem that is subject to a variety of regulatory initiatives. Besides the comprehensive framework established under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol, as strengthened by the recent Durban negotiations, a wide array of regulatory measures have been set up by public and private actors, either alone or via partnerships. This article aims to provide a brief overview and legal assessment of transnational regulatory networks for climate change, including both established regulators and rules. Indeed, the 'regulatory proliferation' in the field pushes to disentangle not only the reciprocal relationship between rules directly targeting climate change, but also the relationship between them and 'external' rules only indirectly relating to climate change. Mapping the existing climate change regulatory framework is essential for spotting potential loopholes and inconsistencies, correctly interpreting existing norms and eventually undertaking further regulatory action. Overall, the article concludes that within the context of a generally 'complex' regulatory regime, a gap currently exists between primary rules which gather an array of intertwined public-private regulatory initiatives and enforced secondary rules which encompass mainly obligations established by public actors only indirectly targeting climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bercuson Jeffrey

Do Rawls's theories of justice fit together? A reply to Pogge

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 8, Issue 2-3, 2012 , 251-267

In my reply to Pogge's critique of Rawls's international relations theory, I will try to show two things: (1) that Pogge's account of the public criterion of domestic social justice endorsed by Rawls is a partial one and (2) that this leads him to wrongly postulate a significant asymmetry between Rawls's domestic and international theories of justice. In the end, I hope to show that the domestic and international accounts are characterized by a significant degree of symmetry – that both accounts are motivated by Rawls's fundamental concern with self-respect. In other words, a more expansive, complete account of the domestic public criterion of social justice necessarily leads us (contra Pogge) to affirm a significant degree of continuity between the domestic and international accounts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Joana Mendes

EU law and global regulatory regimes: Hollowing out procedural standards?

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 4 , 988-1022

This article examines the effects that the reception of decisions of international organizations and bodies in EU law may have in procedural standards followed in EU law and practice, in particular participation. Illustrative examples shed light on the practical interactions between EU and global regulatory systems and their likely negative impact on procedural



standards. The author argues that the current EU rules of reception of such decisions are limited in two respects. First, issues of procedural protection are decided by the system of origin, the procedural rules of which may not be as developed as those in force in the EU. Second, rules of reception do not capture the effects of the varied interconnections developed between regulatory regimes at the global and at the EU level. The possible depletion of procedural standards in the segments of EU law that result from the reception of decisions of international bodies has relevant legitimacy implications. Procedural standards that may be bypassed have become accepted standards of legitimacy of the exercise of public power within the EU. Some give effect to norms of EU law and governance now enshrined in the Treaties. To the extent that they may be weakened by effect of the reception of decisions of international organizations and bodies, the exercise of public authority is potentially unleashed in the areas of intersection of legal systems. The article finally sketches the constitutional, procedural and theoretical paths that could lead to preserving procedural standards in the areas of intersection between EU and global regulatory regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hurrell Andrew, Sengupta Sandeep

Emerging powers, North–South relations and global climate politics

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 463-484

ABSTRACT: There is a widespread perception that power is shifting in global politics and that emerging powers are assuming a more prominent, active and important role. This article examines the role of emerging powers such as China, India, Brazil and South Africa (BASIC) in climate change politics and the extent to which their rise makes the already difficult problem of climate change still more intractable—due to their rapid economic development, growing power-political ambitions, rising greenhouse gas emissions and apparent unwillingness to accept global environmental ‘responsibility’. By reviewing the developments in global climate politics between the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and Rio+20, this article unsettles the image of a clear shift in power, stressing instead the complexity of the changes that have taken place at the level of international bargaining as well as at the domestic and transnational levels. Within this picture, it is important not to overestimate the shifts in power that have taken place, or to underplay the continued relevance of understanding climate change within the North–South frame. Emerging powers will certainly remain at the top table of climate change negotiations, but their capacity actively to shape the agenda has been limited and has, in some respects, declined. Even though emerging powers have initiated and offered greater action on climate change, both internationally and domestically, they have been unable to compel the industrialized world to take more serious action on this issue, or to stop them from unpicking several of the key elements and understandings of the original Rio deal. At the same time, developing world coalitions on climate change have also fragmented, raising questions about the continued potency of the ‘global South’ in future climate politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Liebenberg Sandra

Engaging the paradoxes of the universal and particular in human rights adjudication: The possibilities and pitfalls of ‘meaningful engagement’

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 12, n. 1 , 1-29



ABSTRACT: This article examines the disjunctures between the universal aspiration of human rights norms and the complexity of their interpretation and application in diverse and pluralistic contexts. It examines the extent to which a deliberative model of democracy can assist in promoting a more dialectical relationship between the universal and particular in human rights constitutional adjudication. The article further evaluates the potential of the mechanism of meaningful engagement employed by the South African Constitutional Court in the context of evictions jurisprudence to negotiate the tension between the universal normative values and purposes of human rights, and the democratic ideal of popular participation in the making of decisions which affect people's daily lives.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Abbott Kenneth W.

Engaging the public and the private in global sustainability governance

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 543-564

ABSTRACT: Negotiators preparing for Rio+20 are missing an important opportunity. Private sustainability governance (PSG) is thriving: organizations created by business and civil society groups, as well as public-private partnerships, adopt and apply significant regulatory standards and undertake valuable operational activities, including pilot projects and financing. However, even though reforming the institutional framework for sustainable development is a central part of the Rio+20 agenda, negotiators are focusing almost exclusively on inter-governmental organizations such as the UN Environment Program (UNEP), the Commission for Sustainable Development and the Economic and Social Council. This public-private engagement gap isolates international governance from the energy and innovation of PSG, and impedes efforts to coordinate the bifurcated and decentralized system of sustainability governance. This article argues that states, and especially international organizations, should actively support PSG as part of the institutional framework for sustainable development, while steering private and public-private schemes towards good organizational practices and the pursuit of public goals. Engagement with PSG would help international institutions pursue their sustainability missions more effectively, promote the emergence of effective and legitimate private schemes, manage fragmentation, promote experimentation and learning, and enhance citizen participation. The article outlines two fruitful modes of engagement pioneered by UNEP: regulatory cooperation, in which international authorities engage directly with business firms, industry groups and other 'targets', influencing them to adopt more sustainable behaviors; and orchestration, in which authorities engage with intermediary organizations, such as multi-stakeholder private governance schemes, catalyzing, supporting and steering them as they seek to influence the ultimate targets of policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Di Salvatore E.

Ernst Junger e la questione dello Stato mondiale

in Teoria del diritto e dello stato, n. 1-2 , 299-304

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bieber Christoph

Ethischer Organstreit? Der schwierige Weg von der Klimaethik zur Klimapolitik
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* , Heft 2, 2012

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Terai Kimiko

Financial Mechanism and Enforceability of International Environmental Agreements
in *Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 53, Number 2, October , 297-308

We examine how international coordination among countries generates a trend towards establishing an international institution for the provision of global public goods. In the present model, the forces creating international agreement are a politician's motive for re-election and a financial mechanism for compliance. If a politician expects another politician in a neighboring country to signal his good performance to his citizen by participating in the agreement, and is aware that his ex post deviation will be deterred by the financial mechanism, he too decides to participate in the agreement, which then corrects externality problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Petros C. Mavroidis

Free Lunches? WTO as Public Good, and the WTO's View of Public Goods
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 731-742

The WTO can be viewed as a public good in that it provides a forum for negotiations which also produces the necessary legal framework to act as a support for agreed liberalization. To avoid any misunderstandings, in this article the discussion focuses on the WTO as a forum and a set of agreements, not on free trade. Since the legal agreements coming under its aegis are for good reasons incomplete, the WTO provides an additional public good by 'completing' the original contract through case law. The importance of this feature increases over time as tariffs are driven towards irrelevance. In turn, the WTO has no particular attitude towards public goods provided by its Members.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ming-Sung Kuo

From Administrative Law to Administrative Legitimation? Transnational Administrative Law and the Process of European Integration
in *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, vol. 61, issue 4 , 855-879

Globalization redefines the relationship between law and space, resulting in the emergence of transnational administrative law in a globalizing legal space. I aim to shed light on transnational administrative law by examining how



administrative law relates to the process of European integration. I argue that the idea of administrative legitimation is at the core of this relationship. In the European Union, transnational administration grounds its legitimacy on the fulfilment of administrative law requirements. However, given that in the European Union, administrative legitimation is rooted in Europe's constitutional transformation, I caution against the projection of Europe's experience onto global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Richard Shapcott

From the good international citizen to the cosmopolitan political community: A constitutional path in *International Politics*, Volume 50, Issue 1, 138–157

While advocates of liberal internationalism have traditionally identified the state as an agent of progressive transformation of the international realm, they have had less to say about the specific domestic mechanisms that might govern the foreign policies of 'good' states. This article argues that domestic constitutions provide both a legal limit on the actions of governments and other actors, and also the means whereby citizens can pursue legal redress against the state. They therefore play a potentially constraining role that is different from that provided by the embedding of cosmopolitan law in transnational and international legal codes and norms. Transformed in this way, states become powerful agents for achieving cosmopolitan purposes and ultimately transforming world order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marco D'Alberty

Gli scompensi nella global polity in *Nomos*, n. 2/2012

La globalizzazione, e la crisi finanziaria mondiale, hanno sollevato di recente una serie di problemi rilevanti. Si è parlato e si parla di crisi della regolazione, che è considerata una delle cause della crisi finanziaria; di crisi delle istituzioni, che non riescono a governare la globalizzazione; di crisi della democrazia, per il deficit democratico che molti collegano alle organizzazioni internazionali e all'Unione europea. Per quel che riguarda quest'ultimo aspetto, alcuni studi politologici ruotano attorno all'idea del disagio della democrazia, della sua sopravvivenza larvale (C. Galli). Taluni contributi di giuristi sottolineano la crisi della democrazia capitalistica (R. Posner).

In questa fase di grandi trasformazioni, di difficoltà, di riflessioni critiche, assume grande rilievo il libro di Sabino Cassese dedicato alla Global Polity, che analizza lucidamente e in profondità le dimensioni globali della democrazia e della rule of law.

Cos'è la global polity? È il tema affrontato nella prima parte del lavoro di Cassese. La global polity è l'insieme delle regolazioni che compaiono nell'arena globale. Vi sono gli Stati, ma soprattutto le organizzazioni internazionali, i networks transnazionali composti da regolatori nazionali, i cosiddetti regolatori ibridi – un po' pubblici un po' privati –, le organizzazioni non governative. A tutto ciò può aggiungersi la nuova lex mercatoria, regime giuridico privato costruito soprattutto nella contrattualistica che vede protagoniste le grandi imprese multinazionali.

È un quadro giuridico composito: Richard Stewart, citato da Cassese, ha paragonato la global



polity ai quadri di Jackson Pollock, fatti di sgocciolature e spruzzi di colore che lasciano grande spazio al caso: si ha l'idea di un miscuglio senza ordine, senza simmetrie. Cassese scrive che tutto ciò fa pensare all'"anarchia feudale".

Cosa sia stata quest'anarchia ce lo ha spiegato Marc Bloch in quel grandioso affresco che è *La società féodale*, ove lo storico francese mette in luce "il frazionamento della sovranità tra una moltitudine di piccoli principi o, persino, di signori di villaggi". Si distinguevano veri e propri principati territoriali cui si aggiungevano contee e territori minori, fino alle castellanìe: bastava un castello, con la sua torre e un appezzamento di terreno, perché vi fosse un signore, anche se un po' sminuito rispetto agli altri, e dunque un potere pubblico, ivi compresa l'amministrazione della giustizia. La realtà dei poteri feudali era comunque caratterizzata dalla presenza dell'elemento territoriale. Il feudo, precisa Bloch, era una forma di concessione e di possesso di diritti reali.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Selin Henrik

Global Environmental Governance and Regional Centers

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 18-37

As global environmental governance evolves, the parties to the 1989 Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal and to the 2001 Stockholm Convention on Persistent Organic Pollutants have established regional centers working on capacity building and technology transfer. This article empirically explores the following questions: Why did the parties to the Basel and Stockholm Conventions establish these regional centers? What roles do the regional centers play in treaty implementation and multilevel governance? The article argues that the parties have set up regional centers in response to three partially overlapping sets of developing- and industrialized-country interests: expanding regional cooperation (both developing and industrialized countries); attracting more resources for treaty implementation (mainly developing countries); and supporting implementation projects across smaller groups of countries (mainly industrialized countries). This article finds that the regional centers collectively operate in three broad areas important to treaty implementation: raising awareness, strengthening administrative ability, and diffusing scientific and technical assistance and information. However, the ability of the regional centers to function effectively depends on access to greater resources and stronger political support. There may also be benefits to expanding regional center mandates into areas of monitoring and compliance to improve multilevel governance. Furthermore, the regional level should be given more consideration in the study of global environmental politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martin Herberg

Global Governance and Conflict of Laws from a Foucauldian Perspective: The Power/Knowledge Nexus Revisited

in Transnational Legal Theory, vol. 2, issue 2 , 243-269

Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault, this article sheds light on the tension-rich interactions between state-based law and the emerging power mechanisms of the transnational sphere. Besides norms and standards, private governance



also includes the evolution of knowledge practices such as auditing, surveillance, rating and benchmarking. These practices can cause manifold legal conflicts, which call for specific forms of coordination. This is all the more true since the transnational sphere has evolved into a battlefield of numerous, often highly conflicting governance regimes, which often come with their own rationalities, problem-definitions and ideologies. Lawyers seeking to incorporate the emerging extra-legal mechanisms into their decisions must try to inquire into the whole range of divergent governmental practices in the relevant field, so that they do not become captivated by the particularistic rationality of one single initiative or regime. As an empirical illustration, I discuss ISO 14000.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deibert Ronald J., Crete-Nishihata Masashi

Global Governance and the Spread of Cyberspace Controls

in **Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 339-361

ABSTRACT: States are moving to assert their interests more forcefully in cyberspace and associated governance regimes. Traditionally, transnational networks of engineers, based primarily in the United States and Europe, have been the primary architects of cyberspace governance, with the users and private sector shaping cyberspace itself. However, governments are becoming increasingly influential across a number of governance forums and are deliberating on how to exercise power in and through cyberspace. Particularly noteworthy are how nondemocratic states outside of Europe, North America, and parts of Asia have begun to forcefully assert their interests in cyberspace governance regimes, including some, like the International Telecommunications Union, that were previously marginalized in the Internet space. Western liberal democracies are also moving away from laissez-faire and market-oriented approaches to more state-directed controls and regulations. Drawing from international relations theory literature, and in particular constructivist approaches, this article examines international and global mechanisms and dynamics that explain the growth and spread of cyberspace controls. It also provides a study of "norm regression" in global governance: the growth and spread of practices that undercut cyberspace as an open commons of information and communication.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pascal Lamy

Global Governance: From Theory to Practice

in **Journal of International Economic Law**, volume 15 n.3 , 721-728

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fabrizio Cafaggi and David D. Caron

Global Public Goods amidst a Plurality of Legal Orders: A Symposium

in **European Journal of International Law**, vol. 23, issue 3 , 643-649

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Inge Kaul

Global Public Goods: explaining their provision

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.3 , 729-750

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Elizabeth Anne Bennett

Global Social Movements in Global Governance

in *Globalizations* , Volume 9, Issue 6 , 799-813

Global social movements (GSMs) are networks that collaborate across borders to advance thematically similar agendas throughout the world and in doing so have become powerful actors in global governance. While some scholars argue that GSMs contribute to democracy in the global arena, others insist GSMs have their own representational shortcomings. Both sets of scholars examine the general ways in which GSMs organize members, aggregate interests, and distribute power and resources. However, such features may not be uniform across GSMs. This article argues that in order to assess the affect of GSMs on global governance, scholars must analyze the representational attributes of individual GSMs. The article offers such a framework, using the case of the fair trade movement. The key insight offered is that a small number of institutions sometimes become dominant in a diverse movement, framing the movement to the public in a particular way, and exercising disproportionate influence within the movement. By evaluating the democratic qualities of these institutions, and the degree to which they do or do not represent the broader movement, scholars can evaluate the relationship between GSMs and global governance. The article concludes with a discussion of what representational deficiencies in GSMs may mean for global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Buckinx Barbara

Global actors and public power

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 535-551

Abstract

Prominent recent scholarship in global political justice has focused on creating conceptual space for international NGOs – and sometimes also corporations and states – as fully-fledged participants in global governance. While acknowledging the achievements of international non-state actors, I argue that core global governance tasks – of global distribution, regulation or administration – should not be assigned to them. Drawing from neo-republican theory, I contend that such actors fall short of the formal criteria that are necessary for constituting a global public actor, because they do not have a global function and orientation. The distinction between public and private actors matters, since it conditions our



expectations for them: both categories of actors are asked to avoid dominating individuals, but public actors must, in addition, protect individuals from third-party domination.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jnsson, Christer - Jnsson, Kristina

Global and Local Health Governance: Civil society, human rights and hiv/aids
in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 33 n.9 , 1719-1733

Abstract From the outset in the mid-1980s the international response to hiv/aids has been characterised by an emphasis on the human rights aspects of the pandemic, and on recognition of the pivotal role of civil society actors (csos). But how the rights-based conception of hiv/aids and the international legitimation of csos play out at the local level depends not only on the vertical coordination between global and local levels but also on government-cso relations and the understanding of the pandemic in individual countries. South Africa and Cambodia provide comparative examples of glocalised responses to hiv/aids. Both countries were among the hardest hit in their respective regions. But, while the South African government was slow to acknowledge the severity of epidemic, the Cambodian leadership quickly initiated a comprehensive response to it. The two cases illustrate how opportunity structures at the international and national levels created different local responses to hiv/aids, with significant consequences for the epidemic over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Galaz Victor, Biermann Frank, Folke Carl, Nilsson Måns, Olsson Per

Global environmental governance and planetary boundaries: An introduction

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 81, Special Section: "Planetary Boundaries" and Global Environmental Governance, September , 1-3

The notion of 'planetary boundaries' is rapidly diffusing into a range of policy arenas and has clearly stimulated a discussion on the need to reform international environmental governance. This article summarizes the special section "Global Environmental Governance and Planetary Boundaries". The articles in this section highlight several dimensions for the governance of 'planetary boundaries' and offer a rich picture of the Earth system governance challenges ahead. In essence, these involve exploring issues such as institutional interactions, policy integration, network governance and polycentric coordination in settings where biophysical complexity and non-linear shifts are the rule, rather than the exception.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Falkner Robert

Global environmentalism and the greening of international society
in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 503-522



ABSTRACT: Have environmental values become part of the normative structure of international society? Has the rise of global environmentalism led to a greening of international society? Most International Relations research on environmental issues fails to address these questions as it typically focuses on the creation of issue-specific regimes or informal governance mechanisms. This article engages English School theory in an effort to examine the impact that global environmentalism has had on the social structure of International Relations. It argues that a primary institution of global environmental responsibility is emerging, and explores the relationship and tensions between environmental responsibility and the established primary institutions of sovereignty, international law and the market.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nico Krisch

Global governance as public authority: An introduction

in **International Journal of Constitutional Law**, vol. 10, issue 4 , 976-987

How to make sense of global governance has been a long-standing puzzle for scholars. Work in international relations has sought to tackle it for two decades now, and more recently, lawyers, political theorists, sociologists, and anthropologists have joined the ever broader debate. Still, much of global governance remains a “mystery.” The multiplicity of its sites and actors, the various pathways of influence and authority, and the myriad factors driving its shape have made parsimonious accounts impossible and synthetic approaches at least difficult. Yet for long it seemed clear that these factors also rendered analogies with the domestic sphere problematic—the prevalence of informal action and of heterarchy rather than hierarchy led us to believe that we were confronted with governance “without government,” with a structure fundamentally different from national politics and law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen Sylvia I., Jollands Nigel, Staudt Lawrence

Global governance for sustainable energy: The contribution of a global public goods approach

in **Ecological Economics**, Volume 83, "Sustainability in Global Product Chains", November , 11-18

Achieving a sustainable energy future requires a revolution in the energy system. At the heart of such a transformation lies strong and coherent governance at all political levels, including the global level. While the need for global governance is taken for granted in a number of issue areas such as health, peacekeeping and environment, pursuit of global energy governance has been almost a taboo in political and foreign policy circles and has also had limited attention in the literature. In this paper, we explore how the viewing of a sustainable energy system as a global public good could serve as one approach to reducing the sensitivity towards global energy governance. The global public good concept together with the principle of subsidiarity is applied as a framework for understanding the role that the international community could play in, and the key ingredients for, global energy governance. Using two examples of international energy efficiency and renewable energy policy, we identify some types of international collaboration measures that would be both efficient and necessary to support a sustainable energy system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hurrell Andrew, Macdonald Terry

Global public power: the subject of principles of global political legitimacy

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 553-571

Abstract

This paper elaborates the concept of global public power as the subject of principles of political legitimacy in global politics, and defends it through a critical comparison with other concepts widely employed to depict this regulative subject: states, global basic structure, and global governance. The goal underlying this argument is to bring some greater unity and integration to conceptual understandings of the subject of principles of political legitimacy within analyses of global politics, and in doing so to frame a broader research agenda for locating in practice the concrete political agencies and institutions that are appropriate targets for demands of political legitimation under the prevailing empirical conditions of global pluralism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Martha Rutsel S.J., Dadush Sarah

Going Against the Grain: When Private Rules Shouldn't Apply to Public Institutions

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 87-119

ABSTRACT: This piece analyzes the institutional challenges and tensions generated by applying the privately produced International Financial Reporting Standards to the financial reporting practices of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), an inter-governmental organization, and specialized agency of the United Nations. The authors question whether the application of the Standards is carried out in the interest of the organization or whether it is rather a product of pressure, both external and internal, to adopt rules that reflect a particular understanding of what constitutes 'best practice'. The authors draw attention to the fact that best practices often become benchmarks for a wide range of institutions, notwithstanding fundamental institutional differences. They argue that the adoption of externally generated rules must be pursued in a systematically cautious, coordinated, and critical manner in order to avoid producing practices that run against the very grain of a public institution's constitution and mandate. They also argue that robust governance structures are necessary to avoid institutional digressions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luckhurst Jonathan

Governance and Democratization since the 2008 Financial Crisis

in *Politics & Policy*, Vol. 40, Issue 5, October , 958-977

This conclusion to the special issue on governance, democratization, and the world economic crisis argues the special significance of the latter for contemporary trends in development and democratization. Crises can encourage policy makers and societies to reconsider important aspects of governance, indeed this can be a beneficial consequence if the



right lessons are learned. Major international economic crises can thus undermine existing conventional wisdom, which has been the case recently and also after the Great Depression. Unfortunately, the lessons of the 1990s Asian financial crisis were learnt mainly by countries in that region, otherwise current crises in the transatlantic region might have been prevented. In this concluding article, I analyze the linkage between the crisis in Asia and the post-Lehman events. I also examine how new strategies of economic governance hold new solutions, plus I demonstrate how specific contexts of democratization have been affected by the recent economic crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kudrle, Robert T.

Governing Economic Globalization: The Pioneering Experience of the OECD
in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.3 , 695-732

The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has pioneered global governance in three areas of vital importance to international commerce: competition, foreign direct investment, and tax policy. The results have varied sharply; most national policy change has resulted from policy diffusion in which the OECD role was supportive but not critical. Greater consistency among states in competition policy has been thwarted by differing objectives, legal systems, administration, and penalties. The Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) failed mainly because the problems it addressed lacked urgency. This contrasts sharply with some OECD tax activity that has focussed on urgent needs for greater international policy congruence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bulkeley Harriet, Andonova Liliana, Bäckstrand Karin, Betsill Michele, Compagnon Daniel, Duffy Rosaleen, Kolk Ans, Hoffmann Matthew, Levy David, Newell Peter, MilledgeTori, Paterson Matthew, Pattberg Philipp, VanDeveer Stacy

Governing climate change transnationally: assessing the evidence from a database of sixty initiatives
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 591-612

With this paper we present an analysis of sixty transnational governance initiatives and assess the implications for our understanding of the roles of public and private actors, the legitimacy of governance 'beyond' the state, and the North-South dimensions of governing climate change. In the first part of the paper we examine the notion of transnational governance and its applicability in the climate change arena, reflecting on the history and emergence of transnational governance initiatives in this issue area and key areas of debate. In the second part of the paper we present the findings from the database and its analysis. Focusing on three core issues, the roles of public and private actors in governing transnationally, the functions that such initiatives perform, and the ways in which accountability for governing global environmental issues might be achieved, we suggest that significant distinctions are emerging in the universe of transnational climate governance which may have considerable implications for the governing of global environmental issues. In conclusion, we reflect on these findings and the subsequent consequences for the governance of climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Miller David

Grounding human rights

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 4, 2012 , 407-427

Abstract

This paper examines the idea of human rights, and how they should be justified. It begins by reviewing Peter Jones's claim that the purpose of human rights is to allow people from different cultural backgrounds to live together as equals, and suggests that this by itself provides too slender a basis. Instead it proposes that human rights should be grounded on human needs. Three difficulties with this proposal are considered. The first is the problem of whether needs are sufficiently objective for this purpose, to which it responds by drawing a distinction between human needs proper and societal needs. The second is the problem of overshoot: human needs are more expansive than human rights. It responds to this by arguing that where needs conflict, we make trade-offs before specifying the optimum set of human rights. The third is the problem of undershoot: needs cannot be used to ground civil and political rights. Here it suggests that some of these rights can be grounded directly in needs, others can be justified instrumentally, and yet others grounded in the human need for recognition. Finally the paper returns to Jones, and asks which approach to human rights is better able to justify them within both liberal and non-liberal cultures.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bauhr Monika, Nasiritousi Naghmeh

How Do International Organizations Promote Quality of Government? Contestation, Integration, and the Limits of IO Power

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 4, december , 541-566

ABSTRACT: How do international organizations (IOs) promote quality of government (QoG) and reduce corruption? IOs play a central role in most accounts of power in international relations. However, our understanding of how IOs exercise power seldom moves beyond the traditional material–normative dimensions of power. We suggest that an important dimension to understand IO power is the contestation–integration dimension, where IOs can exercise power either by integrating countries into networks of cultural exchange or by contesting existing orders. By analyzing multilateral aid data and building on recent advances in our understanding of the effectiveness of IO anti-corruption work, we apply this framework to show how the contestation–integration dimension helps us understand the success or failure of anti-corruption strategies. We show that when IOs contest existing orders using governance rankings and aid conditionality, they suffer from ideational shortcomings, including lack of objective data and contested policy advice. In contrast, measures based on integration, such as the membership process of IOs or interaction with IOs, are more likely to suffer from internal procedural shortcomings, such as IOs failing to internalize and mainstream the norms that they seek to promote. Our findings have implications for both understanding conditions that limit the diffusion of the international anti-corruption agenda and advancing our knowledge of IO power and its limits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kopecek Michal

Human Rights Facing a National Past

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2012 / 38,4 , 573 - 602

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Eckel Jan

Humanitarisierung der internationalen Beziehungen?

in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Heft 2012 / 38,4 , 603-635

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Meyer William H.

Indigenous Rights, Global Governance, and State Sovereignty

in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 13, number 3 , 327-347

ABSTRACT: This article discusses indigenous rights within the context of global governance. I begin by defining the terms "global governance" and "indigenous peoples" and summarizing the rights that are most important to indigenous peoples. The bulk of this article studies the global governance of indigenous rights in three areas. The first example is the creation of the 2007 UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. A second example involves violations of indigenous rights brought before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. A third case looks at a relatively new international regime created by indigenous peoples themselves—the Inuit Circumpolar Council. I conclude by using theories of sovereignty to assess the relative successes and failures of indigenous efforts to secure their rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zelli Fariborz, Gupta Aarti, Van Asselt Harro

Institutional Interactions at the Crossroads of Trade and Environment: The Dominance of Liberal Environmentalism?

in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 105-118

ABSTRACT: This article argues that institutional interactions that cut across the domains of trade and environment are embedded in overarching norms that shape their evolution and impact. In making this argument, it analyzes three cases of such interactions within the climate change and biosafety regime complexes: those relating to trade-related climate policies and measures, forest carbon sinks, and trade in genetically modified organisms. The analysis highlights the dominance of liberal environmentalism (a set of global norms promoting economic efficiency and environmental



improvements through market-based mechanisms) in shaping institutional interactions within these regime complexes, even as liberal environmentalism is contested by key actors. This, in turn, has implications for effective management of institutional interlinkages within regime complexes in global environmental governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ivanova Maria

Institutional design and UNEP reform: historical insights on form, function and financing
in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 565-584

ABSTRACT: The global environmental governance architecture is set to undergo major reforms, with the main decisions on reform to be taken at the June 2012 Rio+20 UN Conference on Sustainable Development. Discussions on reform have focused on whether the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) should retain its institutional status as a subsidiary body of the UN General Assembly, or be transformed into a specialized agency—a World Environment Organization—of the UN. The choice of institutional form, however, cannot be made without reference to both the needs of global environmental governance, and the factors impeding the effectiveness of the current governance architecture. This article takes a historical perspective, highlighting the similarity between the current debate on institutional form, function and financing; and the choices that the original designers of the governance architecture made 40 years ago. The fundamental global environmental problems and the functions of effective global environmental governance, though evolving, have remained largely unchanged. The historical reasons for creating UNEP as it is currently formed thus remain valid today, and provide useful analytical input to the current debate. This article further argues that the reasons for UNEP's shortcomings have little inherent connection to its institutional form, and cannot be resolved simply by a change in status. Deeper, yet probably easier to accomplish, reforms should focus on enabling UNEP to fulfill its intended role as an effective anchor institution for the global environmental governance architecture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ovodenko Alexander

Institutional diffusion in international environmental affairs
in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 523-541

ABSTRACT: This article explores institutional diffusion in international environmental governance, specifying the conditions under which an existing set of institutions provides a template for new institutions. Prior institutional experiences can help to resolve bargaining problems, reduce transaction costs and provide information about likely performance. The authors discuss five examples of institutional diffusion in international environmental affairs and outline some causal mechanisms and conditions that facilitate or block the diffusion of institutional characteristics. As a baseline analysis, founded on assumptions that abstract from politics, a functional argument is developed about the conditions under which mimetic diffusion, reflecting a pattern of imitation, can occur. Although the focus in this short article is on this functional argument, the authors recognize that state interests and power, ideology, and private interests also play significant roles in facilitating or inhibiting institutional diffusion in international environmental affairs.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ming-Sung Kuo

Inter-public legality or post-public legitimacy? Global governance and the curious case of global administrative law as a new paradigm of law

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 4 , 1050-1075

This article aims to explore the impact of global governance on legal thinking by studying the case of global administrative law. Tracing global governance at the core of the international rule of law movement to the restructuring of legal landscape, I suggest that global administrative law, supported by the underlying values of administrative law, reflects a deliberately chosen approach to the new nomos of the earth in the global era. Distanced from the will of nation-states, the legality and legitimacy of global administrative law are reconstructed around the idea of publicness, suggesting a new paradigm of law based on inter-public legality. I argue that under this new paradigm of law, political calculation displaces legal reasoning. Legality amounts to the dispensation of legal weight and is thus merged with politics. Given the non-public, interest-oriented character of dialogues in the politics of weighting, however, global administrative law suggests a post-public conception of legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

André Nollkaemper

International Adjudication of Global Public Goods: The Intersection of Substance and Procedure

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 769-791

This article, based on the non-controversial proposition that the way and degree in which international courts can contribute to the protection of a public good depends, in part, on the procedural law of such courts, sets out to expose the plurality of connections between procedure and substance. Procedures can further the substantive values of public goods but can also serve interests of their own and can even work against such substantive values. This article articulates the normative choices that courts inevitably have to make and reflects on the question of whether, and to what extent, the shaping of these connections is properly part of the international judicial function, taking into account problems of legitimacy that may arise when judge-made procedures undo state-made substantive law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Foster Caroline E.

International Adjudication – Standard of Review and Burden of Proof: Australia-Apples and Whaling in the Antarctic

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 2, July , 80-91

New cases dealing with complex matters of conservation and biodiversity continue to push forward the boundaries of international adjudicatory processes in various bodies, including the International Court of Justice and the World Trade Organization Appellate Body. Successfully addressing matters such as burden of proof and 'standard of review' is



pivotal to maintaining the integrity and effectiveness of international adjudication. Advances in such areas should be appropriate for application in all fora and all disputes. While the rules on burden of proof need to undergo further development, contrastingly, caution is needed in relation to 'standard of review'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gregory Shaffer

International Law and Global Public Goods in a Legal Pluralist World
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 669-693

The world faces multiple challenges in producing global public goods, such as climate change mitigation, financial stability, security from nuclear terror, knowledge production, and the eradication of infectious diseases. International law scholarship, in the meantime, takes a turn towards celebrating pluralism without sufficiently accounting for institutional variation to address different contexts. Those writing on global public goods challenges, at the same time, tend to come from disciplines other than law. So what is international law's role in the production of global public goods? Where are greater international legal constraints and international institutions needed, and where should international law retain slack? Three analytic frameworks (global constitutionalism, global administrative law, and legal pluralism) have been advanced to address international law's place in global governance, but these frameworks have not explicitly addressed the challenges of producing global public goods. This article breaks down different types of global public goods, and explores how these different frames apply to them. Grounded in pragmatism, the article shows why there is no single best approach. Rather, legal policy should be tailored to the type of global public good at stake in light of comparative, real world, institutional trade-offs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fontaine Richard, Kliman Daniel M.

International Order and Global Swing States

in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 69, number 4, October , 93-109

The choices that four rising democracies — Brazil, India, Indonesia, and Turkey — make will help determine the trajectory of the interlocking web of norms, institutions, rules, and relationships known as the global order.

https://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ_13Winter_FontaineKliman.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Songying Fang, Stone Randall W.

International Organizations as Policy Advisors

in *International Organization*, vol. 66, issue 4 , 537-569

ABSTRACT: How can international organizations persuade governments to adopt policy recommendations that are based on private information when their interests conflict? We develop a game-theoretic model of persuasion that



applies regardless of regime type and does not rely on the existence of domestic constituency constraints. In the model, an international organization (IO) and a domestic expert have private information about a crisis, but their preferences diverge from those of the government, which must choose whether to delegate decision making to the expert. Persuasion can take place if the international institution is able to send a credible signal. We find that this can take place only if the preferences of the IO and the domestic expert diverge and the institution holds the more moderate policy position. This result contrasts with conventional wisdom, which holds that the necessary condition for IOs to exert influence is support from a domestic constituency with aligned preferences. Our model suggests that, far from being an obstacle to international cooperation, polarized domestic politics may be a necessary condition for IOs to exert effective influence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schulz Astrid, Sommer Bernd

Internationale Klimagerechtigkeit – Wieso es nicht allein auf die Staaten ankommt. Klimawandel als ethische Frage in den internationalen Beziehungen

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 2, 2012

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luckhurst Jonathan, Zavala de Alba Luis Eduardo

Introduction to the Special Issue: Governance, Democratization, and the World Economic Crisis

in *Politics & Policy*, Vol. 40, Issue 5, October, 735-739

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-1346.2012.00388.x/abstract>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

O'Flynn Ian, Weale Albert

Introduction: The value and limits of rights: essays in honour of Peter Jones

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 4, 2012, 387-394

The full text is free:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13698230.2012.699394>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Macdonald Terry, Ronzoni Miriam

Introduction: the idea of global political justice



in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 521-533

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cofelice Andrea

Istituzioni parlamentari internazionali. Tipologie, funzioni e poteri

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 63-82

ABSTRACT: The article aims at exploring typologies, functions and powers of international parliamentary institutions (IPIs). According to the literature, an IPI may be defined as an international institution that is a regular forum for multilateral deliberations on an established basis of an either legislative or consultative nature, either attached to an international organisation or itself constituting one, in which at least three states are represented by parliamentarians, who are either selected by national legislatures in a self-determined manner or popularly elected by electorates of the member states.

Their origin dates back to the creation of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1889, but they mushroomed after the Second World War, especially after 1989-1991, and today their presence is established almost everywhere in the world. However, they display sensibly different features in terms of institutional and organisational patterns, rules and procedures, legal status, membership, resources, functions and powers.

In this sense, the study will mainly explore the formal and actual powers of IPIs, in particular consultative, legislative, oversight and budgetary. Some preliminary findings are presented.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Caney Simon

Just Emissions

in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Volume 40, Issue 4, Fall 2012 , 255-300

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Benedikter Roland

Konfrontation als Schicksal? China, USA und die neue pazifische Konstellation

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2012 , 56-64

Die globale Konstellation nimmt derzeit immer schneller neue Formen an – nicht zuletzt aufgrund der zunehmend herausfordernden Haltung neuer Welt- und Regionalmächte wie China und Iran, aber auch aufgrund neuer geostrategischer Zusammenschlüsse in Lateinamerika und Afrika sowie der sogenannten BASIC-Länder – neben China



sind das Brasilien, Indien und Südafrika.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sabino Cassese

L'emersione di un momento costituzionale a livello globale

in *Nomos*, n. 2/2012

Devo dare una spiegazione, innanzitutto, circa il titolo del libro, *The Global polity*. L'ho scritto valendomi di una caratteristica della lingua inglese: essa ha un numero di lemmi superiore a quelli italiani. Dal lemma di origine greca "polis" in Italia noi deriviamo "polizia" e "politica", mentre la lingua inglese deriva non solo "politics" e "police", ma anche "policy" e "polity". Da essa noi italiani abbiamo importato la parola "policy", che traduciamo spesso con "politiche" o con "indirizzi politici". Tuttavia, non abbiamo ancora importato la parola "polity" che sta a significare "reggimento politico", nel senso che indica un genere a cui appartiene lo Stato.

Perché faccio questo lungo discorso di carattere terminologico? Perché in "The Global Polity" c'è il tentativo di mostrare che la storia dello Stato ha oscurato quella dei reggimenti politici che hanno dominato l'area nella quale viviamo, l'Europa. Reggimenti che erano diversi dagli Stati – per esempio, gli Imperi – oggi rivivono nel global polity. O, almeno, alcuni caratteri di quei reggimenti rivivono oggi nella global polity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ikeda Daisaku

La dignità della vita, l'integrità dell'ambiente e le armi nucleari

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 399-445

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Skovgaard Jakob

Learning about Climate Change: Finance Ministries in International Climate Change Politics

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 4, November , 1-8

In the course of the last four years, finance ministries have increasingly become involved in the international climate change negotiations. Their involvement has to a large degree been an outcome of the framing of climate change as a market failure. This framing calls for an active climate change policy and is at odds with the framing of climate change policy that was previously predominant in finance ministries: that it constitutes expenditure to be avoided. The persistence of both framings has led to clashes within and between finance ministries with respect to climate change.



The article calls for further research focusing on the role of the two frames and of finance ministries as actors in climate change politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suškevičs Monika

Legitimacy Analysis of Multi-Level Governance of Biodiversity: Evidence from 11 Case Studies across the EU in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 22, Issue 4, July-August , 217-237

Legitimacy is one critical aspect of effective biodiversity governance. However, multi-level governance contexts can pose several challenges to achieving legitimate governance solutions. This paper reviews some legitimacy challenges in multi-level governance contexts, and analyzes eleven biodiversity governance case studies from different EU countries in the light of these challenges. Four legitimacy criteria – rule compatibility, accountability, inclusion, and transparency – serve as a framework for the theoretical review and for the empirical analysis. The results indicate that several legitimacy challenges can be observed in the cases: specifically the poor inclusion of relevant concerns in certain phases of decision-making processes; difficulties in being simultaneously accountable to parties representing different governance levels; or the weak visibility of the decision-making process either to the general public or to the immediate participants.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Prantl Jochen

Les mutations de la gouvernance mondiale : pays émergents et groupes « G »
in *Critique Internationale*, n. 56, 2012 , 39-56

Transforming Global Security Governance : Emerging Countries and G-x Groups

International cooperation is criticized by emerging powers as too Western-centric. Western powers themselves are equally critical of international cooperation for failing adequately to harness emerging powers. Existing theories of cooperation assume a stable geo-political order, led by countries with a shared conception of the scope and modalities of global cooperation. These assumptions are no longer justified. 'Western liberal order' is in a protracted process of transition. However, there is no new hegemon that would be able (or willing) to replace the United States and to push for a redesign of the global governance architecture from scratch. Emerging powers are engaging in global cooperation in their own way and on their own terms. In sum, while there seems to be a growing demand for effective global cooperation, there are no longer universally applicable concepts to analyze it nor a common language with which to describe it. This paper looks at the changing structural conditions of international cooperation in a period of order transition by examining the dynamics between emerging countries and G-x groups. It develops the argument that G-x groupings offer platforms to renegotiate the underlying constitutional bargain of the Western liberal order. The huge asymmetries of power in the post-Cold War international system and the substantial (structural) challenges of the Western liberal order has led to growing recourse to informal institutions. They have come to play a range of critical roles and occupy a vital space between multilateral governance on the one hand and traditional major power diplomacy on the other. This paper develops an analytical framework able to explain the changing nature of cooperation under power transition.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stratigea Anastasia, Giaoutzi Maria

Linking global to regional scenarios in foresight

in Futures, Volume 44, Issue 10 , 847-859

Scenarios have proven useful tools for dealing with future uncertainty in an integrated and cohesive way. A key issue in scenario approaches, still under development, is the linking of scenarios at different spatial scales, in order to be better understood the interaction of processes across scales. The paper presents the AG2020 experience on linking EU-wide backcasting policy scenarios, exploring strategic policy directions for the EU agriculture in 2020 to regional policy scenarios in different EU rural contexts. This may lead to an in depth exploration of region-specific characteristics in different EU rural contexts that need to be effectively dealt within the European backcasting policy scenario framework; but also to a systematic assessment of the upcoming impacts of the EU-level scenarios to the local scale, i.e. down-scaling of the EU top-down scenarios and checking how they affect regions and rural localities in the EU.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Delmas-Marty Mireille, Supiot Alain

L'internationalisation du droit : dégradation ou recomposition ? (Dialogue)

in Esprit, Novembre 2012 , 35-51

Law takes over the world – a downgrading, or a reconfiguration?

Having for a long time been tied up with the notion of national sovereignty, law is no longer confined within nation-States. Nowadays its scope is extending beyond national boundaries. Now what does this trend mean? Are we in the presence of a weakening of the very notion of law? Or instead, does the increased interdependence between legal systems portend a new-fangled legal order, and a new universalism with it?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kellow Aynsley

Multi-level and multi-arena governance: the limits of integration and the possibilities of forum shopping

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 12, Number 4, November , 327-342

Global governance occurs through a large number of issue-area regimes that constitute multiple arenas of governance at multiple levels. This paper draws upon established literature from public administration to show that such fragmentation is unavoidable, because it occurs even in governance at the national level. Moreover, while such fragmentation undoubtedly carries with it problems, it also brings advantages, such as redundancy which makes it less likely that blame avoidance will result in issues being overlooked. The existence of multiple arenas also makes possible



the phenomenon of 'forum shopping', which allows entrepreneurial actors to advance (or block) the development of international agreements. Using primarily examples from environmental governance, but with some comparative examples from other issue areas, this paper reflects upon both the threats and opportunities this reality presents, suggesting that the prevailing fragmentation of governance at once presents not just an obstacle to global governance, but opportunities for improving global governance—opportunities that would not occur if a single regime enjoyed a monopoly on governing capacity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ferguson Yale H.

NGOs' Role in Constructing Global Governance

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 383-386

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Shanahan Renshaw Catherine

National Human Rights Institutions and Civil Society Organizations: New Dynamics of Engagement at Domestic, Regional, and International Levels

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 299-316

ABSTRACT: This article examines the dynamics of engagement between national human rights institutions (NHRIs) and civil society organizations (CSOs) in the Asia Pacific region. It explores the role of CSOs in the establishment of NHRIs and argues that this history is essential to understanding the experience of NHRIs within different states. Second, it explores the evolution and impact of networks of NHRIs and CSOs in a region that currently lacks a supranational mechanism for promoting and protecting human rights. Finally, it considers the potential for CSOs to utilize the evolving processes of the International Coordinating Committee of Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (ICC) to strengthen the independence and effectiveness of NHRIs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Balsiger Jörg, VanDeveer Stacy D.

Navigating Regional Environmental Governance

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 1-17

Global environmental governance is growing increasingly complex and recent scholarship and practice raise a number of questions about the continued feasibility of negotiating and implementing an ever-larger set of global environmental agreements. In the search for alternative conceptual models and normative orders, regional environmental governance (REG) is (re)emerging as a significant phenomenon in theory and practice. Although environmental cooperation has historically been more prevalent at the regional than at the global level, and has informed much of what we know today about international environmental cooperation, REG has been a neglected topic in the scholarly literature on



international relations and international environmental politics. This introduction to the special issue situates theoretical arguments linked to REG in the broader literature, including the nature of regions, the location of regions in multilevel governance, and the normative arguments advanced for and against regional orders. It provides an overview of empirical work; offers quantitative evidence of REG's global distribution; advances a typology of REG for future research; and introduces the collection of research articles and commentaries through the lens of three themes: form and function, multilevel governance, and participation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Struett Michael J., Nance Mark T., Armstrong Diane

Navigating the Maritime Piracy Regime Complex

in Global Governance, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 93-104

ABSTRACT: Maritime piracy is one of the oldest subjects of international law and recently it has reemerged as a serious threat to commerce and security. While states have become more engaged in punishing and preventing piracy, efforts as a whole have been poorly organized, ad hoc, mostly unilateral, slow to develop, and only minimally effective. This is true despite the existence of a regime complex that supposedly promotes effective cooperation on the issue. What explains the insufficient response to this rising economic and security threat? This article argues that the regime complex itself is a major part of the problem. It examines specifically four core elemental regimes that are identifiable by their key texts or organizations: the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, the International Maritime Organization, and the International Maritime Bureau. This analysis adopts a perspective that emphasizes how these different legal and organizational institutions shape actors' understandings of piracy, and thus their interests in it, in conflicting ways. Different elemental regimes push different actors toward different behaviors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lenz Hartmut

Negotiating among Equals? The Effects of the World Economic Crisis on Negotiations between Developed and Developing States

in Politics & Policy, Vol. 40, Issue 5, October , 827-847

Frequently multilateral, regional, or global institutions are used to mediate conflict, overcome collective action problems, and create a framework for cooperation and governance. In recent years, especially in the context of the 2008 world economic crisis, international cooperation has become challenged by increased expectations of their problem-solving capabilities and their lack of means to deliver them. The complexity of issues seems to generate a demand for closer international cooperation as well as more flexibility in the framework of institutional cooperation, with varying degrees across regions. I analyze international cooperation from a bargaining perspective and identify the key factors that lead to success or failure in intergovernmental cooperation between developed and developing states. I also explore the impact of institutional variation on cooperation and emphasize the strong relationship between asymmetric information and negotiation failure. I argue that transparency in procedures and reduction of uncertainty are key issues to facilitate cooperation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mole Stuart

Negotiating with Apartheid: The Mission of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group 1986

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 101, Issue 3, 2012 , 253-260

Abstract

The 1985 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, meeting in the Bahamas, established an Eminent Persons Group to encourage dialogue towards the establishment of a non-racial and representative government in South Africa. The Group visited South Africa and met with leaders of the front-line states, government ministers and black leaders in South Africa and African National Congress leaders in exile. Its report was published as a Penguin Special in June 1986, reputedly the fastest book ever published and an immediate best-seller. The report painted a damning picture of apartheid and galvanised calls for full economic and financial sanctions. It demonstrated the distinctive strengths of the Commonwealth in world affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ohanyan Anna

Network Institutionalism and NGO Studies

in International Studies Perspectives , vol. 13, issue 4, november , 366-389

ABSTRACT: Understanding the institutional identity (as opposed to the organizational one) of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) within structures of global governance is the main theme underpinning this work. Studies documenting the quantitative rise of the NGO sector in world politics have largely neglected the qualitative impact of that development. The institutional identity of NGOs is particularly important when considering the NGOs in light of the new links and relationships they have created with state-centric structures of world politics. To this end, this article offers network institutionalism as a theoretical tool to address that gap and to serve as a bridge between NGO studies and international relations (IR). In an effort to develop an institutional perspective on NGO studies, the article integrates network theories with historical and sociological strands of the new institutionalism. Building on this theoretical discussion, and after introducing the key assumptions of network institutionalism, it offers four broad clusters of research directions for further NGO studies as a way to think about future NGO studies in a more comprehensive manner while also stimulating new research directions that can strengthen the study of NGOs and the study of IR.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

O'Dell Roni Kay

New Perspectives on the Independence of International Organizations: How Do They Influence Peacebuilding and Good Governance?



in **Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 4, october-december , 477-490

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pickering Jonathan, Barry Christian

On the concept of climate debt: its moral and political value

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 667-685

Abstract

A range of developing countries and international advocacy organizations have argued that wealthy countries, as a result of their greater historical contribution to human-induced climate change, owe a 'climate debt' to poor countries. Critics of this argument have claimed that it is incoherent or morally objectionable. In this essay we clarify the concept of climate debt and assess its value for conceptualizing responsibilities associated with global climate change and for guiding international climate negotiations. We conclude that the idea of a climate debt can be coherently formulated, and that while some understandings of the idea of climate debt could lead to morally objectionable conclusions, other accounts would not. However, we argue that climate debt nevertheless provides an unhelpful frame for advancing global justice through international climate negotiations – the only existing means of resolving political conflict over the collective action problems posed by human-induced climate change – due to its retrospective and potentially adversarial emphasis, and to problems of measurement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mert Aysem

Partnerships and the Privatisation of Environmental Governance: On Myths, Forces of Nature and Other Inevitabilities

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 21, Number 4, November , 475-498

Since the end of the Cold War, two parallel developments took place in global governance: fragmentation in social/environmental legislations across countries, and an increasing uniformity (or 'globalisation') of economic/financial legislations. In the liberal democratic context of global governance, both of these developments are embodied in partnerships for sustainable development. Studying these partnerships in the context of private environmental governance and tracing the origin of the concept in business and law, can reveal the implications of 'privatisation of governance' on sovereignty, authority, and global governance. Focusing on partnerships in the United Nations context, this paper examines the private environmental governance institutions in their historical economic context.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Osuji Onyeka K., Umahi Okechukwu Timothy

Pharmaceutical companies and access to medicines – social integration and ethical CSR resolution of a global public choice problem

in *Journal of Global Ethics*, Volume 8, Issue 2-3, 2012 , 139-167

Abstract

This article argues that effective corporate social responsibility (CSR) of multinational pharmaceutical companies in developing countries should reflect context, opportunity, proximity, time and impact in accordance with the social integration and ethical approaches to CSR. It proposes a CSR model expressed as $CSR=COPTI+SI+E$, which acknowledges access-to-medicines as a matter in the global public domain, a public choice problem and a moral responsibility issue for multinational pharmaceutical companies. This model recognises the globalisation of the principle of humanity in communities of place and communities of interest as highlighted by the Global Economic Ethic Manifesto 2009 as an integral part of the responsibilities of multinational pharmaceutical companies. The model reflects a global application of the concept of disadvantaged consumer already known to some national laws. The article suggests an access-to-medicines CSR framework for pharmaceutical companies which may include pricing, patents, testing and clinical trials, research and development, joint public private initiative and appropriate use of drugs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Biermann Frank

Planetary boundaries and earth system governance: Exploring the links

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 81, Special Section: "Planetary Boundaries" and Global Environmental Governance, September , 4-9

This article discusses the concept of planetary boundaries that has been advanced by a group of leading experts around Johan Rockström. I place the concept of planetary boundaries in the larger framework of the emerging research paradigm of earth system governance, welcoming it as a crucial contribution that defines the overall goals of governance. Yet I also elaborate on the political conflicts that surround the identification of planetary boundaries, which are, in the end, a social construct. I then explore the policy and governance responses that may follow from the planetary boundary approach. In the conclusion, I point to several research challenges that flow from the current state of knowledge on planetary boundaries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Galaz Victor, Crona Beatrice, Österblom Henrik, Olsson Per, Folke Carl

Polycentric systems and interacting planetary boundaries — Emerging governance of climate change–ocean acidification–marine biodiversity

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 81, Special Section: "Planetary Boundaries" and Global Environmental Governance, September , 21-32

Planetary boundaries and their interactions pose severe challenges for global environmental governance due to their



inherent uncertainties and complex multi-scale dynamics. Here we explore the global governance challenge posed by planetary boundaries interactions by focusing on the role of polycentric systems and order, a theoretical field that has gained much interest in the aftermath of claims of a stagnant UN-process. In the first part we work toward a clarification of polycentric order in an international context, and develop three propositions. We then present a case study of the emergence of international polycentricity to address interacting planetary boundaries, namely the climate change, ocean acidification and loss of marine biodiversity complex. This is done through a study of the Global Partnership on Climate, Fisheries and Aquaculture (PaCFA) initiative. As the case study indicates, a range of mechanisms of polycentric order (ranging from information sharing to coordinated action and conflict resolution) operates at the international level through the interplay between individuals, international organizations and their collaboration patterns. While polycentric coordination of this type certainly holds potential, it is also vulnerable to internal tensions, unreliable external flows of funding, and negative institutional interactions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suzan Ilcana, Rob Aitken

Postwar World Order, Displaced Persons, and Biopolitical Management

in Globalizations , Volume 9, Issue 5 , 623-636

In building on the scholarship that recognizes the complexity of world order, we emphasize that emerging notions of world order were connected to postwar planning efforts that involved liberal conceptions of reconstruction and the management of vulnerable populations, such as displaced persons. We argue that one way in which world order was constituted was through a biopolitical orientation, one that takes 'life' and 'population' as key objects of intervention. This orientation, key to the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), stimulated diverse practices in the expansion of an array of expertise, in the initiation of health, shelter, and food procedures for targeted populations, and in the development of the biopolitical management of these populations. Our analysis shows that postwar world order was a matter of intervention and of taking seriously how certain experts, populations, and calculated information entered into its fields, activities, and projects of reconstruction.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Williams Paul D., Bellamy Alex J.

Principles, Politics, and Prudence: Libya, the Responsibility to Protect, and the Use of Military Force

in Global Governance, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 273-297

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brassett James, Richardson Ben, Smith William

Private experiments in global governance: primary commodity roundtables and the politics of deliberation

in International Theory, Volume 4, Issue 03, November , 367-399



Emerging scholarship on global governance offers ever-more detailed analyses of private regulatory regimes. These regimes aim to regulate some area of social activity without a mandate from, or participation of, states or international organizations. While there are numerous empirical studies of these regimes, the normative theoretical literature has arguably struggled to keep pace with such developments. This is unfortunate, as the proliferation of private regulatory regimes raises important issues about legitimacy in global governance. The aim of this paper is to address some of these issues by elaborating a theoretical framework that can orientate normative investigation of these schemes. It does this through turning to the idea of experimentalist governance. It is argued that experimentalism can provide an important and provocative set of insights about the processes and logics of emerging governance schemes. The critical purchase of this theory is illustrated through an application to the case of primary commodities roundtables, part of ongoing attempts by non-governmental organizations, producers, and buyers to set sustainability criteria for commodity production across a range of sectors. The idea of experimentalist governance, we argue, can lend much needed theoretical structure to debates about the normative legitimacy of private regulatory regimes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Suhardiman Diana, Giordano Mark

Process-focused analysis in transboundary water governance research

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 12, Number 3, Special Issue on Hegemony and asymmetry in transboundary river basins, September , 299-308

Previous analysis of transboundary water governance has been focused primarily on state-centred approaches. The articles in this special section move us forward from this focus in three ways. First, they highlight the crucial role played by non-state actors in shaping water governance outcomes. Second, they show us how these actors can increase the 'room for manoeuvre' in negotiations. Third, they provide an entry point for developing process-focused approaches in transboundary water governance research. This article argues such an approach might improve our understanding of transboundary water outcomes and suggests new focus on how key actors form networks of alliances and shape decision-making landscapes at multiple governance levels and arenas. From a scholarly perspective, it brings to light the blurred boundary between state and non-state actors, as derived from a better understanding of the elusive links between actors and organisations; it unravels additional layers of complexity in the hydro-hegemony concept and bends the rigid notion of power asymmetry, towards the subtleties of power relations and interplays in transboundary decision-making processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Webb David

Projecting Ideas on a Perpetual Peace

in *Peace Review*, vol. 25, n. 1 , 1-8

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Courmont Barthélémy

Promoting Multilateralism or Searching for a New Hegemony: A Chinese Vision of Multipolarity
in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 184–204

The rise of China and its bigger implications within the international system raise the questions of Beijing's vision of multipolarity. Alongside its growing economic power, China tries to address its own definition of the new world order by officially strongly promoting a multilateralism that makes China an important actor, but limits the responsibilities that come with such a status. At the same time, Beijing is keener to impose its views towards its partners, mostly in its vicinity, at the risk of being tempted by a new form of hegemony. This article explores the Chinese attitude in a multipolar world, and asserts that China's grand strategy is both pragmatic and proactive, by constantly keeping a balance between its opportunities and its duties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Francesco Francioni

Public and Private in the International Protection of Global Cultural Goods
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 719-730

The idea of cultural heritage as an 'international public good' can be traced back to the Preamble to the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, according to which 'damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world'. But how can this idea of cultural heritage as a global public good be reconciled with the infinite variety of cultural expressions and with the role of art as a medium essentially devoted to giving form to the plurality and diversity of tastes, beliefs, and inclinations of the different societies in which it is produced? In this article I will examine the issue of pluralism and legal interaction within three perspectives: (1) the plurality of different meanings of cultural property and cultural heritage; (2) the plurality and interaction between different legal regimes of protection – international and domestic, private and public, peacetime and wartime; and (3) the plurality and interaction between different mechanisms of enforcement at the international and domestic levels.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thibault Jean-François

R2P and the Debt of the International Community
in *Peace Review*, vol. 24, n. 2 , 210-218

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Darian-Smith Eve

Re-reading W. E. B. Du Bois: the global dimensions of the US civil rights struggle
in *Journal of Global History*, Volume 7 - Issue 03 - November 2012 , 483-505



Abstract

Drawing on the increasingly important insights of historians concerned with global and transnational perspectives, in this article I argue that Du Bois' international activism and writings on global oppression in the decades following the Second World War profoundly shaped the ways in which people in the United States engaged with race as a concept and social practice in the mid decades of the twentieth century. Du Bois' efforts to bring his insights on global racism home to the US domestic legal arena were to a large degree thwarted by a US foreign policy focused on Cold War politics and interested in pursuing racial equality not on the basis of universal human rights principles but as a Cold War political strategy. Nonetheless, I argue that Du Bois' writings, which were informed by a new rhetoric of global responsibility and universal citizenship, had unpredictable and significant consequences in shaping the direction of US racial politics in the civil rights era.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schuppert Fabian

Reconsidering resource rights: the case for a basic right to the benefits of life-sustaining ecosystem services
in **Journal of Global Ethics**, Volume 8, Issue 2-3, 2012 , 215-225

Abstract

In the presence of anthropogenic climate change, gross environmental degradation, and mass abject poverty, many political theorists currently debate issues such as people's right to water, the right to food, and the distribution of rights to natural resources more generally. However, thus far many theorists either focus (somewhat arbitrarily) only on one particular resource (e.g. water) or they treat all natural resources alike, meaning that many relevant distinctions within the group of natural resources are overlooked. Hence, the paper will start with an analysis of the various forms which natural resources can take and how this might influence one's conception of resource rights. In so doing, the paper argues that we have to carefully distinguish between the actual physical resources people might control and how we distribute these, and the life-sustaining benefits each and every person draws from sustainable and functioning ecosystems. Based on this distinction, the paper will argue for a right to the benefits of life-sustaining ecosystem services as a universal basic right every person has. Further distributive claims with respect to particular physical resources would thus be limited by the requirements of such a basic right.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Orsini Amandine, Morin Jean-Frédéric, Young Oran

Regime Complexes: A Buzz, a Boom, or a Boost for Global Governance?
in **Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 27-39

ABSTRACT: Understanding the impact of regime complexes on global governance calls for creative policy thinking. This introduction provides a new and more precise definition of the concept of regime complex. It also suggests specific tools to characterize regime complexes and analyze their impacts on global governance. The articles in this issue deepen the



analytical understanding of complexes by examining concrete examples in various domains of global governance such as piracy, taxation, energy, food security, emissions reduction, carbon sinks, biosafety, and refugee governance. In addition to providing an in-depth description of a variety of different regime complexes, this issue is innovative on three accounts: (1) it presents complexes as both barriers and opportunities for global governance and gives explanations for these diverse outcomes; (2) it shows how a broad spectrum of actors is necessary for understanding the creation and evolution of complexes; and (3) it qualifies former claims to the effect that only powerful actors can impact regime complexes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morin Jean-Frédéric, Orsini Amandine

Regime Complexity and Policy Coherency: Introducing a Co-adjustments Model

in Global Governance, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 41-51

ABSTRACT: This article looks at regime complexes from a state policymaking perspective. It develops a theoretical model in which regime complexes become denser over time while governmental policymaking becomes more coherent. Under this model, interactions between global regime complexes and national policymaking are twofold. On the one hand, greater policy coherence generates negotiated mandates asking for regime connections and complex density. On the other hand, regime-complex density creates more cohesive audiences, which increase incentives for national policy coherence. This co-adjustments model brings states into the discussion of institutional interactions and critically questions the desirability and feasibility of recent calls for joined-up government and whole-of-government approaches.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mao Lim Daniel Yew, Vreeland James Raymond

Regional Organizations and International Politics: Japanese Influence over the Asian Development Bank and the UN Security Council

in World Politics, vol. 65, n. 1, january , 34-72

ABSTRACT: Do regional hegemons use their power in regional organizations to advance foreign policy objectives? The authors investigate whether Japan leverages its privileged position at the Asian Development Bank (adb) to facilitate project loans for the elected Asian members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), a platform from which it seeks to shape global affairs. Analyzing panel data of adb loan disbursements to twenty-four developing member-countries from 1968 to 2009, the authors find that temporary UNSC membership increases adb loans, particularly during the post-1985 period, when Japan asserted greater influence in multilateral organizations. They estimate an average increase of over 30 percent. Because of Japan's checkered history of imperialism, the adb provides a convenient mechanism by which the government can obfuscate favors for politically important countries. Acting through this regional organization enables Japan to reconcile a low-key approach to foreign affairs with the contradictory goal of global activism—leading without appearing unilateralist.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Grugel, Jean - Uhlin, Anders

Renewing Global Governance: demanding rights and justice in the global South
in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 33 n.9 , 1703-1718

Abstract Global inequality is increasing. Global inequalities are an expression of global social injustices and pathologies of power. Global governance has been posited as a way forward. However, global governance will not deliver justice unless it embraces a more radical vision of what justice means and permits the voices of the marginalised to be heard in spaces of decision making. We identify two important approaches to building more just forms of global governance: the civil society approach, which is useful when it draws attention to the agency of those at the margins of global circuits of power; and the rights-based approach, which can provide opportunities for justice claims by marginalised groups.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weiss Thomas G.

Renewing Washington's Multilateral Leadership

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 253-266

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nilsson Måns, Persson Åsa

Reprint of "Can Earth system interactions be governed? Governance functions for linking climate change mitigation with land use, freshwater and biodiversity protection"

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 81, Special Section: "Planetary Boundaries" and Global Environmental Governance, September , 10-20

Earth system interactions, as highlighted by the planetary boundaries framework, occur within and across natural, social and economic systems and shape global environmental change. This paper addresses the multi-level governance problem of coherently addressing key interactions between four Earth sub-systems – climate change, freshwater use, land use and biodiversity – taking into account concerns over problem shifting. After discussing possibilities for regional downscaling of the boundaries, we explore challenges for the EU region to coherently address this particular set of interacting Earth sub-systems and reduce the risk of problem shifting. This analysis demonstrates that Earth system interactions can be governed, but that they likely require comprehensive packages of governance responses across both sub-systems and levels. Three overarching governance functions are tentatively identified that directly or indirectly address Earth system interactions: reduction of system stress, risks and vulnerabilities; triggering and navigation of transformation of economic activity; and development of a diversity of options. Finally, the paper briefly discusses political and institutional challenges for developing, enabling and stabilising these governance functions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Nediski Nataša, Nollkaemper André



Responsibility of International Organizations ‘in connection with acts of States’

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 33-52

ABSTRACT: This article offers some reflections on the way in which the ILC Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations (ARIO) have addressed the responsibility of international organizations for conduct of member States implementing their normative acts. The ILC has chosen to deal with this issue through the concept of responsibility ‘in connection with’ acts of States, which it had already included in its Articles on State Responsibility (ASR), and more in particular through article 17 on ‘circumvention’. Focusing primarily on this provision, we argue that the attempt to address this particular type of responsibility forced the ILC to relax the conceptual straightjackets it had opted for in the ASR, thereby exposing certain ambiguities in the foundations of the law of international responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cameron Edward, Limon Marc

Restoring the Climate by Realizing Rights: The Role of the International Human Rights System

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 204-219

In recent years human rights have begun to feature prominently as a tool to address climate change. This article explores how the institutions and tools of the human rights system are being deployed to complement the negotiations within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, close the emissions gap and hold the increase in global average temperature below 2 °C or 1.5 °C above pre-industrial levels. It offers an explanation of how the interface between rights and climate change has helped to evolve our analysis of socio-ecological thresholds, created a strong and compelling narrative centered on climate justice, and enhanced political processes to better account for the experience of vulnerable populations. The article shows that the various Special Procedures and Universal Periodic Review of the Human Rights Council are already advancing the cause of urgent and ambitious climate action and suggests ways in which they can become more influential in a wider climate change regime complex.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weitz Eric D.

Samuel Moyn and the new history of human rights

in *European Journal of Political Theory*, Vol. 12, no. 1, January 2013 , 84-93

The full text is free:

<http://ept.sagepub.com/content/12/1/84.full.pdf+html>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gary Coyne

Shifting Loyalties: Support for a Global State and Nationalism

in *Globalizations* , Volume 9, Issue 5 , 713-724



It has been suggested that the increasing power and prominence of global organizations may be undermining the nation state as an organizational form. In an attempt to understand how these dynamics may play out at the individual level a sample of US social movement actors were surveyed to measure support for nationalism and support for the creation of a global state. Support for a global state is hypothesized to be negatively associated with support for national governments. Multivariate binary and ordinal logistic regressions show a number of demographic and attitudinal variables are positively associated with nationalism and, generally, are negatively associated with support for a global state.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Piiparinena Touko

Sovereignty-building: three images of positive sovereignty projected through Responsibility to Protect in Global Change, Peace & Security, vol. 24, n. 3 , 405-424

ABSTRACT: This article argues that the increasingly frequent and robust implementation of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) principle reflects not only the operation of the functionally narrow doctrine of humanitarian intervention, but also the emergence of a new paradigm of global security, namely sovereignty-building. RtoP protects populations from mass atrocity crimes, supports and builds responsible sovereigns committed to protecting their populations, and restrains 'irresponsible' sovereigns. These functions of RtoP perfectly capture the sovereignty-building paradigm. This article will draw upon the philosophical literature on sovereignty, the analysis of the norm development of RtoP, and empirical evidence of the UN Security Council's deliberations on the situation in Libya in 2011 to argue that the image of responsible sovereignty featured in RtoP is composed of three aspects: popular, spontaneous and indivisible sovereignty. That image is projected on states in the implementation of RtoP, and constitutes the teleological objective of the emerging paradigm of sovereignty-building, which can be distinguished from the traditional doctrines of state-building and humanitarian intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zaelke Durwood, Andersen Stephen O., Borgford-Parnell Nathan

Strengthening Ambition for Climate Mitigation: The Role of the Montreal Protocol in Reducing Short-lived Climate Pollutants

in Review of European Community & International Environmental Law, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 231-242

The level of ambition of the public and policy makers to protect the climate is currently far too low to slow the accelerating pace of climate impacts. Ambition can be strengthened using strategies that disaggregate the overall climate problem into manageable pieces, borrow existing laws and institutions to take fast action following a 'start and strengthen' approach. This is illustrated by the strategy to phase down the production and consumption of high global warming potential hydrofluorocarbons under the Montreal Protocol. Such an approach could cut the rate of global warming in half for the next several decades, and even more in the Arctic and other climate vulnerable regions. This can provide fast success and build the sense of urgent optimism needed to raise ambition to do more to address carbon dioxide emissions – the single largest contributor to climate change.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morrone Andrea

Teologia economica v. Teologia politica? Appunti su sovranità dello Stato e «diritto costituzionale globale»
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero 4, dicembre , 829-856

The essay critically examines certain commonplace notions concerning globalisation and law, especially from the standpoint of the crisis of State sovereignty resulting from the challenge deriving from transnational protection of fundamental rights and the global institutions. In particular the essay underscores the contradictions which legal scholars encounter when attempting to define «global law», especially when conceived in «constitutional» terms. The question is: what are the frontiers of constitutional law in a global dimension?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

D'Aspremont Jean

The Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations: Magnifying the Fissures in the Law of International Responsibility
in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 15-28

ABSTRACT: It is against the backdrop of the conceptual impairment inherited from the Articles on State Responsibility (hereafter ASR) that this note, rather than zeroing in on what could have been better devised at the micro-level of the Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations (hereafter ARIO), adopts a holistic view on the approaches to the law of international responsibility. In so doing, the ARIO are not approached in isolation but together with the ASR. This paper argues that, envisaged together with the ASR, the ARIO magnify the structural straits of the law of international responsibility. It more particularly argues that the ARIO reveal that the minor and almost invisible defects at the level of the ASR have enlarged on the occasion of their transposition to the responsibility of international organizations, unveiling the conceptual fissures of the whole law of international responsibility (Section 1). It then formulates a few epistemological considerations on how a normative instrument that so openly lays bare the limits of the current law of international responsibility could nonetheless be usefully received by our professional community (Section 2).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deleuil Thomas

The Common but Differentiated Responsibilities Principle: Changes in Continuity after the Durban Conference of the Parties
in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 21, Issue 3, November , 271-281

The common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR) principle has played a major part in the post-2012 climate change negotiations. However, the rise of emerging economies and the multiplication of State categories have called the initial compromise under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) into question and,



until now, no balance between the conflicting claims of States has been found. Meanwhile, the principle is still not fixed in terms of its formulation, legal nature and practice. Although it enabled agreement on the UNFCCC in the 1990s, the principle has also contributed to climate negotiation deadlocks. As a result, it appears to be fading in the 2011 Durban decisions, giving place to general contextual norms. Moreover, the decision on the Durban Platform, through which the post-2020 negotiations will take place, does not refer to the principle at all. Still, it is clear that differential treatment will have a structuring role in the post-2020 negotiations. This article examines the Durban outcomes in the light of the CBDR principle, with a view to analyzing the prospects of differential treatment in international climate change law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Segal Hugh

The Commonwealth as a Force for Good

in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 101, Issue 3, 2012 , 261-266

Abstract

In this, one of his earliest public addresses as Canada's Special Envoy for Commonwealth Renewal, the author explains the basis of his country's relationship with the Commonwealth and stresses the need for urgent and sustained action on the recommendations of the Eminent Persons Group if the full potential of this association of nations is to be realised. He commends the progress that has already been made in a number of areas, but argues that unless the focus on human rights, democracy and the rule of law is maintained, the Commonwealth may not be able to maintain its reputation as a compelling force for good.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lavanya Rajamani

The Durban Platform for Enhanced Action and the Future of the Climate Regime

in International and Comparative Law Quarterly, vol. 61, issue 2 , 501-518

The Durban Climate Conference, marked by tension, high drama and sleepless nights, agreed on a set of historic decisions under the climate regime 36 hours after the scheduled end of the conference. The climate regime—comprising the 1992 Framework Convention on Climate Change and its 1997 Kyoto Protocol, and decisions taken by Parties under these instruments—has been plagued in the last few years, in particular after the debacle at Copenhagen, by doubt and uncertainty. Doubt over its ability to meet climate goals, and uncertainty over its future, in particular that of the Kyoto Protocol. At Durban, Parties strengthened the climate regime with decisions to implement the 2010 Cancun Agreements, extend the beleaguered Kyoto Protocol, for a second commitment period, and launch a new process to negotiate a post-2020 climate regime. This new process, christened the Ad-Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action, is intended to craft the agreement that will govern, regulate and incentivize the next generation of climate actions.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gehring Thomas, Faude Benjamin

The Dynamics of Regime Complexes: Microfoundations and Systemic Effects

in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 119-130

ABSTRACT: This article takes stock of the current debate on regime complexes. The specific relevance of such complexes for global governance is best grasped if these complexes are understood as systems that relate and organize their elemental institutions. They emerge from activities of relevant international actors, in particular the member states of their elemental institutions, as well as from interactions among these institutions. Regime complexes establish interinstitutional competition, which may lead to open conflict and turf battles, but may also produce a well-established division of labor among the elemental institutions. As they provide forum-shopping opportunities for actors, regime complexes put overlapping governance institutions under continuing competitive pressure and they do not necessarily predominantly benefit the most powerful states. In order to increase the coherence and effectiveness of global governance efforts, the management of regime complexes will become an increasingly important task of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jan Wouters and Thomas Ramopoulos

The G20 and Global Economic Governance: Lessons from Multi-Level European Governance?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.3 , 771-775

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luckhurst Jonathan

The G20 and ad hoc Embedded Liberalism: Economic Governance amid Crisis and Dissensus

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 3 , 740-782

The September 2008 financial market collapse and subsequent world economic crisis have significantly influenced international scholarly debate, policy practice, and economic relations. The economic crisis has led experts and policy actors to redefine core aspects of economic governance. I analyze current competing perspectives on economic issues within the Group of Twenty (G20) and argue that discursive contestation has delegitimized previous neoclassical conventional wisdom, especially the efficient markets hypothesis. This has been rejected as a core principle of economic policy by industrialized and developing states, plus international fora. As a consequence, the bounds of rationality of individual actors and policy norms have been reconstituted. Also Keynesian policies have been implemented in important national and international contexts. I compare the contemporary situation with the post-war "Bretton Woods era" of embedded liberalism, concluding that many recent national policies and the consolidation of international economic governance constitute an ad hoc embedded liberalism.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Black David

The G8 and Africa: A Partial Reckoning

in **Global Governance**, vol. 18, n. 4, october-december , 441-447

ABSTRACT: When future historians consider the global governance role of the G8, they would do well to consider its approach to Africa. For the first decade of the new millennium, G8 summits sustained an extraordinary focus on the continent. Responding to African governments' proposed New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), G8 governments produced a succession of agreements and initiatives, anchored by the 2002 Africa Action Plan and the 2005 Gleneagles declaration on Africa and development. These initiatives were framed by a motif of "partnership." They provided elite impetus toward a more comprehensive "Third Way" bargain for Africa. Collectively, they illustrate some stark limits to designs for a transnationally hegemonic approach to global challenges. In consequence, they have contributed to the erosion of G8 purpose and legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Newell Peter, Bumpus Adam

The Global Political Ecology of the Clean Development Mechanism

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 12, Issue 4, November , 49-67

This article explores the ways in which the "global" governance of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) intersects with the "local" politics of resource regimes that are enrolled in carbon markets through the production and trade in Certified Emissions Reductions (CERs). It shows how political structures and decision-making procedures set up at the international level to govern the acquisition of CERs through the Kyoto Protocol's CDM interact with and transform national and local level political ecologies in host countries where very different governance structures, political networks, and state-market relations operate. It draws on literature within political ecology and field work in Argentina and Honduras to illustrate and understand the politics of translation that occur when the social and environmental consequences of decisions made within global governance mechanisms, such as the CDM, are followed through to particular sites in the global political economy. It also shows how the outcomes in those sites in turn influence the global politics of the CDM.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Savaresi Annalisa

The Human Rights Dimension of REDD

in **Review of European Community & International Environmental Law**, Volume 21, Issue 2, July , 102-113

Since 2007, parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change have been negotiating 'policy approaches and positive incentives on issues relating to reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries; and the role of conservation, sustainable management of forests and enhancement of forest carbon stocks in developing countries', commonly referred to as 'REDD'. Although the related mechanism remains in fieri at the time of writing, this article analyzes areas of overlap between REDD and international instruments dealing



with the protection of human rights. Far from being merely a theoretical question, this issue has attracted increasing attention as negotiations on REDD progressed. The article gives an account of this ongoing debate, and investigates the scope to create synergies between REDD and human rights instruments.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jönsson Christer

The John Holmes Memorial Lecture: International Organizations at the Moving Public-Private Borderline
in **Global Governance**, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 1-18

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schwartz Daniel

The Justice of Peace Treaties

in **Journal of Political Philosophy**, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 273-292

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

De Bres Helena

The Many, Not the Few: Pluralism About Global Distributive Justice

in **Journal of Political Philosophy**, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 314-340

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marc Amstutz

The Opium of Democracy: A Comment on Florian Rödl's Theory of Democratic Juridification Without Statisation
in **Transnational Legal Theory**, vol. 2, issue 2 , 214-225

Two axiomatic assumptions underlie Rödl's conception of law in the globalised world. The first posits globalisation as consisting solely of the spatial movements of individuals, which he terms 'societal boundary-crossing'. The second is an implicit acceptance of Kant's notion of democracy as the sole source of legitimate law. This view is based on an image of world society, according to which it is possible to simply extrapolate the function of national legal systems—the stabilisation of normative expectations—to world society. The present comment, by contrast, argues that the nature of global society renders this model obsolete. The non-territorial nature of that emerging society has given rise to communication networks in which cognitive, rather than normative, expectations are primarily determinant. In this



situation, the legitimation of law can no longer be sought in democratic institutions, but only in 'custom and usage', as a recognised means for stabilising cognitive expectations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ansell Chris, Sondorp Egbert, Hartley Stevens Robert

The Promise and Challenge of Global Network Governance: The Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network in Global Governance, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september , 317-337

ABSTRACT: Networks are often heralded as a promising strategy of global governance. This article examines the challenges encountered in managing one relatively successful network—the Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network (GOARN). Over the past decade, this international network of public and private institutions has played a major role in organizing the global response to infectious disease outbreaks around the world. Despite its successes, GOARN confronts difficult challenges in balancing performance objectives with the goals of maintaining and developing the network. The imperative to integrate closely into World Health Organization (WHO) operations makes it difficult for GOARN to balance its obligations to the WHO with the need to maintain and cultivate its role as an independent network.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kelle Alexander

The Third Review Conference of the Chemical Weapons Convention and beyond: key themes and the prospects of incremental change

in International Affairs , vol. 89, issue 1, january , 143-158

ABSTRACT: States parties to the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) will convene for the Third Review Conference of the treaty in April 2013. With the destruction of chemical weapon stockpiles more than 75 per cent complete and ongoing changes in the scientific, industrial and security environment in which the CWC operates, some have argued that major adaptations in the implementation of the treaty are required. However, on the basis of regular participant observation at CWC meetings of states parties and extensive document analysis this article argues that changes in treaty implementation will be only of an incremental nature with the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) taking on new tasks in the areas of chemical terrorism and safety and security, alongside traditional core areas of activity in CWC implementation such as verification of chemical weapon disarmament, non-proliferation or, rather, non-acquisition of chemical weapons, protection and assistance against the threat or use of chemical weapons, and international cooperation in the peaceful uses of chemistry. Taking into account the evolution of these areas of concern in combination with the consensus-based institutional culture of the OPCW supports the expectation of only incremental changes being adopted at the Third CWC Review Conference. These expectations tie in with the findings of organizational analyses in other political contexts, which highlight the path dependency of many institutions once they are created.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ahlborn Christiane

The Use of Analogies in Drafting the Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations An Appraisal of the ‘Copy-Paste Approach’

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 53-66

ABSTRACT: In view of the adoption and future reception of the Articles on the Responsibility of International Organizations (ARIO) on second reading, this contribution seeks to offer some reflections on the ‘copy-paste narrative’ that has characterized the process of drafting the ARIO by the International Law Commission (ILC). On the basis of a brief introduction to the concept of analogies in international law, it is explained that the use of analogies is not to be equated with a mechanical exercise of copy-pasting legal rules; rather, it constitutes a method of legal reasoning based on a principled assessment of relevant similarities and differences. By comparing the ARIO with the ILC’s Articles on State Responsibility (ASR), it will be demonstrated that the ARIO actually do not follow the example of the ASR in many key provisions. Interestingly, much of the critique of the ARIO has been directed against these dissimilar provisions, especially when they concern the relations between an international organization and its member States. Since this critique is mainly driven by considerable uncertainty as to the determination of the responsible actor(s), it will be suggested that the ILC should have used closer analogies with the ASR in order to enhance the overall coherence of the law of international responsibility. This is because, as argued in conclusion, the corporate complexity of international organizations and States may necessitate a unified set of Articles on International Responsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Scerri Andy

The World Social Forum: Another World Might Be Possible

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 12, Issue 1, 2013 , 111-120

Abstract

First, I briefly examine the genesis of debate to define the World Social Forum (WSF) as a contributor to the global justice movement (GJM), since its emergence in Brazil in 2001. I then consider Geoffrey Pleyers’ argument identifying a central tension within the WSF, and the GJM in general, between actors seeking to achieve non-domination by expressing anti-power subjectivity and those for whom the path to non-domination lay in strategising and designing counter-powers. Describing what transpired at WSF Dakar 2011 and debates since, I question Pleyers’ classificatory schema as leading to an unhelpful essentialism. That is, identifying a ‘two paths’ ideal-type and setting out to locate it in the world serves to legitimise one ‘tendency’ of progressive social movements. By contrast with Pleyers’ evenly balanced approach—treating of each ‘path’ as possessing the same positive and negative qualities, rather than as qualitatively different moments in the practice of opposing domination—I find that what he calls ‘the path of subjectivity’ might rather be understood as the product of a certain lack of appreciation of the nature of the demands that opposing political tyranny places upon participants in an organisation or movement.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vines Alex

The effectiveness of UN and EU sanctions: lessons for the twenty-first century

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 4, july , 867-887

ABSTRACT: A fractious UN Security Council has contributed to the decline in effectiveness of a number of UN sanctions adopted in recent years. Yet they remain a tool of the Council, for example with regard to Libya in 2011. The challenge is to understand how UN, country (US) and regional sanctions (EU, AU, Arab League) can be meaningful in such a climate. The four books reviewed make various suggestions, from clarity of mandate to better evaluating impact. Mikael Eriksson's *Targeting peace* seeks to evaluate the complexity of the sanctions policy process. He argues that effectiveness comes partly from understanding politics (episodes of sanctions), but also from institutional reform—'black box' processes, as he calls them. Sanctions are more successful as part of a wider package. Clara Portela in *European Union sanctions and foreign policy* examines the use of sanctions as a political tool, including the suspension of development aid and the withdrawal of trade privileges. She shows how the EU plays an important role in signalling and constraining when UN sanctions are weak. For example, informal measures like the 2003 EU decision to invite only dissidents to national day receptions in Havana resulted in the release of detainees that it had aimed for. The high rate of success of development aid cut-off stands in sharp contrast with EU Common Foreign and Security Policy sanctions. The unintended consequence of good intentions is also highlighted by both Portela and Eriksson—Zimbabwe in particular but also Côte d'Ivoire and Iran pose similar challenges. The imposition of EU or UN sanctions is easier than reaching consensus to lift them, although events in Burma (Myanmar) in 2012 have resulted in smooth suspensions of most US and EU sanctions. All four books show that targeted sanctions cannot be seen as stand-alone measures, nor assessed in isolation. Sanctions are multi-faceted and require detailed assessment of political context, episode and institutional process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Feldman David L.

The future of environmental networks - Governance and civil society in a global context

in *Futures*, Volume 44, Issue 9 , 787-796

Knowledge networks are a recent innovation in global environmental governance. They provide a means for local and regional initiatives aimed at averting, mitigating, or adapting to climate change and other trans-boundary problems to join together in a system that: permits sharing of experiences, diffuses policy innovation across national borders, and spans divergent disciplinary boundaries so as to better communicate science to local decision-makers. We consider the role currently played by networks and the possibility that, over time, their soft power characteristics – a reliance on value change and policy emulation – may eventually place them in a position to globally coordinate local and regional environmental policy innovations. If successful, their efforts might supplant the need for national action to address climate change, even if they do not replace the nation-state system whose environmental management efforts will continue to rely on hard power: the use, primarily, of economic incentives to induce policy change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Murdie Amanda, Peksen Dursun

The impact of human rights INGO activities on economic sanctions

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 8, n. 1, march , 33-53

ABSTRACT: What impact do human rights international non-governmental organizations (hereafter HROs) have on the initiation of economic sanctions? The extant literatures on sanctions and transnational non-state groups have largely overlooked the role, if any, the activities of these transnational non-state actors have on the use of economic coercion as a popular policy tool. In this study, we argue that HROs could affect sanction decisions through two distinct mechanisms: information production (“shaming and blaming”) and local empowerment (local presence). By bringing poor human rights performers into the international spotlight, we argue that this effect should hold even after accounting for human rights practices in the targeted countries. Using dyadic data on HROs and economic sanctions, we find robust support for our basic argument that HRO activities increase the likelihood of sanction events against repressive regimes. Additionally, much of the empirical support highlights the role of information production, as opposed to local empowerment, in leading to sanction onset. Overall, our findings indicate that HROs are powerful actors in influencing foreign policy decisions between states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Muldoon Paul

The injustice of territoriality

in *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 631-648

Abstract

In recent works Nancy Fraser has developed a model of ‘metademocracy’ that promises to reconcile the competing claims of universal justice (grounded in human rights) and localized democracy (grounded in popular sovereignty). By instituting a global democratic procedure in which all enjoy participatory parity, Fraser hopes to ensure that some people are not denied standing as ‘subjects of justice’ simply because of their territorial location while keeping faith with the democratic commitment to autonomy and self-legislation. Despite the compelling nature of this model, I argue that Fraser fails to bridge the gulf between justice and democracy because her model of metademocracy is built on the ‘metanorm’ of ‘participatory parity’. Drawing on the work of Hannah Arendt, I claim that this foundationalist move re-asserts the priority of justice over democracy because it takes equality as a moral given rather than the ever-precarious achievement of human organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sara E Davies

The international politics of disease reporting: Towards post-Westphalianism?

in *International Politics* , Volume 49, Issue 5 , 591-613



Since the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003, there has been much discussion about whether the international community has moved into a new post-Westphalian era, where states increasingly recognize certain shared norms that guide what they ought to do in responding to infectious disease outbreaks. In this article I identify this new obligation as the 'duty to report', and examine competing accounts on the degree to which states appreciate this new obligation are considered by examining state behaviour during the H5N1 human infectious outbreaks in East Asia (since 2004). The article examines reporting behaviour for H5N1 human infectious cases in Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam from 2004 to 2010. The findings lend strong support to the claim that East Asian states have come to accept and comply with the duty to report infectious disease outbreaks and that the assertions of sovereignty in response to global health governance frameworks have not systematically inhibited reporting compliance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hans Krause Hansen and Arthur Mühlen-Schulte

The power of numbers in global governance

in **Journal of International Relations and Development**, Volume 15, Issue 4 , 455-465

The deployment of numbers have become a sine qua non in governance practices worldwide in recent decades. But the reasons behind this development and its implications for governance practices have not been systematically researched and theorised. This introductory article provides a short overview of the historical and contemporary role of numbers in different governance settings. It includes a discussion of the capacity of numbers to foster social identities, relations and truths across national boundaries, to construct issue areas and to enable various modes of surveillance, communication and action at a distance in the global political economy. It argues that the use of numbers in global governance should not be regarded only as a platform for knowledge sharing and learning. More than this, it needs to be understood in broader terms as a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion from complex social hierarchies and relations, as well as in relation to processes of politicisation and de-politicisation that transcend national spaces.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kim Joy Aeree, Chung Suh-Yong

The role of the G20 in governing the climate change regime

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 12, Number 4, November , 361-374

A wide array of institutions governing climate change has proliferated over the past years, influencing the rule-makings of the regime. One of them is the G20. When G20 leaders around the world convened in London to restore global economies, they stressed the importance of a 'resilient, sustainable, and green recovery' and reaffirmed their commitments to address climate change. This was followed by their agreement on phasing out inefficient fossil fuel energy subsidies over the medium term in Pittsburgh. The 'coexistence of narrow regimes in the same issue-area' could be described as 'regime complexes', which enable countries to adapt more readily, particularly when adaptation requires complex changes in norms and behavior. Given that responses to climate change would require changes in the domestic politics of different countries at different levels, loosely integrated institutions of regime complexes could be more advantageous for countries to adapt and in engaging with developing countries. This paper demonstrates that the G20's highly informal institutional setup as well as its flexible cooperation tools could enable its members to customize



their policies and better engage with third-party countries. In addition, the G20 group could collectively influence other key countries to reach an agreement on some of the key climate change–related issues, thereby facilitating the United Nations process of climate change.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Abbott Kenneth W

The transnational regime complex for climate change

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 571-590

In climate change, as in other areas, recent years have produced a ‘Cambrian explosion’ of transnational institutions, standards, financing arrangements, and programs. As a result, climate governance has become complex, fragmented, and decentralized, operating without central coordination. Most studies of climate governance focus on inter-state institutions. In contrast, I map a different realm of climate change governance: the diverse array of transnational schemes. I analyze this emerging system in terms of two theoretical frame-works developed to describe, explain, and evaluate complex governance arrangements—regime complex theory and polycentric governance theory—revealing fruitful avenues for positive and normative research. I conclude by arguing that the benefits of institutional complexity could be increased, and the costs reduced, through nonhierarchical ‘orchestration’ of climate change governance, in which international organizations or other appropriate authorities support and steer transnational schemes that further global public interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gaskarth Jamie

The virtues in international society

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 431-453

ABSTRACT: Although there has been a significant growth in the literature on the ethics of international politics in recent years, much of this has focused on the normative structure of international relations and has downplayed the role of individuals in constituting the understandings and actions in this practice. However, individual agency and accountability are apparent in recent world events. Meanwhile, developments in moral philosophy have increasingly led scholars to re-examine the role that individual character traits — virtues — have in affecting how norms are selected and operationalized. Building on these insights, I argue here that a fully realized appreciation of the morality of international politics requires us to consider what character traits — virtues — its individual participants are expected to exhibit to support and realize its norms. To do so, I begin by outlining how the virtues are deemed to underpin ethical practice and highlight two forms of analysis that may be used to explore this: decision-oriented virtue ethics and constitutive virtue ethics. I then suggest that these can be used to analyse the ethical foundations of international society. Specifically, I adopt a constitutive virtue ethics approach to show how the virtues help to constitute international society using the case study of the establishment of the International Criminal Court. In the process, I aim to highlight both the extent to which the virtues are a feature of the rhetoric of global politics, and — more importantly — how they play a significant role in normative practice.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gareau Brian J.

Theorizing Environmental Governance of the World System: Global Political Economy Theory and Some Applications to Stratospheric Ozone Politics

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XVIII, n. 2 , 187-210

ABSTRACT: This paper incorporates world-systems perspectives into an analysis of global environmental politics, thus adjoining a political economic analysis of scale with studies of global environmental policy. It is the ability of some social groups and institutions to jump scale that determines how global environmental policies are shaped. The United States' carbon-intensive economy is seen to face larger short-term costs from global environmental agreements than many other countries in the core of the world-system, but what remains unexplored in the environmental politics literature is the question of why the United States sees its long-term economic condition hindered by these agreements. This analysis points to the ways industry actors intervene at multiple scales of global environmental negotiations to affect national policy positions as well as larger discourses about science and risk. The article reviews the methyl bromide controversy in the Montreal Protocol to explain why this agreement has recently failed to live up to expectations in removing ozone-depleting substances. The United States is particularly responsible for this impediment: rather than innovate in response to new information and changing international contexts, industry actors have drawn upon US hegemony to enforce their dominant market positions. As the parties to the Montreal Protocol remain polarized over questions of methyl bromide use, this analysis calls for attention to the ways capital, states, and other social institutions are embedded in international environmental agreements and how they use such arrangements to obstruct successful multilateral agreements. I conclude by suggesting that environmental and other social movements might strategize in two ways: 1) by helping support an emergent 'green hegemony' (most apparent in Chinese policy) as a counterhegemonic alternative, and 2) by developing strategies that account for the ways industry interests overlap with declining US hegemony in a shifting world-system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Stroup Sarah S., Murdie Amanda

There's no place like home: Explaining international NGO advocacy

in *Review of International Organizations (The)* , vol. 7, n. 4, december , 425-448

ABSTRACT: INGO advocacy can range from cooperative to confrontational, and these tactical choices can have important repercussions for the overall success of the organization's policy work, yet little attention has been paid to this variation. We contend that INGO advocacy strategies are shaped by the organization's national origin. Drawing on insights from sociology and political science, we argue that there is substantial variation among wealthy industrialized democracies in the availability and structure of material resources as well as the domestic institutional environment surrounding INGO work. Together, these national-level factors shape INGOs' choice of the level of confrontation or conciliation that they adopt in their advocacy. We first demonstrate the importance of INGO national origin using new data on the confrontational advocacy strategies of over 3000 non-governmental organizations from OECD countries that are international in focus. We then explore the relationship between national origin and INGO practice through comparative case studies of INGO umbrella organizations in the relief and development sector. Throughout, we focus on four countries in particular: the United States, Britain, France, and Japan. These countries differ significantly in terms of the material resources and institutional environments faced by INGOs and thus allow us to understand whether and how



these factors influence INGO advocacy choices. These systematic differences in INGO strategies have important ramifications for understanding national and global advocacy by INGOs and demonstrate an enduring role of the state in shaping the behavior of non-state actors.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lesage Dries, Van de Graaf Thijs

Thriving in Complexity? The OECD System's Role in Energy and Taxation

in Global Governance, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 83-92

ABSTRACT: The purpose of this article is to reveal how two organizations from the OECD system—the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and the International Energy Agency—are maneuvering strategically to retain their focal places in the regime complexes that developed around taxation and energy, respectively. It argues that their bid for leadership and centralization is built on the comparative advantages they enjoy as institutions; namely, their historically accumulated expertise and distinct working methods, their close ties with the Group of 8, and their rapidly developing relationships with emerging powers. Notwithstanding these institutional assets, a revision of the OECD's membership could further cement and legitimize the central role of the OECD system in these regime complexes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Luis Eduardo Zavala de Alba

Toward an International Implementation of Public Policies in Human Rights: A Necessary Step in Every Democratization Process for Advancements in Economic and Social Rights

in Politics & Policy, Volume 40, Issue 5 , 783–801

The study and implementation of public policy has been one of the fastest developing fields in the sphere of social sciences. It has been expanded to include an ample range of approaches and academic fields. Likewise, it has been shown as more internationalized and comparative due to the circulation of policies among nations and the importance given to international regimes and organizations concerned with national policies. This article examines the need for an international implementation of a public policy on human rights combining three innovative fields to consider in every democratization process: first, a component on public and global governance; second, a constitutionalist element within international law; and finally, the duty to progressively realize economic and social rights according to the maximum available resources. These can and should be considered within the perspective and analysis of their impact on all democratization processes, which is the objective of this article.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Smith Rhona K. M.

Towards the Rule of Law's Human Rights Requirements in Commonwealth States: Selected Observations in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs, Volume 101, Issue 4, 2012 , 311-329



Abstract

There are many interpretations of the rule of law. Transforming from a 'thin' to 'thicker' conceptualisation means infusing 'quality' and 'goodness' to the laws of the State. Accordingly, this centres attention on aspects of adherence to international human rights, the focus of this article. Drawing on the literature linking rule of law with human rights, a preliminary evaluation of the extent to which Commonwealth States appear to respect this 'thicker' rule of law will be provided. Reference will be made to a qualitative analysis of the comments and recommendations made to States during the first cycle of universal periodic review by the UN Human Rights Council as well as a number of pre-existing statistical data on specific issues. While the rigour of such an approach may be queried, there can be little doubt that although there is evidence of rule of law compliance within the States, there remains scope for improvement.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Catia Gregoratti

Transnational Partnerships: What Democracy? Whose Justice?

in *Global Society*, Vol. 26, Issue 4, , 515-534

This article establishes that transnational partnerships should no longer be conceived as peripheral mechanisms of global governance. They have now become increasingly embedded in the multilateral system and a central component in the architecture of global governance. The intellectual progenitors of the partnership discourse have commonly justified governance by partnering as a means to close democratic deficits in global governance. Deliberative conceptualisations, on the other hand, view in the practice of partnering the emergence of a transnational public sphere populated by equal deliberative agents. This article argues that the ideas of democracy and justice ingrained in liberal and deliberative arguments for partnering are at odds with the concrete workings of these mechanisms of governance, which, above all, reflect asymmetrical configurations of power. Drawing on the insights of neo-Gramscian international political economy (IPE), it suggests that partnerships can be best conceptualised as sites of contested authority and frail legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fabrizio Cafaggi

Transnational Private Regulation and the Production of Global Public Goods and Private 'Bads'

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 695-718

The article focuses on the role of private regulators in the production, access regulation, and protection of global public goods (GPGs). It addresses transnational private regulation (TPR) as a public good in itself and as an instrument to produce and protect GPGs. It makes three major claims: (1) private actors have incentives to produce and protect GPGs, thereby challenging the conventional partition between markets, producing private goods, and states producing public goods; (2) the production and protection of GPGs has to combine procedural and substantive features, making private governance a determinant of the club or public nature of the global good; and (3) ownership, both individual and collective, and contracting can be used to produce and protect GPGs. The article analyses in particular the proliferation



of regulatory agreements between private actors or between private and public to regulate production, protection, and access, and shows that their limited legal enforceability is often functional to alternative compliance mechanisms devised through innovative private governance. It concludes by suggesting that the increasing role of private actors in the production of GPGs requires governance reforms of public–private cooperation at transnational level.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bulkeley Harriet, Jordan Andy

Transnational environmental governance: new findings and emerging research agendas
in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 556-570

Full text available: <http://www.envplan.com/openaccess/c3004ed.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Held David

Transnational governance: issues, dilemmas and prospects
in **Global Change, Peace & Security**, vol. 24, n. 3 , 425-437

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ronzoni Miriam

Two conceptions of state sovereignty and their implications for global institutional design
in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Volume 15, Issue 5, 2012 , 573-591

Abstract

Social liberals and liberal nationalists often argue that cosmopolitans neglect the normative importance of state sovereignty and self-determination. This paper counter-argues that, under current global political and socio-economic circumstances, only the establishment of supranational institutions with some (limited, but significant) sovereign powers can allow states to exercise sovereignty, and peoples' self-determination, in a meaningful way. Social liberals have largely neglected this point because they have focused on an unduly narrow, mainly negative, conception of state sovereignty. I contend, instead, that we should more closely consider the positive aspects of sovereignty, understood as the capacity to maintain internal problem-solving capacities and make meaningful discretionary choices on a range of national issues.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Raviv Dan



Une banque pour le monde

in *Politique internationale*, n° 136 - été

Sri Mulyani, Managing Director of the World Bank, and therefore No. 2 in this influential Washington, D.C.-based institution, was the Indonesian Minister of Finance for the five previous years. In this probing interview with Dan Raviv for *Politique Internationale*, Sri Mulyani draws on her wide-ranging experience to analyze some of today's most burning issues: have Western countries started an ineluctable decline? Are countries in the South in the process of replacing them? Is it possible for the poorest regions of the planet to believe in the future? Are there any economic "recipes" that work in all cases? Sri Mulyani successively examines the lessons of the Asian crisis of 1997, global demographic trends and technological advances that are changing the shape of the world to drive home her message: perhaps the world isn't in such great shape, but it can always count on the World Bank!

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Agustín José Menéndez

United They Diverge? From Conflicts of Law to Constitutional Theory

in *Transnational Legal Theory*, vol. 2, issue 2, 167-192

This paper analyses Christian Joerges' conflicts theory of European Union law. It is claimed that the theory of European conflicts is structured around three key premises: first, that there are functional and normative reasons to transcend the autarchic national constitutional state; second, that the public philosophy of European constitutional law should operationalise the regulatory ideal of unity in diversity; and third, that any European constitutional theory should be 'grounded' on the empirical analysis and resolution of specific supranational conflicts. The paper finds that the theory of European conflicts, first, remains incomplete as a constitutional theory; second, fails to provide a satisfactory account of the legitimacy foundations of Community law; and third, underestimates the structural implications of the combination of the doctrines of primacy, direct effect and mutual recognition.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lafontaine Fannie

Universal Jurisdiction - the Realistic Utopia

in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 10, Num. 5, December, 2012, 1277-1302

This article addresses, in light of recent developments, two of Cassese's proposed avenues for a sensible notion of universal jurisdiction: the requirement of the presence of the accused and the idea of subsidiarity. It argues that the debate on presence has essentially moved to the theoretical stage since most states now make it a requirement for prosecution and because the tendency is to ensure a level of political control over the decision to prosecute, which will not be forthcoming if the suspect has never entered the state's territory. The article further argues that the exact timing of the presence (investigation, arrest warrant, trial) is irrelevant as far as international law may be concerned and belongs to domestic law or policy. The article then moves to whether subsidiarity is a principle of customary international law and highlights conceptual contradictions with the *aut dedere aut judicare* treaty obligations. It finally discusses the issue of who should determine and how whether the territorial or national state is able and willing to genuinely conduct the proceedings. It concludes that the existing legal regime of extradition — which it reviews — provides the necessary



framework to allow such assessment, in full respect of the rationale behind the idea of subsidiarity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Scharf Michael P.

Universal Jurisdiction and the Crime of Aggression

in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 53 Issue 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gómez S. Oscar A.

What is a human security project? The experience of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 24, n. 3 , 385-403

ABSTRACT: The idea of human security continues to gain global recognition, offering an alternative framework for the evolving challenges of the new century. While the human security literature has addressed the definition of the concept exhaustively, thorough analyses on efforts to operationalize it are scarce. The UN Trust Fund for Human Security is an appealing source of insights on the praxis of the idea because of the Fund's long-standing effort, which includes more than 190 implemented projects. The article is an examination of the Fund's experience operationalizing human security in three steps: principles, criteria, and actual project formulation. While asking what a human security project is, the article follows the process through which the results of the Commission on Human Security are translated into the Fund's guidelines, and how those guidelines are used to design activities. The revision highlights the strengths of a human security framework when addressing complex situations, allowing for multiple, innovative interventions under one umbrella of action. However, coordination problems and an evaluation of whether humans are more secure through the use of the concept remain operational concerns.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel Bodansky

What's in a Concept? Global Public Goods, International Law, and Legitimacy

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 651-668

Although the terminology of global public goods may be new to international law scholarship, many of the principal features and implications of global public goods are familiar: global public goods are externalities writ large; they create incentives to free ride; and in many cases, they require international governance to provide. Nevertheless, the global public goods literature has been valuable in highlighting that global public goods come in different types, with different 'production technologies'. Some depend on the aggregate effort of the entire group, while others depend on a 'single best effort' or on the 'weakest link'. These different types of global public goods raise different governance issues and hence different challenges for international law.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Christine E.J. Schwobel

Whither the private in global governance?

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 4 , 1076-1105

In international legal scholarship, global governance ideas are being framed exclusively with recourse to public law—at the expense of private law. In this article, I question this prioritization of public law and the obscuring of private law conceptions and methodologies. It appears that the obscuring of private law is occurring in theoretical rationalizations of ideas for holistic legal frameworks, at the same time as private law is growing strongly in prominence in the international sphere. Indeed, it can be claimed that globalization is largely driven by private law. Suggestions for the accountability and transparency of transnational corporations, private military companies, and bilateral investment treaties are exemplary sites of how public law solutions, under the flag of “accountability,” are being applied to private legal relations. Global governance and its inherent multifaceted and multifarious nature has the properties to capture private law impulses; instead it is framed in a way to obscure them. In this, global governance is being aligned, largely by international lawyers, with other similar public law frameworks—including global constitutionalism and global administrative law. I argue that private law conceptions and methodologies should be taken seriously within global governance discourse. Private law includes some attributes which, recognized and allowed to flourish, could realize a progressive potential.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Daniel C. Esty Anthony L. I. Moffa

Why Climate Change Collective Action has Failed and What Needs to be Done Within and Without the Trade Regime

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, volume 15 n.3 , 777-791

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morgan Diane

Why “Perpetual Peace” Is Almost a Pleonasm

in *Peace Review*, vol. 25, n. 1 , 9-16

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Alison Harcourt



'Cultural Coalitions' and International Regulatory Co-operation

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 709-725

By selecting the cases of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions and the agreement of 'cultural protocols' in trade agreements between the European Union and third countries, this article explains why and how the third sector should be considered in analyses of regulatory co-operation at the international level. The article investigates key triggers of regulatory competition and how non-governmental organizations and broader coalitions of third-sector actors played a key role in fostering co-operation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Salleh Ariel

"Green Economy" or Green Utopia: The Salience of Reproductive Labor Post-Rio+20

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XVIII, n. 2 , 141-145

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pickering Jonathan, Vanderheiden Steve, Miller Seumas

"If Equity's In, We're Out": Scope for Fairness in the Next Global Climate Agreement

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 4, winter , 423-443

ABSTRACT: At the United Nations climate change conference in 2011, parties decided to launch the "Durban Platform" to work towards a new long-term climate agreement. The decision was notable for the absence of any reference to "equity," a prominent principle in all previous major climate agreements. Wealthy countries resisted the inclusion of equity on the grounds that the term had become too closely yoked to developing countries' favored conception of equity. This conception, according to wealthy countries, exempts developing countries from making commitments that are stringent enough for the collective effort needed to avoid dangerous climate change. In circumstances where even mentioning the term equity has become problematic, a critical question is whether the possibility for a fair agreement is being squeezed out of negotiations. To address this question we set out a conceptual framework for normative theorizing about fairness in international negotiations, accompanied by a set of minimal standards of fairness and plausible feasibility constraints for sharing the global climate change mitigation effort. We argue that a fair and feasible agreement may be reached by (1) reforming the current binary approach to differentiating developed and developing country groups, in tandem with (2) introducing a more principled approach to differentiating the mitigation commitments of individual countries. These two priorities may provide the basis for a principled bargain between developed and developing countries that safeguards the opportunity to avoid dangerous climate change without sacrificing widely acceptable conceptions of equity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mourlon-Druol Emmanuel



“Managing from the Top”: Globalisation and the Rise of Regular Summity, Mid-1970s–early 1980s
in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 23, n. 4 , 679-703

ABSTRACT: Regular meetings of heads of state and government seem, in 2012, a common feature of international affairs. About forty years ago, however, such meetings did not really exist: ad hoc summits were the rule. Comparing the emergence of the European Council in 1974 and the G7 in 1975, this article explains why and how summity has become routine in international politics. To do so, it examines the common roots of both summits, points out the first differences between the two institutions, and, finally, underlines the common challenges they faced and the logic they shared. Taken together, these three parts underline how, despite their obvious differences, the European Council and the G7 created a new dimension of international politics.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cherry Judith, Dobson Hugo

“Seoul-searching”: The 2010 G-20 Seoul Summit

in *Global Governance*, vol. 18, n. 3, july-september

ABSTRACT: The Group of 20 summit of developed and developing countries—the self-appointed “premier forum for international economic cooperation”—met in the South Korean capital in November 2010. This was a watershed event in that it was the first time for the G-20 to meet in an Asian, non-G8 country. This article evaluates the success of the Seoul summit against a range of criteria and from various perspectives, in addition to commenting on the appropriateness of these criteria in measuring the performance of future summits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cabral, René, Mollick André Varella

Convergence Rates to Output Growth in a Global World: The Roles of Openness and Government Size.

in *International Trade Journal*, volume 26 n.3 , 201-222

In this article, we examine the effects of three openness measures on 54 industrial and emerging economies' output growth over the “globalization years” of 1986–2004. Controlling for standard determinants of the Solow growth model in panel data, we find positive effects of openness on real output growth. While we find support for higher convergence rates under the open economy, the convergence rates in this article for both samples are remarkably close to the 2% level documented in Mankiw et al. (1992). The inclusion of G/Y, however, reduces the speed of convergence more substantially in industrial economies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parthasarathi Shome

Rebalancing and structural policies—an Indian perspective

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 587-602



The global economic crisis of 2008–9 followed by the euro area sovereign debt crisis of 2011–12 has revealed the need for global rebalancing. Economies with current account surpluses need to increase domestic demand, while deficit countries need to reduce their deficits by boosting exports through productivity gains. India falls within the deficit category, having suffered both current account and fiscal deficits that have persisted over recent years. A dearth of adequate structural reform underlies India's macroeconomic imbalances. Analysis reveals that current account surplus economies tend to experience comparative advantage in their goods sector while deficit countries have comparative advantage in the services sector. The question posed is whether liberalizing the services sector would reap dynamic benefits by enhancing services exports and containing India's deficit. Opening up the services sector could, however, have opposing effects. On the one hand, it would support greater export of services, thereby reducing the current account deficit. On the other, the probable rise in foreign participation would translate to an increase in imports. The paper argues that the former effect is likely to prevail since structural reform in the services sector has the potential to reduce inefficiencies created by trade and capital flow restrictions. Reform would improve resource allocation, increase investment opportunities and enhance economic growth. Further, while the initial phase of foreign entrants would imply increased imports, in the medium term, successful joint ventures are likely to spread out internationally with positive ramifications for exports. Solutions in India are to be found in liberalizing, among others, the financial—including banking and insurance—sector, as well as retail trade, though its achievement will not be easy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Xue Lan , Zhong Kaibin

Domestic reform and global integration: public administration reform in China over the last 30 years
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 78, No. 2 , 284-304

This article tries to depict China's public administration reform as an interactive process between two major themes, domestic reform and global integration. The development and implementation of public administration reforms in China from 1978 to 2008 are reviewed. The driving forces shaping the process of public administration reform in China are analyzed, using a territorial locus (domestic/international) – policy dimension (supply-side/demand-side) analytical framework. Our analysis suggests that the public administration reforms over the past few decades have demonstrated the Chinese government's intention to advance the government's transition from an economic-centered state to a people-oriented one. While much progress has been made, there are many issues that remain to be resolved by the new generation of leadership in China.

Points for practitioners This article aims to contribute to the discussion about the process of China's public administration reform over the past three decades since late 1978 – the reform-and-open up years. In China's public administration reform, the transition of the economic system from a planned economy to a socialist market economy has become the most important driving force, which is coupled with the transformation from a public administration system based on personal will and charisma to one that is increasingly based on rule of law. At the same time, the influence of other countries has also played an important role in today's globalized environment. China has learned a great deal from international experiences in public administration reform. The entry into the WTO has also provided a strong impetus for China to integrate with global public administrative practice. So, China's public administration system has always actively engaged in a transformative process characterized by domestic reform and global integration.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

BARAK MENDELSON

God vs. Westphalia: radical Islamist movements and the battle for organising the World

in Review of International Studies (The), Volume 38, Issue 3, July , 589 - 613

This article presents the operation of al-Qaeda and Hizb ut-Tahrir, two of the most radical Islamist movements, through the lens of the relationship between religion as an organising principle for world politics and the state-based logic. It examines these groups in the context of repeated attempts by religious actors throughout history to render religion the dominant and constitutive element in world politics. Prior to the Peace of Westphalia, religion had a critical role in shaping the political landscape, but Westphalia relegated religion to a secondary position. While it accepted religion's role in the domestic affairs of the units in the international system, the Westphalian order kept religion subordinated to the logic of the state system. But religion maintained its ability to provide an alternative organisation for world politics. While al-Qaeda and Hizb ut-Tahrir are highly unlikely to bring about systemic change, their ascendance should remind scholars that the existing order is not inevitable and that the resurgence of religion in international politics also involves the resurrection of interpretations of religion that compete with and challenge the logic of the state-based system.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bourdieu Pierre

Mondialisation et domination: de la finance à la culture

in Cité, philosophie, politique, histoire, n. 51, 2012 , 129-134

Bertrand Chung : Le problème fondamental qui se pose aujourd'hui est, semble-t-il, celui de la mondialisation. Je voudrais donc vous demander d'abord quel son fondement idéologique. Pierre Bourdieu : Le mot même de mondialisation est dangereux à la fois intellectuellement et politiquement, parce qu'il est très...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Besselink Leonard F.M.

'Constitutional Adjudication in the Era of Globalization: The Netherlands in Comparative Perspective'

in European public Law, Volume 18 (2012) - Issue 2 , 231–245

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Randers Jorgen



2052: Droht ein globaler Kollaps? - Essay

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 51-52, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/151298/2052-droht-ein-globaler-kollaps

Der Bericht des Club of Rome, "Die Grenzen des Wachstums" ("GdW"), stellte 1972 die Frage, ob auf unserem Planeten grenzenloses Wachstum möglich ist. In ihm wurden zwölf Zukunftsszenarien bis zum Jahr 2100 vorgestellt. Sechs negative Szenarien beschrieben diverse Arten des Zusammenbruchs, sechs positive verschiedene Grade nachhaltiger Entwicklung. Das Buch konnte jedoch nicht sagen, welches der Szenarien am wahrscheinlichsten sein würde, weil 1972 nicht genügend Informationen vorhanden waren.

Dieser Informationsmangel beschränkte den Bericht auf folgende Hauptaussagen:

1. Die Welt ist klein. Der ökologische Fußabdruck der Menschheit kann nicht unendlich weiter wachsen; tatsächlich ist der Planet so klein, dass das Wachstum innerhalb der nächsten hundert Jahre zum Stillstand kommen wird.
2. Es besteht die Gefahr der Grenzüberziehung (overshoot). Die großen Regierungssysteme (Kapitalismus und Demokratie) werden sich als unfähig erweisen, das Wachstum des menschlichen Fußabdrucks zu stoppen, bevor er die Tragfähigkeit des Planeten übersteigt. Die Weltgemeinschaft wird zu spät reagieren. Das wird zur Grenzüberziehung führen, die einen Rückzug (durch gesteuerten Niedergang oder Zusammenbruch) auf die Ebene der Nachhaltigkeit unvermeidbar machen wird.

Zusammengefasst lautete die Botschaft von "GdW": Aufgrund verspäteter globaler Entscheidungen wird die Menschheit zulassen, dass ihr ökologischer Fußabdruck (Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft) größer wird, als es der kleine Planet Erde auf lange Sicht hin verträgt. Das Buch rief heftige Ablehnung hervor. Man glaubte (damals) nicht, die Menschen könnten so dumm sein und das Fortschreiten des Wachstums bis zur ökologischen Unverträglichkeit erlauben. Deshalb erschien auch die Drohung eines nachfolgenden Niedergangs – insbesondere die Idee eines "Zusammenbruchs" – irrelevant.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bettina Scholz

Advancing Cosmopolitanism through International Competition

in *Global Society*, Vol. 26, Issue 4, , 495-513

The impact of the Olympics seems global, but is it cosmopolitan? Cosmopolitan theory needs to be expanded to include criteria for evaluating the effects of transnational non-governmental associations. Such criteria would enable cosmopolitans not merely to argue for the toleration of associations but also to consider how associations advance cosmopolitan norms and dispositions. Assessing institutional, developmental, shared identity and public sphere effects, this article uses the example of the Olympics to explore what it would mean for an association's effects to be cosmopolitan. Establishing standardised international rules and shared global norms such as fair play are cosmopolitan aspects of the Olympic movement. These shared rules and practices lead to transnational communities among elite athletes, sports administrators and even audiences. The nationalistic aspects of the Olympic Games keep this association a partial expression of cosmopolitanism. Partial expressions of cosmopolitanism, however, have the potential indirectly to advance cosmopolitan norms among those who do not necessarily embrace cosmopolitanism. The



Olympics demonstrates that to advance cosmopolitanism requires more than a declared cosmopolitan purpose.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Le Cacheux Jacques

Agriculture mondiale et européenne: défis du XXIe siècle

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/2 (n°121) , 195-234

L'agriculture mondiale est parvenue, au cours des décennies passées, à nourrir une population mondiale en forte croissance ; elle a également fourni des quantités croissantes de matières premières industrielles. Mais, alors même que l'essor de la population mondiale ralentit, l'augmentation de la production agricole soulève, dans la plupart des régions du monde, des difficultés, liées à la manière dont les hausses des volumes ont été obtenues – mise en culture de terres nouvelles prises sur les milieux naturels sauvages, notamment la forêt, intensification de l'usage des intrants (eau, engrais minéraux, pesticides), et des prélèvements sur les ressources halieutiques, etc. Dans un contexte dominé par le changement climatique, la dégradation de l'environnement naturel, la perte de biodiversité, et la raréfaction de certaines ressources, notamment fossiles, l'agriculture mondiale est confrontée à de nombreux défis. Elle devra, au cours des prochaines décennies, améliorer, en quantité et en qualité, l'offre alimentaire, tout en fournissant des matières premières industrielles, et en réduisant sa pression sur l'environnement naturel. Les politiques agricoles doivent, pour ce faire, être infléchies partout dans le monde, qu'il s'agisse de celles menées dans les pays en développement, des politiques de libéralisation des échanges internationaux au sein de l'OMC, ou de la Politique agricole commune (PAC), dont la réforme est actuellement discutée.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Pries Ludger

Ambiguities of global and transnational collective identities

in *Global Networks*, vol. 13, issue 1, january , 22-40

ABSTRACT: As traditional categories of collective identity are in decline and brought into question, the process of defining shared perceptions of 'us' and 'them' by new markers and new mechanisms seems more important than ever. In the article, I summarize basic aspects of collective identity formation in the ongoing processes of globalization and transnationalization and discuss the basic challenges of collective identity in the twenty-first century. I present different ideal types of border-crossing collective identities in terms of the patterns of their spatial reach. Two of these types of collective identity – 'global humanism' and 'transnational collective identities' – are discussed in more detail, especially concerning their ambiguities of universal and/or particularistic character. I conclude that the global collective identity of 'humanism' is not as global as it appears at first glance, and that transnational collective identities usually refer to the authority of a stated global collective identity. Given these genuine interrelations between global humanism and transnational (and other spatial patterns of) collective identities, the future seems destined to be shaped by an intertwined 'as-well-as' relation rather than an 'either-or' relation between the different types of collective identities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Steger Manfred B., Wilson Erin K.

Anti-Globalization or Alter-Globalization? Mapping the Political Ideology of the Global Justice Movement
in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 3, september , 439-454

ABSTRACT: Globalization has unsettled conventional, nationally based political belief systems, opening the door to emerging new global political ideologies. While much analytic focus has been on ideational transformations related to market globalism (neoliberalism), little attention has been given to its growing number of ideological challengers. Drawing on data collected from 45 organizations connected to the World Social Forum, this article examines the political ideas of the global justice movement, the key antagonist to market globalism from the political Left. Employing morphological discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis, the article assesses the ideological coherence of “justice globalism” against Michael Freedman’s (1996) three criteria of distinctiveness, context-bound responsiveness, and effective decontestation. We find that justice globalism displays ideological coherence and should be considered a maturing political “alter”-ideology of global significance. The evidence presented in this article suggests the ongoing globalization of the twenty-first-century ideological landscape.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Baldwin Richard, Jaimovich Dany

Are Free Trade Agreements contagious?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 1, September 2012 , 1-16

This paper tests the hypothesis that the domino-like spread of regionalism is partly driven by ‘defensive’ FTAs, i.e. FTAs signed to reduce discrimination created by third-nation FTAs. A theory-based measure is used to test contagion against alternative determinants of regionalism. The main finding is that contagion is present in our data and robust to various econometric specifications, samples, and inclusions of various economic and political controls including the Baier–Bergstrand controls. Some support is found for political theories that stress ‘political distance’ but none for those that stress ‘slow multilateralism’.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mello Luiz de, Padoan Pier Carlo, Rousová Linda

Are Global Imbalances Sustainable? Shedding Further Light on the Causes of Current Account Reversals

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 3, August 2012 , 489-516

Large shifts in countries' external current account positions can be disruptive, often reflecting sudden stops in the flows of external finance and leading to exchange rate and banking crises. As a result, an empirical literature has emerged on the sustainability of, and the determinants of large swings in, current account positions. Further light is shed on this issue by testing for the presence of unit roots in the current account balance-to-gross domestic product (GDP) ratios of a large set of mature and emerging-market economies using a methodology that allows for structural breaks in levels and trends. A chronology is constructed of current account reversals that is consistent with sustainability of external positions and it is used to estimate the factors explaining the likelihood and magnitude of such reversals by utilising a selection



model with ordered probit in the selection stage. It is found that most of the factors that explain the probability of reversals, such as trends in capital flows, in the budget balance and in external positions, also influence their magnitude, but there are a few exceptions. For instance, the stance of monetary policy and the magnitude of external imbalances prior to a reversal seem to be more powerful predictors of the probability of reversals than of their magnitude.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Morrison James Ashley

Before Hegemony: Adam Smith, American Independence, and the Origins of the First Era of Globalization in International Organization, vol. 66, issue 3 , 395-428

ABSTRACT: While extensive scholarship has shown that it is possible to maintain global economic openness after hegemony, economic liberalization is still thought to be unlikely prior to hegemonic ascent. This assumption is based on the conventional narrative that Great Britain began lowering its trade barriers in the 1820s as it began its hegemonic ascent. This article shows that Britain began pursuing an open trading structure in the 1780s—in precisely the multipolar world that hegemonic stability theorists claimed would be least likely to initiate the shift. This change in commercial strategy depended crucially on the intellectual conversion of a key policymaker—the Earl of Shelburne—from mercantilist foreign economic policy to Adam Smith's revolutionary laissez-faire liberalism. Using the case of “the world's most important trading state” in the nineteenth century, this article highlights the importance of intellectuals—as well as their ideas—in shaping states' foreign policy strategies. It also provides further evidence of key individuals' significance and their decisions at “critical junctures.”

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Häberlen Joachim C.

Between global aspirations and local realities: the global dimensions of interwar communism in Journal of Global History, Volume 7 - Issue 03 - November 2012 , 415-437

Abstract

This article explores the global dimension of communism during the interwar period. It criticizes a literature that either depicts communist parties as small ‘red armies’ obeying any order from Moscow, or focuses exclusively on the local level and ignores any international aspects. The article first discusses attempts of communist leaders to create a ‘world party’ based in Moscow. It next analyses the conflicts between a globally acting communist leadership and rank-and-file members concerned about their local circumstances. Finally, it highlights the role that internationalism played on the local level. Such an approach – which locates ‘the global’ on the local level, both in terms of how internationalist ideas informed people's behaviour in local contexts and in terms of how they resisted forms of globalism – might provide a means for bridging the gap between global and local histories.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Halvorsen Sam

Beyond the Network? Occupy London and the Global Movement

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2012 , 427-433

Abstract

This article argues that paying attention to the spatialities of the Occupy movement, and in particular the role of territory, suggests that the dominant metaphor of the network may be insufficient to understanding the diverse spatial strategies of contemporary social movements. The aim of presenting this argument is both to be provocative and also to take seriously the Occupy movement's 'politics of asking', not shying away from asking challenging questions. It starts by introducing the reader to the Occupy London movement and its autonomous tendencies of non-hierarchical organisation and do it yourself politics. It then places Occupy London within the wider movement and compares it to the alter-globalisation movement, a similar example of a global movement for socio-economic justice. It is argued that understanding the autonomous politics of the alter-globalisation movement through the logic of networking is not only useful but also limiting in its potentials for conceptualising non-hierarchical organising. The remainder of the essay considers how Occupy may be moving beyond the network as a dominant organisational form and political goal. Specifically, it draws on the author's experiences at international gatherings and in the international commission working group of Occupy London and argues that there has been a renewed attention to territory and territoriality. This does not imply that networked spatialities of activism have become less important but raises questions over the centrality of networked thinking to contemporary understandings of global movements. By way of conclusion, this article poses questions for activists and academics interested in Occupy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rob Asghar

Can America "Lose" in the Globalization Game?

in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 32, Number 2 , 3-15

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jeanne Olivier

Capital Flow Management

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 203-06

There is a wide variety in the capital account policies of emerging markets and developing economies. Some countries, such as Brazil, have recently experimented with prudential controls on capital inflows, whereas others, such as China, have continued to maintain tight controls. This paper reviews the recent theoretical literature explaining the motivations behind capital account policies, and whether there is a case for international coordination in this area.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kian Kwee Hui

**Chinese Economic Dominance in Southeast Asia: A Longue Duree Perspective
in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 55, Issue 1, January , 5-34**

As the industrialization process in Western European countries took off in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, they largely turned to Asia and Africa for raw materials and other resources, as well as for markets of their manufactures. Various entrepreneurial diasporas, including the Indians, Lebanese and Chinese, were at the forefront to exploit these burgeoning economic possibilities, particularly in gathering local mineral and agricultural commodities and marketing European goods in the Afro-Asian regions. The Chinese activities in Southeast Asia stood out: they not only presided over the commercial realm but also organized mining production and cash crop agriculture in ways largely autonomous of the colonial regimes and Western entrepreneurs. How can we explain the dominance of the Chinese migrants and sojourners in the Southeast Asian economy from the 1850s to the 1930s? This paper repudiates the existing literature, which largely credits their economic presence to conscious immigration policies of the colonial authorities, and instead highlights the effects of a confluence of developments in the early modern period (ca. 1450–1800), including the sidelining of South Asians, West Asians, and regional trading communities in favor of the Chinese. A particular focus is the roles played by symbolic capital and mechanisms of advanced credit and spiral marketing, and how these gave the Chinese a comparative advantage over other trading groups.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Woods Kerri

**Civic and Cosmopolitan Friendship
in *Res Publica*, Volume 19, Number 1, January , 81-94**

This article draws out two implications for cosmopolitan or global friendship from an examination of a recent work on civic friendship in the domestic sphere: (1) Insofar as it is the case that civic friendship, as defined by Schwarzenbach (*On civic friendship: Including women in the state*. Columbia University Press, New York, 2009) is necessary for justice in the state, it is also the case that the absence of global justice can be partially explained by the absence of what might be called cosmopolitan friendship. (2) If we consider the practicalities of civic friendship, we find that cosmopolitan friendship is an even more difficult and demanding project than we might have imagined.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Giordani Paolo E., Ruta Michele

**Coordination failures in immigration policy
in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 1, January 2013 , Pages 55-67**

We propose a theoretical framework for analyzing the problems associated to unilateral immigration policy in receiving countries and for evaluating the grounds for reform of international institutions governing immigration. We build a model with multiple destination countries and show that immigration policy in one country is influenced by measures adopted abroad as migrants choose where to locate (in part) in response to differences in immigration policy. This



interdependence gives rise to a leakage effect of immigration policy, an international externality well documented in the empirical literature. In this environment, immigration policy becomes strategic and unilateral behavior may lead to coordination failures, where receiving countries are stuck in welfare inferior equilibria. We then use an equilibrium refinement to show that the selected equilibrium differs from the Pareto-dominant one and argue that multilateral institutions that help receiving countries make immigration policy commitments would address this inefficiency.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mahmud Tayyab

Debt and Discipline

in American Quarterly, vol. 64, n. 3, September , 469-494

Neoliberal restructuring of the economy created a symbiosis of debt and discipline. New policies displaced Keynesian welfare, facilitated financialization of the economy, broke the power of organized labor, and expanded debt to sustain aggregate demand. Ever-increasing sections of the working classes were brought within the ambit of the credit economy. Constructs of individual responsibility and human capital were refashioned to facilitate assemblage of subjects who would engage the financialized economy as risk-taking entrepreneurs. Engulfment in debt induced self-discipline and conformity with the logic of the financialized economy and precarious labor markets.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

HeintzJames, Balakrishnan Radhika

Debt, Power, and Crisis: Social Stratification and the Inequitable Governance of Financial Markets

in American Quarterly, vol. 64, n. 3, September , 387-409

Credit markets lie at the heart of many economic crises, shaping policy responses and reinforcing inequities. This essay examines the power dynamics embodied in debt relationships, the propensity of credit markets to create conditions of economic fragility, and the interactions between financial markets and existing social stratifications. It explores case studies of credit markets and crisis: racialized lending in the subprime mortgage markets, the European sovereign debt crisis, the Latin American debt crisis, and capital flight from sub-Saharan Africa. The essay concludes with a consideration of how economic and social rights provide an alternative framework for financial governance.

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Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fischer-Lescano Andreas, Möller Kolja

Die globale soziale Frage

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, Juli, 2012 , 45-54

Die gegenwärtige globale Lage ist an Zynismus kaum zu überbieten: Während Billionen Euro für die Rettung von Banken aufgebracht werden, stellt niemand jene 13 Mrd. Dollar zur Verfügung, die nach Berechnungen der UNO gebraucht werden, um den Welthunger zu stillen. Während die Deutsche Bank für das Jahr 2011 ihren Ertrag auf etwa 10 Mrd. Euro schätzt, leben mehr als 1,3 Milliarden Menschen weltweit in Armut, von weniger als 1,25 US-Dollar pro



Tag. Besonders prekär ist die Situation der Flüchtlinge. 40 Millionen Menschen waren im Jahr 2010 auf der Flucht...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ghosal Sayantan, Thampanishvong Kannika

Does strengthening Collective Action Clauses (CACs) help?

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 89, Issue 1, January 2013 , Pages 68-78

Does improving creditor coordination by strengthening CACs lead to efficiency gains in the functioning of sovereign bond markets? We address this question in a model featuring both debtor moral hazard and creditor coordination under incomplete information. Conditional on default, we characterize the interim efficient CAC threshold and show that strengthening CACs away from unanimity results in interim welfare gains. However, once the impact of strengthening CACs on debtor's incentives is taken into account, we demonstrate the robust possibility of a conflict between ex ante and interim efficiency. We calibrate our model to quantify such a welfare trade-off and discuss the policy implications of our results.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marcoux Christopher, Urpelainen Johannes

Dynamics of spatial interdependence: the contingent effect of international trade on voluntary environmental standards

in **Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy**, Volume 30, Issue 5, October , 871-890

Previous research has shown that international trade exposure promotes the diffusion of voluntary environmental standards, such as ISO 14001, from importing nations to exporting nations. However, previous studies have not theorized about the conditions under which trade diffusion is most effective. We argue that international trade exposure influences ISO 14001 adoption rates in countries that have yet to achieve high domestic adoption levels relative to the global average. But if a country achieves a high domestic adoption level, companies have incentives to certify their operations for domestic reasons, and these incentives dominate international influences. Thus, we expect the relative importance of international pressure to decrease as the domestic adoption level increases. International diffusion of ISO 14001, therefore, may not reflect a 'race to the top'. We test this theory against a global panel dataset on ISO 14001 adoption rates for the years 1995–2007.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Benz Arthur

Eine Gestalt, die alt geworden ist? Thesen zum Wandel des Staates

in **Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft** , Heft 2, 2012

Die Staatsdiskussion ist von Thesen über dessen Aufstieg oder Niedergang geprägt. Differenzierte Aussagen über den Wandel des Staates finden sich dabei selten. Das liegt oft bereits an einem Staatsbegriff, der für die Erklärung des Wandels nicht geeignet ist. Gesellschaftszentrierte wie institutionalistische Theorien liefern bislang wenig überzeugende



Grundlagen, die behauptete Transformation des Staates angemessen zu erklären. Ausgehend von dieser Kritik wird in diesem Beitrag ein analytischer Rahmen skizziert, der zum besseren Verständnis des Wandels des modernen Staates beitragen soll. Er lenkt den Blick auf ungleichzeitige Entwicklungen und dadurch verursachte strukturelle Inkonsistenzen. Während die Staaten sich in verflochtene multinationale Mehrebenensysteme wandeln, zeichnen sich ihre Institutionen der Verfassung, Demokratie und Bürokratie durch ein beträchtliches Beharrungsvermögen aus.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Conrad Sebastian

Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 117, Issue 4, October 2012 , 999-1027

Figure 1:

Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore and arch-enemy of the British, began in the 1790s to fashion himself as an enlightened monarch: he was one of the founding members of the (French) Jacobin club in Seringapatam, had planted a liberty tree, and asked to be addressed as Tipu Citoyen—and he reformed the military and economy according to European models. But his eclectic form of rule also drew on the cultural repertoire of South Asian Hinduism and at the same time, the large Hindu majority of his population notwithstanding, on Islamic traditions. Tipu Sultan corresponded with the caliph of the Ottoman Empire and stylized his resistance against British expansion as a battle between Islam and Christendom. One should not conclude, however, that his interest in things European—he was a collector of clocks and eyeglasses, but also of scientific instruments, and had installed a printing press—was nothing but a fascination for exotic curios. Rather, it needs to be understood as a practice meant to demonstrate the universal character of his rule. Watercolor, ca. 1790, by an anonymous Indian artist.

The Enlightenment has long held a pivotal place in narratives of world history. It has served as a sign of the modern, and continues to play that role yet today. The standard interpretations, however, have tended to assume, and to perpetuate,

...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nelson J.A.

Ethics and the economist: What climate change demands of us

in *Ecological Economics*, Volume 85, "New Climate Economics", January , 145-154

Climate change is changing not only our physical world, but also our intellectual, social, and moral worlds. We are realizing that our situation is profoundly unsafe, interdependent, and uncertain. What, then, does climate change demand of economists, as human beings and as professionals? A discipline of economics based on Enlightenment notions of mechanism and disembodied rationality is not suited to present problems. This essay suggests three major requirements: first, that we take action; second, that we work together; and third, that we focus on avoiding the worst, rather than obtaining the optimal. The essay concludes with suggestions of specific steps that economists should take as researchers, teachers, and in our other roles.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gavin Brigid

Europe needs a dynamic international investment regime with China

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 4 / July 2012 , 248-256

Academic thinking on foreign direct investment has evolved over the years. This paper reviews this evolution for its usefulness in understanding EU-Chinese investment relations today. It then explores the idea of a new dynamic policy regime as a more appropriate means to address the complex issues of investment liberalisation rather than the traditional trade liberalisation approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Snyder Sarah B.

Exporting Amnesty International to the United States: Transatlantic Human Rights Activism in the 1960s

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 3, august , 779-799

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes Amnesty International's initial struggle to establish an American section. Amid the growing attention to Amnesty International in the scholarly literature, limited work exists on its national sections, including AIUSA, the American section. Understanding transatlantic disagreements about the efficacy of individual letter writing, funding, and the selection of prisoners of conscience illuminates the transferability of the Amnesty International model to the United States, the character of American human rights activism, and transatlantic relations among Amnesty's nongovernmental actors. Furthermore, the strained relationship between Amnesty International and AIUSA reveals different conceptions of nongovernmental activism in the 1960s.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lane Philip R., Milesi-Ferretti Gian Maria

External adjustment and the global crisis

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 2, November 2012 , Pages 252-265

The period preceding the global financial crisis was characterized by a substantial widening of current account imbalances across the world. Since the onset of the crisis, these imbalances have contracted to a significant extent. In this paper, we analyze the ongoing process of external adjustment in advanced economies and emerging markets. We find that countries whose pre-crisis current account balances were in excess of what could be explained by standard economic fundamentals have experienced the largest contractions in their external balance. We subsequently examine the contributions of real exchange rates, domestic demand and domestic output to the adjustment process (allowing for differences across exchange rate regimes) and find that external adjustment in deficit countries was achieved primarily through demand compression, rather than expenditure switching. Finally, we show that changes in other investment



flows were the main channel of financial account adjustment, with official external assistance and ECB liquidity cushioning the exit of private capital flows for some countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ferraris Maurizio

Filosofia globalizzata

in *Iride*, numero 2, agosto 2012 , 403-412

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Barkbu Bergljot, Eichengreen Barry, Mody Ashoka

Financial crises and the multilateral response: What the historical record shows

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 2, November 2012 , Pages 422-435

We provide a synoptic description of financial crises and the multilateral response over the course of the last four decades. We present both indicators of economic performance around crisis dates and a comprehensive description of multilateral rescue efforts. While emergency lending has grown, reliance on debt restructuring, broadly speaking, has declined. This leads us to ask what can be done to rebalance the management of debt problems toward a better mix of emergency lending and private sector burden sharing. In particular, we explore the idea of sovereign cocos, contingent debt securities that automatically reduce payment obligations in the event of debt-sustainability problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fecht Falko, Grüner Hans Peter, Hartmann Philipp

Financial integration, specialization, and systemic risk

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 1, September 2012 , Pages 150-161

This paper studies the implications of cross-border financial integration for financial stability when banks' loan portfolios adjust endogenously. Banks can be subject to sectoral and aggregate domestic shocks. After integration they can share these risks in a complete interbank market. When banks have a comparative advantage in providing credit to certain industries, financial integration may induce banks to specialize in lending. An enhanced concentration in lending does not necessarily increase risk, because a well-functioning interbank market allows to achieve the necessary diversification. This greater need for risk sharing, though, increases the risk of cross-border contagion and the likelihood of widespread banking crises. However, even though integration increases the risk of contagion it improves welfare if it permits banks to realize specialization benefits.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Giannetti Mariassunta, Laeven Luc

Flight Home, Flight Abroad, and International Credit Cycles

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012, 219–24

This paper shows that banks exhibit a weaker (stronger) home bias in the extension of new loans when funding conditions in their home country improve (deteriorate). We refer to these changes in home bias as flight abroad and flight home effects, respectively, and show that they are unrelated to the better known flight to quality effect that arises during periods of market turmoil. Our results also indicate that global banks amplify the effect of homegrown shocks on foreign countries while they are a stabilizing factor for the supply of credit in their home countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aiyar Shekhar

From Financial Crisis to Great Recession: The Role of Globalized Banks

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012, 225-30

This paper provides evidence of the role of globalized banks in transmitting financial stresses to the real economy during the global financial crisis. A novel dataset is constructed from quarterly balance sheet reports provided by all UK-resident banks to the Bank of England. I find that the shock to bank funding from non-resident creditors was transmitted domestically through a significant reduction in bank credit supply. Resident subsidiaries and branches of foreign-owned banks reduced lending by a larger amount than domestically-owned banks, while the latter calibrated the reduction in domestic lending more closely to the size of the funding shock.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lall Ranjit

From failure to failure: The politics of international banking regulation

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012, 609-638

It is now clear that Basel III, a much discussed set of proposals to govern the international banking system drawn up by the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision, has fallen far short of its creators' aims. Even more puzzlingly, this is not without precedent. Eleven years ago, partly in response to the Asian financial crisis of 1997, the Basel Committee attempted to overhaul global banking rules in order to enhance the stability of the global financial system. The culmination of its five-year efforts, the Basel II Accord, was abandoned by regulators before ever being fully implemented. In this paper, I ask why Basel II failed to meet the Basel Committee's original objectives and why Basel III has met a similar fate. Drawing on recent work on the politics of global regulation, I present a theoretical framework which emphasizes the importance of timing and sequencing in determining the outcome of rule-making in global finance. The success of this framework in explaining the failure of Basel II and Basel III is an invitation to scholars in the field of International Relations to take 'time' seriously as an analytical variable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Koenig-Archibugi Mathias

Fuzzy Citizenship in Global Society

in *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 4, December 2012 , 456-480

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Mittelman, James H.

Global Bricolage: emerging market powers and polycentric governance

in *Third World Quarterly*, volume 34 n.1 , 23-38

Abstract Contemporary globalisation is characterised by an explosion of organisational pluralism. Acronyms such as brics (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), ibsa (India, Brazil and South Africa), and basic (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) abound. This proliferation of groupings signals a repositioning within global governance and their names serve as metaphors for adjustments among formal and informal modes of global governance. They may be understood in terms of global bricolage: a framework for analysing incipient assemblages in global governance. Rooted in cultural political economy, this notion offers a language for grasping a loose meshwork of groupings based on certain large countries in the global South. The concept of global bricolage deepens analysis of polycentric governance and enables observers to identify three major tensions that mark contemporary global order. The antinomies are between old and new narratives that represent actual or potential shifts in prevailing forms of global governance, between an emancipatory spirit and contested neoliberal norms, and between interregional coalitions and intraregional differences. Quite clearly, the manner of addressing them will bear greatly on the shape of future world order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Noeth Bryan J., Sengupta Rajdeep

Global European Banks and the Financial Crisis

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, November/December 2012 Vol. 94, No. 6 , 457-480

This paper reviews some of the recent studies on international capital flows with a focus on the role of European global banks. It presents a revision to the commonly held "global saving glut" view that East Asian economies (along with oil-rich nations) were the dominant suppliers of capital that fueled the asset price boom in many parts of the world in the early 2000s.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Liang Yan

Global Imbalances and Financial Crisis: Financial Globalization as a Common Cause

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 46, Number 2 / June 2012 , 353-362



Global imbalances and global financial instability are tightly connected and can be traced to a common cause, that is, financial globalization within the current monetary and financial system. The paper argues that financial globalization contributes to global imbalances by impeding real exchange adjustments, inducing export-led growth, and sustaining widening deficits in the financial core country. Meanwhile, financial globalization leads to increasing global financial instability. Without a true international clearing union, the United States is charged with providing global liquidity and managing financial risks; but the failure of the United States to provide these essential banking services ultimately brought about the 2008 global financial crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

marcello de cecco

Global Imbalances: Past, Present, and Future

in Contributions to Political Economy, volume 31 n.1 , 29-50

The paper provides a historical and theoretical examination of the problem of global imbalances from classical antiquity to the present. It focuses on the classical Gold Standard, the interwar period and the post-1971 Dollar Standard. While there is neither theoretical proof nor factual evidence to show that global imbalances caused the present crisis, they were associated with crises of the past. The paper contrasts the dollar gap of the late 1940s resolved by intelligent policies devised and implemented by the US government (which led to the reconstruction of Europe and to several decades of export-led growth) with the zero-sum spirit of the present European policy. The paper rejects the saving glut approach to global imbalances and suggests that reserve-building by Asian and other emerging economies may have helped to reduce the damage done by financial institutions in the advanced economies. It suggests that these non-liberalized, large financial systems may have acted to stabilize the structurally unbalanced markets of the advanced, liberalized economies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Breunig Christian, Cao Xun, Luedtke Adam

Global Migration and Political Regime Type: A Democratic Disadvantage

in British Journal of Political Science, vol. 42, issue 4, october , 825-854

ABSTRACT: An indicator of globalization is the growing number of humans crossing national borders. In contrast to explanations for flows of goods and capital, migration research has concentrated on unilateral movements to rich democracies. This focus ignores the bilateral determinants of migration and stymies empirical and theoretical inquiry. The theoretical insights proposed here show how the regime type of both sending and receiving countries influences human migration. Specifically, democratic regimes accommodate fewer immigrants than autocracies and democracies enable emigration while autocracies prevent exit. The mechanisms for this divergence are a function of both micro-level motivations of migrants and institutional constraints on political leaders. Global bilateral migration data and a statistical method that captures the higher-order dependencies in network data are employed in this article.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Davinia Aziz

Global Public-Private Partnerships in International Law

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 2, issue 2 , 339-374

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

W. Max Corden

Global imbalances and the paradox of thrift

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 431-443

This paper analyses the relationship between the global imbalances and the financial crisis. The imbalances were connected with the increase in world savings emanating from the 'savings glut' countries, notably China. This increase in savings led to a decline in world interest rates, and thus to greater borrowing, especially in the United States. This borrowing was for financing consumption, wars, and unwise rather than fruitful investment, especially in housing. The failure to invest in fruitful investments led to the financial crisis, and thus the decline in US and world-wide aggregate demand. This was the indirect paradox of thrift. It is to be contrasted with Keynes's paradox of thrift, where the decline in aggregate demand and output would have resulted directly from the rise in world savings. The paper also discusses why there was not more borrowing for fruitful investment, especially in developing countries, hence avoiding the financial crisis. saving glut

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Prema-chandra Athukorala, Shahbaz Nasir

Global production sharing and South-South trade

in *Indian Growth and Development Review* , Vol. 5, n°2 , 173-202

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine patterns and determinants of trade among developing countries (South-South trade), with emphasis on the role of production sharing in global economic integration of the Southern economies.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper begins with an analytical narrative of the emerging trends and patterns of South-South trade using a classification system that helps delineating trade based on global production sharing (network trade) from total recorded trade. Then it undertakes a comparative econometric analysis of the determinants of South-South and South-North trade using the standard gravity model.

Findings – The share of South-South trade in world trade has shown a significant increase over the past two decades. This increase has predominantly come from the dynamic East Asian countries, reflecting their growing engagement in global production sharing. The growth dynamism of East-Asia centered production networks depends heavily on demand for final (assembled) goods in the Northern markets; South-South trade is largely complementary to, rather than competing with, South-North trade. While regional trading agreements (RTAs) could play a role at the margin, natural economic forces associated with growth and structural change in the economy and the overall macroeconomic climate



as reflected in the real exchange rate, and the quality of trade related logistics are far more important in the expansion of South-South network trade.

Originality/value – This is the first study to examine patterns and determinants of South-South trade paying attention to the role of global production sharing. The findings are valuable for informing the contemporary policy debate on promoting South-South trade. The trade data classification system developed here is expected to help further research on this subject.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Walker Clive

Global speech and global terrorism: a tall tale of two cities
in *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, Vol. 63 - n. 1 , 119-136

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Crowcroft Robert

Globalisation and Public Language
in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 4, October-December 2012 , 786-791

This article questions what the concept of 'globalisation' really amounts to. In doing so it highlights problems for the ascendancy of globalisation in contemporary public debate. Globalisation has become a catch-all; the phrase is now used to try and explain all manner of phenomena from everyday life to international politics. But the article suggests that this may be little more than a combination of rhetoric and wishful thinking. It asserts that the contemporary world is being driven by older and familiar pressures, such as state power and nationalism. As a result, the idea of 'globalisation' needs to be treated with some scepticism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Drolsum Flatena Ranveig, De Soysa Indra

Globalization and Political Violence, 1970–2008
in *International Interactions*, vol. 38, issue 5 , 622-646

ABSTRACT: The question of globalization's effect on social harmony continues to be fiercely debated. We use a comprehensive measure of globalization (the KOF index) designed to capture the intensity of connectivity among countries along economic, social, and political dimensions. Our results suggest that globalization, particularly economic and social globalization, predicts a lower risk of civil war and political repression, but economic globalization predicts lower repression even after unit heterogeneity is accounted. When country fixed effects are accounted, political globalization's effect is problematic for human rights, suggesting that politically influential states escape the constraining



effects of globalization on political repression. Indeed, globalization generally shows up as more important than per capita income, a variable often found to be one of the most robust determinants of political violence. The results taken together support those who argue that increased globalization may enhance prospects for social progress, not social resistance and political violence as skeptics claim.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rafal Soborski

Globalization and ideology: a critical review of the debate

in *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Volume 17, Number 3 / November, 323-346

The focus of this article is on two strands of the literature concerned with globalization and ideology. The first strand considers the question of whether political ideology of any stripe may provide adequate guidance for effective managing or confronting of globalization or some aspects of it. The second strand accepts the import of ideology in the generic sense but questions the relevance of established ideological currents in the context of globalization. While appreciating the insights provided by both literatures, this article suggests that each has been limited by their prevalent assumptions regarding the nature of ideology on the one hand, and the extent of the impact of globalization on the other. The article identifies several logical and political setbacks resulting from these assumptions and argues for a closer conceptual analysis of ideological discourse as a way out of the flawed terms of the current debate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Behrens Kristian, Murata Yasusada

Globalization and individual gains from trade

in *Journal of Monetary Economics*, Volume 59, Issue 8, December 2012, Pages 703-720

We analyze the impact of globalization on individual gains from trade in a general equilibrium model of monopolistic competition featuring product diversity, pro-competitive effects and income heterogeneity between and within countries. Although trade reduces markups in both countries in our framework, its impact on variety depends on their relative position in the world income distribution: product diversity in the lower income country always expands, while that in the higher income country may shrink. When the latter occurs, the richer consumers in the higher income country may lose from trade because the relative importance of variety versus quantity increases with income. Using data on GDP per capita and population, as well as on the U.S. income distribution, our theoretical results are illustrated in two different contexts: the hypothetical bilateral trade liberalization between the U.S. and 188 countries; and the historical sequence of U.S. free trade agreements since 1985.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Foglio G.

Globalizzazione e spazi politici nel pensiero internazionalistico di Carl Schmitt

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2, 93-108



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nicotra Danilo

Governance e globalizzazione oltre la actor-network theory

in *Rivista trimestrale di scienza dell'amministrazione*, fasc. 2

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Germain Randall

Governing global finance and banking

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 530-535

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Unmüßig Barbara, Fatheuer Thomas, Sachs Wolfgang

Green Economy: Der Ausverkauf der Natur?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juli, 2012 , 55-61

Der große UN-Gipfel in Rio de Janeiro im Jahr 1992 gilt bis heute als Meilenstein für die internationale Umweltpolitik. Doch 20 Jahre danach steckt das Konzept der „nachhaltigen Entwicklung“ – das Schlüsselwort von Rio 1992 – in der Sackgasse.

Heute haben wir es mit einer Wirklichkeit zu tun, in der sich die Finanz-, Klima- und Ernährungskrisen wechselseitig verschärfen. Millionen Menschen erfahren täglich, dass das Heilsversprechen des Produktions- und Konsummodells nicht für alle gilt und dass sie wohl, auch aus ökologischen Gründen, in Zukunft davon ausgeschlossen bleiben...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Berge Travis J.

Has Globalization Increased the Synchronicity of International Business Cycles?

in *Economic Review*, Third Quarter 2012

The inexorable rise in levels of interaction and interdependence among the nations of the world has, over the past several decades, caused their economies' business cycles to grow ever more synchronized.

That is one finding that emerges from an examination of the chronologies of business cycle turning points, in 32 major economies, over a 40-year period. Author Travis Berge demonstrates these cycles have grown more synchronized as



trade flows have expanded.

However, although the trend does seem to be driven by trade linkages, it appears that financial linkages play little or no role. Countries with ever deepening trade relations see their business cycles increasingly aligned; but cross-border holdings of financial assets are not found to have a significant impact on business cycle synchronization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fracchia Fabrizio

Il diritto dell'economia alla ricerca di uno spazio nell'era della globalizzazione

in *Diritto dell'economia (il)*, n. 1 , 11-38

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Goswami Manu

Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalisms

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 117, Issue 5, December 2012 , 1461-1485

Internationalism is commonly heralded as a central political force of the twentieth century. Yet its status as an analytical and historical category is profoundly ambiguous. While its valence stems from Karl Marx's institution of the First International in 1864, the year the term entered the Oxford English Dictionary, its subsequent career has largely derived as a "back construction," through reference to its semantic other, namely, nationalism. The Communist Manifesto, a founding text of political modernism, helped instill the idea that anti-systemic politics required conjuring an alternate world order. The temporal referent of radical politics was the future. The specific content of the manifesto's imagined future, and of later liberal internationalisms associated with John Hobson and Woodrow Wilson, lost effective purchase during the cataclysmic decades of the interwar era. In Europe and North America, internationalism devolved into a residual category, an object, by turns, of moralizing judgment and regressive nostalgia.

This conceptual framing—figuring internationalism as the failed negation of nationalism and in normative rather than analytical terms—refracts a specific regional history. Yet it also defines studies of anti-imperial internationalisms that acquired an unprecedented global prominence during the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, interwar internationalism in colonial worlds encompassed a range of projects that were explicitly anti-imperial yet neither reducible nor opposed to nationalism. Elaborated by dispersed groups, without a determinate place in a given geopolitical order, colonial internationalism improvised a distinct future-oriented politics. Anti-imperial internationalists amplified political modernism into a global formation, sounding the ...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jennifer E. Givens, Andrew K. Jorgenson

Individual environmental concern in the world polity: A multilevel analysis



in **Social Science Research** , Vol. 42, n°2 , 418-431

The authors assess the extent to which national-level integration in the world polity influences individual-level concern for the environment. While theoretically-derived propositions about such relationships have a deep history in comparative sociology, they—with few exceptions—remain untested. Consistent with past research, employed national-level measures of world polity integration include the relative presence of environmental international nongovernmental organizations (EINGOs) and the existence of environmental ministries. Results of multilevel analyses of individual-level environmental concern in 37 nations indicate that both forms of world polity integration increase the likelihood of individual-level environmental concern, net of other national-level factors and individual-level characteristics; although we find stronger support for the influence of EINGOs as a key variable indicating world polity connection. The findings provide unique support for world polity theory, suggesting that future research should consider how elements of world polity integration influence other forms of individual attitudes and behaviors. The results also highlight the importance in considering global and transnational factors when assessing the determinants of individual attitudes about the environment.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Eichengreen Barry

International Liquidity in a Multipolar World

in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 207–12

Today's global monetary and financial system, to a remarkable extent, continues to rely on the U.S. dollar for international liquidity. This reflects the currency's historic role, the liquidity of American financial markets, and the absence of alternatives. But with the emergence of emerging markets, the capacity of the United States to provide safe assets will be outstripped by the growth of international transactions. It is thus likely that other large economies, presumably Europe and China, will eventually join the United States as sources of international liquidity and that other currencies will come to share the dollar's reserve-currency status.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dominguez Kathryn M.E., Hashimoto Yuko, Ito Takatoshi

International reserves and the global financial crisis

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 88, Issue 2, November 2012 , Pages 388-406

This study examines whether pre-crisis international reserve accumulations, as well as exchange rate and reserve policy decisions made during the global financial crisis, can help to explain cross-country differences in post-crisis economic performance. Our approach focuses not only on the total stock of official reserves held by countries, but also on the decisions by governments to purchase or sell reserve assets during the crisis period. We introduce new data made available through the IMF Special Data Dissemination Standard (SDDS) Reserve Template, which allow us to distinguish interest income and valuation changes in the stock of official reserves from the actively managed component of reserves. We use this novel data to gauge (and whether) reserve accumulation policies influenced the economic and financial performance of countries during and after the global crisis. Our findings support the view that higher reserve accumulations prior to the crisis are associated with higher post-crisis GDP growth.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Abatecola Gianpaolo

Interpreting corporate crises: Towards a co-evolutionary approach

in Futures, Volume 44, Issue 10 , 860-869

Managing corporate crises has always been a topic of interest in the evolving research about futures, especially as far as recent literature about scenario planning is concerned. Dealing with crises is even more important to date, because of the large amount of corporate failures determined by the current macro-economic recession worldwide. While a number of reliable research methodologies on crises' antecedents exist, it is still maintained that both the literature and practice of management lack appropriate theoretical perspectives for holistically capturing the overall dynamics of crises' paths. This conceptual article aims at contributing to filling this gap by suggesting that patterns of corporate crises can be conceived through extensively drawing on the evolving literature about organizational adaptation. The article follows one of the latest streams of research published in Futures. In fact, through adopting co-evolutionary lenses to adaptation, the article provides its readers with an interpretative framework that conceptualizes crises' patterns as an ineffective adaptation process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ezcurra Roberto

Is there a link between globalization and governance?

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 30, Issue 5, October , 848-870

With this paper I investigate empirically the relationship between globalization and governance. To this end, I use a measure of globalization that distinguishes the social and political dimensions of integration from the economic dimension, which allows me to adopt a broader perspective than in existing studies and to examine the effect of these three distinct dimensions of globalization on governance. The results show that those countries with higher levels of integration with the rest of the world tend on the whole to register better governance outcomes. The dimensions of globalization most robustly related with the quality of governance are economic and social integration. These findings are not affected by the inclusion in the analysis of additional explanatory variables, such as GDP per capita, the degree of ethnolinguistic fractionalization, legal origin, religion, natural resource abundance, and government size.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Maestro Buelga G.

La globalización americana

in Teoria del diritto e dello stato, n. 1-2 , 165-188

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gustavo Lins Ribeiro

La globalización popular y el sistema mundial no hegemónico

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 241

Actualmente, la «ilicitud global» llama mucho la atención por su escala y poder. Sin embargo, separar lo lícito de lo ilícito resulta más complejo de lo que parece a primera vista, y el mundo actual está lejos de ser el escenario de una disputa entre honestos y deshonestos. En este artículo se analizan los procesos de globalización orquestados por gente del pueblo, que han dado lugar en América Latina a enormes mercados articulados con la diáspora china. En ese marco, se analiza la ambivalencia de la «piratería»: si es cierto que asume un potencial subversivo frente al capitalismo, al mismo tiempo se mezcla contradictoriamente con él, al enlazarse con las necesidades de consumo del mundo contemporáneo.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Buhler Pierre, Steta Annick

La nouvelle grammaire de la puissance. Entretien avec Pierre Buhler

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Octobre 2012 , 21-37

Revue des Deux Mondes: Votre dernier livre, la Puissance au XXI^e siècle (1), retrace l'évolution d'une notion autour de laquelle s'articule le système international. De quelle manière définiriez-vous la puissance?

Pierre Buhler: Aron définissait la puissance comme «la capacité d'une unité politique d'imposer sa volonté aux autres unités. En bref, la puissance n'est pas un absolu, mais une relation humaine». Il avait pris soin d'indiquer que peu de concepts restaient aussi équivoques. Je me suis efforcé de montrer que la puissance s'incarne dans une institution qui a triomphé de toutes les autres: l'État, dont Max Weber a écrit qu'il était «détenteur du monopole de la violence physique légitime». L'État a triomphé des pouvoirs privés, des pouvoirs féodaux, des pouvoirs confessionnels – de tous les pouvoirs qui étaient sur son chemin. Au fondement de la légitimité de l'État, il y a une double fonction: assurer la paix civile à l'intérieur de ses frontières et la sécurité au-delà, tout en étant conscient que ces deux fonctions sont deux faces du même bien public...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wei Ding

La nuova leadership della Cina

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 35-39

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Díaz Barrado Cástor Miguel

La responsabilidad de proteger en el Derecho Internacional contemporáneo: Entre lo conceptual y la práctica internacional

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012

The Responsibility to Protect is making its way in the international legal order based on a contemporary interpretation of the structural Principles of the International Law. From a theoretical perspective, the concept of "responsibility to protect" has achieved a significant degree of acceptance, both by the scientific doctrine and by States and International Organizations, although its effectiveness in specific situations of the international practice is still to be seen. However, a notion of this kind is not only displacing other traditional figures such as "the intervention of humanity" but, above all, it modifies the legal perception of some principles as essential as the sovereignty of States or the prohibition of the use of force in international relations. At the heart of the matter, "the responsibility to protect" is consolidating and, at the same time, the concept of International Community is acquiring greater practical meaning and it is becoming more necessary in the attempt to advocate, with greater intensity, the defence of human rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Leroy Marc

La soutenabilité des finances publiques à l'épreuve de la crise internationale - Le questionnement de la "sociologie" fiscale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 456-470

This article questions the sustainability of public finances in the context of the international crisis from the point of view of fiscal sociology. It first analyses the trivialisation of the fiscal drift that leads to significant losses of public income: the fiscal optimisation of international companies, the fiscal competition of States, the complex legislation and inadequacies of international control and of public agencies encouraged tax minimisation. Secondly, it shows that globalisation does not necessarily destroy the Welfare State and that in developed countries, the crisis of the fiscal State (public debt) is not linked to the inherent nature of the fiscal system, in accordance with the Schumpeter theory. The overgeneralization of the neoliberal constraint ideology (market efficiency, crisis) conceals the possibility of democratic options, as shown by the difficulties of institutional reforms (IMF, European Union) to control the systemic risk derived from the market.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Felbermayr Gabriel, Larch Mario, Lechthaler Wolfgang

Labour market reforms in a globalised world

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 5, September 2012 , 307-312

In the traditional model of international trade, labour market reforms in one country are often viewed as beggar-thy-neighbour policies, because they negatively affect the competitiveness and employment levels of the



country's trading partners. Empirical evidence, however, suggests that this is not the case. By addressing labour market reforms in the context of intra-industry trade, this article explains how such reforms, while boosting employment, ultimately reduce a country's terms of trade, thereby benefitting the country's trading partners. The authors call for more international policy coordination to achieve optimal outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hartmann Michael

Le mythe de la « classe globale »

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Août 2012 , 3

Délocalisations pour les uns, rémunérations stratosphériques pour les autres : doublement profitable pour ceux qui l'énoncent, le discours sur la mondialisation justifie à la fois la concurrence qui « s'impose » aux salariés et les privilèges dont jouit une jet-set présentée comme supranationale. Une étude minutieuse montre pourtant que les bases de cette élite autoproclamée restent nationales.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Giraud Olivier

Les défis de la comparaison à l'âge de la globalisation : pour une approche centrée sur les cas les plus différents inspirée de Clifford Geertz

in *Critique Internationale*, n° 57, octobre/décembre 2012 , 89-110

The Challenges of Comparison in the Age of Globalization : A Geertzian, Contrast-Oriented Comparative Approach

This article analyzes the manner in which globalization has transformed the exercise of comparison in the social sciences and explores prospects for the method of contrast-oriented comparison developed by Clifford Geertz. The first part of the article examines the manner in which globalization is reflected in a series of specific social mechanisms. Taken together, these call into question the nation as the relevant framework of comparison, encourage greater attention to the various scales at which social phenomena occur and transform our understanding of the independence of particular cases. The second part examines the contrast-oriented method in the context of comparative approaches, giving attention to the forms of demonstrative reasoning they involve. The third part, finally, looks at how contrast-oriented comparative approaches respond to the challenges of globalization for comparison.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hugon Philippe

Les nouvelles alliances Sud-Sud et le rôle des relations tricontinentales dans la crise

in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, n° 86, 2012/2 , 57-65



Les grandes puissances africaines, asiatiques et latino-américaines, sont présentes de manière croissante sur des théâtres où se développent les relations économiques et politiques Sud/Sud . La mondialisation s'accompagne d'un déplacement du centre de gravité du capitalisme et voit apparaître la montée en puissance de pays dits « émergents », des tensions entre le multilatéralisme...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Andolfatto David

Liquidity Shocks, Real Interest Rates, and Global Imbalances

in **Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review**, May/June 2012 Vol. 94, No. 3 , 187-196

The author uses a simple neoclassical model to show how liquidity shocks at home and abroad can contribute to trade imbalances and low real interest rates. The author's interpretation is consistent with Bernanke's (2005) "global saving glut" hypothesis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Margalit Yotam

Lost in Globalization: International Economic Integration and the Sources of Popular Discontent

in **International Studies Quarterly**, vol. 56, issue 3, september , 484-500

ABSTRACT: What are the sources of popular opposition to economic globalization? A common answer in the literature is the adverse impact of trade liberalization on some people's labor market standing and earning prospects. Recent studies also note a correlation between nationalist and ethnocentric sentiments and support for trade protectionism, yet do not test whether these non-economic sentiments are actually a cause of the opposition to freer trade. I argue that many individuals fear not only the oft-cited material consequences of trade openness, but also what they perceive to be its social and cultural consequences. I use cross-national survey data and a survey experiment to test this causal claim. The argument also helps explain why less-educated individuals are consistently more apprehensive about international economic integration than more educated individuals, even in the countries in which economic theory predicts otherwise. The findings have implications for the debate over the policy tools for compensating globalization's losers and sustaining popular support for further economic integration.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Calloni Marina

L'accoglienza nell'epoca della globalizzazione

in **Reset**, Numero 138

Chiedo asilo. Essere rifugiato in Italia è il libro di Marina Calloni, Stefano Marras e Giorgia Serughetti da poco uscito per Egea. Un libro che traccia un quadro completo della condizione del richiedente asilo in Italia e, più in generale, del rifugiato politico nel mondo.



<http://www.reset.it/articolo/laccoglienza-nellepoca-della-globalizzazione>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Crook Malcolm, Crook Tom

L'isolair universel ? La globalisation du scrutin secret au XIXe siècle

in *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* , numéro 43, 2011 , 41-45

L'isolair universel ? The globalization of the secret ballot in the 19th century

These days we take it for granted that the secret ballot is the only method of voting compatible with free and fair elections. However, this has not always been the case and the study that follows contributes to a critical history of the vote that historians are beginning to construct. During the long nineteenth century, as countries considered adopting the secret ballot, there was much argument over its relationship to democracy. This debate was conducted on a global scale, as different western countries compared and contrasted various aspects of their respective electoral systems. This transnational approach to reform, based on improved communications and international mobility, has not been recognised. Yet without it the pioneering 'Australian Ballot', with its printed ballot papers and polling booths, would not have been invented, nor disseminated across the world. This colonial innovation directly inspired reform in Britain, then the United States, and it was later relayed to France after its adoption in Belgium. Even so, while the diffusion of the secret ballot offers a striking illustration of transnationalism, it was far from imposing uniformity as local variations in practice persisted.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Welfens Paul J. J.

Marshall-Lerner condition and economic globalization

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Number 2 / June 2012 , 191-207

The analysis considers the impact of FDI inflows and FDI outflows and shows that the presence of (cumulated) FDI requires higher import elasticities in absolute terms than stated in the standard Marshall Lerner condition. One may derive a range for the elasticity of the ratio of exports to imports with respect to the real exchange rate, namely that the sum of the absolute import elasticities at home and abroad must exceed unity plus an additional parameter—for standard special cases the sum of both elasticities must exceed 2 if a real depreciation is to improve the real current account. Not only can one determine a modified Marshall Lerner condition for a world economy with economic globalization, rather one also can get new insights from considering a broader macroeconomic perspective. The insights obtained are highly relevant for the discussion about high current account deficits of the US and high surplus positions of countries such as Japan, China and Germany—adjustment could be more complex than suggested by traditional models.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ziai Aram

Neokoloniale Weltordnung? Brüche und Kontinuitäten seit der Dekolonisation

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 44-45, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/146977/neokoloniale-weltordnung

Die Vorstellung, dass einige Völker nicht in der Lage sind, sich selbst zu regieren, und daher auf die Hilfe von "zivilisierteren" Völkern angewiesen sind, die für sie freundlicherweise die Regierungsgeschäfte übernehmen, erscheint heutzutage ebenso absurd wie anachronistisch. Dennoch wird bisweilen auch Jahrzehnte nachdem fast alle Kolonien ihre Unabhängigkeit erkämpft oder gewährt bekommen haben, immer noch der Vorwurf des Kolonialismus laut: Wir lebten auch nach der formalen Dekolonisation nicht in einer nachkolonialen, sondern in einer neokolonialen Weltordnung.

Dieser Beitrag will diesem Vorwurf nachgehen und anhand einiger Beispiele die Brüche und Kontinuitäten untersuchen, die sich bei einer eingehenderen Beschäftigung mit der nachkolonialen Ära auffinden lassen. Dazu wird zunächst definiert, was unter Kolonialismus und Neokolonialismus zu verstehen ist, bevor Phänomene aus verschiedenen Bereichen – Weltwirtschaft, Militär, Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Landwirtschaft, Biodiversität, Migration sowie Kultur und Medien – im Hinblick auf diese Definitionen diskutiert werden. Dabei wird auch darauf eingegangen, ob und inwiefern der Internationale Währungsfonds (IWF) und die Weltbank "Instrumente der Ausbeutung" des Globalen Südens sind oder Globalisierung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit als neue Formen des Kolonialismus zu bezeichnen sind.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Major Aaron

Neoliberalism and the new international financial architecture

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012, 536-561

This paper theorizes about the new international financial architecture as a manifestation of the 'second face of neoliberalism' – financial market reregulation through technocratic obfuscation and insularity from democratic political pressure. Using a more expansive definition of the new international financial architecture, one that includes the institutional nexus of international monetary management along with the rules and regulatory bodies governing capital, this argument is developed through an analysis of the origins and functions of two institutions comprising the new international financial architecture – the Basel Capital Accord and the diffusion of inflation targeting regimes across central banks. This paper excavates the neoliberal logic inscribed in these institutions and further shows how these new forms of institutional logic contributed to the financial crisis of 2008 by putting in place a set of opportunities and constraints that led to rapid growth in the market for asset-backed securities. The implications of this analysis for the future of regulatory reform are discussed, with particular attention paid to the question of what role central banks should play in this process.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Smith Jackie, Glidden Bob

Occupy Pittsburgh and the Challenges of Participatory Democracy

in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 3-4, 2012 , 288-294

Abstract

Local manifestations of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) have emerged around the world with enthusiasm for the participatory style used in Zuccotti Park (New York). However, less attention has been paid to earlier lessons about the limits of these techniques for building diverse and sustainable movements. Much of the discussion in the USA ignores how OWS is connected to the long-term and global struggle against corporate-led globalization. Also, models of consensus practiced in many OWS sites have become reified to the verge of fetishization. Activists in the USA have yet to effectively incorporate many lessons from global justice activism including the need for a global analysis and strategy as well as greater sensitivity to how consensus practices can exclude people most harmed by the structures the movement opposes. This study draws from our involvement in Occupy Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) and in the US Social Forum and World Social Forum (WSF) to compare the participatory democratic practices in each setting and identify lessons about organizing broad coalitions against capitalist globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Woll Cornelia

Open skies, closed markets: Future games in the negotiation of international air transport

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 918-941

How can we explain an international agreement that appears to run counter to the declared objectives of one of the key players? This article examines the US–EU Open Skies agreement signed in 2007 and asks why Europeans accepted the agreement after having rejected a comparable version three years earlier. Theoretical approaches that explain time inconsistency in international negotiations tend to focus on reasons why states can be constrained to accept suboptimal solutions. In multi-level bargaining, principal–agent and bureaucratization theories focus on loss of control and constructivists suggest that governments can become trapped in rhetoric. This article shows that paradoxical agreements can be voluntary and explains them by showing the rationale behind multi-games that include ambiguity about the future. In particular, increasing the flexibility of the agreement allowed negotiators to escape present-day constituent pressures by remaining ambiguous and betting on shifting coalitions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Picano Giulia

Paradisi fiscali e sovranità offshore

in *Nuvole*, anno XXI, n. 45



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Alexander Orakhelashvili

Peremptory Norms of the International Community: A Reply to William E. Conklin

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 863-868

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Levi Lucio

Politics and Economics in the Globalization Era

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November

The most significant aspect of globalization is essentially political. It lies in the tension between the development of those forces of production that are unifying the world and the structures of the nation-states, which should, but cannot, govern the globalization process because of their dimension. Globalization is not merely a quantitative increase in social relationships and exchanges at the world level but also a qualitative change, rooted in the scientific revolution, in material production. Alongside the national societies and markets, it also creates a global civil society and a global market. It is a process which escapes from the states' control and in fact subjects state structures to so much strain that they are forced to adapt their own practices to these changing dimensions of economic and social relations. As a result, a vast movement of ideas has taken place, not only in economic thinking but also in policymaking. After the accession to power of Margaret Thatcher (1979) and Ronald Reagan (1981), it took the form of "market fundamentalism", an expression popularized by George Soros. Its basic tenet is that the free play of market forces promotes the universal spread of wealth, freedom and peace. According to this ideology, markets are capable of regulating themselves and therefore do not need any public regulation. Any interference in market mechanisms is rejected. Therefore, the globalization era would mark the withering of the state and politics.

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/editorial>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nordberg Donald

Return of the State? The G20, the Financial Crisis and Power in the World Economy

in *Review of Political Economy (The)*, Volume 24, Issue 2, 2012 , 289-302

The Group of Twenty and the new world order it is meant to signify have prompted a wave of triumphalism around the world from those who, like French President Nicolas Sarkozy, bemoan the influences of 'Anglo-Saxon capitalism' and from neo-Marxists, who view the economic crisis as a harbinger of the resurgence of states over markets. A little over a decade ago, however, the late doyenne of international political economists, Susan Strange, wrote eloquently about the



reasons why the state was in retreat, its structural power draining away in favour of markets. Have the intervening dozen years, with their recurrent crises in markets and corporate governance, demonstrated the need for a return of the state? This analysis of the G20 London communiqué, using criteria that Strange advanced, suggests that far from asserting a return of the state, the G20 signifies its persistent weakness and concludes that the G20 leaders, at least, sense a more complex network of power relationships, and that structural power rests in the network.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Schnabl Gunther, Freitag Stephan

Reverse Causality in Global and Intra-European Imbalances

in Review of International Economics, Volume 20, Issue 4, September 2012 , 674-690

The paper discusses global current account imbalances in the context of an asymmetric world monetary system. It identifies the USA and Germany as center countries with rising/high current account deficits (USA) and surpluses (Germany). These are matched by current account surpluses of countries stabilizing their exchange rates against the dollar (dollar periphery) and current account deficits of countries stabilizing their exchange rates against the euro or members of the euro area (euro periphery). The paper finds that changes of world current account positions are closely linked to the monetary policy decision patterns both in the centers and peripheries. Whereas in the centers current account positions are affected by monetary policies, in the peripheries exchange rate stabilization cum sterilization matters. In specific, monetary expansion in the USA as well as exchange rate stabilization and sterilization policies in the dollar periphery are found to have contributed to global imbalances.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hurrell Andrew

Récits d'émergence: la fin du Tiers Monde?

in Critique Internationale, n. 56, 2012 , 17-38

Narratives of Emergence : Rising Powers and the End of the Third World?

One of the most important issues concerning today's emerging powers is the impact of their rise on the concepts of the Third World and the Global South. This article examines the various ways in which emerging powers do indeed challenge many common assumptions about world politics and have de-stabilized many taken-for-granted political groupings and historical geographies. But it also highlights the limits of this line of argument. We can indeed understand much about emerging powers in terms of how they are seeking to navigate and best position themselves within an existing state-centric, liberal and capitalist order whilst accepting many of the underlying assumptions and values of that order. But the nature of that navigation has been shaped by their historical trajectory and by the developmental, societal and geopolitical context of their emergence.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Visentin S.

Schmitt e la globalizzazione: appunti per una discussione

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2 , 213-228

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Fiores C.

Schmitt, il nomos e la globalizzazione americana

in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2 , 139-164

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Quark Amy A.

Scientization politics and global governance in the cotton trade: Evaluating divergent theories of scientization

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 895-917

Science has been institutionalized as a legitimate basis for decision-making at the World Trade Organization (WTO). This raises a critical question: how does the scientization of decision-making shape the construction of new governance arrangements? Using the case of negotiations between the Chinese state and the US state over the harmonization of cotton quality classification, I consider three approaches to scientization in world politics: the world polity approach, the world-systems approach and the political sociology of science. Evidence from the case demonstrates the need to largely reject the world polity approach while integrating the world-systems approach with the finer-grained analyses of the political sociology of science. This analysis yields two key arguments regarding the implications of science-based decision-making as an institutionalized global norm. First, scientization can formalize existing power inequalities given the uneven historical terrain of research legacies. Second, as scientization channels politics through science, powerful actors are better situated to legitimate their own interests in scientific terms and to define what makes science legitimate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Yong Wang

Seeking a balanced approach on the global economic rebalancing: China's answers to international policy cooperation

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 569-586

Despite playing a crucial role in the world economy and in any framework for policy cooperation, there is little awareness among policy-makers in developed countries of China's views and policy directions. Aimed to address this gap, this article attempts to integrate the different views of mainstream Chinese experts and scholars who have influence in shaping the country's foreign economic policy. The author suggests that differentiating between the two concepts of



current account imbalance and international currency power imbalance can offer a persuasive explanation of China's positions on international policy coordination, and help advance the global debate on the issue of global economic rebalancing. Chinese analysts generally resist the one-off rapid appreciation of the RMB exchange rate, but they support international collaboration for rebalancing the global economy and emphasize the implementation of China's own obligations by carrying forward domestic structural reforms of the Chinese economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Nocco Antonella

Selection, Market Size and International Integration: Do Vertical Linkages Play a Role?

in Review of International Economics, Volume 20, Issue 5, November 2012 , 961-973

We analyze how increases in the market size and in the level of international integration affect the process of selection among firms with heterogeneous productivity levels when they are interconnected by vertical linkages. We show that when vertical linkages among firms are relatively weak (strong), an increase in the market size softens (toughens) the competition facing firms in this market and more firms of a lower (higher) efficiency survive, increasing (decreasing) the welfare level. Moreover, an increase in the level of economic integration softens competition only for intermediate vertical linkages, worsening the welfare level only for strong linkages.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martellato Dino

Small Lessons from the Recent Euro-Dollar Skirmishes

in Economia internazionale, 2012, Volume 65, Issue 4 , 553-580

In this paper we investigate the skirmishes that the US dollar and the euro had from 2007 to 2011 and, in particular, the two distinct sharp falls that the single currency had in 2008 and 2010. We basically consider how impulses coming from domestic money markets impact on the USD/EUR exchange rate through the Eurocurrency market. Our findings show that the cycles in the spreads in the LIBOR rates have a bearing on the direction of change in the spot exchange rate in a way which is different from that predicted by the interest rate parity. The exposure of the value of reserve currencies to the vagaries of the outside circulation in the Eurocurrency and FX markets is only one of the many different policy implications of the current arrangement of the international monetary system. In the final part of the paper we also discuss some of those tied to the very existence of the international money market and to competition among old and emerging global currencies and financial centres.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hanley David

Squeezed from Above and Pressured from Below: The Nation State in the Era of Globalisation

in Journal of Contemporary European Studies , vol. 20, issue 4 , 419-421

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Shibamoto Masahiko, Kitano Shigeto

Structural Change in Current Account and Real Exchange Rate Dynamics: Evidence from the G7 Countries in Pacific Economic Review, Volume 17, Issue 5, December 2012 , 619-634

Previous studies decompose the current account and the real exchange rate into temporary and permanent shocks and argue that a temporary shock creates the combination of a current account surplus (deficit) and real exchange rate depreciation (appreciation). The present paper extends their framework by examining a possible structural break in current account and real exchange rate dynamics. Using G7 country data for 1980–2007, we find structural changes in two-variable dynamics for all G7 countries during the 1990s. Temporary shocks have not been the main source of fluctuation in the current account since the 1990s. Our empirical results imply that the conventional mechanism has played a limited role in explaining the dynamics of the two variables.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wang Gungwu

The China effect in anxious Europe

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 10, n. 4, December , 335-340

The world economy is going through a testing time and Europe's concerns are understandable. Much attention has been focused on the rise of Asia, especially the economic performance of China during the past decades. There seems to be anxiety about the loss of economic dynamism in the West when compared with the growing confidence in Asia. This essay surveys some of the reasons for anxiety, from those that are common to the global economy to those that arise specifically from the problem of China. It identifies the source as the perceived power shifts in the Pacific and Indian oceans that affect American interests and indirectly those of Europe. While future generations of Europeans need to know Asia better, this is no different from the need for Asians to understand the West, something Asians have been trying to do for over a century. There is no reason why Europeans cannot do that quickly and well.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

David R. Boyd

The Constitutional Right to a Healthy Environment

in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development , July/August 2012

Environmental rights and responsibilities have been a cornerstone of indigenous legal systems for millennia.² Yet the right to a healthy environment is not found in pioneering human rights documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), or the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966). Society's awareness of the magnitude, pace, and adverse consequences of environmental degradation was not sufficiently advanced during the era when these agreements were drafted to warrant the inclusion of ecological concerns. From Argentina to Zambia, something extraordinary is happening. In



communities, legislatures, and courtrooms around the world, a new human right is blossoming from seeds planted decades ago. The constitutional right to live in a healthy environment represents a tangible embodiment of hope, an aspiration that the destructive, polluting ways of the past can be replaced by cleaner, greener societies in the future. While no nation has yet achieved the holy grail of ecological sustainability, the evidence indicates that constitutional protection of environmental rights can be a powerful and potentially transformative step toward that elusive goal. As Gus Speth, former dean of the Yale School of Forestry, recently stated, "I am very excited about the move to rights-based environmentalism. Lord knows we need some stronger approaches."

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Chatterji Miniya

The Globalization of Politics: From Egypt to India

in Social Movement Studies, Volume 12, Issue 1, 2013 , 96-102

Abstract

The world witnessed a startling phenomenon in the spring of 2011. Citizens across a set of countries were acting in similar ways to initiate negotiations with their governments for political change. Rapidly they learnt from each other. They shared a new understanding on how power should be organized and how national wealth should be used for the good of the public, putting forth a new political arrangement that spread, quickly across international borders. Nowhere else was this phenomenon more distinct than in the cities, usually centre points of cross-border flows of people, money and ideas, and that nurtured a certain section of citizenry exposed to external influences. This Profile illustrates that globalization facilitates the establishment of conditions for citizens to be able to compare themselves to other groups and perceive themselves as being relatively deprived. Globalization also broadens the range of factors and events that may trigger a social movement in a society, and allows actors across social movements in different countries to exchange notes, watch out for successful strategies and adapt those of others' into their own towards effective results. In this way, this Profile examines the transferability of recent urban social movements across international borders, particularly focusing on the factors leading to the transfer of certain elements from the pro-democracy movement of the spring of 2011 in Egypt to an anti-corruption movement in India that also took place at the same time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cardamone, Paola - Scoppola, Margherita

The Impact of EU Preferential Trade Agreements on Foreign Direct Investment

in World Economy, volume 35 n.11 , 1473-1501

Although North–South preferential trade agreements (PTAs) are expected to affect foreign direct investment (FDI), there is not much evidence to date on the impact of EU PTAs on the pattern of FDI. The aim of this study is to assess the impact of EU PTAs on the outward stocks of FDI of the EU. We estimate a model based on the knowledge‐capital theory of the multinational enterprise over the period 1995–2005 using a sample of 173 host countries. Explanatory variables include measures of the level of bilateral protection and a dummy to capture the impact of deep integration provisions of PTAs. A dynamic panel model with fixed effects is used in order to take into account the



dynamic behaviour of FDI and the heterogeneity bias. Results show that EU FDI is both horizontal and vertical. The level of EU protection affects FDI negatively, while the impact of the tariffs applied by host countries varies across groups of partner countries. Deep integration provisions affect EU FDI positively.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rafael Dobado Gonzalez, Alfredo Garcia Hiernaux, David E. Guerrero

The Integration of Grain Markets in the Eighteenth Century: Early Rise of Globalization in the West
in *Journal of Economic History (The)*, volume 72 n,3 , 671-707

Globalization, if defined as the integration of international commodity markets, started in the eighteenth century and progressed gradually and with some setbacks into the nineteenth century, instead of suddenly appearing at some point after the 1820s. We use grain prices in Europe and the Americas to determine the extent and dynamics of market integration throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An innovative methodology, with special attention being paid to changes in residual dispersion of the univariate models of relative prices between markets, permits us to obtain a measure of market integration over time.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Jacquelin van Stekelenburg

The Occupy Movement: Product of this time
in *Development*, Vol. 55, n°2 , 224-231

Jacquelin van Stekelenburg argues that the Occupy Movement can be seen as a product of our time. The movement shows how people are becoming increasingly connected as individuals rather than as members of a community or group. The Internet she suggests is instrumental in forging and sustaining these new ways of organizing as individuals.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

William E. Conklin

The Peremptory Norms of the International Community
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 837-861

This article claims that the quest for the identity of peremptory norms in terms of sources is misdirected. Instead of the identity of a discrete rule or right of international law, one needs to examine why a peremptory norm is binding. The latter issue addresses the referent of the identity issue: namely, the international community as a whole. Various significations of the latter are recognized and found wanting. The article examines three general forms of the international community: the community as an aggregate of inter-dependent states, the community as a rational construction, and the community as a social-cultural ethos independent of members and yet for the members. The first two forms are found wanting. First, they presuppose that a state is a self-creative author expressing its own will. Secondly, the community is reified vis-à-vis the social-cultural ethos in which the community is immersed. Thirdly, the community is exclusionary.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

William E. Conklin

The Peremptory Norms of the International Community: A Rejoinder to Alexander Orakhelashvili
in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 3 , 869-872

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Margulis Matias E.

The Regime Complex for Food Security: Implications for the Global Hunger Challenge
in *Global Governance*, vol. 19, n. 1, january-march , 53-67

ABSTRACT: Recurrent food price crises, coupled with the steady deterioration of world food security over the past two decades, have prompted efforts to reform the global governance of food security. This article argues that diverging rules and norms across the elemental regimes of agriculture and food, international trade, and human rights over the appropriate role of states and markets in addressing food insecurity are a major source of transnational political conflict. It analyzes (1) the role of norms in the construction of the international food security regime; (2) the transition from an international food security regime to a regime complex for food security; and (3) rule and norm conflicts within this regime complex. It concludes with a discussion of the impacts of diverging norms on the politics of regime complexity and its policy implications for current efforts to reform the global governance of food security.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Toscano Emanuele

The Sphere of Action of the Alterglobal Movement: A Key of Interpretation
in *Social Movement Studies*, Volume 11, Issue 1, 2012 , 79-96

Abstract

Drawing on extensive data gained from activist interviews, questionnaires and 'sociological interventions', this article sets out the conflicting dimensions of the alterglobal (global justice) movement in three countries (France, Italy and Great Britain). Proceeding from the various interpretations given by movement actors to the relationships of domination engendered by contemporary globalisation processes, we aim to construct an interpretative framework of the alterglobal movement and its different components. We argue that the internal identity of the movement can be plotted within a series of contrasting ideological, symbolic, and organisational relationships, and – despite the considerable diversity of the movement – movement actors share a common construction of their own alterglobal subjectivity across three specific dimensions: a resistance to domination, the importance of the elaboration of alternative worldviews and the practical steps taken in the pursuit of these alternatives.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Englehart Neil A.

The State of the State in Southeast Asia: Contention, Globalization, and State Capacity
in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 3, september , 436-441

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kuipers Giselinde

The cosmopolitan tribe of television buyers: Professional ethos, personal taste and cosmopolitan capital in transnational cultural mediation
in *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Volume 15, No. 5, October 2012 , 581-603

Abstract

This article analyses the professional ethos and practices of television buyers in France, Italy, Poland and the Netherlands. During interviews and ethnographic observations, the professional ethos of this 'cosmopolitan tribe' proved to be remarkably similar across national backgrounds. This article discusses the relation between personal taste and professional ethos in television buying, pointing to specific forms of 'cosmopolitan capital' central to this process. Moreover, it develops a typology of buyers, each type representing a different solution to the tensions between culture and economy, consumption and production and national and transnational inherent in transnational cultural mediation. This analysis of the practices of transnational cultural intermediaries highlights several limitations of Bourdieusian accounts of cultural mediation. Moreover, it opens up new questions about (transnational) cultural mediation, the shaping of professional habitus and 'the production of belief' in the cultural field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Harold James

The multiple context Harold James of Bretton Woods
in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 411-430

This paper examines why so much debate about the structure of the international economy revolves around a conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944 which was not immediately conspicuously successful. There was a unique confluence of contemporary contexts—in terms of trade policy, stabilization policy, and policies with regard to capital movements—that meant that prevailing ideas (especially the ideas of John Maynard Keynes) and the interests of the United States coincided. It was fundamentally a victory of the United States, but dressed up as benign multilateralism. A similarly unique combination of circumstances surrounded European efforts in the 1970s and was later to create, through the European Monetary System, a scaled-down version of Bretton Woods. The myth of Bretton



Woods was created by a powerful retrospective interpretation or retrospective context that lent a golden halo to the whole exercise. In that sense our interpretation of a very specific historical event is inseparably intertwined with views of what happened after as well as before that event.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

MacDonald Bradley J.

**Theodor Adorno, Alterglobalization, and Non-identity Politics
in *New Political Science*, vol. 34, n. 3 , 321-337**

ABSTRACT: While the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School has become an interesting player in recent theoretical attempts to understand the problems of, and potential solutions to, capitalist regimes of globalization, it has been generally limited to the work of Jürgen Habermas and his followers. As seen in the recent work of David Held and Nancy Fraser, Habermas's notion of the ideal of the public sphere and his conception of deliberative democracy have provided tantalizing tools for rethinking the importance of global civil institutions and spaces in furthering, to draw upon terms from Fraser's work, both recognition and redistribution on a global level. What has been less relevant in this resuscitation of Critical Theory in things global has been the work of the first-generation Frankfurt School theorists. In particular, the importance that Theodor Adorno's theory may have in articulating and characterizing the character of alterglobalization movements is explored. Adorno's notion of negative dialectics is first looked to in order to uncover a conception of radical politics, and then the recent attempt by John Holloway to bring in Adorno for the global anti-capitalist movement is explored. It is argued that while Holloway draws upon relevant and important aspects of Adorno's thinking, he does so by reinforcing some of the more problematic elements in Adorno's theory. Finally, Ernesto Laclau's characterization of political struggle is brought in to fully flesh out a non-identity politics implied in Adorno's work.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ruth Reitan

**Theorizing and Engaging the Global Movement: From Anti-Globalization to Global Democratization
in *Globalizations* , Volume 9, Issue 3 , 323-335**

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Armour Leslie

**Thoughts on the Idea of a World Humanities
in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 39, Issue 4, December 2012 , 549-570**

Abstract

The humanities create communities of meaning and the means to unify knowledge. Poets and novelists offer new insights into our shared mind. History provides our continuity. Philosophy struggles to unite our scientific knowledge with our understanding of values. Each discipline creates its own perspective and they often turn inward, creating new



divisions. Yet a global view of the humanities is our hope of finding the means to live together in peace. But the argument in this article suggests that a philosophical understanding of the basic concepts with which we order our claims about the world can provide a successful response.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Samuel Chris

**Throwing Bricks at a Brick Wall: The G20 and the Antinomies of Protest
in Studies in Political Economy, Vol 90, 2012**

In "Throwing Bricks at a Brick Wall: The G20 and the Antinomies of Protest," an examination of the protests against the June 2010 G20 meetings, Chris Samuel argues that debate about the appropriateness of the protestors' tactics has missed the central question: what impact can oppositional movements have in the current political-economic climate? Samuel posits that it is impossible to adopt the "right" form of political protest in a political field in which there was no opportunity to influence the negotiations. Using Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power, he argues that the construction of violence "forced protestors to decide between ineffectual marches and marginalizing vandalism."

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Carpenter R. Charli, Jose Betsy

**Transnational issue networks in real and virtual space: the case of women, peace and security
in Global Networks, vol. 12, issue 4, october , 525-543**

ABSTRACT: To what extent do online issue networks serve as a proxy for their real-space counterparts in structure and substance? This question is significant because a number of scholars have begun to study transnational advocacy networks through their representations online. We explored whether this assumption is valid by comparing the network composition and agenda composition of the advocacy network around 'women, peace and security', as operationalized through a web-based survey of actual activists, and the network's online representations of itself, as measured through advocacy websites. Two specific concerns drove the study. First, how closely does the structure of issue networks, as represented on the World Wide Web, correspond with actual advocates' understanding of the players within a specific issue domain? Second, to what extent does the online issue agenda correlate with the most prominent issues described by real-space advocates within a transnational network? Our findings yielded a high correlation between the online issue agenda and activists' interpretations of the agenda. However, we found that while hyperlink analysis is an effective tool for identifying the 'hubs' or 'gatekeepers' within a specific issue network, the nature of the World Wide Web makes it a blunt tool with which to capture the broader network. This suggests that while the web poses important opportunities as a data source, scholars of transnational networks must pay closer attention to the methodological assumptions implicit in their reliance on this and other new media.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Young Kevin L.

Transnational regulatory capture? An empirical examination of the transnational lobbying of the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 663-688

Since the global financial crisis, scholars of international political economy (IPE) have increasingly relied on the concept of 'regulatory capture' to explain the weakness of regulatory oversight and, hence, regulatory failures. Yet despite the widespread use of the concept of regulatory capture, its precise mechanisms are not well understood. This paper empirically investigates this hypothesis by examining one important institution of global financial governance that has been subjected to intense private sector lobbying at the transnational level: the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision. Using extensive archival material as well as interviews with participants in the generation of the Basel II Capital Accord, I argue that while private sector lobbyists had unprecedented access to the regulatory policymaking process, this access did not always translate into influence. Furthermore, when influence was present, it sometimes had the effect of increasing regulatory stringency, rather than weakening regulation. As such, I argue that our understanding of the process of transnational policy formation would benefit from a more nuanced understanding of the contingency of private sector 'influence' over the regulatory process, rather than the extensive, all-or-nothing depiction of regulatory 'capture' that currently prevails within the IPE literature.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Battistini Matteo

Un mondo in disordine: le diverse storie dell'Atlantico

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 2, luglio 2012 , 173-188

Abstract

The article reconstructs the several political genealogies of Atlantic history and the equally many methodological approaches and interpretations of the Atlantic world, discussing how these transnational histories relate to the latest historiographical perspectives on global history. This review essay discusses the "white" Euro-American Atlantic, the "black" and "red" Atlantic, and the commercial and consumerist Atlantic. It does so by highlighting how different tonalities concur to define a diverse and changing Atlantic, depending on the subjective, geographic, cultural or social perspective one adopts. From different points of observation, the article focuses on the reasons for the divergence between Atlantic history and political history, and the opportunities of dialogue between the two.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salama Pierre

**Una globalización comercial acompañada de una nueva distribución cartográfica  **

in *Revista de economía institucional*, VOLUMEN 14, NÚMERO 27, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2012

La nueva globalización comercial modificó el mapa de la industria mundial. El mundo de hoy es diferente del de ayer. El Norte ya no domina al Sur de la misma manera. En el Sur hay grandes heterogeneidades entre los países más



atrasados, los emergentes asiáticos y latinoamericanos, etc. Algunos países del Sur han llegado a imponer sus propias reglas de juego. Pero no todas las economías emergentes del Sur tienen la misma capacidad para imponerse, como las de América Latina. Estas se benefician temporalmente del alto crecimiento de Asia, pero experimentan un proceso de desindustrialización que las debilita. Algunas teorías y herramientas analíticas se han vuelto obsoletas o erróneas, como el enfoque centro-periferia. Países que ayer pertenecían a la periferia, han adquirido características del antiguo centro e incluso ejercen control sobre países desarrollados.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Salama Pierre

**Una globalización comercial acompañada de una nueva distribución cartográfica  **
in *Revista de economía institucional*, VOLUMEN 14, NÚMERO 27, SEGUNDO SEMESTRE DE 2012

La nueva globalización comercial modificó el mapa de la industria mundial. El mundo de hoy es diferente del de ayer. El Norte ya no domina al Sur de la misma manera. En el Sur hay grandes heterogeneidades entre los países más atrasados, los emergentes asiáticos y latinoamericanos, etc. Algunos países del Sur han llegado a imponer sus propias reglas de juego. Pero no todas las economías emergentes del Sur tienen la misma capacidad para imponerse, como las de América Latina. Estas se benefician temporalmente del alto crecimiento de Asia, pero experimentan un proceso de desindustrialización que las debilita. Algunas teorías y herramientas analíticas se han vuelto obsoletas o erróneas, como el enfoque centro-periferia. Países que ayer pertenecían a la periferia, han adquirido características del antiguo centro e incluso ejercen control sobre países desarrollados.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

De Arcangelis Giuseppe, Padoan Pier Carlo*, Ricci Luca Antonio

Unconventional Analyses and Policies for the International Economy

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 3, August 2012 , 439-442

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Seo S. Niggol

What eludes international agreements on climate change? The economics of global public goods

in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 32, Issue 2, June 2012 , 74-80

This paper provides an analysis of global warming policy as the provision of a global public good. Using a regional model composed of thirteen world regions, the paper shows how disparate incentives among the regions hinder a shift from a Business As Usual (BAU) policy to a Globally Optimal Policy (GOP). In the BAU scenario, there will be large variations in impacts from warming across the regions, meaning some countries have little incentive to participate in collective agreements. Under the GOP scenario, negative impacts from global warming will be significantly reduced in some regions resulting in strong incentives for these regions to press for action. The paper finds that an optimal



regulation could save Europe, India, and Africa hundreds of billions of dollars per year by the end of this century, but would cause additional costs to China, Russia, Canada and the USA. Under the optimal regulatory framework, higher levels of abatement are required for developing countries, worsening the existing climate equity problem.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Harry Huizinga, Johannes Voget, Wolf Wagner

Who bears the burden of international taxation? Evidence from cross-border M&As

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 88, Issue 1, September 2012, Pages 186-197

Cross-border M&As can trigger additional taxation of the target's income in the form of non-resident dividend withholding taxes and acquirer-country corporate income taxation. This paper finds that this additional international taxation is fully capitalized into lower takeover premiums. In contrast, acquirer excess stock market returns around the bid announcement date do not appear to reflect additional taxation of the target's income. These findings suggest that international taxation is considered to be burdensome and that the incidence of this taxation is primarily on target-firm shareholders.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Isaac Kamola

Why Global? Diagnosing the Globalization Literature Within a Political Economy of Higher Education

in *International Political Sociology*, Volume 7, Issue 1, 41–58

This article examines the assumed factuality of globalization in light of its persistent conceptual incoherence. Through a diagnosis of five reoccurring ambiguities within the globalization literature, I argue that the concept of globalization lacks an empirical referent. Scholars writing on globalization overcome this absence by asserting that some things (the Internet, McDonald's, etc.) and not others (genocide in Rwanda, refugee camps, etc.) are essentially "global." It turns out, however, that who is positioned to posit some things (and not others) as "global," and therefore posit the foundation for a theory of globalization, is shaped by a highly asymmetrical political economy of knowledge production. In particular, some scholars—usually in North American and European universities—are materially better positioned to produce knowledge about globalization than many of their colleagues in postcolonial countries. The seemingly arbitrary positing of some things as "global," therefore, should be understood as a symptom of the highly unequal social relations in which knowledge about globalization is produced.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lai Edwin L.-C., Yan Isabel K.M.

Would global patent protection be too weak without international coordination?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 89, Issue 1, January 2013, Pages 42-54

In the standard model with free trade and social-welfare-maximizing governments à la Grossman and Lai (2004), cross-border positive policy externalities result in countries choosing a combination of patent strengths that is weaker



than optimal from a global perspective. This paper introduces three new features to the analysis: trade and FDI barriers, firm heterogeneity and political economy considerations in setting patent policies. Based on calibration, we find that there would be global under-protection of patent rights when there is no international policy coordination. The empirical fact that firm revenues follow a fat-tailed distribution implies that the barriers to exploit inventions internationally are quite low, despite the fact that only a small fraction of firms sell overseas and an even smaller fraction of firms carry out FDI as a result of trade barriers. Furthermore, requiring all countries to harmonize their patent standards with the equilibrium standard of the most innovative country (the US) does not lead to global over-protection of patent rights.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Anheier Helmut K.

Zivilgesellschaft und Krisen: Dahrendorf'sche Reflektionen

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 3, 2012

Aus dem Werk Dahrendorfs und der neueren Institutionentheorie schöpfend, soll hier am Beispiel der gegenwärtigen Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise eine These verfolgt werden, die in ihrer Gesamtheit eine recht kritische Diagnose impliziert, aber dennoch auf Optionen im Sinne kreativer Politikgestaltung hinweist: »Die organisierte Zivilgesellschaft wird die transnationalen Konflikte des beginnenden 21. Jahrhunderts moderieren müssen, um der Überforderung von Staat und Markt in einer globalisierten Welt entgegenzuwirken«. Hierbei wird das globale Governance-Problem zentral angesprochen und die entscheidende Frage gestellt: Unter welchen Bedingungen könnte die Zivilgesellschaft ein ordnungspolitisches Korrigendum »von unten« werden, um die bruchstückhafte Struktur uniformer und universaler Regeln sinnhafter, tragfähiger und handlungswirksamer zu machen?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Diana Panke

Being small in a big union: punching above their weights? How small states prevailed in the vodka and the pesticides cases

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 25, Issue 3, 329-344

Compared with bigger states, smaller states have fewer votes, less economic power, fewer administrative resources and less staff and experts. This leads to disadvantages in negotiations. Yet smaller states can concentrate their limited resources on issues of great importance and can—under certain conditions—punch above their weight. This is especially effective if small states use their ideational resources in applying different argumentative strategies. Each strategy is only effective under certain scope conditions. The vodka and the pesticides cases illustrate that active small states can punch above their weight if they make arguments that fit the nature of the issue and resonate well with prior beliefs of the addressees of the arguments. A regulatory issue that is technical in nature, such as the pesticides case, requires good scientific arguments. A political issue with prevalent distributive effects, such as the vodka case, calls for normative arguments to persuade neutral actors and the re-framing of the distributional elements into common-good questions to talk actors with opposing preferences into acceptance.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

P.A. Jayan

**BRICS: Advancing Cooperation and Strengthening Regionalism
in India Quarterly**, Vol. 68, n°4 , 363-384

In the era of regional international relations and more interdependence, organisations like the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) can play a meaningful role in international level as well as regional in years to come. The recent summit of the BRICS reiterates that more cooperation is needed at various levels. In Delhi declaration, it is called for a more representative international financial architecture, with an increase in the voice and representation of developing countries and the establishment and improvement of a just international monetary system that can serve the interests of all countries and support the development of emerging and developing economies. Moreover, these economies having experienced broad-based growth are now significant contributors to global recovery. This is true. One must acknowledge the fact that the roles of the BRICS countries are composed of various political systems, various subcontinent, but in the changed context, all these countries are coming under the purview of the 'developing countries' in broader terms. That makes the BRICS beyond the regional boundaries to set a benchmark in the regional cooperation. China's permanent status in the United Nations makes the BRICS more strategically oriented and pragmatic aspects of foreign policy engagement in the twenty-first century. The political leadership and vision is equally important with economic engagement. The four major theories of the international relations (IR) are striking in this respect which includes liberalism, realism, constructivism and Marxism. Theoretical framework relevant to regionalism in focusing on IR theories is also analysed in this article. The main argument of the article is that there is no prescribed regional model and BRICS has to tune to the member countries' regional and political frameworks to engage with. Therefore, the framework of analysis is more or less critical about the Western engagement and it is region focused.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Klinke Andreas

Democratizing Regional Environmental Governance: Public Deliberation and Participation in Transboundary Ecoregions

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 79-99

Over the last two decades, transboundary regional environmental governance has witnessed some institutional change through an increasing shift from intergovernmentally constituted political institutions to new complex structures of decision-making where policy-making has begun to adapt to a new, more active role of societal actors at multiple levels of political authority. In addressing this issue, the article raises the following questions: How can new structures and processes of public deliberation and participation in transboundary regional environmental governance be designed, and which opportunities and risks emerge? To address these questions, the article develops a normative-analytical design for regional environmental governance in ecoregions; this design defines the conditions under which public deliberation and participation conveying discourse, argument, and persuasion can help to democratize collective decision-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kingah Stephen, Van Langenhove Luk

Determinants of a regional organisation's role in peace and security: the African Union and the European Union compared

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 19, issue 2 , 201-222

ABSTRACT: This article presents the determinants of the influence of regional organisations in the area of international peace and security. It is aimed at initiating and provoking debate on the preponderant factors shaping that influence. The factors or determinants treated include (1) the willingness of the regional organisation to act, (2) the acceptance of its actions and (3) its capacity to discharge such peace-related tasks. The determinants are contingent on nine sub-determinants. The article uses a comparative approach, focusing on the African Union and the European Union after placing the discussion in the context of the relationship between regional organisations and the United Nations in international peace and security efforts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

John Leslie, Annmarie Elijah

Does N = 2? Trans-Tasman Economic Integration as a Comparator for the Single European Market

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 975-993

An apparent lack of similar cases has shaped how observers compare integration in Europe with other regions. The growing field of comparative regionalism, however, has overlooked three decades of sustained economic integration between Australia and New Zealand. This article introduces trans-Tasman integration as a new empirical case of regional economic integration. It compares 'trans-Tasman' integration with European experience with reference to deepening economic integration and supranational institutional arrangements, and explores similarities and differences with other regional arrangements. Adding this second case of 'deep' integration to the comparative field enhances the understanding of regional integration in different contexts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Furceri, Davide - Zdzienicka, Aleksandra

Financial Integration and Fiscal Policy

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.5 , 805-822

The aim of this paper is to assess the impact of financial integration on fiscal policy. Using an unbalanced panel of 31 OECD countries from 1970 to 2009, the paper shows that financial integration has significant disciplinary effects by reducing fiscal deficits and (discretionary) spending volatility. In addition, we find that financial integration affects the composition of government debt and enhances risk-sharing by increasing the share of foreign debt to the total. The results are robust to both de jure and de facto measures of financial integration, different measures of budget balance, and different estimation strategies.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Ke Pang

Financial integration, nominal rigidity, and monetary policy

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, volume 25 , 75-90

This paper shows that financial integration may reduce welfare in the presence of nominal price rigidity. From a policy perspective, the model implies that developing countries that are experiencing financial integration may attempt to alleviate the welfare cost of integration by stabilizing the exchange rate. Hence, this paper provides a novel explanation for “fear of floating”. For industrial countries that have the ability to operate efficient inflation targeting policy, financial integration is always beneficial. Thus, the different monetary regimes implemented in the industrial vs. the developing countries explain their divergent degrees of financial integration since the early 1990s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Yanase Akihiko, Kurata Hiroshi, Kawabata Yasushi

Free Trade Agreement and Vertical Trade with a Manufacturing Base

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 20, Issue 5, November 2012 , 1070-1081

We examine the effects of free trade agreement (FTA) on tariffs and welfare in a three-country model with vertical trade, where an FTA is formed between a country exporting a final good whose production involves using an intermediate good, and a country exporting the intermediate good in exchange for the final good. We demonstrate that the FTA reduces its member country's external tariff, whereas it raises the non-member country's tariff. The non-member country unambiguously becomes better off. In contrast, the FTA may or may not make its member countries better off. This implies that the formation of an FTA may not always be Pareto-improving.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Debarbieux Bernard

How Regional Is Regional Environmental Governance?

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 119-126

One of the most striking features of the work of scientists specialized in regional environmental governance is the huge diversity of ways they refer to the notion of region. In this academic subfield, “regionality” refers to different orders of reality (ontology), and regions have a heterogeneous status in the production of knowledge (epistemology). While such a diversity of uses and meanings illustrates the rich potential of a regional scope in environmental governance analysis, scholars' ontological and epistemological stances must be made more explicit. The objective of this commentary is to elaborate this suggestion and to illustrate it on the basis of the articles published in this special issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Bruszt Laszlo, McDermott Gerald A.

Integrating rule takers: Transnational integration regimes shaping institutional change in emerging market



democracies

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 742-778

How does the transnationalization of markets shape institution building, particularly in those countries that have few options other than to incorporate the rules and norms promulgated by advanced industrialized countries? Building on recent advances in international and comparative political economy, we propose a framework for the comparative study of the ways in which transnational integration regimes (TIRs) shape the development of regulatory institutions in emerging market democracies. The ability of TIRs to alleviate the supply and demand problems of institutional change in these countries depends in large part on the ways in which TIRs translate their purpose and power into institutional goals, assistance and monitoring. Integration modes can be combined in different ways so as to empower or limit the participation of a variety of domestic public and private actors to pursue and contest alternative institutional experiments. We illustrate the use of our framework via a brief comparison of the impact of the European Union accession process on post-communist countries and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on Mexico, with special attention to the development of food safety regulatory institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Hadjiyiannis Costas, İriş Doruk, Tabakis Chrysostomos

Multilateral tariff cooperation under fairness and reciprocity

in *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique*, volume 45 n.3 , 925-941

This paper explores the impact of fairness and reciprocity on multilateral tariff cooperation. Reciprocal countries reward kind behaviour (positive reciprocity), but retaliate against countries behaving unkindly (negative reciprocity). We demonstrate that reciprocal countries that are moderately demanding from their trading partners regarding their commercial policy can support a greater degree of cooperation than self-interested ones. However, when only very liberal import policies are considered fair, then reciprocity could have a detrimental effect on multilateral tariff cooperation. Thus, our model provides a novel perspective on the role of expectations in trade negotiations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Perrin Thomas

New Regionalism and Cultural Policies: Distinctive and Distinguishing Strategies, from Local to Global

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 459-475

ABSTRACT: This article aims at showing how cultural policies contribute to New Regionalist strategies, especially considering two main lines: – A New Regionalist cultural identity, from heritage to creativity: culture is often mobilized to consolidate the institutional capacity and 'identity' of regions, as most of the regionalisation processes in Europe are quite recent. The different dimensions of such regional cultural identity show that New-Regionalist references can impact cultural policies – Culture as a 'soft factor' for region branding: the development of regions' external cultural relations links territorial marketing with the projection of a cultural image and artistic productions. The cultural cooperation developed at the specific cross border scale of euroregions illustrates the interactions between construction and projection of a cultural identity, and the evolution of such processes within the framework of a knowledge-based economy focused on immaterial and creative activities. Through these analyses, this article also questions the territorial



and cultural dimensions of European construction, within a double movement of States' regionalisation and European supra-national integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Libman Alexander, Vinokurov Evgeny

Post-Soviet integration and the interaction of functional bureaucracies

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 867-894

This paper focuses on post-Soviet regional integration as a special case where integration projects are established by countries that originally comprised a single political entity after its collapse. It shows that in this framework the existing economic ties between countries are likely to affect adversely the interest of functional bureaucracy to support regional integration given that cutting existing connections is often more promising from the point of view of the budget expansion. Hence, the interaction of national and supranational bureaucracies is unlikely to generate impetus for increasing regional cooperation, which, surprisingly, can, however, be supported by adverse economic shocks. The results are validated using the experience of two 'low-level politics' sectors of interaction in the post-Soviet space: electricity and transportation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Pecout Gilles

Pour une lecture méditerranéenne et transnationale du Risorgimento

in *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* , numéro 44, 2012 , 29-47

The key idea and starting point of this paper is that the Italian Unity is a European adventure. With focusing on the category of a transnational Risorgimento from the end of the 18th century to the 1860s we intend to emphasize dynamics different than the traditional history of ideas and intellectual influences, and of diplomacy and military official actions. We want to pursue the Mediterranean Risorgimento with exploring the two following meanings of the Mediterranean: on the one hand, the domestic sea as a potential component for the images of geographical, cultural and political identity; on the other hand, Mediterranean as a zone of influx and of relationships with other Mediterranean nations. Our hypothesis is that the Mediterranean Risorgimento is an area of peregrination and transnational political friendship -the area of transnational armed volunteers and not only the cradle of a cultural and national "mediterraneist" identity and the territory of Italian imperialism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Foster, Neil

Preferential Trade Agreements and the Margins of Imports

in *Open Economies Review*, volume 23 n.5 , 869-890



This paper considers the importance of Preferential Trade Agreements (PTAs) in enhancing trade for a large sample of countries within the period 1962–2000. The paper builds upon the existing literature by examining whether any significant effects of PTAs occur through a change in the variety of imports (i.e. the extensive margin) or through a change in the volume of existing products (the intensive margin). Our results indicate that imports respond positively to the formation of a PTA between countries, and that much of this increase in imports occurs along the extensive margin.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

François Bafail

Repenser les identités régionales par les élargissements

in *Revue française de science politique*, Vol. 63, n. 1 février , 75-91

L'Association des nations du Sud-Est asiatique (Asean) et l'Union européenne (UE) ont expérimenté des changements considérables en s'élargissant, dans les années 1990 et 2000. Dans les deux régions, l'intégration s'est faite au profit de pays dits « en retard de développement », souvent qualifiés de « faibles ».

Néanmoins, le paradoxe de ces élargissements tient au fait que ces pays, loin d'être marginalisés, ont pu réaffirmer leur souveraineté nationale. Par ce biais, ils se sont posés à égalité de leurs nouveaux partenaires, en leur contestant toute capacité d'exercer la moindre hégémonie, notamment en arguant des principes fondateurs de chacune des unions. En reformulant les valeurs et les identités régionales, ils ont su transformer leur « faiblesse » en « force ».

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Jens-Uwe Wunderlich

The EU an Actor Sui Generis? A Comparison of EU and ASEAN Actorness

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 653-669

The core argument of this article is to advocate the recognition of regional organizations as international actors. Conceptions of the European Union (EU) as an international actor are not new. However, a great deal of the literature regards the EU as sui generis in nature and lacking in external capabilities when compared to nation-states. Other regional organizations, such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) fare even worse. This article notes that we need to move beyond a state-centric view of world politics to assess the actor capabilities, nascent or advanced, of other players in the global arena, particularly regional organizations.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Michele Ca' Zorzi, Roberto A. De Santis, Fabrizio Zampolli

The Minimum Economic Dividend for Joining a Currency Union

in **German Economic Review**, volume 13 n.2 , 127-141

A two-country model is developed to show how the optimality of a currency union depends on whether it brings an economic dividend in terms of potential growth and the Balassa–Samuelson (BS) effect (the steady appreciation of the real exchange rate due to cross-country differences in intersectoral productivity gaps). The model shows that such dividend needs to be larger, the higher the BS effect, the smaller the size of the economy, the larger the cross-country difference in the standard deviation of the supply shocks, the smaller their correlation and the larger the standard deviation of real exchange rate shocks. We calibrate the model to quantify such dividend as a function of plausible ranges of the parameter values. The results suggest that both the BS effect and the size of real exchange rate shocks play a key role in evaluating the optimality of accessing the currency union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Conca Ken

The Rise of the Region in Global Environmental Politics

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 127-133

This essay examines some of the reasons for the upsurge in interest in regional approaches to global environmental challenges. One reason is a growing sense of obstruction and drift at the global level. With the rate of formation of new global environmental agreements lagging, with many existing agreements seemingly stalled, and with the momentum of global summity having faded, regions may seem a more pragmatic scale at which to promote the diffusion of ideas, the development of institutions, and social mobilization for change. Beyond political pragmatism, there are also conceptually interesting—if still debatable—arguments that regions hold promise for strengthening global environmental governance. The regional scale may offer superior conditions to the global for common-property resource management—although the historical track record seems mixed at best, and formidable barriers to collective action remain. Regions may be more conducive to promoting norm diffusion—although the causal direction appears to be more strongly global-to-regional than vice versa. However the conceptual promise of the regional scale plays out in practice, there is also a compelling ethical argument for a regional focus, as mitigation failures at the global level condemn particular locales to formidable challenges of adaptation.

Full text available: http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1162/GLEP_a_00132

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Kim Min-hyung

Theorizing ASEAN Integration

in **Asian Perspective**, Volume 35, Issue 3 (July-September 2011) , 407-435



This article proposes a theory that the strategic preferences of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members should be a key variable in explaining the ASEAN integration process over the last four decades. ASEAN integration will not progress as rapidly and substantially as many of its leaders claim unless there are remarkable developments in factors that affect the underlying preferences of ASEAN states, such as a significant increase in intra-ASEAN trade and investment, a much stronger pressure from domestic businesses for deeper integration, or external shocks that threaten the region's economic growth. While the progressive path of European integration illustrates that an independent and strong supranational institution is necessary to handle the complex processes of regional integration, the strategic-preference theory of ASEAN integration presented here predicts that this will not be the top policy priority of its leaders in the near future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Winks Benjamin Elias

A covenant of compassion: African humanism and the rights of solidarity in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Vines Alex

A decade of African Peace and Security Architecture

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 1, january , 89-109

ABSTRACT: This article examines how the African Union (AU) has handled Africa's peace and security challenges since 2002, defines what has been successful and what remains aspirational. It does so by examining how the AU has responded, from using sanctions against coups, to deploying peacekeeping missions and mediating in conflicts. An African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) has developed since 2002, including a Peace and Security Council, an African Standby Force, a Continental Early Warning System and a Panel of the Wise. This sounds impressive, but the operationalization record is patchy: AU-deployed missions have been fully dependent on external donors; harmonization is a major problem; serious questions remain over AU capacity; and some of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are developing at a quicker pace than the AU. Given these circumstances and its internal capacity deficit, the AU will likely struggle to exercise oversight of regional processes, including the development of regional standby force arrangements. APSA is clearly based on a liberal peace model, yet democratic systems, respect for human rights and good governance aren't always in place in African countries, and the self-interest of elites continues to be a constraint on APSA and its success. Over the last decade the AU has found a voice and, despite some setbacks, it has shown through AMISOM in Somalia that it is capable of conducting a successful peacemaking operation. Its biggest challenge is not making the decision to intervene or deploy forces, but the capacity of most African states to deploy effectively. APSA's dependence on external partners needs to diminish over the next decade if better African solutions are to be found to peace and security challenges in the continent. Yet, the internationalized nature of crises such as the one in Mali in 2012–13 requires international partnerships. Not all of Africa's security problems can be solved by Africa alone, but APSA does provide a vision framework for African and external partnership.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Debled Emilie, Severino Jean-Michel

Africa's boom is here to stay

in Europe's World, Issue 22, Autumn

The 21st century has seen sustained improvements in the economies of most sub-Saharan African countries. Jean-Michel Severino and Emilie Debled explain why it's more than just a growth spurt, but warn that Africa's national governments still face major policy challenges.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22042/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Landsberg Chris

Afro-Continentalism: Pan-Africanism in Post-Settlement South Africa's Foreign Policy

in Journal of Asian and African Studies , Vol. 47, No. 4 , 436-448

In his book *In the Twilight of the Revolution* (2009), which is also the subject of this review article, Kwandiwe Kondlo argues inter alia that: ' . . . the Africanist orientation of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] was appropriated in the policies of [South Africa's] . . . new democratic government(s), especially during the period of former President Thabo Mbeki' (2009: 282). This author critically examines Kondlo's assertion in the context of South Africa's post-apartheid period and argues that successive South African governments played pivotal roles in helping to shape Africa's evolving inter-state system through diplomacy and the politics of partnership. In that regard, he argues that South Africa's aim is to promote Continentalism (agreements or policies that favour regionalization or regional co-operation between states, or deep and regulated forms of regional co-operation between nations within a continent), a new post-Cold War foreign policy paradigm on the continent, which will assist in the consolidation of the idea of a union of African states that dawned with the birth of the African Union (AU), created to replace the Organization of Africa Unity (OAU). He insists that, in the context of Kondlo's assertion, African Continentalism, as opposed to Pan-Africanism, which advocates the amalgamation of existing independent African states into a bloc, represents a process that encourages African states to band together to create new norms, principles, institutions, and political structures, and agree to live by such structures and in harmony with each other. To buttress his argument, the author examines Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance project as the corollary of African Continentalism on which South Africa's Africa policy was anchored during and after his presidency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Alemahu Yeshanew Sisay

Approaches to the justiciability of economic, social and cultural rights in the jurisprudence of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights: Progress and perspectives



in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Murithi Tim

Briefing: The African Union at Ten: An appraisal

in *African Affairs*, Volume 111, Issue 445, October 2012 , 662-669

As the African Union marked its tenth anniversary on 9 July 2012, it was still recovering from one of its most public disagreements. At the heart of this disagreement was the AU's interpretation of and commitment to good governance and humanitarian intervention. Sparked by the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, and the contested November 2010 elections in Côte d'Ivoire, these issues came under intense debate. The NATO-led intervention in Libya – the AU's backyard – caught the organization unaware and divided its members on whether the military incursion, under the rubric of the UN doctrine of the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P), was warranted. Similarly, the earlier crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and the involvement of the UN and France led to criticisms of the AU's failure to respond in a unified and coherent manner. The key issue of debate was whether the AU should act as a bulwark against external intervention and become the primary agent of humanitarian intervention and democratic consolidation on the continent, or whether this role should continue to be usurped by foreign actors who are often perceived to pursue their own strategic self-interests. South Africa, which was involved in the AU efforts to mediate the crisis in both Libya and Côte d'Ivoire, adopted a strategic position premised on moulding the leadership institutions of the African Union, with a view to making it a more effective and professional regional organization. Arguing that the AU Commission, and by extension its membership, was slow and indecisive in addressing the two crises, South Africa attempted to take over the leadership of the Commission towards the end of 2011. It did so by proposing its former Minister for International Relations and Cooperation, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) candidate for the position of Chairperson of ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Aviad Rubin

Can Turkey's state–religion relationship serve as a role model for emerging Arab regimes? A critical assessment

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 18, Issue 4 , 367-380

One of the most pressing issues facing Arab societies, in view of the large-scale political transitions taking place in the Middle East, is the status of religion in the state. In this regard, Turkey, a Muslim democratic state, is often offered as a model to follow. The current piece demonstrates that despite the seeming appeal of the Turkish model, it is inadequate for Middle Eastern societies, in which religion plays a significant social role and is a core ingredient of individual and collective identity. This is because the foundations of the Turkish model were artificially imported from the Western experience, and forced from above onto the Turkish populace without much-needed contextual adjustment. This assertion is true not only for the original state-religion model in Turkey, but also for its modified present-day version,



which bears to a large extent the burdens of the past. The article concludes by outlining some points that might serve emergent Arab democracies aiming to design a constructive and authentic model of religion and the state.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dessi Andrea, Ibish Hussein

Ci vorrebbe lo stesso metodo usato per la ex Jugoslavia

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/ci-vorrebbe-lo-stesso-metodo-che-per-la-ex-jugoslavia>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Theresa Reinold

Constitutionalization? Whose constitutionalization? Africa's ambivalent engagement with the International Criminal Court

in *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, vol. 10, issue 4 , 1076-1105

While the concept of constitutionalism evokes the idea of taming politics through the force of law, the making of constitutions is in fact a contested social process in which different juris-generative actors vie for discursive hegemony. No wonder then that in a pluralist post-national setting, the project of global constitutionalism is continuously challenged by states from the periphery. Those states view constitutionalism as essentially a hegemonic project, which condenses Western notions of good governance, human rights, etc. into the nucleus of an emerging global constitutional order. This article addresses the consequences of this challenge for the constitutionalization of international law, focusing on the rule of law dimension of global constitutionalism, more specifically the relationship between the African Union (AU) and the International Criminal Court. I shall argue that a realist conceptualization of the agent–structure nexus, which views constitutional structures as mere epiphenomena of hegemonic power, is too narrow to account for the myriad ways in which agents from the periphery and global constitutional structures interact. Instead, I shall distinguish between five interaction scenarios, namely transformation, localization, cooptation/adaptation, obstruction, and withdrawal. My claim is that the AU's refusal to be coopted by the system must be understood as part of a broader campaign aimed at reorganizing the relationship between the different public authorities involved in global (and regional) governance.

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Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Levy Gideon, Dessi Andrea

Diritti umani e civili, una scommessa per i palestinesi

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/diritti-umani-e-civili-una-scommessa-per-i-palestinesi>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Coquery-Vidrovitch Catherine

Frontières africaines et mondialisation

in *Histoire@Politique*, n°17, 2012 , 149-164

Abstract

African frontiers had a contrasted evolution all over history. Crises were often violent, problems were difficult to solve, and African answers may change according to modern globalization. Frontier is a universal concept but with many diverse meanings. This is as true in Africa as in any other part of the world, which means that African history is quite similar to that of other states. « Geographical », climatic, logical, linguistic or cultural conditions do not prevail. Frontiers just result from politics and history. This is the reason why their history needs a multidisciplinary approach. The case-studies of Eritrea, RDC Congo, and South Africa) are valuable examples. Panafricanism might still have a future in Africa and be a relevant solution to the complex frontier issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch

Frontières africaines et mondialisation

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°17 , 149-164

African frontiers had a contrasted evolution all over history. Crises were often violent, problems were difficult to solve, and African answers may change according to modern globalization. Frontier is a universal concept but with many diverse meanings. This is as true in Africa as in any other part of the world, which means that African history is quite similar to that of other states. « Geographical », climatic, logical, linguistic or cultural conditions do not prevail. Frontiers just result from politics and history. This is the reason why their history needs a multidisciplinary approach. The case-studies of Eritrea, RDC Congo, and South Africa) are valuable examples. Panafricanism might still have a future in Africa and be a relevant solution to the complex frontier issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Sanni Abiola

Fundamental Rights Enforcement Procedure Rules, 2009 as a tool for the enforcement of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights in Nigeria: The need for far-reaching reform

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 511-531

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Walzer Michael



Hamis e Netanyahu, nemici su misura, per bloccare i moderati

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/hamas-e-netanyahu-nemici-su-misura-per-bloccare-i-moderati>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Ebobrah Solomon T.

Human rights developments in African sub-regional economic communities during 2011

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 12, n. 1 , 223-253

ABSTRACT: During 2011 there were both negative and positive developments in the human rights work of African sub-regional economic communities.

From the negative perspective, the travails of the Southern Africa Development Community Tribunal in 2011 stand out as the most notorious as they brought about a limitation in the effectiveness of this erstwhile budding human rights regime in Southern Africa. Arguably, as a consequence of the suspension of the Tribunal, there was very little human rights activity from Southern Africa to report on. Thus, the focus in this contribution is squarely on developments that occurred in the human rights regimes in East Africa and West Africa. Significantly, there was an increase in human rights litigation activity before the subregional courts in both regions. Activities in the judicial sector and other non-judicial human rights activities in the respective regimes of the East African Community and the Economic Community of West African States are analysed critically in this contribution. Developments during 2011 demonstrate the growing confidence of actors and institutions in the human rights regimes of the two sub-regions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Killander Magnus, Abebe Adem K.

Human rights developments in the African Union during 2010 and 2011

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 12, n. 1 , 199-222

ABSTRACT: This article considers human rights developments in the African Union (AU) during 2010 and 2011; two years that saw the work of the leading human rights institution on the African continent, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (African Commission), stagnate, in particular in its work on individual communications. Despite increased resources, the Commission and its Secretariat have been unable to increase the visibility and impact of its work. This situation was exacerbated by the interference with the work of the Commission by the political organs of the AU, most prominently by refusing to publish the Activity Report of the Commission. This delayed the publication of the 29th Activity Report by

a year. The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights is off to a slow start, spending much time and resources on trying to convince states to ratify the Protocol and make the declaration allowing individuals and NGOs to submit cases to the Court. The article also covers developments

in the African Committee on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which for the first time adopted a decision on a communication, the African Peer Review Mechanism and the AU policy organs.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Kobou Georges, Chameni Nembua Célestin, Dama Dié Marcel, Boniface Ngah Epo

Interdépendance et Croissance Economique en Zone CEMAC

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 5, N. 1, October 2011 , 32-57

The full text is free:

http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/cover%20and%20Document%20_0.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Kouassi René N'Guettia

L'Intégration en Afrique: pourquoi peine-t-on à l'accélérer?

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 5, N. 1, October 2011 , 58-78

The full text is free:

http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/cover%20and%20Document%20_0.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dessi Andrea

La soluzione è nei confini

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/dossier/israele-e-palestina-la-soluzione-e-nei-confini>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Vicini Antonella

La storica decisione dell'Onu, Palestina osservatore

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/la-storica-decisione-dellonu-palestina-membro>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fabienne Quillere-Majzoub, Tarek Majzoub

Le Comité arabe des droits de l'homme: un organe nécessaire au sein de la Ligue des États arabes

in *Revue trimestrielle des droits de l'homme*, n. 92



Le Comité arabe des droits de l'homme créé en 2009 est l'organe de surveillance de la Charte arabe des droits de l'homme, entrée en vigueur en 2008 dans sa version révisée de 2004. S'insérant parmi les organes de la Ligue des Etats arabes compétents en matière de droits de l'homme, le statut d'indépendance des membres du Comité et le contrôle périodique sur rapports étatiques qu'il pratique en montrent l'importance. La transparence de ses travaux et leur publicité, son implication dans l'actualité des Etats parties et l'utilisation des technologies actuelles de l'information et de la communication viennent renforcer son rôle indispensable.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Baldinetti Anna

Le transizioni politiche del Nord Africa. Per una storia del presente. Interventi di Anna Baldinetti, Francesco Cavatorta e Emanuela Dalmasso, Karima Dirèche, Jean-Noël Ferrié, Larbi Sadiki

in *Contemporanea - Rivista di storia dell'800 e del '900*, numero 2, aprile 2012, 307-336

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Carrère Céline, Gourdon Julien, Olarreaga Marcelo

Les ressources naturelles: enjeu clef dans l'intégration régionale des pays d'Afrique du Nord et du Moyen Orient

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 325, September - 2012

On attend une plus grande intégration commerciale dans la région de Moyen Orient et Afrique du Nord suite à l'achèvement de l'accord sur la Zone Arabe de Libre Échange (ZALE) en 1998. Cependant, ses études récentes suggèrent que la région comprend à la fois des pays riches et des pays pauvres en ressources naturelles, comme dans la ZALE, les pays riches en ressources risquent de subir un détournement de commerce. Notre recherche empirique montre qu'il y a eu détournement de commerce dans le seul cas de la ZALE et, qu'effectivement, la principale source de détournement de commerce a été, pour les pays riches en ressources, la substitution des importations en provenance du reste du monde par des importations en provenance des pays partenaires pauvres en ressources. Ceci pourrait expliquer la réticence des pays riches en ressources à approfondir ce type d'accord.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fisher Jonathan

Managing donor perceptions: Contextualizing Uganda's 2007 intervention in Somalia

in *African Affairs*, Volume 111, Issue 444, July 2012, 404-423

This article explores Uganda's decision to send peacekeeping troops to Somalia in 2007 as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and argues that the intervention has as much to do with Uganda's relationship with its donors as it has with maintaining regional stability – the official justification for intervention. Museveni's decision to intervene in Somalia is the most recent example of his regime's multi-pronged 'image management' strategy in which



the President has involved Uganda in numerous foreign and domestic activities to ensure that donors perceive his government in a particular way vis-à-vis their interests: as an economic success story, a guarantor of regional stability, or, in relation to Somalia, an ally in the global war on terror. In so doing Museveni's strategy, conceptualized here within a constructivist framework, has been able largely to avoid censure in areas of traditional donor concern such as governance, thereby achieving a considerable degree of agency in a seemingly asymmetric relationship.

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Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Vuthuza Ephraim

Nationalism Will Never Die: Zimbabwean Discourses in the Global Age

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 5, N. 1, October 2011 , 79-102

The full text is free:

http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/cover%20and%20Document%20_0.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Bassole Boubié T.

Prélèvement public et effort fiscal au sein de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA)

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 5, N. 1, October 2011 , 103-119

The full text is free:

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Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dessi Andrea, Khalil Shikaki

Su Israele gli effetti negativi delle primavere arabe

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/su-israele-gli-effetti-negativi-delle-primavere-arabe>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Olowofoyeku Abimbola A.

Sub-regional Courts and the Recusal Issue: Emergent Practice of the East African Court of Justice

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 20, Number 3 , 365-387

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Balogun Victoria, Durojaye Ebenezer

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the promotion and protection of sexual and reproductive rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Oder Judy

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights' order in respect of the situation in Libya: A watershed in the regional protection of human rights?

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Eki Yemisi Omorogbe

The African Union, Responsibility to Protect and the Libyan Crisis

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, vol. 59, issue 2 , 141-163

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Omorogbe Eki Yemisi

The African Union, responsibility to protect and the Libyan crisis

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 2 , 141-163

The question whether external actors have a right of intervention within a sovereign state which is committing grave violations of human rights assumed particular significance in the case of the civil conflict that began in Libya in February 2011. Within the international response to the Libyan regime's attacks on its population, the Arab League, the United Nations and NATO favoured the use of military force, whereas the African Union favoured a political solution to the crisis. This article considers the question of African Union intervention within the framework of the concept of 'responsibility to protect'. It argues that the reason why the African Union did not act militarily in Libya was that it lacks the will to confront incumbent leaders, something which undermines the organization's ability to provide effective



solutions to African crises.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Nyirabu Mohabe

The Past, Present and Future of Integration in East Africa

in *African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration*, Vol. 5, N. 1, October 2011 , 1-31

The full text is free:

http://ea.au.int/en/sites/default/files/cover%20and%20Document%20_0.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Soboka Bulto Takele

The human right to water in the corpus and jurisprudence of the African human rights system

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Forere Malebakeng

The relationship between the right of access to education and work, and sub-regional economic integration in Africa

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 588-607

After considering the core objective of the sub-regional economic communities (RECs) in Africa and the obligations that human rights impose, this article submits that the right to access education, the creation of employment and the right to access work intra-regionally are central to economic integration in Africa. Consequently, the article analyses how economic integration involves these rights and the extent to which these rights may act as catalysts to deepening economic integration in RECs. It concludes that state parties to the RECs must allow free movement of persons and the right of establishment to enable community citizens to have access to education and work.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Mujuzi Jamil Ddamulira

The rule of law: Approaches of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and selected African states

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 12, n. 1 , 89-111



ABSTRACT: The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights is empowered to promote and protect human rights in Africa. Although the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights does not expressly use the phrase 'rule of law', the African Commission has interpreted its mandate under the African Charter as allowing it to promote and protect the rule of law in Africa. The article looks at four mechanisms through which the African Commission has attempted to promote the rule of law – in its resolutions, individual communications, promotional missions and through the periodic reports of state parties to the African Charter. The article shows that the African Commission has given different meanings to the concept of the rule of law. The article shows that, in their periodic reports to the African Commission, different African states have different understandings of the rule of law and have taken different measures to promote the rule of law in their jurisdictions. What is apparent is that the promotion and protection of human rights are crucial elements in rule of law discourse.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dessi Andrea, Moor Ahmed

Una federazione possibile in Medio Oriente

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/una-federazione-possibile-in-medio-orient>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Murphy Shannonbrooke

Unique in international human rights law: Article 20(2) and the right to resist in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Kako Nubukpo

Varia - Le Policy Mix de la Zone UEMOA : leçons d'hier, réflexions pour demain

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 212 , 137-152

Plus de quinze ans après la création de l'Union économique et monétaire ouest africaine (UEMOA) et à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de l'Union monétaire ouest africaine (UMO), il convient d'effectuer un bilan de l'articulation entre la politique monétaire commune, dont la mise en oeuvre est du ressort de la Banque centrale des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO) en charge de la gestion du franc CFA, et les politiques budgétaires nationales, dont la coordination est confiée à la Commission de l'UEMOA. À l'examen, il apparaît que l'objectif de croissance économique a été sacrifié sur l'autel de la lutte contre l'inflation. À cet égard, il serait utile d'améliorer le Policy Mix de l'UEMOA, dans le sens d'un régime de changes CFA/euro plus flexible et d'un gouvernement économique fondé sur un fédéralisme budgétaire à



promouvoir.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Chigara Ben

What Should a Re-constituted Southern African Development Community (SADC) Tribunal Be Mindful of to Succeed?

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 3 , 341-377

ABSTRACT: The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is a sub-regional international organisation comprised of 15 transitional States that have embraced the principle of the rule of law as a basic norm of their constitutional arrangements. Their biggest challenge presently is to undo the provocative and salient legacy of social, economic and psychological apartheid on their territories for almost a century, without disrupting their developmental endeavours. This article examines the question of what role if any the SADC Tribunal envisaged under Article 9 of the constitutive SADC Treaty might play to facilitate successful transitions from apartheid to egalitarian rule. It shows that a multiplicity of dialectics abound that do not allow for easy answers, much to the frustration of both the cultural relativists and their rivals, the universalists, regarding human rights protection. The article recommends meaningful pedagogical engagement of the challenges confronting the SADC sub-region as a direct consequence of almost a century of apartheid - the worst form of governance known to man in recent times. This should inform national, sub-regional and regional dynamics in the pursuit of SADC goals and aspirations. SADC Human Rights Courts and Tribunals are encouraged to develop a "due-account jurisprudence" that is congruous with the transitional requirements of their societies just as the German Federal Constitutional Court had done in the aftermath of the fall of the Reich, and also after the re-unification of Germany.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Cissokho Lassana , Houghton Jonathan, Makpayo Kossi, Seck Abdoulaye

Why Is Agricultural Trade within ECOWAS So High?

in *Journal of African Economies*, Volume 22 Issue 1 January 2013

It is widely believed that the countries of Africa trade relatively little with the outside world, and among themselves, despite an extensive network of regional trade agreements. We examine this proposition by focusing on agricultural trade. Specifically, we ask whether non-tariff barriers (NTBs) are stunting agricultural trade within the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a grouping of fifteen countries in West Africa that has removed tariffs on agricultural trade among its members. Our survey of truckers in Tambacounda (Senegal) in August 2009 found evidence of extensive bribery by police and border officials, effectively representing a barrier to trading. We estimate a unit-elastic structural gravity model of agricultural trade, using data from 135 countries for 2000, 2003 and 2006, and employing Tobit and other types of structural specification. A robust result emerges: agricultural trade among the countries of ECOWAS is higher than one would expect. This does not mean that there are no NTBs within ECOWAS, but it does imply that any such barriers are less harmful to agricultural trade in ECOWAS than in the world as a whole. Similar effects are found for the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the South African Development Community (SADC). This suggests that African countries are not averse to agricultural trade, and local



traders have been effective at exploiting trade opportunities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Dessi Andrea, Miller Aaron David

“Tel Aviv e Ramallah, perché non funziona il paese unico”

in *Reset*, Numero 139

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/tel-aviv-e-ramallah-perche-non-funziona-il-paese-unico>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Tovar Patricia

Preferential Trade Agreements and Unilateral Liberalization: Evidence from CAFTA

in *World Trade Review*, Volume 11 - Issue 04 - ottobre 2012 , 591-619

There is no consensus in the literature on whether preferential trade agreements help or hinder trade liberalization toward non-members. We examine the link between preferential trade liberalization and tariffs imposed against non-member countries for the case of CAFTA-DR. Using product data at the 6-digit HS level, we find that products with larger reductions in preferential tariffs experienced larger increases (or smaller decreases) in most-favored nation tariffs applied against non-members. However, we also uncover some interesting dynamics regarding the relationship between preferential liberalization and tariffs imposed against non-members. When we split the sample period into two sub-periods, we find an initial negative relationship between changes in preferential and most-favored nation tariffs during the first half of the sample period, followed by a positive relationship during the second half, although the evidence on the latter is not as strong. The results thus provide the first evidence of an initial stumbling block effect of preferential trade liberalization on unilateral liberalization, as well as (weaker) evidence of a subsequent building block effect.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Anderson Greg

Securitization and sovereignty in post-9/11 North America

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 711-741

This paper traces the recent evolution of North American economic and security relations within the context of broader debates in international political economy (IPE) concerning globalization and its effects on the state in the international system. Borrowing from David Lake's discussion of hierarchical sovereignty, this paper argues that efforts to meld security to economics in an integrated North American market devoid of institutions have made sovereignty more hierarchical. It presents an approach to looking at North American integration, which can assist in understanding recent developments that are suggestive of new areas of research and policy development for both practitioners and theoreticians.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Darnton Christopher

A False Start on the Road to Mercosur: Reinterpreting Rapprochement Failure between Argentina and Brazil, 1972

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 47, Number 2, 2012 , 120-143

To understand the momentous transformation in Argentine-Brazilian relations from rivalry to Mercosur, scholars need to analyze negative cases, when rapprochement was attempted unsuccessfully. This article examines the failed 1972 summit between Presidents Alejandro Agustín Lanusse and Emilio Garrastazú Médici, which is poorly explained by existing theories of international relations and overlooked or misinterpreted in many regional histories. I argue, based on research in the Argentine Foreign Ministry Archives, newly declassified US government documents, and a reexamination of published primary sources, that rapprochement failed in 1972 primarily because bureaucratic interests in the armed forces and foreign ministries of both states depended on the continuation of rivalry. Organizational politics, not popular nationalism or presidential diplomatic errors, best explains the persistence of Argentine-Brazilian conflict in the early 1970s. Successful cooperation between rivals therefore may require not only agreement between national leaders but also the support of the state apparatus on both sides.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Spoltore Stefano

Brasile e Argentina al bivio nel Mercosur

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 160-163

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1388&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Ori Preuss

Brazil into Latin America: The Demise of Slavery and Monarchy as Transnational Events

in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Volume 49, Number 2, 2012 , 96-126

Este artigo investiga a identificação nacional da elite brasileira dentro do contexto intra-latinoamericano até hoje pouco explorado. Durante o último terço do século dezenove, figuras-chave do estado tanto como das letras no Brasil começaram a se interessar seriamente - de fato mais do que se tem normalmente admitido - pelos seus vizinhos. O crescente reconhecimento dos avanços hispanoamericanos permitiu o aparecimento de novos juízos de valor positivos junto aos velhos juízos negativos, o qual teve como efeito por sua vez tanto uma identificação otimista como uma identificação pessimista. Estas tendências interligadas e a longo prazo atingiram o seu momento crítico com a abolição da escravatura em 1888 e a queda da monarquia em 1889, os dois pilares da singularidade brasileira no subcontinente. A partir destes eventos importantes interpretes do Brasil começaram a se perceber como formando parte de uma Latino-América bifacial, ligada tanto à ordem e progresso no modelo da Europa e dos Estados Unidos quanto ao



caudillismo autóctono.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Olmos Giupponi Belén

International Law and Sources of Law in MERCOSUR: An Analysis of a 20-Year Relationship

in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 25, Issue 03 , 707 - 737

The Treaty of Asunción in 1991 gave rise to the Common Market of the Southern Cone (MERCOSUR) as a promising economic integration process. Over the past 20 years, as the legal personality of MERCOSUR was reinforced, there were also important changes in its legal system. International law and international economic law played a fundamental role in the development of MERCOSUR law. The main aim of this article is to provide some insights into the current stage of MERCOSUR law, taking into account the evolution of the legal system, the dispute settlement mechanism, and the relationship with international law. In order to do so, the author examines various turning points in the case law of the arbitration tribunals constituted so far and the Permanent Review Tribunal established by the Olivos Protocol.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Francisco Rojas Aravena

La Celac y la integración latinoamericana y caribeña. Principales claves y desafíos

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 240

The Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) represents a force of superior political integration in Latin America and the Caribbean, driven by the leadership of the two regional of difficulties in articulating regional diversity, a renewed political will has emerged around integration and, particularly, in a new regionalism. The works that Chile develops this year, Cuba in 2013 and Costa Rica in 2014 will be determiners for the success of this new and vigorous initiative of Latin American and Caribbean political integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Morán Rosado Manuel Jesús

La Comunidad de estados latinoamericanos y caribeños. Algunas consideraciones sobre el nuevo foro latinoamericano.

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 23, junio 2012

The Community of Latin American and Caribbean, formally established in December 2011, aims to be the only joint forum of the entire region, regardless of pre-existing sub-systems. The present research work within the limits of its extension, also analyzes the background of CELAC, the constituent documents, and the consequences of the emergence of this community, both in relations between the countries of the Region as in relations with other areas such as the European Union.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Eréndira Salgado Ledesma

La probable inejecución de las sentencias de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos in Cuestiones constitucionales. *Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 26 , 221-260

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

José Ramón Cossío Díaz

Primeras implicaciones del caso Radilla

in Cuestiones constitucionales. *Revista mexicana de derecho constitucional*, n. 26 , 31-63

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Thomas Muhr

The Politics of Space in the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America–Peoples' Trade Agreement (ALBA–TCP): Transnationalism, the Organized Society, and Counter-Hegemonic Governance

in Globalizations , Volume 9, Issue 6 , 767-782

This article shows that counter to the common representation of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America–Peoples' Trade Agreement (ALBA–TCP) as simply a bloc of nation-states, the initiative in fact constitutes a counter-hegemonic globalization project that operates through inter- and transnational processes across a range of (spatial) scales, from the local to the global. I draw on John Agnew's notion of the 'territorial trap' and theories of regionalism and globalization to analyse the transnational and pluri-scalar construction of the ALBA–TCP in Nicaragua (2004–2007) and El Salvador (2004–2010), to argue that the mobilization and empowerment gains associated with these processes are an important element in the construction of what is referred to as the 'organized society'. As a politics of place, space and scale, the ALBA–TCP governance regime is sketched out, in which an emergent transnationally organized society integrates via the ALBA–TCP Council of Social Movements in the quest for progressive regional and global transformation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Jean-Marc Siroen, Aycil Yucer Published online:

The impact of MERCOSUR on trade of Brazilian states

in Review of World Economics (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv), volume 148 n.3 , 553-582



We consider the impact of MERCOSUR on trade among Brazilian states and on trade by Brazilian states with MERCOSUR and the rest of the world. We use a theoretically founded gravity model to shed light on MERCOSUR's possible creation and diversion effects as well as its "preference erosion" effect on trade among Brazilian states. Using data on interstate trade over a 4-year period, including 1 year prior to the MERCOSUR period (1991), we deliver empirical evidence at state level with a focus on the impact of MERCOSUR which can vary across Brazilian regions. We show that MERCOSUR increased Brazilian states' trade with member countries, but had no effect on either interstate trade or Brazilian states' trade with third countries. The paper finds that MERCOSUR's impact varies across Brazilian regions and that Center West region did not benefit from the integration to MERCOSUR. We use an estimation method dealing better with the traditional issue of zero trade values and heteroskedasticity than ordinary least squares does.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

David Lewis

Who's Socialising Whom? Regional Organisations and Contested Norms in Central Asia
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 64, Issue 7, , 1219-1237

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) represent competing sets of international norms in Central Asia. The contestation between these sets of norms has not led to a complete polarisation between members of the two organisations, however. Instead, the OSCE has used a range of discursive tactics to reduce political contestation, downplaying some contested issues and seeking shared discourses on security threats. This article explores these tactics and suggests that these discursive shifts may eventually threaten the normative identity of the OSCE and lead to the acceptance of a more hybrid set of security-related norms in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Thomas De Waal

A Broken Region: The Persistent Failure of Integration Projects in the South Caucasus
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Volume 64, Issue 9 , 1709-1723

This essay reviews failed historical attempts at regional integration in the South Caucasus since the early twentieth century, and in particular the failed Transcaucasian federations of 1918 and 1922–1936 and the breakdown of Soviet economic integration in the region. It argues that there is much that makes the South Caucasus a viable region in terms of geography, culture and economic potential, but political contradictions and persistent perceptions of insecurity make for a pattern of recurring fragmentation. Both Caucasians and outsiders have a role to play if voluntary integration is to work as a project in the future.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

He Baogang

A Concert of Powers and Hybrid Regionalism in Asia

in *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47, n. 4 , 677-690

ABSTRACT: With the rise of China the strategic competition between the US and China has gained momentum over the last 10 years and is likely to continue in the near future. To deal with this challenge, Hugh White has proposed a concert of powers in Asia. White's proposal, however, has not received sufficient attention in Asia and is likely to be a failure if Asia does not take it seriously. This article examines the problematic assumptions of White's proposal and argues that his proposal needs to incorporate the important role of ASEAN, an existing de facto Asian concert of powers. It shifts the idea of a concert of powers towards a new hybrid regionalism, identifies its key components and discusses how this hybrid regionalism can dilute the strategic conflict between China and the US.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Peter A. Petri, Michael G. Plummer, Fan Zhai

ASEAN Economic Community: A General Equilibrium Analysis

in *Asian Economic Journal*, Volume 26, Issue 2, June 2012 , 93-118

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) is the largest integration effort attempted in the developing world; if realized, it will create a single market with the free movement of goods, services, foreign direct investment and skilled labor, and freer movement of capital encompassing nearly 600 million people. This study, a first attempt to evaluate the full benefits of the AEC, finds that the project could produce gains similar to those resulting from the European Single Market, amounting to 5.3 percent of the region's income. The benefits could be doubled if, as expected, regional integration also leads to new free trade agreements with key external partners. The whole region will share in these gains. There will be mild trade and investment diversion effects for some other countries, but the world will benefit too. Nevertheless, the AEC poses political challenges: the present study finds that the project will imply significant structural adjustments in several ASEAN economies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Elliott Lorraine

ASEAN and Environmental Governance: Strategies of Regionalism in Southeast Asia

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 38-57

Most studies of regionalism in Southeast Asia pay little attention to environmental concerns as part of the region's empirical dynamic. In contrast, this article examines the ways in which governments have come to "govern" environmental issues at a regional scale under the auspices of ASEAN, against the backdrop of debates about the political topography of Southeast Asian regionalism. The framework adopted here brings together analyses of the public space of formal regional governance arrangements, the inter-subjective space of regional identity building, and the



private space of regional social practices. Underpinning this is the question of whether moves to supposedly “flatter” forms of regional governance have been accompanied by for more democratic or participatory forms of regionalism. I conclude that regional environmental structures under ASEAN are more akin to “invited spaces” and have generally failed to offer effective channels of communication for, or democratic representation of, a wider range of stakeholders, including civil society groups and local communities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Yoshimatsu Hidetaka

ASEAN and evolving power relations in East Asia: strategies and constraints in Contemporary Politics, Vol. 18, Issue 4 , 400-415

This article seeks to examine constraints and challenges that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) states are confronted with in formulating and implementing their strategies in response to evolving regional environments represented by the rise of China. It argues that China's southern neighbours have adopted purposeful strategies in order to mitigate potentially negative effects from China's growing capabilities in East Asia. These strategies led to the expansion of membership in the East Asia Summit (EAS) and positive involvement in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) agreement, encouraging America's substantial commitments to the Asia-Pacific. However, ASEAN has failed to form the unified front on the EAS and TPP because its members have adopted diverse stances on and policies towards the two institutions. Moreover, an identity issue constitutes a crucial impediment to promoting cooperation between ASEAN members and the USA. While Washington has intensified diplomatic linkages with ASEAN, the US identity shown in its adherence to the results-oriented approach still provokes some concerns among the ASEAN members.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Watson, Virginia B.

ASEAN-INDIA-AUSTRALIA: Towards Closer Engagement in New Asia in Pacific Affairs , Volume 85, Number 3, September , 616-618

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Packer Frank, Remolona Eli

Attracting foreign participation in Asian local currency bond markets: the case of the Asian bond Fund 2 initiative in Pacific Economic Review, Volume 17, Issue 3, August 2012 , 415-433

The Asian Bond Fund 2 (ABF2) is a \$US2bn initiative by a group of central banks in Asia and the Pacific. To promote local currency government bond markets, the fund has been investing in 8 such markets in the region. These markets have made impressive strides since the fund's inception in 2005. The improvements may be traced in large part to



overcoming a number of market impediments, including barriers to cross-border investment. The ABF2 project has played an important catalytic role in market reforms aimed at removing these impediments. However, while the government bond markets have come of age, the corporate bond markets have remained immature. To develop, the immature markets would likely require the benefits of further opening up to regional issuance and investment flows.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jagannath P. Panda

Beijing's Perspective on Expansion of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization: India, South Asia, and the Spectrum of Opportunities in China's Open Approach

in Asian Perspective, Vol. 36, No. 3 , 493-530

China has basked for some time in the achievement of having promoted the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), now in its eleventh year. Without a doubt, China sees the SCO as a useful foreign- policy instrument. But China cannot afford to rest on its diplomatic laurels. Open to opportunities to protect its stakes in Asia, China is very likely contemplating, albeit cautiously, an expanded role for the SCO that will include membership for India, its archrival. To Beijing, expanding the SCO beyond Central Asia is a political statement, exploring and helping to define a constituency to which it can appeal for diplomatic support in a range of regional projects that restrict US participation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Butcher Andrew

Benign neglect: New Zealand, ASEAN and South-east Asia: Andrew Butcher comments on the findings of a recent survey of New Zealanders' awareness of ASEAN nations.

in New Zealand International Review, November, 2012

South-east Asia is a region that holds historical importance and sentiment for New Zealand. But history and sentiment only get New Zealand so far in its engagement with the region and relying rather too much on this sentiment has resulted in New Zealand treating South-east Asia with a kind of benign neglect. New Zealanders' low knowledge and perception of South-east Asian countries is one reflection of this. But for important strategic reasons New Zealand needs to engage with ASEAN and South-east Asia as it navigates the tricky terrain of the changing geo-politics of Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Xu Zhenhui, Fan Jianyong

China's Regional Trade and Domestic Market Integrations

in Review of International Economics, Volume 20, Issue 5, November 2012 , 1052-1069

The global economic crisis in 2007 forced China to move from export-led growth to promoting domestic demand. The move is significant, but the success of this new growth strategy depends critically on the level of domestic market integrations. In this paper, we use the methodology proposed by Anderson and Wincoop to examine China's domestic market integrations. We find evidence of border effects at both national and regional levels with significant regional



differences, but they are smaller than some earlier studies suggest. Income growth, lower transportation costs, and higher intra-industry trade all have positive effects on China's regional trade. Among the factors affecting regional trade, a better business environment has the largest positive impact on lifting China's domestic trade between regions, especially in intermediate goods, suggesting that improving business environment should be the priority of government at all levels in China.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Naarajärvi Teemu

China, Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: blessing or curse for new regionalism in Central Asia?

in Asia Europe Journal, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 113-126

This paper discusses China and Russia and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Organisation (SCO), a Eurasian regional organisation established in 2001 and consisting of China, Russia and the four Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. I argue that while the two largest members of the SCO are essential to the organisation, they at the same time prevent the SCO from becoming a more comprehensive regional organisation. Moreover, the actions and presence of China and Russia in Central Asia, together with inherently inauspicious characteristics of the region when compared to the post-Cold War new regionalist thinking, hinder the overall regionalisation in the area. However, regionalisation, hopefully in time leading to greater regional cooperation in Central Asia, is very much in the interests of Europe and the European Union (EU) as a potential peaceful way forward in the development of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Song Guoyou, Yuan Wen Jin

China's Free Trade Agreement Strategies

in Washington Quarterly (The), Volume 35, Number 4, Fall 2012 , 107-119

The full text is free:

<https://csis.org/files/publication/twq12FallSongYuan.pdf>

Many in China fear that the United States' Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) framework seeks to coopt or destroy regional economic cooperation, leading Beijing to devise strategies to respond, including constructing its own regional web of FTAs or even joining TPP itself.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Johansson, Anders C.



China's Growing Influence in Southeast Asia – Monetary Policy and Equity Markets

in *World Economy*, volume 35 n.7 , 816-835

This study analyses the potential transmission of China's monetary policy shocks to equity markets in Southeast Asia. Impulse response functions indicate that the impact of a monetary expansion in China is significant and positive for four of the five Southeast Asian equity markets. One explanation for this result is that monetary policy shocks in China lead to an increase in demand for goods and services in both China and abroad, which then shows up in the foreign equity market. The results in this paper provide evidence of China's influence in Southeast Asia and its financial markets. The transmission effect is small and very short lived, but can be expected to increase if the current trends of a deepening economic integration between China and Southeast Asia and a maturing Chinese central bank continue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

David Martin Jones

Collaborative Regional Development in Northeast Asia: Towards a Sustainable Regional and Sub-Regional Future

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 85, Number 4, December , 821-823

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Reilly James

Counting On China? Australia's Strategic Response to Economic Interdependence

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 5 Issue 4 , 369-394

China's remarkable economic growth has rendered its neighbours increasingly dependent upon China for their prosperity, even as China's burgeoning wealth and power raises security concerns around Asia, particularly among states allied or aligned with the United States. The extent to which growing economic dependence upon China is altering Asian states' diplomatic and security policies is one of the most interesting and important questions in international relations today.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Fleischauer Stefan

Cross-Strait Relations and the Way Forward: Observations from a European Integration Perspective

in *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, Vol 41, No 3 , 117-142

The new policy platform in Taiwan of economic liberalization toward the Chinese mainland which was inaugurated by President Ma Ying-jeou (Ma Yingjiu) in 2008 has been the source of both expectation and anxiety. While some observers believe that this policy of rapprochement will usher in an era of cross-Strait prosperity and peace, others are concerned about Taiwan's de facto sovereignty as well as the negative economic impacts that the liberalization policy



might entail. In particular, it has often been claimed (or feared) that the liberalization process will lead to some form of political integration between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. In this article, I wish to offer some insights into the current state of cross-Strait interactions derived from the European integration process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Svensson Isak

East Asian Peacemaking: Exploring the Patterns of Conflict Management and Conflict Settlement in East Asia in Asian Perspective, Volume 35, Issue 2 (April-June 2011) , 163-185

There is an emerging academic debate on what has been called the “East Asian Peace”—the relative peacefulness of the East Asian region since 1979. In this study I develop a critical argument that aspires to clarify what the “peace” in East Asia is. Distinguishing conflict management from conflict settlement I argue that the East Asian Peace has played out quite differently in different types of conflicts. What has changed, I contend, is not the frequency of armed conflicts but rather how the armed conflict has been managed. Military interventions have substantially decreased, whereas internal armed conflicts have actually slightly increased since 1979. Peace agreements have become less common, while conflict termination through cease-fires and low activity has increased. Internal armed conflicts with low-level foreign involvement remain an acute security problem in East Asia. This article describes the empirical trends and discusses the implications for further research.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Friedrichs Jörg

East Asian Regional Security

in Asian Survey , Vol. 52, No. 4, July/August , 754-776

The “ASEAN family” of regional security institutions has a mixed record: it has proved very helpful in improving interstate trust, fairly helpful in managing peaceful change, somewhat helpful in enhancing regime stability, but virtually useless in resolving interstate conflict. Overall, East Asia remains dominated by conventional forms of international relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Vivek Joshi

Econometric Analysis of the India–Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement

in Asian Economic Journal, Volume 26, Issue 2, June 2012 , 159-180

This paper investigates whether the India–Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISLFTA) has had trade creation or trade diversion effects on the rest of the world. Using data on tariffs at the six-digit level of the Harmonized System classification for the period 1996 to 2006, the methodology of the present paper follows a study on the North American Free Trade Agreement by Romalis (2005) We use the commodity and time variation in the tariff preferences allowed under ISLFTA to identify its effect on sourcing of different products from the ‘control country’ to the ISLFTA region. Using a fixed effects model, we find that the ISLFTA has had small trade creation effects in the control countries.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Si Joong Kim

**Economic and Trade Relations as an Arena of Korea-China Contention
in Asian Perspective**, Vol. 36, No. 2 , 237-262

Korea and China have maintained cordial economic relations for the past twenty years based on remarkable expansion of trade and investment flows. However, some disputes in the economic and trade arena have occurred, a few of which escalated to a serious level. This article examines the overall picture of these bilateral disputes, focusing on their causes and effects. The discussion extends to predicting the future prospects of the disputes based on the changing nature of the bilateral economic relations. In particular, disputes regarding product safety, restructuring of bilateral trade and investment, technology transfer, and a China-Korea Free Trade Agreement are identified as potential areas of future conflict.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Houben Vincent

Economic crises in the ASEAN area: types and responses

in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire, Volume 19, Issue 6, 2012 , 965-977

Abstract

Southeast Asia, the world region covering the countries of ASEAN, lies at the crossroads between China and India. Since early times it has been part of the global economy, going through cycles of boom and bust at least from the nineteenth century onwards. This essay compares three successive economic crises during the 1880s, 1930s and late 1990s. It shows how different types of crisis reflected as well as produced changes in the connectivity between production factors and institutional arrangements. Whereas the crisis of the 1880s was 'local', that of the 1930s was both 'national' and 'delegated global' and that of the 1990s 'regional' in nature. The types of crisis and the ways in which they were handled reflected structural changes in the institutional architecture of the global economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Matthew Richard A.

**Environmental Change, Human Security, and Regional Governance: The Case of the Hindu Kush/Himalaya
Region**

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 100-118

This article asks whether institutions and processes for regional environmental governance can be introduced or, where they already exist, be strengthened to be more effective along three key dimensions: managing environmental stressors, coordinating the adaptation and mitigation strategies required at various scales of social organization, and establishing



better early warning, response and recovery systems. These dimensions are analysed through an examination of the challenges facing the Hindu Kush-Himalaya region that affect all of the region of South Asia. In terms of both human and national security, regional environmental governance holds great promise, but effective governance institutions and processes (either hegemonic or democratic) would be extremely difficult to create.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ricceri Marco

Eurasia: il momento per una scelta storica

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 409-421

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Nah Alice M.

Globalisation, Sovereignty and Immigration Control: The Hierarchy of Rights for Migrant Workers in Malaysia

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 40, Number 4 , 486-508

Social theorists examining the impact of globalisation on state power argue that sovereignty is being respatialised and rescaled and that it is no longer adequate to understand state sovereignty as operating evenly on a national scale over a population within a bounded territory. Nevertheless, ASEAN states continue to adopt such a national framing of people and place, particularly in the construction of immigration control regimes. I argue that in order to understand the localised and spatialised exercise of graduated sovereignty and the selective introduction of neoliberal practices, it is necessary to recognise the significance of the immigration status of individuals and examine how the dividing practices of immigration control regimes permit the selective allocation of rights to non-citizens. This paper examines Malaysia's approach to international labour migration, noting that it makes different biopolitical investments in different types of non-citizens on the basis of a calculation of their potential contribution to the 'nation'. Malaysia creates a hierarchy of rights, giving greater rights to skilled workers, while restricting those of 'unskilled' workers. Malaysia punishes those who breach immigration laws severely. However, Malaysia's modernist approach to immigration control fails to achieve intended results and I highlight a number of reasons why.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jürgen Rüländ

Governance, Decentralisation and Democratisation in Southeast Asia

in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 11, Number 1 , 5-16

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ciorciari John D.

Institutionalizing Human Rights in Southeast Asia

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 3, august , 695-725

ABSTRACT: In 2009 and 2010, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) established two new human rights bodies: an inter-governmental human rights commission and a commission for the protection of the rights of women and children. This article examines the process leading to their creation, focusing on the normative and political debates that made creating an ASEAN human rights mechanism a long and challenging process. It then analyzes the commissions' institutional features and shows how their design constrains their present capacity to promote and protect human rights. Finally, the article discusses the possibilities for near-term institutional evolution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Graeme Hugo

International Labour Migration and Migration Policies in Southeast Asia

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 40, Number 4 , 392-341

Labour migration is the dominant form of international migration in the Southeast Asian region. It involves movement both within and outside the region with Southeast Asia having some of the world's major origin and destination countries for labour migrants. There is a bifurcation in policies toward labour migrants between high-skilled and low-skilled workers. While there is a manifest demand for both groups, the former are welcomed and enjoy an array of freedom and rights, while the latter are reluctantly accepted under tight restrictive conditions. The failure to recognise that labour migration is a continuing structural feature of Southeast Asian economies has been a significant barrier to migration being able to deliver the maximum potential positive outcomes, not only to the migrants, but also to the economies of origin and destination countries. There is a pressing need for a more evidence-driven, rights-based approach to all labour migration and a shift from the dominance of a policing model to a management model of governance. There are a number of promising developments in the region with respect to labour migration policy but it still suffers from a lack of management capacity, poor governance, 'rent taking', corruption and mismanagement. There is a pressing need for the development and adoption of best practice models, especially in relation to low-skilled migration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kneebone Susan

Introduction Migrant Workers Between States: In Search of Exit and Integration Strategies in South East Asia

in *Asian Journal of Social Science*, Volume 40, Number 4 , 367-391

This Introduction analyses the rights of migrant workers in Southeast Asia according to the obligations of sending and receiving states as provided in the 2007 ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and the Promotion of Rights of Migrant Workers. The implementation of such rights is discussed at three levels of policy: the national, bilateral and multilateral.



Gaps in strategies relating to exit and integration of migrant workers are identified. It is argued that migrant workers are situated between the sending and receiving states, but that it is unclear to which they can turn for protection.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Nawal K. Paswan

Investment Cooperation in Central Asia: Prospects and Challenges

in India Quarterly, Vol. 69, n°1 , 13-33

Central Asia is becoming an increasingly attractive destination for foreign direct investment (FDI). Although a first wave of foreign investments targeted Central and Eastern Europe in the early 1990s, followed by a second one to South-east Europe in the early 2000s, FDI is now moving even further eastward towards Central Asia. The Central Asian countries are all relatively small landlocked economies and need to promote trade and investment which enable them to closely integrate into the international economic order to achieve sustainable economic development. The level of intra-regional trade in Central Asia is low and their trade is concentrated in few commodities and hence the possibilities of setting up joint ventures emerges so that instead of exporting and importing the same product, one country may decide to set up a joint venture in the partner country (with a more favourable investment climate and cost advantage) to buy back the same in the home country. The track record of FDI in Central Asia demonstrates the urgent need to strengthen good governance, transparency, stability and the fair application of the rule of law in the region. Therefore, this article seeks to examine the prospects and challenges of regional investment cooperation and provide some of the measures to enhance the effectiveness of bilateral investment treaties and double tax avoidance treaties among the Central Asian countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hway-Boon Ong, Muzafar Shah Habibullah

Is China compatible with ASEAN-5? A gradual cointegration analysis

in Journal of Economic Studies, volume 39 n.3 , 356 - 367

Purpose – The purpose of this paper to examine if there is continuous macroeconomic compatibility between ASEAN-5 and China. Thus, in addition to the typical VECM test of the long run macroeconomic cointegration test, this paper examines the existence of an ongoing cointegration analysis.

Design/methodology/approach – The degree of convergence during different sub-sample period of the full sample is employed, via Johansen cointegration rank tests, to examine if there is evidence of ongoing and improved cointegrating relationship among the economies.

Findings – A successful ASEAN-China economic cooperation would only work if there is continuous macroeconomic interdependence between the partnership. Since a smooth transition of ACFTA will complement AFTA, the effective ASEAN-China coordination plan is essential to endorse a successful ASEAN-China coalition.

Originality/value – This paper suggests a quick yet effective verification on the continuous compatibility of economies intended to have a long-term economic coordination.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Benny Guido

Is an “ASEAN Community” Achievable?

in *Asian Survey* , Vol. 52, no. 6, November/Dicember , 1043-1066

The formulation “ASEAN Community” has been criticized for being too elitist and lacking serious efforts to solicit public opinion. This article examines how the people in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore view the concept of “community building” and the obstacles this initiative may encounter.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Reuben Wonga

Model power or reference point? The EU and the ASEAN Charter

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* , Volume 25, Issue 4 , 669-682

Several scholars have suggested that ASEAN's institutionalization can be attributed to the EU's influence as a ‘model power’. The notion of the EU as a model power is premised on the assumption and belief that Europe's history of regional cooperation presents a viable blueprint for other regions. This article argues that the EU exerts some power over ASEAN—but merely as a ‘reference point’. The EU's influence is not an active one; the organisation essentially serves as a passive reference point for ASEAN. The obvious and arguably most important example of this referencing is the framing of the ASEAN Charter in 2007. This article disagrees with scholars who reduce ASEAN's institutionalization to an imitation of the EU form without the substance. Instead, it shows how ASEAN has innovated as a regional organization through its Charter and Intergovernmental Human Rights Commission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Byeong Cheol Mun

Organizing International Security in Northeast Asia: Hegemony, Concert of Powers, and Collective Security

in *Asian Perspective*, Vol. 36, No. 1 , 147-166

Compared with the first North Korean nuclear crisis in the mid-1990s, the second North Korean nuclear crisis of the early 2000s reveals very different features. The second crisis led to dialogues on how to manage a regional security issue. Moreover, the crisis underwent three diverse phases that can be used to test the assumptions behind three models of security studies: hegemony, concert of powers, and collective security. This analysis of the North Korean case demonstrates ways of organizing regional security in Northeast Asia in the post–Cold War era and thus examines whether certain historical phases of the second North Korean nuclear crisis can be categorized into and explained by these different security models.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Ong Bernard



Recognizing regions: ASEAN's struggle for recognition

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 4 , 513-536

Does recognition matter for a region as much as it does for a state and a person? This article examines the power of recognition in shaping regional cooperation. Rather than focusing on the behaviours and interactions between member states, which most studies have done, this article introduces a recognition model to investigate how the social practices of a region with non-member entities promote regional cooperation. By viewing recognition as a tradable commodity and an independent variable, the framework illustrates how the contest for recognition permeates beyond interpersonal and interstate interactions to include the struggle for recognition by regions. The model hypothesizes that the extent of recognition accorded to a region has an influence on its development. Drawing on newly released US declassified diplomatic records, this article tests the soundness of the proposed recognition model for regions by analysing the Association of Southeast Asian Nations' (ASEAN) struggle for recognition in the 1970s. It discusses how recognition was traded between ASEAN and three foreign powers, namely the USA, Japan and the European Economic Community, during the grouping's formative years. The findings suggest that the strengthening of a regional concept is influenced by the willingness of, and the extent to which, foreign powers recognize the entity. The central theme of this article is that recognition plays an important function in the development of a regional concept.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Huong Ly Luu

Regional Harmonization of Competition Law and Policy: An ASEAN Approach

in *Asian Journal of International Law*, vol. 2, issue 2 , 291-321

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Park Jinsoo

Regional Leadership Dynamics and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 2, August , 290–318

This study argues that the concept of a regional leader is particularly promising for explaining the development of East Asian regionalism, albeit not the sole determining factor. It shows that regional leadership dynamics in East Asia have shifted from the absence of regional leaders to Sino–Japanese cooperative competition to their conflictive competition, which has been determined not only by the material power structure but also by social interactions. It argues that this shifting dynamics has proved crucial for the evolution of East Asian regionalism, determining its fate and degree. The last argument is that the nature of regional leadership dynamics has served as an important determining factor for the strategy and the influence of the USA towards East Asia. This study not only helps us understand the evolution of East Asian regionalism but also provides profound implications for its future trajectory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area



Park Jinsoo

**Regional Leadership Dynamics and the Evolution of East Asian Regionalism
in Pacific Focus**, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 290–318

This study argues that the concept of a regional leader is particularly promising for explaining the development of East Asian regionalism, albeit not the sole determining factor. It shows that regional leadership dynamics in East Asia have shifted from the absence of regional leaders to Sino–Japanese cooperative competition to their conflictive competition, which has been determined not only by the material power structure but also by social interactions. It argues that this shifting dynamics has proved crucial for the evolution of East Asian regionalism, determining its fate and degree. The last argument is that the nature of regional leadership dynamics has served as an important determining factor for the strategy and the influence of the USA towards East Asia. This study not only helps us understand the evolution of East Asian regionalism but also provides profound implications for its future trajectory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Haefner

**Regional environmental security: cooperation and challenges in the Mekong subregion
in Global Change, Peace & Security**, vol. 25, n. 1 , 27-41

ABSTRACT: Environmental challenges are often transnational and affect the daily lives of people as well as broader national interests. This research paper focuses on the challenge of finding a balance between economic development and environmental degradation in the Mekong subregion and assesses the role of regional institutions in dealing with this issue. Finding a balance is important, because more than 70 million people live on the river banks and the subregion is crucial for the economic development of its six riparian countries. Concentrating on two organizations – the Mekong River Commission (MRC) and the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) – this article argues that regional attempts to find a balance have so far largely failed. Reasons for this lack of success include the MRC's failure to include all riparian countries, and the fact that the GMS has only recently widened its focus from economic development to also include environmental and social issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Su  Xiaobo

**Rescaling the Chinese state and regionalization in the Great Mekong Subregion
in Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 19, Issue 3, 2012 , 501-527

In the past five years, the Chinese state has made great effort to implement its 'going-out' strategy, i.e., the geographical expansion of Chinese capital and labor overseas. This paper explores how the Chinese state rescales to implement this going-out strategy and produce new spaces of development. Particularly, this paper examines how the Chinese state reconfigures its institutional ensemble to integrate landlocked Yunnan Province into the transnational economy embodied in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS). The paper finds that the Chinese state deploys two spatial strategies – upward coordination with international organizations and GMS national governments, and downward implementation throughout Yunnan Province – to establish an interscalar regulatory regime. Through this regime the Chinese state aims to assemble capital, labor, and political clout to expand Chinese capital and labor in the GMS, and to



develop Yunnan's economy to ease uneven domestic geographical development. This paper contributes to the booming literature on the political–economic restructuring of national states and to the limited scholarship on the institutional arrangement for cross-border regions in a non-Western context. It also sheds light on how the rescaling of the Chinese state potentially shapes the international political economy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Wilson Jeffrey D.

Resource security: a new motivation for free trade agreements in the Asia-Pacific region
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 4 , 429-453

Following a historical commitment to multilateralism, in the last decade the trade policy initiatives of many states in the Asia-Pacific have turned to bilateralism through the negotiation of free trade agreements (FTAs). The corresponding proliferation of regional FTAs has thus far been understood to result from three broad motivations: a desire to advance trade liberalization beyond World Trade Organization (WTO) disciplines; mercantilistic efforts to secure preferential access to key export markets; and/or attempts to use FTAs to secure non-economic political gains. This paper argues that since the middle of the decade a new motive has emerged – the use of FTAs to improve resource security – particularly by import-dependent resource consumers in Northeast Asia. As yet unexamined in the literature, this paper seeks to document and explain this trend. It analyses the recent emergence of resource security concerns as a new FTA motive; the corresponding shifts in the FTA strategies and initiatives of Japan, Korea and China; and the dynamics of an emerging race for resource-related FTAs between the three governments. Based on this analysis, it demonstrates that resource-related FTAs could potentially improve consumers' resource security through either the liberalization of trade, the extension of investment protections or broader diplomatic gains with the targeted supplier. However, owing to supplier reluctance to enter into binding policy commitments for resource industries, their track record shows success in only the diplomatic dimension, and the prospects for a strengthening of their effects are poor. As a result, it is argued that while resource concerns have become a key motive for FTA initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region, they have not substantively improved resource security for its import-dependent states and are unlikely to do so in the future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bhattacharyay Biswa Nath

Seamless sustainable transport connectivity in Asia and the Pacific: prospects and challenges
in *International Economics and Economic Policy* , Volume 9, Number 2 / June 2012 , 147-189

In view of the ongoing financial and economic crisis originated during 2008–09 and the possibility of a double dip recession in advanced economies, export-dependent economies of Asia and the Pacific need to rebalance its growth toward domestic and regional demand for sustainable growth of Asia and the world. Despite remarkable growth during the last decade, the region still faces extensive basic infrastructure needs such as transport, energy, telecommunications and water. Asia, therefore, needs to enhance its connectivity through developing transport infrastructure at the national and regional level to rebalance its growth through enhancing intraregional trade, to enhance economic integration and to meet basic infrastructure needs. Transport plays a significant role in enhancing connectivity within and across Asian economies. However, building massive transport infrastructure will have profound implications on environment and climate change at the national, regional and global levels. In this evolving scenario, Asia needs to



build efficient, safe, affordable, timely, world-class, socially and environmentally sustainable and seamless transport connections within the region, and with the rest of the world, in order to be competitive and prosperous. This paper analyzes the major challenges in developing sustainable transport connectivity, by fostering regional cooperation toward a seamless Asia. The paper examines the needs and benefits of transport connectivity and financing requirement for 2010–2020. It examines the impact of transport connectivity on environment and the prospects and challenges for developing seamless sustainable transport connectivity. Finally, the paper provides policy recommendations on what the region can do to meet these challenges.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Wu Fuzuo

Sino–Indian Climate Cooperation: implications for the international climate change regime
in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 77 , 827-843

The international climate change regime is comprised of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its Kyoto Protocol. Under the regime, China and India, two of the largest developing countries, have been exempted from any binding greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions reduction targets that apply to developed countries. However, with their GHG emissions increasing, China and India have faced growing international pressure to undertake binding mitigation obligations in international climate change negotiations. To enhance their bargaining power in the negotiations, China and India have been cooperating with each other, which has not only led to a new approach to addressing climate change but also defended the ethical benchmark of the regime. In addition, their cooperation has weakened the EU's traditional leadership status and the leadership ambitions of the US such that China and India will now play a more important role in shaping the future of the regime.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kim Sunhyuk, Schattle Hans

Solidarity as a unifying idea in building an East Asian community: toward an ethos of collective responsibility
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 25, Issue 4 , 473-494

This article examines prospects for solidarity, defined as an ethos of collective responsibility that works across a political community's normative values and policy decisions, as a unifying idea that can inspire and promote steps toward regional political community across East Asia. Just as the European Union's (EU) founders and its past and present visionaries have appealed consistently to an inclusive, transnational model of solidarity in framing and pursuing European integration, notions of solidarity also contain important affinities with prospects for building an East Asian community. First, the paper examines how the idea of solidarity has evolved in European political thought and especially how solidarity has emerged repeatedly as one of the important concepts throughout the political development of the EU. Then, the paper turns to East Asia and considers the relevance of solidarity as an important principle in aspirations and endeavors toward the creation of an East Asian community. We base our analysis upon a variety of sources, including statements and speeches from key political actors, scholarly books and articles, and news accounts and commentaries. We illustrate how earlier manifestations of solidarity in East Asia have often been cast in ways that set the region apart from the rest of the world and have framed particular groupings of Asian countries in opposition to the West, and we argue that a redeployment of solidarity is needed in East Asia that instead emphasizes an ethos of collective



responsibility among the principal national actors and external stakeholders within the region and beyond. In contrast with interpretations that suggest that the conditions for developing East Asian community are inescapably distinct from the circumstances in Europe during the second half of the twentieth century, we argue that the idea of solidarity has great potential to advance regional collaboration in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kivimäki Timo

Southeast Asia and conflict prevention. Is ASEAN running out of steam?

in Pacific Review (The) , Volume 25, Issue 4 , 403-427

If the assessment of ASEAN's success in the past is difficult, speculations on whether ASEAN will be a success will be close to impossibility. Yet this is what is intended in this article. However, this is done by first defining robust criteria of success of conflict prevention. Conflict prevention is successful if conflicts and battle deaths can be avoided, either by means of conflict resolution or transformation, or simply by means of conflict avoidance. By starting with this criterion the article will argue that ASEAN peacefulness cannot be explained by durable objective conditions. Instead, it is built on imagined realities. The imagined realities of the ASEAN Way are getting more difficult to sustain due to their interaction with material and normative/institutional developments. Many of the constructed foundations of the ASEAN Way are unsustainable in the new realities where communication has become easy and uncontrollable, and societies have become wealthier and more democratized. However, the article will show that evidence of existing conflict violence suggests that ASEAN has started to reformulate its approach to conflict prevention and that this has largely been successful.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Tang Chih-Mao

Southeast Asian peace revisited: a capitalist trajectory

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 389-417

The scholarship has argued that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) security management, outweighing democracy and economic interdependence, is the main force constituting Southeast Asian peace. However, although neither democracy nor economic interdependence significantly contributes to peacefulness in Southeast Asia, this study posits and finds that prior literature overlooks the possible conflict-constraining effect of a ruling group's desire and resolve to pursue economic development with liberal capitalist economic policy, which causes that the pacifying effect of ASEAN security management to be exaggerated. This study distinguishes the conflict-constraining effect of liberal capitalist economic development policy from the outcome effects of economic interdependence and the ASEAN security management and argues that the common interests and preferences of adopting economic liberalization policy for economic development exert a more significant effect in preventing conflicts in Southeast Asia. Empirical analyses of the onset of militarized interstate disputes between Southeast Asian states from 1950 to 2000 support this argument.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Heo Uk , Cho Wondeuk

The Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement between China and Taiwan and Its Implications for South Korea

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 2 , 205–234

In June 2010, the People's Republic of China and Taiwan signed the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), a preferential trade agreement, which is arguably the most important agreement between China and Taiwan. In this paper, we analyze ECFA and investigate its implications for South Korea since China is South Korea's largest trade partner and Taiwan is its sixth largest. We find that ECFA will have significant political and economic implications for South Korea due to China's role in East Asia and South Korea's competition with Taiwan in the China market.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kim, Jong Bum

The Evolution of Preferential Rules of Origin In ASEANs RTAs: A Guide to Multilateral Harmonization

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1343-1364

Restrictive preferential rules of origin cause producers in RTAs to source intermediate materials from RTA partners instead of non-parties in order to meet the rules of origin requirements. For RTAs concluded under Article XXIV, restrictive preferential rules of origin open doors to selective tariff liberalization in violation of GATT Article XXIV. For RTAs concluded pursuant to the Enabling Clause, restrictive preferential rules of origin may result in 'undue difficulties' to non-parties in violation of the Enabling Clause. In order to address the inconsistencies with the WTO law, restrictive preferential rules of origin should converge to the WTO harmonized non-preferential rules of origin (NPROO), which would be deemed non-protectionist. However, in view of the slow progress of harmonizing NPROO in the WTO, we propose an alternative approach based on the evolutionary development of preferential rules of origin in the ASEAN's RTAs. As a second-best solution, we propose that all RTA rules of origin adopt a general rule applicable to all non-wholly obtained products: the 40% value-added rule or a change in tariff heading (CTH). In conjunction with the general rule, a limited number of product-specific rules of origin that are coequal to the general rule should be permitted so as to provide some room for flexibility for RTAs to accommodate divergent existing preferential rules of origin. The proposed general rule would further enhance the conformity of RTAs with the WTO system by harmonizing preferential rules of origin across RTAs and across different product lines.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Indira M. Hapsari, Donald MacLaren

The Growth Effects of Services Trade Liberalization in ASEAN

in *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, volume 29 n.2 , 85-100

The effects of liberalization in services trade in ASEAN countries are investigated using regression analysis and a constructed measure of reform in the services sectors of ASEAN-5. It is found that the openness index measuring the level of liberalization in financial services sector through the ASEAN Framework Agreement on Services (AFAS) and the



General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is significant in affecting the rate of economic growth amongst five member countries of ASEAN. However, it has not been possible to isolate the effects of AFAS from those GATS because there has been little difference in the commitments contained in each of them. Moreover, as GATS came into being in 1995 and AFAS two years later, there is insufficient data to measure the effects of each Agreement separately.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Armstrong, Shiro P.

The Politics of Japan–China Trade and the Role of the World Trade System

in World Economy, volume 35 n.9 , 1102-1120

The large and rapidly growing trade relationship between Japan and China has occurred against a backdrop of political tensions. This study measures performance of the trade relationship, benchmarking it against other trade flows worldwide, and examines the impact of the politics on bilateral trade performance. To do this, a frontier gravity model is estimated using core determinants of trade. This gives a benchmark against which to measure trade performance, explained using resistances to trade. While the economic relationship is not independent from the politics, an important conclusion is that trade has not been diminished or disturbed by politics to a significant extent. China's commitment to the global trading system from the mid-1980s and its accession to the WTO in 2001 has meant that tensions in the political relationship with Japan from time to time have not derailed, but rather have increasingly come to be dominated, by the economic relationship.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Scott David

The “Indo-Pacific”—New Regional Formulations and New Maritime Frameworks for US-India Strategic Convergence

in Asia Pacific Review, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 85-109

This article argues three things. First, it argues that at the conceptual level there has been a strategic rediscovery of a maritime regional framework, the Indo-Pacific. Second, it argues that at the policy level there is a significant regional security convergence, a degree of strategic balancing, between India and the United States in this Indo-Pacific. Third, it argues that at the causal level there is a common maritime challenge from China faced by India in the Indian Ocean and by the United States in the Pacific Ocean, a common Indo-Pacific strategic challenge which is generating this significant US-India naval convergence. In order to deal with such matters, the article looks at the strategic discourse employed around the concept of the Indo-Pacific, and the related maritime assets deployed in the Indo-Pacific by the United States and India.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Sohn Injoo

Toward normative fragmentation: An East Asian financial architecture in the post-global crisis world



in **Review of International Political Economy**, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 586-608

This article argues for a pluralist, integrative, 'post-Washington Consensus' view of an East Asian financial architecture in the post-global crisis world. What are the key architectural problems and how might such problems be resolved? The article aims to address these general questions and to develop a policy-applicable theory about a post-crisis regional financial architecture by focusing on the case of East Asia. The generic problems identified in the study include sovereignty, power struggles, structural diversity, collective action problems and weak regional identity and norms. Herein, I present a conceptual model of logically possible solutions to such problems, which comprises principled minimalism and host regulation, decomposition and issue linkage, and informal intermediaries. The proposed solutions reflect and reinforce the normative fragmentation and decentralization of global financial governance in the twenty-first century.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Corning Gregory P.

Trade Regionalism in a Realist East Asia: Rival Visions and Competitive Bilateralism

in **Asian Perspective**, Volume 35, Issue 2 (April-June 2011) , 259-286

This article explores the ways in which trade bilateralism, the Sino-Japanese rivalry, and cross-regional free-trade agreements (FTAs) could push East Asia closer to an FTA among China, Japan, and South Korea. Bilateral FTAs may not advance regionalism in a coherent way, but as the stale mate continues between regional visions championed by China and Japan, they will shape the path along which any regional agreements might develop. Bilateral FTAs are a more important force in pushing Asia toward regionalism than negotiations for a China-Japan-Korea FTA or an FTA involving those countries and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Reflecting the strategic nature of FTA competition in Asia, the cross-regional FTAs that South Korea has negotiated with the European Union and the United States are two of the most important factors moving Northeast Asia in this direction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Huang Cui, Ji Wenhua

Understanding Chinas Recent Active Moves On WTO Litigation: Rising Legalism and/or Reluctant Response?

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.6 , 1281-1308

China's utilization of the WTO dispute settlement system since its accession shows an overall growth with distinctions at different stages. The majority of the existing commentaries generally argue that China seemed to take a reluctant and passive attitude towards WTO disputes in the first five years of its WTO membership and then changed to an active and aggressive one in the last five years. This paper reflects on why China has taken a more active approach and argues that China's recent activism is not only a purely voluntary action as a result of the rising legalism in China but also a reluctant choice or response. As China lacks other legally available and practical means and before turning directly to unilateralism, it chose the WTO venue as the last resort. This was largely due to the insurmountable difficulty that it had encountered in its past bilateral efforts to amicably resolve critical trade issues and because of the grave political pressure on China's imbalanced position under the WTO dispute settlement system. This paper also argues that China still seems far from the moment when it can be satisfied with its litigation performance on the international level and that



China needs to continuously enhance its legal competence in a comprehensive way to better utilize the WTO dispute settlement system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cuesta-López Víctor

Comparative Approach to the Regulation on the European Citizens' Initiative

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 257-269

the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) is a very unique expression of participatory democracy in a supranational context. Nevertheless, we could better understand its legal design and its political significance by assessing the similarities and divergences with analogous popular initiatives in national constitutions. This article will analyse the procedures and conditions laid down in Regulation 211/2011/EU of the European Parliament and the Council of 16 February 2011 on the European Citizens' Initiative, establishing a comparison with the relevant rules governing national popular initiatives from Member States. A comparative approach to the ECI will help to identify best practices in issues concerning the signatories and the organisers of the citizens' initiatives, the territorial distribution of signatures, the rules regarding the registration and the decision on the admissibility, the collection, verification and certification of the signatures, and the final submission of the citizens' legislative demands.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sanchez Salgado Rosa, Parthenay Kevin

Fostering Regional Democracy Through Civic Organisations: Comparing EU Mechanisms in Europe and Central America

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 35, Issue 2 , 151-168

This article compares the effects of the mechanisms of the European Union (EU) on the promotion of regional civic organisations, especially funding opportunities, in two regional settings (Central America and Europe). It is argued that the EU is exporting a specific model of relationships between regional institutions and civic organisations, giving priority to the promotion of regional integration, democracy and social inclusion. This article shows that EU funds have significantly contributed to the shaping of the civil society landscape in both regions, especially enhancing the participation of excluded groups in the policy process at the regional level. It is also important to determine if the EU is acting as an internal or external promoter of civic organisations. Even if the economic, social and cultural context is not neglected, the differential impact is primarily related to different types of European requirements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erich Vranes

German Constitutional Foundations of, and Limitations to, EU Integration: A Systematic Analysis

in German Law Journal, vol. 14, issue 1 , 75-112



The relationship between EU law and German constitutional law, and the respective dialogue between the ECJ and the German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC), have considerably shaped the EU integration process by creating fields of tension and demarcating possible legal boundaries. The decisions of the German Federal Constitutional Court and the European Court of Justice concerning the European Stability Mechanism are only the most recent examples of this phenomenon. These developments have, of course, spilled over to other EU Member States. The German constitutional bases of, and limits to, EU integration—especially as articulated in the relevant decisions of the German Federal Constitutional Court—have therefore become a field of particular interest for EU and public lawyers. This article gives an up-to-date overview of relevant constitutional rules, court decisions, and the academic debate in Germany. It does so by systematically distinguishing between an analysis of the German constitutional foundations of EU integration (section B.), constitutional limits to the further transfer of powers to the EU through amendments of EU primary law (section C.I.), and the constitutional confines for the legal effects of EU secondary law in Germany (section C.II.).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weiler J. H. H.

In the Face of Crisis: Input Legitimacy, Output Legitimacy and the Political Messianism of European Integration
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 825-841

European legitimacy discourse typically employs two principal concepts: input (process) legitimacy and output (result) legitimacy. But a third concept, political messianism, is central to the legitimation of Europe, though less commonly explored. In the current European circumstance, however, each of these three concepts is inoperable. Any solution to the crisis of Europe will have to draw upon the deep legitimacy resources of the national communities, the member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mattias Wendel

Judicial Restraint and the Return to Openness: The Decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court on the ESM and the Fiscal Treaty of 12 September 2012

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 1 , 21-52

Sometimes less is more. Hence, it is not necessarily bad news if a judgment on a matter of fundamental public interest does not meet public expectations. And it certainly was not bad news that the judgment of the German Federal Constitutional Court of 12 September 2012 on the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) and the Fiscal Treaty did not meet the exaggerated public expectations that had been fuelled by an unprecedented media-hype.

On 12 September 2012, the world looked at Karlsruhe. A long-serving police officer was quoted with the words never to have seen a comparable presence of international press and television at the Court's gates during his years of service. More than 37,000 citizens had filed constitutional complaints, a figure unequalled in the history of the Court. Against a background of increasing concerns about Europe's capability to solve the sovereign debt crisis, it seemed as if the fate of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) essentially depended on the findings of eight judges. When the day of the promulgation had finally come, the red gowns of the federal constitutional judges dominated the front pages of newspapers all over Europe and beyond. What was missing, however, was a top story. While "the markets" seemed



temporarily calmed, those who had waited for a ground-breaking verdict to be delivered must have been either disappointed or slightly astonished by the decision's 319 paragraphs, 248 of which were already available in a preliminary English translation provided by the Court.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manzella Andrea

L'unitarietà costituzionale dell'ordinamento europeo

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 3, settembre, 659-664

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruni Franco

Perché l'euro rimanga

in **Queste istituzioni**, n. 162, 1-4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karsten Schneider

Yes, But . . . One More Thing: Karlsruhe's Ruling on the European Stability Mechanism

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 14, issue 1, 53-74

As in its first leading Euro-Case ("Greece Bailout") one year ago, the Second Senate of the Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) once again decided on the fate of Europe's bailout. The Court's ESM ruling on September 12, 2012, clears the path for the next steps in a fast-moving "rescue" situation. This time for the ratification of three international agreements: The insertion of Article 136(3) TFEU, the new Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism (ESM Treaty), and the new Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union (Fiscal Compact).

The Court rejected the applications for temporary injunctions with the proviso that the ESM Treaty may only be ratified if it is ensured that the payment obligations of the Federal Republic of Germany from this Treaty are limited and that no higher payment obligations can be established without the agreement of the German representative legislature (Bundestag and Bundesrat). Furthermore, provisions of the ESM Treaty concerning the inviolability of the documents of the ESM and the professional secrecy of all persons working for the ESM must not stand in the way of the comprehensive information of the Bundestag and of the Bundesrat.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ongaro Edoardo

introduction: managerial reforms and the transformation of the administration of the European Commission
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 78, No. 3 , 379-382

introduction:

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Janine Reinhard

'Because we are all Europeans!' When do EU Member States use normative arguments?
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1336-1356

Recent debate has highlighted the importance of communication and arguments to explanations of the progress and results of international negotiations. Various studies have indicated that member states taking part in EU negotiations do indeed use arguments, either owing to a normative conception of arguing as a 'truth seeking discourse' or a conception of strategic arguing. We also know that contextual conditions, such as the extent to which negotiations are publicized, or the characteristics of the issue being negotiated, affect the degree of arguing. This contribution takes a different view, focusing on actor-specific use of arguments. I find that some member states are more inclined to use arguments than others and try to find explanations that could account for this variation. I hypothesize that the availability of power resources derived from bargaining theory should affect the use of arguments. The subject under investigation here is the EU Intergovernmental Conference leading to the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). By means of an automated content analysis of member states' position papers, I show that member states who have good alternatives to the agreement being negotiated are less likely to use arguments.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucia Serena Rossi

"Fiscal Compact" e Trattato sul Meccanismo di Stabilità: aspetti istituzionali e conseguenze dell'integrazione differenziata nell'UE

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 293-307

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ridola Paolo

"Karlsruhe locuta causa finita?" Il Bundesverfassungsgericht, il fondo salva-stati e gli incerti destini della democrazia federalista in europa

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 18

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mindus Patricia, Goldoni Marco

'Between Democracy and Nationality: Citizenship Policies in the Lisbon Ruling'
in *European public Law*, Volume 18 (2012) - Issue 2 , 351–371

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weatherill Stephen

'The Consumer Rights Directive: How and why a quest for “coherence” has (largely) failed'
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 4 , 1279-1317

ABSTRACT: Directive 2011/83 on consumer rights is a case of misleading advertising. Despite its grand title, it is little more than an up-dating of the Directives on doorstep and distant selling which also re-casts them as measures of maximum, not minimum, harmonization. The real interest lies in why the Directive is such a mouse. And this story tells of political resistance to the Commission's original plan to convert also the far more significant Directives on unfair terms and consumer sales to the maximum model. This vertical shift in regulatory responsibility, driven by an aggressive rhetoric of improving "coherence" in harmonized EU contract law, was firmly rejected, with the result that the finally adopted text is stripped of any depth of ambition. Consequently Directive 2011/83 on consumer rights is not without interest for its choice of detailed regulatory technique, explored in this paper, which focuses on pre-contractual information disclosure, post-agreement rights of withdrawal and limited aspects of contractual performance. But much more so, it reveals the contested heart of the EU's internal market project - coherence achieved by suppression of national regulatory competence (unity) or preservation of regulatory experimentation and local autonomy (diversity). The making of Directive 2011/83 demonstrates political readiness to shield the latter from the Commission's current predilection for the former.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tierney Stephen

'The People's Last Sigh? Referendums and European Integration'
in *European public Law*, Volume 18 (2012) - Issue 4 , 683–700

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Douglas Hurd

1989: The Missed Opportunity



in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 49-52

The article compares the present situation of Europe to those biggest "tides" of history when international community exerted itself to create a set of rules and institutions which would have reduced to a minimum the danger of war between states: 1815, 1919, 1945.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rangoni Machiavelli Beatrice

2013 anno europeo dei cittadini

in **Critica liberale**, volume XIX, n.198 - aprile 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dubois Jean-Pierre

50e anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée : entre bilan exemplaire et avenir incertain

in **Revue des deux mondes**, Janvier

Le cinquantième anniversaire du traité de l'Élysée a donné lieu, avant même sa date officielle, à de nombreuses manifestations communes- de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel dans des lieux de mémoire de la relation bilatérale; Reims, où le général de Gaulle et le chancelier Adenauer avaient scellé la réconciliation franco-allemande, Ludwigsburg, où le général de Gaulle avait prononcé son célèbre discours à la jeunesse allemande. L'empressement des lointains successeurs du général de Gaulle et du chancelier Adenauer à reprendre les mêmes mots, à cultiver les mêmes gestes est assurément un bon signe, puisqu'il illustre la permanence de la relation bilatérale. Il y a aussi dans cette volonté de François Hollande et d'Angela Merkel de coller d'aussi près au passé, peut-être l'inquiétude de ne pas être à la hauteur, sans doute le sentiment de la difficulté à renouveler la geste...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mohamed El-Erian, Nouriel Roubini

A Euro Breakup: Cardiac Arrest for Europe

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 29, Issue 4, Fall , 47-50

Three years into the protracted Eurocrisis "all choices are ugly," as former British prime minister Tony Blair comments. Indeed, the high cost of bad options is prompting some to question whether Europe is worth saving the euro.

Along with Tony Blair, the former Italian prime minister Romano Prodi as well as two of the best financial minds around—Nouriel Roubini and Mohamed el-Erian—warn of the dire consequences of a euro breakup. One of France's most prominent philosophers, André Glucksmann, wonders whether the idea of a united Europe—a reaction to the



horrors of World War II—can hold everyone together in the future when peace is the norm.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ivan Krastev

A Fraying Union

in **Journal of Democracy**, Volume 23, Number 4 , 23-30

Once we acknowledge that disintegration of the EU is a “thinkable” option, it becomes important to grasp what “the collapse of the Union” would mean. How can the “disintegration” of the Union be defined or conceptualized? Would the departure of just one country from the eurozone or from the EU itself amount to “disintegration”? Contrary to the expectations of some democratic theorists, the EU will not collapse because of the “democratic deficit” of European institutions. Nor will it be saved by the democratic mobilization of civil society. Paradoxically, it is widespread disillusionment with democracy—the shared belief that national governments are powerless in the face of global markets—that may be the best hope for reconciling the growing tension between the goal of further European integration and the goal of deepening democracy in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gordon Brown

A Global Rescue for Europe

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 20-22

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Weder Rolf, Grubel Herbert G.

A Note on Political Contestability and the Future of the European Union

in **Kyklos**, Volume 65, Issue 3, August 2012 , 408–423

In this paper, we argue that, first, the contestable-markets hypothesis increases our understanding of why and how public referenda and initiatives are beneficial for the political decision-making process and, second, that these direct-democratic instruments could solve some of the current and pending institutional problems of the European Union (EU) and reshape its process of political integration. The Lisbon Treaty includes some attempts in this direction which,



however, are half-hearted and thus hardly increase the democratic control of the EU by its member states and their citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duez Denis

A Political Sociology of the European Union

in *Politique européenne* , n. 37, 2012/2 , 178-182

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Susanne K. Schmidt

A Sense of Déjà Vu? The FCC's Preliminary European Stability Mechanism Verdict

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 1 , 1-20

Over the summer of 2012, the pending verdict of the German Federal Constitutional Court (FCC) was a topic of much speculation not only in Germany and in the European Union (EU), but also on the international level. Christine Lagarde, the managing director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was quoted as threatening to leave a meeting, were she to hear again "Bundesverfassungsgericht." That decisions of a German non-majoritarian institution have such transnational repercussions while being guided by German laws and national considerations is nothing new. The Bundesbank's D-Mark rule was comparable and effectively pushed the introduction of the euro along. But also previous landmark rulings of the FCC on European integration raised cross-border attention, given that the Constitutional Court has the final say on German politics, and the biggest member state and economy of the EU can hardly be ignored. Moreover, being one of the most powerful constitutional courts in Europe, and certainly the one whose judgments receive most attention, rulings of the FCC are not only often cited but may also serve as a role model for other constitutional courts. Protest coming from this angle may therefore multiply.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hill Steven

A college of nations: what can Europeans and Americans learn from each other?

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 95-102

The transatlantic relationship has been the most important of the post-Second World War era, a relationship in which both sides have shared and learned many things. In this new era of post-economic collapse, Europeans and Americans still have much to learn from each other. This article focuses on a few key areas where Americans can learn from Europeans, including health care and family support, the economy, environmental sustainability, and political and economic democracy. Then the article briefly outlines some areas where Europeans can learn from Americans, specifically racial integration and forging a political and economic union.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Senjur Marjan

A competitive growth of a small middle-income country in the eurozone is far to be assured

in International Economics and Economic Policy, Volume 9, Numbers 3-4 / September 2012 , 213-233

The dichotomy of the increasing diversity of eurozone member countries and the institutional “one-size-fits-all” setting has exposed the deficiencies of the institutional economic architecture of the eurozone in the financial and economic crisis of 2008–2010. It has particularly exposed the weaknesses of middle-income countries within this framework. Greece, Ireland, and Portugal are experiencing outright financial crises. This article’s thesis is that small middle-income countries (MICs) in the eurozone face two general macroeconomic problems: (1) there is inherent macroeconomic instability; and (2) there is a problem of “competitiveness and convergence.” Small MICs’ ability to grow and catch up is demand-based and largely export-driven. Price competitiveness is an important factor of competitive growth within the eurozone. A national fiscal policy is crucial to countries’ ability to form and implement national policies for economic stability and competitive growth, which would enable a durable, above-average growth rate. Calls for a fiscal union along with the monetary union may therefore backfire.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calderoni Francesco

A definition that does not work: The impact of the EU Framework Decision on the fight against organized crime in Common Market Law Review, vol. 49, issue 4 , 1365-1393

ABSTRACT: This article analyses the impact of the 2008 Framework Decision on the Fight against Organized Crime (part of the Stockholm Programme) on the national legislations of the Member States. While this measure has been criticized by academics and policy makers in the last years, the Council will soon be called to evaluate it on the basis of a report by the Commission. On the basis of a comparative analysis of the relevant provisions in all the Member States, the article demonstrates the Framework Decision did not have any impact on national legislations and has not increased the level of harmonization among the Member States, with consequences on mutual trust and international cooperation in criminal matters. The findings suggest that the EU should reconsider its policy in the field of organized crime legislation.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nekhay Olexandr, Fellmann Thomas, Gay Stephan Hubertus  

A free trade agreement between Ukraine and the European Union: potential effects on agricultural markets and farmers' revenues

in Post communist economies, Volume 24, Issue 3, 2012 , 351-363

Ukraine and the EU are currently negotiating a deep and comprehensive free trade agreement (FTA). Such a FTA can be expected to comprise opportunities as well as challenges for both the EU and Ukraine and to have an impact on



agricultural markets. This article provides a model-based quantitative assessment of the potential impact of a FTA on agricultural commodity markets and farmers' revenues in the EU and Ukraine. For the quantitative analysis the dynamic, partial equilibrium model AGLINK–COSIMO has been adapted and applied. The analysis focuses on the bilateral trade positions and not on the effect on other countries. The simulation of a FTA between the EU and Ukraine was done through the elimination of import tariffs for the main agricultural commodities. The results of the simulation indicate a positive change in producer revenue of EUR 393 million (+2.6%) in Ukraine and EUR 860 million (+0.4%) in the EU. So this FTA entails benefits for the agricultural sectors of both trading partners. However, gains from a FTA are not distributed homogeneously and vary significantly among commodities. Ukrainian agricultural producers should also be prepared to meet the challenges involved in the necessity to comply with the quality and sanitary standards of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elias Dinas and Sergi Pardos-Prado

A hidden giant? Exploring the centrifugal dynamics of attitudes towards the European unification

in *Acta Politica*, Vol.47, Issue 4 (October 2012) , 378-399

The existing empirical findings regarding the electoral impact of the European Union in national politics have failed to come up with an unambiguous conclusion. This lack of consensus has given rise to the contested argument that the EU is a potentially relevant issue not yet 'awaked' – the 'sleeping giant' metaphor. Nevertheless, in none of these studies has there been any attempt to investigate not whether but rather how this issue manifests itself in vote choice. In trying to fulfil this gap, we examine the EU issue under a spatial perspective focusing on the distinction between proximity and directional voting. Comparing it with the classic left-right dimension, we show that the EU evokes a more directional way of thinking about parties' stances, rewarding those parties able to overcome the lack of differentiation in the centre of the spectrum and to present clearer alternatives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spence James

A high price to pay? Britain and the European budget

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1237-1260

ABSTRACT: One of the toughest issues at the time of UK accession to the EEC was the cost of being a member of the European club. The nature of the industrialized British economy ensured that the benefits of initial access were less pronounced than in other, longer-standing member states and quickly became a source of heated debate. Margaret Thatcher fought to get 'her money back' in the 1980s and the ensuing British rebate has become totemic for British politicians. As the European Union debates its next multi-annual budget, why has the budget proved so tricky for the UK? What are the drivers for the EU budget? And what is the rebate all about? This article argues that the UK has tugged in different directions over the EC—now EU—budget, which amounts to about 2 per cent of the Union's public expenditure. At times the UK has urged member states to improve financial management. At times it has pressed for greater redistribution between rich and poor regions through the budget. It has consistently criticized the large proportion of the budget going to support agriculture in the Union. It has, from the earliest days of its accession negotiations, argued about how much it contributes to the EU budget and how it should contribute less, whether it counted among the poorer or the richer member states. Britain has argued first for restraint, rather than promoting certain policy sectors in a



consistent manner. While cohesion and competitiveness targets outlined in the 2000 Lisbon Strategy received strong support from the UK government and the Europe 2020 goals set concrete growth targets in line with the UK's own, this policy-shaping is tempered by constraint and restraint, and has not allowed the UK to draw full political benefit from the EU budget.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Smith, Adrian - Jones, Alun - Clark, Julian

A modern-day Icelandic saga': Political places and negotiating spaces at the northern frontier of 'EUrope in European Urban and Regional Studies, volume 20 n.1 , 77-90

In this paper we explore the current politico-economic tensions surrounding Iceland's application for EU membership provoked by the state's financial trauma of 2008. Through access to high level diplomats, politicians and EU Commission staff involved in preparing and negotiating Icelandic accession to the EU, we examine the difficulties for both sides of overcoming the country's long-standing antipathy towards European political integration and appeasing the vociferous sectoral interests, especially in farming and fisheries, ranged against membership. The significance of this application far outstrips the size of this small island state since Iceland's relationship with 'EUrope' is long-standing and complex. This national drama is given greater political salience as it is projected against the backdrop of 'EUrope's own existential struggles over the post-1945 political project of integration currently underway. Ultimately the saga of Iceland's membership of the EU may be a relatively short one if Iceland refuses 'EUrope', which would effectively mark the final frontier of 'EUropean' expansion northwards. This would also mark a distinct stage in the history of 'EUropean 'external relations; a candid assessment by a small island state of the value of adopting the structures and policies of an alleged 'New 'EUrope'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Varoufakis Yanis, Holland Stuart

A modest proposal for resolving the Eurozone crisis

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 4 / July 2012 , 240-247

This paper presents three simple policies for overcoming the crisis that can be implemented immediately and require none of the moves such as national guarantees or fiscal transfers to which many Europeans are opposed, nor moves towards federation that entail Treaty changes, which electorates are most likely to reject. The logic behind these policy proposals is juxtaposed with the false dilemmas that currently impede clear thinking and immobilise Europe's policymakers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kottos Laura

A 'European Commonwealth': Britain, the European League for Economic Co-operation, and European Debates on Empire, 1947–1957



in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 497-515

ABSTRACT: In 1957, European overseas territories became associated with the Common Market. Whereas this association was specifically demanded by France and Belgium, the United Kingdom refused to join the European Economic Community (EEC) precisely because of its Commonwealth. Paradoxically however, Britain had participated in post-war debates over Europe/Empire co-operation and had influenced the outcome of the final discussions. This article argues that while Britain did not join the EEC, the ideas of the British members of the transnational European League for Economic Co-operation (ELEC), and the Commonwealth policy developed by Britain, would inspire European countries and play a major role in shaping the Europe/Empire co-operation policy as it developed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Buzogány Aron

Accelerating or Back-peddalling? Public Administration in Post-accession Central and Eastern Europe
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 111-127

Accounts of the “Mediterranean Syndrome”, describing blatant noncompliance with EU norms, became prominent after the accession of the Southern European states in the 1980s and 1990s. Explanations for the Syndrome centred on the ‘misfit’ between Southern European and EU policies, weak administrative capacities of state actors and the feeble nature of civil society in these countries. Similar concerns about the ability of the Central and Eastern European candidates to apply the *acquis* after accession were among the most important reservations against enlargement. However, the EU has seemed to have learned from its experience with the Southern member states and institutionalized a highly complex system of accession-management when the ten CEE candidates were knocking on its door. Focusing on the role of public administration, the paper asks whether the EU’s conditionality based approach has led to sustainable compliance after accession. The paper shows that rather than regarding the new member states as a cohesive group, there are growing signs of divergence regarding their post-accession performance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simon Hentrei

Acerca de la constitucionalidad de las medidas de rescate del euro
in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 96

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chevallard Giancarlo

Achieving a Common European Defence
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November



<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/791-achieving-a-common-european-defence>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ilaria Espa

Action pour le climat et mesures commerciales unilatérales: les initiatives les plus récentes de l'Union Européenne

in *Revue internationale de droit économique* , Vol. 26, n°3 , 295-320

Dans le cadre de son action pour lutter contre les changements climatiques, l'Union européenne a récemment adopté la directive 2008/101/CE et la directive 2009/29/CE, visant respectivement à étendre le système européen d'échange de quotas aux activités aériennes et, à défaut d'un accord global sur le climat, aux produits importés à haute intensité d'énergie exposés à la fuite de carbone. Par le biais de l'externalisation du SCEQE, l'Union semble promouvoir une idée d'unilatéralisme « climatique » contingent qui, d'une part, a engendré les plus vigoureuses oppositions de la part des pays tiers (in primis les États-Unis) et, d'autre part, a été défendue par la CJUE dans le récent jugement C-366/10. À la lumière dudit conflit, le présent article cherche à identifier les caractéristiques centrales des mesures unilatérales envisagées par l'Union et à comprendre la position de la CJUE sur la portée des obligations découlant du droit européen en matière de protection du climat. Enfin, il analyse l'unilatéralisme climatique de l'Union du point de vue du droit de l'OMC et notamment des exceptions environnementales prévues.

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Lindstädt René, Slapin Jonathan B., Vander Wielen Ryan J.

Adaptive behaviour in the European Parliament: Learning to balance competing demands

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 465-486

Parliamentary institutions and partisan norms are complex and new members of parliament are unlikely to possess an innate awareness of optimal behaviour. This paper examines how new legislators adopt the behavioural patterns of incumbent members in the Sixth European Parliament. The latter provides an excellent opportunity to study such adaptive behaviour; in addition to newly elected members from 15 former states, new members from ten accession countries took seats for the first time. We examine how voting behaviour differs between new members from the 15 former states, new members from accession countries, and incumbent members. Our analysis shows that new members from former states defect less from their European political group than incumbents, while new accession country members defect more. Over time, the differences between these groups disappear.

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Obwechser Walter

Aktuelle Rechtsprechung des Gerichtshofs der EU 2011 mit besonderer Bedeutung für Österreich

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 3, september , 363-414



ABSTRACT: In 2011 the Court of Justice and the General Court rendered more than 1.200 decisions. Some of these directly address Austria, some others involve substantial developments of EU law which have to be observed by Austria. The present article outlines selected judgments and orders of the Court of Justice and the General Court which are particularly relevant for Austria and are dealt with according to their respective subject matters. To this effect, first the facts of the cases are described, followed by a summary of the pertinent reasonings of the Courts and are subsequently analysed with regard to the specific legal consequences. This (albeit limited) analysis is proof of the dynamic development of the jurisprudence having resulted in a series of new obligations that are relevant for Austria, although Austrian domestic law is not yet in full compliance with them.

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Tony Blair

All Choices are Ugly for Europe

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 4, Fall , 43-44

Three years into the protracted Eurocrisis “all choices are ugly,” as former British prime minister Tony Blair comments. Indeed, the high cost of bad options is prompting some to question whether Europe is worth saving the euro.

Along with Tony Blair, the former Italian prime minister Romano Prodi as well as two of the best financial minds around—Nouriel Roubini and Mohamed el-Erian—warn of the dire consequences of a euro breakup. One of France's most prominent philosophers, André Glucksmann, wonders whether the idea of a united Europe—a reaction to the horrors of World War II—can hold everyone together in the future when peace is the norm.

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Di Paola Giampaolo, De Maizièrè Thomas

Allargare la difesa comune europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 262-264

No abstract available

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Badea-Guèritée Iulia

Aléas et caractéristiques de la politique européenne de voisinage - La Moldavie, un élève modèlèque du partenariat oriental

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 430-434

Some could think that the European Union betrayed us, because it didn't keep its promises. 10 years since the euro is our unique currency, we still don't have economic governance, or a fiscal harmonization. It's true, eU gave us free movement, Erasmus, Schengen, some common laws. But we still have work to do in the field of labor and studies, for example. EU is similar to a doll made of one thousand parts. But also, in a very large scale, Europe is neither a country



nor a continent or a federation, or union of states, but the application on a geopolitical map of the Matryoshka principle. Why? Because it's related to the stratification of several goals. And we should ask ourselves not which is the need for a Matryoshka-Europe, but for what is NOT useful Europe. Let's think of the Oriental Partnership and of the Neighbourhood Policy which mean more cooperation or a mutual commitment to common values. For some it's a promise, for others, an advice, which becomes, step by step, a reality.

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Savona Paolo

Amare l'Europa o costruirla bene?

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 177-178

No abstract available

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Stoeckel Florian

Ambivalent or indifferent? Reconsidering the structure of EU public opinion

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 1, March , 23-45

In the US context, research on ambivalence has established that individuals often simultaneously possess positive and negative considerations on a political object. Yet little is known about ambivalence in support for European integration. This article proposes a measure that distinguishes ambivalence from indifference in attitudes towards the European Union (EU). Using data from Eurobarometer wave 63.4 and the Chapel Hill expert survey I find that the causal logics of ambivalence and indifference are sharply different. Multinomial regression analysis reveals that levels of ambivalence towards the EU increase with political sophistication. Also, citizens are more ambivalent, less indifferent, and less positive about the EU when elite division on European integration is more pronounced. Finally, trust in EU institutions and attachment to Europe decrease indifference and ambivalence about the EU.

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Bernstein Lisa

An (un)common frame of reference: An American perspective on the jurisprudence of the CESL

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 169-186

ABSTRACT: This essay examines the ability of the recently proposed Common European Sales Law to meet its goal of increasing cross-border trade across the Common Market, in light of its deeply realist jurisprudence and its extensive reliance on the concepts of trade usage and good commercial practice. It concludes that a more formalistic statute that provided menus of clear contract default rules and encouraged a jurisprudential approach similar to that adopted by New York Courts, would have a better chance than the CESL of increasing cross-border trade, especially among small and medium size enterprises.



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Stergiou Andreas

Anatomie eines Niedergangs? Griechenland und die Europäische Union

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 35-37, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/142837/griechenland-und-die-europaeische-union

Nimmt man in Griechenland das seit Beginn der gegenwärtigen Krise vorherrschende politische Vokabular unter die Lupe, stellt man rasch fest, dass zwei Begriffe häufig benutzt werden: "Okkupatoren" und "internationale Zinswucherer". Damit sind die Staaten der Eurozone und der Internationale Währungsfonds (IWF) gemeint, welche die schlimmste Misere der Nachkriegszeit verursacht haben sollen. Das in Griechenland gängige Erklärungsmuster besagt, dass sich die Gläubiger das Ziel gesetzt haben, das Land mithilfe der sogenannten Troika (EU-Kommission, Europäische Zentralbank und IWF) seines staatlichen Eigentums und seiner vermeintlich ungeheuren Bodenschätze zu berauben. Beliebte ist auch die These, die von vielen Ökonomen und Politikern in Europa mitgetragen wird, dass die Handelsbilanzüberschüsse Deutschlands eine der Ursachen der Schuldenkrise Europas seien. Die massiven Exporte der Deutschen hätten zu den Außenhandelsdefiziten der europäischen Staaten und indirekt auch zu ihrer Staatsverschuldung geführt. Durch im Vergleich zu anderen EU-Staaten unfair niedrige Löhne hätten die Deutschen ihre Nachbarn unter Druck gesetzt und ihnen die Chance genommen, selbst in die Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu exportieren, da die Niedriglöhne die Binnennachfrage in Deutschland reduzierten. Die Architektur der Eurozone und der EU seien lediglich auf die Bedürfnisse und die Zielsetzungen Deutschlands sowie anderer exportstarker EU-Staaten zugeschnitten.

Nicht zuletzt seien die Europäer am Elend Griechenlands schuld, weil sie aufgrund des Dublin-II-Abkommens, Griechenland ganz allein und ausschließlich die Aufgabe aufbürdeten, das Problem der illegalen Einwanderung in die EU anzugehen...

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Laura Horn

Anatomy of a 'Critical Friendship': Organized Labour and the European State Formation

in *Globalizations*, Volume 9, Issue 4, , 577-592

Drawing on a critical political economy perspective on European integration, this article argues that organized labour at the European level, mainly through the form of the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation), has been over-reliant on the institutional structures of the European state formation, and concomitant hopes for a European social model, rather than questioning the social basis of the hegemonic project of neoliberal integration that has fundamentally engendered the current form of the EU. This argument is then revisited in the light of recent developments; even before the current crisis fault lines in this strategy have emerged, and have subsequently become more pronounced. The analysis examines the role and strategies of organized labour in the process of European integration, focusing on the shifts and continuities in its position from broad support for the Single Market project to an increasingly critical



relationship with the European state formation in the context of financial and economic crisis.

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Salleo Ferdinando

Angela Merkel e l'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 270-277

No abstract available

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Hubbard William H.G.

Another look at the Eurobarometer surveys

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 187-206

ABSTRACT: The current proposal for a Common European Sales Law (CESL) makes a number of empirical claims in support of its argument that differences in contract law among Member States are stifling trade, and that CESL will address these barriers to cross-border trade. These empirical claims rest largely on citations to a number of Flash Eurobarometer surveys and other surveys of businesses and consumers. A closer look at these surveys reveals that the cited statistics do not support the claims that contract-law-related obstacles present special barriers to cross-border trade for small- and medium-sized enterprises and consumers. Instead, a more ambiguous picture emerges - one that may suggest reconsideration of several of the design features of CESL. I conclude that a more careful assessment of the empirical foundations for CESL (whether in its current or a revised form) is necessary.

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Nicolás Mariscal Berástegui

Aproximaciones constructivistas a la Unión Europea

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 47 , 17-40

No abstract available

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David Cadier

Après le retour à l'Europe : les politiques étrangères des pays d'Europe centrale

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°3 automne

Les politiques étrangères des pays d'Europe centrale ne peuvent se résumer à un atlantisme systématique qu'expliquerait la hantise d'une menace russe. Ces politiques, diverses, renvoient à des spécificités nationales et



évoluent en fonction des contextes politiques internes et de la situation internationale. Le Partenariat oriental, même diversement considéré, reste pour ces pays un champ d'action privilégié dans les politiques de l'Union européenne.

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Balestrini Pierre P.

Are EU policies to blame for the significant decline in public support for the EU in Italy?

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 4, september , 449-475

ABSTRACT: Departing from the holistic, cross-national approach of much of the previous research into public opinion on European integration and with a view to taking detailed account of the specificities of each member state which can be essential to explaining public views, this article empirically investigates the significant rise in public euroscepticism in Italy in the post-Maastricht period. This decline in European Union (EU) support is all the more surprising and significant as Italian public opinion has traditionally strongly supported the EU, and as the large majority of Italian political parties and media still remain today strongly in favour of European integration. Using Eurobarometer data, our results demonstrate that the perceived negative EU role in socio-economic and societal issues explains this decline in EU support. The effects of socio-economic and societal issues on EU support are also found to interact with one another. These results are compared to those of two similar large EU member states, namely the United Kingdom and France, and implications are drawn.

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Lock Tobias

Are there exceptions to a Member State's duty to comply with the requirements of a Directive?:

Inter-Environnement Wallonie

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 217-230

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Le Grip Constance

Are we heading towards a Union of multiple-speeds?

in **European View** , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 85-86

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Piqani Darinka

Arguments for a Holistic Approach in European Constitutionalism: What Role for National Institutions in Avoiding Constitutional Conflicts between National Constitutions and EU law
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8 - Issue 03 , 493-522

Relation between national constitutions and EU law – Constitutional conflict – Role of national institutions in avoiding constitutional conflict – A need for a holistic approach in European constitutionalism – Constitutional courts put forward constitutional requirements next to constitutional reservations – The need to bring constitutions in line with EU law before accession – The role of parliaments and governments in avoiding conflict when implementing EU law – Role of national institutions in decision-making at EU level

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Monaghan Elizabeth

Assessing Participation and Democracy in the EU: The Case of the European Citizens' Initiative
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 285-298

the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) is the latest in a line of institutional innovations that have sought to enhance the participatory nature of EU politics. The extent to which this results in a more democratic EU, however, is questionable because simply having opportunities for participation does not equate to participatory democracy. Participation in the EU has tended to favour the involvement of various 'civil society' organisations rather than individual citizens. Moreover it has been justified largely on the grounds that it results in more democratic and efficient institutions and decision-making processes. The notion of participation and its relationship with democracy found in the writings of theorists of participatory democracy is somewhat more radical. Not only does it address individuals in favouring measures that make democracy count in people's everyday lives, it also views participation as leading to human development by enhancing feelings of efficacy, reducing a sense of distance from political authority, stimulating concern for collective problems and solutions, and encouraging citizens to be active and knowledgeable about politics. This paper argues that the ECI sees the EU move a little closer to a more radical view. It finds evidence of this in an acknowledgement that the ECI is to be valued partly because of the ways in which it can benefit individual citizens (as opposed to the EU's decision-making structures) in the arguments for a 'citizen-friendly' and usable instrument.

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McMahon Simon

Assessing the Impact of European Union Citizenship: The Status and Rights of Romanian Nationals in Italy
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 2 , 199-214

ABSTRACT: The article uses analysis of the legal status of Romanian nationals in Italy, where they constitute the largest immigrant population, to explore the question of the extent to which the formal institution of European Union citizenship has superseded national conceptions of citizenship. It is argued that, although EU citizenship has offered an



opportunity for market-oriented rights, inclusion in the labour market and rights of residence, it is national citizenship that continues to outline the boundaries of full membership to the national community and the terms for distinguishing between natives and foreigners. Since 2007, Italian legislation has also ensured that EU citizens can be deported if not registered residents. Thus despite the expansion of Union citizenship, the Italian state reaffirms its sovereignty by imposing limits on the inclusion of Romanian nationals in the labour market and involvement in national politics, and by deporting Romanians on security grounds. The contemporary institution of citizenship in Italy should therefore be seen as a negotiation between the supranational institutional arrangement and the path dependency of national conceptions of citizenship and security-based approaches to immigration.

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Demesmay Claire, Främke Carsten, Sold Katrin

Auf der Suche nach Kohärenz. Die europäische Mittelmeerpolitik nach dem arabischen Frühling in Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft, Heft 1, 2012

Im Zuge der Umbrüche in Nordafrika zeigten sich die mangelnde Kohärenz und Effizienz der EU-Mittelmeerpolitik. Die Probleme sind nicht allein der Fragmentierung des nordafrikanischen Raums, sondern auch der Heterogenität innerhalb der EU geschuldet. Im Rahmen einer Neuausrichtung steht die Europäische Nachbarschaftspolitik nun vor der Herausforderung, die spezifischen Stärken bestehender Instrumente und Strategien zu identifizieren und diese künftig verstärkt komplementär und bedarfsgerecht anzuwenden.

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Gerhard Schröder

Austerity is Strangling Europe

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer, 10-14

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Pitruzzella Giovanni

Austerità finanziaria versus crescita economica nel dibattito sull'Eurosistema



in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero : 2, giugno , 427-430

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Benvenuti Andrea

Australia and Western European Integration in the 1950s

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 17, n. 2 , 219-236

This article examines Australia's attitude towards Western European integration in the 1950s. It focuses on the responses of the Menzies government to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, the ill-fated experiment of the European Defence Community and the creation of the European Economic Community. The article argues that while supportive of steps towards greater Western European cooperation, Australia adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the integration process. Policymakers in Canberra did recognize the importance of a politically cohesive and economically prosperous Western Europe. Yet, the formation of a strong Continental grouping also posed major challenges to the makers of post-war Australian foreign policy. As this article shows, the Menzies government soon began to wonder whether attempts to create supranational bodies in Continental Europe accorded with Australian political, economic and security interests.

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Crespo Enrique Barón

Berlino da muro a porta

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 431-439

No abstract available

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Gamble Andrew

Better Off Out? Britain and Europe

in **Political Quarterly** , Volume 83, Issue 3, July-September 2012 , 468-477

The largest ever rebellion of Conservative MPs on Europe took place in October 2011 with 81 Conservative MPs defying the Conservative whip to vote for a referendum on Britain's continued membership of the European Union. This resurgence of dissent over Europe has been fuelled by the crisis in the eurozone. The Conservative party is now an overwhelmingly Eurosceptic party, but Conservative Eurosceptics are divided over whether the Government should use the opportunity of the eurozone crisis to take Britain out of the European Union, or whether it should seek to negotiate a looser arrangement, or do nothing at all. Conservative policy on Europe has been further complicated by the coalition with the Liberal Democrats, and by the consequences for the British economy if the eurozone disintegrates. Public opinion is also divided. British policy on the European Union remains ambivalent and muddled because British aims are



inconsistent, and because there is no consensus on where Britain's interests truly lie.

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Marek Safjan

Between Mangold and Omega: Fundamental Rights versus Constitutional Identity

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 437-460

In his article the author shows that the development of European law does not have a linear character but is occurring against a backdrop of continuous debate. He illustrates the evolutionary tendencies of the EU by examining two lines of case law. The first belonging to the sphere of fundamental rights' protection and the EU citizenship, the other to the protection of national (constitutional) identity, rooted in national legal orders. The article shows that, on the one hand, in the current jurisprudence fundamental rights are an instrument which allows strengthening the principle of supremacy of EU law and their effective application into the framework of the national legal orders. On the other hand, constitutional pluralism of contemporary Europe being a fact difficult to question, the co-existence of different constitutional orders requires mutual recognition and respect. According to the author, despite the existing controversies surrounding the essential questions, the EU is able to express its own legal identity without losing its multiculturalism and attachment to national traditions.

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Pech Laurent

Between judicial minimalism and avoidance: The Court of Justice's sidestepping of fundamental constitutional issues in Römer and Dominguez

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 6 , 1841-1880

ABSTRACT: This article concentrates on the issues left unaddressed by the Court of Justice in the cases of Römer and Dominguez. After clarifying the nature of the "constitutional" issues raised by these two cases and describing how the Court sidestepped them, this article examines how the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation and entitlement to paid annual leave should be categorized within the hierarchy of norms of the EU legal order, before considering their scope of application and justiciable nature in the context of national litigation relating to the alleged failure of a public employer and a private employer to comply with Directive 2000/78 in the case of Römer, and Directive 2003/78 in the case of Dominguez. Three main points are defended: firstly, it is submitted that the Court must systematically refer to the Charter when adjudicating fundamental rights issues and avoid using ambiguous phrasing when referring to fundamental rights or principles that are undoubtedly enshrined in it; Secondly, it is argued that the Court must work on the presumption that in the post-Lisbon EU, the fundamental rights set out in the Charter must also be regarded as general principles of the Union's law; Thirdly, this article defends the view that Article 51(1) of the Charter does not offer clear authority for the proposition that Charter rights lack horizontal direct effect and that in any event, the Court should not rule out the analogous application of the reasoning it developed in Küçükdeveci.

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Chien-Huei Wu

Beyond Liberalization: Health-Related Aspects of EU External Economic Agreements
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4 , 511-532

ABSTRACT: This article argues that there exists a discrepancy between the Union's external competence in the sphere of public health or health services and the Union's internal competence on health policies. While the TFEU brings trade in health services into the scope of the CCP and assigns it as an exclusive competence of the EU, the Union may still have to rely upon the Member States in implementing international obligations relating to trade in health services. This article also argues that health-related aspects of EU external economic agreements go beyond liberalization front. In addition to conventional equivalency test on SPS measures and mutual recognition agreements on TBT issues, they also cover public health issues relating to tobacco control, alcohol, illicit drugs, HIV-AIDS, and sometimes nuclear disaster and soft instruments governing regulatory dialogue and cooperation.

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The Berggruen Institute on Governance

Beyond the Crisis: Background Briefing from Berlin

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter , 33-49

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.

When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.

The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.



The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.

Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national interests and passions.

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Penadés Fons Manuel

Beyond the prima facie effectiveness of arbitration commitments in EU merger control in Common Market Law Review, vol. 49, issue 6 , 1915-1949

ABSTRACT: In the last decade, the use of arbitration in merger control has gained ample support from European institutions, scholars and practitioners, and there is consensus as to its benefits and efficiencies for the enforcement of behavioural remedies. However, in the vast majority of cases this position is based on vague allegations about the general advantages of arbitration, which lack substantive analysis of the operability of the mechanism when it comes to its implementation. This paper argues that when looking beyond that prima facie effectiveness, arbitration commitments - as currently drafted - are deficient and will result in pathological proceedings should they be triggered by third parties. The improvement of these weaknesses is necessary to guarantee the real enforceability of behavioural remedies and the effectiveness of EU merger control.



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Klüver Heike

Biasing Politics? Interest Group Participation in EU Policy-Making

in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 5 , 114-1133

ABSTRACT: Does lobbying success in the European Union vary systematically across interest group type? Interest groups lobby the European institutions in order to achieve policy decisions that are in line with their own preferences. While some argue that different types of interest groups are equally able to shape European policy-making, others contend that lobbying success is systematically biased towards some powerful interest groups. The empirical evidence is contradictory as previous studies focused either on a specific interest group type or on a specific policy area so that it is difficult to draw general conclusions. This study therefore presents an extensive empirical analysis of lobbying success across a wide variety of interest groups and policy issues by combining a quantitative text analysis of Commission consultations with an online survey among interest groups. The findings are promising as they indicate that lobbying success does not vary systematically across interest group type.

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Jagelka, Tomáš

Bilateral Trade and the Eurozone: Evidence from New Member Countries

in World Economy, volume 36 n.1 , 48-63

The question of whether and how much currency unions increase bilateral trade among their members has garnered much attention since Rose's seminal article. The answer is as pertinent now as ever for both the Eurozone's existing and future members as the financial crisis shook the very foundations of the European Monetary Union (EMU) and brought its shortcomings into the spotlight. This paper analyses the issue using the gravity equation with country pair and time fixed effects. For a sample of the four new members of the EMU – Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus – which has, to the author's knowledge, not been studied thus far due to their recent joining, and controls drawn from the European Union, this paper finds a positive relationship between joining the EMU and trade with EMU partners but not with non-EMU partners.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dettmann Georg, Möbert Jochen, Weistroffer Christian

Bilateral current account rebalancing in the EMU; The link between Germany and the eurozone peripheral countries

in Intereconomics, Volume 47, Number 4 / July 2012 , 257-264

Some current account rebalancing within EMU is currently in progress. Following the financial crisis, German current account surpluses with Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece have decreased. The following article shows that rebalancing has been achieved mainly at the expense of domestic demand in these countries. Moreover, although all four peripheral



countries have achieved some rebalancing of their current accounts vis-à-vis Germany, the path of adjustment differs.

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Bonino Emma

Bonino: se non si fa l'Europa politica, impossibile guardare a sud

in *Reset*, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/bonino-se-non-si-fa-leuropa-politica-impossibile-guardare-a-sud>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christilla Roederer-Rynning, Frank Schimmelfennig

Bringing codecision to agriculture: a hard case of parliamentarization

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 7 2012, 951-968

The Lisbon Treaty extended the codecision procedure to the Common Agricultural Policy. This is not only a hard case of parliamentarization but also a deviant case for existing explanations of the empowerment of the EP. We argue that the parliamentarization of agricultural policy in the EU cannot be explained by policy-seeking, inter-institutional bargaining or legitimacy-seeking behaviour – or by sectoral policy dynamics in general. In a process-tracing analysis we show that it was part of a broader process of legal rationalization and democratic constitutionalization in the constitutional Convention, which prevailed over the resistance of vested policy interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Habermas Jürgen

Bringing the Integration of Citizens into Line with the Integration of States

in *European law journal*, Volume 18, Issue 5 - September, 485–488

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cyr Arthur I.

Britain, Europe and the United States: change and continuity

in *International Affairs*, vol. 88, issue 6, november, 1315-1330

ABSTRACT: A useful analytic distinction between structural and policy differences was made by Henry Kissinger; the former must be accommodated while the latter may be resolved. There is no shortage of tensions and disagreements between the United States and the nations of Europe. Likewise, the bilateral alliance between Britain and the US has been defined in part by disagreements. Even during the Second World War, when the relationship was redefined in



modern terms, there were strong conflicts despite the extraordinary incentives for cooperation.

From the start, a key strength of the Anglo-American alliance was emphasis on institutional structures for the long term, viewed as a complement to the essential immediate cooperation in fighting and ultimately defeating the Axis powers. The insight of Jean Monnet and others in employing economic tools for political and diplomatic ends has proven essential. The fortieth anniversary of Britain's entry into the European Community is a useful benchmark for retrospective analysis. For the US, the twin commitments of an active international role and unification of Europe around economic matters has been remarkably consistent. As John Mearsheimer has argued, the end of the Cold War removed fundamental incentives for cooperation. Nonetheless, institutional structures of both the EU and NATO have survived.

Britain traditionally has been reluctant to engage in continuous institutional engagement with Europe, beyond the requirements of military alliances helpful or essential to national security. The lengthy uneven character of the road to membership in Europe's economic institutions reflects this fundamental attitude. Currently, Britain's ambiguous role of participation in European institutions but not in the euro may in fact facilitate transatlantic cooperation, and illustrates the usefulness of Kissinger's point. The fading of militarism in Europe since 1945 is a fundamental accomplishment, often overlooked in contemporary economic debate.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fagan Adam

Building environmental governance in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Europeanisation and transnational assistance in the context of limited statehood

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 643-657

With this paper I seek to identify the conditions under which a shift occurs from hierarchical decision making towards new modes of environmental governance in a case of weak statehood (Bosnia-Herzegovina), where an external agency (the EU) exerts significant influence alongside foreign consultants and international financial institutions (the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development—EBRD). The Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) undertaken as part of the development of the trans-European road network across the country are used here as case studies for examining emerging patterns of environmental governance in a state under the shadow of EU conditionality. The data suggest that whilst over a period of time the adoption of new EU-compliant formal procedures and frameworks (eg, EIA laws) does seem to be generating new modes of governance interaction and citizen involvement, the impact is contingent upon the critical didactic role played by (in this case) the EBRD in making the formal procedures effective and in building knowledge capacity within the state administration. Thus, a simple correlation between EU conditionality and substantive political change cannot be assumed, particularly where state agencies possess limited policy knowledge and nonstate actors (environmental NGOs) lack mobilisation capacity.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kroes Neelie

Bâtir une UE en ligne

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 559, juin , 359-360



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kobzova Jana

Can the Eastern Partnership work?

in European View , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 209-214

The EU has been promoting its interests in Eastern Europe by exporting its values and building more political and business links with the region, but the strategy has thus far not worked to the EU's liking. This is mainly because most Eastern Partnership countries hope that the EU will eventually drop the values-based conditions and focus solely on interests such as trade and security. The EU's actions have sometimes encouraged such expectations. However, this is a false choice: in practice, there is not much difference between the interests and values the EU aims to promote in the region. To make the Eastern Partnership an initiative worthy of its name, the EU should continue to promote both its interests and values in its Eastern neighbourhood, but it also needs to invest much more in cultivating new partners in the region.

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Girard Renaud

Carnets de route. La Grèce, de justesse, se maintient dans la zone euro

in Revue des deux mondes, Septembre 2012 , 33-41

Le dimanche 17 juin au soir, toutes les capitales européennes poussèrent un soupir de soulagement. La Grèce avait majoritairement voté pour des partis ouvertement proeuropéens aux élections législatives.

Mais pourquoi la formation du nouveau gouvernement a-t-elle pris plus de soixante-douze heures, alors que tous les Grecs, président de la République en tête, s'accordaient à dire qu'il y avait urgence, en raison de la proximité du sommet européen du 28 juin 2012, crucial pour l'avenir économique du pays?...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Enria Andrea

Che futuro per l'Europa? Alcune osservazioni dalla prospettiva dell'Autorità bancaria europea

in Federalista (II)/Federalist (The), Anno LIV, n. 3 , 169-181

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1391&lang=en&Itemid=77

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

John Fitzgibbon

Citizens against Europe? Civil Society and Eurosceptic Protest in Ireland, the United Kingdom and Denmark
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 105-121

This article seeks to broaden the study of Euroscepticism by developing a basic system of analysis for investigating civil-society-based opposition to European integration. Existing studies of Euroscepticism have almost exclusively focused on examining political parties and, as a result, theoretical approaches to understanding opposition to European integration have been strongly influenced by the party-based literature. By drawing from the body of work on both party-based Euroscepticism and European civil society, this article formulates a series of hypotheses and applies them to the case studies of Ireland, the United Kingdom and Denmark. Its main conclusion is that civil-society-based Euroscepticism generally conforms to the hard/soft model of opposition to the EU, but that this Euroscepticism is drawn from a more mainstream societal base than its party equivalent. Additionally, this study argues that civil-society-based Euroscepticism can be interpreted as a form of grass-roots civic engagement with the EU that mobilizes mainly around the salience of EU-related referendums.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grabbe Heather, Meyer Henning, Valiante Diego

Citizens' Europe: Crowded out by economic focus
in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 5, September 2012 , 268-281

Over the last ten years the European unification project seemed to rely overwhelmingly on progress in economic terms. The most prominent achievements — the Single Market, the harmonisation of market regulation, the euro — were all driven by an economic rationale. However, attempts to rescue Europe from the ongoing financial crisis call for mutual support and solidarity, concepts that can hardly be derived from pure economic reasoning. This leads to an important question that has been too long neglected: what is the political and civic motivation for a united Europe? Besides a great desire to stabilise peace in Europe, the origins of the unification activities also included mutual interest in language, culture, habits and people in neighbouring countries. Has this been abandoned in favour of a purely economic vision? Or are the economic arguments merely the easiest to promote to the European population? What message does this send in times of mistrust in markets and dim economic prospects for the eurozone? Can a political, cultural and civic European spirit still be reinvigorated, and if so, how?

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Moccia Luigi

Cittadinanza e democrazia nell'Europa in crisi: quale via all'Unione politica
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

Prendendo spunto dalle vicende relative alla crisi economico-finanziaria dell'eurozona e dalle connesse misure di modifica dei trattati, il saggio, attraverso un esame del sistema di potere e decisionale al livello di Unione, assume una posizione di critica nei confronti di un metodo e modello di governo europeo a sempre più forte impronta intergovernativa, cercando di dimostrare l'esistenza di principi normativo-istituzionali di rilievo costituzionale che



consentono invece di dare significato al principio di democrazia rappresentativa posto dal trattato a base del funzionamento dell'Unione, definendone pertanto un modello di governo democraticamente fondato sulla sovranità dei cittadini dell'Unione. Così da ricondurre il dibattito in tema di 'più Europa' al suo cuore federale e insieme democratico costituito dal problema di un maggiore e più consapevole consenso popolare a base delle istituzioni e decisioni comuni.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Clerck-Sachsse Julia

Civil Society and Democracy in the EU: The Paradox of the European Citizens' Initiative

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 299-311

the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) is hailed as an important tool for civic involvement in EU policy-making. Paradoxically, the legislative proposal introducing the ECI succeeded not because of large-scale public involvement, but due to strategic lobbying of policy-makers by civil society organisations (CSOs). This paper demonstrates that not all CSOs engaged in EU policy debates strive to foster broad civic participation. We can distinguish between two different models of organisations: issue-specific professionalised organisations that engage directly with decision-makers and broader-based citizen organisations, and social movements that seek to mobilise a wide section of society in order to voice their concerns in a public debate. The story of the ECI's genesis illustrates that structural problems inhibit CSOs in mobilising broad sections of the public in EU policy-making. Since CSOs are likely to be at the core of efforts to mobilise the necessary one million signatures for an ECI, this is likely to have implications for operationalising the ECI.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Héritier Adrienne, Reh Christine

Codecision and Its Discontents: Intra-Organisational Politics and Institutional Reform in the European Parliament

in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 5 , 1134-1157

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the consequences of fast-track legislation in the European Union. Previous research has explained why fast-track legislation occurs and evaluated its democratic repercussions. This study focuses on the European Parliament (EP)'s intra-organisational response. It first describes how the early adoption of EU legislation has informalised legislative decision-making, transformed inter-organisational relations, and induced power shifts. It then discusses the political response, showing that actors seek to redress power shifts, that reform attempts centre on the control of negotiation authority and information flows, and that reform is highly contested. The research suggests that the chance of successful redress is low in Parliament as a decentralised organisation unless two conditions are met: (i) the extent of fast-track legislation reaches a critical level, and (ii) the organisation goes through a period of wider reform; the former increases the visibility of disempowerment and reputational loss, the latter allows package deals and/or the strategic use of norms. Based on qualitative document analysis and semi-structured elite interviews an analysis is made of how Parliament's rules of co-legislation have been contested, negotiated and reformed from the formal introduction of fast-track legislation in 1999 to the adoption of the Code of Conduct for Negotiating in the Context of Codecision Procedures in 2009. The analysis also shows that Parliament may have a price to pay for its successful fight for empowerment, namely a challenge to its institutional legitimacy and discontent of its of rank-and-file



members. More generally, understanding the conditions for intra-organisational reform can inform the study of other democratic bodies which undergo a similar restriction and seclusion of de facto decision-making.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paul Taggart and Aleks Szczerbiak

Coming in from the Cold? Euroscepticism, Government Participation and Party Positions on Europe
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 17-37

The focus of the article is to use the changed landscape of Euroscepticism to look broadly across a set of cases of government participation by parties holding Eurosceptical positions to examine whether government participation has an effect on their European positions and whether participation by Eurosceptic parties in government has had an effect on their European policy. In general, while there does seem to be a moderating effect of government participation on a party's Euroscepticism, there are notable cases of Eurosceptic party participation in government having some discernible impact on policy, but under somewhat specific conditions. The impact is clearly different for major and minor parties and, in the case of the latter, moderating their Euroscepticism is often a signifier of a wider process of party mainstreaming. In some cases, while parties continue to use Eurosceptic rhetoric when in office, this does not appear to translate into substantial policy change.

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Hansen-Magnusson Hannes, Wüstenberg Jenny

Commemorating Europe? Forging European Rituals of Remembrance through Anniversaries
in *Politique européenne* , n. 37, 2012/2 , 44-70

The article aims to generate insights for further work on the legitimacy of politics in the European Union. Through an analysis of European newspapers, we examine and compare practices of memorializing the dates of two key events in the history of the European Union: the declaration by Robert Schuman on May 9 1950, and the signing of the Treaties of Rome on March 25 1957. The analysis traces the role of symbols and the unfolding of a collective memory around these dates over a time-span of six decades. The article's preliminary findings show that the Treaties are increasingly becoming the focus of a ritual of remembrance that can offer an anchor for "European memory." That is, the Treaties are regarded as a focal point of the past that informs the present and future of EU integration through the manner in which they play out in justifications of the policy-process. By contrast – and surprisingly – the Schuman Speech does not seem to be an important retrospective point of reference as yet, even though it is part of the official set of symbols of the Union. In general, practices of commemoration have become more inclusive over time: in addition to political elites they increasingly involve citizens as well. It remains to be seen, however, whether the events positively resonate with citizens in the long-run.

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Arman Sarvarian

Common Ethical Standards for Counsel before the European Court of Justice and European Court of Human



Rights

in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 4 , 991-1014

There is no 'international bar' that regulates the practice of forensic advocacy before international courts and tribunals. The lack of common ethical standards for representatives before international courts and tribunals has become increasingly topical, particularly in the field of investment arbitration. Initiatives by such professional organizations as the International Law Association and the International Bar Association to identify universal ethical principles suggest that there is a body of opinion amongst practitioners who believe that common ethical standards are necessary. However, the topic remains virgin territory in relation to the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights. This article examines the historical evolution of the representation before the Courts and the procedural and ethical problems concerning representatives that have arisen in practice. It concludes that, far from being a topic of only theoretical interest, there have been considerable problems in practice arising from questionable professional conduct by representatives and conflicting national standards. It suggests that the absence of a prescribed code of conduct setting out the Courts' precise standard for representatives is a threat to the Courts' procedural integrity and legitimacy. It proposes that the Council of Bars and Law Societies of Europe take the lead in drafting a code of conduct for the European Courts, in consultation with their judiciaries, which could subsequently be adopted by the Courts and integrated into national codes of conduct.

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Levchenko, Andrei A. - Zhang, Jing

Comparative advantage and the welfare impact of European integration

in *Economic Policy*, volume 27 n.72 , 567-602

This paper investigates the welfare gains from European trade integration, and the role of comparative advantage in determining the magnitude of those gains. We use a multi-sector Ricardian model implemented on 79 countries, and compare welfare in the 2000s to a counterfactual scenario in which East European countries are closed to trade. For West European countries, the mean welfare gain from trade integration with Eastern Europe is 0.16%, ranging from zero for Portugal to 0.4% for Austria. For East European countries, gains from trade are 9.23% at the mean, ranging from 2.85% for Russia to 20% for Estonia. For Eastern Europe, comparative advantage is a key determinant of the variation in the welfare gains: countries whose comparative advantage is most similar to Western Europe tend to gain less, while countries with technology most different from Western Europe gain the most.

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Bojinović Fenko Ana

Compatibility of regionalizing actors' activities in the Mediterranean region; what kind of opportunity for the European Union?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 407-429

Using conceptualization of levels of regionalism and twofold typology of actors (governmental [GOV]–non-governmental



[NON-GOV] and external–internal), this article presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of regionalizing actors' activities in the Mediterranean in order to assess their compatibility in different fields of regional cooperation. The research thesis supported in the article is, that the Mediterranean is a region where formulation of a common idea on the content of regional cohesiveness is still a subject of highly competitive process of contestation which gives opportunity to the EU's actorness. Results show a prevailing influence of external inter-GOV actors which has already altered regional activities of internal actors in three ways: (1) there are examples of 'defensive' and 'agenda influencing' reactions of few internal informal inter-GOV fora in political-economic-human rights fields, especially to the EU's inter-regional practices, and lately absence of GOV regionalizing actors; (2) there are supportive (EU agenda following) reactions of regional non-governmental (NON-GOV) actors present in functional and also human rights fields and (3) despite poor market regionalization regional NON-GOV functional cooperation is growing especially under external inter-governmental 'sponsorship', which has consolidated existence of new regionalizing actors, i.e. multi-actor coalitions. The latter also represent the biggest immediate opportunity for the EU's actorness.

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Altfuldisch Christian

Competition among Peers Does Europe Still Inspire in the Balkans?

in Europe en formation (L¹), n. 364, 2012/2 , 149-160

Enlargement is the EU's most successful foreign policy, but has stalled in the Western Balkans. This leaves one of the poorest part of the continent isolated and without a clear perspective when, ironically, the accession process itself would best build its capacity to meet EU standards. The recent visa liberalisation process has shown what EU conditionality can achieve when it is conducted in a transparent manner, creating healthy competition among peers. The policy recommendation of this paper is therefore to launch a joint pre-accession process, modelled on this experience, for all the countries of the region to apply conditionality to best effect.

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Chodorowska Daniela

Compliance Leaders and Laggards within the EU-8

in Europe en formation (L¹), n. 364, 2012/2 , 129-147

Recent studies have shown that the new Central and Eastern European member states (EU-8) are complying surprisingly well with EU law as compared to the old EU-15. However, little attempts have been made to analyze variation in post-accession compliance with EU law among the EU-8. Authors of existing studies have systematically favoured traditional compliance approaches. Thereby, the potential of the so-called legitimacy approach, known for its notorious methodological difficulties, has been utterly neglected.

The present paper addresses this research gap by introducing a state-of-the-art conceptualization of the legitimacy approach. In an interpretative analysis of illustrative empirical data on De with the EIA Directive in Poland and Lithuania, the value added of social constructivist compliance theory shall be assessed. The paper argues that, surprisingly, persuasion processes have had differential impacts on compliance within the EU-8.



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Toshkov Dimiter

Compliance with EU Law in Central and Eastern Europe The Disaster that Didn't Happen (Yet) in Europe en formation (L'), n. 364, 2012/2 , 91-109

This article reviews the patterns of compliance with EU law in Central and Eastern Europe. Looking at the formal-legal part of the process of compliance, I find that the post-communist member states have been largely successful in transposing the body of EU legislation properly and on-time, and that the success has persisted after the moment of accession to the EU. Focusing on the practical implementation stage, the article concludes that in three different policy sectors (electronic communications, consumer protection, and animal welfare), the implementation performance of the post-communist member states exhibits shortcomings, which are however not of a different nature and not on a different scale than the implementation problems in Western and Southern Europe.

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Kornetis Konstantinos

Con la dracma al ballo degli elefanti? Intervista con Romano Prodi in Critica liberale, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Agnes Batory & Uwe Puetter

Consistency and diversity? The EU's rotating trio Council Presidency after the Lisbon Treaty in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 1 2013 , 95-112

The Lisbon Treaty introduced significant changes to the Presidency of the Council of the European Union (EU). The new Treaty combines a permanent chair with the principle of rotation based on three member states collaborating during an 18-month period, without specifying the responsibilities of trio groups. This left wide scope for the first post-Lisbon trio to establish new working mechanisms. By discussing the joint Presidency of Spain, Belgium and Hungary, this article interprets the trio model and its combination with the permanent chair model as an attempt to re-adjust the balance between consistency and diversity. Rotation remains a key instrument for ensuring the representation of the diversity of member states in an enlarged Union. At the same time, the EU's ever more complex policy agenda and a greater need for collective leadership motivate the search for new forms of co-operation to enhance policy consistency over consecutive Presidency terms.

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Curtin Deirdre, Hofmann Herwig, Mendes Joana

Constitutionalising EU Executive Rule-Making Procedures: A Research Agenda



in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 1–21

The existence or non-existence of procedural rules for executive rule-making in the EU is not merely a ‘technical’ question free of constitutional value choices. This article argues that constitutional principles, such as transparency, openness and participatory democracy, highlighted by the Treaty of Lisbon constitute decisive normative standards for the design of administrative procedures in the EU, with a considerable impact on substantive outcomes. We apply such principles to executive rule-making procedures in the EU, highlight the salience of this discussion and argue that systematisation of executive rule-making procedures is needed in order to implement constitutional principles in a complex and plural environment.

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Gilbert Mark

Constructing Europe (Review Article)

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 43, No. 1, January 2013 , 96-106

The full text is free:

<http://ehq.sagepub.com/content/43/1/96.full.pdf+html>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Meng-Hsuan Chou

Constructing an internal market for research through sectoral and lateral strategies: layering, the European Commission and the fifth freedom

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 7 2012 , 1052-1070

This article explores how European research co-operation has evolved from being a ‘spending’ policy to one now focussed on establishing an ‘internal market for research’. It identifies how the Commission enabled adoption of reforms in this policy area when similar attempts earlier had been dismissed. By concentrating on one mode of institutional change known as ‘layering’, two strategies effecting reforms are inductively specified. It is proposed that the Commission could pursue a sectoral strategy (intensifying coordinative efforts in the research field) and a lateral strategy (shifting research targets to another policy field) to trigger some of the sectoral transformation now observed. Three policy instruments for researcher mobility bring the propositions to life: the European Charter and Code of Conduct for researchers, the scientific visa package and the portability of supplementary pensions. The article concludes that cross-sectoral interaction generates the under-conceptualized dynamics in area formation beyond moments of ‘grand bargaining’.

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Bernier Alexandre

Constructing and Legitimizing: Transnational Jurist Networks and the Making of a Constitutional Practice of European Law, 1950–70

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law , 399-415

Social scientific explanations of the role of European law associations in the making of a new European legal order argue that they were critical in empowering the European Court of Justice and defining the results of European legal integration. However, these approaches fail to highlight the complex context in which these associations evolved. By exploring the history of the French Association des juristes européens from 1951 to 1970 on the basis of comprehensive archival material, this paper provides a more contextualised understanding of what appears as a struggle with limited impact on the French reception of European law.

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Abélès Marc

Construction européenne, démocratie et historicité

in *Vingtième Siècle*, n. 117 , 57-68

La construction européenne s'inscrit dans un processus historique marqué par l'émergence de nouvelles formes de gouvernance globale et la montée en puissance d'une représentation qui projette la question de la vie et de la survie au cœur de l'action politique. La perception du futur comme incertain est au cœur du nouveau régime du « global-politique » et la construction européenne illustre l'ouverture et l'incertitude structurelle d'un processus caractérisé par l'introduction d'une relation ambivalente entre le présent et le futur. L'inachèvement structurel du projet européen reflète la complexité et les contradictions de la dynamique d'élargissement et d'intégration.

European Construction, Democracy, Historicity

European construction is part of a historical process characterized by new forms of global governance and the emergence of a representation that thrusts the questions of life and survival into the heart of politics. The perception that the future is uncertain is at the center of the new regime of "global politics". European construction illustrates the possibilities and structural uncertainty of a process marked by the introduction of an ambivalent relationship between the present and the future. The structural incompleteness of the European project reflects the complexity and contradictions of the dynamics of enlargement and integration.

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Labitzke Jan

Consultation Processes as a Practice of Legitimacy in the EU Legislative Process

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 3 , 323-336

ABSTRACT: The European Commission, in its White Paper on European Governance, believes that 'good governance' requires participation of the stakeholders, and that their involvement in political processes strengthens the confidence of citizens in the institutions. The related keyword addressed and questioned in this article is the term 'participation'. This term also represents the core of the White Paper and is associated with great expectancy with 'good governance'. This



article discusses the academically, as well as politically interesting question whether the participation promises of the White Paper by the European Commission and of the EU Treaty are in fact redeemed, and whether consultation processes can be assessed in this sense as a real and effective identification practice within the EU legislative process, or whether consultation processes merely serve to suggest additional input-legitimacy at the EU level, which turn out to be a Potemkin village upon closer inspection.

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Tanasoiu Cosmina

Containing Europeanization. Post-Accession (Anti-)Corruption Record in Romania and Bulgaria in Europe en formation (L'), n. 364, 2012/2 , 243-263

The absence of leverage mechanisms (conditionality and membership) raised doubts over the EU's ability to influence domestic change in new member states post-accession. This article examines the record of anticorruption strategies in Romania and Bulgaria, between 2007 and 2011. It argues that systemic corruption contains the impact of Europeanization by distorting legal adoption and preventing implementation rendering institutional and legal progress to forms without substance. In the absence of a unified discourse from Brussels and willingness to sanction delays, national elites have used the fight against corruption as a political slogan rather than internalize it as a norm.

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Petithomme Mathieu

Containing the sleeping giant in EU referendums? A comparison of the strategies of confinement of EU issues of the RPR (1992) and the PS (2005)

in French Politics, Volume 10, Issue 2, June 2012 , 105–133

This article deals with the ways parties depoliticise European matters in EU referendums. Through the two cases of the RPR in the Maastricht Treaty referendum and the PS in the ECT referendum, it investigates how mainstream parties contain the 'sleeping giant', how they manage intra-party dissent over EU matters. It reflects on the specific strategies they use to confine the effects of the European cleavage on their party organisations. It relies on a comparative case study analysis based on newspaper archives to reassess the distinct political contexts and the evolving positions of party leaderships over time. Three main findings are outlined. First, it shows that the 'Europeanisation' of the discourses of mainstream parties has remained highly strategic, superficial and fluctuating over time. Second, while the politicisation of EU matters has sometimes occurred, Eurosceptic pressures have been actively absorbed by mainstream parties through a whole range of strategies of compartmentalisation. Finally, it illustrates that depoliticisation has constituted a core element in the ways mainstream parties have used EU issues in domestic political competition.

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Petithomme Mathieu

Contesting European policies without being (openly) Eurosceptic? An empirical analysis of the political communication of Attac associations towards European integration (2004–2008)



in **Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research**, Volume 25, Issue 3 , 251-267

This article uses claims-making analysis to delineate the main features of the political communication of four Attac associations in France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. As one of the most prominent associations of the alter-globalization movement, Attac illustrates quite well the type of political communication that those social movements develop towards European integration. The empirical analysis suggests that Attac associations mainly address demands towards the European level, using the European Central Bank and the Commission as privileged targets viewed as non-majoritarian institutions far away from citizens' democratic control. It also shows that the nature of the discourse of contestation promoted by Attac associations is essentially related to the European policy-making process but not necessarily to the EU polity in itself. It suggests that, under certain circumstances, alter-globalization movements might be actively involved in a potential process of politicization of European issues at the national level.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sofia Vasilopoulou

Continuity and Change in the Study of Euroscepticism: Plus ça change?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 153-168

Euroscepticism has been treated as a marginal phenomenon in European Union studies. It has been portrayed as exceptional, belonging to the realm of pariah politics. This article contests this view arguing that although the term was first coined during the mid-1980s in Britain, its features were present since the early stages of integration. Pointing to its changing nature over time, it calls for a holistic approach that would examine the phenomenon beyond the study of party politics and public opinion. It urges scholars to explicitly treat Euroscepticism as an 'independent' as well as a 'dependent' variable. The next generation of Euroscepticism should be performing comparative analysis identifying and explaining different patterns of opposition to the EU, and focusing on their implications for the process of European integration, the direction of EU policy, domestic European politics and the development of EU studies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mathieu Petithomme

Continuity and change in national parties' strategies of adaptation to European integration

in **Interdisciplinary Political Studies**, Volume 2 (2)

How have national parties adapted their strategies of competition and behaviour to use, handle, and manage the European issue in domestic political competition? This article outlines the principal elements of continuity and change in the ways national party organisations have strategically adapted to the increasing significance of European integration in West European party systems over the last twenty years. It contests the arguments of a gradual europeanisation and rising progress of euroscepticism. It shows that the likelihood of politicisation over European matters occurring has been very dependent on the arena and the context considered. Few changes have occurred regarding the consensual and relatively positive treatment of the European Union (EU) in national newspapers, the very limited saliency of EU-related debates in national electoral campaigns and the tendency of mainstream parties to converge rather than diverge on the ways they frame the EU. Conflicts over EU matters are not typical, nor are they inherently on the increase: they remain the exception rather than the rule.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Murdoch Zuzanna, Trondal Jarle

**Contracted Government: Unveiling the European Commission's Contracted Staff
in West European Politics**, vol. 36, n. 1 , 1-21

ABSTRACT: Over the past two decades, reliance on short-term contracted staff has increased in government institutions across the Western world. This tendency towards 'contracted government' may be strengthened during periods of economic and financial stress. This article therefore poses the following questions: First, does 'contracted government' lead to civil servants less loyal and attentive to the concerns of 'their' government institutions? Secondly, and more generally, what factors shape the behavioural perceptions of contracted government staff? Benefiting from a new, full-scale survey among seconded national experts in the European Commission, this study shows that contracted Commission staff are largely integrated and committed to the Commission and its administrative sub-units. The general lesson learned is that when under contract, contracted personnel seem mainly loyal and attentive to the concerns of the government institution under which they formally serve. This finding dispels fears that contracted government officials may serve several masters. Theoretically, the behavioural perceptions of contracted Commission officials are explained with reference to their primary organisational affiliation towards the Commission and its sub-units, as well as by the internal organisational composition of the Commission services.

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Jonathan Tomkin

**Contradiction, Circumvention and Conceptual Gymnastics: The Impact of the Adoption of the ESM Treaty on
the State of European Democracy**
in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 1 , 169-190

This paper makes the claim that the legal framework governing the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) is contradictory, conceptually incoherent and may be characterized as a circumvention of Union law. It is further claimed that such circumvention, and the resulting establishment of a significant permanent institution outside and beyond the scope of the Union legal order, represents a challenge to European democracy and to the principle of respect for the rule of law.

The paper will first provide a brief overview of the background and legal framework governing the Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism (ESMT). It will then address recent litigation challenging the compatibility of that legal framework with obligations under Union law. Finally, it will assess how the process by which the European Stability Mechanism was established is liable to impact upon the quality of European Democracy and the integrity of the Union legal order.

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Stefan Kawalec, Ernest Pytlarczyk



Controlled Dismantlement of the Eurozone: A Strategy to Save the European Union and the Single European Market

in *German Economic Review*, volume 14 n.1 , 31-49

The problems with a single currency in Europe are neither temporary nor curable. Any persistent defence of the euro will result in a long-lasting recession and high unemployment in countries using fiscal austerity to pursue 'internal devaluation'. It may lead to a revival of populist and nationalist movements, political collapse and disorderly eurozone break-up. This article argues for a controlled segmentation of the eurozone via the exit of the most competitive countries and an agreement on a new European currency coordination system.

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Halmai Péter, Vásáry Viktória

Convergence crisis: economic crisis and convergence in the European Union

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Numbers 3-4 / September 2012 , 297-322

The success of the integration process of the new EU Member States is reflected by the convergence performance. Sustainable convergence assumes that potential growth rates of the less developed countries continuously exceed the dynamics of the potential output of the developed countries. However, the financial and economic crisis of 2008 has resulted in a fundamentally new situation as regards these issues. This paper considers real convergence, catch-up processes and in terms of these the main economic growth trends. The study focuses mainly on the potential growth trends. The recession has, however, affected the individual countries to different degrees. The study classified the Member States into four groups based on the initial circumstances and the vulnerability originating from them; these are 'Developed' countries and 'Convergence' countries, three groups of the latter are 'Mediterranean' countries, 'Catch-up' countries and 'Vulnerable' countries. Potential growth and the contribution of the individual growth factors might follow significantly different paths in these country groups. The convergence countries might face especially great challenges. Potential growth rate of the 'Convergence' countries—according to simulations—is expected to recover less in the mid-term, than that of the 'Developed' countries, i.e. convergence slows down, it might come to a halt or even divergence might occur in certain countries. It might result in a 'Convergence Crisis' particularly in certain 'Mediterranean' and 'Vulnerable' new Member States. Also, longer term simulations indicate that the European convergence processes might slow down and stop in certain countries. These trends may have significant effects on economic policies facilitating potential growth. We apply extensive quantitative analysis, production function and growth accounting approaches in the study.

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Andrea Schlenker

Cosmopolitan Europeans or Partisans of Fortress Europe? Supranational Identity Patterns in the EU

in *Global Society*, Volume 27, Issue 1 , 25-51

In parallel to the EU's founding universal principles, European identity is usually conceived of as a postnational and cosmopolitan identity. However, it can also be exclusive, leading to a "fortress Europe". This article analyses the relationship between European identity and cosmopolitanism by looking into the commonalities and boundaries of the



former. Building upon socio-psychological approaches as well as different constructions of national identity, the content of European identity is analysed. Concerning its boundaries, we differentiate between external and internal boundary drawing, operationalised by looking at attitudes towards potential or new member states, and those towards immigrants of different origin. Empirically, Eurobarometer data from the last decade covering the 27 member states are used. A structural equation model rounds up the analysed relationships between identity patterns. The results show a strong and positive relationship between European identity and cosmopolitanism. However, the kind of European identity construction makes a difference. A civic and even cultural construction of European identity is positively related to cosmopolitanism, whereas an ethnic one is negatively related. The overall widespread cosmopolitanism in Europe still has to work out its relationship to existing external and internal boundaries, drawn by European citizens.

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Grundmann Stefan

Costs and benefits of an optional European sales law (CESL)

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 225-242

ABSTRACT: This contribution assesses the proposed Common European Sales Law (CESL) and its potential to enter into a fruitful competition with national laws ("Optional Scheme") against the background of a more general theory on vertical regulatory competition - drawing on the much richer theory of horizontal regulatory competition (namely concerned with Delaware). It does so along three lines of arguments: (i) Regulatory vertical competition, on a level playing field, has the potential to combine advantages of centralized rule-setting and decentralized rule-setting, but fails to do so in the case of this proposal. (ii) Regulatory vertical competition is in danger of being distorted by the central rule-setter when this rule setter not only makes one of the offers, but also arranges the conflict of laws rules and potentially even does in a way which favours its own offer - and this has been done in CESL. This kind of distortion of competition leads to the effect that parties may make choices not according to substantive law quality of the set of rules chosen, but because only one set profits from particularly advantageous rules of choice (reduction of transaction costs and economies of scale etc.). Finally, (iii) regulatory vertical competition may potentially lead to positive network effects of such importance that the set of rules proposed by the central rule setter, in fact, even though being optional only discards competitors altogether nevertheless. This may be an explanation of how the Delaware effect works and this may lead to a situation in which the 'external competition' of an EU Contract Law - with the national legislatures - is no longer strong enough. Therefore in the last two sections, the question is asked (i) how best to arrange 'internal competition' about the best ideas and the best schemes for an EU Contract Law Code and (ii) how to gain time for doing so (interim alternatives which would equally allow to realize most of the benefits which the adoption of CESL is aimed at). Based on all three lines of arguments, the paper strongly favours - as a minimum requirement - the transition for all national laws to an unrestricted home country principle for consumer sales, namely in e-commerce transactions.

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Le Goff Maëlan

Crise de la zone euro : quelles conséquences pour les économies africaines?

in **Lettre du CEPII**, n. 322, June - 2012

La zone euro joue un rôle clef dans l'intégration du continent africain à l'économie mondiale. Bien que les relations



économiques avec les nouveaux émergents se développent rapidement, beaucoup de pays africains ont conservé des liens étroits avec les vieilles puissances européennes qui absorbent une part significative de leurs exportations de matières premières et leur fournissent des investissements directs étrangers et de l'aide publique au développement. C'est aussi de ces pays que sont envoyés la majorité des fonds issus des migrations à destination de l'Afrique. Nous examinons dans quelle mesure la crise de la zone euro est susceptible d'affecter les économies africaines. Les pays d'Afrique du Nord, fortement dépendants des importations de la zone euro sont parmi les plus exposés. C'est le cas aussi des petits pays insulaires qui, de surcroît, devraient pâtir d'un fléchissement du tourisme. Les pays d'Afrique sub-saharienne risquent, eux, d'être victimes d'une baisse de l'aide publique au développement. La crise met ainsi en lumière la fragilité, pour les pays d'Afrique, du partenariat européen et devrait les inciter à renforcer encore leurs liens avec les pays émergents et à développer les relations économiques intra-régionales.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tajani A.

Crise financière et gouvernance économique européenne

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 2 , 205-217

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wolf Nikolaus

Crises and policy responses within the political trilemma: Europe, 1929–36 and 2008–11

in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 19, Issue 6, 2012 , 855-879

Abstract

The recent debate on the Eurozone failed to appreciate a particular characteristic of European crisis experiences, namely their fundamentally political character. To make my argument, I borrow from Dani Rodrik (2000) the framework of a “political trilemma” between cross-border economic integration, national institutions and democracy (in the sense of mass politics) and discuss its relation to the more commonly known “macroeconomic trilemma” as well as some limitations of the framework. The recent experience of a European debt crisis and the experience of Europe's Great Depression can be interpreted as a “political trilemma”: both reflect the problem of designing effective policy responses to major economic shocks within the environment of deep economic integration across political boundaries and the regime choices that this involves. Within this framework I highlight some aspects of the 1930s that are informative to the policy choices in Europe today. Once we accept that some policy choices should be avoided, attention should be shifted to the remaining options and the obstacles that prevent their implementation, notably the challenge to transform democracy beyond national borders.



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Courvoisier Claude

Crises de l'Europe, crise des symboles

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 401-411

A financial crisis, a debt crisis, the crisis affecting Europe is also a crisis of the euro. The euro is in a crisis as a currency, but also as a symbol, in that it represents something else, a sort of unity, which by the way is debated. Yet the euro was the last of Europe's symbols to be recognised when it seemed advisable to consecrate them in a constitutional treaty. It followed the fate of the others when a concern for discretion led to their phasing out. The crisis was then institutional but from one crisis to the other, what the symbols means remain involved, i.e. a solidarity community. The displaying of symbols in a basic treaty plan, and their phasing out in the next one, are episodes that remain significant to this day.

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Sergio Scamuzzi

Crisi e criticità del modello sociale europeo

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LVI, n. 59

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pusić Vesna

Croatian Foreign Policy in the Context of European Union Membership

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2012 , 1-3

Abstract:

In this essay, Croatia's minister of foreign and European affairs outlines Croatia's foreign policy directions as a member of the European Union. Mutual benefits to the EU and Croatia of the latter's membership are outlined, with particular reference to issues in southeastern Europe and with countries along the southern Mediterranean shoreline. The membership process itself is described as a driver in the development of Croatia's foreign relations.

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Rafael Bielsa y Rodrigo Lloret

Cuando Europa se aburre. Una mirada latinoamericana de la crisis
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 240

In March of 1968, Pierre Viansson-Ponté wrote an article which would become famous: «When France Grows Bored», which treated with irony a conglomerate of elements which would explode soon after in France in May. There he noted something remarkably current: «the true objective of politics can not be restricted to administrating the common good 'the least bad possible'». But even this minimum seems violated in politics today by a succession of conservative decisions in which austerity is the word of order, whilst creativity to face the crisis seems also absent in the progressive visions.

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Brancaccio Emiliano

Current Account Imbalances, the Eurozone Crisis, and a Proposal for a "European Wage Standard"
in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 41, Number 1 / Spring 2012 , 47-65

The crisis in the European Monetary Union cannot be attributed simply to the growth of government deficits in its member countries. Current account imbalances between eurozone members and the resulting accumulation of external private and public credit and debt appear to be further causes of instability. The gap between unit labor costs seems to be one of the determinants of trade imbalances. Germany, in particular, despite its current account surplus, has adopted a policy of relative wage deflation in recent years that has increased this gap. The adoption of a "European wage standard" may prompt countries with surpluses to generate higher growth in nominal wages, prices, and wage shares, thus helping to restore the balance in trade and safeguard European unity.
current account imbalances, eurozone crisis, unit labor costs, wage standard

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Anna Giulia Micara

Current Features of the European Union Regime for Export Control of Dual-Use Goods
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 578-593

Export control of dual-use goods and technologies is a crucial element of the security policies of countries that are exporters of technology, aimed at avoiding the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. One of the main features of the EU regime of export control is that it poses challenges in terms of the EU competence that refers to the common commercial policy and to the security policy. Indeed, this article analyzes the developments concerning the EU competence in this field and how the different nature of the competences has influenced the EU export control regime. Moving from the origins of the Community regime for export control, mainly in the context of the completion of the internal market in the early 1990s, particular attention will be devoted to the limits of Regulation 1334/2000 setting up a Community regime for the export control, and of subsequent Regulation 428/2009.



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Fois Paolo

Dall'armonizzazione all'unificazione dei diritti interni nell'Unione europea. Valutazione critica di una tendenza in atto

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 237-256

The present article starts from the observation of an aspect generally neglected by the doctrine which characterizes the TEEC of 1957, clearly aimed at 'harmonization' (or 'approximation') of the domestic laws of the Member States, and not at their 'unification'. In fact, the TEEC, with reference to the substantive law, considers the harmonization process as a result of the use of an act, the directive, which provides for an obligation of result, while in the case of the rules of private international law the reduction of differences between the national laws is promoted through international conventions instead of Community acts. A controversial practice that emerged in the mid-'60s led to a shift away from the choices contained in TEEC, with a late and however partial change of its rules in this regard. This was made possible, for the rules of substantive law, at first, by a law through which the Court of Justice has found the practice of so-called 'detailed directives' legitimate. In a second step, in the text of the Treaty the generic term 'measures' has been repeatedly used in place of the traditional term 'directives'. The term 'approximation' has not changed, thereby improving the doubts as to the choice of using regulations of unification on the basis of recognized power to adopt 'measures'. With reference to the rules of private international law, the choice to proceed with their 'communitarisation', using no longer the instrument of an international convention, but EU regulations, has materialized in the Amsterdam Treaty of 1997, in particular through the amendments to Articles 61 and 65 of the TEC, which gave the Council the power to adopt measures in the field of judicial cooperation in civil matters having cross-border implications. The decision to use the term 'measures' is clearly inspired by the experience previously gained in the field of rules of substantive law, but is not exempt with concerns expressed about the power to unify the laws of the Member States through the instrument of regulations. The abovementioned Article 65, in fact, gives the EU only the limited power to improve and simplify the national legal systems, namely 'to promote' the compatibility of the rules applicable in the Member States concerning conflict of laws and of jurisdiction.

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Negt Oskar

Das Europa von heute und die Wirklichkeit von morgen. Zur Verteidigung der Utopie

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2012 , 75-84

Mit Verblüffung muss man heute feststellen, wie viel intellektuelle Energie auf Europadiskurse gelenkt wird, die selbst in ihrer radikalsten und kritischsten Position vollkommen dem Bannkreis des Geldes und der politischen Institutionen verhaftet bleiben. Manchmal könnte man auf den Gedanken kommen, dass die öffentlich definierte Realitätsmacht der vorherrschenden Wirklichkeit nicht nur die Gedanken erfasst, sondern auch die Denkstrukturen. Das ist umso erstaunlicher, als gerade in den vergangenen Jahren weltweite Protestbewegungen hörbar und sichtbar gemacht haben, dass die auf unterschlagenen Wirklichkeiten und von oben inszenierten demokratischen Legitimationen beruhenden Herrschaftssysteme brüchig sind und zu Fall gebracht werden könnten...



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Trstenjak Verica, Beysen Erwin

**Das Prinzip der Verhältnismäßigkeit in der Unionsrechtsordnung
in Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2012

No abstract available

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Obwechser Walter

**Das System der "Europäischen Wirtschaftsregierung" und die Rechtsnatur ihrer Teile: Sixpack –
Euro-Plus-Pakt – Europäisches Semester – Rettungsschirm
in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht**, vol. 67, issue 2, June, 209-251

ABSTRACT: The banking-, sovereign debt- and economic crisis that erupted in 2008 exposed a principle flaw in the distribution of competences between the EU and its Member States with regard to monetary and economic policy in the EMU. To allow for a better co-ordination and surveillance of the economic policies of the EU's and especially the EMU's Member States, a new legal framework was created that soon generally was dubbed as "European Economic Government". This contribution not only introduces the new framework and its legal bases, but also discusses its consequences – last but not least for the institutional framework of the union – as well as its possible chances and limits. Finally, a case is made that all the measures figuring as "European Economic Government" contain only first elements of such a policy.

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Bajon Philip

**De Gaulle finds his "Master". Gerhard Schröder's "Fairly Audacious Politics" in the European Crisis of 1965–66
in Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 17, n. 2, 253-270

This article presents a new perspective on the interactions between two prominent European political figures amid the thorny empty chair crisis of 1965–66, namely French President Charles de Gaulle and German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schröder. First, it explains why the 'proven and tested' mechanisms of French-German conciliation collapsed, why Federal European policy failed to prevent France from provoking the major constitutional crisis of the EEC and why, consequently, Schröder was able to seize almost exclusive control over the definition of the Federal European policy line. Second, the article aims to place emphasis on the rivalry between the two statesmen. The empirical analysis demonstrates that de Gaulle found his "Master" in Schröder, who secured a German leadership role within the coalition of France's partners and pursued a policy of brinkmanship à la de Gaulle to force the French government back to the negotiating table. Thus, the Federal Republic actually played the central role in managing and overcoming the crisis of



the empty chair.

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Balzacq Thierry

De quoi la politique de sécurité et de défense commune est-elle l'expression? mécanismes sociaux, gouvernance et prestige

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 611-622

In contrast to many influential accounts which assume that formal norms and national predispositions frustrate the development of shared security principles and commitments, contributions to this special issue of *Études internationales* suggest that an analysis of concrete practices underpinning csdp evidences the emergence of a genuine strategic culture. Thus, the aim of this essay is to put in relief and, simultaneously, investigate the different arguments structuring this outcome. While I emphasize the peculiarities of the articles examined, I argue that the evolution of csdp depends upon as much as it expresses three major features that enable the above pieces to hang together : first, the way in which the eu designs policies that are constitutive of its csdp ; second, the processes that the eu singles out ; third, the mechanisms through which its power is wielded.

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Cornell Svante, Knaus Gerald, Scheich Manfred

Dealing with a rising power: Turkey's transformation and its implications for the EU

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 285286

No abstract available

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Justin Doran, Declan Jordan

Decomposing European NUTS2 Regional Inequality from 1980 to 2009: National and European Policy Implications

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, volume 40 n.1

Purpose - This paper analyses income inequality for a sample of fourteen European countries and their composite regions using data from the Cambridge Econometrics regional dataset from 1980 to 2009. The purpose of the paper is to provide insight into the dynamics of regional and national cohesion among the EU-14 countries studied.

Design/methodology/approach - Initially, inequality is decomposed using the Theil coefficient into between and within country inequality to assess the extent to which convergence has occurred. To investigate the underlying causes of the changes in inequality, the Theil coefficient is further decomposed to assess the contribution of productivity and employment-population ratio differentials to inequality.



Findings - The results indicate that while between-country inequality has declined, within-country inequality has increased by approximately 50 percent. Subsequent decomposition indicates that while productivity levels among regions have converged, the employment-population ratios have diverged substantially driving increasing levels of inequality. This suggests that while EU cohesion policies have reduced productivity inequalities they have had little effect in stimulating convergence of employment-population ratios across regions.

Research limitations/implications - The paper argues that national priorities, particularly in the context of the current European economic crisis, are likely to hinder European Union level policies to reduce income inequality at a regional level. This may result in further increases in regional inequality among European regions.

Practical implications -

Originality/value - This paper's main contribution is to highlight how national convergence can lead to regional divergence being overlooked. The value of the paper is that it provides policy insights, based on empirical evidence, for European cohesion policy.

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Papakostas Nikolaos

Deconstructing the Notion of EU Conditionality as a Panacea in the Context of Enlargement in Europe en formation (L'), n. 364, 2012/2 , 215-235

The enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 created a series of challenges in terms of institutional structures, political equilibrium, economic development, etc. One aspect, however, that cut across each one of these challenges was corruption. The fight against corruption, as an intervening parameter of both the economic and political transition processes for Central and East European States, was a central element of EU's (conditionality driven) exercise of normative power. The outcome, in most cases, in the pre-accession period was largely satisfactory. However, the lack of readiness of the European Union at preserving the reform momentum post-accession, reheated the discourse on the pertinence of the existing institutional framework. It also exemplified Member States unwillingness or unpreparedness to give up decision-making authority to supranational instruments on highly decisive issues, while providing interesting insights for ontological debate on the scope of the European Union and the process and incentives of European integration and Europeanisation.

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Schmidt Vivien A.

**Deficit democratico 2.0: quali rimedi?
in ItalianiEuropei, n. 1**

No abstract available

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Mendes Joana

Delegated and Implementing Rule Making: Proceduralisation and Constitutional Design
in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 22–41

The reform of non-legislative acts introduced by Articles 290 and 291 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union was guided by concerns regarding the democratic legitimacy of (lato sensu) implementing acts of the Union. However, it has ignored the centrality of transparency in the Union's democracy and the role of participation as a complementary source of democracy. This article argues that the procedures leading to the adoption of delegated and implementing acts are subject to the treaties' provisions on transparency and participation, and should be shaped by them. It analyses the constitutional choices underlying Articles 290 and 291, with a view to assessing whether and to what extent the material, organic and functional profiles of delegated and implementing acts condition procedural rules on transparency and participation to be followed in their adoption.

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Castro Nacarino Rodrigo, De Corte Stefaan, Freudenstein Roland

Democracy and legitimacy in an economic union
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 279-280

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sandra Kröger & Dawid Friedrich

Democratic representation in the EU: two kinds of subjectivity
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 171-189

While the Lisbon Treaty embraces representative democracy and political equality, a clear division or hierarchy of competences is absent. The Treaty distinguishes between an electoral, a territorial, a functional and a direct channel of representation, without clarifying the relationship between them. Moreover, the current system of representation has two different normative subjects: the individual and the state. The former points towards an integrated European polity with state-like characteristics, while the latter treats the EU as an advanced intergovernmental organization. The former is primarily enacted through electoral, functional and potentially direct representation, whereas the latter is primarily enacted through territorial representation. We argue that these two kinds of subjectivity relate to political equality in different ways, and that they are mixed within the same channels of representation. The mix of these two forms of subjectivity in the different channels of representation contributes to the blurring of political equality for each of the subjectivities. We disagree with the interpretation of the EU's compound system of representation as being democratic, therefore. Different levels and channels of representation only make for democratic representation if they succeed in realizing the norms of political equality and public control. To realize these norms, however, certain minimum criteria need to be fulfilled, and these are not met in the EU.



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Jaag Tobias

**Demokratische Legitimation der EU-Außenpolitik nach Lissabon
in Europarecht**, Heft 3, 2012

No abstract available

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Gill Indermit

**Demolishing five myths about Europe's decline
in Europe's World**, Issue 22, Autumn

Five wrong notions have encouraged Asia and America to misdiagnose Europe's ailments, Indermit Gill writes. And although Europeans need to make big changes, he believes the EU's economic model can still be made to work.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22035/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wilde Pieter de, Trezz Hans-Jörg

**Denouncing European integration Euroscepticism as polity contestation
in European Journal of Social Theory**, Vol. 15, No. 4, November 2012, 537-554

Abstract

The spreading phenomenon of Euroscepticism is manifested in critical practices in discourse that oppose European integration. This paper explores Euroscepticism as an element of discourse, which cannot only be measured as party positions or individual attitudes. Based on this understanding, our argument is twofold. Firstly, Euroscepticism relates to the unsettled and principally contested character of the European Union (EU) as a political entity: its basic purpose and rationale, its institutional design and its future trajectory. It correlates with pro-European discourse and the attempts to promote the (democratic) legitimacy of the EU. Secondly, we argue that Euroscepticism unfolds primarily through mass media. As such, it is given public expression through general news values, drama and narratives that are targeted to draw the attention of the wider audience. Understanding this responsive and public nature of Euroscepticism leads us, in the end, to a comprehensive typology of six forms of polity evaluation of the EU.

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Classen Claus Dieter

**Der EuGH und die Schiedsgerichtsbarkeit in Investitionsschutzabkommen
in Europarecht**, Heft 6, 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Müller Andreas

**Der Grundrechtseingriff und Art 3 EMRK. Von den Grenzen der Harmonisierung der Grundrechtsdogmatik
in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht**, vol. 67, issue 3, september , 475-500

ABSTRACT: The prohibition of torture, as enshrined in art 3 ECHR, does not easily fit into the three-step standard scheme (scope of protection-interference-limitations) of analyzing fundamental rights. While in the case of other fundamental rights the concept of interference can be relatively clearly distinguished from the definition of scope of protection and questions of justification and proportionality, these elements widely coincide in regard to art 3 ECHR. This has implications for positioning the concept of interference in the analytical framework of art 3 ECHR. The prohibition of torture represents a striking example for the limits to harmonizing the schemes of analyzing fundamental rights in general and interferences to fundamental rights in particular. With this proviso, important insights as to the functioning of the interference regime in regard to art 3 ECHR may be gained.

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Pudlat Andreas

**Der lange Weg zum Schengen-Raum: Ein Prozess im Vier-Phasen-Modell
in Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 17, n. 2 , 303-326

Border protection with its control and monitoring measures serves different purposes, including protection against threats, fiscal aspects (customs), and environment protection, but especially crime fighting and migration control. Furthermore, it is an expression of state sovereignty. But sometimes borders imply also potential for conflicts. That's why pro-European propaganda after World War II communicated negative border images. Nevertheless it takes decades until the idea of Central Europe without border controls became reality. Under the Schengen Agreement, systematic border control between the participating states has been removed. This article retraces the long way to the Schengen area within four phases and tells a success story.

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Beauvallet Willy, Michon Sébastien

Des eurodéputés « experts » ? Sociologie d'une illusion bien fondée

in Cultures & Conflits, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 123-138



In the European Parliament (EP), as in the European Union, the figure of the expert is an essential dimension of the definition of roles and of the European political space. This article shows that the figure of the expert MEP corresponds to a well-founded illusion, a simplification whose credibility is sitting on institutionalized social processes. The role of the expert results from the encounter between a context and social and political properties. This dominant definition of the function of MEP carries a number of consequences and constraints. However, it remains subject to tensions and competing investments that make the institutionalization of PE a dynamic process.

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Joseph H.H. Weiler

Descifrando el ADN político y jurídico de la integración europea: un estudio exploratorio
in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 96

The author discusses in this essay certainly controversial arguments on the European Union structural and background weakness which have led to various crises like the current euro crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zwartjes Marieke, Van Langenhove Luk, Kingah Stephen, Maes Léonie

Determinants of regional leadership: is the European Union a leading regional actor in peace and security?
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 393-405

This article introduces a conceptualization of regional leadership, including an analytical framework where regional leadership is considered to be based on three necessary 'determinants'. Regional leadership is defined as a concept used to describe the power of an actor to influence certain aspects of the international relations and/or the internal functioning of an actor in its neighbourhood. The aforementioned necessary determinants are: (i) the actor's willingness to act as a leader; (ii) the actor's capacity to act as a leader and (iii) the acceptance of the leadership actions by followers and external actors. Each of these determinants will be applied to the European Union (EU) in the area of peace and security to assess whether the EU is a regional leader in this domain.

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Schwarzer Daniela

Deutschland und Frankreich und die Krise im Euro-Raum
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/152068/deutschland-und-frankreich-und-die-krise-im-euro-raum

In der Finanz- und Verschuldungskrise haben Frankreich und Deutschland ihre traditionelle europapolitische Rolle als



Impulsgeber und Kompromissfinder erst relativ spät eingenommen. Als die Finanzkrise 2008/2009 zunächst Mittel- und Osteuropa erfasste, haben im Wesentlichen Deutschland und Österreich, die besonders von den Auswirkungen betroffen waren, die Prinzipien und Instrumente des Krisenmanagements mitgestaltet, die später Modell für das Vorgehen in der Eurozone standen. Erst als die Verschuldungskrise Anfang 2010 Griechenland ergriff, rückten Berlin und Paris in den Mittelpunkt des Krisenmanagements und brachten später wichtige Reformvorschläge für die Governance-Strukturen der Eurozone ein.

Obgleich die Ausgangspositionen Deutschlands und Frankreichs in vielen Punkten auseinanderlagen, ist das Interesse an gemeinsamen Antworten enorm hoch. Grund hierfür sind nicht nur die direkten Auswirkungen der Entwicklungen in Südeuropa und Irland auf beide Volkswirtschaften. Die Verschuldungs- und Banken Krisen sind aufgrund ihres systemischen Risikos die größten Herausforderungen für die EU und ihre Mitgliedstaaten seit Beginn der Integration: Eine weitere Ausdehnung der Krise, etwa auf Italien, bedroht die Existenz der Eurozone. Bereits jetzt stößt die finanzielle Belastung der Geberländer an politische, verfassungsrechtliche und ökonomische Grenzen. Eine Kapitalflucht aus dem Euroraum hat eingesetzt, die immer schwieriger umzukehren wird.

Die aktuelle Vertrauenskrise kann nur überwunden werden, wenn das Krisenmanagement effektiv funktioniert und den Investoren glaubwürdige Schritte hin zu einer Beilegung der Funktionsdefizite der Eurozone aufgezeigt werden. Die Initiativen und Einigungsfähigkeit der beiden größten Staaten der Eurozone, die zusammen 47 Prozent ihrer Wirtschaftskraft und den entsprechenden Anteil an Garantien und Kapital in den europäischen Rettungsmechanismen stellen, sind hierfür entscheidend.

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Schneider Heinrich

Die "Europäische Wirtschaftsregierung"

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 2, June, 315-336

ABSTRACT: This paper puts the current discussions on the future of the Internal Market and the Economic and Monetary Union into historical perspective, going back to the founding years of the EEC. Based on that, we conclude that the on-going crisis and its reason can hardly be surprising. Against this backdrop, it is shown that the measures taken until now to combat the crisis are half-hearted and that it is necessary to establish a political union to overcome the financial crisis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Illing Gerhard, Jauch Sebastian, Zabel Michael

Die Diskussion um den Euro. Endogene Risiken und multiple Gleichgewichte

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 2, 2012

Das Kernproblem der aktuellen Eurokrise liegt in der Kapitalflucht aus den Peripheriestaaten, welche zu einem inferioren Gleichgewicht mit starkem Wirtschaftseinbruch führt. Forderungen nach einem Austritt aus dem Euroraum



beschleunigen diese Kapitalflucht und potenzieren so die Risiken. Die Lösung des Problems liegt in einer institutionellen Weiterentwicklung Europas mit einer zentralen Fiskalinstanz, die der Integration der Finanzmärkte ein angemessenes politisches Gegengewicht entgegenstellt.

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Lucke Albrecht von

Die Politisierung Europas

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, September, 2012 , 5-9

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/september/die-politisierung-europas

In der Frage der europäischen Integration sind wir an einem entscheidenden Punkt angelangt. Längst ist die Krise weit mehr als eine der Währung. „Die Spannungen, die in den letzten Jahren die Eurozone begleiten, tragen bereits die Züge einer psychologischen Auflösung Europas“, brachte es Italiens Ministerpräsident Mario Monti auf den Punkt. Wenn der Euro zu einem Faktor des europäischen Auseinanderdriftens werde, dann seien auch „die Grundlagen des Projekts Europa zerstört“.

Tatsächlich droht die Europäische Union immer mehr aus einem Projekt der Entnationalisierung zu einem Prozess der Renationalisierung zu werden. Trauriger Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung, jedenfalls in der deutschen Debatte, war die Forderung von CSU-Finanzminister Markus Söder, man müsse „an Athen ein Exempel statuieren“. Denn: „Irgendwann muss jeder bei Mama ausziehen, und die Griechen sind jetzt so weit.“ Billiger können Ressentiments wohl kaum zu Wahlkampfzwecken instrumentalisiert werden. Damit ist der Jargon der „Bild“-Zeitung gegen die „Pleite-Griechen“ endgültig in der Politik angekommen...

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Lohse Eva Julia

Die Rechtsprechung des EuGH zum Aufenthaltsrecht Drittstaatsangehöriger - auf dem Weg zur Achtung der Kompetenzverteilung bei der Gewährleistung von Grundrechten?

in **Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift**, vol. 39, issue 22-23, Dezember , 693-701

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Preunkert Jenny

Die europäische Antwort auf die Finanzmarktkrise

in **Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft** , Heft 1, 2012



The European answer to the subprime- and financial market crisis

The European Union was significantly affected by the financial crises of 2007-2009. However, it is questionable, how sustainable and systemic the political consequences of the crises turned out. In this article an institutional approach of crises will be developed: Crises are hereinafter defined as exogenous shocks which in the actors' perception threaten the continuity of certain institutions. From the actors' perspective crises create a highly increased, yet rather short-termed pressure for political crises management. Yet, after overcoming the acute danger of a crisis, this pressure to act rapidly declines. Based on such an understanding of crises, it is argued that in the area of European financial regulation, even though far-reaching reforms were proposed, mainly path-dependent institutional changes have been realized in the aftermath of the subprime-crisis. The result: new structures were introduced, whilst the major spheres of competences remained largely unaffected. The political reaction to the financial crises will only be comprehensible, if the temporal dimensions of crises are taken into consideration.

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Schmaltz Christiane

Die grosse Kammer des Europäischen Gerichtshofs für Menschenrechte - eine Annäherung an Abgabe- und Verweisungspraxis

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, vol. 39, issue 20-21, November , 606-615

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krätke Michael R.

Die neue Große Depression

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2012 , 9-12

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/dezember/die-neue-grosse-depression

Fünf Jahre dauert diese Weltwirtschaftskrise nun schon, und ein Ende ist nicht in Sicht, im Gegenteil: Seit dem 15. November ist es amtlich, die Eurozone und die EU insgesamt stecken tief in der Rezession. Auch wenn die deutsche Wirtschaft bisher noch zulegt, die Wirtschaft aller Euroländer zusammen genommen schrumpft, im dritten Quartal 2012 um 0,1 Prozent im Vergleich zum Vorquartal und um 0,6 Prozent im Vergleich zum Vorjahresquartal. Die Wirtschaft der EU insgesamt wächst zwar ein ganz klein wenig, um 0,1 Prozent, schrumpft aber im Vergleich zum Vorjahresquartal um 0,4 Prozent.[1] Und das vierte Quartal sieht noch schwächer aus...

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Nanou Kyriaki

Different Origins, Same Proposals? The Impact of the EU on the Policy Direction of Party Families in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 1 , 248-269

ABSTRACT: Do parties with different ideological origins adjust their policies in response to the binding commitments that derive from the European integration process? This paper examines whether party platforms have adapted to the ideological content of EU treaty provisions – based on ‘neoliberalism’ and ‘regulated capitalism’ – across a range of policy areas. The analysis builds on existing research which has examined how party families respond to the challenges and opportunities of the integration process. This is the first study that focuses on long-term party policy adjustment across different policy areas by examining whether there has been a shift away from core ideological goals towards the direction of EU policy. The main finding is that there has generally been a shift towards the direction of EU policy across all party families in both member and non-member states. The findings have implications for the quality of representation and functioning of democracy in the member states since the deepening of the European integration process reduces ideologically distinct policy alternatives across party families and can hinder policy innovation.

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Marianne Sundlisaeter Skinner

Different Varieties of Euroscepticism? Conceptualizing and Explaining Euroscepticism in Western European Non-Member States

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 122-139

Since the late 1990s, much scholarly work has been done in the field of Euroscepticism in terms of mapping and conceptualizing different types of opposition to the process of European integration. But even though studies examining Euroscepticism in the EU are plentiful, the lack of insight into different types of Euroscepticism in non-Member States is striking: there is very little research which considers the extent to which there are different varieties of Euroscepticism in the European states that have chosen non-membership of the Union. What is Euroscepticism in these countries, and why are the Icelanders, Norwegians and Swiss so Eurosceptic? The article looks at how Euroscepticism plays out in Iceland, Norway and Switzerland. It examines what Euroscepticism is and why it occurs in these countries, using a framework for analyzing Euroscepticism based on the concepts of economic, political, post-materialist value-based, right-wing value-based, cultural and rural society Euroscepticism.

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Matej Avbelj

Differentiated Integration—Farewell to the EU-27?

in **German Law Journal**, vol. 14, issue 1 , 191-212

In light of the persisting economic crisis, momentum has been building in the European Union to embark, once again, on a path towards a more differentiated integration. The calls in favor of the so called two speed Europe have sounded



increasingly loud and have come from diverse, but highly influential corners of European socio political life. Against this backdrop, and with an eye to the historical experience with differentiated integration in the EU, this article examines the following: Just how plausible the emergence of a more differentiated Union actually is at this time; if plausible, what form such differentiated Union could take; and whether this development is normatively attractive or not.

During the last few extremely turbulent months for the European Union, several ideas and proposals have been advanced to combat the current economic crisis and to chart a way out of it. The most prominent among these, calls for a (more) differentiated integration. Notably, this is proposed by influential figures in European socio political life. The former French president Nicolas Sarkozy thus openly spoke in favor of creating a two speed Europe, composed of an avant garde, represented by those countries currently participating in the euro zone, and then all other states would be drawn into a loose confederation attached to the core. He was soon joined by Joschka Fischer, the former German Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is still an influential European voice. Fischer bluntly proclaimed that the present EU 27 should simply be forgotten, and called for its complete reconstruction. He too believes that the EU should be transformed into an avant-garde of seventeen states, while the conditions and depth of involvement of the other states would be based on their interest and capacity to integrate, to be spelled out in...

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Grilli di Cortona Pietro

Discutere di Europa a partire da Restructuring Europe di Stefano Bartolini
in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 1 , 97-108

ABSTRACT: In this book, Stefano Bartolini tries to develop Rokkan's theory, taking into account the evolution of European integration; he adopts a "holistic" approach to integration, in the form of a theory from which hypotheses can be generated. This theoretical framework has three principal aims: to overcome a rigid distinction between domestic and international politics; to link actors' orientations, interests, and motivations with macro outcomes; and to relate structural profiles with dynamic processes of change. The research presents European integration as a process of boundary transcendence, redefinition, shift, and change that fundamentally alters the nature of the European states. Its core concern lies in the relationship between the specific institutional design of the new Brussels centre, the boundary redefinitions that result from its political production, and the consequences of these two elements on established and developing national European political structures. Integration is examined as a sixth historical phase in the development of Europe, after the processes of state building, capitalist development, nation building, democratization and welfare state development; it is characterized by a powerful trend toward legal, economic, and cultural de-differentiation after the five-century process of differentiation that led to the European system of nation states. The book addresses fundamental questions about the future of the European Union. In particular, it seeks to sharpen the conceptual tools currently available to deal with processes of territorial enlargement and unification and develops a theoretical framework for political structuring beyond the nation state, capable of linking all aspects of EU integration (inter-governmentalism, the definition of rights, the "constitutionalization" of treaties, the tensions between the new territorial hierarchy and the nation states, etc.). The book will become a milestone in comparative research on European political and institutional evolution.

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Dellmuth Lisa Maria, Stoffel Michael F.

Distributive politics and intergovernmental transfers: The local allocation of European Union structural funds in European Union Politics , Vol. 13, n. 3, September , 413-433

The European Union budget is distributed primarily in the form of intergovernmental grants to sub-state governments, which invest the grants in local projects. Transfers are allocated under the auspices of the European structural funds. This article assesses the causal links between electoral incentives on the recipient side, European funding goals, and local grant allocation. Tobit regressions of the allocation patterns in 419 local districts in Germany for the period 2000–6 suggest the following: although recipient sub-state governments enjoy substantial discretion in selecting projects, their distributive choices are largely in accord with European goals. As theoretically predicted, however, there is robust evidence that sub-state governments' electoral concerns distort the local allocation of structural funds.

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Florence Bouvet, Sharmila King

Do National Economic Shocks Influence European Central Bank Interest Rate Decisions? The Impact of the Financial and Sovereign Debt Crises

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 212-231

This article examines the relevance of national economic conditions for European Central Bank (ECB) interest rate setting and whether the financial and sovereign debt crises have made national divergences more relevant. Officially, the ECB sets policy for the eurozone and considers only eurozone data. However, economic shocks in one or more countries may warrant a deviation from this rule. Using real-time, forecast data, the authors estimate a modified Taylor rule incorporating two macroeconomic 'national influence' measures: first the difference between the median and the eurozone measures of inflation and real gross domestic product (GDP) growth, and then deviations of the measures of inflation and real GDP growth for the 'core' and 'periphery' countries from eurozone averages. Using rolling-window analysis to test the stability of parameter estimates, evidence is found that divergences in national data – notably developments in the periphery – from eurozone averages play an increasingly important role during the financial and sovereign debt crises.

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David Marshall

Do rapporteurs receive independent expert policy advice? Indirect lobbying via the European Parliament's committee secretariat

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1377-1395

Rapporteurs rely on secretariat officials to provide policy information that is independent from vested interests. They require this information to be provided quickly, so that lobbyists' policy claims can be verified ahead of the completion of the draft report. However, it turns out that officials' accumulation of specific policy expertise is endogenous to the lobbying process. Secretariat officials are generalists lacking the detailed policy information that they are called upon to supply. Entrenched interests including the Commission fill the void by providing officials with policy information and on occasion even loan them their experienced staff, thereby indirectly lobbying the rapporteurs. This activity directly affects



the content of European Union legislation, as the information that rapporteurs receive and act upon is less independent than might have been expected. These ideas are analysed with the aid of over 150 structured interviews with policy actors, and with the aid of the results of an EP internal questionnaire.

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Simona Guerra

Does Familiarity Breed Contempt? Determinants of Public Support for European Integration and Opposition to It before and after Accession

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 38-50

This article empirically tests how determinants of public support in Poland for the European Union change before and after accession. Despite studies on public attitudes towards EU integration and Euroscepticism that flourished in the run-up to accession, there is no evidence of how determinants changed over time. This study suggests that in Poland citizens support the EU on the basis of a form of 'unconditional support' and general benefits for the country before accession, while personal benefits can become more determinant after accession.

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de Leon Garcia Perez Cesar

Does implicit voting matter? Coalitional bargaining in the EU legislative process

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 513-534

This article examines how decision makers in the EU legislative process reach consensual decisions through the mechanism of 'implicit voting'. I introduce a spatial model of coalitional bargaining using a utility function incorporating decision makers' considerations of the policy gains they expect to obtain from the outcome and the policy concessions they need to give other decision makers so as to have the outcome accepted. The model predicts the formation of a compact coalition, which will be able to implement the final policy. As a compact coalition typically integrates a majority of like-minded legislators, consensual outcomes reached through coalition formations are likely to occur under conditions of preference polarization and reflect ideological choices towards one side of the political spectrum. The empirical evaluation of the model for 44 proposals and 111 issues of the EU legislative process requiring qualified majority voting confirms the expectations of the model and suggests that implicit voting is specifically relevant to explaining decisions leading to high or low levels of policy change.

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Chiru Mihail, Gherghina Sergiu

Does the Confidence in the EU Spill Over to the National Level? A Longitudinal Analysis of Political Trust in Central Europe

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 226-245

The EU enlargement brought about a series of institutional changes in the new member-states. This article shows how



the EU also shapes citizens' attitudes towards their domestic political institutions. Using survey data from the Candidate Countries and Standard Eurobarometers (2002–06), we show that political trust in national institutions in Central Europe is the effect of trust in the EU and of the expectations projected onto the evolution of the national economies. Such determinants got stronger after EU accession, thus supporting our central argument, according to which we witness a third phase in the formation of attitudes towards institutions in post-communist Europe. Keeping to these lines, our study sheds new light on the patterns and origins of political trust formation, showing that a transfer of legitimacy is possible not only from a national to a supranational level, but also in the reverse direction.

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Zalba Bidegain Pablo

Does the EU need a finance minister?

in **European View**, vol. 11, n. 1, June, 87-88

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Tobias Theiler

Does the European Union Need to Become a Community?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012, 783-800

Many theorists contend that for the European Union to become a viable democratic polity its citizens must develop an overarching communal identity. I take issue with this claim, arguing that the norms, motivations and perceptions that make supranational democracy possible can also emerge through processes that do not presuppose shared communal identifications. These include the gradual externalization of domestic democratic norms and practices to the EU level, the incorporation of the resulting supranational democratic attachments back into existing national identifications and the build-up of transnational political trust propelled by the practice of supranational democracy itself. Such an outcome is not inevitable, but it is conceivable in that it is theoretically coherent and has limited empirical analogies and precedents. The range of options for the EU's further democratic development is therefore broader and the chances of its success greater than many analysts assume.

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Callanan Mark

Domestic governance arrangements and Europeanization: The case of central-local relations in England, Ireland and Denmark

in **Comparative European Politics**, vol. 10, n. 4, september, 399-420

ABSTRACT: Research emphasizes the uneven impact of Europeanization. While different mechanisms of



Europeanization, including minimalist framing mechanisms based on identifying best practice and peer review, can place adaptational impulses on national governments, an institutionalist perspective suggests that such initiatives are typically mediated through domestic traditions and that domestic governance arrangements can be resilient to change. This article examines such claims empirically by drawing on research into central-local mechanisms to involve local government in domestic deliberations on new EU environmental proposals in three member states. It finds that despite impulses arising from European peer review initiatives, national governance arrangements remain robust, with actors preferring to rely on established domestic routines rather than adopting approaches used elsewhere.

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Environmental Security and Protection in European Union and Republic of Serbia

Dragoljub TODIĆ, Brano MILJUŠ,

in Review of International Affairs (The) , VOL. LXIII, N°. 1148 October-December 2012

Taking as a starting point some methodological dilemmas the paper points to the general frameworks of the European Union's (EU) security policy concerning the position and role the environmental field plays in the EU policy and regulations. It is pointed out to the place environmental problems take in the foreign and security policy. The basic elements of the EU environmental policy and regulations which are significant for security are especially analysed and these are as follows: industrial pollution control and risk management, nuclear security and radioactive waste, chemicals management, waste management, air protection, water resources management, nature protection, noise protection, etc. In the last part of the article, the authors point to the place and significance of the environment in the security policy of the Republic of Serbia (RS) especially within the context of harmonisation of national legislations with EU laws. The fundamental thesis that is being proven in the paper is that environmental problems take their normatively defined position in the security policy and they have been quite precisely built neither in the security policy of EU nor in the security policy of the Republic of Serbia.

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Von Randow Gero

Dragons hier, insectes aujourd'hui : où va le couple franco-allemand ?

in Revue des deux mondes, Janvier

Le 3 juillet 1963, le général de Gaulle offrit aux parlementaires un dîner à l'Élysée. Alain Peyrefitte, qui était alors conseiller du président de la République, relate la scène en ces termes :

« Quelques députés et sénateurs, devant lui, se montrent sceptiques envers la solidité du traité franco-allemand. Le Général répond sur le même ton, dans une parabole mélancolique : "Les traités sont comme les jeunes filles et les roses : ça dure ce que ça dure. Si le traité allemand n'était pas appliqué, ce ne serait pas le premier dans l'Histoire." Et il cite le vers des Orientales : "Hélas ! Que j'en ai vu mourir, des jeunes filles !" (1) » ...

Section C) Regional integration processes



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Guerrieri Paolo

Due scenari per l'area euro

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gensburger Sarah, Lavabre Marie-Claire

D'une « mémoire » européenne à l'eupéanisation de la « mémoire »

in *Politique européenne*, n. 37, 2012/2, 9-17

En 1993, dans un article significativement intitulé « Le temps national retrouvé », Jacques Le Goff, commentant la grande entreprise des « Lieux de mémoire » de Pierre Nora, engageait les historiens à se saisir de la construction de l'Europe : « Y a-t-il des lieux de mémoire européens ? Y réfléchir, ne serait-ce pas une contribution essentielle à la construction européenne ? Une Europe de la mémoire créatrice » (Le Goff, 1993).

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Weiler Joseph H. H.

Décoder l'ADN politique et juridique de l'intégration européenne - Étude prospective

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 562, octobre-novembre, 569-583

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cassen Bernard

Désobéissance civique pour une Europe de gauche

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Octobre 2012, 4-5

Après avoir ratifié le traité de Lisbonne — clone de la « Constitution européenne » rejetée lors d'un référendum en 2005 —, le Parlement français doit approuver, ce mois-ci, le traité sur la stabilité, la coordination et la gouvernance (TSCG). La fronde de députés issus de la majorité présidentielle — dont les Verts — et la protestation populaire ont peu de chances d'empêcher une opération qui met les finances publiques sous tutelle (lire l'article ci-dessous). Pourtant, les voies d'une Europe progressiste existent. Voici l'une d'entre elles.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gui Francesco

E la proposta tedesca?

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Hambloch Sibylle

EEC Competition Policy in the Early Phase of European Integration

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 2 , 237-252

Besides the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), competition policy was an area of major importance for the European Economic Community (EEC) as it was there that first successes in the European integration process were achieved. The aim of this paper is to analyse the circumstances under which EEC competition policy was successful, success being measured by whether common European laws, i.e. regulations and directives, were passed. This article makes a conscious effort to include both case studies of examples which resulted in a common legislative act during the period under consideration, and those which did not. An example for a successful outcome was EEC Regulation 17/62 enforcing European cartel law. A case study where a legislative act failed to materialise was European company law: the attempt of creating a Societas Europaea.

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Nastoll Barbara

EU Anti-Dumping Law, imports from China and treatment of non-market economy countries: Brosmann, Grünwald and Zhejiang Xinan

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 265-279

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jiménez Lobeira Pablo Cristóbal

EU Citizenship and Political Identity: The Demos and Telos Problems

in *European law journal*, Volume 18, Issue 4 - July , 504–517

Citizenship is the cornerstone of a democratic polity. It has three dimensions: legal, civic and affiliative. Citizens constitute the polity's demos, which often coincides with a nation. European Union (EU) citizenship was introduced to enhance 'European identity' (Europeans' sense of belonging to their political community). Yet such citizenship faces at least two problems. First: Is there a European demos? If so, what is the status of peoples (nations, demoi) in the



Member States? The original European project aimed at 'an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe.' Second: Citizens are members of a political community; to what kind of polity do EU citizens belong? Does the EU substitute Member States, assume them or coexist alongside them? After an analytical exposition of the *demos* and *telos* problems, I will argue for a normative self-understanding of the EU polity and citizenship, neither in national nor in federal but in analogical terms.

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Dimitry Kochenov and Richard Plender

EU Citizenship: From an Incipient Form to an Incipient Substance? The Discovery of the Treaty Text
in *European Law Review*, vol. 37, issue 4

Based on the legal-historical analysis of the key features of EU citizenship as interpreted by the Court before and after the entry into force of the Treaty of Maastricht, it is claimed that the continuity of pre-Maastricht citizenship law was only broken two years ago, when *Rottmann* was decided and a new rights-based paradigm of EU citizenship law emerged, potentially rivalling the internal market-based vision of European law. This article outlines the countless problems related to the emerging substance of the new paradigm which can develop both ways from where we stand at the moment: either introducing clarity and coherence, or undermining the edifice of EU law.

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Scicluna Nicole

EU Constitutionalism in Flux: Is the Eurozone Crisis Precipitating Centralisation or Diffusion?
in *European law journal*, Volume 18, Issue 4 - July , 489–503

The Lisbon Treaty was supposed to mark the end of an almost-decade-long period of treaty reform. After the tumult of the failed Constitutional Treaty, the settlement it imposed struck a sustainable balance between the competing forces of centralisation and the diffusion that characterise European integration. Yet this constitutional settlement is now threatened by the Eurozone debt crisis and official responses to it, most notably the proposed fiscal compact. A prevalent view regards the crisis as an opportunity to complete the process of political and economic union that the Maastricht Treaty began. However, this article cautions against such a view, which would jettison the post-Lisbon Treaty constitutional settlement in favour a peculiar kind of German-led, intergovernmental centralisation. Whether the crisis response measures achieve their stated aims remains to be seen, but the integration project will be reconfigured in the process. Thus, EU constitutionalism is bound to remain in a state of flux.

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Casteleiro Andrés Delgado

EU Declarations of Competence to Multilateral Agreements: A Useful Reference Base?
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4 , 491-509



ABSTRACT: The participation of the European Union alongside its Member States in multilateral agreements can create situations of uncertainty for third parties. In order to deal with this uncertainty, the EU makes a declaration stating the extent to which the international agreement is governed by EU competence. However, these declarations of competence create uncertainty as regards their legal effects and effectiveness. This article aims to examine these issues by analyzing these declarations from a practical perspective. The first section conceptualizes the declarations, first by establishing their basic features, second, identifying their legal effects, and third, by identifying a list of problems attached to these instruments. The second section focuses on both the internal and the external practice regarding the declarations of competence. This section highlights how the increasing tendency of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) to rely on the declaration of competence is not mirrored in the external sphere. In fact, no declaration of competence has ever been invoked by a third party or used by an international court to apportion the responsibilities between the EU and its Member States. The third section assesses the overall effectiveness of the declarations balanced with the problems that they entail.

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Copeland Paul

EU enlargement, the clash of capitalisms and the European social model
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 7, n. 3, september, 476-504

ABSTRACT: European integration features a clash of capitalisms for the normative governance of the European political Economy between two loose coalitions: liberal and regulated capitalism. This article focuses on the impact of the 2004 European Union (EU) enlargement upon the EU's clash of capitalisms. It does so by analysing two EU policy negotiations which relate to the European Social Model (ESM) – the revision of the Working Time Directive and Services Directive. The two case studies reveal that the 2004 new member states consistently joined the liberal coalition. The 2004 enlargement has therefore strengthened the liberal coalition within the EU's clash of capitalisms. Within the ESM this has resulted in a political stalemate and is likely to prevent future policy initiatives in the social policy field.

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Larsen Henrik

EU to the Rescue? EU Support in National Foreign Policy Crises and the Danish Mohammed Cartoon Case
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3, 387-409

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to understand the response of the EU to the Danish Cartoon Crisis that took place in early 2006. The puzzle is that at first, the EU only provided support for Denmark in relation to the immediate implications of the crisis - suggesting that the Member States disagreed on fundamental aspects of the crisis - but, after one month, the EU provided support to Denmark apparently accepting the official Danish view of the crisis in terms of principles. The article applies a constructivist framework for understanding the EU's response to national foreign policy crises in an analysis of the EU's response to the Danish Cartoon Crisis. The analysis indicates that the framework is useful for understanding how the EU responds to crises in general. The character of the response depends on the degree of EU *acquis* in the area of the crisis. The impact of the Lisbon Treaty and the broader implications of the framework are discussed.



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Szymański Adam

EU-Turkey Pre-Accession Policy and Its Impact on Democracy and State Quality

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4, 533-552

ABSTRACT: An important question raised by many political scientists is the impact of the EU enlargement policy on the democracy and state quality of candidate countries. It concerns not only the previous enlargement rounds (first of all the Southern and later the Eastern enlargement), but also the current process. The present determinants such as enlargement fatigue and more cautious EU enlargement strategy allow for a hypothesis that the aforementioned impact is changing. This article analyses the case of Turkey. Assuming a new institutional approach, the author intends to answer the question how the institutional framework changes of the EU enlargement policy (the principles of the enlargement strategy as well as formal and informal rules and mechanisms), particularly the EU-Turkey pre-accession policy influence the consolidation of the Turkish democracy as well as the redefinition of state model and state-citizens relations. Another question is also worth analysing: Will the negative developments (e.g., deficits of the principle of conditionality or politicization of the enlargement process) stop definitely the changes in Turkey driven by the pre-accession process - that is, the transformation of hegemonic nature of the state to build more liberal-democratic and citizen oriented regime? It is argued that there are other factors which will enable the development of these processes even if the EU enlargement policy loses its effectiveness. However, in this case the result of the consolidation of the Turkish democracy is far more uncertain.

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Dăniuşianu

EURO zone crisis and EU governance: Tackling a flawed design and inadequate policy arrangements

in *Acta Oeconomica*, volume 62 n.3, 295-319

This paper focuses on the roots of strain in the European Monetary Union (EMU). It argues that there is need for a thorough reform of the EU governance structure in conjunction with radical changes in the regulation and supervision of financial markets. The EMU was sub-optimal from its debut and competitiveness gaps did not diminish against the backdrop of its inadequate policy and institutional design. The euro zone crisis is not related to fiscal negligence only; over-borrowing by the private sector and poor lending by banks, as well as a one-sided monetary policy also explain this debacle. The EMU needs to complement its common monetary policy with solid fiscal/budget underpinnings. Fiscal rules and sanctions are necessary, but not sufficient. A common treasury (a federal budget) is needed in order to help the EMU absorb shocks and forestall confidence crises. A joint system of regulation and supervision of financial markets should operate. Emergency measures have to be comprehensive and acknowledge the necessity of a lender of last resort; they have to combat vicious circles. Structural reforms and EMU level policies are needed to enhance competitiveness in various countries and foster convergence.

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Manoli Panagiota

EU's flexible regional multilateralism towards its Black Sea neighbourhood

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 431-442

The EU as a global actor has its own interests in its immediate neighbourhood. Official documents refer to EU's support to regional cooperation in its close vicinity while institutional linkages have been strengthened within the European Neighbourhood Policy and by the proliferation of other bilateral and multilateral agreements. The result of two decades of cooperation has led to a 'flexible regional multilateralism' in Europe's eastern neighbourhood in which a range of often ad hoc engagements have resulted in a feeble framework for interaction. This article assesses recent developments in EU's regional behaviour. It points to EU's tendency to render bilateral and multilateral forms of actions that blur a focus on the processes of regional engagement. Despite changes in the discourse of regional multilateralism (from sovereignty boosting, 'stepping stone' logic to partnerships building) EU's current policy towards the Black Sea may be regarded as a continuation of its policy of external governance. Nevertheless, EU's policy is being buffeted by a range of regional and external influences, in its attempt to carve out a new role for itself in the Black Sea area.

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Jacques Delors

Economic Governance in the European Union: Past, Present and Future

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 169-178

JCMS 50th anniversary lecture.

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Lois Woestman

Economic Shock Therapy in the Eurozone: The Greek case

in *Development*, Vol. 55, n°3 , 382-389

Lois Woestman writing in May 2012 examines how, over the past two years, Greece has been undergoing economic shock therapy not unlike that undertaken by many countries in the Global South/Arab world. She argues that in the Greek case the EC institutions have been even more austere than the IMF. The impacts are similar to those in other adjusting countries: widening class, gender, non-citizen/citizen gaps; growing poverty and hopelessness – as well as protest. Greeks have been relying on older survival strategies, but also new 'alternative' economic activities intertwined with new notions of citizenship. She suggests that Greece – Europe – stands before a choice between the continued mono-focus on austerity, which will bring down the Euro and Europe, or a return to more equally distributed, growth and social solidarity.

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Senger Katja, Mulquin Marie-Eve



Economic convergence of regions: do interpersonal transfers matter?

in *Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Tome LI, 2012/2 , 19-33

Large disparities exist among European regions. Not only do they exist across national borders, but also within many states. Countries redistribute a substantial amount of wealth through taxation and social security systems in order to promote equity among individuals. Economic theory can help explain different levels of economic development as well as convergence and divergence dynamics among economies. Economic theory also suggests that taxes and redistribution of income are generally distorting economic activity. This paper empirically investigates convergence among European regions and the impact of inter-personal transfers on regional growth. Standard convergence regressions are done in a cross section as well as in a panel data setting. Results suggest that convergence is taking place among the 229 European regions in the dataset. Convergence within countries happens much slower, which indicates that the observed convergence is due to a convergence across countries. In order to estimate the impact of transfers, a transfer index allowing for a separate analysis of contributing and receiving regions is computed. Once controlling for regional fixed heterogeneity, no significant effect of transfers on income growth is found, neither on the contributing nor on the benefiting regions.

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Nicolaidis Phedon

Economic integration and the structure of national institutions

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 3 / May 2012 , 165-169

This study analyses institutional features national authorities should have in order to apply common policies effectively. It shows that the effective implementation of EU law and policy can be achieved without increased control. The article suggests that benchmarking of the results of the application of common rules by the national authorities and comparative assessment of their performance is more efficient.

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Nathaniel Copsey, Tim Haughton

Editorial: Desperate, but not Serious – The EU in 2011

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 1-5

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sigona Nando, Vermeersch Peter

Editors' Introduction. The Roma in the New EU: Policies, Frames and Everyday Experiences

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 38, n. 8, Special Issue: The Roma in the New EU: Policies, Frames and Everyday Experiences , 1189-1193



This article introduces a set of articles that examine Romani mobilities in the context of contemporary European policies on migration and ethnic minority protection. The Roma are a unique case because their experiences of mobility are strongly affected by developments and debates in both these policy areas. Drawing on the expertise of a diverse and international group of social and political scientists, who consider the matter from various disciplinary and interdisciplinary backgrounds, this collection takes stock of two decades of Roma-related research in Europe. At the same time, it connects this work with wider scholarly debates in migration, citizenship, and minority and human rights studies.

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Baumann Ansbert

**Ein kritischer Zwischenruf zur deutsch-französischen Kulturpolitik - Essay
in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 1-3, 2013**

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/152074/ein-kritischer-zwischenruf-zur-kulturpolitik

Es ist gerade erst ein Jahr her, da waren die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich von einer schier grenzenlos erscheinenden Harmonie geprägt: Die Zusammenarbeit auf Regierungsebene verlief vorbildlich, und Staatspräsident Nicolas Sarkozy bekundete zu Beginn des französischen Präsidentschaftswahlkampfes beharrlich seine Bewunderung für Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel und stellte Deutschland als leuchtendes Vorbild für die künftige französische Politik dar ("le modèle allemand"). Seit dem Amtsantritt von François Hollande scheint der deutsch-französische Motor eher ins Stottern geraten und von der Vorbildfunktion der deutschen Politik nicht mehr viel übrig geblieben zu sein. Vielmehr hat es den Anschein, als wolle der neue französische Staatschef Frankreich zum Vorreiter einer Umstrukturierung innerhalb der EU machen. Angesichts dieser Entwicklung bleibt abzuwarten, inwieweit die in der sogenannten Agenda 2020 anvisierten Ziele erreichbar bleiben. In diesen am 4. Februar 2010 vom Deutsch-Französischen Ministerrat verabschiedeten politischen Leitlinien für die deutsch-französische Zusammenarbeit hatte man sich noch auf die "beispielhafte Einigkeit" der beiden Regierungen bei der Bewältigung der Finanz- und Wirtschaftskrise berufen und eine verstärkte "Koordinierung wirtschaftspolitischer Maßnahmen in den einschlägigen EU-Gremien" beschlossen.

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Andreu Olesti Rayo

El Espacio Schengen y la reinstauración de los controles en las fronteras interiores de los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, n. 15 , 44-84

Tradicionalment, en virtut de la seva sobirania, el control dels fluxos migratoris en el territori dels estats membres de la UE era de la seva competència exclusiva. Això no obstant, el Conveni d'aplicació de l'Acord de Schengen, que entrà en



vigor el 1995, suposa la supressió efectiva dels controls al moviment de persones en les fronteres intracomunitàries, i, alhora, un reforç del control en les extracomunitàries. Al 2006, el Codi de Fronteres Schengen modifica aquest text, i permet, amb certs requisits, el restabliment de controls fronterers per part dels estats membres per motius d'ordre públic o seguretat nacional. L'escassa recurrència a ells i la seva ineficàcia, juntament amb els problemes migratoris recents, han motivat propostes de modificació per part de la Comissió, que emfasitzen el control de l'acció dels estats membres en l'àmbit fronterer per part de les institucions comunitàries, en detriment de l'àmplia discrecionalitat actual, cosa que ha provocat reticències considerables.

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González Hidalgo Eloísa, Ruiz Vieytes Eduardo J.

El derecho a la autonomía como contenido emergente del derecho a la participación política de las minorías nacionales en Europa

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012

In spite of the fact that the right to autonomy of national minorities is not recognized at the moment in the international human rights law or the European minority law, during the last two decades in Europe the normative and political evolution reveals its gradual assumption as a part of the right to the political participation of the persons belonging to national minorities. This can be deduced from the analysis of a series of documents, opinions and legal practices. Among the key documents are, on the one hand, Organization for Security and Co-operation of Europe documents like the 1990 CSCE Document of the Copenhagen Meeting on the Human Dimension ("Copenhagen Document"), the 1999 Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life and the 2008 Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations on the National Minorities in Inter-State Relations; on the other hand, Council of Europe documents like the 1985 European Charter of Local Autonomy, the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

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Sergio Alonso de León

El inminente tránsito hacia una ciudadanía supranacional de la Unión Europea

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 47 , 101-126

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Decker Frank

Electing the Commission president and commissioners directly: a proposal

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 71-78

A revision of the Lisbon Treaty may not be on the current political agenda. But this does not diminish the responsibility of political actors and scholars to debate what a more democratic EU should look like and how it could be achieved in the



future. Ideas on democratising the EU are usually based on the parliamentary model of government established in all Member States. Although the presidential approach has gained more support in the scientific literature recently, scholars have generally avoided discussing how such a system could be implemented. This article seeks to fill this gap by providing answers to the following questions: Which voting system should be used for the direct election of the Commission president? Who selects the members of the Commission? How will the portfolios be distributed? And should the offices of the Commission president and the president of the European Council be merged?

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Bosco Anna, Verney Susannah

Electoral Epidemic: The Political Cost of Economic Crisis in Southern Europe, 2010–11

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 17, Issue 2, Special Issue: Elections in Hard Times: Southern Europe, 2010–11.

Edited by Anna Bosco and Susannah Verney, June , 129-154

This article introduces a collection of essays on the elections of 2010–11 in Italy, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, Cyprus and the Turkish Cypriot community. It examines the impact of the European sovereign debt crisis on electoral trends in the era of the Greek and Portuguese bailouts. After briefly examining the crisis economies, it investigates patterns of abstention, incumbent punishment and opposition success, including the rise of regional, anti-party, far-right and racist parties. The article concludes, following Krastev (*Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2002, pp. 39–53), that the crisis is creating ‘democracy without choices’ in Southern Europe with potentially destabilising consequences throughout the region.

Full text available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13608746.2012.747272>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Höpner Martin, Schäfer Armin

Embeddedness and Regional Integration: Waiting for Polanyi in a Hayekian Setting

in International Organization, vol. 66, issue 3 , 429-455

ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the social potential of regional integration processes by using the example of European integration. Recent case law from the European Court of Justice has led some observers to argue that judicial decisions increasingly provide European politics with a “Polanyian” drive. We test this claim by distinguishing three dimensions to European economic and social integration: market-restricting integration, market-enforcing integration, and the creation of a European area of nondiscrimination. We also identify two forms of integration that have different speeds, scopes, and potentials: political integration and judicial integration. The evidence shows that the EU has come closer to Hayek’s vision of “interstate federalism” than is usually warranted because market-enforcing integration and European nondiscrimination policies have asymmetrically profited from “integration through law.” The opportunities for international courts to push ahead market-enforcing integration increase as the participants of regional integration processes become more diverse. In such “Hayekian” constellations, individual rights are increasingly relocated to the central level, at the cost of subordinating the decentralized capacity for solidarity and interpersonal redistribution.

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Van Zeven Josephine

**Emissions Trading Schemes and division of competence between Commission and Member States:
Commission v. Poland and Commission v. Estonia**

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 231-246

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duero Arash, Kopp Sandu-Daniel

Energy-Green Business: new financial and policy instruments for sustainable growth in the EU

in *European View*, vol. 11, n. 2, December, 281-282

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Rasmussen Morten

Establishing a Constitutional Practice of European Law: The History of the Legal Service of the European Executive, 1952–65

in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law, 375-397

The origins of the constitutional practice of European law clearly lie in the two famous rulings of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) *Van Gend en Loos* (1963) and *Costa v. E.N.E.L* (1964). Despite this, very little is known for sure about the genesis of the ECJ's interpretation or the dynamics within the Court at the time. Most accounts focus on the role of the ECJ in revolutionising European law. Using recently disclosed archival material, this article traces the role of the Legal Service of the European executive in the development of the constitutional practice. It demonstrates that the Legal Service played a crucial role both in terms of devising the legal philosophy behind the two rulings and in the establishing of a professional and academic field of European law, which would underpin the constitutional practice. At the same time it shows that the ECJ – although it adopted the legal philosophy recommended by the Legal Service – did this in a cautious and restricted manner to minimise national resistance.

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Carton Benjamin, Hervé Karine

Euro Area real effective exchange rate misalignments

in *Lettre du CEPII*, n. 319, April 2012

The resolution of the eurozone crisis requires, amongst other things, successful relative price adjustments between member states. We estimate here the scale of the adjustments needed using fundamental equilibrium exchange rates. We suggest two scenarios of adjustments, depending on the levels of inflation tolerated in surplus countries and at the



Euro Area level. If the ECB doesn't temporarily increase its inflation objective, Portugal and Greece will be unable to significantly reduce their overvaluation by the end of the decade.

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Stockhammer Engelbert

Euro-Keynesianism? The financial crisis in Europe

in *Radical Philosophy*, Issue 175, Sep/Oct 2012 , 2-10

The full text is free:

www.radicalphilosophy.com/commentary/euro-keynesianism

Financial collapse is haunting Europe. The most immediate fear is that a small European state might default on its government debt, but several large European banks might go bust because of a deflated real-estate bubble in Southern Europe. Brutal austerity policies have been imposed on countries that are already in recession, but in most cases it is difficult to interpret the battle cry of 'sound fiscal policy' as anything but a cover for a restructuring of the role of the state. There is a blatant class bias in the new policy regime in that it fails to address the causes of the crisis but, much more overtly than previous EU policies, puts downward pressure on wages and welfare states. The European crisis has to be seen in the context of the global financial crisis, but the morphing of the crisis from a financial crisis to a sovereign debt crisis in peripheral Europe (but not in the USA) requires explanation. The crisis is linked to the particular design of economic policy regime of the euro area and the divergent growth dynamics to which this has given rise...

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Schwartz Herman

Euro-crisis, American lessons?

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 701-708

No abstract available

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Gréau Jean-Luc

Euro: maintien apparent, rupture réelle

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 172, novembre-décembre 2012 , 132-137

No abstract available



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Giuseppe Guarino

Euro: venti anni di depressione (1992-2012)

in *Nomos*, n. 2/2012

SOMMARIO: Parte Prima: L'analisi sistemica formale; I – Il tema; II - E' obbligatoria la partecipazione all'euro?; III – Carattere temporaneo della disciplina di cui al Prot. N. 6 TUE; IV - Diritto degli Stati membri dell'Unione di recedere dall'Euro; V – 1998: Verso una nuova disciplina; VI – Il regolamento 1466/97: analisi formale; VII - Il Reg. 1466/97: analisi del merito, mancanza di spiegazioni, il marco e l'euro; VIII - Il Reg. 1466/97: i precedenti contrari, ancora sul merito; IX - Il Reg. 1466/97: illegittimo o illecito?; X – Il Reg. 1466/97: contrasta con i trattati, viola il principio del mercato; XI – Il trattato di Lisbona; il Reg. 1175/2011 (1); XII - Il Reg. 1175/2011: atti successivi si sovrappongono; XIII - Errori del Reg. 1466/97; sua abrogazione; esame del Reg. 1175/2011; XIV – Tassi fissi irrevocabili; XV – Delibera della Commissione del 23 Novembre 2001 N. 2011/0385 (COD); XVI – Esame del Fiscal Compact; contrasto con i trattati e con il diritto dell'Unione; XVII – Inapplicabilità del Fiscal Compact; XVIII - Il Reg. (UE) 1175/2011 (2); XIX – La ricerca ed i suoi risultati; XX - I conti in ordine; XXI – Fattori compensativi: calcolo dei danni; XXII – Dati disaggregati e complessivi; Parte Seconda: Alla ricerca di una via d'uscita; XXIII – Alternative giuridiche e connesse opzioni politiche; XXIV – Gli attori del mercato: lo Stato; XXV - UE ed euro: due entità di tipo nuovo; XXVI – Il mercato; offerte e ricavi: ipotesi; XXVII – Le famiglie: la domanda; XXVIII – Lo Stato: poteri autoritari e negoziali; XXIX – Lo Stato: peculiarità; XXX – Lo Stato: gli interventi, le discipline; XXXI – Eurozona; fattori perduti o sottoutilizzati: la Germania; XXXII – Eurozona; fattori perduti o sottoutilizzati: Italia; XXXIII – Eurozona; fattori perduti o sottoutilizzati: altre riflessioni; XXXIV – Eurozona; fattori inutilizzati: ipotesi di quantificazione; XXXV – Ricchezza dispersa; responsabilità delle singole discipline; combinazione diversa dei fattori esistenti; XXXVI – La parità del bilancio: gli effetti; XXXVII – Trasferimento di responsabilità dallo Stato al sistema produttivo; XXXVIII - Conclusioni (1); XXXIX – Conclusioni (2); XL – Conclusioni (3); XLI – Sul futuro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hickel Rudolf

Euroland bald abgebrannt? Die Währungsunion am Scheideweg

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2012 , 53-62

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/september/euroland-bald-abgebrannt

Die tiefgreifende Systemkrise der am Neujahrsmorgen 1999 gestarteten europäischen Währungsunion ist heute unübersehbar, tagtäglich werden die Wetten auf den Absturz des Euro erneuert. Auch Deutschland, das sich noch immer auf einer „Insel der Glückseligen“ wähnt, kann sich dieser Systemkrise nicht mehr entziehen. Nachdem die Bundesrepublik über Jahre mittels innerer Abwertung (durch zurückhaltende Lohnpolitik und die Deregulierung der Arbeitsmärkte) profitable Außenhandelsüberschüsse erzielt hat, schlägt die dadurch erzeugte Verschuldenskrise der Nachbarstaaten nun auf den Krisen(mit)verursacher zurück. Diese negative Rückkopplung wird durch die den Krisenländern oktroyierte Austeritätspolitik zusätzlich verstärkt...



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caccamo Domenico

Europa 2005-2011: gli sviluppi istituzionali dell'Ue visti da Washington

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno, 189-209

The essay examines a segment of the European integration process, characterized by a substantial acceleration of the institutional development within the Union framework. A first achievement was represented by the Reform Treaty signed in December 2007, a second by the Fiscal Pact negotiated in December 2011. In the same period various projects entered in competition, aimed at the European energy security: the decline of the Nabucco project, originally sustained by the US, was compensated by the opening of the first section of North Stream, agreed upon by Russia and Germany. The whole period 2005-2011 was marked by French-German solidarity, under the dual leadership Merkel-Sarkozy. American diplomacy considered suspiciously these developments in the European integration, which threatened to weaken the Western system in its Eastern Atlantic pillar and to confirm the transition to a multipolar world. The American press took different positions: the "Christian Science Monitor" was sensitive to European motivations, while the "Wall Street Journal" was openly hostile.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dufour Gregory

Europa im Kleinen: Grenzüberschreitende Kooperation am Beispiel Lothringen

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2013

The full text is free:

"Die Zukunft unserer beiden Völker, die Basis auf der Europa aufgebaut wird und aufgebaut werden muss, und die sicherste Grundlage für die Freiheit in der Welt, ist die gegenseitige Achtung, das Vertrauen und die gegenseitige Freundschaft des französischen und des deutschen Volkes."

Seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs wünschten sich viele ehemalige Deportierte und Widerstandskämpfer zum Aufbau des Friedens zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland beizutragen, dies insbesondere in den Grenzregionen wie Lothringen, aber auch im gesamten übrigen Europa. Viele dieser Menschen wollten ihren Beitrag zu diesem großen Ziel durch die Gründung von Städtepartnerschaften leisten. Diese Partnerschaften waren der eigentliche Kitt dieser deutsch-französischen Aussöhnung auf der Ebene der Zivilgesellschaft, ebenso wie die Gründung des Deutsch-Französischen Jugendwerks, das von Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer und General Charles de Gaulle initiiert wurde und dessen Leistung Staatspräsident François Hollande und Kanzlerin Angela Merkel aus Anlass des 50. Jahrestages der oben zitierten Rede des Generals an die deutsche Jugend im September 2012 besonders hervorgehoben haben.

Die Gebietskörperschaften (Conseils Régionaux, Départements, Communes) haben immer, insbesondere durch die Städtepartnerschaften, eine fundamentale Rolle innerhalb der deutsch-französischen Annäherung im Dienste Europas gespielt. Das gilt besonders in Lothringen, allein dort zählt man 115 Partnerschaften. Nancy und Metz waren unter den ersten, die diesen Weg beschritten, mit Karlsruhe 1955 und mit Trier 1957, also schon lange vor der Unterzeichnung



des Élysée-Vertrags am 22. Januar 1963, welcher der eigentliche Eckpfeiler der deutsch-französischen Kooperation werden sollte und der es noch heute ist.

Obwohl Lothringen die Qualen mehrerer schrecklicher Kriege zwischen Deutschland und Frankreich (1870–1871, 1914–1918 und 1940–1945) durchgemacht und ein Teil dieses Landes, das Moseldepartement (Moselle), zwei dramatische Annexionen erlebt hat, übernahm es bei dieser Annäherung und im Bemühen um die Verbesserung der deutsch-französischen Beziehungen insgesamt eine Vorreiterrolle. Noch heute, 68 Jahre nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs und 50 Jahre nach der Unterzeichnung des Élysée-Vertrags, bleibt die Region einer der Hauptakteure der deutsch-französischen und grenzüberschreitenden Kooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Offe Claus

Europa in der Falle

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2013 , 67-80

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2013/januar/europa-in-der-falle

Europa befindet sich in seiner wohl schwersten Krise seit 1945. Eine wachsende Zahl historisch versierter Zeitgenossen sieht sich bereits an die Lage vor 1933 erinnert. Lässt diese Krise sich nicht überwinden, so werden sowohl das politische Projekt der europäischen Integration als auch die europäische und die Weltwirtschaft schweren Schaden nehmen, ganz abgesehen vom Ausmaß der sozialen Zerstörungen, die die Krise schon in den Ländern der europäischen Peripherie angerichtet hat.

Die Krise ist so ernst, weil sie einen unlösbar erscheinenden Widerspruch aufwirft. Einfach gesagt: Was dringend getan werden müsste, ist extrem unpopulär und deshalb auf demokratischem Wege nicht durchzusetzen. Aber auch auf postdemokratisch-technokratische Weise ist ein Ausweg kaum zu finden. Alle Kenner sind sich „im Prinzip“ einig, was nützt – nämlich eine langfristige Schuldenvergemeinschaftung oder andere Formen grenzüberschreitender Lasten-Umverteilung großen Stils; aber das lässt sich dem wählenden Publikum der reichen Länder kaum vermitteln...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gräbener Josua

Europa, Europae. The EU and the Domestic Politics of Welfare State Reforms

in **Politique européenne** , n. 37, 2012/2 , 188-194

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Viesti Gianfranco

Europa, l'equilibrio si trova allargando lo sguardo

in **Reset**, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/europa-lequilibrio-si-trova-allargando-lo-sguardo>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Masini Fabio

Europa: una tassa sulle transazioni finanziarie

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 7 - luglio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Joerges Christian

Europas Wirtschaftsverfassung In Der Krise

in **Staat**, vol. 51, issue 3 , 357-385

ABSTRACT: Das Projekt einer rechtlich strukturierten Integration Europas, das so erfolgreich begonnen hatte, ist in eine unglückselige Schiefelage geraten. Die Krisen, die heute die Diskussion um Europa beherrschen, hängen damit zusammen, dass seine Rechtsverfassung der Dynamik, die durch Binnenmarktpolitik in der Ära Jacques Delors in Gang gesetzt wurde, nicht gewachsen war und ist. Dies gilt nicht nur, aber in besonders dramatischer Weise für die Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion, die das Binnenmarktprojekt durch eine rechtlich verfasste Stabilitätsgemeinschaft vollenden sollte. Auf die seit nunmehr einem halben Jahrzehnt andauernden Finanz- und Staatsschuldenkrisen hat Europa mit einem Krisenmanagement reagiert, das die Grenzen der EU-Kompetenzen missachtet, politischen Institutionen der Mitgliedstaaten überfordert und auch von der Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit nicht unter Kontrolle gehalten werden kann. Die so eingetretene „Verfassungsnot“ (Paul Kirchhof) analysiert der Beitrag in zwei gegensätzlichen Perspektiven, nämlich der Großraumtheorie Carl Schmitts einerseits und dem Plädoyer von Jürgen Habermas für eine entschiedene Demokratisierung Europas andererseits. Zu beiden Szenarien geht der Beitrag auf Distanz. Er verweist auf die Alternative einer Verfassung, die Europas Vielfalt respektiert, die es deshalb in kollisionsrechtlichen Formen konstitutionalisieren soll und vermöge einer erneuerten Dezentralität auch sein wirtschaftspolitisches Steuerungspotential insgesamt stärken könnte.

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George Soros



Europe is Divided Again: This Time Between Creditors and Debtors

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter , 25-26

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.

When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.

The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.

The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.



Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national interests and passions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jan Zielonka

Europe's new civilizing missions: the EU's normative power discourse

in *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Volume 18, Number 1 / January, 35-55

This article focuses on two cases of the European Union (EU)'s efforts to promote its values and norms in its immediate neighbourhood, first in central and eastern Europe after the fall of communism, and then in North Africa and the Middle East after the fall of oppressive regimes there. These two neighbourhoods are seen as the EU's peripheries that need to be taken care of lest they become a source of political or economic instability. This explains the use of the imperial paradigm for analysing the content of the EU's normative power discourse. The article shows numerous parallels between the rhetoric of EU officials and the writings of leading philosophers in the Enlightenment period. While there is little doubt that the imperial discourse helped the EU to legitimize its enlargement project in central and eastern Europe, the Arab world seems less eager to 'import' European norms for a variety of reasons analysed in the article.

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André Glucksmann

Europe, Land of Anguish and Nostalgia

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 4, Fall, 51-57

Three years into the protracted Eurocrisis "all choices are ugly," as former British prime minister Tony Blair comments. Indeed, the high cost of bad options is prompting some to question whether Europe is worth saving the euro. Along with Tony Blair, the former Italian prime minister Romano Prodi as well as two of the best financial minds around—Nouriel Roubini and Mohamed el-Erian—warn of the dire consequences of a euro breakup. One of France's most prominent philosophers, André Glucksmann, wonders whether the idea of a united Europe—a reaction to the horrors of World War II—can hold everyone together in the future when peace is the norm.

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(Editorial)



Europe, retour à l'expression démocratique

in *Esprit*, Octobre 2012 , 3-4

No abstract available

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Erik Jones

European Crisis, European Solidarity

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 53-67

The JCMS Annual Review Lecture

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Kalypso Nicolaïdis

European Democracy and Its Crisis

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 351-369

This article offers an overview and reconsideration of the idea of European democracy in the context of the current crisis. It defines 'democracy' as 'a Union of peoples, understood both as states and as citizens, who govern together but not as one', and argues that the concept is best understood as a third way, distinct from both national and supranational versions of single demos polities. The concept of 'democracy' can serve both as an analytical lens for the European Union-as-is and as a normative benchmark, but one which cannot simply be inferred from its praxis. Instead, the article deploys a 'normative-inductive' approach according to which the EU's normative core – transnational non-domination and transnational mutual recognition – is grounded on what the EU still seeks to escape. Such norms need to be protected and perfected if the EU is to live up to its democratic nature. The article suggests ten tentative guiding principles for the EU to continue turning these norms into practice.

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Johnston Alison

European Economic and Monetary Union's perverse effects on sectoral wage inflation: Negative feedback effects from institutional change?

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 3, September , 345-366

Public sector unions push for unmerited wage increases, exacerbating inflation and deficits. Despite this conventional wisdom, governments in several European countries successfully limited public sector wage growth during the 1980s and 1990s. This article argues that the recent rise in public sector wage inflation in the eurozone is an unintended consequence of the shift towards Economic and Monetary Union. I argue that monetary union's predecessors, the European Monetary System and Maastricht, imposed an institutional constraint on governments, which enhanced their ability to impose moderation: national-level, inflation-averse central banks that could punish rent-seeking sectoral



wage-setters via monetary contraction. Monetary union's alteration of this constraint weakened governments' capabilities to deny inflationary settlements.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Molema Marijn

European Integration from below: the Construction of the Ems-Dollart Region, 1964-1978

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 2 , 271-284

This article analyses the construction of the Ems-Dollart Region, a cross-border organization linking the Northern Netherlands and North West Germany. The analysis shows that the institutionalization of cross-border cooperation resulted from social practices and discourses in which four types of actors participated. First, politicians and policymakers at the regional or subnational level played a passive role. Second, regional civil society actors were a driving force behind the idea of cross-border cooperation. Third, policymakers from the national Ministries of Economic Affairs accepted the cross-border initiatives. Fourth, the European Commission's achievements in setting up a European regional policy had a stimulating effect on all the actors involved. By addressing all of these actors and their motives, the construction of cross-border cooperation is shown to be a multi-layered process. Cross-border cooperation is rooted in interaction between agents from several domains of society, operating on different scales.

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Camyar Isa

European Integration, Perverted Democracies and Rubber-Stamp Parliaments? An Empirical Analysis of Two Approaches

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 3 , 359-376

ABSTRACT: Does European integration undermine national democracies by strengthening the executive branch to the detriment of the legislative branch? Prior research offers two competing theoretical approaches to answer this question: the abdication and delegation approaches. While the former predicts an increase in executives' relative power, the latter envisions no significant change in the comparative powers of the executive and legislative branches in European Union member states. Despite the ample body of studies that purport to support either approach, the empirical record remains strikingly inconclusive about the relative merits of these approaches due to the problem of observational equivalence. By utilizing empirical evidence on cross-national and within-national variations in executives and legislators' positioning on European integration, this study makes an effort to discriminate between the two approaches. The results lend a qualified support to the abdication approach.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jones William J.

European Integration: Re-orientations of History and Political Studies

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 4, december , 615-621



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Saurabh Kumar

European Monetary System and the Fiscal Crisis: The Ideology, Institution and the Policy in India Quarterly, Vol. 68, n°2 , 155-171

The episode of fiscal crisis in the Euro zone has now become a recurrent theme of debate and has attracted a range of experiences regarding the nature of fiscal turmoil, its causes and effects, which vary widely across individual countries. The confidence in the European monetary system has been confounded with the European fiscal turmoil. The phases of its revival and by what method it will recoil, and at what velocity, are unanswered questions. At the centre of the European monetary system is the European Central Bank (ECB) which shapes and conducts a vigorous and complex set of policies and institutional arrangements that represent the image of neoliberal economic ideology. The debate over the European monetary system's architecture has significant ideological, economic and political implications. This article approaches the debate by assessing the monetary policy strategy and in particular the organisational structure of the ECB, and what role they play in the conduct of economic and monetary course of action in the Euro zone.

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Eriş Özgür Ünal

European Neighbourhood Policy as a tool for stabilizing Europe's Neighbourhood in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 12, n. 2 , 243-260

This article aims to analyse one of the most recent external policies of the European Union (EU), the European Neighbourhood Policy. It elaborates in detail on the shortcomings of the policy, in particular its inadequate impact on democratization and stabilization in Ukraine, one of the EU's most important partners. By applying two main theories of European integration, constructivism and rationalist institutionalism, which analyse international institutions, the article aims to reveal the contradiction between the normative vision of the EU and its security demands. It explores whether this policy supports the EU's security needs, or rather supplements its extension of normative power into its periphery.

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ostello Rory, Thomassen Jacques, Rosema Martin

European Parliament Elections and Political Representation: Policy Congruence between Voters and Parties in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 6 , 1226-1248

ABSTRACT: It is often said that European Parliament elections fail as an instrument to express the will of the European people. However, while the elections are not contested at the European level and are often dominated by national issues, this does not necessarily imply that they fail to connect policy views of voters and representatives. This article examines policy congruence between voters and candidates, utilising the candidate and voter surveys of the European Election Study 2009. First, it demonstrates that policy preferences of candidates and voters are constrained by three



separate policy dimensions. Second, it shows that the quality of representation is high in terms of left/right, the main dimension of conflict in European politics, but lower on the cultural and European integration dimensions. Finally, it establishes that in some cases the aggregation of national parties in political groups in the European Parliament poses problems for effective political representation.

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Rossolillo Francesco

European Union and the Community

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIV, Single Issue , 44-51

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1130&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes

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R. Daniel Kelemen

European Union's Legitimacy: Administrative Not Constitutional, or Administrative Then Constitutional

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 1 , 157-164

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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KYRIAKI NANOU, HAN DORUSSEN

European integration and electoral democracy: How the European Union constrains party competition in the Member States

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 52, Issue 1 , 71–93

The assignment of policy competencies to the European Union has reduced the divergence of party policy positions nationally, leaving the electorate with fewer policy options. Building upon insights from spatial proximity theories of party competition, the convergence argument predicts convergence particularly in policy domains with increasing EU competence. As the policy commitments that derive from EU membership increase, parties become more constrained in terms of the feasible policy alternative they can implement when in office. The analysis uses manifesto data at the country-party system level for nine policy domains. It uses ordinary least squares (OLS) estimation with country fixed effects, a lagged dependent variable and country corrected standard errors. Controlling for other factors that could plausibly explain policy convergence, the models also assess whether the convergent effect of party positions varies across different types of parties. The main finding is that in policy domains where the involvement of the EU has increased, the distance between parties' positions tends to decrease. The constraining impact of EU policy decisions differs between Member and non-Member States. This effect is more apparent for the policy agendas of larger, mainstream and pro-EU parties in the Member States.



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Van Gestel Rob, Micklitz Hans W.

European integration through standardization: How judicial review is breaking down the club house of private standardization bodies

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 145-181

ABSTRACT: Standardization is slowly but surely marching forward into the public domain. The revision of the European standardization package is stimulating this development because the use of private standards in public policy is supposed to spur technological innovation and reduce barriers to trade. This may explain why the Commission wants to speed up the standardization process. In the meanwhile, however, a number of important legal issues remain unaddressed in recent European policy and legislation on standardization, such as: how far "delegation" of public rulemaking to private standardization bodies may go and if and when this could come into conflict with the alleged voluntary and self-regulatory nature of these standards; whether copyrights that rest on standards limit the access to pieces of legislation that refer to standards in an unlawful way, and who is responsible for the content of the standards: the state or the market? Our hypothesis is that the "club mentality" of standards makers has, until recently, worked as an effective shield against market dynamics and judicial review. However, under the influence of recent case law from the ECJ and national highest courts, the "club house" of the standards bodies is starting to show cracks.

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Camba Alvin Almendrala

Europeanisation and Globalisation: A Stepwise Comparison of Telecommunications and Energy in Estonia and Poland, 1990-2011

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 195-214

To what extent did Europeanisation matter in the policy transformation of public utilities of new member states? While Europeanisation literature has traced the EU's influence during the accession period, the task for the second generation of researchers is to identify rigorously the impact of Europeanisation by untangling it from other possible processes, particularly globalisation, and to identify the continuation of Europeanisation after membership. By process tracing liberalisation and independent regulation in Estonia and Poland using the stepwise comparative method, I argue that the link between the EU level regulatory regime and policy transformations in public utilities is tenuous. Instead, I forward that Estonia and Poland are able to internalise globalisation by managing and harnessing its economic and political opportunities. The type of capitalism and state size are organising logics of state action on globalisation, which largely influence the extent and form of market and governance shifts.

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Obradović Jelena, Wochnik Alexander

Europeanising the 'Kosovo Question': Serbia's Policies in the Context of EU Integration

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 5 , 1158-1181

ABSTRACT: The issues of Kosovo independence and European Union membership have dominated Serbian domestic



politics and foreign policy since the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 2000. Despite the lack of formal EU conditionality on the Kosovo issue, Serbia's insistence on its uncompromising 'no recognition' of Kosovo policy has been detrimental to its EU candidacy aspirations. This article examines Serbia's Kosovo policies in the context of EU integration, in particular the divergence between Serbia's stance towards Kosovo and its aspirations towards EU candidacy. Considering the negative effects that the Serbia–Kosovo relationship has had on regional cooperation and Serbia's EU integration, this article considers why Serbia appears to have failed to 'Europeanise' its Kosovo policies, i.e. to normalise relations in a way that would be more favourable to accession. In doing so, it examines Serbia's Kosovo policies since 2000, and the ways in which domestic actors have deliberately manipulated and complicated the question of Kosovo and Serbia's EU membership.

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Afonso Alexandre , Papadopoulos Yannis

Europeanization or Party Politics? Explaining Government Choice for Corporatist Concertation in Governance, Volume 26, Issue 1, January , 5-29

This article assesses whether changes in government choice for policy concertation with trade unions and employers are better explained by international or domestic factors. We compare patterns of corporatist governance in a strongly Europeanized policy domain (labor migration policy) and in a weakly Europeanized policy domain (welfare state reforms) over the last 20 years in Austria and Switzerland. We show that there is no systematic difference in patterns of concertation between the two policy sectors and that factors linked to party politics play a bigger role in the choice of governments for concertation. If the base of party support for policies is divided, governments are more prone to resort to corporatist concertation as a way to build compromises for potentially controversial or unpopular policies. By contrast, ideologically cohesive majority coalitions are less prone to resort to concertation because they do not need to build compromises outside their base of party support.

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Adamski Dariusz

Europe's (misguided) constitution of economic prosperity
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 47-85

ABSTRACT: The article discusses the institutional framework for three important economic policies - macroeconomic governance, cohesion policy and innovation policy - and examines their relationship with the generally inauspicious economic outlook of the European Union. It explains in particular how the newly established excessive imbalance procedure has been practically disabled by political forces, why the regions benefitting from the cohesion policy for a long time have seriously contributed to the ongoing economic crisis, and why the EU innovation policy finds it very difficult to support a harmonious development of the Union. The article also pays attention to those developments which are particularly important for economic growth in the EU but still remain outside the mainstream economic policies. Necessary adjustments establishing a more credible framework of economic prosperity - the contribution argues - are primarily hindered by domestic politics and democratic dynamics rather than by Treaty constraints. Economic prospects of the EU will remain gloomy unless this political constitution is properly altered.



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Müller Jan-Werner

Europe's Perfect Storm: The Political and Economic Consequences of the Eurocrisis

in *Dissent*, Fall, 2012

What exactly is the Eurocrisis a crisis of? Is it a currency crisis? A crisis of economic policy-making in Europe? Is it a crisis of a particular, expensive social model, as American conservatives like to claim? Or of the whole...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tober Silke

Europäische Zentralbank: Krisenpolitik ohne Rückendeckung

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 3, 2012

Die EZB trat während der Staatsanleihenkrise mehrfach als Retterin in Aktion. Für Maßnahmen, die das Vertrauen wiederherstellen könnten, fehlt ihr das Mandat. Sie ist bereits Risiken eingegangen, die infolge der inadäquaten Krisenstrategie der Regierungen hoch sind. Die Konsolidierung und der Abbau externer Ungleichgewichte erfordern Zeit und ein differenziertes Vorgehen, das das Wachstum stützt.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jurczenko Wieslaw

Europäischer Bankensozialismus

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, August, 2012, 5-8

Die Finanzkrise feiert in diesem Jahr ihr fünfjähriges Jubiläum und scheint kein Ende zu nehmen. Im Gegenteil: Immer mehr Staaten geraten in ihren Sog, ja sogar vom Endspiel um den Euro ist allenthalben die Rede.

Die Politik übt sich in immer hektischeren Gipfeln, auf denen – so könnte man meinen – immer Größeres beschlossen wird. Auch der jüngste Gipfel hat erneut deutlich gemacht: Die Schnellschüsse und Volten der Politik häufen sich in einem derartigen Tempo, dass man zunehmend die Übersicht verliert, wer hier eigentlich was macht und wie viel das wen kosten kann.

Die dort gefallenen Beschlüsse sehen unter anderem eine direkte Rekapitalisierung von Banken durch den Europäischen Stabilitätsmechanismus (ESM) vor. Darüber hinaus soll bis zum Ende des Jahres eine neue europäische Bankenaufsicht eingerichtet und zugleich der Zugang der Staaten zu den EU-Rettungsschirmen erleichtert werden. Die Hoffnung, auf diese Weise den Teufelskreis aus angeschlagenen Banken und maladen Staatsfinanzen zu durchbrechen, könnte sich jedoch als trügerisch erweisen. Denn nicht nur, dass die jüngst beschlossenen Maßnahmen



lediglich die Symptome behandeln. Sie bergen obendrein immense Gefahren für den europäischen Staatenverbund und das globale Finanzsystem...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbehön Marlon

Europäisierung durch unverbindliche Koordinierung: Nationale Innovationen im Rahmen europäischer Armutspolitik

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* , Volume 6, Issue 1, 2012 , 49-70

Abstract

In policy fields where the European Union has little authority to steer the policies of its member states in a binding manner, strategies that try to change member state policies by integrating the members in non-binding modes of coordination have become increasingly common. Using the example of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), the paper examines under which conditions such modes lead to the targeted increase in opportunities for civil society actors to participate in the drafting process of national policies against poverty. Contrary to the widespread assumption that national modifications require binding prescriptions, the cases of Sweden, the United Kingdom and Austria show that procedural innovations depend instead on the perception and mobilization of the mode of coordination as a political opportunity structure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kostera Thomas

Europäisierung im österreichischen Gesundheitssystem: Pfadabhängige Usages of Europe in Grenzregionen in Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft , 2012/3 , 299-314

Europeanisation within Austria? Healthcare System: Path-dependent Usages of Europe in Border Regions

During the last couple of years, sociological approaches in European studies have gained increasing attention from scholars. The "usages of Europe" approach looks at the opportunities and resources that the EU provides for national actors to advance their interests, from a bottom-up perspective. As European rules on cross-border healthcare have been threatening the principle of the territoriality of healthcare services, the article analyses two cross-border healthcare projects in Austrian border regions to determine if and how actors' strategies have been Europeanised, and whether their actions could destructure national welfare boundaries. In order to explain how these regional actors incorporate European resources into their strategies a combination of the "usages of Europe" approach with Historical Institutionalism is suggested.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bode Thilo

Eurorettung: Die Entmachtung des Souveräns

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Oktober, 2012 , 42-46

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/oktober/eurorettung-die-entmachtung-des-souveraens

Am 12. September erklärte das Bundesverfassungsgericht die Zustimmung des deutschen Bundestages zum Europäischen Stabilitätsmechanismus (ESM) und zum Fiskalpakt für rechtmäßig. Warum er darin eine gefährliche Außerkraftsetzung der Demokratie sieht, beschreibt im Folgenden Ex-Greenpeace-Chef Thilo Bode.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nick Startin, André Krouwel

Euroscepticism Re-galvanized: The Consequences of the 2005 French and Dutch Rejections of the EU Constitution

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 65-84

In the spring of 2005, the European Union was plunged into a state of crisis when two of the Union's founding members (France and the Netherlands) rejected the proposed EU Constitution in two separate referendums. In this article, it is argued that the 'no' votes in both countries, despite the support of mainstream political elites and the bulk of the media, should not be viewed with surprise. The article begins by examining the background debate to the referendums in both countries before considering the major issues that dominated the 'no' campaigns as well as the issues that motivated the two countries' electorates in their decisions to reject the EU Constitution. From here, the article examines the significance of the 2005 'no' votes in the current context within France and the Netherlands and argues that the clear polarization of the 'no' vote among those from socio-economically less well-off backgrounds is not only the sign of a further widening of the gap between mainstream political elites and their supporters with regard to European integration, but that in turn it is also having a significant impact at a party level in terms of the galvanization of Eurosceptic political parties – particularly the radical right. The article concludes with the argument that 2005 has contributed to the growing salience of Euroscepticism within both countries, which in the context of the crisis in the eurozone is likely to lead to further re-evaluation of the European project among political elites.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabio Serricchio, Mirto Tsakatika, Lucia Quaglia

Euroscepticism and the Global Financial Crisis

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 51-64

This article explores the link between the financial crisis and Euroscepticism at the level of public opinion, building on



and developing further the literature on the impact of economic, identity and institutional factors on Euroscepticism. It argues that the economic crisis did not substantially bring economic factors back in as an important source of Euroscepticism, even though the most pronounced increase in Euroscepticism has taken place in the countries most affected by the crisis. By contrast, national identity and political institutions play an increasingly important role in explaining public Euroscepticism.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Böttger Katrin

Euroscepticism and the Return to Nationalism in the Wake of Accession as Part of the Europeanization Process in Central and Eastern Europe

in Europe en formation (L'), n. 364, 2012/2 , 323-342

By analysing commonalities and differences of Eurosceptic parties from five EU member states (Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom), based on a definition and classification of Eurosceptic parties, this article shows that Euroscepticism in new member states should not be seen as a return to nationalism and a roll-back behind the accession process. When comparing Eurosceptics in new and old member states, Eurosceptic parties have to be seen as part of the Europeanization process: Where questions of European integration matter, there will be opponents voicing their fear of losing national identity through Eurosceptic parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simon Usherwood and Nick Startin

Euroscepticism as a Persistent Phenomenon

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 1-16

In the two decades since the emergence of the European Union at Maastricht there has been a concerted attempt to build a European political space, typified by the debates on constitutionalization and democratization. Much less noticed, but no less important, has been the mobilization of publics, interest groups and political parties against the integration process. In the light of the failure to realize the Laeken objectives, the stabilization of an anti-integration bloc in the European Parliament, recurrent 'no' votes in national referendums and the emergence of an increasingly co-ordinated movement of critical interest groups, it is argued in this article that this opposition has become embedded and persistent, at both European and national levels. This will have considerable consequences for the Union itself and the way it has chosen to largely ignore sceptical voices to date.

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Nathalie Brack

Euroscepticism at the Supranational Level: The Case of the 'Untidy Right' in the European Parliament

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 85-104

For the last 20 years, Euroscepticism has become a stable component of European politics and has attracted much



attention. European elections have provided Eurosceptic parties with an opportunity to get parliamentary representation. While there is a burgeoning literature on the Eurosceptic stances of these parties, there remains relatively little research on their strategies once inside the European Parliament. This article analyzes how Eurosceptic MEPs from the 'untidy right' conceive and carry out their representative mandate in an institution they despise. First, it takes an historical perspective to show that despite the persistence of Euroscepticism in the European Union's elected chamber, the body of research remains comparatively limited. Second, it examines the institutional constraints faced by Eurosceptic representatives resulting from the institutional environment and the ideological heterogeneity of these actors. The final part proposes a typology of parliamentary roles to account for their attitudes and behaviours inside the chamber.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balcerowicz Leszek

Eurozone I: Bail-outs are no substitute for reforms

in Europe's World, Issue 20, Spring

Reforms, not bail-outs or eurobonds, are the answer to the crisis engulfing not just the most vulnerable and indebted eurozone countries but the single currency itself, warns Leszek Balcerowicz. And they offer both short and long-term solutions to the crisis.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21946/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Joffe Josef

Eurozone II: The case for muddling through

in Europe's World, Issue 20, Spring

As an early sceptic of the EU's economic and monetary union, Josef Joffe traces the euro's birth defects and examines its health prognoses. He favours neither a eurozone break-up nor a great leap forward to political union.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21947/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cross James P.

Everyone's a winner (almost): Bargaining success in the Council of Ministers of the European Union

in European Union Politics, Vol. 14, n. 1, March, 70-94

This paper examines member state bargaining success in legislative negotiations in the European Union. Bargaining success is thought to be determined by factors attributable to intervention behaviour, relative policy positions and power.



Intervention relates to a member state's efforts to make its position known over the course of negotiations, relative policy positions relate to a member state's position in the policy space under negotiation relative to other actors' positions, and power refers to the size of the member state. New measures for bargaining success are introduced that account for the saliency of the legislative proposals under consideration. The results presented suggest that there are more winners than losers when measuring bargaining success.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Drake Helen

Everywhere and Nowhere: Europe and the World in the French 2012 Elections in Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 66, Issue 1, January, 124-141

European and global affairs are typically downplayed at election time in France, as elsewhere, and a rudimentary observation of the French 2012 presidential elections would appear to confirm this hypothesis. However, this article argues that in the case of the 2012 French elections the issues of 'Europe' and 'the world' were significant and inextricably linked to many of the ostensibly domestic campaign issues raised by candidates, media and voters. With reference to the campaigns, the broader electoral contexts and the results, the analysis of this apparent paradox suggests how global forces both shaped the 2012 domestic contest in France and constitute a broader picture in which France has been deemed by some commentators to be a 'flawed democracy'.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tzogopoulos George N.

Experiencing an Unprecedented Crisis: The Stalemate in Greece in Europe en formation (L'), n. 364, 2012/2, 25-39

This article analyses the recent history of Greece from October 2009 onwards. In particular, it focuses on its unprecedented economic, political and social crisis explaining why the country has suffered dramatically. Although the article does not put into question that a European solution to the debt problem is required, it argues that the Hellenic Republic is alone responsible for the stalemate of its economy and its stagnation. In so doing, it shows that the country entered the crisis being surrounded by various pathogenies, which can hardly be tackled by the existing incompetent political personnel. This political personnel has only partly applied the Memorandum of Understanding and has been unable to save the country from default and inspire confidence in a society, which arguably seeks radical change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

DeVore Marc R.

Explaining European Armaments Cooperation: Interests, Institutional Design and Armaments Organizations in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 18, issue 1, 1-27

ABSTRACT: Culminating in the creation in 2004 of the European Defence Agency (EDA), the post-Cold War development of European armaments organizations has impressed social scientists and policymakers alike as a



momentous development. However, their theoretical diversity, prior analyses of armaments organizations err in their focus on recent organizations of a European character. The narrow focus on institutions tied to the EU has led scholars to neglect the long-term and incremental dynamics driving the development of armaments organizations on both a transatlantic and European basis. In fact, European states' participation in international armaments organizations is neither a recent phenomenon nor one that has historically been distinctly rooted in broader processes of European integration. By examining the development of European and transatlantic armaments organizations prior to the EDA, this article sheds new light on how this domain of international organization emerged and is likely to develop. Abstracting from the prior evolution of armaments organizations, this field is likely to continue to evolve along polycentric lines, with intergovernmentalism, rather than 'Europeanization' and 'Brusselization' remaining the motive forces for future change.

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Dronkers Jaap, Vink Maarten Peter

Explaining access to citizenship in Europe: How citizenship policies affect naturalization rates

in European Union Politics , Vol. 13, n. 3, September , 390-412

In Europe, a variety of national policies regulate access to citizenship. This article analyses how citizenship policies affect naturalization rates among immigrants. Our analysis confirms that favourable citizenship policies positively affect naturalization rates, especially among first-generation immigrants with more than 5 but fewer than 20 years of residence. However, most variation is explained by other factors. Immigrants from poor, politically unstable, and non-EU countries are more likely to be a citizen of their European country of residence. Other important predictors of the citizenship status of immigrants are language, years of residence (first generation), and age (second generation). Explanations of naturalization rates in Europe should not only take into account institutional conditions but also include other destination and origin country factors and individual characteristics of immigrants.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chen Ruo, Milesi-Ferretti Gian Maria, Tresselt Thierry

External imbalances in the eurozone

in Economic Policy , volume 28 n.73 , 101-142

Summary The paper examines the extent to which current account imbalances of euro area countries are related to intra-euro area factors and to external trade shocks. We argue that the traditional explanations for the rising imbalances are correct, but are incomplete. We uncover a large impact of declines in export competitiveness and asymmetric trade developments vis-à-vis the rest of the world in particular vis-à-vis China, Central and Eastern Europe, and oil exporters on the external balance of euro area debtor countries. While current account imbalances of euro area deficit countries vis-à-vis the rest of the world increased, they were financed mostly by intra-euro area capital inflows (in particular by the purchase of government and financial institutions' securities, and cross-border interbank lending) which permitted external imbalances to grow over time.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gatti Mauro, Manzini Pietro

External representation of the European Union in the conclusion of international agreements

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 5 , 1703-1734

ABSTRACT: From a political viewpoint, the external representation of the European Union is an extremely sensitive topic, affecting the visibility and role of European institutions and Member States on the international scene. From a legal perspective, this topic is particularly challenging, since the EU Treaties, as amended by the Lisbon reform, are not completely straightforward in this regard. Such combination of political sensitivity and legal uncertainty renders the Union's representation very contentious. This area has therefore seen not-so-hidden "turf wars" that damaged the image and effectiveness of the EU's external action. The article analyses the issue of the Union's representation with respect to the conclusion of international instruments and, in particular, international agreements. This topic has been profoundly affected by the Lisbon reform, which explicitly provides that the European Commission and the High Representative shall ensure the Union's external representation, in non-CFSP and CFSP areas, respectively (Arts. 17 and 27 TEU). This reform seems to enhance the consistency and unity of the Union's representation and of the Union's ability to carry out effective negotiations, by fostering the self-representation of the Union, with the exclusion of any role previously held by Member States and the rotating Presidency.. The analysis brings to light the two factors preventing the reform from fully achieving its objectives in practice. First, Member States sometimes favour the mixed form of international agreements, even when it would not appear to be strictly necessary. Secondly, Member States seem not to fully accept the consequences of the Treaties' reform and often rely on pre-Lisbon practices, which no longer have any legal ground.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martucci Francesco

FESF, MESF et MES. La mise en place progressive d'un "pare-feu" pour la zone euro

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 664-671

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Prinz Aloys, Beck Hanno

Fighting debt explosion in the European sovereign debt crisis Eurobonds, Leveraging EFSF and Euro-TARP

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 3 / May 2012 , 185-189

A number of tools have been suggested for solving the European sovereign debt crisis, in particular the options of leveraging the EFSF/ESM, introducing Eurobonds and a European Troubled Asset Relief Programme (Euro-TARP). However, it is unclear how these instruments will work, given jittery financial markets, the pending sovereign default of Greece and the fear of contagion among other countries. In the following paper, these policy tools will be analysed and



evaluated with respect to their effects as well as their potential power to solve the debt crisis.

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Baldur Thorhallsson, Peadar Kirby

Financial Crises in Iceland and Ireland: Does European Union and Euro Membership Matter?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 801-818

The article examines the claims of the small states literature on the importance of alliance formation. It applies it to the case of Ireland and Iceland and asks whether membership of the EU and euro in Ireland and the absence of these in Iceland had a say in their reduction of risk before the financial crisis, assistance in absorbing the shock of their crash and help in recovering after it. The article argues that the notion of shelter needs to take more account of domestic arrangements and the shelter's costs though the cases confirm the importance of alliance formation.

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Coenen Günter, Straub Roland, Trabandt Mathias

Fiscal Policy and the Great Recession in the Euro Area

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 71–76

How much did fiscal policy contribute to euro area real GDP growth during the Great Recession? We estimate that discretionary fiscal measures have increased annualized quarterly real GDP growth during the crisis by up to 1.6 percentage points. We obtain our result by using an extended version of the European Central Bank's New Area-Wide Model with a rich specification of the fiscal sector. A detailed modeling of the fiscal sector and the incorporation of as many as eight fiscal time series appear pivotal for our result.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Daniel Betty C., Shiamptanis Christos

Fiscal risk in a monetary union

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 6, August 2012 , 1289-1309

We present a dynamic and quantitative model of a fiscal solvency crisis in a monetary union. Diverse fiscal policies, which are subject to fiscal limits and stochastic shocks, can threaten a monetary union. The fiscal limits arise due to distortionary taxation and political will. Stochastic shocks are random and could push a fiscally sound policy towards its limit. In equilibrium agents refuse to lend along a path which violates the fiscal limits, creating a fiscal solvency crisis. The dynamics leading to the crisis depend on the policy response to restore lending. We focus on two responses, default and policy switching. We simulate our model to quantify the probability of a fiscal solvency crisis in the European Monetary Union with fiscal variables at end of 2009 values. Our model predicts the Greek crisis which occurred and warns of an Italian one.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Sutherland

Fixing Europe's Democratic Deficit

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 7-10

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rossolillo Francesco

For a federal pact among Europe's founder members States

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIV, Single Issue , 52-63

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1133&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Anne Rasmussen, Petya Alexandrova

Foreign Interests Lobbying Brussels: Participation of non-EU Members in Commission Consultations

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 614-631

Using data on contributions to European Commission online consultations from 2001 to 2010, this article examines the level and character of engagement of foreign states in preparation of EU policy. The results show that regional differences in the overall participation of foreign actors are cancelled out when controlling for different demand- and supply-side factors of regional representation. A country's volume of EU trade, level of development and degree of democracy all contribute to increasing participation. Moreover, variation in national economic and political structures helps explain the types of actors by which a country is represented.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierre Lellouche

France-Allemagne : le double déni

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver



Hier équilibrés, les rapports franco-allemands ont été profondément affectés par la fin de la guerre froide, qui a eu pour effet de valoriser la dimension économique de la puissance. Ils souffrent aujourd'hui d'un véritable décrochage économique français et des incertitudes de l'Allemagne sur elle-même. D'où un double déni : la France refuse l'adaptation à l'économie mondialisée et l'Allemagne refuse d'assumer les responsabilités internationales que lui confère sa nouvelle puissance.

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Picaper Jean-Paul

**France-Allemagne : le nouveau duo
in Politique internationale, n° 136 - été**

Telle l'Atlantide, « Merkozy » a sombré dans les flots. Le 6 mai 2012, une vague rose a submergé cette île européenne surgie cinq ans plus tôt. Le rideau est tombé sur une entente franco-allemande d'abord difficile, mais rapidement devenue incontournable et efficace. Le curieux couple que formaient Angela Merkel et Nicolas Sarkozy, personnalités dissemblables tant par leur caractère que par leurs origines (1), était demeuré jusqu'au bout paradoxal. Les deux dirigeants incarnaient deux États différents par leurs us et coutumes, par leur culture et leurs manières, mais liés l'un à l'autre par de puissants intérêts communs et par leur attachement à la démocratie. La tranquille chancelière avait fini par apprécier sa coopération avec le remuant président ; celui-ci, de son côté, semblait ne plus agir sans le feu vert de sa partenaire allemande. Ils se concertaient presque quotidiennement. Réalistes tous deux, pragmatiques même, ils défendaient les intérêts vitaux de leurs pays et de l'Europe.

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de Ruiter Rik

**Full disclosure? The Open Method of Coordination, parliamentary debates and media coverage
in European Union Politics , Vol. 14, n. 1, March , 95-114**

This article answers the question of which EU-level characteristics of the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) are most likely to result in pressure on national governments to reconsider their policies as a result of OMC-related parliamentary activities and media coverage. On the basis of interviews with European Commission officials and an analysis of parliamentary debates in committee meetings and newspaper coverage on six OMCs in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands in the period 1996–2009, three characteristics are selected and their empirical relevance assessed. The findings indicate that, when an OMC is adopted in a policy field without any other type of EU-level activity already present, or does not include indicators/benchmarks or peer learning activities, the OMC will not increase the pressure on a national government.

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Chaltiel Florence

Fédéralisme européen: éternel recommencement ou saut qualitatif imminent?

in Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne, n. 560, juillet-août , 425-427



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Halimi Serge

Fédéralisme à marche forcée

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juillet 2012

The full text is free:

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2012/07/HALIMI/47929>

Les grandes catastrophes encouragent les croyants les plus fervents à redoubler aussitôt de piété. Ainsi des fédéralistes européens : refusant de concevoir qu'on puisse un jour tourner le dos aux politiques d'intégration — monétaire, budgétaire, commerciale — qui ont aggravé la crise économique, ils souhaitent au contraire renforcer l'autorité de ceux qui les ont mises en œuvre. Les sommets européens, les pactes de stabilité, les mécanismes disciplinaires n'ont rien arrangé ? C'est, répondent invariablement nos dévots, parce qu'ils n'ont pas été assez loin : pour eux, toute réussite s'explique par l'Europe, et tout échec par le manque d'Europe (1). Cette foi du charbonnier les aide à dormir à poings fermés et à faire de jolis rêves...

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Faix Martin

Genesis einer mehrpoligen Justizkonflikts: das Verfassungsgericht der Tschechischen Republik wertet ein EuGH-Urteil als Ultra-vires-Akt

in *Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift*, vol. 39, issue 20-21, November , 597-605

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Christophe Charlier and Mai-Anh Ngo

Geographical indications outside the European Regulation on PGIs, and the rule of the free movement of goods: lessons from cases judged by the Court of Justice of the European Communities

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 34 n.1 , 17-30

Several recent cases judged by the Court of Justice of the European Communities (the Court) have raised interesting issues related to the possibility for operators of food chains to use national quality signs to indicate territory of origin, which are different from the regulatory European 'Protected Geographical Indications'. The various attempts by France (a list of quality signs), Germany ('Markenqualität aus deutschen Landen' sign) and Belgium ('Walloon' sign) have all



been condemned as protectionist policies contradicting the free movement of goods in the European Market. These national quality signs can be seen as attempt to defend the viability of specific kinds of activities (involving small enterprises) in specific places (rural areas). These cases are a good illustration of the difficulties that a Member State of the European Communities (Member State) faces in trying to protect its traditional activities and/or rural areas in a way that is compatible with free markets. The paper analyses the recent court decisions underlining economic aspects such as information delivery and the cost of alternative protection mechanisms for these activities. We highlight in particular the collective trademarks and the kind of intellectual property right they form by the economic theory of clubs, and make some comparisons with protected geographical indications.

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Romano Prodi

Germany Must Shift from a Crisis Agenda to Building Europe

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 4, Fall , 45-46

Three years into the protracted Eurocrisis “all choices are ugly,” as former British prime minister Tony Blair comments. Indeed, the high cost of bad options is prompting some to question whether Europe is worth saving the euro.

Along with Tony Blair, the former Italian prime minister Romano Prodi as well as two of the best financial minds around—Nouriel Roubini and Mohamed el-Erian—warn of the dire consequences of a euro breakup. One of France's most prominent philosophers, André Glucksmann, wonders whether the idea of a united Europe—a reaction to the horrors of World War II—can hold everyone together in the future when peace is the norm.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

John Rosenthal

Germany and the Euro Crisis: Is the Powerhouse Really So Pure?

in World Affairs, Vol. 16, n. 3, May / June

Lazy, profligate, scheming Greeks versus honest, thrifty, industrious Germans. Southern vice versus northern virtue. For much of the news media—not only in continental Europe’s “virtuous” north, but also in the United States—the euro sovereign debt crisis could be summarized in the form of this morality play opposing national or regional stereotypes. If in Germany itself it was the deliberately over-the-top tabloid Bild that famously took the lead in lecturing the Greeks on Greek vice and German virtue, in the United States, New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman adopted essentially the same tone and underlying “analysis.” “Can Greeks Become Germans?” Friedman asked in a column written last year, suggesting that this was the only way the crisis could be resolved. Even the acronym commonly employed for southern Europe’s fiscal “sinners” reflects moral opprobrium and contempt: the “PIGS” (sometimes written “PIIGS,” so as to include also the northern European special case, Ireland, along with Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain). But what if the financial strains on the PIGS that threaten the eurozone are a product of the eurozone itself? What if the problems of the euro, in other words, are of the euro’s own making?

Section C) Regional integration processes



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Hilz Wolfram

Getriebewechsel im europäischen Motor: Von "Merkozy" zu "Merkollande"?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/152066/von-merkozy-zu-merkollande

Jede gute Beziehung muss auch Krisen aushalten können, um sich als solche zu erweisen – in dieser Hinsicht hatten die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen, basierend auf dem Élysée-Vertrag des Jahres 1963, in den zurückliegenden fünf Jahrzehnten genügend Gelegenheiten sich zu bewähren. Das zentrale Ziel von Präsident Charles de Gaulle und Bundeskanzler Konrad Adenauer, die nachfolgenden Politikergenerationen zum deutsch-französischen Dialog zu verpflichten und bilaterale Konsultationen in festgelegten Abfolgen zum Bestandteil der Regierungsarbeit in Paris und Bonn beziehungsweise Berlin zu machen, wurde zweifellos erreicht. Auch das gemeinsam abgestimmte Vorgehen in Fragen der europäischen Integration war insgesamt so erfolgreich, dass die Europäische Gemeinschaft seit den 1980er Jahren den Schritt aus der Stagnation zu neuer Dynamik und nach dem gesamteuropäischen Umbruch 1989/1990 hin zur Europäischen Union schaffte.

Spätestens seit dieser Zeit waren Frankreich und die Bundesrepublik gemeinsam zum "Motor der Integration" geworden. Das bilaterale Verhältnis wurde nicht mehr nur an den Fortschritten beim Ausbau der zwischenstaatlichen Beziehungen gemessen, sondern auch an der Erfüllung der Funktion eines "Führungstandems" in der thematisch und mitgliedstaatlich weiter wachsenden Integrationsgemeinschaft. Sowohl aufgrund der dadurch gestärkten Ansprüche in Paris und Bonn/Berlin, die EU angesichts der Herausforderungen des 21. Jahrhunderts in die richtige Richtung zu führen, als auch wegen der zeitweisen Orientierungslosigkeit aller EU-Partner auf dem Weg zur Anpassung der Unionsstrukturen an die Erfordernisse einer EU der 27 waren gute deutsch-französische Beziehungen alleine nicht mehr ausreichend. Die Beurteilungsmaßstäbe für die bilateralen Beziehungen hatten sich vielmehr umgekehrt: Obwohl die Führung einer erweiterten Union durch ein historisch bewährtes Tandem als kaum mehr realistisch galt, sollten insbesondere Deutsche und Franzosen der EU einen Weg aus Stagnation und Krise bahnen. Erfolge beim Bemühen, in der Außenpolitik und bei Fragen des gemeinsamen Interesses "so weit wie möglich zu einer gleichgerichteten Haltung zu gelangen", wie es der Élysée-Vertrag formuliert, reichen dafür schon lange nicht mehr aus.

Im Folgenden sollen deshalb die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen nicht alleine mit Blick auf die Gestaltung des bilateralen Verhältnisses der vergangenen Jahre analysiert werden, sondern auch bezogen auf die gemeinsame Fähigkeit, einen konstruktiven Beitrag zur Bewältigung der europäischen Herausforderungen zu leisten.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alieva Leila

Globalization, regionalization and society in the Caspian Sea Basin: overcoming geography restrictions and calamities of oil dependent economies

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 443-453



All states of the Caspian look at different security and political alliances to address their concerns and interests. Emerging disputes over the oil fields made the states to search for consensus at the level of sub-regional multilateralism on the legal status of the Caspian, which reflected complexities and divergence of their interests. Coercive policies of the regional powers, such as Russia's war in Georgia, geographically limited security options (Kazakhstan), richness with resources and developing political identities affected directions of cooperation and integration. Strengthened by the powerful vested interests, energy cooperation was so far the most effective one in the Caspian. It was promoted by the energy security interests of the ruling elites of the Caspian states, regional and international organizations, global powers and transnational corporations. Broader political cooperation, which is limited by geographic conditions and selectivity of ruling elites, is increasingly overcome by the non-state actors, who have been struggling with the autocrats empowered by the oil revenues and lack of incentive, support and investment from the leading democratic states, prioritizing energy interests in the Caspian. The utilization of the modern communication technologies such as internet and social networks by the civil and non-state actors, in particular after the events of the Arab spring, alters the focus from sub-regional to regional and global cooperation and empowers the civil actors, making them even in the conditions of the oil-based economies, emerge as the alternative leading forces in democratization and integration in the global processes.

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Hannes Hofmeister

Goodbye Euro: Legal Aspects of Withdrawal from the Eurozone
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 1 , 111-135

For the first decade of its existence, the Economic and Monetary Union ("EMU") was a success. Sixteen countries adopted the euro, and many other Member States were eager to follow suit. International confidence in the new currency grew steadily. Today, however, the lingering effects of the global financial crisis, coupled with some Eurozone states' lax budgetary discipline, have cast a shadow on the future of the Eurozone. A Member State's withdrawal from the EMU - long considered a taboo - no longer appears to be completely unrealistic.

But do the treaties allow withdrawal? To answer this complex question, this Article will proceed as follows: It will first briefly outline the history of the EMU. Next, the Article will examine the criteria for and the process of accession to the EMU. Last, it will analyze whether there is a right to withdraw from the EMU, and if so, under what circumstances that right can be exercised.

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Heise Arne

Governance Without Government or, The Euro Crisis and What Went Wrong with European Economic Governance
in *International Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 41, Number 2 / Summer 2012 , 42-60

The Great Recession after 2008 did not turn out to be as deep and severe as the Great Depression of the 1930s. According to the European Commission, this positive result is due to the fact that economic policymakers around the world learned their lessons in stabilizing their financial systems from the Great Depression and, moreover, that particularly the European Union and its economic governance system has become a shelter against negative external



shocks in coordinating stabilization policies to maintain aggregate demand.

This paper argues that the claim of the European Commission needs some qualifications. The lessons have not been applied appropriately in all EU— and eurozone, in particular—member states. Yet this is not merely the result of mismanagement by individual governments but the systematic outcome of an ineffective and even counterproductive European economic governance system. Although, in the wake of the euro crisis, some crisis control and emergency measures have been established, crisis resolution has failed, as the core of the inefficient governance system—the European Stability and Growth Pact (ESGP)—has not been reformed adequately.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Desmond Dinan

Governance and Institutions: Impact of the Escalating Crisis

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 85-98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gambino Silvio, Nocito Walter

Governance europea dell'economia, crisi degli. Stati e diritti fondamentali: notazioni costituzionali

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

La crisi economico-finanziaria ha importanti ricadute sul diritto interno e su quello europeo in termini di riforme accompagnate da previsioni di rango costituzionale sul vincolo del pareggio di bilancio, insieme con l'approvazione di nuovi trattati e la creazione di nuove strutture istituzionali in ambito europeo per assicurare il rispetto degli standard macroeconomici da parte degli stati membri dell'eurozona. Gli effetti di queste riforme si ripercuotono in particolare sulla tenuta del modello statale ed europeo di Welfare e sulla effettività dei diritti, con particolare riguardo a quelli sociali. Il saggio riflette su tali complesse tematiche evolutive (e di trasformazione) degli ordinamenti europei, interrogandosi problematicamente sulla stessa esigibilità dei diritti sociali al livello di ordinamenti interni e di ordinamento dell'Unione, le cui costituzioni si ispirano al riconoscimento e alla garanzia di tali diritti.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Kreppel Amie

Governare l'Unione europea: quale ruolo per i Governi nazionali?

in *Filangeri (il) - rivista di diritto pubblico*, Quad. 2010



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sobotka Eva, Vermeersch Peter

Governing Human Rights and Roma Inclusion: Can the EU be a Catalyst for Local Social Change?

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 3, august , 800-822

ABSTRACT: In this article we analyze an important development of policymaking in the European Union (EU) on the Roma, which has evolved in the context of the EU's growing concern for human rights and Roma inclusion. The human rights focused approach on Roma was initially used by the European Union in the context of the EU's enlargement process; since 2007, it has informed the EU's internal policies on Roma. In addition, since 2007 the EU has made use of more broadly defined strategies of fostering social inclusion. Against the backdrop of a case study in the Czech Republic, the article explores the possible impact in the field and suggests some critical ways forward.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zsyan John, Huberty Mark, Behrens Arno, Colijn Bert, Tol Richard S. J.

Green growth

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 3 / May 2012 , 140-164

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Grözingger Gerd

Griechenland: Von den Amerikas lernen, heißt siegen lernen

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2012 , 35-39

Die drohende Staatspleite Griechenlands ist für viele Kommentatoren gleichbedeutend mit einem Austritt des Landes aus der Eurozone – und wahrscheinlich auch aus der EU. Doch der griechischen Regierung bleiben durchaus Handlungsoptionen, ein solches Szenario zu vermeiden. Wie ein „linker“ Ausweg aus der Schuldenkrise aussehen könnte, beschreibt im Folgenden Gerd Grözingger.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Agnieszka Gehringer

Growth, productivity and capital accumulation: The effects of financial liberalization in the case of European integration

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, volume 25 , 291-309

In the present contribution, I concentrate on the process of financial liberalization in a specific context of European economic and monetary integration. I implement de facto and de jure measures of financial liberalization and find that formal aspects of financial openness generate a strongly positive impact on economic growth and its sources,



productivity growth and capital accumulation. Moreover, there is evidence of a positive contribution to the process stemming from the EU membership, while no substantial effect comes from the euro adoption. Finally, I investigate the effects from financial integration on country groups within the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Epstein Richard

Harmonization, heterogeneity and regulation: CESL, the lost opportunity for constructive harmonization in Common Market Law Review, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 207-223

ABSTRACT: The central bargain of CESL is to provide firms that do business throughout the European Union the protection of a set of uniform rules that will override the many local laws that now govern consumer and small business transactions. The price for that protection is that firms that opt into CESL must accept an onerous set of mandatory terms intended to protect consumers and SMEs. In practice that price is too steep. The key objective of all contractual arrangements is to secure mutual gains from trade for both sides. That objective is hampered by insisting on intrusive mandatory terms that make contracting more costly and less efficient than it ought to be. A far better approach, fully consistent with the principle of subsidiarity, allows any firm to pick its preferred standardized terms for any given class of transactions. That approach has been adopted in the American decision in *Carnival Cruise v. Shute*. It should work equally well in the European context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Levmore Saul,

Harmonization, preferences, and the calculus of consent in commercial and other law in Common Market Law Review, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 243-259

ABSTRACT: Local, disparate preferences are normally satisfied by variety in law, but in some circumstances, harmonization can be the means by which a majority advances its members' local preferences. One unappreciated method involves the imposition of external costs by a majority on a minority. In its most common and extreme form, a majority imposes a tax on the population in order to finance a benefit that is limited to the majority. The asymmetry between burdens and benefits may be sufficiently great to generate inefficient expenditures. It is more difficult but not impossible to impose external costs through regulation. Commercial law is not free from this danger, because it reflects preferences about consumer protection, which is to say such things as wealth distribution and paternalism, and it pits interest groups against one another, as in the case of employees and tort claimants in the event of bankruptcy. Commercial law is therefore an area where groups might sometimes gain from diversity in legal rules, but might at other times find that harmonization allows a majority to benefit yet more. It is therefore difficult to know whether harmonization, which has many other causes, is beneficial or corrosive. When the majority of voters are relatively homogeneous, as is arguably the case among member countries in the European Union, the possibility of harmonization - or simply centralized decisionmaking - as a means of imposing external costs seems especially likely. There are means of reducing the danger, but harmonization itself should be expected to increase the influence of the central bureaucracy.

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Demesmay Claire

Hat der deutsch-französische Bilateralismus Zukunft?

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 1-3, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/152070/hat-der-deutsch-franzoesische-bilateralismus-zukunft

Seit dem Beginn der europäischen Integration wurde Deutschland und Frankreich die Funktion eines Motors zugeschrieben. Zwar war dieser Bilateralismus in seiner Intensität und Wirkkraft im Laufe der Jahrzehnte sehr unterschiedlich ausgeprägt und hing stark von dem jeweiligen "Tandem" an der Spitze beider Länder ab. Fest steht jedoch, dass er nur dann funktionieren kann, wenn beide Staaten dem Prinzip der produktiven Gegensätze folgen. Selbst wenn die aus den jeweiligen nationalen politischen und wirtschaftlichen Kulturen resultierenden Divergenzen keinen grundsätzlichen Anlass zur Sorge geben, so ist es trotzdem von wesentlicher Bedeutung, dass die jeweiligen Regierungen den Willen zeigen, diese zu überwinden. Weiterhin kann dieser Bilateralismus nur wirksam sein, wenn Deutschland und Frankreich stellvertretend für andere Länder der Europäischen Union sprechen. Tatsächlich können sie nur dann eine Dynamik anstoßen, wenn sich ihre übrigen Partner mit ihren Vorschlägen identifizieren und diese mittragen. Die Legitimität der deutsch-französischen Kooperation hängt also wesentlich vom europäischen Kontext ab, in den sie eingebettet ist.

Dieser Kontext hat in den vergangenen 50 Jahren eine Metamorphose erfahren, die dem Ende des Kalten Krieges, den verschiedenen Erweiterungsrounden der EU, aber auch der Globalisierung geschuldet ist. Diese Umwälzungen haben den deutsch-französischen Bilateralismus weniger selbstverständlich gemacht als zuvor, obwohl er durch die immer stärkere Institutionalisierung des gegenseitigen Austauschs zunehmend von Routine gekennzeichnet ist. Seit 2007 hat die bilaterale Zusammenarbeit jedoch unter dem Eindruck der Krise und der Diskussion um Staatsschulden ein Comeback erfahren, auch wenn sich dabei die internen Parameter erneut verändert haben: Deutschland sieht seine Position gestärkt, während Frankreich aufgrund seiner wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten geschwächt scheint. Nun stellt sich die Frage nach der Bedeutung dieses neuen Kapitels der deutsch-französischen Zusammenarbeit für die europäische Integration. Konnte das bilaterale Tandem in der jüngsten Vergangenheit zu einer effizienten Krisenlösung beitragen? Verfügt ein solcher Ansatz in Zukunft über eine ausreichende Legitimität? Und sind beide Länder in der Lage, auch über die Schuldenkrise hinaus eine dauerhafte Antriebsrolle in der EU wahrzunehmen?

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Müller Reinhard

Haushaltsautonomie des Parlaments – Kronjuwel adé? – Essay

in **Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte**, Band 38-39, 2012

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/144116/haushaltsautonomie-des-parlaments-kronjuwel-ade?p=all



Haushalt – den Begriff kennt jeder. Den eigenen sowieso. Aber auch den der großen Politik. Dass der Deutsche Bundestag über Einnahmen und Ausgaben entscheidet, ist nichts Neues. Zwar gelten Haushaltsfachleute irgendwie als Exoten – zu genau will man es dann doch nicht wissen –, aber das Budgetrecht des Parlaments würden auch politisch weniger Interessierte als eine Kernaufgabe bezeichnen. Als ein Verfassungsproblem ist die Haushaltsautonomie bis vor Kurzem allenfalls im Verhältnis zwischen Bund und Ländern angesehen worden. Dazu hat sich auch das Bundesverfassungsgericht schon oft geäußert. Doch recht neu ist die Möglichkeit jedes Bürgers, eine Aushöhlung dieses Rechts zu verhindern. Das ist ein Phänomen der immer enger werdenden europäischen Einigung – vor allem der Euro-Rettungspolitik.

Seit der Karlsruher Maastricht-Entscheidung von 1993 kann grundsätzlich Jeder jeden weiteren europäischen Integrationsschritt mit der Begründung angreifen, sein Wahlrecht zum Bundestag werde ausgehöhlt. Das hat das Verfassungsgericht dann in seinen Urteilen zum Vertrag von Lissabon und zur Griechenlandhilfe fortgesponnen. Das Wahlrecht des Bürgers ist insbesondere dann verletzt, "wenn sich der Deutsche Bundestag seiner parlamentarischen Haushaltsverantwortung dadurch entäußert, dass er oder zukünftige Bundestage das Budgetrecht nicht mehr in eigener Verantwortung ausüben können"...

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Sally Razeen

Here's a Plan B for containing the fall-out from a €-break-up in Europe's World, Issue 22, Autumn

Linking the euro's survival to that of the Single Market and even the EU itself has been a "dreadful error", writes Razeen Sally. He sets out the three elements of his Plan B for the European project.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22032/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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The Dutch Intellectual Debate on European Integration (1948-present). On Teachings and Life

Hollander Jieskje

in **Journal of European Integration History**, vol. 17, n. 2, 197-218

Since the beginning of the new millennium, in the Netherlands dissension has grown about the integration of Europe and the form that this integration should take. From a historical perspective it is remarkable that essential questions on the political character of European cooperation began to get their grip on the Netherlands only then. What had the Dutch been talking about since their first steps on the European path some sixty years ago? This article seeks to answer this question by mapping out the history of the Dutch intellectual debate on European integration between 1948 and the present. In doing this, it fills a gap in the Dutch historiography on the process. Moreover, the analysis of the intellectual debate explains – from a historical perspective – the origin of the gap between the Dutch political elite and the public at large that was revealed by the Dutch referendum on the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe in June 2005.



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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Balestrini Pierre P.

How Citizens' Education, Occupation, Personal Economic Expectations and National Identity Interact with One Another to Sway Public Opinion on the EU

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 3, September 2012 , 371-384

Abstract: This article examines the pattern of interactions between education, occupation, personal economic expectations and feelings of national identity and how these interactions affect public support for the EU. Using Eurobarometer data from 1993 to 2006, the results in this paper demonstrate that occupation mediates the relationship between EU support and education. It is also found that the sway of citizens' personal financial expectations on EU support is not conditioned by education and occupation. Finally citizens' personal economic expectations are not found to condition the relationship between EU support and feelings of national identity. In the light of these findings the paper draws implications.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Geddes Andrew, Taylor Andrew

How EU Capacity Bargains Strengthen States: Migration and Border Security in South-East Europe in West European Politics, vol. 36, n. 1 , 51-70

ABSTRACT: How and with what effects have three South-East European countries (Greece, Slovenia and Croatia) responded to the EU's migration and border security acquis? The paper shows that European integration can strengthen central state actors, but can also change the constellation of actors and resources in trans-boundary policy sectors such as international migration and border security. To demonstrate these effects the paper specifies functional, political and administrative dimensions of the EU's migration and border security 'capacity bargain'. It also specifies the limits of an EU approach to migration and border security – and associated capacity-building – that has a strong regulatory focus on the EU's external frontier with less attention paid to more complex regulatory and distributive dynamics that arise once migrants are 'in'.

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Jochen Roose

How European is European Identification? Comparing Continental Identification in Europe and Beyond in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 281-297

European identification has previously been explained by the selective gains brought by the European integration process, by personal transnational experiences and by the influence of political programmes aiming at increasing levels of identification. All these explanations imply that identification with one's continent would be specific in extent and



distribution across the social structure in Europe compared to other continents. These assumptions are tested using International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and a longitudinal analysis using Eurobarometer. Results show that, first, the extent of continental identification in Europe is not higher than in other continents. Second, they reveal that there has been no increase in European identification in recent decades. And third, the socio-structural distribution of continental identification is similar on all continents. Accordingly, explaining European identification with respect to policy output of the European Union is questioned by the findings. The results rather hint at the possibility that European identification is independent of political integration.

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Zemanek Holger

How Governments Should Support the Adjustment of Competitiveness in the Euro Area – and How They Should Not

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 32, Issue 3, October 2012 , 78-84

In addition to unsustainable fiscal policies, the weak competitiveness of southern European countries is contributing to the ongoing crisis in the euro area. However, wages and productivity are only one element of competitiveness and the value of competitive wages is hard to measure. Hard-to-identify non-price competitiveness such as quality, innovation and technology of goods affects overall competitiveness too. Given the lack of information, the necessary level of wage adjustment needs to be negotiated on the market. Governments can support a market based adjustment of competitiveness by liberalising labour markets and by strengthening the business environment.

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Federico Giovanni

How much do we know about market integration in Europe?

in **Economic Journal**, May 2012, Volume 65, Issue 2 , 470-497

The literature on commodity market integration has boomed in the last 15 years, and a sort of consensus is slowly emerging, at least with regard to trends in the last two centuries. This article argues that this consensus is fragile because the research is haunted by serious methodological shortcomings. The results are not really comparable because authors use a bewildering array of statistical techniques, without bothering too much about their assumptions and, more generally, about the theoretical foundations of their work. Market integration is a multi-faceted process and available techniques can be classified according to the issues they are suitable to tackle. In other words, the methodological choices, together with the available data, have steered the research towards a quite narrow set of issues. Thus we know much less than we suppose. The final section sketches out a research agenda beyond pure measurement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mariyana Angelova, Tanja Dannwolf, Thomas König

How robust are compliance findings? A research synthesis



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 8 2012 , 1269-1291

This study presents a synthesis of quantitative and qualitative research on compliance with EU directives. We identify and code 12 theoretical arguments tested in 37 published compliance studies and evaluate the robustness and representativeness of their findings. Our synthesis reveals robust findings for the 'goodness-of-fit' and 'institutional decision-making' arguments, while results on 'actors' policy preferences' and 'administrative efficiency' remain ambiguous. A closer examination of the studies' research design suggests policy and country selection effects. Specifically, most studies focus on environmental and social policies and rarely include complying Scandinavian states and non-complying Southern states. We therefore recommend a cautious interpretation of existing compliance findings and, for future compliance research, a more careful selection of countries and policy fields.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spoon Jae-Jae

How salient is Europe? An analysis of European election manifestos, 1979–2004

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 558-579

What determines how 'European' a party's manifesto is? This article examines the salience of European issues in national parties' Euromanifestos during the 1979–2004 period. I argue that domestic politics, including voter, party, and party system factors, influence the European content of a party's Euromanifesto. Using data from the Euromanifestos Project for 14 member states, I find that the differential emphasis on European issues in the national party system, intra-party dissent on European integration, voter ambivalence on membership of the European Union, and party type all influence the salience of European issues in a party's manifesto. These findings have important implications for understanding both how parties use manifestos to manipulate the political agenda and the dimensions of contestation in elections to the European Parliament.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jonathan Golub

How the European Union does not work: national bargaining success in the Council of Ministers

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1294-1315

We know surprisingly little about whether the content of European Union (EU) legislation reflects the preferences of some member states more than others. The few studies that have examined national bargaining success rates for EU legislation have conceptual and methodological weaknesses. To redress these problems I use a salience-weighted measure to gauge the relative success of member states in translating their national preferences into legislation, and test two plausible, competing hypotheses about how the EU works: that no state consistently achieves more of what it really wants than any other; and that large member states tend to beat small ones. Neither hypothesis receives empirical support. Not only do states differ far more significantly in their respective levels of bargaining success than previously recognized, but some of the smaller states are the ones that do especially well. The article's main contribution – demonstrating that the EU does not work as most people think it does – sets the stage for new research questions, both positive and normative. In the last section I make a tentative start to answering two of the most important: which factors explain the surprising empirical results; and whether differential national bargaining success might undermine the



legitimacy of the integration process.

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Secchi Carlo

How the eurozone's political elite should recover leadership

in Europe's World, Issue 22, Autumn

The euro system is looking like a challenge to economic common sense, says Carlo Secchi. He sets out the steps that Europe's political class must summon up the courage to take.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22033/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernando Gomez and Juan Jose Ganuza

How to build European private law: an economic analysis of the lawmaking and harmonization dimensions in European private law

in European Journal of Law and Economics, volume 33 n.3 , 481-503

In the process of building a European Private Law, the lawmaking and harmonization dimensions—the modes of harmonization and even more, the scope and reach of the harmonizing effect of the European rules- appear as crucial issues. We show how the harmonization strategy is as important a question as whether we should have European Private Law at all. We present an economic discussion of the different modes of harmonizing Private Law in the abstract, and how they are likely to differently affect outcomes. We also present in informal terms a simple economic model of how to build optimal harmonized rules and standards in a setting of pre-existing separate and diverse national ones, and we systematically explore how the different harmonization regimes (maximum harmonization, minimum harmonization, and pure co-existence of harmonized and national standards) affect the outcomes of the harmonization process.

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Grant Charles

How to wake Britain from sleepwalking to the EU exit

in Europe's World, Issue 20, Spring

History, geography and economics are responsible for the UK's deep-seated euroscepticism, says Charles Grant. But now these forces are strengthening so that Britain could easily leave the Union within 10 years. He sets out tactics for countering that.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21949/language/en



n-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Scarpari Giancarlo

I governi si fanno a Bruxelles

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 10 - ottobre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Staiano Sandro

I partiti europei fuori tempo

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 15

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Cangelosi Rocco

I processi democratici in Europa e la crisi economica

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 278-288

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piccardo Lara

I rapporti tra Comecon e Cee: dalla guerra fredda al mutuo riconoscimento

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Trupiano Gaetana

I vincoli economici e fiscali europei: il rigore di bilancio e l'esigenza della crescita

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012



La governance europea ha accelerato i suoi interventi con il Semestre europeo del 2010, il six pack del 2011 per giungere, da ultimo, al fiscal compact del 2012. Il fiscal compact rappresenta la più recente decisione europea in tema di controllo della stabilità delle finanze pubbliche con l'introduzione di rigide regole sulla riduzione del deficit di bilancio e del debito pubblico. Il lavoro si sofferma sulle misure relative ai vincoli di bilancio e, in particolare, sulle regole e gli effetti del fiscal compact. Lo studio si occupa anche del problema della crescita da affrontare accanto alle decisioni sul rigore di bilancio, illustrando anche gli stessi strumenti europei a favore dello sviluppo economico.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tosato Gian Luigi

I vincoli europei sulle politiche di bilancio

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 257-262

It is the purpose of this paper to put the Fiscal Compact in the right perspective and to clarify the extent of the budgetary discipline laid down at the European level. The Fiscal Compact essentially restates a set of rules originally provided in the Maastricht Treaty and subsequently supplemented by the Stability and Growth Pact and the recent Six Pack. The resulting obligations for the Member States are extremely tough but entail a margin of flexibility. The balance budget objective admits some mitigations as to the manners and timing for its achievement. Furthermore, pursuant to Article 126 (3) TFEU, the Commission has to take into account all "relevant factors" (including investment expenses and the financial health of the private sector) before starting an excessive deficit procedure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Silvio Gambino

Identidad constitucional nacional, derechos fundamentales e integración europea

in **Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo** , n. 18

This paper approaches the classic topic of the relationship between legal orders, for all, the relationship between State Constitutions and the Treaties after the new regulations introduced in the Treaty of Lisbon. The starting point is a long evaluation of the democratic principle in the Lisbon decision of the German Federal Constitutional Court. Secondly, the paper takes account of the influence of the Fundamental Rights Charter on the European law primacy and its relation with the States constitutional identity. Finally, the author projects the problems on the specific question of social rights and its constitutional demobilization under the pressure of the European Court.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wittaker Simon

Identifying the legal costs of operation of the Common European Sales Law

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 85-108

ABSTRACT: The EU Commission has proposed an optional Common European Sales Law (CESL) whose main purpose is the reduction of the legal costs of cross-border contracting. This paper outlines the Commission's view as to



these current legal costs and how its proposal would reduce them, and then compares these with the likely costs of operation of the CESL. It identifies these likely costs as lying in the complex legal framework into which the CESL would be set; the relative uncertainty of the concepts used by the CESL and of its substantive scope; and the significance of national judicial evaluations required by the complex legal standards used by the CESL, of which the most prominent is 'good faith and fair dealing'. The paper concludes that a number of the costs which the Commission expects to be saved by use of the CESL are likely to find parallels in costs generated by its use and that, owing to its own characteristics, the CESL is likely to generate its own further and new legal costs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gambino Silvio

Identità costituzionali nazionali e primauté eurounitaria

in **Quaderni Costituzionali**, numero 3, settembre , 533-562

The European Union has recently showed a relevant development in the process of integration toward a unitary system. The EU fundamental rights, which are recognized in the article 6 of new EU Treaty, which (materially) incorporates the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, represents one of the most important forms and expressions of this. This evolution leads to raise again the old question on the relationships between (form and guarantees) of national constitutionalism and EU primary law (which, at least for a part of the legal scholarship, may be qualified as a real European constitutionalism). According to this perspective, it would even be unrealistic to identify possible forms resistances (counter limits) to the recognition of general primacy of EU law on the fundamental rights enshrined by national constitutions. The article purports to address this question, particularly in light of one of the most expressive constitutional traditions of national constitutional cultures, that of social rights and the related relationship with the EU law. The recent jurisprudence of the EUCJ in this field seems to support to the doctrinal concerns which point to the risks of a devaluation of institutes and constitutional forms of guarantee of fundamental rights (especially in the economic sphere), as observed in the more relevant constitutional traditions of the European constitutional heritage.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gerhard Schroeder

If You Want a Middle Class Keep Your Industrial Base

in **New Perspectives Quarterly**, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter , 23-24

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.

When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to



complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.

The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.

The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.

Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national



interests and passions.

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Morselli Valentina

Il "Unifil rafforzata" elementi della formazione della cultura europea strategica in un non-eu

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 539-556

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Licastro Giuseppe

Il "codice frontiere Schengen" e l'allargamento dell'Unione Europea

in *Politico (II)*, n. 229, 2011 , 152-156

ABSTRACT: This note discusses the application process ('gradual') of the 'Schengen Borders Code' in the context of European Union enlargement, in particular: Croatia's EU accession.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Calamia Pietro

Il Consiglio europeo di Milano (28-29 giugno 1985)

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 353-360

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fabbrini Federico

Il Fiscal Compact: un primo commento

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 2, giugno , 434-437

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fasone Cristina, Lupo Nicola

Il Parlamento europeo alla luce delle novità introdotte nel Trattato di Lisbona e nel suo regolamento interno
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 329-358

The article deals with the steady empowerment of the European Parliament by the revision of the European Treaties, and the updating process of its rules: a process that is continuing after the Treaty of Lisbon. Indeed, the European Parliament uses the amendments of its rules instrumentally, aiming at further increasing its power, and it generally succeeds in achieving this objective. This is shown in the present article, firstly through the analysis of the internal bodies of the institution, which is organized in a way that enhances its decisional capability. Secondly, the "form of government" of the European Union is considered, looking at the European Parliament's relationship with the Commission, also in the light of their 2010 interinstitutional agreement. Finally, the position of the European Parliament within the legislative procedures is examined, taking into account the new forms of cooperation with the national Parliaments.

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Leggewie Claus

Il baricentro nel Mare Nostrum

in *Reset*, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/dossier/il-futuro-e-dei-pigs-un-ponte-sul-mediterraneo>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Caggiano Giandonato

Il bilanciamento tra libertà di circolazione dei fattori produttivi ed esigenze imperative degli Stati membri nel mercato interno

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 295-328

The article is devoted to the progressive reduction of national measures restricting the freedoms of circulation in the EU internal market. Generally, the process of legislative harmonization provides an assessment of the balance between the interests of the European Union to market integration and the interests of the Member States. If this is not the case, the Court of Justice held an evaluation on the balance between the four freedoms of movement and the noneconomic general interests of the Member States, according to the test of necessity and proportionality. National courts participate through the dialogue of preliminary ruling, within the margin left by the "guidelines" given by the Court of Justice. The study examines the legitimate restrictions to each of the four freedoms of movement (the concept of "measures having equivalent effect to quantitative restrictions and the directly and indirectly discriminatory rules) and on the basis of fundamental rights (including those of a social nature); it analyzes the rationale and the functioning of the derogations provided by the TFEU and those created by the ECJ (with specific attention the characteristics of the protection of health and the environment). Reflections are also devoted to the strengths and weaknesses of the process of legislative harmonization and the case-law methodology: the first stop the evaluation of conflicting interests while facilitating the



application by operators; the second enhance flexibility, yet creating legal uncertainty. The conclusions confirm the federal dynamic process in EU integration. The check and balance method is an expression of the constitutional function of the Court of Justice until the time of 'occupation' of the internal market' shared competence by the EU harmonization measures.

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Gerdts Michael H.

Il futuro dell'Unione europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 265-269

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Santagostino Angelo

Il mercato Unico Europeo. Una prospettiva liberale tra Einaudi e Hayek

in *Politico (II)*, n. 229, 2011 , 81-104

ABSTRACT: The single European market, product of the European Coal and Community and of the EEC, is a construction that has its base in the classical liberal doctrine. Its benefits were explained by Einaudi in 1944. The so-called fathers of Europe, belonging to different political cultures (Christian democrat, socialist and communist) had to draw from liberal doctrine to build the common market. Planning for Hayek, as for Einaudi, it is a beautiful word when it describes the action of an individual, but it is harmful in the hands of the State. The results of the single market, through his history, say that when European policy makers tried to replace the invisible hand for planning or for the Keynesian State interventionism, ineffectiveness, wastes or resources, destruction of wealth and job have followed. The European single market has delivered its best results when the free market mechanisms have worked freely.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lavallée Chantal

Il mercato europeo della difesa: un nuovo spazio per le lotte

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 573-590

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luciano Gallino

Il modello sociale europeo e l'unità della Ue - in dialogo con Luciano Gallino

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LVI, n. 59



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Cingari Salvatore

Il neofascismo in Europa: problemi di egemonia

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 10 - ottobre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Apostolou Apostolos

Il nuovo Dachau: l'Unione europea deve evolversi in federazione di Stati

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 11 - novembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferraro Fabio

Il nuovo istituto di democrazia partecipativa e le sue prime applicazioni

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 523-540

This article deals with the European citizens initiative, which is a topic of great relevancy and interest in strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the European Union. Indeed, this new instrument of participatory democracy gives EU citizens the possibility to invite the European Commission to present a proposal for a legal act. The article touches upon the most salient aspects and problems of the citizens initiative, recalling the first registered initiatives published on the Commission's website. The major problem regarding implementation of the citizens initiative is that the Commission is not obliged to propose a legal act at the completion of the procedure.

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Iozzo Alfonso

Il problema del debito non più sovrano e il ruolo dell'European Stability Mechanism

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 164-168

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1390&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes



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Mignolli Alessandra

Il progetto di accordo di adesione dell'Unione europea alla Convenzione europea dei diritti dell'uomo: alcuni spunti di riflessione

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 541-564

The article analyses the 2011 draft agreement between the European Union and the Council of Europe on the Union's accession to the European Convention on Human Rights. The study highlights some of the more controversial issues in the negotiations for accessions, namely the co-responsibility mechanism envisaged by the draft agreement in order to preserve the autonomy of the EU legal and institutional structure, and the asymmetries that may arise in the jurisdiction of the ECJ and the ECHR respectively relating to human rights in the EU legal system. The article concludes that many problems still remain unsolved, and it is up to the EU institutions to put in place adequate mechanisms to ensure compliance with the ECHR and execution of ECHR judgements, taking into account not only the preservation of the internal balance between EU and Member States, but also, and foremost, the citizens' interest in an efficient and effective system of human rights protection at the European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Antonio Ruggeri

Il rinvio pregiudiziale alla Corte dell'Unione: risorsa o problema? (Nota minima su una questione controversa)

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 95-105

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maria Luisa Tufano

Il ruolo della Commissione nella governance europea: quali prospettive?

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 133-156

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Francesco Munari

Il ruolo della Corte di giustizia e il suo rapporto con gli altri organi dell'Unione

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 189-213

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ponikiewski Wojciech, Wojtasik Szymon

Il ruolo della Polonia in Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 63-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Germanicus

Il valore politico dell'elezione del presidente della Commissione

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Spinella Dell'Avanzato

Il welfare «dal basso verso l'alto»: la Carta di responsabilità sociale europea

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LVI, n. 59

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Novotný Vít

Immigration and integration in the European Union

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 283-284

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Alemanno Alberto, Meuwese Anne

Impact Assessment of EU Non-Legislative Rulemaking: The Missing Link in 'New Comitology'

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 76–92

Impact assessment (IA) has gone from an innocuous technical tool typically used in the pre-legislative phase to an instrument at the heart of the European institutional machinery. However—in deviation from its roots as a tool governing delegated rulemaking in the US—most experience with IA in the EU has been gathered in a legislative context. Against the background of the recent evolution of the EU's old 'comitology' system into a two-track system of delegated acts and



implementing measures, this contribution discusses in three parts the 'whys,' 'whats' and 'hows' of extending IA to 'non-legislative rulemaking.' It explores various aspects of the rulemaking process that IA—if properly applied—could strengthen: consultation, control and quality.

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Peo Hansen, Stefan Jonsson

Imperial Origins of European Integration and the Case of Eurafica: A Reply to Gary Marks' 'Europe and Its Empires'

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 1028-1041

This article offers a critique of Gary Marks' recent article in JCMS, entitled 'Europe and Its Empires: From Rome to the European Union'. Although it sympathizes with Marks' invocation of empire as a key theoretical concept and historical category in the study of European integration, it fundamentally disagrees with his 'continentalist' operationalization. Marks chooses to discuss the nexus of empire and European integration exclusively with reference to historical processes of imperial expansion and community formation occurring on the western European land mass. Since this methodology leaves out Europe's maritime colonial empires, it cannot account for the mutually conditioning relations between the intra- and extra-European imperial processes. Consequently, Marks also fails to register colonialism's decisive bearing on post-war European integration, and thus the fact that the scale of the original EEC was not delimited by the European land mass, but corresponded to the geopolitical constellation that at the time was called Eurafica.

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Hillebrecht Courtney

Implementing International Human Rights Law at Home: Domestic Politics and the European Court of Human Rights

in **Human Rights Review**, vol. 13, number 3 , 279-301

ABSTRACT: The European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) boasts one of the strongest oversight systems in international human rights law, but implementing the ECtHR's rulings is an inherently domestic and political process. This article begins to bridge the gap between the Court in Strasbourg and the domestic process of implementing the Court's rulings by looking at the domestic institutions and politics that surround the execution of the ECtHR's judgments. Using case studies from the UK and Russia, this article identifies two factors that are critical for the domestic implementation of the Court's rulings: strong domestic, democratic institutions dedicated to implementing the ECtHR's judgments and an overarching sense of responsibility to set a good example at home and abroad for respecting human rights and the rule of law. This article concludes with a discussion of the steps necessary to facilitate better implementation of the ECtHR's rulings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Matthew C. Turk



Implications of European Disintegration for International Law

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 17, issue 3 , 395-446

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Fiott Daniel

Improving CSDP Planning and Capability Development: Could there be a 'Frontex Formula'?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 1 , 47-62

ABSTRACT: The newly agreed operational rules for Frontex allows the Agency to, among other things, buy or lease its own equipment for missions and/or to do so in co-ownership with the Member States and to request national seconded staff for its operations. The new rules are a major step forward in further developing Frontex's resources. Yet this progress has not been matched, despite the Lisbon treaty's protocol on Permanent Structured Cooperation, and in light of the defence budget cuts being made in many European Union (EU) Member States, when it comes to the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). This article asks why, given that each policy area is ultimately aimed at the defence and security of the EU, are the innovations that have been agreed for Frontex not equally applicable to CSDP? Why have Member States increased cooperation under Frontex without equivalent or similar progress under the CSDP? This article aims to shed light on the differences and similarities of the two policy domains in order to see if a 'Frontex formula' could be applicable to the CSDP

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Esther Versluis, Erika Tarr

Improving Compliance with European Union Law via Agencies: The Case of the European Railway Agency

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 316-333

European Union agencies are increasingly used to stimulate domestic compliance with EU law, without concrete evidence for whether and how these bodies actually realize this. Through in-depth analysis of the European Railway Agency, this article enhances our empirical understanding of the working and functioning of EU agencies, and advances our thinking about compliance in international settings. It leads us to the insight that – in order to be capable of stimulating domestic compliance – agencies should be flexible to resort to a mix of compliance strategies in order to be able to cope with the varying domestic compliance situations.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferron J.

In varietate concordia. Etude du système institutionnel de l'UE sous l'angle procédural

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Megan Czasonis, Michael A. Quinn

Income convergence in the EU: catching up or falling behind?

in *Acta Oeconomica*, volume 62 n.2 , 183-204

One of the motivations for a country to join the European Union is the belief that this will boost short- and long-run incomes. Researchers have tested the hypothesis of income convergence in different settings using either regression or unit root analysis, with mixed results. In this paper, we use both methods on the same samples over a significant time period. This allows us to judge differences in results across varied time-frames and methodologies. The focus of these tests is on convergence to German and EMU average incomes by Eastern European countries and those within the Euro-zone from 1971–2007. The evidence for convergence is mixed. Among the Euro-zone countries, there is more evidence of convergence in the 1970s and 1980s than recently. There is significant evidence that Eastern Europe experienced convergence and that capital formation was one of the root causes. While the results do not support the hypothesis that joining the EU increases convergence, reforms undertaken in the 1990s by Eastern European countries in preparation for joining may have helped them to “catch up”, even if the act of joining the EU did not directly impact convergence.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Clark Nicholas, Hellwig Timothy

Information effects and mass support for EU policy control

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 535-557

Democracy requires an active and informed citizenry. Citizen engagement is all the more critical in complex environments such as the European Union (EU). This article examines how having an informed public matters for support for European-level policy competencies. Is public skepticism of EU authority shaped by a lack of knowledge, or are attitudes about policy jurisdiction in Europe’s multilevel system unbiased by information? Our analysis of collective opinion in 27 issue areas reveals that, in nearly every case, a paucity of knowledge about the EU reduces popular support for European policy control. Further analyses show that possessing knowledge of Europe’s institutions affects support for EU authority in areas involving cross-border political issues. In contrast, we find no consistent biasing effect on opinions about control over economic issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Taborowski Maciej

Infringement proceedings and non-compliant national courts

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 6 , 1881-1914

ABSTRACT: The Article discusses the question of whether and under what conditions the infringement procedures regulated in Art. 258/260 TFEU may and should be initiated with regard to definitive decisions of national courts which



are contrary to EU law. It tries to clarify to what extent definitive judicial decisions may become the subject of the procedure under Art. 258 TFEU, inter alia as a factor which determines a declaration of an infringement on the part of the legislating bodies of a Member State, leads to a declaration of an infringement consisting in an incorrect practice of applying law, or as an independent subject of proceedings. In each configuration the liability of the State is determined according to somewhat different criteria, which are subjected to a detailed analysis. The article shows also potential consequences and problems which may be caused by a judgment of the ECJ declaring an infringement in various possible configurations with the participation of national courts. Lastly, an evaluation is also made of the position of the Commission, which essentially considers that the infringement procedure is not suitable for counteracting infringements in the application of EU law by national courts.

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Deniz Aksoy

Institutional Arrangements and Logrolling: Evidence from the European Union
in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 538–552

This article illustrates how voting rules used to pass a piece of legislation and the structure of the legislation, in terms of whether or not it has single or multiple issue dimensions, influence the frequency and the purpose of position changes in legislative negotiations. Through analysis of data on a set of legislative proposals negotiated in the European Union, I show that position changes are less common under unanimity rule than under majority rule. More importantly, I argue and show that when the negotiated legislation is multidimensional (i.e., contains multiple issues) and the voting rule is unanimity, position changing is a lucrative strategy for legislators. Multidimensional legislation creates opportunities for logrolling, and legislators' veto power under the unanimity rule enables them to exploit these opportunities. Accordingly, under this scenario, legislators often engage in what I call a within-legislation logroll and secure favorable legislative outcomes.

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Itçaina Xabier, Roger Antoine, Smith Andy

Institutionalizations compared: Implementating the EU's 2008 wine reform
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 11, n. 1, january , 119-142

ABSTRACT: In 2008 the European Union adopted an apparently radical reform of its wine policy. However, whether this policy change actually reinstitutionalizes the regulation of this industry is dependent on how it is implemented and represented by both commercial operators and regulators located at national and intra-national scales. Using interview and documentary data generated on this process in France, Spain and Romania, this article sets out to compare and explain the differentiated institutionalization of the reform that has actually occurred to date. Its key empirical finding is that reinstitutionalization is dependent on the degree to which change has been legitimated within such regions. More precisely, durable change or maintenance of the status quo stems from how conflicts over different parts of the EU's reform have been framed and debated locally. This finding has two wider implications for institutionalist theories of political change. First, constructivist accounts of the framing of collective and public problems need to be brought to the fore. Second, at least when studying contemporary Europe, the question of scale and its institutional effects should be systematically built into research strategies and methodologies.



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Zuzana Murdoch, Benny Geys

Instrumental calculation, cognitive role-playing, or both? Self-perceptions of seconded national experts in the European Commission

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 9 2012, 1357-1376

Most work studying micro-processes of integration – i.e., how agents develop identities and decision-making behaviours within a particular institution – offers explanations based on either instrumental rationality or socialization. This article proposes a two-dimensional framework that allows analysing under which conditions both logics of social action co-exist. Our empirical analysis employs a unique dataset from a 2011 survey of all 1,098 currently active Seconded National Experts (SNEs) in the European Commission. We find that (1) instrumental cost–benefit calculation and cognitive role-playing (as semi-reflexive socialization) often simultaneously influence SNEs' (perceptions of their) behaviour, and (2) this joint presence of both logics of social action depends on certain scope conditions (i.e., SNEs' education, length of prior embeddedness and noviceness).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bailes Alyson J.K., Thorhallsson Baldur

Instrumentalizing the European Union in Small State Strategies

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 2, 99-115

The paper argues for exploring the functionality of the EU in small states' comprehensive security strategies. Institutions and states today frequently publish security 'strategies' defining their overarching aims and policy principles. For small states, membership of regional institutions can be a strategic aim—easing multiple security concerns—but itself tends to modify strategic agendas and discourse. The paper argues that the EU offers small European states soft security strategic options not previously available nor (currently) paralleled elsewhere; and that small states can and do make use of this broader 'shelter', albeit at a certain cost. It calls for an update of the small states literature by focusing on the importance of existential and 'soft' security benefits increasingly offered by multilateral institutions like the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

James Buckley, David Howarth, Lucia Quaglia

Internal Market: The Ongoing Struggle to 'Protect' Europe from Its Money Men

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012, 99-115

An overview of the financial sector regulation adopted or developed during 2011.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Tobias Koepf

Interventions françaises en Afrique : la fin de l'eupéanisation ?

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°2 été

Au cours de la première décennie du XXI^e siècle, la France s'est lancée dans plusieurs opérations militaires en Afrique aux côtés de ses partenaires européens. Cette eupéanisation n'a pas donné les résultats escomptés, en raison notamment des réticences de Berlin et Londres. La France est donc retournée à une approche plus unilatérale bien que parfois teintée de multilatéralisme onusien, comme l'illustre le cas de l'intervention en Côte-d'Ivoire en 2011.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peel Quentin, Stürmer Michael

Interview with Hans-Dietrich Genscher

in *International Affairs*, vol. 88, issue 6, november, 1205-1218

ABSTRACT: Germany was always in favour of the UK joining the Common Market, in spite of French objections, because Britain—with its 'special relationship' to Washington—was seen as helping to bind the US to Europe, according to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the longest-serving German foreign minister. Young Germans were inspired by Sir Winston Churchill's Zürich speech in 1946, calling for Germany to be part of a united continent, and Genscher saw Britain as the model of 'the new Europe'. But while a united Europe meant for Germany a return to the community of civilized nations, for Britain it meant 'the loss of empire'. Although Margaret Thatcher, when prime minister, had a 'bogeyman image' of Germany, Genscher dismissed her opposition to German unification as unimportant, because she was never likely to disagree with the US on such an issue. President Mitterrand of France was never so fiercely opposed to unification. Germany and the UK were always close on economic policy and support for the common market, but the UK was 'mentally too far removed' to join France and Germany as part of a three-nation directorate leading Europe, he says. Genscher believes that Europe will solve the problems of the common currency, and make itself more attractive to Britain, especially thanks to the single market. The rise of Euroscepticism can be attributed to Europe's failure to present itself as attractively as it ought to, and also to the 'cowardice' of politicians who agree to policies in Brussels, and then blame an anonymous power in Brussels if they prove unpopular. 'Europe is all of us', he concludes.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paolo Guerrieri, Piero Esposito

Intra-European imbalances, adjustment, and growth in the eurozone

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3, 532-550

This paper considers the increase in the Euro intra-area imbalances since the late 1990s and their role in the current European debt crisis. By focusing on the case study of Italy and Germany, we argue that both macroeconomic (the functioning of the euro area) and microeconomic (internationalization of production) factors contributed to the creation of such imbalances. When sovereign risk and currency risk emerged in the periphery, coupled with austerity as a response to these risks, both factors made the euro crisis worse. The present zero-sum-game approach is very risky for the stability of the euro area. Policy coordination of some kind is needed. This requires agreeing on well-identified economic



policy priorities, taking full account of the different positions of the members in terms of growth, external imbalances, and competitiveness. New policy priorities are thus required in the euro zone that put more emphasis on cooperative (positive-sum) games in convergence and competitiveness.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amy Verdun

Introduction to the Symposium: Economic and Monetary Union and the Crisis of the Eurozone
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 863-865

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davies Bille, Rasmussen Morten

Introduction. Towards a New History of European Law

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law , 305-318

This article introduces the special issue on the new history of European law. Its intention is to provide our audience with the intellectual context that the contributions seek to address and some of the underlying conclusions from the fields of political science and legal scholarship that the archive material synthesised here will recast. Each of the individual contributions will be described and located in the new field of scholarship, and the intentions and current limitations of our findings will be delineated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sandra Kröger & Dawid Friedrich

Introduction: the representative turn in EU studies

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 2 2013 , 155-170

In everyday discourse, democracy has become associated with representation. Western-style political systems today are generally categorized as representative democracies, as is the EU. The Treaty of Lisbon declares the EU to be founded on representative democracy, with political equality as its normative foundation. However, contemporary processes of diversification, not least that of European integration, pose severe challenges to the historically contingent link between democracy and representation. Consequently, many scholars indicate a democratic deficit in the EU, which the current debt crisis has accentuated even further. This introduction takes stock of recent theoretical debates and identifies three key issues which it then links to the contributions to this collection: namely, (1) a decisive shift in the understanding of the representative relationship; (2) an increased attention to non-electoral representation, specifically civil society (organizations); and (3) the debate about whether democratic competences are best located at the supranational or the national level. We close by reflecting on potential future avenues for research.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimenticate Amélie, Rayroux Antoine

Introduzione: sicurezza europea e la svolta pratica nelle relazioni internazionali

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 501-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caraballo Ma Ángeles, Efthimiadis Tilemahos

Is 2 % the optimal inflation rate for the Euro Area?

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Numbers 3-4 / September 2012 , 235-243

According to the relevant literature, monetary policy implications concerning the optimal inflation rate can be derived by examining the relationship between inflation and the Relative Price Variability (RPV). This paper studies this issue for selected Euro Area (EA) countries, using monthly data for the Harmonized Index of Consumer Prices. In particular, semi-parametric estimations are employed so as to find the accurate form of the inflation-RPV relationship. The results indicate that this relationship exhibits a U-shape functional profile. Furthermore, the optimal inflation rates for the EA, France, Germany and Spain are also calculated. For all countries and the EA, we find that although the European Central Bank's "below but close to 2 %" inflation target is optimal for the EA average, it is not the optimum inflation rate for the individual counties.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nadalutti Elisabetta

Is Cross-Border Governance Emerging over the Border between Italy and Slovenia?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 2 , 181-197

ABSTRACT: The paper analyses the implications of cross-border activities on patterns of integration and governance in cross-border-regions following the implementation of EU cross-border co-operation programmes and Regulation 1082/2006 (i.e. European Grouping of Territorial Co-operation). It focuses on cross-border governance between Italy and Slovenia. It investigates the impact on the governance of the border by emerging and strengthening regional actors. First, it offers a brief theoretical background on the meaning of 'border' and 'cross-border governance' within the EU. Second, it investigates whether a type of transnational governance is emerging in cross-border regions, in which cross-border activities are empowering the regional-local level and permitting it to circumvent/supersede the national level. It will be shown that EU cross-border co-operation programmes are transforming the operation of power across the various levels of governance on a local/national/supranational level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lock Tobias



Is private enforcement of EU law through State liability a myth? An assessment 20 years after Francovich
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 5 , 1675-1702

ABSTRACT: This article assesses the success of Member State liability as a tool for the private enforcement of European Union law. The argument made is that Member State liability, first established 20 years ago in the Francovich case, is not a suitable and reliable mechanism to compensate for the weaknesses of public enforcement. The argument is based on statistical findings concerning the case law on Member State liability in two key Member State jurisdictions, England and Germany. The findings reveal that surprisingly little litigation has taken place so far and that only a handful of cases were litigated successfully. This leads the author to conclude that Member State liability has not been successful as a mechanism for the enforcement of EU law. The article continues by analysing why most of the proceedings initiated remain unsuccessful. It is shown that the criteria for the remedy are very difficult to satisfy and that there is reluctance on the part of national courts to award damages for the failure of Member States to comply with EU law. Against this background it is suggested that State liability under EU law should be chiefly regarded as a means of individual compensation rather than a tool for the private enforcement of EU law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schulz Justyna

Is the Current Financial Crisis Also a Crisis of the Europeanization Model? Evidence from Poland
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 41-57

This paper analyses the Europeanization process from the monetary point of view. It argues that the main shortcoming of the underlying ideas about the economic convergence is their focus on the real sphere, while the financial constraints are not properly addressed. This thesis is illustrated on the capital-import-development-model, which is seen as an unquestionable model for the modernization of the economic system. However, this intellectual perspective neglects the question of how to canalize the foreign capital to the domestic entrepreneurs. For this purpose, collaterals are necessary in which foreign capital providers or banks could invest. Otherwise, the capital import leads to the increase of assets' share owned by foreign economic actors without a significant strengthening of the domestic entrepreneurs' capability to generate export revenues; a precondition that the capital-import-model functions and does not lead into the trap of the overindebtedness. This thesis is discussed on the empirical data from Poland.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Ramskogler Paul

Is there a European wage leader? Wage spillovers in the European Monetary Union
in *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Volume 36 Issue 4 July 2012 , 941-962

The introduction of the euro had been accompanied by expectations of increased inflationary pressures due to a de-coordination shock to national wage bargaining systems. Though, if anything systematically happened after the introduction of the euro, wage restraint increased. This paper argues that an interdependency of wage setting under German dominance has emerged in Europe, which fuelled the transmission of mutual wage restraint. We will investigate wage and nominal unit labour cost spillovers in the European Monetary Union (EMU) exploring a panel of 13 manufacturing sectors from 1992 to 2005 and quantify the effects of different countries. Strong interdependencies



across EMU member countries with regard to nominal wage growth are found. A leading role accrues to Germany, which is responsible for a cumulative reduction of trans-European wage growth rates of 0.62% by conservative estimates. Remarkably, the influence of Germany is strongest on Southern Europe with regard to wage growth interdependencies. However, the situation is inverted with regard to the development of nominal unit labour costs where the German influence on Southern Europe is substantially weaker than on neighbouring economies.

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187-206

Ist die Finanzkrise auch eine Demokratiekrise? Eine Diskussion aus politischer und politikwissenschaftlicher Sicht

in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft*, Volume 6, Issue 2, 2012, 187-206

Abstract

Which consequences does the global financial and economic crisis entail for democratic government and democratic legitimacy; both in the EU and in Germany? The article discusses this question from two perspectives. The first perspective is represented by Thorsten Schäfer-Gümbel – a political scientist by training and current head of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and faction in the Land Hessen. The second perspective is illustrated by Claudia Wiesner – currently a Marie Curie Fellow at the Finnish Research Centre for Conceptual Change and also one of the chairs of the Comparative Politics section of the German Political Science Association. The article is part of the section's project to enter into dialogue with practical politics with regard to current political events.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tony Blair

It's Time for the Direct Election of a European President

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter, 18-22

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.

When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.



The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.

The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.

Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national interests and passions.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lambertz Karl-Heinz

It's the Real Economy, Stupid! Ten Points for a European Industrial Agenda
in Social Europe Journal, Volume 7, Issue 1, Summer / Autumn 2012 , 14-16



<http://socialeurope.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/SocialEurope-21.pdf>

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Bast Jürgen, Rödl Florian

Jenseits der Koordinierung? Zu den Grenzen der EU-Verträge für eine Europäische Wirtschaftsregierung in Europäische Grundrechte zeitschrift, vol. 39, issue 10-12, Juni , 269-277

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jörg Monar

Justice and Home Affairs

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 116-131

No abstract available

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Longo Francesca

Justice and Home Affairs as a New Dimension of the European Security Concept

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 18, issue 1 , 29-46

ABSTRACT: This article aims at investigating the role of the external dimension of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) policy in the process of defining a new security concept in the European Union. This new security concept is based on the indivisibility of the domestic and external aspect of security and it is designing the notion of 'holistic security'.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monar Jörg

Justice and Home Affairs: The Treaty of Maastricht as a Decisive Intergovernmental Gate Opener

in **Journal of European Integration**, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 717-734

The introduction of 'cooperation in the fields of justice and home affairs' in the guise of Title VI of the Treaty on European Union can be regarded as one of the most momentous innovations of the Treaty of Maastricht. In 20 years it has turned from a loosely framed and largely intergovernmental cooperation framework into a fundamental treaty objective which has generated over 1400 texts adopted by the Council and a range of new EU institutional structures such as Europol and Eurojust. This article will show that the Treaty of Maastricht — although it did not provide for clear objectives, adequate legal instruments and effective decision-making procedures in the JHA domain — nevertheless marked a decisive breakthrough for this policy-making domain. It did so by opening the entire domain for regular



institutionalised cooperation between the member states, allowing for the development of a common perception of the challenges and a gradual agreement on basic objectives and principles which a few years later — when the Treaty of Amsterdam had removed some of the legal and institutional obstacles left in place by the Maastricht Treaty — allowed for an extraordinarily rapid development of what is now the Union's 'area of freedom, security and justice'.

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Jaeger Thomas

Juxtaposed to ACTA or more of the Same? A Look at IP Enforcement under the EU's Economic Partnership Agreements

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3, 411-450

ABSTRACT: Global intellectual property (IP) enforcement is a hot issue. The EU and the US, in particular, are committed to taking the level of protection beyond the minimum established by the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) in 1994. This is evidenced, for example, by the EU's Global IP Enforcement Strategy of 2004, by the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) finalized in 2010 and by a number of bi- and plurilateral free trade agreements (FTAs) concluded in recent years. Some criticism has been voiced in civil society as well as in academic writing against this TRIPS-plus drive, particularly in relation to ACTA.

In the context of EU-ACP trade relations, the EU has now drawn up a special kind of FTA, the so-called Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs). Designed for developing countries, EPAs include a range of non-mercantilist goals. In accordance with this, EPAs were announced as the dawn of a new era in trade relations with developing countries.

This article takes the controversial field of IP enforcement as an example for scrutinizing that new approach. As will be shown, a comparison of their rules on IP enforcement to standard IP enforcement provisions of a purely economic character, prominently the EU's domestic legislation, ACTA and general FTAs, sadly hints that any enthusiasm over EPAs in terms of development-friendliness may be premature. IP enforcement under EPAs lacks conceptual coherence and credibility in the implementation of development-related goals. This analysis is pinned against the background of a discussion of the overall role and effects of enforcement provisions in international trade agreements at the beginning and in the conclusion of this article.

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Höpner Martin, Jurczyk Bojan

Kritik des Eurobarometers. Über die Verwischung der Grenze zwischen seriöser Demoskopie und interessen geleiteter Propaganda

in *Leviathan. Berliner Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, Heft 3, 2012

Das Eurobarometer ist ein wichtiger Datenlieferant der empirischen Integrationsforschung in Europa. Es dient insbesondere der Feststellung des Integrationswillens der europäischen Bürgerinnen und Bürger. Allerdings fungiert die Europäische Kommission selbst als Initiatorin des Eurobarometers. Daraus ergibt sich die Schwierigkeit, dass die Trägerin des Befragungsinstrumentes den etwaigen demoskopischen Befunden nicht neutral gegenübersteht. Vielmehr ist sie daran interessiert, die Integrationsbereitschaft der Europäerinnen und Europäer so ausgeprägt wie möglich



darstellen zu können. Anhand einer Durchsicht der Eurobarometer-Befragungen zwischen 1995 und 2010 wird hier gezeigt, wie die Kommission die Grenze zwischen seriöser Demoskopie und interessengeleiteter Propaganda überschreitet. Diese Überschreitungen betreffen die Informationsüberforderung der Befragten, die einseitige Polung von Fragebatterien, Unterstellungen und Suggestivfragen, nicht ausbalancierte Antwortkategorien, die Hinnahme von Kontexteffekten und tendenziöse Interpretationen integrationspolitisch wichtiger Befunde. Die empirische Europaforschung sollte sich von den Praktiken des Eurobarometers deutlicher als in der Vergangenheit distanzieren.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oschlies Wolf

Kroatien versus Slowenien: Der Streit um die Adria

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Dezember, 2012

Wer auch immer in Kroatien und Slowenien regiert, eines bleibt sich gleich, nämlich die alten Konflikte und Rivalitäten, die von den beiden westbalkanischen Staaten ausgetragen werden, wenn auch seit jüngstem in neuer Form und mit verstärkter Aggressivität. Im Kern geht es dabei um die Europäische Union, deren Mitglied Slowenien seit dem 1. Mai 2004 ist und Kroatien am 1. Juli 2013 werden soll. So jedenfalls besagt es der EU-Beitrittsvertrag, den Kroatien Ende 2011 unterzeichnete. Ein entsprechendes Referendum in Kroatien brachte am 22. Januar 2012 eine Zustimmung von 67 Prozent.

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Antoine Caroline, Vigneron Phillippe

L'Allemagne à l'épreuve de la crise de la zone euro

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 690-693

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Davidshofer Stephan

L'Alto rappresentante per la PESC e le relazioni UE-ONU : l'estensione del campo di battaglia?

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 557-572

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schröder Gerhard

L'Euro deve essere un progetto politico

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 252-256

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Visco Ignazio

L'Europa e l'Italia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 289-294

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

J-A.T.Machado, M-E.Mata

L'Europe aux carrefours de l'intégration économique: analyse de graduation multidimensionnelle sur la période 1970-2010

in *Economies et Sociétés*, numero 45

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'Union bancaire: retour de la méthode communautaire ou discours d'une méthode renouvelée?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 633-634

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rhattat Rachd

L'action extérieure de l'Union européenne en Méditerranée à l'épreuve du "printemps arabe"

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 435-439

The Arab world has gone through an unprecedented phase of upheavals for two years. The Arab spring translates the dissatisfaction of civil society at the inertia of the Arab states in the area of democratic, economic and social reform. It is also revealing of the failure of Euro-Mediterranean policies. More than ever, both pillars of Euro-Mediterranean



cooperation, Europe's neighbourhood policy and Union for the Mediterranean, are being tested. In light of these significant events, the European Union is now responsible for changing its interpretation models and redefining the partnership relationship in the south of the Mediterranean, both to support such moves in the short term and to initiate long term thinking relying on civil society. Yet does the European Union have the means, from a political and financial point of view, for its ambitions in the Mediterranean?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guillemet Aurélie

L'action extérieure européenne face à la démocratisation en Méditerranée, bilan et défis - Introduction

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 396-400

When the Arab spring came, Europe was unprepared. to the south of the Mediterranean, Europe's external action did not or could not meet its goal to promote human rights and democratisation (article 3 and 21 EUT). A short history relating the creation of the European external action will give us a glance into the strenghts and weaknesses thereof and of democratic conditionality. That review is necessary for understanding the reform of the external action decided in order to address the Arab spring.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gauttier Pascal

L'adozione di un approccio alla sicurezza umana nel settore delle azioni esterne dell'Unione europea

in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 591-609

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andenas Mads, Bjorge Eirik

L'application de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme : quel rôle pour le juge interne ?

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, n. 2, 2012 , 383-416

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hennette-Vauchez S.

L'embryon de l'Unione

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 2 , 355-368



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martin Sébastien

L'identité de l'État dans l'Union européenne : entre « identité nationale » et « identité constitutionnelle »

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, 2012/3 (n° 91) , 13-44 (on line content)

Tous les États membres de l'Union puisent dans leur Histoire certaines caractéristiques qu'ils jugent si essentielles qu'ils entendent les protéger envers et contre tout. Dans ce cadre, la participation à l'Union européenne peut s'avérer parfois problématique. On sait, en effet depuis longtemps, grâce à la jurisprudence de la Cour de justice qui a très tôt posé le principe...

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Guiot François-Vivien

L'identité européenne: au-delà d'une certaine phénoménologie?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 384-395

For some years, a lively debate on the national identities takes place in European law. However, the seemingly related question of the European identity remains strangely neglected. Certainly, in the more global field of social science some studies attempt to discover its consistency. Nonetheless, the conditions required in order to establish the European identity hypothesis have not been sufficiently explored. This shortcoming corrupts the identity notion and reduces its sense to a scientifically low idea of "common properties". Consequently most of the current studies don't reach to a full understanding of the European identity concept as they preconceive the subject. Regarding these insufficiencies, the following article aims to analyze the heuristic conditions of validity of the identity notion, by taking into account the philosophical and epistemological knowledge. In fact, it seems to be the only scientific way to understand what could mean "European identity" in the legal field. Considering the observable phenomena, this study allows to identify an autonomous concept of European identity, firstly by operating a distinction between the national identities and the European one, and secondly by establishing a useful typology of its properties.

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Ferrara Pasquale

L'impatto globale della crisi europea

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Yannakopoulos Constantin

L'influence du droit de l'Union européenne sur le système de contrôle juridictionnel de constitutionnalité des lois : les paradigmes français et grec

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, 2012/3 (n° 91) , 537-561

Aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, il est évident que l'ordre juridique national est largement saisi par le droit de l'Union européenne. Cela ne tient pas seulement aux principes d'effet direct et de primauté dudit droit qui s'appliquent dans le cadre d'une répartition statique des compétences entre l'Union européenne et ses États membres. Le fonctionnement réel des institutions...

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Serracchiani Debora

L'integrazione europea accelera il passo

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

L'intérêt général européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 562, octobre-novembre , 565-566

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georges-Henri Soutou

L'émergence du couple franco-allemand

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver



Le « couple franco-allemand » s'affirme dans les années 1950 et surtout à travers de Gaulle et Adenauer. Giscard et Schmidt, Mitterrand et Kohl en donnent des lectures diverses, qui vont dans le sens de l'approfondissement, en dépit des arrière-pensées de chacun et des interpellations de l'Histoire, en particulier lors de la réunification allemande. Le « couple » paraît peut-être aujourd'hui moins décisif, moins central, dans une Europe élargie et confrontée à la mondialisation et à la crise.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Finck F.

L'évolution de l'équilibre institutionnel de l'UE sous le prisme des relations extérieures depuis l'entrée en vigueur du Traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manservigi Stefano

La Commission européenne et la crise de la politique: d'une fonction d'intégration à une fonction de gouvernement

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 1 , 5-14

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bifulco Raffaele

La Costituzione italiana dopo il Trattato di Lisbona

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 1 , 1-28

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Westerwelle Guido

La Germania ha bisogno dell'Euro

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 502-505

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer Joschka

La Germania non affondi l'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 257-261

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Merkel Angela

La Germania, la Grecia e l'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 27-30

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blair Tony

La Gran Bretagna deve far parte dell'Unione Europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 496-501

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Accattatis Vincenzo

La Gran Bretagna e l'Unione europea

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 11 - novembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rodríguez Carlos

La bulle immobilière, la crise bancaire, la bouche infernale... Quelle issue?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 672-683

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vardabasso Valentina

La cendrillon de l'histoire: la Cour des comptes européenne et la démocratisation des institutions européennes (1970-1976)

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 2 , 285-302

The Decision of 21 April 1970 on the Community's own resources marks the beginning of long negotiations between the Community's Member States and some members of the European Parliament supported by Heinrich Aigner in order to increase its power on financial matters and strengthen the monitoring system through the creation of the EC Court of Auditors and so aim at the direct election of the Members of the European Parliament. Aigner's intent to reconcile the different points of views about the direct election of the EC Parliament found its main opponent in the French President George Pompidou whose policy aimed to procrastinate the direct suffrage and restrict the Community's financial autonomy to its administrative expenses. Suspicions and disagreements on the implementations of the European Parliament's prerogatives will be finally overcome by conferring the Parliament the right of veto on the Community budget and letting the different States the chance to elect his own members of the Court of Auditors whose report the Community Budget bases on.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Armin von Bogdandy

La ciencia jurídica nacional en el espacio jurídico europeo. Un manifiesto

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 94 , 13-28

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ladreit de Lacharrière Marc

La cigale européenne se réveille avec la gueule de bois

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Juillet 2012 , 15-43

The full text is free:

<http://www.revuedesdeuxmondes.fr/user/details.php?code=72120&show=picture>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ruotolo Gianpaolo Maria

La costituzione economica dell'Unione europea al tempo della crisi globale

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 433-462



The paper analyzes the legal measures adopted by the European Union (EU) and its Member States in order to manage the global financial and economic crisis that started in 2007. The Author divides those measures into three main groups: rules adopted to regulate EU economic policies in physiological – that is “non-crisis” – conditions; general rules for critical economic situations that were not specifically thought of for the ongoing crisis; ad hoc instruments built to deal with the ongoing crisis (e.g. Euro-Plus Pact; the so-called six pack; the European semester; the European Financial Stabilization Mechanism; the European Fund of Financial Stability; the Treaty on stability, coordination and governance in the economic and monetary union; the European Stability Mechanism).

The Author concludes that all the examined measures have resulted in modifying the European Union economic constitution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Passarelli Giuseppina

La costruzione del mercato unico nelle esperienze statunitense ed europea tra dinamismo e originalità
in *Giurisprudenza Costituzionale*, fasc. 6 , 4777 - 4811

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Annamaria Viterbo and Roberto Cisotta

La crisi del debito sovrano e gli interventi dell'U.E.: dai primi strumenti finanziari al Fiscal Compact
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 2 , 323-366

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sauvage Nathalie

La dangereuse notion de "prévisibilité raisonnable" et l'exigence de sécurité juridique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 516-522

It contributes to the elaboration of foreseeable and stable standards for parties to legal proceedings. But not all applicable rules can be characterised by immobilism. Law changes lead to insecurity and legal unforeseeability. The elaboration of the European legal order illustrates perfectly such an antinomy. As a result, European institutions can adjust and/or change the standard based on political and/or economic factors. The European judges then try to protect legal safety while allowing the proper operation of the inside market, the main goal of the European system. To do so, their interpretation is based on the concept of "reasonable foreseeability". Nonetheless the latter appears dangerous to the reinforcement of the legal safety requirement.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allemand Frédéric

La faisabilité juridique des projets d'euro-obligations

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fulco Lanchester

La integración europea y la herencia del federalismo alemán

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean-Paul Fitoussi

La marge de manoeuvre des Etats. Des démocraties sans souveraineté ?

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 142, 61-70

Les gouvernements ont-ils encore des marges de manoeuvre ? Cette question ne peut que comporter une réponse positive. Les gouvernements n'ont-ils pas sauvé les marchés financiers d'une faillite annoncée en 2008 ? C'est donc de l'Europe qu'il s'agit : les pays membres de la zone euro se retrouvent dans la situation d'États fédérés orphelins d'un État fédéral. Il en résulte un déficit de puissance, reflet du déficit démocratique de l'Europe : d'un côté, une légitimité sans instruments, celle des États « fédérés », de l'autre, des instruments dont l'usage est limité par des traités internationaux. C'est donc d'une politique de l'impuissance plutôt que d'une impuissance du politique qu'il s'agit.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

La missione di Italia e Francia per l'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno, 10-17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Agustín José Menéndez

La mutación constitucional de la Unión Europea

in *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional*, no. 96



The government of the manifold European crisis (economic, financial, fiscal, of the steering capacity of macroeconomic performance and, above all, political) has unleashed a process of constitutional mutation in Europe, and very particularly, of the European Union. The many ad hoc decisions and structural reforms by means of which European leaders have tried to mitigate the effects of the European crises, and at the end of the day, overcome the crises themselves, have resulted in a deep transformation of the structural and substantive principles of European constitutional law. This paper aims at providing a systematic reconstruction of the constitutional changes and a normative analysis of how the government of the crises has affected the regulatory ideal of the Social and Democratic Rechtsstaat, and in particular each of the three components of that state model.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allemand Frédéric

La mutualisation des dettes souveraines: une perspective juridique

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 635-641

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calligaro Oriane, Foret François

La mémoire européenne en action. Acteurs, enjeux et modalités de la mobilisation du passé comme ressource politique pour l'Union européenne

in *Politique européenne* , n. 37, 2012/2 , 18-43

The use of memory as a political resource by European institutions is not necessarily an example of the creation of a founding myth on the model of the nation state. While the search for a "grand narrative" is clearly one motivation for the actors, it coexists with strategies aiming at other types of legitimation or which pursue short-term interests. The increased importance of European memory thus does not mean an end to fairy-tale versions of national histories. A European memory can propose alternative projects, drawing on the worlds of national imaginations in order to step beyond them or rework them. In this article, three scenarios observable when European memory is invoked are illustrated by a case study. The first scenario is the Europeanization : European institutions play a part in developing historical sites of national importance into "European sites of memory" ; the second is the articulation of a specific memory of the process of European integration : this takes the form not only of support to networks of historians specialising in European integration after 1945, but also of promoting a "grand history" of Europe over the long period ; the third takes the form of an explicit ambition to endow the EU with a grand narrative of its origins, one autonomous of national histories. The debate on the Christian heritage of Europe begun during the constitutional treaty process is a concrete application of this.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

La necessità degli Stati Uniti d'Europa



in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.200-201 - giugno-luglio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bo Vesterdorf

La nomination des juges de la Cour de justice de l'Union européenne

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 47, issue 3 , 601-610

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cammilleri Anne

La nouvelle approche globale de la Politique de Sécurité et de Défense Commune (PSDC) - Appel aux chercheurs

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 562, octobre-novembre , 595-608

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allemand Frédéric , Martucci Francesco

La nouvelle gouvernance économique européenne

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 1

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frédéric Allemand and Francesco Martucci

La nouvelle gouvernance économique européenne

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, vol. 48, issue 1 , 17-101

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonella Sciortino

La nueva gobernanza económica europea y el papel de los Parlamentos nacionales
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 18

This paper analyzes the rules of the new European economic governance in the current crisis and examines their impact on the institutional role of national parliaments. It concludes pointing that economic decisions correspond essentially to the Government and that it is necessary revise again the constitutive rules of relations between the parliaments and executives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bilancia Paola

La nuova governance dell'Eurozona e i "riflessi" sugli ordinamenti nazionali
in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr 23

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Violi Francesco

La nuova politica di difesa di Obama: le ripercussioni sull'Europa
in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 155-159

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1389&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maria Rita Magnotta

La organización del Poder Judicial y las relaciones entre jueces ordinarios y Tribunal Constitucional en los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marchetti Maria Cristina

La partecipazione della società civile ai processi decisionali europei: verso una democrazia partecipativa in



Europa?

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

I gruppi di pressione hanno sempre ricoperto un ruolo cruciale nel processo decisionale europeo. Tale ruolo da una parte è stato analizzato con le categorie proprie del lobbying tradizionale, dall'altra ci si è resi conto che il livello di coinvolgimento dei gruppi di pressione è tale da assumere le caratteristiche di una partecipazione della società civile ai processi decisionali europei, capace di chiamare in causa il modello della democrazia partecipativa, al quale per altro si fa sovente riferimento nei documenti della Commissione e del Comitato economico e sociale. È a partire da tali considerazioni che sorgono spontanei alcuni interrogativi: dove passa il confine tra il lobbying in senso stretto e la partecipazione della società civile ai processi decisionali europei? L'Unione europea sta aprendo la strada a nuove forme di democrazia partecipativa?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

La politica in Italia e in Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 476-493

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzelay Alain

La problématique du choix entre la poursuite de la libéralisation des échanges et le retour au protectionnisme: quelle perspective pour l'UE?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 443-448

Whereas the Wto continuously displays its will to continue the exchange liberalisation initiated back in 1947 by the Geneva Agreements, protectionism measures and claims in favour of their reinforcement are being increasingly taken and made throughout the world. The U-turn is prompted by the finding that exchange liberalisation cannot lead to balance competition in a space that is economically, socially, mentally and financially too segmented. Hence the need to reinterpret protectionism so continuing exchange liberalisation can be compatible with maintaining balance competition.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Houbé Marie-Liesse

La procédure budgétaire à l'épreuve du traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 370-374

In relationship to the integration concept, the Lisbon treaty certainly achieves significant breakthroughs in the area of Union budget voting but leaves unchanged the structural budget powers unbalance between the Parliament and the



Council. Through the pluri-annual financial framework, state legitimacy resists changes and confirms the persistence and weight of the Europe of States in the strategic options that face today's and tomorrow's Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonio Tizzano and Paolo Jannuccelli

La procédure préjudicielle d'urgence devant la Cour de justice: premier bilan et nouvelles questions
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 1 , 107-132

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Torino Raffaele

La proposta di regolamento per un diritto comune europeo della vendita (Common European Sales Law)
in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Antonio Bar Cendón

La reforma constitucional y la gobernanza económica de la Unión Europea
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 30 , 59-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cadilhac Marie-Cécile

La révision a minima de l'article 49 TUE ou l'occasion manquée de de "revisiter" la procédure d'adhésion à l'Union européenne
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 361-369

The European Union membership procedure, often described as "constitutional-scale" procedure, was not significantly changed in the revision made by the Lisbon treaty, while a certain difference between the letter of the treaty and practice had been put in the spotlight. The procedure therefore is still based on two phases materialised by the two paragraphs of article 49 UET: the first one requires only players of the institutional triangle to decide on the very principle of the acceptance of the membership request; the second one requires member countries only to conduct membership negotiations with a view to entering into the membership treaty between the member countries and the requesting country. Maintaining that procedure system can only be surprising since the practice before the Lisbon treaty shows real



procedural confusion marked by the intrusion of the European council in the membership process as well as by interventions by players from the institutional triangle that overstep, by their object and moment, the framework set by the treaty. The Lisbon treaty thus appears as a lost occasion to remedy the inconsistencies of the procedure, either by codifying practice, or more boldly, by opting for an overall revision of the procedure characterized by the substitution of the inter-state membership treaty for an agreement signed by the Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

La salvezza nell'integrazione

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Petris Andrea

La sentenza del Bundesverfassungsgericht sul Meccanismo Europeo di Stabilità e sul Fiscal Compact. Una guida alla lettura

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 18

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Martino Alessandra

La sentenza del Bundesverfassungsgericht sul Meccanismo Europeo di Stabilità e sul Fiscal Compact. Una lettura alla luce della giurisprudenza precedente

in *Federalismi*, Anno X - Nr. 18

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calamia Pietro

La sovranità nazionale e l'unione politica

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 520-525

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mucchetti Massimo

La svolta politica che serve all'euro

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 300-302

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Allegret Jean-Pierre

La transmission des crises financières aux pays émergents: l'expérience de l'Europe émergente

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 523-532

The subprime crisis has led to the worst growth slowdown since 1945. Indeed, this crisis has been accompanied by exceptional business cycle synchronization at the world wide scale. A collateral effect of this crisis is the sovereign debt crisis that hit the Euro area in 2010. In this paper, we analyze the transmission of these crises to Central and Oriental European emerging countries. In the first section, we show the respective importance of the two main transmission channels, e.g. the financial and the trade channels respectively. Section 2 is dedicated to the policy responses in these countries to the financial crisis. We stress that initial conditions matter to understand these responses. More precisely, we show that the currency mismatch has exerted a major influence on the ability of the authorities to use expansionist monetary policy to respond to the crisis. Currency mis match describes a situation in which household and firms borrow in foreign currencies while their assets are often denominated in domestic currency. Countries where the currency mismatch is high are vulnerable to a sudden and large devaluation of their currency against the anchor one. Any devaluation increases the charge of the debt inducing a negative balance sheet effect. As a result, domestic authorities tend to respond to negative external shocks by a procyclical monetary policy in order to avoid a depreciation of the domestic currency.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gaspere Fiengo

La valorizzazione della dimensione regionale nel Trattato di Lisbona: il ruolo del Comitato delle Regioni

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 1 , 25-33

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gouzy Jean-Pierre

La vie politique en Europe et dans le monde



in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 435-459

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fonzi Paolo

La «Großraumwirtschaft» e l'Unione Europea dei Pagamenti: continuità nella cultura economica tedesca a cavallo del 1945

in *Ricerche di Storia Politica*, numero 2, luglio 2012 , 131-154

Abstract

In the first part, the article compares two international payment systems: the Central Clearing established by Nazi Germany during the Second World War in occupied Europe (the so called European Greater Space); and the European Payments Union (EPU), set up by the OEEC countries in 1950. Although political differences between the two international payment systems are predominant, the author highlights some economic analogies. On the basis of this comparison, the second part of the articles discusses the debate on the creation of EPU within the German economic administration. As a result, personal and conceptual continuities emerge between the discussion of 1940 on the Greater Economic Space and the 1950-52 debate over the EPU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Durant Isabelle

Le Groupe Spinelli: réinterpréter le fédéralisme européen face à la crise

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 694-695

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fines Francette

Le TSCG dans la gouvernance économique européenne. Vers plus d'intégration budgétaire?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 651-656

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chevalier Pascal



Le Transfert du Modèle Européen Leader entre Diffusion des Normes et Durcissement Réglementaire

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 43, n. 3, Dossier: Le modèle européen LEADER (2007-2013). Logiques d'action et contextes de réception , 17-55

The LEADER Program, introduced in 1991 as part of EU rural development policy, is a mainstay for local action in Europe. Based on local partnerships bringing together entrepreneurs, elected representatives and associations on a voluntary basis, it exemplifies the principles of cooperation and subsidiarity, and thus helps strengthen local democracy. Researchers and development practitioners agree on its innovativeness and potential for "transferability", since each member state enjoys a degree of freedom in applying it. Not only may each EU country arrange the program's objectives in line with its own priorities, it also has wide room for using the financial means granted to it and determining how to implement the program. This article focuses on the conditions for transferring the Leader approach (2007-2013) to all 27 EU member states. How have the latter interpreted and transposed this European model? Do the regulations for forming "project territories" and drawing up local development strategies lead to practices in compliance with the view that the EU is trying to promote?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Frachon Alain, Vernet Daniel

Le XXI^e siècle sans l'Europe

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Octobre 2012 , 174-181

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Napolitano Giorgio

Le difficoltà della politica in Europa e in Italia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 242-251

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Berardino Claudio, Mauro Giuseppe

Le disparità nell'Unione Europea allargata: tra convergenza nazionale e divergenza regionale

in *Politica economica*, 2, 2012, agosto , 229

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Jacqué J.P

Le débat sur une Europe à deux vitesses relancé?

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 685-687

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vérez Jean-Claude

Le défi de la convergence des modèles sociaux européens dans un contexte de crise budgétaire et d'endettement

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 11-24

In the draft EU membership, the convergence of the social model of the candidate country with the European social model is recommended. The latest enlargement shows that the outcome can be different and indeed, more systems of social protection coexist within the EU. At a time when budget constraints many states, in a context of un a crisis and debt, the risk of a downward spiral of social protection is real.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Le hasard et la nécessité

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 357-358

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Routier Mathieu

Le printemps arabe, opportunité manquée de l'Union européenne de placer les droits de l'homme au coeur de sa politique en Méditerranée?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 440-442

The year 2011 has been marked by a profound upheaval of the status quo, which seemed to characterise countries to the South of the Mediterranean through the emerging and spreading of an unprecedented popular movement of protest against state regimes. The sudden character of this "Arab Spring" raises questions over the legitimacy and coherence of policies drawn up by the European Union (EU) towards its southern neighbours. EU policies have in fact given a marginal place to the promotion of the democratic reform agenda, nd even despite the repeated calls from human rights organisations from North and South Mediterranean countries to effectively promote the "essential element" that represents "respecting democratic principles and fundamental humn rights" according to article 2 of the association agreements between EU and third Countries.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauguitte Laurent

**Le projet EuroBroadMap. Visions de l'Europe dans le monde
in Politique européenne** , n. 37, 2012/2 , 156-167

Funded by the European commission in the FP7, the EuroBroadMap project aims to determine how the representation of Europe varies around the world, mainly thanks to the analysis to mental maps made by thousands of students in 18 world countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dedieu Franck et al.

Le protectionnisme pour sauver l'euro

in Debat (Le), N. 171, septembre-octobre 2012 , 60-65

Peut-on encore sauver le patient européen ? Depuis le début de la crise, la condition du Vieux Continent n'a fait qu'empirer, en dépit de multiples sommets de la dernière chance, qui n'ont permis, au mieux, que de gagner du temps. Comment expliquer que les remèdes prescrits aient été aussi impuissants à vaincre le mal ? Pour le comprendre, il faut revenir aux prémisses de...

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Soutou Georges-Henri

Le refus de la puissance

in Revue Défense Nationale, n° 753, Octobre 2012

En retraçant le parcours historique de la puissance en Europe, on mesure combien la médiocre prise en compte par l'Union européenne de l'hétérogénéité du système international, qui combine le transnational et l'international, lui interdit toute vision, tout projet stratégique sans lesquels la puissance est orpheline, voire inconsistante.

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Francesca Zilio



Le relazioni fra Roma e Bonn durante il primo governo Brandt fra Ostpolitik e Csce
in *Mondo contemporaneo* , Fascicolo 2/2012

Sulla base di fonti primarie italiane e tedesche e di documenti pubblicati, l'articolo analizza le opinioni italiane sulla Ostpolitik e le posizioni di entrambi i paesi sulla progettata Conferenza sulla sicurezza e la cooperazione in Europa (Csce), discusse negli incontri bilaterali fra capi di governo e ministri degli Esteri. L'autrice evidenzia le paure italiane causate in particolare dalla velocità dei primi negoziati della Ostpolitik e poi dalla lentezza delle trattative su Berlino che ritardarono l'apertura dei negoziati preliminari sulla Csce. All'inizio Roma temeva che la fretta dei tedeschi di ottenere risultati per la loro questione nazionale, insieme alla pericolosa politica europea di Mosca, portasse ad eccessive concessioni da parte di Bonn che avrebbero potuto danneggiare gli interessi occidentali. In seguito l'Italia si preoccupò che l'attesa per la conclusione degli accordi su Berlino, che era stata posta dall'Ovest come preconditione per la convocazione dei preliminari sulla Csce, potesse causare una perdita del momentum per prendere le redini della distensione e combattere gli obiettivi e la propaganda orientali. Al contrario, Bonn intendeva approfittare dell'impazienza orientale per l'apertura della Csce, in opposizione alla disponibilità occidentale a prendersi il suo tempo, per ottenere migliori risultati nella Ostpolitik e garanzie sulla Csce.

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Jasonni Massimo

Le sorgenti di una patria comune europea

in *Il Ponte*, Numero 8/9 - agosto settembre 2012

No abstract available

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Renaud Payre, Mili Spahic

Le tout petit monde des politiques urbaines européennes. Réseaux de villes et métiers urbains de l'Europe : le cas du CCRE et d'Eurocities

in *Pôle Sud*, n°37 , 117-137

Pour mieux mesurer l'affirmation des gouvernements urbains dans l'Union européenne (institutions et fabrique de politiques publiques), mais aussi démontrer les recompositions des pouvoirs urbains et régions, cet article s'attarde sur le rôle des réseaux de collectivités locales en Europe. En dévoilant le monde bruxellois des réseaux de villes et collectivités locales, il montre que ces politiques dédiées aux villes ne se sont pas imposées d'elles-mêmes et ont fait l'objet d'un travail politique. Il s'agit-là de revenir sur les métiers urbains de l'Europe. A partir d'une étude des formes de sociabilité des agents représentant les villes à Bruxelles, l'article s'interroge sur la formation d'un milieu autonomisé. Il analyse comment ce milieu est capable d'œuvrer à la fabrication de politiques publiques européennes dédiées aux villes dès les années 1990 et à leur évolution dans les années 2000. Désormais, c'est une démarche intégrée qui s'invente avec la prise en compte de l'urbain dans toute une série de politiques publiques, au travers de groupes transversaux. Ceux-ci travaillent en association avec des réseaux de villes reconnus devenus incontournables.



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Irnerio Seminatore

Le traité de Lisbonne, le Service européen pour l'action extérieure et la politique globale de l'Union européenne : le monde de demain et les vrais choix

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, n° 2 , 147–161

The aim of this essay is to deal with the creation and the evolution of the European External Action Service (eeas), by replacing them in the simplification process of European Treaties, which led to the Lisbon Treaty and the apparition of three novelties reinforcing eu governance: the President of the European Council, the High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, helped with an important eeas and the legal personality of the eu. The second part of the text tries to identify potential strategies for Europe within the current political conjuncture and indicates main topics for analysts and European decision-makers within the framework of an incoming multipolar system.

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Fulco Lanchester

Le trasformazioni geopolitiche, l'integrazione europea e l'eredità del federalismo statunitense e tedesco

in *Nomos*, n. 1/2012

La attuale crisi dell'Eurozona sembra porre in forse la stessa idea di una Europa unita ed integrata. Sono evidenti i limiti della costruzione europea, non tanto come progetto, ma come concreta realizzazione istituzionale. La stessa recente intervista al Cancelliere Angela Merkel lo certifica, evidenziando il ritardo tra consapevolezza della gravità della situazione e soluzioni proposte¹. E' quindi opportuno ripensare ad altri simili processi ed alle strade in altri casi discusse o intraprese. Molti, infatti, paventano il futuro, ma non tengono sufficientemente conto del passato per programmarlo. Queste brevi note vogliono rammentare in maniera sintetica sia le radici culturali ed istituzionali di problemi che oggi dobbiamo risolvere in contesti differenziati (ma sempre con gli occhi asciutti), sia l'importanza della esperienza tedesca e statunitense per l'attuale realtà europea e per la stessa dinamica politico-istituzionale italiana.

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Editoriale

Le “Quattro unioni” e l'obiettivo dell'unione federale

in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 107-114

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1385&lang=en

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Enrico Gargiulo

Le élites transnazionali nel processo di integrazione europea: la Ert e l'attacco al modello sociale

in *Quaderni di sociologia*, Vol. LVI, n. 59



No abstract available

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De Corte Stefaan, Lageson John

Leading Europe beyond the crisis

in European View, vol. 11, n. 1, June, 89-93

As Europe continues to struggle economically, fresh ideas are urgently needed for revitalising the economy, generating growth and creating jobs. The Centre for European Studies (CES), the political foundation and think tank of the European People's Party, is committed to finding solutions to help Europe move forward. Therefore, on the 19th and 20th of April, the CES brought together experts and policymakers from across Europe and beyond for the Economic Ideas Forum in Dublin. The following article provides an overview of the main topics and ideas that were discussed over the course of five panel debates, as well as keynote addresses by EU officials, ministers and heads of government.

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Franzius Claudio, Preuß Ulrich K.

Lebendige Demokratie: Die Zukunft der EU

in Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik, November, 2012, 77-89

Als das Norwegische Nobelkomitee am 12. Oktober der Europäischen Union den diesjährigen Friedensnobelpreis zuerkannte, wünschte es den Blick auf das zu lenken, was es als deren wichtigste Errungenschaft ansieht, nämlich „den erfolgreichen Kampf für Frieden und Versöhnung, für Demokratie und Menschenrechte.“ Gleichzeitig wurde damit deutlich, wie sehr Anspruch und Wirklichkeit der EU derzeit auseinanderklaffen. Nicht zuletzt das jüngste Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts hat noch einmal eindringlich gezeigt, dass es sich bei der Krise der Europäischen Gemeinschaft längst auch um eine Demokratiekrise handelt. Die Antwort darauf, so die Rechtswissenschaftler Claudio Franzius und Ulrich K.

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Melanie H. Ram

Legacies of EU Conditionality: Explaining Post-Accession Adherence to Pre-Accession Rules on Roma

in Europe-Asia Studies, Volume 64, Issue 7, 1191-1218

This article explores the issue of post-accession adherence to EU conditions, looking at the case of the Roma. It asks why policies, institutions and programmes put in place by new member states in order to meet EU membership



requirements and expectations remain in place after enlargement. It finds that EU conditions have had enduring effects because the key precipitating factors during the accession period almost all remain in some form after accession. These factors include EU attention and expectations, EU funding and capacity building, EU law, NGO advocacy and monitoring, other international programmes and commitments and pressures related to Roma migrants.

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Ram Melanie H.

Legacies of EU Conditionality: Explaining Post-Accession Adherence to Pre-Accession Rules on Roma in Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 64, n. 7 , 1191-1218

This article explores the issue of post-accession adherence to EU conditions, looking at the case of the Roma. It asks why policies, institutions and programmes put in place by new member states in order to meet EU membership requirements and expectations remain in place after enlargement. It finds that EU conditions have had enduring effects because the key precipitating factors during the accession period almost all remain in some form after accession. These factors include EU attention and expectations, EU funding and capacity building, EU law, NGO advocacy and monitoring, other international programmes and commitments and pressures related to Roma migrants.

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Fabian Amtenbrink

Legal Developments

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 132-146

Review of 2011 EMU reforms and of the most important ECJ sentences.

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De Gregorio Merino Alberto

Legal developments in the Economic and Monetary Union during the debt crisis: The mechanisms of financial assistance

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 49, issue 5 , 1613-1645

ABSTRACT: The Union and its Member States have given a double response to the sovereign debt crisis: the creation of mechanisms of assistance and the strengthening of economic governance. Both responses have contributed to substantially redesign the architecture of the economic and monetary union. This article focuses on the mechanisms of assistance - most of which have been agreed intergovernmentally outside the EU Treaties -, describing them and examining their most significant legal implications. These are their compatibility with the no bail-out clause, the limited revision of the Treaties to include new Article 136(3) TFEU, the use of Article 122(2) TFEU as the only legal basis under the Treaties to provide financial assistance, the relationship between the intergovernmental mechanisms of assistance and the law of the Union and the judgment of 7 September 2011 of the German Constitutional Court on the compatibility of mechanisms of assistance with the German Constitution. Mechanisms of assistance are presented as part of an



unavoidable process of further integration of the Member States that share a common good, the euro, a process that might lead to fundamental changes in the EU Treaties, including the creation of a European Treasury, that would go hand by hand with a fiscal federation where budgetary sovereignty of euro area Member States would yield to supranational control.

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Carina Sprungk

Legislative Transposition of Directives: Exploring the Other Role of National Parliaments in the European Union
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 298-315

This article explores the role of national parliaments in the implementation of EU policies. It analyzes the effect of parliamentary involvement ex post on the timely transposition of EU directives by combining quantitative analyses of all Council directives adopted between 1999 and 2003 in the EU-15 Member States, with qualitative case studies of parliamentary transposition in Germany and France. The findings show that contrary to conventional assumptions, their involvement is not necessarily a source of delayed transposition. Problems of delay might, however, arise in bicameral systems or if the government is for political reasons reluctant to submit a transposition proposal to parliament.

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Pechova Andrea

Legitimising discourses in the framework of European integration: The politics of Euro adoption in the Czech Republic and Slovakia

in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 779-807

Despite their common history, the countries of the former Czechoslovakia appear to have adopted markedly different policies towards Eurozone accession. Whereas Slovakia joined the common currency in January 2009 the Czech Republic has adopted a more sceptical attitude with the question of Euro adoption postponed indefinitely. Given the relative similarities of the two states' institutional apparatuses and economic structures it is unsurprising that standard accounts of monetary policymaking struggle to explain the divergence in attitudes towards the EMU. This article presents a constructivist understanding of the politics of Eurozone accession strategies by focusing on the role of 'legitimising discourses' in the political process. These are conceptualised as the historically-informed sum total of inter-subjectively held beliefs held by elites and masses within a particular political system. By focusing on the ideational aspects of Euro adoption we are able to understand how each country's early experience with EU accession fed into differing perceptions of national purpose and the relative importance of European integration. Whereas the Czech Republic increasingly favoured greater national assertion and policy independence, Slovakia came to understand Eurozone membership as an important tool in reversing the feelings of isolationism experienced during the Me#269;iar period. A focus on these competing discourses helps us to understand the divergence in Euro-adoption strategies and in turn serves to enrich the debate on EU economic and monetary integration by highlighting the limitations of rationalist analyses.

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Dedeire Marc, Mačiulytė Jurgita

Les Communautés Rurales, Nouveaux Acteurs Du Développement Local En Lituanie

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 43, n. 3, Dossier: Le modèle européen LEADER (2007-2013). Logiques d'action et contextes de réception , 145-172

To understand local development in Lithuania, we must take into account the effects of the social, economic and territorial heritage on how local areas function. The institutional vacuum created by the disappearance of large collective farms after the Soviet Union's collapse was not filled by recognizing the autonomy of local communities, as happened in other Central European countries. In the mid-1990s, an original citizen movement emerged in the form of "rural communities" that, reconnecting with the pre-Soviet village system, signaled a return to a concrete, operational territorial grid. During the first decade of their existence, this self-organized movement mainly focused on strengthening social bonds between the inhabitants of local communities; but since the Leader Program was introduced and has become a major source of funds for local development in Lithuania, these rural communities are adopting development strategies and concrete projects. This new form of local action is described by analyzing a few projects at the initiative of the Local Action Group in Joniškis district, northern Lithuania.

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Grjebine André

Les Etats de la zone euro peuvent-ils se débarrasser de leurs dettes?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 657-663

No abstract available

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Noël Bonhomme

Les Européens au G7 : entre intérêts communautaires et gouvernance mondiale (1975-1985)

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 73-89

Le « groupe des Sept » fondé en 1975 incarne une gouvernance économique nouvelle, directement assumée par les chefs de gouvernement, restreinte aux principales « démocraties industrialisées », et introduit un mode de coopération très différent de celui en vigueur dans les organisations multilatérales classiques. Institution sui generis...

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Vintzel Céline

Les armes du Gouvernement dans la procédure législative. Étude comparée: Allemagne, France, Italie, Royaume-Uni

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 23, N. 2 , 527-575



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Soldatos Panayotis

Les données fondamentales de la crise dans le zone euro - Essai explicatif d'une dérive systémique multivariée
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 497-502

This article explores the reasons behind the present turmoil in the Eurozone, attributing it to the inability of some of its members to function under a single and strong currency regime, rather to a per se crisis of the euro and of the monetary union. Indeed, the euro had managed to preserve its main characteristics as a strong currency, both domestically (in Europe) and internationally (despite fluctuations, which are not uncommon in the international monetary scene), while some Eurozone members were, structurally, from the start, and still remain, unable to respect the Maastricht and Stability Pact requirements: in addition, the European Union is unable to impose strong sanctions, and, simultaneous, to modify the Treaties towards an effective budgetary, fiscal, as well as political union. The author provides an explanatory framework of the current Eurozone crisis, based on the weakening of three essential integrative conditions, present at the time of the creation of the European Communities, in the 1950s, and now fading in this enlarged and asymmetrical European Union: namely, reduced political elites' compatibility in terms of societal values (e.g. socio-economic); absence of a functional and legitimized economic solidarity foundation; and systemic inability of the EU Member States to adapt and respond to major crises, challenges, and mutations (domestically and internationally).

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(Editorial)

Les déchirements régionaux en Europe et l'épreuve du fédéralisme
in *Esprit*, Novembre 2012 , 3-4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Doutriaux Yves

Les enjeux pour l'Union européenne de la "zone OSCE"
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 375-383

The OSCE zone covers countries that accommodate "field assignments" of that organisation and are therefore particularly monitored by its institutions. Those western countries of the Balkans, of the eastern limits of the European Union, of the Caucasia or of the central Asia, belong to the category of countries said to be in transition and are closely or remotely interested in the security of the European Union due to their proximity, to their energy reserves, or the various risks and trafficking they can generate due to their fragility. They are often the subject of competition between Russia, which sees in it a "close stranger" and the European Union, which acknowledges that some of them could become members, under certain conditions (western Balkans) or with which it seeks to develop a partnership.



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Les infortunes de la vertu Perspectives économiques 2012-2013 pour l'économie européenne
in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/4 (N° 123) , 37-76

No abstract available

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Saarilahti Ikka

Les innovations des procédures budgétaires de l'Union européenne. Neuvième partie: Le budget de l'Union pour 2012 - Un budget de rigueur au niveau européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 533-557

In the history of the public finances of the European Union, the budget procedure for 2012 will remain the first one during which the budget conciliation procedure introduced by the Lisbon treaty was successfully completed. The resulting Union's budget for 2012 translates the context of the triple crisis that EU member countries had to face in 2011: economic, euro debt and the euro. The same applies to the seven rectification budgets (BR) passed in 2011. Thus the first two branches of the budget authority for instance, included, at the Council's initiative and for the first time in fifteen years, a negative reserve to cover in BR n° 1/2011, necessary payment credits (c/p). In the same way, again at the Council's initiative the budget authority applied an amount of only 200 million Euros (M€) in c/p (i.e. 350 M€ less than what the Commission offered) in BR n° 6/2011, in the framework of the overall political agreement on the Union's budget for 2012 reached at the conciliation committee meeting dated November 18 and 19, 2011; that BR n° 6/2011 is also the only BR that increases the c/p in 2011. The two branches of the budget authority finally reached an agreement on a revision of the pluriannual financial framework for 2007-2013 ("CF"), in order to finance the ITER 3 project in 2012 and 2013, in an additional amount of 1,3 billion Euros (MD€). That agreement comes more than sixteen months after the presentation by the Commission of its first proposal and following the European Parliament's refusal to revise the CF for that purpose in December 2010. Regarding the "Lisbon legal package", the EP decided on July 6, 2011, not to give its approval, that the Council had requested in January 2011 to the Council's draft regulation setting the CF. Secondly the talks about the project for a new interinstitutional agreement (All) on budget matters between the EP, the Council and the Commission did not make any progress in 2011. However, the three institutions made progress in the work on the revision of the financial regulation (RF), based on a new proposal submitted by the Commission on December 22, 2010. In addition, the Commission submitted, as from June 29, 2011, its various proposals regarding the new pluriannual financial plan for the 2014-2020 period ("CFP").

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Brouard Sylvain, Costa Olivier, Kerrouche Éric

Les lois françaises sont-elles écrites à Bruxelles? L'eupéanisation limitée de l'activité législative en France
in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 503-515



In 1998 Jacques Delors, the then chairman of the ommission, stated that "within ten years, 80 percent of the economic, but perhaps also fiscal and social laws, would be community-originated". That statement led to the lasting myth that 80% of the law-making activity of national institutions would only involve the faithful transposition of European laws. The purpose of this article is to check that assertion, whih is the basis of the public and scientific debate on the level of constraints that the Union imposes on member countries through an empirical analysis of the Europeanization level of the French law-making activity and its changes between 1986 and 2007. At first, it covers the various definitions of Europeanization, the complex debate around that concept and the difficulties in measuring it. In a second section, the article offers an assessment of the extent of the phenomenon in France; it appears that even in the most Europeanised political sector, most of the laws passed by the French parliament are so without any kind of direct European pressure. In closing, the article mentions the impact of the Europeanization of the law-making activity on French national institutions and on the type of requirements that the European Union imposes on them.

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Buzelay Alain

Les manques de l'union monétaire à l'épreuve des excès des marchés et des agences de notation

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 684-689

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wojtyczek Krzysztof

Les relations entre le Gouvernement et le Parlement polonais dans les matières de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 559, juin , 412-419

In absence of a significant constitutional reform, Polish political institutions were adapted to the Lisbon treaty by the Act of 8 October 2010 on the cooperation between the Council of Ministers with the Diet and the Senate on matters linked with the membership in the EU. The Council of Ministers keeps its crucial role and preserves a substantial freedom in the conduct of relations between Poland and the European Union. Inm cases specified by law, specialized committees of the Diet et in some cases also specialized committees of the Senate may express opinions which should constitute the basis of the Polish position but the government may however decide not to stick to them. The parliament is in Poland the main organ implementing the EU law by adopting necessary legislation. Ordinary legislation seems insufficient to compensate the loss of powers of the parliament caused by a transfer of competencies to the European Union.

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Montjoie Michel

Les relations entre le traité Euratom et le TFUE en matière de protection de l'environnement

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 471-483

Environmental protection for nuclear activities raises several problems in European Union law: has Euratom Treaty



normative competences as regards environmental protection? Do TFEU correspondent competences apply to all nuclear activities? Answers are not clear, leading to non satisfactory situations, namely secondary legislation fragmentation and gaps. These non satisfactory situations are hidden by the presence of international conventions, for example on nuclear safety, that take into account environmental protection in their scope, and that are adopted by all the member States of European Union. There is no "reasonable" solution to solve these difficulties: one solution would be the revision of Euratom Treaty (and TFEU one), but this appears excluded for the present time. Another solution, also utopian but less "impossible", would be, in the frame of a dispute, that CJEU decides that Euratom Treaty has a full competence as regards environmental protection.

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Sandor Richter

Les économies des « nouveaux pays membres » dans l'Union européenne

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°3 automne

L'entrée des cinq pays d'Europe centrale dans l'Union européenne s'est traduite par un bouleversement de la position économique de ces pays. Les échanges avec l'UE sont devenus dominants. Les investissements étrangers proviennent principalement des pays de l'Union au profit de ces États, qui ont aussi été les principaux bénéficiaires des transferts redistributifs dans l'UE. Ils ont en revanche des positions variées quant à la monnaie unique : certains l'ont adoptée quand d'autres montrent quelque réticence.

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Guinaudeau Isabelle

Les élections européennes, un défi pour la politique comparée?

in *Politique européenne*, n. 37, 2012/2, 170-176

No abstract available

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Chutikamolthan Siriwan

Lessons the eurozone might draw from the Asian crisis of 1997

in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

The reforms that Asian countries introduced in the late 1990s, says Siriwan Chutikamoltham, offer a blueprint for some of the Southern EU governments now caught in the spiralling sovereign debt crisis.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22034/language/en-US/Default.aspx



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Rickard Séan

Liberating Farming from the CAP

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 32, Issue 3, October 2012 , 85-93

Global food producers face severe challenges in feeding the world's population at affordable prices. It is therefore essential that EU agricultural policy now focuses on maximising the Community's food production. This is only likely to be achieved if direct income payments are rapidly phased out allowing the industry to restructure, which will involve the concentration of production on larger-scale farms.

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Melchionni Maria Grazia

Lo spazio e il tempo nella costruzione dell'Europa

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 179-187

The article describes the originality of the European integration process and recounts, rapidly, its evolution on the base of the main coordinates of international life: space and time. Progressive transition from Little Europe to enlarged Europe, to Paneurope and, at the same time, from Cold War to détente, to globalization represents, therefore, the reading-key of the European design's evolution in all its aspects: political, institutional, economic, social and cultural. The author underlines the 'plural' character of political identity already achieved by the European Union and the need to enhance its security identity facing up to contemporary challenges. Today the project of a European Federation looks expired and other plans for Europe need to be shaped up, considering its inside diversities and how more complex international relations are in the globalization's context.

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Lefebvre Rémi, Marrel Guillaume

Logiques artisanes, territorialisation et capital politique européen. La constitution en France des listes socialistes aux élections européennes de 2009

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 139-162

The article analyses the process of the candidates' nomination to the European elections of 2009 for the French socialist party. It shows that the elaboration of the lists is strongly linked to internal policies and disregards the European capital of the candidates. By linking qualitative sociology and interviews, the purpose is to grasp as subtly as possible the numerous and contradictory logics which govern the elaboration of the lists. The fact that the Europeanization of the candidates is not really taken into account is linked to conjunctural and structural logics. The increase of the criteria at stake in 2009 multiplies the doubts hanging over the negotiation process.

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Häikiö Martti

Looking beyond the euro crisis: the challenges of nationalism, the welfare state and technology
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 245-250

In order to stimulate economic growth and strengthen European integration, the EU must show greater respect for national sovereignty, reform the welfare state and invest in technology. The Nordic countries have set an example that could work for the rest of the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Angelo Schillaci

Los derechos fundamentales en la interacción constitucional europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

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Denéchère Yves

Louise Weiss et quelques autres : candidates et élus gaullistes au Parlement européen (1979-1989)
in *Histoire@Politique*, n°17, 2012 , 51-68

Abstract

The decision to elect representatives to the European Parliament through universal suffrage, starting in 1979, was a novelty that did not please the Gaullists in the least. Nevertheless, Jacques Chirac's RPR mounted a campaign despite its lack of real interest in the European election. Fifth on the Gaullist list, Louise Weiss, "citizen of Europe", ensured that the RPR could claim at least one genuine European advocate amidst candidates who intended to defend the interests of France above all. The turnstile of candidates established by the RPR showed what little importance it accorded to this vote. After managing to remain on the constantly-changing election lists of 1984 and 1989, some Gaullist women were elected but it was clear that they did not play a major role in the assembly in Strasbourg.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Delors Jacques, Vitorino Antonio

L'Europa a piccoli passi verso l'unione politica
in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 83-85

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rangoni Machiavelli Beatrice

L'Europa come libertà: va conquistata ogni giorno

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferraris Luigi Vittorio

L'Europa della pazienza o della delusione?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 506-519

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laterza Alessandro

L'Europa deve far leva sul Sud

in *Reset*, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/leuropa-deve-far-leva-sul-sud>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pierr Roberto, Granata Paolo

L'Europa di don Benedetto

in *Reset*, Numero 137

Un'inchiesta sul filosofo napoletano. Quale Europa aveva in mente Benedetto Croce? Lo raccontano alcuni studiosi che l'hanno conosciuto e hanno studiato i suoi lavori.

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/leuropa-di-don-benedetto-video>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Glucksmann André

L'Europa non può stare ancora a guardare



in **Affari Esteri**, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 161-165

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Venturini Franco

L'Europa sull'orlo del baratro

in **Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali**, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 172-177

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Desportes Vincent

L'Europe de la défense, un impératif absolu

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 753, Octobre 2012

La crise actuelle offre une occasion à saisir de construire une Europe de la défense indispensable à notre autonomie et notre influence stratégique. Il faut cesser de se reposer sur une protection militaire américaine de plus en plus relative et même aléatoire, de développer des solutions hasardeuses et des modèles importés.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Manigand Christine

L'Europe des gaullistes Essai sur la place des gaullistes au sein des assemblées européennes (1948-1979)

in **Vingtième Siècle**, n. 116 , 9-21

Les relations entre les groupes politiques gaullistes et les institutions parlementaires européennes n'ont jamais été analysées en profondeur. Afin de les éclairer, l'auteur s'attache à scruter le comportement des représentants gaullistes qui siègèrent dans les différentes assemblées européennes après le congrès de La Haye, en 1948, et jusqu'à 1979, date de l'élection au suffrage universel du Parlement européen. Si l'attitude gaulliste face à la construction communautaire ne fut pas univoque ou monolithique, cet article révèle qu'elle fut plus complexe encore qu'il n'y paraît de prime abord, influencée peut-être par l'atmosphère plus conviviale des premières assemblées européennes.

Europe and the Gaullists: essay on where Gaullists stand in European assemblies

Relations between political groups and the Gaullist European parliamentary institutions have never really been analyzed. In an attempt to enlighten these relations, the author thoroughly examines the behavior of the Gaullist representatives in exercise after the Hague Congress of 1948 and until 1979, marking the elections by direct universal suffrage of the European Parliament, in the diverse European assemblies. If the Gaullist attitude regarding the European



construction was never monolithic or univocal, this article strives to illuminate the even greater complexity than it already seems at first sight, perhaps influenced by the more friendly atmosphere of the first European assemblies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sacriste Guillaume

L'Europe est-elle un État comme les autres ? Retour sur la distinction public/privé au sein de la commission juridique du Parlement européen des années 1960

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 35-60

This article argues that the European Community polity, in contradistinction to the process of emergence of Western nation-states, has not resulted in the autonomisation of a political space. It appears, rather, as a political system that institutionalises its own socio-economic heteronomy. By analysing the work undertaken by parliamentarians in the legal affairs committee of the European Parliamentary Assembly of the 1960s, we highlight the social logics underpinning the outputs of this committee. We demonstrate in particular that these outputs tend to blur the distinction between the public and private that has been central for the formation of nation-states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Virginie Guiraudon

L'Europe et les réfugiés : une politique peu solidaire

in **Pouvoirs**, n. 144 , 79-89

La coopération intergouvernementale afin de limiter les demandes d'asile date des années 1980 même si ce n'est qu'en 1999 que les chefs d'État et de gouvernement des États membres de l'Union européenne s'engagent à créer une politique d'asile commune. L'entrée en vigueur du traité d'Amsterdam donne en effet aux institutions de l'Union un rôle plus important dans l'élaboration des politiques d'immigration, d'asile et de gestion des frontières extérieures. Cela dit, les textes législatifs visent à harmoniser a minima les pratiques des États membres. Plutôt qu'une politique d'asile européenne, se dessine très vite en fait une politique de non-accès au droit d'asile en rendant les visas obligatoires pour l'accès au territoire européen, en imposant des sanctions contre les transporteurs et en codifiant les notions de pays « sûrs » et de demandes « manifestement infondées ». Plus qu'une politique commune, les accords de Dublin et la base de données eurodac permettent de renvoyer les demandeurs d'un pays à un autre. La politique d'asile est donc peu solidaire et ne profite qu'aux ministères des pays qui ont élaboré entre eux de façon informelle dès 1985 un système pour ne plus accueillir de réfugiés.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baumard Philippe

L'Europe face à la rupture des régimes de puissance au XXIe siècle

in **Revue Défense Nationale**, n° 753, Octobre 2012



La péremption du modèle de la puissance européenne résulte de sa difficulté à prendre en compte les nouveaux paradigmes de la puissance dont l'auteur analyse en détail la théorie fondatrice. Il montre que la force de l'Europe est d'être asymétrique et que son projet de convergence est contre-nature. Au lieu de tirer un bénéfice de sa diversité et des degrés de liberté qu'elle offre, la puissance européenne s'acharne à réduire son projet à l'alignement et à l'homogénéité, critères d'un monde révolu. Il invite à résister à ce vide stratégique.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Accattatis Vincenzo

L'Unione europea e i lupi

in **Il Ponte**, Numero 8/9 - agosto settembre 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Godard Olivier

L'ajustement aux frontières, condition de la crédibilité d'une politique européenne du climat ambitieuse

in **Revue de l'OFCE**, 2012/2 (n°121) , 177-193

Cet article entend évaluer la pertinence, les modalités et la faisabilité de l'institution d'un ajustement carbone aux frontières de l'Union européenne visant à restaurer l'intégrité économique et environnementale de la politique climatique européenne. Il s'agit de créer un « sas de décompression » ou une « écluse » entre produits étrangers et produits européens afin de ne pas altérer la politique climatique européenne et d'éviter les « fuites de carbone ». Les effets attendus d'un tel dispositif se situe de façon imbriquée sur le terrain environnemental et sur le terrain économique : il s'agit tout à la fois de préserver l'intégrité environnementale des politiques climatiques et, ce faisant, d'enrayer les pertes artificielles de parts de marché pour les producteurs européens, tant sur les marchés intérieurs que sur les marchés internationaux. Après avoir étudié les conditions légales d'entrée en vigueur de cette mesure, l'article conclut que sous certaines conditions un ajustement carbone aux frontières de l'Union européenne contribuerait à renforcer la cohérence et la crédibilité de l'engagement européen en matière climatique.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Iarussi Oscar

L'alibi dei Pigs e la cultura europea (che non c'è)

in **Reset**, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/lalibi-dei-pigs-e-la-cultura-europea-che-non-ce>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mads Andenas and Eirik Bjorge

L'application de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme : quel rôle pour le juge interne ?

in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, vol. 64, n. 2 , 383-416

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin

L'autonomisation du « Parlement européen ». Interdépendance et différenciation des assemblées parlementaires supranationales (années 1950 - années 1970)

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 13-33

Postwar European Organizations are most of the time analyzed as clearly separate entities. The article argues that the process of institutionalization of the European field of power is best captured by studying the evolving interdependencies between these organizations. Analyzing the parliamentary recruitment to the four supranational assemblies of the Council of Europe, European Communities, Western European Union and North Atlantic Treaty Organization from the 1950s to the 1970s, the article shows that multiple memberships drastically decreased over the years, contributing both to the autonomization of what is then rechristened "European Parliament" and to the socialization of an ever greater number of national MPs with European supranational politics. It also establishes a correlation between long-term and multiple membership and legal-political capital, isolating a small group of multipositioned members of supranational assemblies who played a great number of roles in the postwar construction of Europe, like Fernand Dehousse, Pierre-Henri Teitgen and the likes... The article is based on a database containing several hundreds of MPs.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Deloire Christophe, Dubois Christophe

L'avenir de l'Europe se discute à huis clos

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Septembre 2012 , 6

D'un sommet de crise sur l'euro à l'autre, le Conseil européen s'invite à la « une » des médias. Cependant, hormis le ballet des voitures officielles et le ronron des conférences de presse, on ignore presque tout des débats qui agitent les salles feutrées où se réunissent les vingt-sept chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement. Seuls quelques initiés y ont accès.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cyran Olivier



L'effroi du retraité allemand face à l'épouvantail grec

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juillet 2012 , 1, 8, 9

La courte victoire du parti conservateur Nouvelle Démocratie aux élections législatives grecques du 17 juin dernier a été saluée par une coalition insolite : de Washington à Pékin et de Paris à Berlin, les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement se sont réjouis qu'un peuple exténué continue d'acquitter le prix des largesses concédées aux financiers. Intransigeants entre tous, les dirigeants allemands s'appuient sur le sentiment, profondément ancré dans leur pays, que les Grecs abusent de la solidarité européenne. Et qu'ils méritent ce qu'ils endurent.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pietrosanti Stefano

L'europa è in pericolo

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.198 - aprile 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buisson-Fenet Hélène

L'européanisation de l'École française en débat : le cas contrasté de l'évaluation des établissements scolaires

in *Politix - Revue des sciences sociales du politique* , n. 98, 2012 , 129-146

Towards the Europeanization of the French Education System? Contrasted Insights Into School Evaluation Process
This paper deals with the Europeanization process of the French education system, illustrated by a « good practice » derived from the New Public Management and disseminated in several European or International arenas in education: school evaluation. Its data partially derive from a qualitative inquiry about the school evaluation policies in four European countries. Instead of a « Europeanization » of the French education system, the paper stresses the limited and ambiguous effects of international initiatives and the distinctive features of the national school evaluation policy. If we do not deny some occasional borrowings and some references to a European governance through ideas or measurement tools, we lay emphasis on the influence of professional identities on foreign evidence borrowing and on the translation of school evaluation requirements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hélène Buisson-Fenet, Xavier Pons

L'européanisation de l'École française en débat : le cas contrasté de l'évaluation des établissements scolaires

in *Politix - Revue des sciences sociales du politique* , n°98 , 129-146



This paper deals with the Europeanization process of the French education system, illustrated by a « good practice » derived from the New Public Management and disseminated in several European or International arenas in education: school evaluation. Its data partially derive from a qualitative inquiry about the school evaluation policies in four European countries. Instead of a « Europeanization » of the French education system, the paper stresses the limited and ambiguous effects of international initiatives and the distinctive features of the national school evaluation policy. If we do not deny some occasional borrowings and some references to a European governance through ideas or measurement tools, we lay emphasis on the influence of professional identities on foreign evidence borrowing and on the translation of school evaluation requirements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alex Bastien

L'euroscpticisme, le turcoscepticisme et la Turquie : une affaire de perceptions ?

in **Confluences Méditerranée**, N° 83, 2012/4 , 19-29

Parangon de la fatigue de l'élargissement de l'UE, les pourparlers d'adhésion de la Turquie sont désormais au point mort. Si les dirigeants politiques turcs et européens portent une part de responsabilité dans cet échec, les perceptions européennes de la Turquie, fruits de l'Histoire et des dynamiques qui ont rythmé les différentes séquences socio-politiques n'y sont pas non plus étrangères. Il semble ainsi nécessaire de se pencher aujourd'hui sur les raisons de cette impasse qui peuvent trouver leur racine dans ce ressenti qui est venu se fracasser contre une conjoncture des plus défavorables. De même, pour aller plus loin, il s'agit de s'interroger sur la véritable question qui est posée, en filigrane, à l'UE et que la Turquie lui renvoie continuellement : celle de la définition de son identité.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chevalier Pascal, Maurel Marie-Claude, Polá Péter

L'expérimentation de l'approche Leader en Hongrie et en République tchèque : Deux Logiques Politiques Différentes

in **Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest**, vol. 43, n. 3, Dossier: Le modèle européen LEADER (2007-2013). Logiques d'action et contextes de réception , 91-143

The transfer of the local development model in the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy (2007-2013) implies learning a new form of public action based on initiatives borne by local stakeholders. One of the objectives of the LEADER Program is to improve the governance of rural areas through a bottom-up approach to local development. Are the conditions for carrying it out in each country's institutional context capable of boosting citizen participation in collective actions and consolidating local democracy? Defined and formulated at the EU level, the Leader approach has been transposed by member states in different ways and incorporated in each country's system of local government in line with political strategies for establishing "action areas" that differ in their territorial coverage and articulation with institutional units. Empirical research sheds light on how local action groups have been shaped through the formation of partnerships and networks. The positions adopted by a few mayors on the local scene provide evidence of the emergence of a genuine political leadership.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sébastien Martin

L'identité de l'État dans l'Union européenne : entre « identité nationale » et « identité constitutionnelle »
in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 91 , 13-44

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costa Anna

L'impoverimento della zona euro e l'esigenza dell'unità politica
in *Federalista (Il)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 140-154

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1387&lang=en&Itemid=77

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin, Knudsen Ann-Christina L.

L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 7-12

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lachmann Niels

Ma distinti partner? l'Unione europea e la cooperazione multilaterale per la gestione delle crisi internazionali
in *Etudes Internationales*, Volo. 43, No. 4 , 521-537

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tobias Knedlik, Gregor Von Schweinitz

Macroeconomic Imbalances as Indicators for Debt Crises in Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 726-745



European authorities and scholars published proposals on which indicators of macroeconomic imbalances might be used to uncover risks for the sustainability of public debt in the European Union. In this article the ability of four proposed sets of indicators to send early warnings of debt crises is tested using a signals approach for the study of indicators and the construction of composite indicators. It is found that a broad composite indicator has the highest predictive power. This fact still holds true if equal weights are used for the construction of the composite indicator in order to reflect the uncertainty about the origin of future crises.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wiesbrock Anja, Gajda Anna

Maintaining Ethnic Ties in the Process of EU Enlargement: The Relationship between Kin-Minority Laws, EU Anti-Discrimination Law and the Schengen Acquis

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 4 , 399-426

Within the course of the 1990s, several European Union (EU) Member States have adopted so-called "kin-minority laws", granting preferential entry and residence rights to their co-ethnics abroad. This paper investigates the relationship between such kin-minority legislation and the Union Acquis, in particular the prohibition of nationality discrimination and the Schengen rules. It provides for a comprehensive overview of kin-minority laws in Europe, comparing their scope of application, eligibility requirements and benefits granted. We argue that in the absence of Union competence in the area of minority protection, kin-minority laws provide crucial instruments in protecting ethnic minorities. At the same time, legislation granting favourable treatment to co-ethnics may be at odds with the strict Schengen regime and the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of nationality and/or ethnic origin. Even though EU law allows for positive discrimination under certain circumstances, a strict proportionality test applies. We argue that kin-minority provisions enacted by several Member States are questionable from an EU law perspective, illustrating the challenge to allow for the protection of ethnic minorities on the basis of national law whilst ensuring the coherency of the EU legal order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Robert Mundell

Making Europe Work

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 29-41

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Juho Luukkonen

**Making European Space in Spatial Planning in Northern Finland
in *Growth and Change* , Vol. 43, n°3 , 392-418**

The article explores European integration in northern Finland. It examines the discursive side of the European integration process by investigating the interplay between European-level spatial policies and regional territorial practices. Spatial planning is often portrayed from an instrumentalist view as a technical, evidence-based policy. However, spatial planning is highly political and an effective way of space making: As an inclusive and/or exclusive action, it (re-)defines spatial relations and (re-)produces spatial scales. Thus, spatial planning is considered here as a central part of the European integration process through which the regions are spatialized as part of Europe. The empirical analysis shows that polycentrism is the main spatial idea underlying the reorganization of European space. The adaptation to European policies manifests itself through the subjectification, rescaling and relocation of the region.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rogers Chris, Vasilopoulou Sofia

Making Sense of Greek Austerity

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 4, October-December 2012 , 777-785

The process of approving a Greek drawing on funds provided by the international community is now familiar. There is concern about the prospect of securing an agreement between the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Union (EU), the European Central Bank (ECB), and Greece, which satisfies all parties. This paper suggests that all parties to the agreement have interests in an orderly resolution of the Greek crisis that keeps Greece in the Eurozone. Furthermore, it argues that disagreements and delay before eleventh-hour agreements can best be explained politically. The paper first demonstrates how Greece, the IMF, and the EU each have a clear interest in finding an orderly solution to the Greek crisis that allows it to remain in the Eurozone. It then outlines the incremental nature of the package and its strategic benefit both for the European banking sector, and governments in Greece and the Eurozone more broadly.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Manifesto per l'unità politica dell'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno

Manifesto by Giorgio Napolitano (President of the Italian Republic), Bronislaw Komorowski (President of Poland) and Joachim Gauck (President of Germany)

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Asimina Michailidou & Hans-Jörg Trenz



Mediatized representative politics in the European Union: towards audience democracy?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 2 2013 , 260-277

Unlike the institutional and constitutional set-up of the compound system of EU political representation, the politicized and mass-mediated aspects of EU representative politics have only recently started to receive scholarly attention. In this contribution, we argue for a reconceptualization of EU political representation as a triadic and mediatized communicative act between political agents, constituents and the audience. We then apply the notion of 'audience democracy' to the representative politics of the EU, which after decades of operation within the parliamentary and political party spheres with the 'permissive consensus' of its citizens, are in the last few years increasingly and decisively carried out in the (mediatized) public sphere. Last but not least, we discuss the role of 'audience democracy' in constraining or enriching the democratic legitimacy of the EU.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Collier Michael

Migrants as strategic actors in the European Union's Global Approach to Migration and Mobility

in *Global Networks*, vol. 12, issue 4, october , 505-524

ABSTRACT: The European Union's discourse of 'partnership' in the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility and the widely expressed critique of this discourse as a process of 'externalization' of EU policy both depend on unitary accounts of the main policy actors involved. Two separate literatures contest such unitary accounts. Within political science and international relations, institutional approaches identify a range of strategic actors involved in policy development; in anthropology, there is a well-established interest in the strategic behaviour of disempowered actors. In this article, I set out to link these two approaches with an examination of undocumented migrants as strategic actors. I use a case study of events at the borders between Morocco and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla in late 2005, which have proved extremely influential in the continued development of the EU's global approach, to identify the ways in which even highly marginalized migrants were able to develop transnational social organizations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Peter Huber and Gabriele Tondl

Migration and regional convergence in the European Union

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 39 n.4 , 439-460

We offer an empirical, econometric analysis of the impact of migration on the EU27's NUTS2 regions in the period 2000–2007. We find that migration had no significant impact on regional unemployment in the EU, but affected both GDP per capita and productivity. A 1 percentage point increase in immigration to immigration regions increased GDP per capita by about 0.02 % and productivity by about 0.03 % on impact and by 0.44 % for GDP per capita and 0.20 % for productivity in the long run. For emigration regions an increase in the emigration rate leads to similar reductions of GDP per capita and productivity both on impact and in the long run. Since immigration regions are often regions with above average GDP, while emigration regions in Europe practically all have below average GDP, migration does not seem to promote convergence.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hall Stephen G., Swamy P.A.V.B., Tavlas in George S.

Milton Friedman, the Demand for Money, and the ECB's Monetary Policy Strategy

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, May/June 2012 Vol. 94, No. 3 , 153-186

The European Central Bank (ECB) assigns greater weight to the role of money in its monetary policy strategy than most, if not all, other major central banks. Nevertheless, reflecting the view that the demand for money became unstable in the early 2000s, some commentators have reported that the ECB has "downgraded" the role of money demand functions in its strategy. This paper explains the ECB's monetary policy strategy and shows the considerable influence of Milton Friedman's contributions on the formulation of that strategy. The paper also provides new evidence on the stability of euro area money demand. Following a conjecture made by Friedman (1956), the authors assign a role to uncertainty in the money demand function. They find that although uncertainty is nonstationary and subject to wide swings, it is nonetheless mean reverting and has substantial effects on the demand for money.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paul de Grauwe, Yuemei Ji

Mispricing of Sovereign Risk and Macroeconomic Stability in the Eurozone

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 866-880

This article presents evidence that a significant part of the surge in the spreads of the PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) countries in the eurozone during 2010–11 was disconnected from underlying increases in the debt-to-GDP (gross domestic product) ratios, and was the result of negative market sentiments that became very strong since the end of 2010. It is argued that the systematic mispricing of sovereign risk in the eurozone intensifies macroeconomic instability, leading to bubbles in good years and excessive austerity in bad years.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Knudsen Ann-Christina L.

Modes de recrutement et de circulation des premiers membres britanniques et danois du Parlement européen

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 61-79

The article maps the patterns of recruitment and circulation of the 95 British and Danish Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) prior to the move to direct elections in June 1979. It is based on an extensive prosopographical study of collective and relational biographies of the political career paths of these MEPs prior to and after their service as dual mandated MEPs. The comparative study demonstrates the ways in which MEPs were circulated in national and European politics, and how the widened political career opportunities were integrated into political life among these two populations of parliamentarians.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Felipe González

More Europe, Less Nationalism

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 14-16

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Jason Beckfield

More Europe, Not Less: Reversing the Long, Slow Decline of the European Social Model

in Sociologica , n°1/2012

In this comment on the major contribution by Anton Hemerijck, Jason Beckfield makes four arguments. The first argument is that, in imposing “market fundamentalism” since the Single European Act (SEA) took effect in 1986, the EU has accomplished the Americanization of the European Social Model. As Hemerijck notes, the current crisis presents an opportunity to reverse this process. Second, any market, no matter how social its foundations, commodifies; and as an institution, any market creates winners and losers. Third, although Hemerijck creatively argues for a virtuous circle wherein successful social investment is reinforced by market investment, the inherent contradictions of capitalism could create economic incentives for capitalists to undermine social investment. Fourth, a “forward-looking social pragmatism” (in Hemerijck’s words) that could counter market fundamentalism requires as a necessary condition the formation of a self-conscious European public.

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SARA B. HOBOLT and JAE-JAE SPOON

Motivating the European voter: Parties, issues and campaigns in European Parliament elections

in European Journal of Political Research, Volume 51, Issue 6 , 701–727

Voters behave differently in European Parliament (EP) elections compared to national elections because less is at stake in these ‘second-order’ elections. While this explains the primary characteristic of EP elections, it has often led to a conflation of distinct motivations for changing behaviour – namely sincere and protest voting. By distinguishing these motivations, this article addresses the question of when and why voters alter their behaviour in EP elections. In addition,



it argues that the degree of politicisation of the EU in the domestic debate shapes the extent to which voters rely on EU, rather than national, considerations. These propositions are tested in a multilevel analysis in 27 countries in the 2009 EP elections. The findings have important implications for understanding why voters change their behaviour between different types of elections

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Leventon Julia, Antypas Alexios

Multi-level Governance, Multi-level Deficits: The Case of Drinking Water Management in Hungary

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 22, Issue 4, July-August , 253-267

This paper improves our understanding of failed implementation in the European Union by studying a case whereby a member state has transposed legislation but failed to comply with it. Drawing on existing literature on transposition deficits, this paper creates a framework for interrogating implementation failures in the EU's multi-level governance system. It is applied to a Hungarian case study to explain why parts of the country continue to deliver drinking water that exceeds the Drinking Water Directive's limits for arsenic, creating a public health risk. The failure to comply is shown to be a series of linked implementation deficits at every level of the governance system. Processes of horizontal and vertical disintegration are clearly demonstrated. The conclusions make policy recommendations with wider relevance to other cases of failed implementation. Recommendations are also made for research that uses our framework as a starting point to understand the drivers behind individual deficits.

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Guy Verhofstadt

Mutualizing Europe's Debts

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 26-28

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

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Benjamin Hawking

Nation, Separation and Threat: An Analysis of British Media Discourses on the European Union Treaty Reform Process

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 561-577



This article examines the framing of the European Union in British media debates surrounding the negotiation of the Lisbon Treaty. As such, it analyzes the discursive context in which both citizens' attitudes and government policies towards the EU are formed. It identifies a predominant, Eurosceptic discourse that dictates the terrain on which wider debates about the EU are conducted. This discourse views the EU through the lens of the nation-state and frames the relationship between the United Kingdom and the EU in terms of separation and threat. The United Kingdom is excluded from the EU mainstream, which works to undermine its interests.

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Closa Carlos

**National Higher Courts and the Ratification of EU Treaties
in West European Politics**, vol. 36, n. 1 , 97-121

ABSTRACT: Courts in a given institutional context are aware of the implementation costs of their decisions. Contrary to some interpretations of Higher Courts' reasoning, these have decided, in most cases, that EU treaties are compatible with national constitutional law. In cases on the constitutionality of EU treaties, a negative decision on a given treaty offers only two possible implementation options: either the treaty is re-negotiated or the constitution is modified. The most rigid constitutional revision procedures involve citizens either by means of a referendum and/or an intervening election. Therefore, and despite a significant number of appeals, Higher Courts have not ruled that EU reform treaties require constitutional revision for their ratification when citizens intervene in constitutional amendment procedures

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Husák Jan

**National Identity of the Political Parties in the Visegrad Region
in Europe en formation (L')**, n. 364, 2012/2 , 265-287

Parties' identities often tackle the issue of nationalism, national feelings or appeals. Therefore, we focused on them and extract basic approaches and their special regard to national related issues. The examination of the political parties manifestos and election programmatic in the Visegrad region - the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Hungary helped to identify eight different approaches on how the nation and the society are considered in the region. While five of these approaches are present in the political parties in more of the Visegrad countries, three of them are more specific. We have researched both the relevant political parties and significant nonparliamentary nationalistic and extreme right parties in the period from 2005 to 2010 to get the up-to-date picture about the national identities of the parties. This limited period is important because of the political context, when all of the countries are already members of the European Union.

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Karlas Jan

**National Parliamentary Control of EU Affairs: Institutional Design after Enlargement
in West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 5 , 1095-1113



ABSTRACT: This article analyses the differences in institutional design in national parliamentary control over European Union affairs among EU member states. It proceeds from a preference-based perspective, drawing on the principal-agent framework, and a time-based perspective, inspired by the historical institutionalist approach. The article involves a qualitative comparative analysis of strong control and a quantitative, correlation analysis of variation in the degree of control. It argues that time-based factors provide a more persuasive overall explanation for the differences in control than preference-based factors.

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Hrbek Rudolf

National and European Political Parties and the European Citizens' Initiative

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 370-384

On the assumption that intermediary organisations and forces are important in the context of popular referenda, this article considers the role of national parties and Europarties ('parties at European level') in the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI). Parties are qualified to play a role on the basis of the functions they perform in the democratic political process, and their resources. The orientation of the ECI is primarily towards strengthening input rather than output legitimacy of the EU by incentivising transnational communication and networking processes. Here, Europarties and their respective foundations may use the ECI for their own development towards genuine party organisations at European level. Smaller and outsider parties at national level – often populist in their performance – may be interested in using the new instrument also.

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Armin von Bogdandy

National legal scholarship in the European legal area – A manifesto

in International Journal of Constitutional Law, vol. 10, issue 3 , 614-626

The advancing European integration poses fundamental questions for the various national traditions of legal scholarship. With a particular view to the German case, these questions will be unfolded in a first step, which will show how legal scholarship is affected by the political project of a European research area, the dynamics of a European legal area and, in this context, by leading American law schools. In a second step, I will submit considerations for dealing with these challenges, namely by an intensification of comparative legal analysis, a Europeanization of methods and a pluralization of the disciplinary identities. The article advances subjects already exposed in an earlier piece¹ and responds, to the extent possible under the new focus, to its discussion by Michel Rosenfeld, Robert Post, Matthias Kumm, Alexander Somek,² and Giulio Napolitano.³

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Roger Scully, Simon Hix, David M. Farrell



National or European Parliamentarians? Evidence from a New Survey of the Members of the European Parliament

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 670-683

This article presents findings from a new survey of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), conducted in 2010. It explains the purpose of the survey, its content, the survey methodology and the potential limitations of the sample obtained. The article then presents results from the survey to explore the determinants of MEPs' policy preferences and, more specifically, whether MEPs from recent enlargement states continue to differ from those of longer-standing EU Member States. The findings here indicate that 'enlargement' MEPs remain somewhat farther to the right, but are no longer more cautious about integration. The results also reinforce the importance of ideology, even more than nationality, as a factor underpinning MEPs' political attitudes.

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Adamski Ariusz

National power games and structural failures in the European macroeconomic governance

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 4 , 1319-1364

ABSTRACT: The unfolding of the euro area crisis has revealed fundamental political, economic and legal shortcomings of the macroeconomic governance in the Union. This contribution first demonstrates that the original legal architecture of the EMU has proven conducive to accelerating imbalances produced by the political and economic dynamics of the euro. It then describes how the legal underpinnings of the EMU fell victim of the accelerating crisis and proceeds to discuss the legal countermeasures recently agreed at the EU level, from rescue funds to the six-pack reform and the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance. The article argues that all those measures essentially follow the same intergovernmental governance paradigm which had previously proven entirely inefficient. The euro area falters, because it is - just as is the macroeconomic picture - not a real community, but an aggregate outcome of national policies exposed to substantially destabilizing forces of the monetary union. The text wraps up with a conclusion that only when the governance paradigm is entirely overhauled may the crisis be contained.

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Kube Hanno

Nationale Budgethoheit und Europäische Integration

in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Volume 137, Number 2, April 2012 , 205-222

Abstract:

Budgetary authority is one of the core legislative powers of Germany's democratically elected federal Parliament. Under German Federal Constitutional Court precedent, European integration may not abridge the German Parliament's plenary authority over its own budget. Thus, the Federal Constitutional Court declared unconstitutional any international or supranational regime under which the German government could automatically be obliged to accept debt guarantees for other European member states. As long as the federal Parliament retains the prerogative to accept such guarantees on an individual basis, however, the Federal Constitutional Court did not see any constitutional issues - so long as the aggregate amount of such guarantees does not undermine meaningful budget making.



On the basis of these principles, Germany may participate in the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) because it allows European member states - or at least allows Germany, which holds 27% of the voting rights - to decide on a case-by-case basis whether they will guarantee other member states' debts. Constitutional limits to the aggregate amount of these guarantees may be derived in relation to the German federal budget or the GDP. Requiring individual parliamentary consent may be a suitable way of ascertaining sufficient democratic legitimacy in the particular context of debt guarantees. However, involving parliament in a large number of individual decision-making processes may weaken the legislative branch and thereby democratic government.

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Zuzana Murdoch

Negotiating the European External Action Service (EEAS): Analyzing the External Effects of Internal (Dis)Agreement†

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 1011-1027

Analyses of the rising capacity for co-ordination within the Secretariats-General of the European Commission and Council have concentrated on their effects within these respective institutions. This article, in contrast, argues that the presence/absence of co-ordination capacities developed within an institution may have an important bearing also on the relations between institutions (for example, in inter-institutional negotiations). The empirical analysis traces the negotiation process leading up to the creation of the European External Action Service (EEAS), and finds substantial support for the theoretical argument.

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Boerger-De Smedt Anne

Negotiating the Foundations of European Law, 1950–57: The Legal History of the Treaties of Paris and Rome

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law , 339-356

This article analyses how the seeds for the development of European law from the 1960s onwards were sown in the foundational treaties. It argues that despite the fact that both European treaties embodied a conscious choice by the majority of the governments not to establish the European Communities on a constitutional basis, a small number of politicians and jurists managed nonetheless to insert the potential for the constitutional practice. Following a chronological account of each set of negotiations, the article untangles the complex ideas and decisions, which crafted both the legal shape of the treaties and the jurisdiction of the new European Court of Justice.

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Gijs Jan Brandsma, Jens Blomhansen

Negotiating the Post-Lisbon Comitology System: Institutional Battles over Delegated Decision-Making

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 939-957



The Lisbon Treaty represented a rare opportunity to redesign parliamentary control of the European Commission's delegated powers. The new Treaty distinguishes between delegated and implementing acts and specifies that comitology rules must be decided by a co-decision regulation. This necessitated a reform of the comitology system, which was decided in December 2010 after protracted inter-institutional negotiations. This article asks why the new control system took its final form. The negotiations as a game of control positions are analyzed and the course of the negotiations is traced through documents and interviews. Support is found for the article's hypotheses, but it is also the case that events in some respects went further than expected.

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Sluijs Jasper P.

Network neutrality and internal market fragmentation

in Common Market Law Review, vol. 49, issue 5 , 1647-1673

ABSTRACT: The debate on network neutrality concerns the ways in which Internet Service Providers (ISPs) can manage the traffic on their network, as gatekeepers of information between content providers and end-users on the Internet. The European institutions have chosen not to regulate network management by ISPs strictly, but rather have them make their network management transparent for end-users. Some Member States, however, are in the process of regulating network management beyond the transparency approach of the European framework, for instance by banning ISPs from blocking or degrading traffic on their networks. Such different regulatory approaches towards network management across borders lead to regulatory fragmentation that causes inefficiencies and threatens the Internal Market. The present research establishes the necessity for the European Institutions to counteract this regulatory fragmentation, and re-harmonize network management regulation across the EU. The core of this article then investigates whether EU law allows for such a re-harmonization effort and analyses two non-exclusive approaches to mitigate regulatory fragmentation of network management. First, the European Commission could open infringement proceedings against defecting Member States and argue that their national regulation encroaches on the independence of National Regulatory Authorities (NRAs). Second, the European Institutions could initiate harmonizing legislation following the Article 114 TFEU procedure-which will likely be upheld when challenged before the European Courts.

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Balsiger Jörg

New Environmental Regionalism and Sustainable Development in the European Alps

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 12, Issue 3, August , 58-78

In the context of increasing fragmentation and functional differentiation in international governance, new environmental regionalism represents a recent trend involving initiatives that seek to territorialize environmental governance at the level of transboundary ecoregions, such as mountain ranges or river basins. This article examines the implications of this trend for sustainable development, which is defined here as a procedural norm for reconciling the tradeoffs between environmental, economic, and social dimensions of wellbeing. This article (1) traces arguments concerning the origins of functional differentiation to research on European state-making; (2) offers two complementary perspectives that generate insights into sustainable development at the transboundary level, one focusing on the intersection of multiple and overlapping functional spaces, and the other focusing on regionalization as the domestic manifestation of regional



themes; and (3) illustrates the significance of these perspectives in the case of the European Alps. The article suggests that the Alps serve both as the bounded object of an international legally binding agreement asking its signatories to formalize sustainable development, and as the intersection of multiple overlapping functional spaces. It lends support to claims about the link between rescaling and functional differentiation, but demonstrates that a sympathetic critique of new environmental regionalism need not conclude that the phenomenon exacerbates the fragmentation of international governance.

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Bouza García Luis

New Rules, New Players? The ECI as a Source of Competition and Contention in the European Public Sphere in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 337-351

This article analyses the potential effect of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) on the field of relations between European institutions and civil society organisations (CSOs). The article builds on empirical analysis of data coming from almost a decade of debate about participatory democracy in the EU, and in particular, evidence from the consultation on the Green Paper about the ECI.

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Mause Karsten, Groeteke Friedrich

New constitutional "debt brakes" for Euroland? A question of institutional complementarity in Constitutional political economy, Volume 23, Issue 4, December 2012 , 279-301

Despite the EU Stability & Growth Pact and existing constitutional limits on public deficit/debt at the (sub)national level in many EU member countries, in the wake of the 2010 Greek bailout, many politicians and policy advisors have proposed new constitutional "debt brakes" to prevent future fiscal crises and bailouts. This paper puts a question mark behind this popular policy recommendation. Public choice scholars and other critical observers have repeatedly emphasised that constitutional deficit/debt limits are not per se credible commitments to run a sound fiscal policy in the future. To demonstrate this, design defects of such fiscal constraints are usually pointed out (no politically independent control, no sanctions, etc.). Going beyond this standard approach of credibility assessment, this paper argues for taking the issue of institutional complementarity seriously. To assess its credibility, one has to not only examine the design of a deficit/debt limit but also the institutional environment (tax/expenditure policy, capital market, etc.) in which such a constitutional commitment is embedded.

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Gurin, Andrei; Stanescu, Felicia; Terret, Marcel-Eric

New rules for securities settlement in Europe in Law and Financial Markets Review, volume 6 n.6 , 258-270



In the European Union, securities transactions worth over €900 trillion are settled each year by Central Securities Depositories (CSDs). As part of its ongoing efforts to create a sounder financial system, the European Commission has recently proposed to set up a common regulatory framework for European CSDs and to harmonise certain aspects of the securities settlement in Europe. The proposal, which is currently being considered by the Council (Member States) and the European Parliament, will bring more safety and efficiency to securities settlement in Europe.

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Christopher Lord

No representation without justification? Appraising standards of justification in European Parliament debates
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 2 2013, 243-259

Much is known about the voting behaviour of representatives in the European Parliament. However, less has been done to investigate the role of the European Parliament in 'speaking up' for different points of view. This contribution uses a philosophical analysis of the role of justification in representation to propose standards that can be used to evaluate the quality of justification in legislative bodies. It then applies those standards to a study of debates in the 2004–9 European Parliament.

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Ulrike Guérot

Noces d'or franco-allemandes : le couple est-il fini ?
in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver

France et Allemagne ont des conceptions éloignées en matière économique et sur les formes souhaitables de l'intégration européenne. L'Allemagne craint que la France n'effectue pas les réformes de structure nécessaires en matière économique ; et elle s'étonne que ses propositions d'union politique ne suscitent en France aucun écho. C'est ensemble que Paris et Berlin doivent formuler des propositions pour une intégration à la fois économique et politique, ferment d'un nouveau projet européen.

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Thomas Schreiber

Nomenklatura 2012 : les nouveaux décideurs
in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°3 automne

Le terme de nomenklatura, censé avoir fait naufrage avec le communisme, perdure dans le vocabulaire politique des pays de l'Europe de l'Est. Ceux-ci sont désormais dirigés par des décideurs alliant les héritiers de la dissidence et de jeunes élites largement formées en Occident. L'origine de ces nouvelles élites explique les positions particulières qu'elles adoptent en matière économique, dans les choix stratégiques de la construction européenne, pour la défense de leurs intérêts nationaux.



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Christiansen Thomas, Dobbels Mathias

Non-Legislative Rule Making after the Lisbon Treaty: Implementing the New System of Comitology and Delegated Acts

in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 42–56

No abstract available

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König Thomas, Mäder Lars

Non-conformable, partial and conformable transposition: A competing risk analysis of the transposition process of directives in the EU15

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 1, March , 46-69

Although member states are obliged to transpose directives into domestic law in a conformable manner and receive considerable time for their transposition activities, we identify three levels of transposition outcomes for EU directives: conformable, partially conformable and non-conformable. Compared with existing transposition models, which do not distinguish between different transposition outcomes, we examine the factors influencing each transposition process by means of a competing risk analysis. We find that preference-related factors, in particular the disagreement of a member state and the Commission regarding a directive's outcome, play a much more strategic role than has to date acknowledged in the transposition literature. Whereas disagreement of a member state delays conformable transposition, it speeds up non-conformable transposition. Disagreement of the Commission only prolongs the transposition process. We therefore conclude that a stronger focus on an effective sanctioning mechanism is warranted for safeguarding compliance with directives.

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Rose Richard

Now Britain's euroscepticism is developing real teeth

in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

Opposition to the EU has shifted in the UK from grassroots grousing by Tory eurosceptics into organised hostility that threatens an EU-level political crisis. Richard Rose explains how and why.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22036/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Victoria Chick, Sheila C. Dow

On Causes and Outcomes of the European Crisis: Ideas, Institutions, and Reality
in **Contributions to Political Economy**, volume 31 n.1 , 51-66

We consider future possibilities for finance in Europe on the basis of an attempt to understand its present and its past. The purpose of this paper is thus to explore the relationship between the way in which the financial sector and the economy have been understood in Europe and the consequences both for institutional and policy design and for future possibilities. In particular, we focus on the evolving relationship between the state and the financial sector, especially with respect to the role of the banks in providing society's money. We revisit the thinking behind Maastricht and consider its role in creating the current crisis. We then explore current thinking in the light of the experience of the crisis and its consequences for proposed solutions.

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Andrew Duff

On Dealing with Euroscepticism
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 1, January 2013 , 140-152

The article examines if and, if so, why and how political parties opposing the European Union have thrived. It looks at the role of national parliaments and national media in failing to engage convincingly with the European dimension of politics, and asks why the forces of European federalism have been so relatively ineffective. By analyzing the tensions between national and European political parties especially in the conduct of elections to the European Parliament, the article traces the rise of the nationalist forces within the EP and assesses their impact on the legislative and other work of the institution. It concludes by proposing measures to tackle the nationalist challenge to European unification, including more differentiated forms of integration, more direct democracy, the development of federal political parties and the constitutional settlement of a federal union.

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van Leeuwen Karin

On Democratic Concerns and Legal Traditions: The Dutch 1953 and 1956 Constitutional Reforms 'Towards' Europe
in **Contemporary European History** , vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law , 357-374

This study analyses the 1953 and 1956 Dutch constitutional reforms 'towards' Europe, revealing the complexity and mutuality between national constitutional reform and the development of European integration in the 1950s. It demonstrates that long-standing Dutch traditions of adherence to international law played a formative role in constitutional reform, which itself ultimately facilitated the transformation of European law. Thus, it challenges the understanding of this development of European law as merely a constitutional or administrative process, arguing for the inclusion of national constitutional legal traditions in the writing of the history of European law.



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Daniel Gros

On the Stability of Public Debt in a Monetary Union

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 36-48

Is it inherently more difficult to finance a large public debt in a monetary union than outside? The article concludes with the hypothesis that the nature and strength of the liquidity support for the banking system play a key role in the stability of high public levels.

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Donnelly Brendan

On the edge: Britain and the European Union

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 31-37

British negotiating tactics at the European Council of December 2011 were the predictable outcome of the underlying approach to the EU of the present British government and particularly of its largest component, the Conservative Party. Recent years have seen a consolidation of hostility in the UK towards the EU, both at the public and the political level. A referendum on British membership is in the medium term a real possibility, with no certainty as to its outcome. British attitudes towards the EU may change over time in a more favourable direction. Any such change will require concerted political action and leadership, which have hitherto been lacking.

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Masiá Enrique Fernández

Optando por la normativa común de compraventa europea

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 23, junio 2012

En octubre de 2011, la Comisión Europea publicó una Propuesta de Reglamento relativo a una normativa común de compraventa europea –NCCE-. La característica más importante de este texto es su naturaleza opcional. Además, desde la perspectiva del Derecho aplicable, la Comisión Europea ha caracterizado al instrumento opcional como un “segundo régimen nacional” antes que un “régimen 28”. Como consecuencia, la NCCE sólo se aplicaría si las partes así lo acuerdan, y si, por otra parte, el Derecho de un Estado miembro es aplicable.

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Ganuzo Juan José, Gomez Fernando

Optional law for firms and consumers: An economic analysis of opting into the Common European Sales Law



in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 29-50

ABSTRACT: The European Commission has launched the Regulation Proposal on a Common European Sales Law as an optional instrument for European firms and consumers. Several critical opinions have been raised against the optional nature, characterizing it as an instrument for social dumping (i. e. lowering consumer protection standards, given that no set of rules with higher levels of protection would ever be chosen by firms), as depriving consumers of any meaningful choice, and emphasizing its futility. In this paper we present a simple model showing how these critiques present theoretical flaws, even if one does not rely on the efficiency gains that increasing cross border trade may bring in terms of having more efficient firms serving consumers in other national markets. The role of verification or compliance costs, and of the impact of legal diversity on firms' operating costs is crucial for understanding the effects of an optional instrument, and may make high levels of consumer protection, and consumer choice implementable. We also characterize how different levels of the standard may lead to complete replacement of national standards and to the joint use of European and national standards.

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Kremer Christian

Overcoming the vulnerabilities of the European economy

in **European View** , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 175-178

Regardless of where the financial crisis originated, its effect on European economies stems from internal imbalances, excessive debt and a lack of regulation. The causes and consequences of global economic turmoil have been different in each Member State, but in order for the common currency to survive, European financial institutions will have to be reformed so that they can safeguard us from future shocks even as they strive to overcome current problems. Debt levels are often unsustainable, and fiscal consolidation will have to play a key role in economic policymaking in the future, something that has not been the case in several eurozone countries. The economic union will transfer increasing powers to European institutions in a way that will change economic policymaking in Member States and improve economic convergence between them, but the ultimate objective must always be sustainable and balanced growth for the Union.

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Hans Stark

Paris-Berlin : relation solide, rapports asymétriques, politiques antinomiques

in **Politique Etrangère**, Vol. 77, n°4 hiver

La relation franco-allemande s'incarne dans de multiples déclarations ou célébrations et dans des structures de coopération encore plus nombreuses. L'ensemble de ce dispositif a cependant échoué à rapprocher significativement les cultures profondes des deux pays. Leurs différences persistantes de philosophies, et donc de politiques, sont particulièrement illustrées par les difficultés de leur coopération de sécurité et de défense et par la divergence croissante de leurs choix économiques.



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Arnold Christine,

Parties' Positions on European Integration: Issue Congruence, Ideology or Context?

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 6 , 1341-1362

ABSTRACT: This paper models the correlates of parties' positions on the issue of European integration, asking why some parties are in favour of European integration, while others are less favourable or even opposed to it. The paper builds on existing work which has identified three sets of explanatory factors predicting parties' positions on integration: the electorate, parties and party system characteristics. By employing multilevel modelling using data on over 220 parties in 14 Western EU member states for the years 1984 to 2006, the effects of party- and context-level predictors of parties' positions on EU integration are assessed. The findings demonstrate that parties' positions are primarily influenced by EU preferences of the general electorate, parties' left–right ideological extremes and incumbency status. The results also show that the impact of party characteristics is moderated by the electoral context in which parties operate. Moreover, the interaction between both levels offers further insights as to the nature of these associations. Specifically, party size is a robust predictor of integration position only when accounting for the levels of party system's fractionalisation and polarisation. Additionally, parties oriented towards the centre of the ideological spectrum are even more likely to favour European integration within highly polarised systems.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucie Spanihelova, Brandon C. Zicha

Party Responsiveness on European Union Integration in Transition Democracies of Central and Eastern Europe

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 764-782

Some argue that the direct representative relationship between voters and party elites is difficult to establish in transition democracies. In part, the difficulty stems from the fact that parties may have a hard time discerning the preferences of their respective voter coalitions. In the case of EU integration, parties may have additional incentives to disregard the interests of the public in the hope of securing benefits associated with their country's membership of the EU. In this article we investigate the extent of party responsiveness on EU integration issues in early transition years in central and eastern European countries. We find that while mainstream parties do consistently show more support for EU integration, we find no evidence that parties, in fact, track their voters. The lack of responsiveness cannot, however, be explained by the general instability of public and party positions, nor can this absence of a relationship be satisfactorily captured by low salience of the EU in the transition years.

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Smits Jan M.

Party choice and the Common European Sales Law, or: How to prevent the CESL from becoming a lemon on the law market

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 51-68

ABSTRACT: Optional legal regimes, such as the Proposal for a Regulation on a Common European Sales Law (CESL),



derive their success from being chosen by parties. This contribution asks on what conditions it is dependent whether parties will choose for an optional regime such as the CESL. This requires a view of the added value of so-called vertical jurisdictional competition, of the preferences of business and consumers, and of the choices available to contracting parties when designing their contractual relationship. It is argued that in order to be an attractive competitor on the law market, the proposed CESL must meet three requirements. First, it must be significantly different from existing options by offering more innovative solutions, reflecting an alternative view of contractual justice or offering a wider scope of application. Secondly, parties should be able to easily recognise the benefits of a choice for the CESL, calling for innovative ways of marketing such as user-based rankings. Thirdly, the costs of making the CESL applicable must be low compared to other available options. Only if these requirements are met - which is not the case with the present Proposal - it is avoided that CESL turns into a lemon on the European law market.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Konig Thomas, Luig Bernd

Party ideology and legislative agendas: Estimating contextual policy positions for the study of EU decision-making

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 604-625

This article introduces a novel approach for generating agenda-related estimates of the policy positions of political parties from party manifestos and expert surveys. We show that current party estimates provide for little variation across policy areas and over time. In response, we propose to relate the issue-specific ideological preference profiles of political parties to the legislative context. For the dimensional representation of policy positions of political parties our procedure weights the issue-specific preference profiles by their prominence on the agenda of each policy area. We apply this procedure to EU legislation and locate national political parties on a national/supranational and left/right dimension, which can be used for the analysis of Council decision-making.

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Seminatore Irnerio

Penser l'impensable : la rupture de l'Union européenne

in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 753, Octobre 2012

Dans cette analyse prospective et conjecturale foisonnante, l'auteur esquisse une rupture de l'Union européenne après un véritable schisme européen qui conduirait à un nouveau système international marqué par une préférence eurasienne de l'Allemagne et une rivalité en forme de duel entre États-Unis et Chine. Il en explore les répercussions politiques, diplomatiques et militaires.

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Cassano Franco



Per salvarsi l'Europa si riscopra mediterranea

in *Reset*, Numero 136

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/per-salvarsi-leuropa-si-riscopra-mediterranea>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Blair Tony

Perché conviene restare in Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 31-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cruickshank Neil

Perspectives on Europeanization: Roma and Integration

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 401-416

Actively engaged in transnational contentious collective action, using (and utilising) EU and European institutions to remedy long-standing grievances and inequities, including, but not limited to, coercive sterilization, segregated schooling and political disenfranchisement, Roma seem net beneficiaries of the accession process and Europeanization. Newly acquired European Union citizenship and improved political station at the international, European and local level are presenting Roma in Central and Eastern Europe with new political opportunities. In this way integration and an emerging European human rights regime/discourse are helping Roma realise a place amongst Europe's national minorities and nations. Judicial victories at the European level (i.e. European Court of Human Rights) have given credence to Union directives, Council Framework Decisions and other instruments designed to end marginalization and maltreatment of Roma. This begs the question: Can a poly-centric polity, in this case the EU, accommodate a single overarching human-rights regime without undermining member-state sovereignty and intergovernmental decision-making?

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Martelli Evelina

Pio XII, De Gasperi e Adenauer: la recente storiografia sul ruolo dei cattolici nel processo d'integrazione europea

in *Ventesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni*, Anno XI, n. 28, "I cattolici, la laicità e la politica", giugno

In the vast bibliography on Eugenio Pacelli, his vision of post-war Europe remains a field that requires further exploration. An interesting bibliography is available on the cooperation established among European Christian parties. The number of studies on De Gasperi and Adenauer's relations are also increasing and becoming more consistent. However, the degree of contamination between the visions of Europe of the leaders of the two major and most powerful Christian democratic parties ruling in western Europe, and the vision of the Pope, is still widely unexplored. The



availability of new documents would allow further investigation into how deeply the Pope's vision affected the thought of these Catholic political leaders who contributed the most to the first steps of European cooperation.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karolina Pomorska, Sophie Vanhoonacker

Poland in the Driving Seat: A Mature Presidency in Turbulent Times

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 76-84

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Padoa-Schioppa Antonio

Political Union to Avert a Collapse

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/786-political-union-to-avert-a-collapse>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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De Wilde Pieter

Politicisation of the EU Budget: Conflict and the Constraining Dissensus

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 5 , 1075-1094

ABSTRACT: The current political climate in the European Union, referred to as the 'constraining dissensus', may place negotiations on the multiannual EU budget centre stage. Media framing of EU budget negotiations as conflict between member states may reinforce the constraining dissensus by resonating with exclusive national identity. In contrast, media emphasis on conflict within or across member states may alleviate the constraining dissensus by strengthening cross-cutting cleavages. This study tests hypotheses about patterns in politicisation of the EU budget in three budgets (Delors II, Agenda 2000, Financial Perspectives 2007–2013), three countries (the Netherlands, Denmark and Ireland) and two forums (media and national parliaments). It finds predominant international conflict framing, especially in media. Thus, media coverage of EU budget negotiations likely reinforces the constraining dissensus. However, as debates intensify, the constraining dissensus may be loosened through more pluralist framing in the debates. Further comparative empirical research into the dynamics of politicisation is called for.

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Bauer Michael W., Ege Jörn

Politicization within the European Commission's bureaucracy

in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 78, No. 3 , 403-424



Against a background of institutional change and organizational reform, we analyze the politicization of the European Commission's bureaucracy. Politicization can generally be defined as the substitution of bureaucratic neutrality by introducing political considerations into the human resource management and behaviour of civil servants. The concepts of direct and professional politicization serve as vantage points for our analysis. The empirical data are taken from documentary analysis and recent online and semi-structured surveys of Commission officials. We show that Commission bureaucrats, although they are highly sensitive to the political side of their job, are less politicized since the Kinnock reforms than before. While the College of the Commission seems to have indeed become more politically responsive to its supranational peers and national governments, the Commission's bureaucracy can be characterized as weakly politicized or, according to current debates, as quite instrumental in a Neo-Weberian sense.

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Krätke Michael R.

Politikwechsel in Polderland?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2012 , 9-13

Am 12. September wird ganz Europa auf das Orakel von Karlsruhe starren. Nur die Niederländer werden abgelenkt sein, denn sie müssen am gleichen Tag ein neues Parlament wählen. Mit diesem Wahlgang können sie die europäische Politik auf paradoxe Weise verschieben, nämlich indem sie eine Formation linker Europaskeptiker an die Macht bringen. Selbst die nüchternen, sparsamen Niederländer haben langsam genug von der endlosen Folge immer neuer und immer gleicher Sparrunden. Zum ersten Mal seit fast 40 Jahren, seit dem legendären Kabinett unter Joop den Uyl in den 70er Jahren, könnten die Niederlande wieder von einer linken Parteienkoalition regiert werden...

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Gendreau-Massaloux Michele

Politique de voisinage et nouvelles démocraties méditerranéennes, quelques questions

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 428-429

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Becker Helle

Politische Bildung in Europa

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 46-47, 2012

The full text is free:

<http://www.bpb.de/apuz/148214/politische-bildung-in-europa>



Europa ist als Thema von Bildungsangeboten in der schulischen und außerschulischen politischen Bildung Deutschlands seit vielen Jahren selbstverständlich gesetzt. Viele Schulen und freie Träger bieten darüber hinaus Begegnungsprogramme an, nutzen europäische Förderprogramme und pflegen den europäischen Austausch. Umgekehrt ist politische Bildung in allen Ländern der EU, aber auch über diese hinaus, sowohl in der Schule als auch als nicht-formale Angebote der Jugend- und Erwachsenenbildung präsent. Kommt es aber zur Rolle politischer Bildung im Rahmen europäischer Politik, ist das eigene Engagement der Träger politischer Bildung in Form einer gemeinsamen Interessenvertretung auf europäischer Ebene eher unterstrukturiert.

Vielfach wird dieser Zustand auf die Schwierigkeit zurückgeführt, "politische Bildung" im europäischen Maßstab überhaupt zu definieren. Wer in der höchst diversen Szene politischer Jugend-, Erwachsenen- und Schulbildung schon in Deutschland heftig um Begriffe als Stellvertreter für Konzepte streitet, dem erscheinen die nationalen Ausprägungen und unterschiedlichen Begrifflichkeiten quer durch Europa erst recht unbezähmbar. Die Schwierigkeit aber, ein Fachverständnis im europäischen oder internationalen Maßstab auszubuchstabieren, hat zunächst jede Disziplin. Zweifellos muss dieser Austausch im Sinne von Qualität möglichst präzise geführt werden. Dies sollte aber nicht davon ablenken, dass derweil auf europäischer Ebene politische Rahmenbedingungen gesetzt werden, welche die politische Bildung in Deutschland und Europa mehr und mehr beeinflussen.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steven Van Hecke

Polity-Building in the Constitutional Convention: Transnational Party Groups in European Union Institutional Reform

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 837-852

The abundant literature on the European Constitution has largely overlooked the role party politics played in the European Convention. This article fills this gap by analyzing transnational party groups: how they were organized and which purposes they served. It shows that they mattered, but in unexpected ways due to the particular set-up of the Convention. For instance, they helped to bring MEPs and MNPs closer to each other. Overall, the analysis contributes to a better understanding of how parties operate at the transnational level and helps to explain the way in which polity-building in the European Union's multi-level system takes place.

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La Torre Giovanni

Populismo ed euro

in **Critica liberale**, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available



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Kohler-Koch Beate

Post-Maastricht Civil Society and Participatory Democracy

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 809-824

The Treaty of Maastricht and even more so the sceptical public response to the further deepening of European integration triggered a new approach to civil society. This contribution explores why the concept of civil society became so prominent in Brussels and why such high expectations were placed in the democratic strengthening of Europe by involving civil society in EU governance and by starting a civil dialogue. The main part of the contribution presents the findings of an empirical investigation demonstrating and explaining how much aspirations differ from reality. At the end of the contribution the democratic potential of civil dialogue is compared with expectations regarding the European Citizens' Initiative.

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Rosenzweig Luc, Monclaire Stéphane

Pour finir avec la crise

in *Politique internationale*, n°135 - PRINTEMPS - 2012

After seven years as Mr. Euro (President of the monthly meeting of eurozone finance ministers), Jean-Claude Juncker is once more preparing to take on the relatively ordinary role of head of government. Since the outbreak of the sovereign debt crisis two years ago, the Luxembourg Prime Minister has spared no effort in defending the single currency. However, he does not join those who are proclaiming victory a bit early. The situation of the most fragile countries, particularly Greece, is still disturbing. More financial regulation measures are needed. When asked about the Sarkozy/Merkel partnership, Jean-Claude Juncker scoffs at the idea that the French-German duo holds Directory-style power over the European Union. In fact, many Paris and Berlin initiatives have been ignored by the eurozone. Luckily, there is still room for the small countries, often more virtuous than their larger cousins, to get their voices heard.

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Bollaert Baudouin

Pour un fédéralisme européen

in *Politique internationale*, n° 136 - été

Didier Reynders is something of a phenomenon in Belgium. Despite the repeated political crises shaking the country, he was Minister of Finance for 12 years in a row, under six different governments! Today, as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Di Rupo government, he continues to openly proclaim his free-market ideas and actively support a federated Europe. Based on his unrivaled experience with the ins and outs of Brussels—from the Ecofin Council to Eurogroup meetings—along with international bodies like the G-8 and the IMF, he claims that federalism is not the problem, but the solution that will enable Europe to get out of its current rut. In this interview with Baudouin Bollaert, he frankly discusses his views on François Hollande's election in France, Europe, the economic crisis and the global situation in general.



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Laurent Éloi

Pour une justice environnementale européenne Le cas de la précarité énergétique

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/2 (n°121) , 99-120

The European Union welfare states can no longer ignore the environment in which individuals live (work, home, leisure) since it partly determines the factors affecting their health and wider well-being. It is therefore essential for EU member States and bodies to both adopt and adapt the requirement of environmental justice from the US context. This article suggests ways for such adaptation. After defining different categories of environmental inequalities, it illuminates a particular aspect: energy poverty or precariousness. The situation in the United Kingdom and France are reviewed before addressing the issues and modalities for an EU policy against fuel poverty.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laurent Éloi

Pour une justice environnementale européenne. Le cas de la précarité énergétique

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/1 (n°120) , 99-120

Towards a European environmental justice: the case of energy poverty

The European Union welfare states can no longer ignore the environment in which individuals live (work, home, leisure) since it partly determines the factors affecting their health and wider well-being. It is therefore essential for EU member States and bodies to both adopt and adapt the requirement of environmental justice from the US context. This article suggests ways for such adaptation. After defining different categories of environmental inequalities, it illuminates a particular aspect: energy poverty or precariousness. The situation in the United Kingdom and France are reviewed before addressing the issues and modalities for an EU policy against fuel poverty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mappa Sophia

Pourquoi l'Europe ne comprend pas la crise grecque

in *Debat (Le)*, N. 171, septembre-octobre 2012 , 66-79

L'annonce d'une possible banqueroute de l'État grec n'en finit pas de susciter des réactions moralisatrices au-delà des mesures techniques adoptées par les autorités européennes. On aura évoqué, surtout dans les vieux pays protestants, la paresse des Grecs, leur corruption, leur clientélisme. À l'autre bout de l'échiquier politique, on a pu observer des réactions de la même...



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Perthuis Christian de

Pourquoi l'Europe a besoin d'une banque centrale du carbone

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/2 (n°121) , 155-175

Dans cette contribution, nous examinons les voies d'un renforcement de la régulation du marché européen du carbone, outil central retenu par l'Union européenne pour atteindre ses objectifs climatiques et à ce jour premier système d'échange de permis au monde. Un tel renforcement implique une harmonisation et une centralisation plus poussées des fonctions classiques de surveillance d'un marché (sécurité des infrastructures, transparence de l'information, traque des positions dominantes, ...), difficiles à mettre en œuvre dans le contexte institutionnel européen. Mais pour envoyer un signal permettant d'orienter l'économie sur la cible d'une réduction par cinq des émissions européennes à l'horizon 2050, il faudrait aller plus loin : créer un organisme indépendant sur le modèle d'une banque centrale avec une capacité d'intervention et une crédibilité suffisantes pour modifier les anticipations des industriels afin qu'ils réalisent aujourd'hui les investissements nécessaires pour mettre l'économie européenne sur la voie de la décarbonation.

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Lacquement Guillaume

Pratiques De La Gouvernance Locale En Allemagne Orientale - Transfert Institutionnel, Apprentissage Social Et Logiques Réticulaires Dans Le Cadre Du Programme Européen Leader 2007-2013

in *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol. 43, n. 3, Dossier: Le modèle européen LEADER (2007-2013). Logiques d'action et contextes de réception , 57-89

This study of the practices of local governance in eastern German rural areas focuses on the application of the 2007-2013 LEADER Program. The latter, now a part of European Union agricultural and rural policies, is intended to develop local initiatives in territorial development. Its application supposes that local stakeholders will enter into networks of cooperation for designing and implementing development projects. In the countryside of former East Germany, this process involves a mechanism of institutional transfers that require a genuine learning effort on the part of local populations. This case study borrows methods from the structuralist sociology to analyze how these networks of cooperation operate under the Leader Program. It is hypothesized that these systems of local action are part of a game involving "logics" of both institutional transfers and the geographical context, which post-Communism has marked.

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Pérez Francisco A.

Preface to special issue 'European Union in its neighbourhood: failed hopes and new horizons'

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 373-374



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Segers Mathieu

Preparing Europe for the Unforeseen, 1958–63. De Gaulle, Monnet, and European Integration beyond the Cold War: From Co-operation to Discord in the Matter of the Future of the EEC

in *International History Review (The)*, Volume 34, Issue 2, 2012 , 347-370

Abstract

Since its earliest days in the early 1950s European integration has been driven by a dynamic set free by a complex interplay between clashing grand designs, contingency and a somewhat contradictory inherent urge for both 'deepening' and 'widening' of communitarian integration. How did this interplay work? It is the aim of this article to try to find an answer to that question regarding the period 1958–63. At the center of the article is a detailed description of the striking story of a close behind-the-scenes cooperation in European affairs between the president of France's Fifth Republic, Charles de Gaulle, and the godfather of communitarian integration, Jean Monnet, the typical adversaries in the existing historiography of European integration, respectively embodying the purest images of continental intergovernmental cooperation and of trans-Atlantic embedded supranational integration. This unknown story of the cooperation between de Gaulle and Monnet sheds new light on the integration process during the years 1958–63, a crucial episode in European integration history. The analysis in this article is based on fresh multi-archival research.

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Jovanovic Tamara

Present Experiences in the Europeanisation of National Minority groups Revaluating the EU's Role Beyond the Power of Membership Conditionality

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 359-378

Based on a recent survey conducted among 40 national minority groups in Europe, this study concludes that there is a fresh input to present Europeanisation of national minorities groups in European Union member states. Insights from multilevel governance help to reconfigure our understanding of the current EU impact on national minorities, by shedding a new light on bottom-up and horizontally dispersed action and policy practices. These insights help us distance the topic from the enlargement and conditionality driven Europeanisation, which mainly focuses on state-level implementation. Instead of viewing the EU as a force which compels accession states to comply with EU obligations on the protection of national minorities within domestic structures, the EU and the European integration process can magnify domestic minority politics by opening up new fields for participation, enhancing activities which stimulate language and culture preservation and support the preceding actions through particular value articulation.

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Góra Marek

Preserving social models while regaining competitiveness: can Europe do both?
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 55-62

European social models have many advantages and some disadvantages—both have been widely discussed. However, disputes on whether the European welfare state is a good or bad idea have become less relevant since the demographic dividend that used to fuel the institutions of the welfare state has disappeared. Having fewer resources, Europeans must spend less. In order to adjust to the new situation it is crucial to rethink the essence of social goals, to explain conclusions to the public, and to then neutralise certain elements of social models in order to withdraw them from political bargaining and downsize them. All this is necessary in order to save the social models, which have become overused. Not having the demographic dividend available, politicians have had to increase the burden put on production factors, reducing net remunerations. European social models still have a lot of potential for the future. If they focus on the key social goals and are of a reasonable scale then they will once again contribute to higher productivity and competitiveness among European economies.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Colorni Felice Mill

Presidenzialismo europeo?

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.198 - aprile 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer Christoph

Price convergence in the EMU? Evidence from micro data

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 4, May 2012 , 757-776

The establishment of the European Monetary Union (EMU) was widely expected to cause price convergence among member states. In an investigation of this claim, the present study avoids problems of comparability and representativeness by using an extremely detailed and comprehensive scanner database on washing machine prices and sales volumes for 17 European countries. A hedonic regression yields country-specific time series for quality-adjusted price differentials. Statistically and economically significant deviations from the Law of One Price emerge. Log t tests firmly reject price convergence among EMU countries. Small convergence clusters can be identified but they are unrelated to EMU membership.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Julien Martina, Isabelle Mejean



Price dispersion and the euro: Micro heterogeneity and macro implications

in *International Review of Economics and Finance*, volume 26 , 70-86

What is the impact of monetary unions on the integration of goods markets? We address this issue by investigating the effect of the euro on French exporters' pricing strategies toward members of the eurozone. We adopt a difference-in-difference strategy and estimate that the single currency reduced the relative dispersion of export prices in the eurozone by 1 percentage point in comparison to the rest of the European Union. Moreover, we show that the single currency has affected large firms more strongly. When we take this heterogeneity into account, we find a stronger impact for the euro, by 4 percentage points.

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Fausto Vecchio

Primacía del derecho europeo y contralímites como técnicas para la relación entre ordenamientos

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Augusto Aguilar Calahorra

Principios estructurales y pluralismo ordinamental en los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pieter-Augustijn Van Malleghem

Pringle: A Paradigm Shift in the European Union's Monetary Constitution

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 1 , 141-168

The reference from the Irish Supreme Court seeking a preliminary ruling in the Pringle case concerns the compatibility of the Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism (hereinafter ESM Treaty or ESMT) with European Union (EU) law. The Irish Supreme Court was concerned with the legal significance of Council Decision 2011/199, which amended the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) by inserting a third paragraph in Art 136 TFEU. The new Art 136(3) provides that the Member States whose currency is the euro, may establish a mechanism such as the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) so long as that mechanism is only activated when indispensable to safeguarding the stability of the euro area as a whole, and only if the financial assistance is made subject to strict conditionality. But, because Decision 2011/199 has not yet been ratified by all Member States, the TFEU has not yet been amended. The ESMT nevertheless entered into force at the end of September 2012, and the ESMT commenced its operations in December 2012. Furthermore, the Irish Supreme Court sought to ascertain whether the promulgation



and ratification of the ESMT was compatible with numerous provisions of European law, including the “no bailout” clause contained in Art 125 TFEU. The European Court of Justice (ECJ) held that the treaty amendment merely confirmed the competence of the Member States to conclude a treaty such as the ESMT, though it sought to ensure the compatibility of that Treaty with EU law through the imposition of strict conditionality. The ECJ also held that the Member States had not otherwise conferred any powers to the Union to establish a mechanism such as the ESM, and hence retained the power to do so themselves. The ECJ further ruled that the ESMT was compatible with EU...

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Volker Clausen and Hannah Schürenberg-Frosch

Private consumption and cyclical asymmetries in the euro area

in Intereconomics, Volume 47, Number 3 / May 2012 , 190-196

Experience after the establishment of EMU shows that the behaviour of private consumers differs considerably among member countries and that average and marginal propensities to consume are fairly heterogeneous. In particular, there are clear differences between Germany and the rest of the euro area. These asymmetric consumption functions may be responsible for cyclical divergences within the currency area. The following paper presents an econometric analysis of the available data.

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Brems Eva

Procedural Justice in Human Rights Adjudication: The European Court of Human Rights

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 35, number 1, february , 176-200

ABSTRACT: The social psychological theory of procedural justice emphasizes the fundamental importance of procedural fairness judgments in shaping citizens' satisfaction and compliance with the outcome of a legal process and in strengthening the legitimacy of legal institutions. This article explores the benefit of applying procedural justice criteria (participation, neutrality, respect, and trust) in human rights adjudication, with a particular focus on the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). It is argued that the ECtHR should take these criteria into account both at the level of its own proceedings and in evaluating how human rights have been dealt with at the domestic level.

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Prieto Catherine

Processus d'intégration renforcée dans la zone euro et pact pour la croissance et l'emploi pour tout l'Union

in Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen, n. 3

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mengozzi Paolo

Profili istituzionali dell'Unione Europea: fonti, procedure, strumenti
in *Archivio giuridico*, fasc. 3, 361 - 379

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bauer Alain

Profondeurs stratégiques : crises, mutations et défis pour l'Europe
in *Revue Défense Nationale*, n° 753, Octobre 2012

On trouvera ici un tour d'horizon des vulnérabilités de l'Europe traitées dans ce numéro : les défis que posent la démographie, la finance, la défense, la criminalité et l'énergie ; la problématique du refus voire de la rupture de la puissance européenne en préparation des Assises nationales de la recherche stratégique 2012.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Booth Philip, Morrison Alan

Promoting a free market by ending the Single Market – reforming EU financial regulation
in *Economic Affairs*, Volume 32, Issue 3, October 2012, 24-31

The development of the Single Market in the EU – and the extension of its principles to the EEA – has led to dangerous trends in bank regulation as there is a 'disconnect' between regulation and deposit insurance systems. Although these problems do not exist in insurance markets to any great extent, Single Market regulation gives rise to other problems in that sector. In particular, it is restricting free trade both within and between countries. We propose a radical new model that would promote free trade without centralisation.

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Finke Daniel

Proposal stage coalition-building in the European Parliament
in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 13, n. 4, December, 487-512

Almost all existing studies of conflict and coalitions inside the European Parliament (EP) rely on the statistical analysis of voting behaviour. Yet who proposes the alternatives put to vote? Which political groups jointly co-author legislative amendments? Which strategic considerations (if any) determine legislative coalition-building inside the EP? To answer these questions, this article analyses information on the proposer identity for all legislative amendments drafted in the sixth legislative period. My findings suggest that, when building coalitions, political groups consider the degree of



inter-institutional conflict. However, despite the highly proportional rules of procedure, the rapporteur emerges as the most powerful player in proposal stage coalition-building. Other groups may successfully challenge the rapporteur only if they aim at pulling the draft report closer to the floor median. Those who are interested in pulling the outcome away from the median have little choice but to include the rapporteur as a member of their coalition. In this case, rapporteurs must strike a fine balance between convincing their fellow Members of the European Parliament of the strategic exigency of deviating from the median and maintaining their credibility when bargaining with the members of the Council. If rapporteurs are too close to the Council, they forfeit their trustworthiness among their potential coalition partners.

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Maria Eleonora Guasconi

Prove tecniche di politica estera: la Comunità economica europea e lo sviluppo del dialogo euro-arabo negli anni Settanta

in **Mondo contemporaneo** , Fascicolo 2/2012

L'articolo ricostruisce i negoziati che, all'indomani dello shock petrolifero del 1973, si svolsero tra i nove membri della Comunità economica europea e i paesi della Lega araba nella cornice della cooperazione politica, mettendo in luce il tentativo europeo di trovare una via d'uscita autonoma alla crisi energetica degli anni Settanta. Grazie a un'ampia documentazione archivistica, l'autrice dimostra che, pur tra numerose difficoltà e ostacoli, attraverso il dialogo euro-arabo la Comunità sperimentò per la prima volta, dopo gli accordi di Yaoundé/Lomé, un'esperienza di relazioni collettive con un gruppo di paesi terzi, promuovendo un negoziato che, seppur limitato a questioni economiche che esulavano dal petrolio, portò ad alcuni significativi risultati, come la dichiarazione di Venezia del 1980, considerata una pietra miliare della posizione europea nei confronti del conflitto arabo-israeliano. La ricostruzione dello svolgimento del dialogo euro-arabo rappresenta inoltre un interessante esempio della crescita della dimensione delle relazioni esterne della Cee durante gli anni Settanta.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dimitrova Anna

Public Opinion in Bulgaria with Regard to the EU Membership in the Context of the Economic Crisis Towards a 'Bulgarian Exception'?

in **Europe en formation (L')**, n. 364, 2012/2 , 289-304

This paper aims to analyse how the economic, political and social situation in Bulgaria is perceived by the Bulgarian public opinion five years after the country's accession to the EU. We argue that in the current context of rising Euroscepticism geared specifically by the ongoing Eurozone debt crisis, Bulgaria appears to be one of the few EU member states where the public opinion remains quite optimistic with regard to the benefits of the country's EU membership and the role of the EU in dealing with the crisis. Drawing on some public opinion surveys made by the European Commission as well as on a number of public opinion polls conducted by national and foreign survey agencies, this article attempts to explain the paradox mentioned above by analysing Bulgarians' perceptions and expectations concerning the EU membership before and after the country's entry in the EU. The article concludes by outlining the idea of 'Bulgarian exception' in the EU.



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Hayat Muhammad Azmat, Farvaque Etienne

Public attitudes towards central bank independence: Lessons from the foundation of the ECB
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 28, Issue 4, December 2012 , 512-523

This study examines public opinion in 15 European countries, on the proposal to establish an independent European Central Bank (ECB). Using data from Eurobarometer surveys for 1998 to 2000, which included a specific question on this issue, we show that inflation performance is not sufficient to explain people's preference for an independent central bank: personal characteristics and circumstances have a stronger impact, with gender, employment status, education level, income quartiles, and degree of information and civic concern showing particular relevance.

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Ackermann Thomas

Public supply of optional standardized consumer contracts: A rationale for the Common European Sales Law?
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 11-27

ABSTRACT: By reading the B2C part of the Common European Sales Law (CESL) as a supply of optional standardized contracts, this article tries to give the Commission's proposal the best possible rationale. In contrast to conventional contract codes characterized by loose bundles of default rules the parties may selectively stick to or diverge from, an optional standardized contract is a tight bundle of default rules with a name attached to it. As optional standardized contracts are simply identifiable by their label, they can theoretically solve the problem of reading costs and thus avoid adverse selection. This idea helps to make sense of the rigid internal structure of the CESL that generally excludes cherry-picking. From this perspective, it is also unobjectionable for the CESL to aim at an upscale segment of consumers by offering a high level of protection (leading to correspondingly high prices). However, welfare-increasing effects can only be expected if Member States, third States and private organizations are all owed to join the competition by providing other standardized contracts. As the regulatory framework created by the EU (choice-of-law restriction for consumer contracts and substantive harmonization of Member State laws) ties down all potential competitors, the seffects will not materialize. This leads to the conclusion that the Commission is not seriously pursuing the idea of an optional law, but ultimately means to pre-empt Member States' laws with its proposal.

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Davies Bill

Pushing Back: What Happens When Member States Resist the European Court of Justice? A Multi-Modal Approach to the History of European Law

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law , 417-435

Established explanations of the development of the European legal system focus on the decisive power of the Court of Justice in determining the system's practice and parameters. Even accounts highlighting the various interlocutors



involved with the Court are ultimately drawn to Luxembourg as the fulcrum of decision. However, these approaches neglect the equally constitutive role played by national courts, particularly when resisting the European Court of Justice (ECJ). By analysing the important consequences of the German Constitutional Court's Solange decision of 1974, this paper argues that we must complicate our retelling of the European Union's (EU) legal history by rethinking the importance of national-level agency.

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Fiedziuk Natalia

Putting services of general economic interest up for tender: Reflections on applicable EU rules
in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 87-114

ABSTRACT: The issue of putting "services of general economic interest", also commonly referred to as public services, up for tender is considered problematic for the application of European law. For some decades now, legal qualification of the way services of general economic interest are funded, organized and provided by Member States has been a challenging task for the Court of Justice of the EU and the European Commission. The debate centres on questions of whether the EU rules should provide incentives for Member States, or better still oblige them to put their public services out to a competitive tender and how those rules would affect Member States' wide discretion regarding the provision of these services safeguarded by Protocol (No. 26) on Services of General Interest appended to the Treaties. The current European rules, however, remain ambiguous and at times conflicting on this topic; and although the insistence on Member States' competence to freely organize services of general economic interest is still pervasive, the ongoing law reforms in the field of State aid and public procurement appear to be favourable towards opening public service markets to competition by putting their provision up for tender. Against this background, this paper examines whether there is room in the European legal landscape to resolve the clash between the need to deliver public services as closely as possible to the needs of their consumers as stipulated by the Member States and the need to foster efficiency and open their provision to competition as postulated by the EU in relation to public tendering of those services.

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Draetta Ugo

Quale futuro per l'Eurozona e l'Unione europea?
in **Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali**, n. 2 , 391-401

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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D'Agata Raffaele

Quale passato per il futuro dell'Unione Europea?
in **Passato e Presente**, fasc. 87

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

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Vivien Pertusot

Quand la crise menace la politique extérieure de l'Union européenne

in *Politique Etrangère*, Vol. 77, n°2 été

La politique étrangère de l'Union européenne est en crise. L'Europe est en voie de démantèlement et mise encore sur l'OTAN quand il s'agit de mener des opérations d'envergure. Pour ce qui est du soft power, l'UE a perdu de son aura, comme semble le montrer le « printemps arabe ». Dans ce contexte difficile, le Service européen pour l'action extérieure peine à produire des résultats convaincants et les États membres à affronter ces questions.

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Maillard Jean de

Quand la monnaie tue l'économie. Cinq propositions sur la crise

in *Debat (Le)*, n° 172, novembre-décembre 2012 , 138-150

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Servantie Alain

Quelle Europe pour les Turcs?

in *Confluences Méditerranée*, N° 83, 2012/4 , 31-42

L'Europe est un concept récent pour les Turcs, symbole plus de changements technologiques et économiques que d'une évolution des valeurs, que d'une intégration de diversités. Les obstacles rencontrés par les Turcs dans les négociations d'une adhésion à l'UE sont attribués à l'incompréhension de la situation du pays par les hommes politiques des Etats-membres. Mais, les Turcs savent-ils vraiment ce que sont les valeurs européennes, ce qu'est l'évolution de l'intégration ? Il ne semble pas que l'enseignement ou les médias fassent passer cette information : dans les sondages, dans les études d'opinion, dans les déclarations publiques, l'Europe reste lointaine.

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Toulemon Robert

Questions about Federalism

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November



<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/comments/item/788-questions-about-federalism>

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Johns Michael

Quiet Diplomacy, the European Union and Conflict Prevention: Learning from the HCNM on Issues of Social Cohesion

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 3 , 243-265

This article examines the issue of social cohesion inside the European Union (EU). While the organisation is currently experiencing an economic crisis the article argues that issues surrounding minority rights are deeper and more troubling. Within the EU's current and prospective borders there remain issues surrounding national minorities, traditional migrants and intra-EU migrants. The intra-EU migrants are of particular interest in that they bridge the gap between the other two groups as they are migrants - with EU protected rights. This article argues that the EU itself must become involved in the maintenance of social cohesion. It recommends the use of quiet diplomacy, best illustrated by the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe High Commissioner on National Minorities. After an examination of the use of quiet diplomacy by the various High Commissioners the article outlines the issues of social cohesion facing the EU. It concludes with the recommendation that the European Commission adopt the tenets of quiet diplomacy as a means of influencing dialogue and to promote minority protection within the union.

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Cangelosi Rocco

Quo vadis Europa?

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 86-90

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Sylvester C.W. Eijffinger

Rating Agencies: Role and Influence of Their Sovereign Credit Risk Assessment in the Eurozone

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 912-921

In this article, the role of credit rating agencies (CRAs) during the 2010–11 EU sovereign debt crisis is assessed. It is concluded that rating agencies lag behind markets, that their business model is flawed, and that the lack of competition renders the big three CRAs with too strong a market position. The reliance on CRAs should be reduced by attaching less importance to them in prudential regulation and accounting standards. At the same time, more competition and transparency is needed to increase the quality of ratings. Finally, several policy options to change the ratings industry are discussed, including the creation of a network of small CRAs, delegation of sovereign debt ratings to the European Central Bank or the creation of a European rating agency.



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Smith A., Casas-Cortes M., Pickles, J. S.

Re-bordering the neighbourhood: Europe's emerging geographies of non-accession integration
in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, volume 20 n.1 , 37-58

This paper highlights the ways in which the emerging models of migration management are producing new geographies of the European Union's borders that complicate notions of a tightly bounded and easily delineated 'Schengen space' or 'Fortress Europe'. Under policy frameworks such as the European Neighbourhood Policy and the EU's Global Approach to Migration, a process of economic and political regional integration is under way that is beginning to transform the ways in which non-accession neighbours and neighbours of neighbours in North Africa and beyond are articulated with the EU. Central to these changes are programmes, institutions and practices of both regional economic development and border routes management. This changing geopolitical and geo-economic approach to regional integration and the nature of European borderlands has at its heart a series of new spatial imaginaries, institutional actors and cartographic experiments that point to a project in process in which the relationships between territory, state and population are being reconfigured to produce new notions of sovereignty across more complex and multiple borders and, in some cases, beyond borders.

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Berka Martin, Devereux Michael B., Engel Charles

Real Exchange Rate Adjustment in and out of the Eurozone
in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 179-85

It is often suggested that currency unions unduly inhibit the efficient adjustment of real exchange rates. Recently, this has been seen as a key failure of the Eurozone. This paper presents evidence that throws doubt on this conclusion. Our evidence suggests that real exchange rate movement within the Eurozone was at least as compatible with efficient adjustment as the behavior of real exchange rates for the floating rate countries outside the Eurozone. This interpretation is consistent with a model in which nominal exchange rate movements give rise to persistent deviations from the law of one price in traded goods.

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Harbour Malcolm

Rebooting the Single Market: the top priority for EU growth
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 39-45

The Single Market Act sets out a clear plan for the EU and its Member States: to reinvigorate and modernise the Single Market. The Services Directive has to achieve its potential and requires full implementation and the promotion of its



opportunities. The goods market needs discriminatory practices to be rooted out. Modernising public procurement will drive cross-border transactions, innovation and small enterprise participation. The Digital Single Market should cut costs and enhance competition. It needs secure online payments and a better supply chain. Consumers want trusted offers, clear rights and redress, secure personal data and consistent laws. Single Market completion must become a rolling political project, and a 'reboot' should be strongly promoted on its twentieth anniversary.

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Kumin Andreas J., Fülöp Tünde

Recent Austrian Practice in the Field of European Union Law. Report for 2011

in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, vol. 67, issue 3, september , 415-441

ABSTRACT: We, members of the European Law Department of the Legal Service of the Austrian Foreign Ministry ("Office of the Legal Adviser", "Völkerrechtsbüro"), have been invited by the editors of this distinguished journal to submit a report on Austria's recent practice in the field of European Union (EU) law. The present report is meant to be a European law twin to the report on international law. It will deal with issues falling in the competence of our ministry, in particular with horizontal questions pertaining to the development and interpretation of the founding treaties of the EU. Among those questions, we concentrate in particular on the distribution of competences, the functioning of the institutions, the types and effects of legal acts and other cross-cutting issues of "constitutional" nature. We shall also address issues relating to the external representation of the EU and its Member States vis-à-vis third states and international organisations, and the procedures and modalities of the conclusion of international agreements. We wish to particularly thank the head of our Legal Service Helmut Tichy and our colleagues Regine Kramer and Christina Terle for their critical scrutiny of this report and helpful suggestions.

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Czech Philip

Recent Jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights Regarding Austria. Report for 2011

in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, vol. 67, issue 3, september , 443-458

ABSTRACT: The European Court of Human Rights in 2011 delivered 12 judgments on applications against Austria. They concern different fields like family law, medically assisted procreation, the situation of working prisoners regarding social benefits, old-age pension claims of lawyers and their obligation to act as legal guardian, the length of criminal proceedings and the duration of pre-trial detention, official complaints in administrative penal proceedings, and media law. This article is meant to give an overview over these judgments and to show to what extent they call for reform.

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Karl Wolfram, Schöpfer Eduard

Rechtsprechungsübersicht Österreichische Rechtsprechung zur Europäischen Menschenrechtskonvention im Jahr 2011



in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 4, december , 721-793

ABSTRACT: As in previous years, the Austrian Institute for Human Rights hereby submits its annual report on decisions passed by Austrian supreme courts (Supreme Court, Constitutional Court and Administrative Court) on the basis or in the context of the European Convention on Human Rights and its Protocols. In an introductory part, selected decisions are briefly characterized and sometimes also commented upon, which is followed by a descriptive part summarizing them on the lines of keywords – facts of the case – reasons. For the year under review, 24 cases are being presented whereby those on the protection of private and family life (Art 8) and on the freedom of expression (Art 10) prevail at least in numbers. Remarkably, during the year reported there was not a single judgment on the freedom of the press by the Strasbourg Court. As this contrasts with previous years, there is a guess that in this respect the Austrian Supreme Court has taken over from the Strasbourg Court.

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Chaltiel Florence

Redistribution des cartes?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 561, septembre , 493-496

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bollaert Baudouin

Reenchanter l'Europe

in *Politique internationale*, n°135 - PRINTEMPS - 2012

Viviane Reding of Luxembourg holds a singular record for European engagement: she has been a member of the European Commission in Brussels since 1999. First in charge of Education, Culture, Youth, Media and Sports from 1999 to 2004, she was then responsible for the Information Society and Media until 2010. In 2010 she was named Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship, as well as Vice-President of the Commission. In short, she knows all the ins and outs of this Rube Goldberg device also known as the European Union. A former journalist who doesn't mince her words, she frankly states that citizens are losing confidence in European institutions-and Ms. Reding is firmly committed to fighting this disenchantment. In particular, she plans to launch the "European Year of Citizens" in 2013, an initiative that will help bring citizens closer to EU structures. At stake is nothing less than the future of Europe's great plan...

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Vermeersch Peter

Reframing the Roma: EU Initiatives and the Politics of Reinterpretation

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 38, n. 8, Special Issue: The Roma in the New EU: Policies, Frames and Everyday Experiences , 1195-1212



Since the accession of the A8 post-communist countries to the European Union, various EU institutions have regularly expressed deep concern about the precarious political, social and economic position of the Roma. This article examines the recent political reinterpretations that accompany the EU's framing of the Roma as a group in need of special attention. It argues that EU institutions will have to find ways to deal with the ambivalence inherent in their 'European' appeals for tackling the problems at hand. These calls may indeed—as, for example, the European Commission insists—enhance cooperation between different levels of government and persuade member-states to adopt new policies that will benefit Romani citizens. But, somewhat paradoxically, they also provide new discursive material for nationalist politicians with an anti-Romani agenda who try to minimise or evade their countries' domestic responsibility by highlighting the role and responsibility of the EU. They also latch onto the alleged 'Europeanness' of the Roma in order to exclude them symbolically from their own national space and frame them not only as 'Europeans' but also as 'outsiders' and 'cultural deviants'.

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Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol

Regional Integration and Global Governance : the Example of the European Council (1974-1986)

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 91-104

The emergence of the European Council in the mid-1970s is an interesting case-study of the evolution of both the European Economic Community (EEC) polity and the international system. Very quickly, the European Council acquired a central role in the governance of the EEC polity ; and very quickly too, the European Council had an impact in international relations. The two sentences constituting...

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Marelli Enrico, Patuelli Roberto, Signorelli Marcello

Regional unemployment in the EU before and after the global crisis

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 24, Issue 2, 2012 , 155-175

This article empirically assesses the evolution of European regions in terms of both employment and unemployment during the recent financial crisis and global recession. Our specific research questions are as follows: (i) has there been a reversal in employment and unemployment dynamics at a regional level during the crisis (2007–10) compared with the previous period (2004–07)? (ii) have the western regions ('old' EU states) behaved differently in response to the crisis compared with the eastern regions (NMS)? Finally, (iii) are the differences between the two groups of regions related to structural or institutional variables? After a review of the literature on the key determinants of regional unemployment, we summarise our main findings concerning the impact of the global crisis on the labour market. Our econometric investigation aims to answer the questions we pose. Structural characteristics are considered in terms of sector specialisation of regional economies. In addition, we consider certain institutional characteristics, by including indicators of the share of temporary workers and of long-term unemployed. Our analysis is then targeted at sub-samples of western and eastern European regions: we show that the critical factors for labour market performance during the crisis in these two groups differ greatly. From a methodological viewpoint, we exploit a spatial filtering technique which allowed us to greatly reduce any unobserved variable bias – a significant problem in cross-sectional models – by accounting for latent unobserved spatial patterns.



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Cottey Andrew

Regionalism and the EU's neighbourhood policy: the limits of the possible

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 3 - Special Issue: European Union in its Neighborhood: failed hopes and new horizons , 375-391

In the context of its neighbourhood policy since the early 1990s, the European Union (EU) has sought to promote multilateral regional cooperation in the areas on its periphery, such as the Baltic Sea, the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Despite a quite large number of EU policies and initiatives to promote such cooperation, the impact of these efforts has been limited in terms of substantive cooperation and the effect on neighbouring states. The limited impact of the EU's efforts to promote regional cooperation in its neighbourhood is explained by a number of factors: confusion over the goals of such cooperation; the contested nature of the regions under consideration; the gap between the ends sought by the EU and the means available to it; the existence of enduring geopolitical rivalries and intractable conflicts in these regions and the hub-spoke character of the relationship between the EU and its partners, which militates against regional cooperation. The promotion of multilateral cooperation in the regions of the European neighbourhood is a sensible objective of EU foreign policy, but expectations of what can be achieved should be realistic and modest.

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Bojinović Fenko Ana

Regions Up and Down; (re)Defining the Nature and Effects of the European Union Regional Agency

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 91-97

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/07036337.2013.742245>

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Alonso de León Sergio

Regions and Subsidiarity in the European Union: A Look at the Role of the Spanish and other Regional Parliaments in the Monitoring of Compliance with the Principle of Subsidiarity

in *European public Law*, Volume 18 (2012) - Issue 2 , 305-321

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martin Staniland

Regulating aircraft emissions: leadership and market power



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 7 2012 , 1006-1025

This article examines the process of including commercial aviation in the EU's Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) relative to claims about the EU's leadership in international environment policy-making. It argues that in order to understand the politics and the emerging shape of specific regimes concerned with atmospheric pollution, scholars must examine the nature of the pollutant and the polluting process concerned, the commercial characteristics of the polluting industry, its regulatory framework and any competing mandates held by other international organizations. These factors explain the rationale for the EU's inclusion of aviation in the ETS and the resulting dilemmas faced by the Commission. They also explain the resistance of non-EU carriers to their inclusion in the ETS and the EU's ambiguous success in making them comply.

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Brunet Ferran

Regulatory Quality and Competitiveness in Recent European Union Member States

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 59-90

In this paper we consider: (i) the quality of regulation in the recent European Union Member States, their components, dynamics and gaps; (ii) the impact of the European Union in developing a multilevel economic governance system, which favours the regulatory quality; and (iii) the links of regulatory quality with competitiveness and performance. Key findings are: the new European Union Member States (i) had better results on political governance quality than on social performances and on economic regulatory quality; (ii) show a reduction in the convergence among them and with old advanced Member States; and (iii) had a great room to Europeanize their business environment and to improve their competitiveness. For many countries, Europe is an anchor for the empowerment of democracy, rule of law and competition, and a guarantee for minimal quality standards and to limit intervention. Thus, there is an interest for the recent Member States to have adopted the Union forms and *acquis*. There is a need for Europe.

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Bar-gill Oren, Ben-Shahar Omri

Regulatory techniques in consumer protection: A critique of European consumer contract law

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 109-125

ABSTRACT: This Article classifies the consumer protection techniques that European contract law employs into four categories: Mandatory arrangements; disclosure; regulation of entry to and exit from contract; and pro-buyer default rules and contract interpretation. It argues that these techniques are far less likely to succeed than advocates, including the European Commission, believe, and they may bring about unintended consequences and hurt consumers. The techniques and their limits are illustrated through a study of proposed Common European Sales Law (CESL). The Article argues that the ambitious pursuit of consumer protection goals is also likely to interfere with the other main goal of the European contract law: harmonizing the laws of member states, encouraging cross border trade, and improving consumer' access to markets.



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Hugo César Araújo de Gusmão

Relaciones internas entre ordenamientos jurídicos en los Estados miembros de la Unión Europea
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 17

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

David Allen, Michael Smith

Relations with the Rest of the World

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 162-177

No abstract available

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giovanni Matteo Quer, Sara Memo

Releasing minorities from the “nationalist trap”: from territorial to personal autonomy in a “multiple demoi Europe”

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 47 , 149-175

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacques Ziller

Relire van Gend en Loos

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, n. 3 , 513-521

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Simona Piattoni

Representation as delegation: a basis for EU democracy?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 2 2013 , 224-242

This contribution tackles the issue of EU democracy from the point of view of representation. Building on the discussion of ‘political’ and ‘democratic’ representation offered, respectively, by Pitkin (1967) and Urbinati (2006), it argues that at



the heart of some of the most prominent analyses of EU democracy – those offered by Moravcsik, Majone and Scharpf – lies instead a particularly restrictive notion of ‘representation as delegation’. Starting from a principal–agent model of democracy, all three authors end up endorsing a notion of representation as delegation that both Pitkin and Urbinati would find insufficient and ultimately undemocratic. Moravcsik, Majone and Scharpf assume that governmental representatives in the EU act either as delegates or as trustees of their national constituencies and thus break that ongoing, dynamic relationship which is at the basis of a fuller notion of political or democratic representation. The contribution concludes by arguing that representation as delegation is insufficient to legitimate the EU and that the rescue of the full notion of political and democratic representation is necessary, particularly in the changed circumstances of the financially and economically bereaved European Union.

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Walczak Agnieszka, van der Brug Wouter

Representation in the European Parliament: Factors affecting the attitude congruence of voters and candidates in the EP elections

in European Union Politics , Vol. 14, n. 1, March , 3-22

This article examines the extent to which individual-, party- and system-level characteristics affect the attitude congruence of voters and candidates for elections to the European Parliament. It examines attitudes towards basic policy packages in the socioeconomic and libertarian/authoritarian issue domains and on immigration and European Union integration. The analysis is based on the 2009 European Election Study and European Election Candidate Survey, which covered 27 countries of the European Union (EU), 162 parties and over 11,500 respondents. It shows that the European Parliament suffers from inequalities in representation for different groups of citizens, representing much better the attitudes of educated, middle-class and politically knowledgeable voters. Furthermore, the analysis uncovers significant differences across political parties in how well they match up to voters. We provide tentative evidence suggesting that voters are better represented in open and ordered ballot systems.

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T. Tasan-Kok, W. K. Korthals Altes

Rescaling Europe: Effects of Single European Market Regulations on Localized Networks of Governance in Land Development

in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, volume 36 n.6 , 1268-1287

Rescaling state responsibilities and capacities not only triggers an uneven distribution of regulatory and fiscal powers across scales but also creates complex governance relationships that result in distortions in local processes of urban development. Within this framework, this article analyses how Single European Market regulations affect urban governance capacity through their impact on localized networks of governance. This analysis is based on case studies of public and private cooperation in land development in the Netherlands. The article focuses on two regulations (state aid and public procurement) that are part of European competition policy. It also analyzes the manner in which these regulations, aimed at creating a single market at the supranational scale, had local consequences. The article concludes that local interactions are contested and distorted by the interference of the Single European Market regulations at the supranational level, which impacts local governance relations and processes.



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Pfeiffer Hermannus

Rettet die Universalbank!

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Januar, 2013 , 9-12

Kaum ein Projekt in der Europäischen Union ist derzeit so umkämpft wie die vereinbarte Bankenunion. Nach dem Willen der französischen Regierung sollte sie bereits am 1. Januar 2013 in der Eurozone formal starten; nach dem Willen der Bundesregierung wird sich der Aufbau der dafür nötigen Institutionen dagegen mindestens über das ganze Jahr 2013 hinziehen. Die Bankenunion wird allerdings nur zwei der drei von der EU-Kommission vorgeschlagenen Elemente enthalten: die Abwicklung von Pleitebanken und die einheitliche Bankenaufsicht. Letzteres soll die Europäische Zentralbank übernehmen. Dagegen dürfte die Idee einer gemeinsamen Einlagensicherung nicht verwirklicht werden.

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Lugato Monica

Riflessioni sulla base giuridica del margine di apprezzamento statale nella Convenzione europea dei diritti dell'uomo

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 359-374

The present article is an inquiry into the legal base of the margin of appreciation, based upon – but not limited to – the *Lautsi* (GC) case, where it played a key role. Firstly, the author argues that the margin of appreciation is neither a doctrine nor an interpretive tool, but the result of an interpretive process guided by the rules on the treaty interpretation and that therefore it is according to those rules that its identification by the European Court of Human Rights has to be evaluated. This approach allows to shed some light on the – widely criticized – “European consensus” criterion, under which the Court constructs the “ordinary meaning” of the words used in the ECHR when neither the text, nor the object and purpose, nor the context, offer precise leads. The author argues that the “European consensus” is to be understood as the expression of the subsequent practice of the Contracting Parties in the application of the ECHR, mentioned as one of the elements of interpretation by Article 31, para. 3, lit. b), of the 1969 Vienna Convention.

Secondly, as is increasingly recognized, the margin of appreciation is a corollary of the principle of subsidiarity and is therefore founded upon one of the structural principles of the ECHR, recognized as such by the European Court. The author suggests that, given the concurring roles of national and international authorities in the protection of human rights, it is of crucial importance that their reciprocal rights and duties are clearly identified, with due regard to legitimacy considerations. The role of national democratic authorities, adequately subsidized by the international authorities in the implementation of their international obligations, seems, at the present stage, to require to be enhanced and not erased.

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De Liso Roberto



Riforme costituzionali e democrazia europea

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 2, giugno , 431-433

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Masera Rainer

Risk, Regulation and Supervision of Financial Systems: US and Eurozone Solutions

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 2, june , 253-282

ABSTRACT: In the aftermath of the 2007-2008 financial crisis, a wide consensus developed on the idea that the global financial system requires a good, well-designed and integrated infrastructure, notably a sound and consistent regulatory and oversight framework. The well-functioning of the infrastructure depends, in turn, on sound and sustainable economic policies at national and international level. The aim of this paper is to provide a brief critical survey of the state of implementation of financial systems reforms on the two sides of the Atlantic, adopting the holistic approach of the de Larosière Report. The implications for financial stability of the new Basel standard approach are examined and the shortcomings and dangers of underlying risk models critically assessed. The analytical framework presented, based on the distinction of exogenous vs. endogenous risk, is used to interpret the interaction of sovereign and banking stresses in the Eurozone. The two fallacies of composition behind fiscal and regulatory policies, which undermine recovery prospects in the area, are explored, and ways and means to break the destabilising loop are suggested.

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Iusmen Ingi

Romania's Accession to the EU and the EU Children's Rights Agenda: Policy Entrepreneurship and Feedback Effects

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 2 , 210-225

Policy entrepreneurs and feedback effects can shape the European Union's (EU's) human rights agenda. This article examines the role of policy entrepreneurs and policy feedback in relation to EU intervention in children's rights in Romania and the impact of this intervention on the EU itself. The children's rights accession conditionality as applied on Romania amounted to an interventionist policy, which radically overhauled the Romanian children's rights provisions. The Romanian children's case, however, provided EU policy entrepreneurs with a window of opportunity to introduce children's rights as an EU internal policy, while, in the context of EU enlargement, positive feedback effects have entrenched the protection of children's rights as an EU accession condition. It is shown that the children's rights conditionality applied on Romania before 2007 has impacted upon the EU's approach to children's rights by forging the development of institutional structures and policy mechanisms at the Commission level to promote children's rights in the EU's internal and external policy dimensions.

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Mappes-Niediek Norbert

Rumänien: Leere Hülse Demokratie

in **Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik**, Oktober, 2012 , 29-33

Aus Ländern, von denen man hierzulande sonst kaum etwas hört, erreichen einen zuweilen merkwürdige Nachrichten. Von einem „Putsch“ und von einem „Staatsstreich“ war im Juni die Rede, als der neue Premierminister Rumäniens, Victor Ponta, Anstalten machte, ein Absetzungsverfahren gegen den Staatspräsidenten Traian Băsescu einzuleiten. Das Vorhaben ist unter reger Anteilnahme der europäischen Öffentlichkeit und aufgrund des Drucks aus der Europäischen Kommission inzwischen gescheitert. Beide Parteien bereiten sich nun auf eine neue Runde der Auseinandersetzung am 9. Dezember vor, wenn das Parlament neu gewählt wird.

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Josso Selma

Réflexions sur la première révision du TFUE - Un nouvel accroc à la légitimité démocratique de l'Union

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 562, octobre-novembre , 584-590

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Éric Bussière

Régionalisme européen et mondialisation

in **Les Cahiers Irice**, n°9 , 5-10

Le débat sur le rôle que peut jouer l'actuelle Union européenne au plan international anime ces dernières années la réflexion d'acteurs de toute nature, qu'il s'agisse de politiques, de think tanks ou d'universitaires de plusieurs disciplines. Ces débats ont été récemment relancés du fait de la crise bancaire internationale et de celle...

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Gfeller Aurélie Élisa

Réinventer l'institution parlementaire européenne. Simone Veil et les premiers élus au suffrage universel direct

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 81-98

This article shows how members of the European Parliament (EP) endeavoured to reinvent the EP after the introduction of direct election in 1979. It analyses the discursive strategy of EP members and EP President Simone Veil, who



invoked their new democratic legitimacy to assert themselves vis-à-vis other Community and transnational European institutions. It also highlights how they marshalled their resources – their limited budgetary powers, the ritual of official visits and their commitment to an increasingly salient theme, namely, human rights – in order to strengthen their authority and their legitimacy.

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Hamm Albert

Rôle et place des universités dans les politiques transnationales de coopération culturelle

in *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, 44 (2012), 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarz Oliver

Same but different: Externe Europäisierung zwischen Beitritt, Nachbarschaft und Kooperation

in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 21. Jahrgang (2011), Heft 4

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gary Marks

Scale, Community and 'Eurafrica': A Response to Hansen and Jonsson

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012, 1042-1044

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Van der Vet Freek

Seeking Life, Finding Justice: Russian NGO litigation and Chechen Disappearances before the European Court of Human Rights

in *Human Rights Review*, vol. 13, number 3, 303-325

ABSTRACT: This article presents findings from an interview study of human rights practitioners who assist relatives of the disappeared from Chechnya with their complaints before the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). These practitioners work for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The study contributes to the scant literature on NGO litigation before the ECtHR and to the social scientific literature on how human rights are actively practiced. It investigates the NGOs' intermediary position between the ECtHR and the relatives of the disappeared in Chechnya.



Consequently, this article asserts that a significant aspect of this position lies in the practitioner's capacity to mediate between an ambition to externalize local grievances to the ECtHR and the relatives' hopes that the ECtHR can bring certainty to the uncertain loss of their disappeared relatives. From this position, several dilemmas emerge as to how international legal mechanisms can provide remedies following disappearances.

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Buhr Renee L.

Seizing the Opportunity: Euroscepticism and Extremist Party Success in the Post-Maastricht Era in Government and Opposition, Vol. 47, n. 4, October , 544–573

Can extremist parties benefit from a backlash against European Union integration? A theoretical model that integrates demand-side, supply-side and political opportunity space explanations for extremist party success is used here in an effort to predict the conditions under which extremist parties may have utilized increased public discontent with EU integration to increase their vote share in national legislative elections. The plausibility of the model is then tested against the evidence in 14 EU member states from 1992 to 2006, with the use of matrices and political opportunity space maps. In the majority of the elections examined, extremist parties increased their vote share in circumstances fitting the theoretical model.

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Reljic Dusan

Serbien: Nationalistisches Comeback

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, September, 2012 , 27-30

Zum ersten Mal, seitdem der Eurobarometer die Gefühlslage in der Gemeinschaft misst, spricht sich eine klare Mehrheit der Befragten gegen die Aufnahme weiterer Staaten in die Europäische Union aus. In diesem Frühjahr lehnten 53 Prozent eine Erweiterung der EU ab. Am negativsten war die Einstellung in Deutschland: Nur 20 Prozent würden die Aufnahme neuer Staaten in die EU begrüßen. In Zeiten, in denen einigen Mitgliedsländern der Staatsbankrott droht und das Ansehen der Europäischen Union in der Bevölkerung sinkt, ist die Angst in der EU groß, sich weitere „Problemfälle“ aufzubürden...

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Siffert Antoine

Service public et intervention des personnes publiques dans une Europe libérale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 560, juillet-août , 449-455

Public service financing and organising rules reflect the relationships maintained by public authorities and the market in liberal Europe. At first the nature of public service assignment implementation system departing from competitive law gives the European Union a conventional liberal orientation, where the involvement of public authorities in the merchant



area affects the market and therefore remains an exception. However, the inclusion of general public interest service organisation and financing rules in the operation of the market, by case law in the years 2000, leads to a drift towards a neo-liberal European Union. The conversion of public authority intervention systems in the competitive game thus puts public authorities at the service of the market.

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Erkelens Leendert, Blockmans Steven

Setting up the European External Action Service: an act of institutional balance

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8 - Issue 02 , 246.279

European External Action Service – Treaty of Lisbon – High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy – combination with role of Vice President of the European Commission responsible for external action – Institutional balance between the Commission and the Council – Curtailment in practice of High Representative's 'Vice Presidential' powers – Hybrid approach toward role of EEAS: both intergovernmental and communitarian

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dąbrowski Marcin

Shallow or deep Europeanisation? The uneven impact of EU cohesion policy on the regional and local authorities in Poland

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 4, August , 730-745

With this paper I aim at refining the understanding of mechanisms of postaccession Europeanisation in the new member states by investigating the impact of EU cohesion policy on the Polish subnational policy actors involved in its implementation. Drawing on recent empirical evidence on the influence of EU cohesion policy in three areas— administrative capacity, strategic planning, and governance—I show that adjustment to the EU cohesion policy norms initially tends to be stimulated by cost–benefit calculation or constraint, which may involve 'shallow' adjustment. However, the study also reveals that over time, provided that EU-imported norms are in line with the actors' preferences, socialisation and learning mechanisms become more prominent. Moreover, I demonstrate that the subnational impact of EU cohesion policy remains uneven and differentiated depending on the actors' preferences, attitudes, and capacity.

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Catherine Moury, Adrienne Héritier

Shifting competences and changing preferences: the case of delegation to comitology

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1316-1335

The article examines how changes of powers in the inter-institutional balance have affected the willingness of the Commission and the Council to delegate legislative power to comitology committees. Starting from the assumption that



actors seek to maximize their institutional power in order to increase their influence over policy outcomes, we argue that changes of institutional rules affect their willingness to adopt legislation through comitology procedures. We examine the effects of the introduction of the 1999 comitology decision, which increased the competences of the Commission in the comitology procedure by abolishing the 'double safety net'. We show that the Commission has proposed delegation to management and regulatory committees more extensively since the adoption of this decision. Surprisingly, the Council – which saw its own competences reduced by the decision – did not put up significant resistance to the more frequent use of delegation.

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Jesus Ferreiro, Maribel Garcia del Valle, Carmen Gomez

Similarities and Differences in the Composition of Public Expenditures in the European Union

in *Journal of Economic Issues*, Volume 46, Number 3 / September 2012 , 633-660

The European Union (EU) is putting emphasis on the need to change the composition of public expenditures to what, according to the public policies endogenous models, is considered a high quality of public finances (i.e., a higher share of productive expenditures). These recommendations are the same for all EU member states. Together with the fiscal requirements arising from the Maastricht Treaty and the Stability and Growth Pact, EU authorities are promoting a one-size-fits-all fiscal policy model. Our paper analyzes the differences existing in the composition of public expenditures in the EU. If this composition is significantly different, that would mean that in the EU there are differences in the national preferences about the role/size of public expenditures, something that would not allow implementing a single model of public sector and fiscal policy.

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Iusi Francesca

Sistema giurisdizionale europeo ed effettività dei diritti fondamentali. Esperienze a confronto

in *Cittadinanza europea (La)*, Fascicolo 2 - 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Garben Sacha

Sky-high controversy and high-flying claims? The Sturgeon case law in light of judicial activism, euroscepticism and eurolegalism

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 15-45

ABSTRACT: In its controversial Sturgeon judgment, the Court of Justice of the European Union held that Regulation 261/2004/EC interpreted in light of the equal treatment principle entitles passengers of delayed flights to claim financial compensation equal to the right accorded by the Regulation to passengers of cancelled flights. The ruling has met with hostility not only from airlines, but also from legal commentators and, most importantly, national judges. Courts from



Germany, the Netherlands and the UK have flooded the ECJ with new references, asking it either directly or indirectly to overturn the judgment. Furthermore, some national judges have condemned the ruling altogether, and have refused to apply it. This contribution outlines the controversy, exploring the potential reasons and dynamics behind these strong reactions. It will be argued that although the ECJ engaged in a remarkable degree of judicial activism by effectively writing a new provision into a piece of secondary legislation, this activism can be defended as desirable to the extent that it counterbalances a market-favouring slant in the EU legislative process and checks the still undemocratic European legislature. Furthermore, it will be argued that activism alone does not account for the full extent of the controversy, and that there are additional factors in play. The Sturgeon controversy will be considered in light of the recent surge in Eurosceptic judgments by national supreme courts, which might embolden also lower courts to defy the ECJ, as well as the phenomenon of "Eurolegalism", i.e. the rise of an adversarial legal culture akin to that in the United States. National judiciaries might be Sturgeon-adverse because of the increasing "claim-culture" in Europe, as illustrated by the issue of passenger rights. It will be argued that Eurolegalism is a by-product of the wide-scale EU-induced privatization of public services and that consumer rights are a necessary counterbalance of the increasing marketization of European society/societies.

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Benito Aláez Corral

Soberanía estatal, supremacía constitucional e integración europea a la luz de la jurisprudencia del Tribunal Constitucional Federal alemán

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 30 , 359-385

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Roa Bastos Francisco

Sociogenèse d'une catégorie politique : l'introduction de « partis politiques au niveau européen » dans le droit communautaire

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 99-122

This article focuses on the introduction in the Maastricht Treaty (1992) of a new political category, namely the "political parties at the European level". It primarily deals with the actors promoting this label, trying to describe as precisely as possible their mobilizations. It moreover brings to light the conditions that made possible this specific codification. The article is for that purpose based on an extensive empirical survey, which makes us able to sketch the sociogenesis of that political category.

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Senden Linda

Soft Post-Legislative Rulemaking: A Time for More Stringent Control



in *European law journal*, Volume 19, Issue 1 , 57–75

The Commission's soft post-legislative rulemaking by way of communications, notices, codes and similar instruments has become an increasingly important tool for the adequate functioning of the system of shared administration in the EU. However, the development of its legal framework has not kept pace with this, as the Treaty on the EU nor the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (TFEU) recognise this regulatory phenomenon. As a result, its current procedural control is of a very ad hoc nature. Given the risks this rulemaking involves for the legitimacy of the EU, its practical and legal importance for legal practice and the way in which the Treaty of Lisbon has sought to condition and control the behaviour of the Union institutions, it is argued that the time is ripe for a more stringent and consistent procedural control of soft post-legislative rulemaking. Some options to realise this are presented for further research.

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Rizzo Aldo

Solo l'integrazione politica può salvare l'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 91-97

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Jäger Kai

Sources of Franco-German corporate support for the euro: The effects of business network centrality and political connections

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 14, n. 1, March , 115-139

During the euro crisis of June 2011, 51 representatives of major French and German corporations launched a political campaign in support of the euro. This study shows that firm size facilitated high-quality business contacts but that variables of economic interest were not associated with a higher probability of campaign participation when controlling for relational variables. Instead, the empirical analysis suggests that Franco-German business leaders joined the campaign because (1) their central network position provided them with informational resources to transcend the interest of their firm, and (2) their social and political embeddedness either led to an internalization of pro-euro values or gave them an incentive to improve their long-term reputation with political decision makers who strongly support the euro as part of the European integration project. Thus, the directors' corporate and political ties facilitated and motivated corporate political action in support of the euro.

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Loubert Aart

Sovereign Debt Threatens the Union: The Genesis of a Federation



in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8 - Issue 03 , 442-455

Eurozone sovereign debt crisis – Europe's 'Alexander Hamilton Moment' – American sovereign debt crisis of 1780s – Articles of Confederation – U.S. Constitution – Assumption of states' debt – Constitutional transformation key factor in enabling Alexander Hamilton's debt restructuring

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Martin Fernando M., Waller Christopher J.

**Sovereign Debt: A Modern Greek Tragedy  **

in *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review*, September/October 2012 Vol. 94, No 5 , 321-340

The authors of this article provide a general introduction to the concept of sovereign debt—including the seductive nature of borrowing and the strategies associated with default—before analyzing the current debt crises in Europe.

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Amato Amedeo, Consigliere Isabella

Sovereign debt and the euro

in *Economia internazionale*, 2012, Volume 65, Issue 1 , 1-14

Summer 2011 witnessed a sudden and dramatic increase in the spread between yields on Italian and German government bonds in response to concerns over Italy's ability to finance its debt. In this article we discuss some of the possible reasons for these fears and analyse the effectiveness of the therapies offered as part of conditions for Italy's continuing membership of the European Monetary Union. We conclude that the policy of fiscal consolidation requested by the ECB do not exclude short run contractionary effects, but that such effects can be considerably reduced in a series of situations, particularly if fiscal consolidation is pursued within the framework of a credible and consistent reform strategy.

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Visone Tommaso

Sovranità e democrazia

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n. 204, ottobre 2012

No abstract available

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Wuhrer Dorothea

Spanische Zerreiprobe

in **Blatter fur deutsche & internationale Politik**, November, 2012

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2012/november/spanische-zerreissprobe

Derweil der Kelch des Euro-Austritts an Griechenland noch einmal voruber gegangen zu sein scheint, gerat Spanien mehr und mehr in den Fokus der Markte und der europaischen Institutionen. Doch Spaniens Ministerprasident Mariano Rajoy straubt sich seit Monaten, das Wort „Rettung“ auch nur auszusprechen. Um keinen Preis mochte er sein Land in einer Reihe mit Griechenland, Portugal und Irland sehen. Die 100 Mrd. Euro aus dem EU-Hilfsfonds zur Rekapitalisierung der maroden spanischen Banken nennt er bis heute euphemistisch einen „Kredit zu auergewohnlich guten Konditionen“. Auch den Bittgang nach Brussel wollte er so lange wie moglich hinauszogern. Dabei ist schon seit langem klar, dass auch Spanien unter den EU-Rettungsschirm schlupfen wird...

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Dominika Biegoń

Specifying the Arena of Possibilities: Post-structuralist Narrative Analysis and the European Commission's Legitimation Strategies

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 194-211

Throughout its history, the legitimacy of the European Union has constantly been challenged. Eroding levels of political support have not left political elites unaffected. This article focuses on legitimation strategies formulated by the Commission between 1973 and 1994 and applies a post-structuralist framework to account for the development of legitimation strategies over time. The formulation of legitimation strategies becomes possible within distinct discourses while other plans of action to generate political support remain unthinkable. Narrative analysis is proposed as a useful methodological tool to analyze structures of meaning that restrain the Commission in its choice of legitimation strategies.

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Chardas Anastassios

State capacity and ‘embeddedness’ in the context of the European Union’s Regional Policy: the case of Greece and the third Community Support Framework (CSF)

in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 12, n. 2 , 221-242

This paper aims to explain the weak developmental impact that the third Community Support Framework (CSF) funding had for Greece by adopting a conceptual framework based on the theories of internal and interactive state capacities. It postulates that a series of characteristics of the domestic political economy – clientelism, corruption and low levels of



social capital – did not allow the third CSF to substantially alter the endogenous capabilities of the Greek economy. Most of the Operational Programmes (OPs) faced significant delays whilst the strengthening of the monitoring procedures attempted by the Commission – exemplified through the ‘n+2’ rule – only served to exacerbate the situation. The reinforcement of the domestic administrative and territorial reforms that will improve the capacities of the Greek state is suggested as a possible way forward.

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Smith Michael

Still Rooted in Maastricht: EU External Relations as a ‘Third-generation Hybrid’

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 699-715

This article argues that EU external relations since the Maastricht Treaty have constituted the Union as a hybrid international actor, reflecting a number of tensions built into the roots of the treaty. These tensions — reflected in the international roles and status of the EU — arise from the logics expressed in institutions and policies, and the ways in which those logics interact with each other when confronted with situations in which diplomatic, economic and security concerns are entangled. The result is that the EU has an ambiguous relationship to issues of European and world order. Since Maastricht, successive grafts in treaties and other forms have added elements to the EU’s external relations, but have not resolved the basic issues and ambiguities attending hybridity. The article explores these issues and ambiguities and relates them to four key roles claimed by the EU in the world arena: those of market actor, security actor, diplomatic actor and normative actor.

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Buschmann Marco, Jürgens Johanna K.

Subsidiarität und Rechtswettbewerb im EU-Recht

in *Recht und Politik*, 48. Jahrgang, Heft 4 , 229-236

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tillman Erik R.

Support for the euro, political knowledge, and voting behavior in the 2001 and 2005 UK general elections

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 3, September , 367-389

This article examines the effect of political knowledge on support for the euro and voting on the euro issue in the 2001 and 2005 UK general elections. Political knowledge increased support for the euro in 2001 but had no effect in 2005 and it conditioned the effect of the euro issue on vote choice in both elections. The effect of the euro issue on voting was stronger among knowledgeable voters, who were more likely to vote correctly on the issue by choosing a party closest to their own views on the euro. These findings demonstrate heterogeneity in voting on the euro issue in these elections and should motivate further inquiry into the role that political knowledge plays in conditioning voting behavior on



European issues.

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Thiemeyer Guido, Tölle Isabel

Supranationalität im 19. Jahrhundert? Die Beispiele der Zentralkommission für die Rheinschifffahrt und des Octroivertrages 1804-1851

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 17, n. 2 , 177-196

European integration research has considered supranationality a 20th century phenomenon. From this point of view, the European Community for Coal and Steel was the first supranational organisation. This article shows that supranational organisations already existed in the 19th century, although to a limited extent. The Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine and its predecessor, the Octroi treaty between France and the Holy Roman Empire, even then contained supranational elements in the field of jurisdiction. The police regulation that was developed by the Central Commission had a supranational character as well. The sources reveal economic and technical reasons for that supranationality. There is, thus, a remarkable continuity between the economic and technical integration of the early 19th century and the supranational organisations of the 20th century. A profound research of the term supranationality remains to be done.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brok Elmar, Langen Werner

Sustainable growth for Europe: the four crises and a call for reform

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 189-199

In this paper, the authors demonstrate that the current crisis is based upon four different crises with different sources, which must all be solved in different ways. In addition to this, they highlight individual issues within individual European economies and in the current institutional set-up of the European Union. On the basis of this analysis they provide clear suggestions about what needs to be done to recover growth in Europe.

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Jakob Kellenberger

Swiss Lessons for European Federalism

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 12-13

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former



European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Tom Delreux & Karoline Van den Brande

Taking the lead: informal division of labour in the EU's external environmental policy-making

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 1 2013 , 113-131

The article examines the informal division of labour in the European Union's (EU's) external environmental policy-making. It focuses on informal arrangements in the EU co-ordination and representation processes with regard to the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) and international climate negotiations. Whereas the rotating Presidency is formally in charge of leading the internal EU co-ordination and representing the EU externally, we see that in practice an informal system is used, in which member states and Commission officials informally 'take the lead'. Based upon new-institutionalist insights, this article argues that four functional reasons explain the informality in the EU's external environmental policy-making: burden sharing; expertise pooling; involving member states; and guaranteeing continuity. Moreover, once the informal arrangement is in place, actors in the EU keep using it because they act path-dependently and because it is considered the most appropriate way to act in many international environmental negotiations.

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Hans-Werner Sinn, TimoWollmershäuser

Target loans, current account balances and capital flows: the ECB's rescue facility

in *International Tax and Public Finance*, volume 19 n.4 , 468-508

This paper presents the first comprehensive Target database of the Eurozone and interprets it from an economic perspective. We show that the Target accounts measure the intra-Eurozone balances of payments and indirectly also international credit given through the Eurosystem in terms of reallocating the ECB's net refinancing credit. We argue that the Euro crisis is a balance-of-payments crisis similar to the Bretton Woods crisis, and document to what extent the Target credit financed the current account deficits and outright capital flight in Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Italy. To prevent the ECB from undermining the allocative role of the capital market, we propose adopting the US system of credit redemption between the District Feds.

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Benno Torgler

Tax morale, Eastern Europe and European enlargement

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, Volume 45, Issues 1-2 , 11-25



This study tries to remedy the current lack of tax compliance research analyzing tax morale in 10 Eastern European countries that joined the European Union in 2004 or 2007. By exploring tax morale differences between 1999 and 2008 we show that tax morale has decreased in 7 out of 10 Eastern European countries. This lack of sustainability may support the incentive based conditionality hypothesis that European Union has only a limited ability to influence tax morale over time. We observe that events and processes at the country level are crucial to understanding tax morale. Factors such as perceived government quality, trust in the justice system and the government are positively correlated with tax morale in 2008.

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Fabio Giglioni

Tecniche di integrazione europea amministrativa mediante differenziazione

in *Nomos*, n. 2/2012

SOMMARIO: 1. L'integrazione europea. - 2. I principali modelli di integrazione. - 3. L'integrazione mediante differenziazione. - 4. Le caratteristiche principali dell'integrazione mediante differenziazione. - 5. L'integrazione mediante differenziazione al confronto con le categorie generali

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Colorni Felice Mill

Tentato suicidio

in *Critica liberale*, volume XIX, n.199 - maggio 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wagner Gerhard

Termination and cure under the Common European Sales Law: Consumer protection misunderstood

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 147-167

ABSTRACT: The CESL's scheme of remedies for defective performance by the seller is different for commercial sales and for consumer sales. In case of a commercial transaction (B2B), the seller has a right to cure defective performance either by repair or by replacement, before the merchant-buyer is entitled to terminate the contract. The priority of cure over rescission offers an efficient solution as it keeps buyer opportunism at bay, while preserving the incentives of the seller to deliver conforming goods. The scheme of remedies for transactions involving consumer-buyers (B2C) deviates from this reasonable solution as the buyer, in the case of defective tender, is entitled to immediate rescission. The right to immediate cancellation is meant to privilege consumer-buyers but, in truth, this backfires as it increases the costs of sellers without benefitting buyers in the same or a higher measure. The right to immediate rescission allows buyers to



call off the contract for opportunistic reasons, such as a drop in market price or, more importantly, a revision of personal preferences. The resulting increase in the costs of sellers will be passed on to the class of buyers through price increases. In this way, opportunistic buyers will be able to shift the costs associated with their behaviour to faithful buyers who will be forced to cross-subsidize their opportunistic brethren. It seems that this rather sad outcome is not what the framers of the CESL had in mind when they tried to enhance the remedies of consumer-buyers.

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Hayward Katy, Murphy Mary

**The (Soft) Power of Commitment: The EU and Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland
in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2012 , 439-452**

This paper examines the potential of international actors to contribute to conflict resolution by analysing the evolving role of the European Union (EU) in embedding Northern Ireland's peace process. Scrutiny of the EU's approach to conflict resolution in Northern Ireland offers useful insights into the scope and potential of soft power for facilitating behavioural change from governmental to grass-roots levels. This paper traces the development of the EU's approach to conflict resolution in Northern Ireland from one concentrated on encouraging state-level agreement, to nurturing peace through multilevel funding, through now to consolidating the peace by facilitating regional-level empowerment. The core argument is that, in sum, the most critical element of the EU's contribution to peace in Northern Ireland has been, quite simply, that of enduring commitment.

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Deni John R.

**The American Role in European Defense Reform
in *Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 56, n. 4, fall**

ABSTRACT: In order to influence the direction and outcomes of defense reforms occurring across Europe, the United States needs to refocus its military-to-military engagement programs with its European allies. Instead of seeking to build partner capacity among the newest NATO members or aspirants, Washington will be better served by maintaining and strengthening interoperability with those allies that are adaptive and innovative, deployable and expeditionary, and capable of full spectrum operations—that is, allies such as France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. This finding is based upon what Washington itself sees as the future of conflict and the kinds of coalition partner skills and abilities the United States will need to counter post-International Security Assistance Force International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) threats to U.S. and collective security. Given budget and force structure cuts facing the United States as well, the American military cannot afford to waste its limited security cooperation resources.

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Richard G. Whitman, Ana E. Juncos

The Arab Spring, the Eurozone Crisis and the Neighbourhood: A Region in Flux



in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 147-161

No abstract available

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Noi Aylin Unver

The Arab Spring: Should Turkey Coordinate Its Foreign Policy with the European Union?

in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2012 , 63-81

Abstract:

In this article, Turkey's and the European Union's foreign policy approaches to the Middle East and North Africa region are analyzed by focusing on "normative power" and "soft power" concepts, the historical relations among the countries of the region, and the projects developed by the EU and Turkey. The Arab Spring and its repercussions on the EU's and Turkey's foreign policy approaches to the region, along with a brief historical background of the Turkey-EU relationship, are evaluated in order to determine whether Turkey should coordinate its foreign policy with the EU.

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Dinan Desmond

The Arc of Institutional Reform in Post-Maastricht Treaty Change

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 843-858

Though best known for its coverage of key policy areas, the Maastricht Treaty also introduced important institutional reforms. Building on the Single European Act, these pertained mainly to strengthening the legislative role of the European Parliament and extending the scope of qualified majority voting to more policy areas. Treaty-based institutional reform continued in the post-Maastricht period. Due to the twin challenges facing the EU in the aftermath of Maastricht — Central and Eastern European enlargement, and the gaping 'democratic deficit' — the focus of such reform shifted to the modalities of qualified majority voting and the size and composition of the Commission. The highly contentious nature of these issues thwarted effective institutional reform in the 1990s, overshadowed the work of the 2002–2003 Constitutional Convention, and dominated the intergovernmental conferences preceding the failed Constitutional Treaty and the subsequent Lisbon Treaty.

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Koester Ulrich

The CAP in disarray: EU commission proposes basic direct payments to EU farmers

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 3 / May 2012 , 170-174



Direct payments were originally justified as a mechanism to compensate farmers for the income loss incurred due to reduced intervention prices. However, this rationale is not valid any more, and a new justification for basic income support by granting basic decoupled direct payments has been proposed by the EU Commission. The following paper identifies a number of problems related to this proposal.

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Francis Cheneval and Frank Schimmelfennig

The Case for Democracy in the European Union

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 334-350

The debate on the European Union's democratic deficit usually operates within a national-democratic framework of analysis. This article argues for a change in methodology. It follows the thesis that the EU is a 'demoicracy' – a polity of multiple demoi – and has to be evaluated as such. Core principles of demoicracy are developed and the EU is assessed accordingly. Such an evaluation is not only more adequate, but also provides original insights: it is found that, whereas the constitutional development of the EU has approached demoicratic standards in general, major deficits remain at the national level.

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Bofinger Peter, Habermas Jürgen, Nida-Rümelin Julian

The Case for a Change of Course in European Policy

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 1, Summer / Autumn 2012 , 5-8

<http://socialeurope.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/SocialEurope-21.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Mojmír Hampl

The Case of European Monetary Integration and its Former Hegemon

in **German Economic Review**, volume 14 n.1 , 2-14

There is no historical precedent for the institutional set-up of the eurozone. However, it is an arrangement that could not and cannot escape the universal laws and principles of economics. This article tries to look generally at the consequences of this integration project from the perspective of the former monetary hegemon, Germany, whose hegemony largely ended as a result of the monetary integration method chosen. Those consequences are, of course, more apparent in bad times than they were in good times. We then specifically examine the problem of convergence and divergence within a currency area and discuss the issue of competitive devaluation. In the conclusion, we try to formulate the fundamental dilemma faced by the former monetary hegemon. Its solution will affect those inside and outside the integration project.



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Sălăgeanu Romana

The Challenge of Regionalization for the Romanian Administration: Strengthening vs. Hindrance in Europe en formation (L¹), n. 364, 2012/2 , 181-194

Romania is a state in transition and it had to deal with difficult reforms in order to become a member of the European Union. The Regional policy of the EU and the process of regionalization have challenged the strong political centre and the centralized administration of Romania. The pressure of the European integration process has triggered the creation of an artificial regional structure, without de facto devolution of decision-making processes to the regions. The emergence of Romanian regions able to evolve into strong actors within the European multilevel governance system can still be adjusted. There is still scope for the strengthening of the existing regional structure of Romania.

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Levitt Malcolm

The City and EMU

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1261-1275

ABSTRACT: This article examines four elements of City of London thinking related to Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and European financial regulation, and includes previously unpublished material.

City opinion on EMU and prospective UK membership has been divided. Sceptics have rightly stressed the risks facing a monetary union of disparate economies without a robust fiscal framework, but naively believed that threats to the City from EMU members could not arise because of the rules of the single market. Enthusiasts wilfully neglected the economic risks but emphasized the regulatory threats to City competitiveness if the UK were outside. The UK regulatory philosophy stressing freedom for cross-border competition and light regulation of financial markets was never accepted by many continental member states, numerous impediments to competition persisted and potentially damaging attempts were made to exclude the City from key financial and legal provisions on the grounds that the UK was not participating in EMU. Being at the negotiating table averted those threats, but now goodwill has levelled off and the liberal regulatory philosophy is in retreat. Despite reservations about EMU, City institutions made crucial but little-known contributions to the practical implementation of the euro, stressing the scale and nature of the tasks of converting banking IT systems, the logistics of changing notes and coins and the need for legal certainty. They helped to persuade the European Commission to accept the phased introduction of the euro and the legal framework.

Now EMU faces an existential threat and the financial system faces more regulation at EU and UK levels. The position taken by the UK at the December 2011 European Council, ostensibly defending the City but risking marginalization, dismayed many City figures who would be more willing to compromise to preserve access to the single market—but Eurosceptic hedge funds, the least regulated financial sector, retain considerable lobbying power.

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Bureau Jean-Christophe, Tangermann Stefan, Matthews Alan , Viaggi Davide

The Common Agricultural Policy after 2013

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 6, November 2012 , 316-342

In October 2011 the European Commission presented a set of legal proposals designed to make the Common Agricultural Policy more effective. Pending a debate in the European Parliament and the Council, approval is expected by the end of 2013. This Forum aims to identify the proposals' shortcomings and to offer suggestions for improvement which the Parliament and Council can work to implement. The authors pay particular attention to the future of direct payments, CAP greening and rural development, as well as to the change in the decision-making rules which grants the Parliament more authority over the process.

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Gerhard van der Schyff

The Constitutional Relationship between the European Union and its Member States: The Role of National Identity in Article 4(2) TEU

in *European Law Review*, vol. 37, issue 5

This contribution analyses the duty of the European Union in art.4(2) TEU to respect the national identities of its Member States. The central argument is that the concept of national identity entails that the European Union must factor the constitutional individuality of its Member States into its decision-making. This function of national identity is discussed in terms of the prerogative of the Member States to express their respective constitutional individualities on the one hand, and the duty of the European Union to respect such expression on the other. The analysis shows that national identity is an important yet relative norm, which, although it enjoins the European Union to consider the possible effect of national features on its decision-making, does not qualify the primacy of EU law. This does not contradict the fact that the accommodation of national identity by the European Union must proceed in a spirit of dialogue.

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Mehta Ravi S.

The Continental Shelf: No longer a "terra incognita" to the EU

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 49, issue 4 , 1395-1422

ABSTRACT: The current state of EU law reveals an unclear and incoherent approach to the question of its applicability to the Continental Shelf of Member States. The ambiguity in rules of public international law have led to divergences in Commission practice and EU secondary legislation. However, the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union has tentatively led the way towards a functional approach to the territorial scope of the EU Treaties, attached to the sovereignty or jurisdiction of Member States. This position, hinted at in the recent Grand Chamber judgment in Case C-347/10 *Salemink* but not firmly clarified, is both theoretically and practically justifiable and should be unequivocally embraced by relevant actors in this area. Such an approach would be an important step towards tracing the precise contours of the geographic areas to which EU law applies.



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Zwingmann Beke

The Continuing Myth Of Euro-Scepticism? The German Federal Constitutional Court Two Years After Lisbon in International & Comparative Law Quarterly , Volume 61 - Issue 03 , 665 - 695

The German Federal Constitutional Court's 2009 decision on the Lisbon Treaty immediately provoked passionate criticisms and revived the Court's image of the Eurosceptic par excellence. However, if one uses the Court's general case law on the interaction between European law and German constitutional law—in particular the Mangold follow-up (Re Honeywell) and the EURO bailout decision—as a background for analysis, a high level of practical support becomes apparent, that is quite the opposite to the all-out war some commentators predicted. It also illustrates how the Lisbon principles can be used to exert a positive influence on the European integration process.

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Beke Zwingmann

The Continuing Myth of Euro-Scepticism? The German Federal Constitutional Court Two Years After Lisbon in International and Comparative Law Quarterly , vol. 61, issue 3 , 665-695

The German Federal Constitutional Court's 2009 decision on the Lisbon Treaty immediately provoked passionate criticisms and revived the Court's image of the Eurosceptic par excellence. However, if one uses the Court's general case law on the interaction between European law and German constitutional law—in particular the Mangold follow-up (Re Honeywell) and the EURO bailout decision—as a background for analysis, a high level of practical support becomes apparent, that is quite the opposite to the all-out war some commentators predicted. It also illustrates how the Lisbon principles can be used to exert a positive influence on the European integration process.

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Iglesias Sánchez Sara

The Court and the Charter: The impact of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on the ECJ's approach to fundamental rights

in Common Market Law Review , vol. 49, issue 5 , 1565-1611

ABSTRACT: In the two and a half years since the Lisbon Treaty came into force, the Court of Justice has issued a considerable number of decisions applying and interpreting the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. This article analyses this first wave of case law with the aim of identifying the impact of the Charter in the fundamental rights jurisprudence of the Luxembourg Court. For this purpose, the examination of the cases is organized around three dichotomies: continuity/change, expansion/restraint, and heteronomy/autonomy. The issue of the temporal scope of the application of the Charter is analysed and the most visible innovations are addressed focusing on quantitative and qualitative changes. Second, the implications of Article 51 on the application of the Charter to the States are examined in light of the latest case law, taking into account the important developments of the status of the citizenship of the Union



as an expansive device for the protection of individual rights. Finally, the interplay of the Charter with the European Convention of Fundamental Rights and with the constitutional traditions of the Member States is addressed. It is argued that even though there is a marked trend towards the continuity of the fundamental pillars that have so long been at the basis of the EU fundamental rights system, there are substantial innovations and significant developments that reinforce the role of fundamental rights in the legal order of the Union.

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Flamm László

**The Crisis and Euroscepticism in Central and Eastern Europe
in European Journal of International Law**, n. 364, 2012/2 , 305-321

Besides political and economic topics, there are also sociocultural and socio-psychological aspects of the transformation and the EU-integration process. The legacy of a communist past, history, culture, national identity and policy-making are among those factors that provided the CEECs different patterns of Europeanization. Accordingly, the post-communist political elites adopted different attitudes towards the integration. The elites had been divided over EU issues because of short-term political thinking and lacking national consensus on reform policies, which affected the crisis management policies and resulted in significant domestic political changes in some of the countries during the crisis. On the other hand, the elites couldn't manage the social crisis that arose from the rapid economic transition of the early 1990s. The societies have adopted a general sceptical view of life. Apart from the economic crisis, the public's current scepticism still dominates social attitudes towards the EU.

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Jürgen Habermas

**The Crisis of the European Union in the Light of a Constitutionalization of International Law
in European Journal of International Law**, vol. 23, issue 2 , 335-348

The crisis of the European Union showcases the asymmetry between transnational capacities for political action and social as well as economic forces unleashed at the transnational level. But recovering the regulatory power of politics by way of increased supranational organization frequently arouses fears about the fate of national democracy and of the democratic sovereign threatened to be dispossessed by executive powers operating independently at the global level. Against such political defeatism this contribution takes the example of the European Union to refute the underlying claim that a transnationalization of popular sovereignty cannot be achieved without lowering the level of democratic legitimation. It focuses on three components of every democratic polity – the association of free and equal legal persons, a bureaucratic organization for collective action, and civic solidarity as a medium of political integration – to argue that the new configuration they take at the European level, when compared with the context of the nation-state, does not in principle diminish the democratic legitimacy of the new transnational polity. The contribution continues to argue, however, that the sharing of sovereignty between the peoples and citizens of Europe needs to be better reflected in symmetry between Council and Parliament while political leadership and the media must contribute to a greater sense of civil solidarity.



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Lindseth Peter L.

The Critical Promise of the New History of European Law

in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law, 457-475

The articles in this special issue test a range of historiographical assumptions – for example, about periodisation (most importantly when legal integration ‘began’) as well as about the definition of the purported object of study (the seemingly ‘constitutional’ character of the process of European legal integration) – which have been central to the interpretative baseline established by legal scholars and political scientists over the last several decades. Building on a similar critique of that baseline, this article argues that integration can profitably be understood, in legal-historical terms, as a denationalised expression of diffuse and fragmented (that is, ‘administrative’) governance. The basic elements of that governance emerged in Western Europe over the course of the inter-war and post-war decades, and these elements have continued to shape EU legal history up to the present.

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Basevi Giorgio

The Current EU Crisis and the Need for Urgent Institutional Reforms

in *Economia internazionale*, 2012, Volume 65, Issue 2, 357-370

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Guieu Jean-Michel

The Debate about a European Institutional Order among International Legal Scholars in the 1920s and its Legacy

in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law, 319-337

The inter-war period is a forgotten moment in the debate about a European institutional order amongst legal scholars. Although the European Communities established in the 1950s did not derive directly from the institutional schemes of the 1920s, the earlier period played an important role in the building of a specifically European legal doctrine. The failure of the universalist League of Nations led a certain number of international jurists, particularly French ones, to support regional solutions as an alternative. A European legal framework was thus seen as a possible way of adapting international law to meet the goals of peace and stability.

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Diego Acosta Arca, Andrew Geddes

The Development, Application and Implications of an EU Rule of Law in the Area of Migration Policy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013, 179-193



This article examines the implications of extension of competence to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) in the area of immigration policy. Through analysis of the implications for Italy, France and the Netherlands of CJEU decisions on expulsion and family reunification it is shown that an EU rule of law has developed that can constrain the executive branch of Member State governments. This means that the EU can no longer be conceptualized in the area of immigration policy as merely an external venue to which Member States 'escape' in order to circumvent legal constraints at national level. The growing role of the CJEU forces instead a reconceptualization of the dynamics of immigration law and policy in Europe.

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Warlouzet Laurent, Witschke Tobias

The Difficult Path to an Economic Rule of Law: European Competition Policy, 1950–91

in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, n. 3, August - Special Issue: Towards a New History of European Law, 437-455

A historical retelling of European competition policy is crucial to understanding the discrepancy between the rules in the treaties and their implementation. The historian must navigate treacherous waters between contrasting treaty stipulations in the ECSC and in the EEC Treaties, initial attempts at rigorous implementation but with limited effect on the ground, and a complicated relationship between the supranational institutions. Only in the 1980s did the Commission enjoy the benefits of the ECJ's supportive case law. These benefits came due to a fortunate conjuncture of political, economical and administrative factors.

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Paul De Hert and Fisnik Korenica

The Doctrine of Equivalent Protection: Its Life and Legitimacy Before and After the European Union's Accession to the European Convention on Human Rights

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 13, issue 7, 874-895

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Amedeo Arena

The Doctrine of Union Preemption in the E.U. Internal Market: Between Sein and Sollen

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 17, issue 3, 477-556

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Giannone Domenico, Lenza Michele, Pill Huw, Reichlin Lucrezia



The ECB and the Interbank Market

in **Economic Journal**, Volume 122, Issue 564, November 2012 , 467-486

We analyse the impact on the euro area economy of the ECB's non-standard monetary policy measures by studying the effect of the expansion of intermediation of interbank transactions across the central bank balance sheet. We exploit data drawn from the aggregated Monetary and Financial Institutions (MFI) balance sheet, which allow us to construct a measure of the 'policy shock' represented by the ECB's increasing role as a financial intermediary. We find small but significant effects on both loans and real economic activity.

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Bouza Garcia Luis, Del Río Villar Susana

The ECI as a Democratic Innovation: Analysing its Ability to Promote Inclusion, Empowerment and Responsiveness in European Civil Society

in **Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 312-324

This article analyses the effect of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) in the EU's participatory model. It considers first its origins in the process of participation of civil society in the Convention to point out the importance of considering the debates on participation in the last decade. It then builds on the expectations of other papers in this special issue that the main users of the ECI will be a constituency of civil society organisations so far weakly involved in European affairs and focuses mainly on the ECI's innovative effects on the relations between the European institutions and organised civil society. The article analyses whether the ECI may make the EU participatory model more inclusive, empowering and more oriented towards the public sphere than it has been so far. It finds that the ECI may make European civil society more diverse, representative and oriented to the public sphere, although it is not clear that the initiative grants them a more salient role. In this sense the financial, organisational and political costs associated to the initiative seem more important than the potential gains it offers, although it is also expected that the ECI will become a sufficiently salient tool in political terms to be neglected by the EU institutions.

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Marco Buti, Nicolas Carnot

The EMU Debt Crisis: Early Lessons and Reforms

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 899-911

The economic and financial crisis and its aftermath have put economic and monetary union (EMU) to the test and exposed gaps in its initial policy architecture. Collective rules of fiscal discipline have proven difficult fully to enforce and excessive public indebtedness has been confirmed as a potential source of systemic instability. Broader economic and financial imbalances have also been shown to carry important risks for individual Member States' and area-wide stability. Recent governance reforms have sought to address these shortcomings. In particular, the so-called 'Six-Pack' has brought changes strengthening the ability to prevent and correct economic and fiscal imbalances in the future. With the crisis not terminated, however, the debate over optimal policy arrangements continues and additional governance reforms have been put forward. This article reviews some lessons drawn from the crisis episode for the economic and



budgetary framework of EMU and describes the governance reforms that have been undertaken as part of the comprehensive solution needed to underpin the single currency.

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Vestert Borger

The ESM and the European Court's Predicament in Pringle

in *German Law Journal*, vol. 14, issue 1, 113-140

On 27 November 2012, the European Court of Justice ("the Court") rendered its judgment in the Pringle case. Sitting as a plenum, which is extremely rare, the Court did what had been expected. Just as the Bundesverfassungsgericht (German Federal Constitutional Court or BVerfG) had done two months earlier, it gave the go-ahead for the euro area's permanent emergency instrument, the European Stability Mechanism ("ESM"). With this decision, the possibility of granting assistance to financially distressed euro area Member States has now been secured for the future.

Despite this unsurprising outcome, the Court's judgment is fascinating for several reasons. First, it informs the ordinary Treaty revision procedure of Article 48(6) TEU and the scope of the Court's jurisdiction to review European Council Decisions adopted in this context. Second, it defines the relationship between the ESM and the existing Treaty framework on Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), in particular its economic branch. Lastly, it clarifies how and to what extent Union institutions can be deployed by the Member States in the context of intergovernmental initiatives that do not have their basis in the EU legal framework.

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Mekonnen Daniel R., Van Reisen Mirjam

The EU Lisbon Treaty and EU Development Cooperation: Considerations for a Revised EU Strategy on Development Cooperation in Eritrea

in *Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee*, vol. 45, issue 3

ABSTRACT: The European Union (EU) is a leading global actor in development cooperation. Its development cooperation is subject to binding treaty obligations which guide the scope and extent of its foreign policy instruments. This paper examines the scope of legality of EU-Eritrea development cooperation under the relevant treaty obligations of the EU, particularly under the legal framework of the Treaty of Lisbon. Concluding that EU aid to Eritrea is indeed contributing to the sustainment of dictatorship in the country, the authors argue in favour of a revised policy for EU-Eritrea development cooperation. The authors also call for the EU to strengthen positive aid measures, such as helping refugees and supporting democratic organisations of the Eritrean diaspora, while ending direct support to the Government of Eritrea, such as bilateral aid, until the Government of Eritrea can improve conditions so that essential criteria (respect for human rights, democratic accountability, and the rule of law) can be met, as stipulated by the main EU treaties and the Cotonou Agreement.

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Littoz-Monnet Annabelle

The EU Politics of Remembrance: Can Europeans Remember Together?

in **West European Politics**, vol. 35, n. 5 , 1182-1202

ABSTRACT: Over the last few years, EU institutions have taken on the task of promoting an 'active European remembrance' of Europe's twentieth century totalitarian experiences. At stake in this process is the possibility of constructing an EU-wide historical narrative. However, EU-level debates on the remembrance of European history are permeated by struggles between policy actors who vie for control over the telling of Europe's past. Using insights from the agenda-setting and framing literatures, the article examines the conditions under which memory narratives are able to become prominent or, conversely, lose ground in the EU's overall discourse. It concludes that, although the constellation of actors in place was a key factor in explaining fluctuations in the EU's remembrance discourse, the weight of their arguments also depended on how well their discourse resonated with existing memory cultures at the domestic and the EU levels.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Copeland Laurence

The EU Proposals for The Regulation of Alternative Investments

in **Economic Affairs**, Volume 32, Issue 3, October 2012 , 32-36

The EU proposals for regulating so-called alternative investment funds (AIFs) are intended to give investors more protection and to mitigate risks to the rest of the financial system, while further integrating markets inside the EU. Unfortunately, many of the provisions seem more likely to achieve the opposite of what is intended, reducing competition, reducing investor choice and increasing systemic risk. They also involve significant compliance costs. The proposals for regulating credit rating agencies seem unnecessary and are likely to be counterproductive. It would be far better to allow free competition by agencies of all kinds operating under a variety of different funding models.

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Raik Kristi

The EU and Mass Protests in the Neighbourhood: Models of Normative (In)action

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, vol. 17, issue 4 , 553-575

ABSTRACT: Since the 'Bulldozer Revolution' in Serbia in 2000, the EU has had to deal with a wave of mass protests in its neighbourhood. Its responses to the 'colour revolutions' in the East and Arab uprisings in the South have cast doubt on its foreign policy identity as a normative power and its commitment to promote democracy outside its borders. Based on an analysis of thirteen cases in 2000-2012, the article identifies four models of EU involvement in the protests: (1) model power, (2) promoter of (regime) change, (3) mediator/facilitator and (4) guardian of stability. It discusses these models in light of the concept of 'normative power Europe' (NPE) and stresses the need to look at the interplay between normative and power political considerations in order to account for the EU's (in)action in different cases. First, model power has been an important form of EU normative power in the Eastern neighbourhood, but its effects have been unintended and often troubling for the EU. Second, promoting regime change, as the EU has done in the cases of



Serbia and Syria, can be a strong form of pursuing normative goals, but it contradicts the emphasis of NPE on normative instruments. Third, mediation/facilitation, practised most successfully in the case of Ukraine in 2004, comes closer to the specific characteristics of NPE; yet, the EU's readiness and ability to mediate has often been limited. Fourth, defending stability has been the most common EU response, reflecting its security concerns and a preference for system change over regime change.

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Kamil Zwolski

The EU and a holistic security approach after Lisbon: competing norms and the power of the dominant discourse

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 7 2012 , 88-1005

The European Union (EU) aspires to become a truly comprehensive international security actor, coherently utilising the different kinds of instruments at its disposal. To this end, Lisbon Treaty reforms aim to equip EU policy with a stronger sense of strategic direction by bringing external assistance instruments of the EU under the guidance of the High Representative. However, pursuing the norm of a more holistic, strategic international security policy has arguably threatened a key norm which contributes to the EU's normative identity, namely the apolitical character of its aid. This article explores the friction between these two norms in the EU's international policy, particularly in the context of the arrangements concerning the European External Action Service. Furthermore, this article argues that the gradual move towards a more strategic deployment of the EU's external assistance is inevitable, as it reflects the strategic principles defined by the EU in the last decade.

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Collantes-Celador Gemma, Juncos Ana E.

The EU and border management in the Western Balkans: preparing for European integration or safeguarding EU external borders?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 201-220

This article evaluates the European Union (EU)'s border strategy for the Western Balkans. It identifies an increasing tension between, on the one hand, the Union's use of its border strategy to foster the long-term stabilization of the countries of the Western Balkans and their future integration into the EU and, on the other hand, the use of border management as an instrument to ensure its own internal security. This tension can be broken down into a threefold contradiction inbuilt into the EU's strategy: short-term vs. long-term objectives; a security vs. development focus and interventionism vs. local ownership approaches. These contradictions, aggravated by local and regional political, economic and security challenges, can explain existing shortcomings in the EU's border interventions in the Western Balkans.

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Vesnic-Alujevic Lucia, Castro Nacarino Rodrigo



The EU and its democratic deficit: problems and (possible) solutions

in European View , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 63-70

Despite the different approaches to the term 'democratic deficit', the majority of scholars today focus on political legitimacy and accountability. In this paper we assess the democratic deficit of EU institutions, more precisely the European Commission and the European Parliament. We suggest how this deficit could be overcome through the EU treaty changes, which would create more balanced powers in the EU. We evaluate briefly the attempt of European institutions to increase political participation among EU citizens, where the Internet is found to be a very helpful tool.

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Poletti Arlo, Sicurelli Daniela

The EU as Promoter of Environmental Norms in the Doha Round

in West European Politics, vol. 35, n. 4 , 911-932

ABSTRACT: This article investigates the reasons why the EU tried to promote environmental norms in the Doha round. It argues that the EU's support of a 'greener' World Trade Organization stems from tensions between the rigidity of the domestic dynamics of positive integration in the EU and the increased bindingness of negative integration commitments undertaken under the WTO. Consensual decision-making procedures in the EU led societal groups to push for stringent food safety and environmental regulations in the EU, and made them very resistant to change. These dynamics of positive integration, however, produced rules that were inconsistent with negative integration commitments undertaken under the WTO, at a time when the creation of a quasi-judicial dispute settlement mechanism in the trade regime had greatly increased the bindingness of WTO rules. As a result of the twofold effect of domestic and international institutional constraints, EU decision-makers were subject to compelling incentives to try and strengthen legitimate exceptions from WTO rules and immunise European regulation against WTO legal challenges. Empirical evidence on how the EU shaped its trade-and-environment agenda in the run-up to the Doha Round in 2001, as well as how it negotiated in the subsequent period, lends support to the argument.

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Schinas Margaritis

The EU in 2030: a long-term view of Europe in a changing world: keeping the values, changing the attitudes

in European View , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 267-275

Predicting future scenarios in EU politics is an important exercise that allows policymakers to plan for future generations and scarce resources. The EU has commenced this work through the ESPAS report Global Trends 2030—Citizens in an Interconnected and Polycentric World. This article surveys the challenges and opportunities identified in the report: the rise of a global middle class, the emergence of a multipolar world, the diffusion of power from the nation state to non-state actors, the paradoxical 'less poverty but more new poor' and growing pressure for as well as growing resistance to global governance. Europe's future success will depend on its ability to address the challenges of prosperity, democracy, demography, fairness and security in the next 20 years. Europe must 'keep the values, but change the attitude', while re-evaluating the role of the state to create a more democratic EU that can act as a broker between world powers.



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Teti Andrea

The EU's First Response to the 'Arab Spring': A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 17, Issue 3 , 266-284

This paper uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse the EU's first policy reassessment in light of the Arab uprisings. COM(2011)200 A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity (PfDSP) claims to outline a new framework for EU Democracy Assistance (DA) based on a new conception of democracy, and a new position for democracy in the EU's external relations. The paper analyses PfDSP and one of its key antecedents, COM(2001)252, to assess this claim, focusing on the way two pillars of the debate on democracy – civil–political and socio-economic rights – are defined and how they are organized into a narrative about democracy and its promotion. This analysis suggests that the conceptual structure – and therefore policy implications – of PfDSP maintain unaltered the substantive vision of a liberal model for both development and democratization in the region. This continuity sets the EU up to repeat earlier mistakes, which resulted before 2011 in the poor reputation of the EU on democracy promotion among pro-democracy opposition groups – many of which were central to the Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings.

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Hall Peter A.

The Economics and Politics of the Euro Crisis

in **German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 355-371

This article addresses puzzles raised by the Euro crisis: why was EMU established with limited institutional capacities, where do the roots of the crisis lie, how can the response to the crisis be explained, and what are its implications for European integration? It explores how prevailing economic doctrines conditioned the institutional shape of the single currency and locates the roots of the crisis in an institutional asymmetry grounded in national varieties of capitalism, which saw political economies organised to operate export-led growth models joined to others accustomed to demand-led growth. The response to the crisis is reviewed and explained in terms of limitations in European institutions, divergent economic doctrines and the boundaries of European solidarity. Proposed solutions to the crisis based on deflation or reflation are assessed from a varieties of capitalism perspective and the implications for European integration reviewed.

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Willem Buiter, Ebrahim Rahbari

The European Central Bank as Lender of Last Resort for Sovereigns in the Eurozone

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 2, March 2012 , 6-35

The article argues that the ECB has acted as Lender of Last Resort for the sovereigns of the Eurozone since it first



started its outright purchases of sovereign debt under the Securities Markets Programme in May 2010.

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Greenwood Justin

The European Citizens' Initiative and EU Civil Society Organisations

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 325-336

The procedural demands of the new European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) require the 'Citizens Committees' that host them to be backed by professional organisation. One potential source would be civil society organisations (CSOs) organised at EU level. Yet direct participatory democracy measures challenge the status of established Brussels-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) seeking an alternative 'civil dialogue' between themselves and EU political institutions. The institutionalised advocacy orientation of these EU NGOs make them ill-suited to developing mass-campaigning activities, although the ECI concept will incentivise such groups to develop more direct links with those they seek to advocate for. By contrast, there is a new community of CSOs newly mobilised into EU politics by the ECI, largely from Germany and Austria, with a more political orientation than traditional EU CSOs. These organisations are progressively becoming EU institutionalised, opening Brussels outreaches and increasingly appearing on the (European) Transparency Register. Either way, the ability of groups to link EU institutions with civil society will be enhanced by the ECI.

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Szeligowska Dorata, Mincheva Elitsa

The European Citizens' Initiative – Empowering European Citizens within the Institutional Triangle: A Political and Legal Analysis

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 270-284

The article presents the origins of the European Citizens' Initiative (ECI) and traces the variety of issues that arose in debate between the Commission, Parliament and Council during the passage of the Regulation, which now defines the procedural rules of the instrument. Its nature is assessed by detailed analysis of the procedural requirements and the provisions surrounding them. This is followed by an elaboration of the ECI's potential contribution to the political system of the EU, and the ways in which its use could remedy the EU's 'democratic deficit'. Particular attention is given to the impact of the rules upon the European Commission.

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Valentina Kostadinova

The European Commission and the Configuration of Internal European Union Borders: Direct and Indirect Contribution

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 51, Issue 2, March 2013 , 264-280



This article examines the European Commission's contribution to the configuration of internal European Union borders. The focus is on several policy areas related to free movement of people. It engages with the literature examining the tools used by the Commission in influencing the EU decision-making process. It also looks into the studies summarizing the developments in EU migration that show the restrained manoeuvring space the Commission has in the policy areas. Building on these, the discursive techniques that are likely to be used in Commission articulations are conceptualized. The analysis of Commission documents shows that in the common visa policy and the common European asylum system (CEAS), the Commission has configured borders indirectly. In distinction, in the fields of intra-Community border controls and movement for work purposes of highly skilled third country nationals (TCNs), the Commission has managed to play a leadership role and to significantly and directly challenge the underlying logic upon which these policies are based.

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Jean Grugel & Ingi Iusmen

The European Commission as guardian angel: the challenges of agenda-setting for children's rights
in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 1 2013, 77-94

In 2006 the European Commission, under the leadership of Directorate General (DG) Justice, adopted a policy of promoting children's rights, a project that inevitably relied on the support of children's rights organizations. This article examines why the relationship between the Commission and the children's rights networks shifted from consensus to disensus and how this has impacted on the children's rights agenda. We argue that the relationship with children's rights networks did not follow the normal pattern of Commission-interest group relations. Clientelistic, symbiotic relations were difficult to establish. The disengagement of the key children's rights advocacy organizations from the Commission's agenda intensified the impact of the conflict between DG Justice and DG External Relations over the issue and prevented the Commission from accomplishing its goal to become an agenda-setter in this area.

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Devuyt Yuri

The European Council and the CFSP after the Lisbon Treaty
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3, 327-349

ABSTRACT: The Treaty of Lisbon has further reinforced the position of the European Council at the top of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) decision-making hierarchy. This has encouraged the Heads of State or Government to go beyond their fundamental task of establishing the CFSP political priorities and strategic course, by attempting to take direct responsibility in CFSP crisis situations such as the Libyan revolt of 2011. This article reviews the European Council's CFSP performance since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty. The yardstick used in this assessment is the degree to which the European Council has managed to foster a common approach to the international foreign and security problems confronting the European Union. While the European Council has, in the past, been reasonably successful in shaping and establishing the basic structures for the CFSP and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), analysis shows that its intergovernmental nature and the sporadic character of its meetings make it entirely unsuited for the role of CFSP 'executive' in crisis moments. Through its institutional shortcomings as crisis manager, the European Council is itself a contributing factor fostering twenty-seven unilateral or sub-EU initiatives by Member States



with a greater diplomatic tradition and capacity. It is therefore suggested that the European Council should come to a more effective division of labour with the Foreign Affairs Council whereby the Heads of State or Government focus on their longer-term structural and strategic tasks rather than on CFSP crisis management.

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DN, JHR ,TV

The European Council and the national executives: segmentation, consolidation and legitimation in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8 - Issue 02 , 165-171

Of the three branches of government traditionally distinguished since Montesquieu, two have received ample scholarly attention in their relation with the European Union. A plethora of books and articles have been written on the role and position of national courts and national parliaments in Europe. As to the former, the interaction of national courts with the Court of Justice of the European Union is still massively researched. As to the latter, it has been thoroughly analysed how national parliaments were sidelined from the start of the integration process, only to regain lost ground later. In particular, attempts to include the national parliaments in EU decision-making, via the renewed Subsidiarity Protocol among other ways, have attracted numerous research activities.

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Merket Hans

The European External Action Service and the Nexus between CFSP/CSDP and Development Cooperation in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4 , 625-651

ABSTRACT: The EU's commitment to integrate and fine-tune security and development policies has been considerably complicated by three main obstacles: (1) the legal distinction between development cooperation and CFSP/CSDP; (2) the diffused institutional responsibility over the EU's toolbox in these policy areas; and (3) the discord between the elusive interpretation of the security-development linkage and the rather rhetorical call to enhance coordination. The creation of the European External Action Service significantly alters the EU's architecture in this regard by pooling together the EU's scattered instruments and policy actors. In this manner, it offers opportunities to overcome the obstacle of diffused responsibility and operationalize the rhetorical coordination commitment. However, the legal divide between development cooperation and CFSP/CSDP has survived the Lisbon Treaty changes and may considerably complicate the day-to-day operation of the EU's foreign service. Moreover, the EEAS fulfils only a supporting role and the extent to which its potential is turned into practice depends to a large degree on the constant and constructive cooperation with the EU's traditional external actors.

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Armin von Bogdandy

The European Lesson for International Democracy: The Significance of Articles 9 to 12 EU Treaty for International Organizations



in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 23, issue 2 , 315-334

This article argues that Articles 9 to 12 of the EU Treaty provide a promising way to conceptualize and develop the democratic legitimation of international organizations. To be sure, the current European Union is not a democratic showcase. However, an innovative concept of democracy, neither utopian nor apologetic, has found its way into its founding treaty. It can point the way in conceiving and developing the democratic credentials not just of the EU, but of public authority beyond the state in general. Since comparison is a main avenue to insight, this article will present those Articles and show what lessons can be learnt for international organizations.

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Trauner Florian

The European Parliament and Agency Control in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

in *West European Politics*, vol. 35, n. 4 , 784-802

ABSTRACT: Despite aptly capturing the EU as a multi-principal model, the principal-agent literature has neglected the question of under what conditions a particular institution may become a principal. This article proposes a research framework that defines a principal not only through its involvement in the legal procedure establishing the agent, but also through its impact on the day-to-day work and institutional development of this agent. Using the case of the European Parliament and agency control in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, it is argued that the Parliament has managed partially to compensate in the post-delegation phase for constrained ex ante legal involvement. The key conditions allowing the Parliament to enter the circle of principals have been altered default conditions through the introduction of co-decision in Justice and Home Affairs policy, and the strategic behaviour of the agent in the principals' competition for leadership and control.

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Doluca Hasan, Hübner Malte, Rumpf Dominik, Weigert Benjamin

The European Redemption Pact: Implementation and macroeconomic effects

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Number 4 / July 2012 , 230-239

One possible solution to the sovereign debt crisis is the European Redemption Pact (ERP) proposed by the German Council of Economic Experts. The ERP provides sustainable financing conditions for participating sovereigns to facilitate bringing public debt ratios below the reference value of 60% within the next 20 to 25 years. In this paper, we describe one possible way of implementing the ERP and analyse the fiscal effects of participating in the ERP. The macroeconomic impact of the proposal is illustrated with the multi-country model NiGEM.

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Lane Philip R.

The European Sovereign Debt Crisis

in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 26, No. 3, Summer 2012 , 49-68



The origin and propagation of the European sovereign debt crisis can be attributed to the flawed original design of the euro. In particular, there was an incomplete understanding of the fragility of a monetary union under crisis conditions, especially in the absence of banking union and other European-level buffer mechanisms. Moreover, the inherent messiness involved in proposing and implementing incremental multicountry crisis management responses on the fly has been an important destabilizing factor throughout the crisis. After diagnosing the situation, we consider reforms that might improve the resilience of the euro area to future fiscal shocks.

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Gamharter Katharina

The European System of Financial Supervisors: Interaction with Actors at Member State Level
in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 2, June, 303-314

ABSTRACT: In the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and in the midst of the sovereign-debt crisis that hit some Eurozone countries, the banking and financial sector is experiencing a period of unprecedented regulation. This paper aims to provide a perspective on the effects of the European System of Financial Supervisors on the regulatory landscape in an EU Member State like Austria. Finally, a brief evaluation of the efficiency of the measures taken is briefly evaluated.

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Smith Karen E.

The European Union and the Politics of Legitimization at the United Nations
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 1, 63-80

ABSTRACT: The European Union should be well-placed to exercise influence at the United Nations, as it is endowed with many material and ideational power resources that could enable it to win approval for its positions and proposals. Yet it encountered hostility when it sought enhanced observer status in the General Assembly and it has often been isolated at the Human Rights Council. The EU's failures to translate its putative power resources into influence in international affairs are often attributed to a lack of unity within the EU, but even when the EU is united at the UN, it may not win support. To help explain why, this article focuses on the UN as a locus of the international politics of legitimization, where UN Member States seek approval for their positions and policies, and base their appeals for support on competing principles and values.

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Liberti Fabio

The European Union and the debt crisis
in *Revue internationale et stratégique*, n° 86, 2012/2, 16-25

Since the beginning of the European sovereign debt crisis, the euro zone is in the midst of a psychodrama. Series of summits, repeated bailouts, hundreds of billions of euros distributed by member states and by the European Central



Bank have reassured markets temporarily, before panic resumed, with even greater violence than before. This article traces the historical background of the European sovereign debt crisis, questions the franco-german response to the crisis, but mainly asks how to get out of it. The political dimension is used to explain the crisis and to identify an exit. Indeed, even if the debt crisis came to an end in 2012, huge challenge, a wider feeling of discontent in Europe is still to be managed.

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Skordeli Marina

**The European Union as a global power of values
in European View** , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 149-155

The European Union has been traditionally perceived as a values-based power that has exerted a certain appeal to the world and a transformative influence on its neighbours. The power of its attraction derives from the fact that it is a unique model in history, constructed on common values, mutual interests, solidarity and joint policies for economic development and convergence, with the aim to preserve peace, stability and welfare for all European peoples. Despite occasional ups and downs, this has been a successful endeavour, as demonstrated by its successive development and unprecedented enlargements. The effectiveness of the EU in disseminating its values varies, depending on different factors. Overall, the EU's most powerful tool is its paradigm. In response to current challenges threatening the credibility of its model, the EU needs to remain committed to its values and principles, speak with one voice and keep inspiring its peoples first, so that it can inspire the world.

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Cooley Laurence

**The European Union's approach to conflict resolution: Insights from the constitutional reform process in Bosnia and Herzegovina
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 11, n. 2, march , 172-200

ABSTRACT: This article sets out to challenge a core assumption of much of the recent literature on the role of the European Union in conflict resolution, namely that the Union's approach aims at the transformation of conflicts over and above their management. It does so through an analysis of the EU's engagement with the process of constitutional reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Making use of discourse analysis of EU policy documents and speeches by key actors, supplemented by interviews with policy-makers in Brussels and in Bosnia, I argue that the EU's approach is based on the acceptance and attempted accommodation of distinct and antagonistic ethnic identities rather than any attempt at their transformation. While EU officials are highly critical of nationalist politicians in Bosnia and praise the efforts of civil society organisations that attempt to overcome ethnic divisions, they nonetheless view Bosnia through an 'ethnic conflict' paradigm that sees resistance to constitutional reform by nationalist elites as an inevitable symptom of deeper divisions in Bosnian society. Based on this reading, I conclude that EU conflict resolution policy is much more conservative than those stressing the Union's transformative power in conflict situations envisage.

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Marek Belka

The European Union: A Shield Against the Downside of Globalization

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 17-19

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Smith Julie

The European dividing line in party politics

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1277-1295

ABSTRACT: Europe has long divided the UK's political parties, especially the Conservatives and Labour. The parliamentary vote to enter the Common Market relied on rebel pro-European Labour MPs, while in the 1980s Labour was calling for withdrawal. If a decade on the Conservative Party saw a growing number of rebels against the Treaty of Maastricht, three decades later those Tory rebels—alongside a new party established to oppose membership, the UK Independence Party—have grown in number and look to the UK's ultimate withdrawal from the EU. This article explores the impact of European integration on British party politics, examining the ways in which it has caused division and fragmentation at the national level. It then looks at the impact of British membership on European level parties, which have also seen a degree of fragmentation owing to the nature of British parties.

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Baudner Joerg, Bull Martin J.

The Europeanisation of national institutions reassessed: A comparison of regional policies in Germany and Italy

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 11, n. 2, march , 201-221

ABSTRACT: This article explores an aspect of Europeanisation which notions of 'adaptive pressure' and 'usage' of European policies have tended to neglect: in a complex policy field such as regional policy it is the evolving nature and heterogeneity of (different) domestic institutional arrangements which will shape and determine the opportunities for domestic actors to exploit European policies. The article explains the differential impact of European regional policies in eastern Germany and southern Italy by focusing on the different domestic institutional settings and the competition between domestic actors for the position of gatekeeper in relation to the Commission. Despite similar exposure to



European regional policies, the existence of 'parallel institutions' in German regional policy proved to be the basis for an empowerment of the regions through the reinforcement of one institutional arrangement at the expense of the other while limiting change within the institutions. By contrast, the dichotomous nature of formal and informal rules and institutions in Italian policies for the south resulted in the exploitation of European regional policy by a national actor in order to drive through change in governance and administration.

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Caramani Daniele

The Europeanization of electoral politics. An analysis of converging voting distributions in 30 European party systems, 1970–2008

in Party Politics, Volume 18, Number 6, November , 803-823

Nationalization' theories have been used to explain the integration of electorates and party systems in democratizing and newly formed national polities. This article extends these theories to the 'Europeanization' of politics and to the European Union as an emerging supra-national democratic space. Analysing electoral data for national elections in 30 countries from 1970 to 2008, the article looks at the convergence of party systems in Europe. Results attest to increasingly homogeneous voting distributions for parties of a same family across national electorates, indicating an incipient party system institutionalization at the European level. The article shows that homogeneous patterns are stronger for parties belonging to the left–right dimension and less so for parties stemming from cultural cleavages. In the light of the debate on democratic deficit, the structuring of electoral alignments is interpreted as enhancing the democratic linkage between voters and representatives, and seen as a prerequisite for responsive and accountable politics in the EU.

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Moro Domenico

The Eurozone and an Independent Agency for Sustainable Development. How to Reconcile a Development Policy for the Eurozone with EU Budgetary Policy

in Federalista (II)/Federalist (The), Year LIV, Single Issue , 23-43

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1128&lang=en

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fischer Conan

The Failed European Union: Franco-German Relations during the Great Depression of 1929–32

in International History Review (The), Volume 34, Issue 4, 2012 , 705-724

Abstract

French scholars have led a revival of interest in inter-war efforts at European integration and the prominent role played by the French Foreign Minister, Aristide Briand. Franco-German rapprochement was integral to this effort, but with the



death in October 1929 of his like-minded German counterpart, Gustav Stresemann, it is generally held that Berlin adopted a more confrontational foreign policy even before Hitler took power. However, this article demonstrates that in spite of a series of upsets, an intense and sustained effort continued during the years of the Great Depression (1929–32) to forge Franco-German détente. This culminated in September 1931 in a Franco-German treaty that established the mechanisms for far-reaching integration of the two countries' economies, with a customs union and European union as the ultimate goals. It then examines in detail how and why this remarkable effort collapsed during 1932, paying particular attention to an unforeseen crisis in trading relations and the impact of a media scandal surrounding the publication of Stresemann's memoirs. Despite this failure, efforts to integrate Europe around a Franco-German axis between 1929 and 1932 can nonetheless be understood as part of a deeper process that survived Hitler and saw the emergence of the current European Union.

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Grygiel Jakub

The Faulty Logic of the European Union & Its Consequences for the United States

in Orbis: a Journal of World Affairs, vol. 56, n. 4, fall

ABSTRACT: The European Union is in crisis because it is based on a wrong understanding of political development. Its founding assumption is that a common market and a common currency would lead to a unified polity; that Europeans would arise out of the euro. This has not happened and Europe is fraying economically and politically. And the United States is not a disinterested spectator because a weaker and more divided Europe undermines a key foreign policy objective pursued over the last century—of a Europe whole, secure, and free. Consequently, it is premature for Washington to reorient its strategic attention away from Europe.

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Stevenson David

The First World War and European Integration

in International History Review (The), Volume 34, Issue 4, 2012 , 841-863

Abstract

The importance of the First World War in European integration history has been understated. Before 1914, intensifying economic integration had not brought corresponding political integration. But once hostilities broke out, Germany pursued indirect economic and military domination over its neighbours and a Central European economic association based on agreements with Austria-Hungary. The drive for the latter had little success, because of Germany's own uncertainties as well as Austria-Hungary's resistance. From 1916 the French government also pursued the goal of border buffer states, together with a permanent inter-Allied economic bloc, but was likewise unsuccessful. Nonetheless, the wartime experience helped to shape later integration initiatives during the inter-war years and even beyond.



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Rossolillo Giulia

The Fiscal Compact, The European Stability Mechanism And a Two-Speed Europe: Institutional Proposals For a Government of the Eurozone

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Year LIV, Single Issue , 10-22

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1127&lang=en&Itemid=77

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Attila Agh

The Hungarian Rhapsodies: The Conflict of Adventurism and Professionalism in the European Union Presidency

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue s2, September 2012 , 68-75

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Popa Ancuta

The Impact of the Structural Funds in the Transformation Process of the New EU Member States

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 161-179

The paper presents the European funds' architecture in order to integrate the new member states. The programming period of 2007–2013 shows the important role in which the EU bestowed upon for economic and social cohesion policy. The EU adopted a proposal for the next multi-annual financial framework of 2014-2020: a budget for delivering the Europe 2020 Strategy. The paper tries to analyze the new framework of EU structural and cohesion funds that the member states have to take into consideration in the conception of the operational programmes for the period 2014–2020. The author have also analyzed the benefits of EU structural funds and tried to identify the main constraints in the long and short term of the absorption capacity. Furthermore, she examines the structure of the Romanian economy in order to identify the economic sectors of national interest that require financing from the European structural and cohesion funds in the programming period 2014–2020.

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Wisniewski Elisabeth

The Influence of the European Parliament on the European External Action Service

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 1 , 81-101



ABSTRACT: Since its early beginnings, the Member States of the European Communities have tried to establish and at the same time were reluctant to implement a common foreign policy. Only the Maastricht Treaty introduced an institutional framework. However, the emerging Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) has been criticized for its lack of democratic legitimacy, since it has been dominated by the Member States at the expense of democratic control by the European Parliament. Therefore, it is puzzling that the Lisbon Treaty implemented new powers for the Parliament in external relations. Derived from New Institutionalism, content analyses of inter-institutional documents on the construction of the new European External Action Service suggest that the strong democratic profile of the Parliament as well as intra-institutional dynamics within the political system of the European Union translated into institutional powers of the Parliament even further than the Lisbon Treaty intended.

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Zielonka Jan

The International System in Europe: Westphalian Anarchy or Medieval Chaos?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 1-18

Outbursts of nationalism and partisan squabbles generated by the current economic and migration crisis in Europe suggest an unraveling of the integration project and a resurgence of the international anarchy associated with the Westphalian system. However, this article will show that the evolving system bears a closer resemblance to the Europe of the Middle Ages than to the Europe that followed the Treaties of Westphalia. In contemporary Europe we have overlapping authority, multiple loyalties and fuzzy borders. Conflicts are primarily about exclusion from the European core and abuse of agreed procedures rather than borders and territorial gains. Institutional forms of collective bargaining have replaced balance of power politics. Order is maintained not by the sword, but by norms cultivated by two imperial powers, the EU and the US. This medieval system is neither conflict free nor stable, but generates a pattern of international relations fundamentally different from the old Westphalian anarchy. This article will try to comprehend the evolving pattern of cooperation and conflict in Europe and assess its implications.

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Francesco Drudi, Alain Durré, Francesco Paolo Mongelli

The Interplay of Economic Reforms and Monetary Policy: The Case of the Eurozone

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 881-898

The world has been struck by a mutating systemic financial crisis that is unprecedented in terms of financial losses and fiscal costs, geographic reach, and speed and synchronization. The crisis from August 2007 to date can be divided into three main phases: the financial turmoil from August 2007 to the collapse of Lehman Brothers; the global financial crisis from September 2008 until spring 2010; and the eurozone sovereign debt crisis from spring 2010 to the current period. While each phase has brought significant challenges, the current sovereign debt crisis has been the most critical stage for the eurozone. It has brought unprecedented challenges for the monetary union and triggered extraordinary adjustments in both monetary policy and institutional arrangements at the eurozone level. The purpose of this article is to outline the features of each crisis phase, to describe the actions taken by the European Central Bank (ECB) during each phase and to explain the rationale for such measures. It also discusses the need to strengthen further the economic union in order to guarantee the sustainability of the monetary union of the eurozone. In this respect, it is



argued that the recent institutional adjustments made at the European Union level would have been necessary independently of the financial crisis.

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Paris Ivan

The Italian white-goods industry and the European Common Market during the years of the 'economic miracle' (1958–63): quantitative evidence and interpretative hypotheses

in European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 575-599

Abstract

The white-goods industry is one of the key fields of Italian economic development following the Second World War, and it represents the most resounding example of how, in just a few years, Italian entrepreneurs managed to reach the top of a market already occupied by the largest foreign multinationals. This article offers a quantitative view of the role played by foreign markets during the 'economic miracle', which is generally taken to be the first five years of the European Common Market (1958–63). There is a lack of an aggregate study of this subject for the Italian white-goods industry. As well as supplying some starting points for new research into the rapid international success of Italian producers, this study has allowed two inter-connected objectives to be reached. Firstly, it has highlighted how intense the inter-dependence of foreign markets was when the Common Market was set up, and therefore before the date claimed by the literature: the first important process of the rationalisation of the sector and the consequent formation of a national oligopoly was the result of the battle with competitors in foreign markets. Secondly, it seems to confirm how the process of European integration was not a substitutive factor, but the accelerant for a process of development that had already started.

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Wessels Wolfgang

The Maastricht Treaty and the European Council: The History of an Institutional Evolution

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 753-767

Since its creation in 1974 the European Council has turned into the key institution in the institutional architecture of the EU polity. The Maastricht Treaty on the European Union was a history-making product of this body of heads of state or government. For the institutional evolution of the European Council itself the Maastricht Treaty confirmed and reinforced trends starting with the Hague summit in 1969. This article covers the pre-history of the European Council as well as the road from the birth of the European Council in Paris, 1974, to the Maastricht Treaty and the next steps via two treaty revisions and the constitutional convention to the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. This article will not only try to satisfy some historical curiosity, but point out fundamental factors, explaining why Union executive leaders have invested time and energy in the labour-intensive and partly frustrating exercise of the making and working of their club: this key institution helped them to emerge as powerful multi-level players in a multi-institutional architecture.



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Caporaso James A., Kim Min-hyung

The Maastricht Treaty at Twenty: A Greco-European Tragedy?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 769-789

Since 2010, the financial crisis has raged across Europe, taking down governments of several members of the euro-zone in the process. Despite strong pressure for reform, and many meetings of heads of state, the problems are far from over. The crisis has been widely represented as a sovereign debt fiasco and a failure of fiscal policy by five peripheral member states (Greece, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Ireland). However, the real causes of the predicament of the euro-zone are more complex. A satisfactory understanding of the crisis is only possible if we distinguish among four phases: background factors, including structural flaws in the original design of the Maastricht Treaty; capital flows and fiscal deficits; dynamics of divergence, especially regarding competitiveness; and the crisis dynamics. In this contribution we identify three sets of factors — i.e., market spillovers and policy externalities, insufficient information related to the management of risk, and perverse incentives related to the configuration of rules and institutions — that may lead to inefficient international outcomes in the environment of structural interdependence and full capital mobility, address how policy coordination can improve the results, explain how the euro-zone crisis developed, and explore a number of possible solutions.

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Hall Peter A.

The Mythology of European Monetary Union

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 4, December 2012 , 508-513

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12005/abstract>

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Roland Flamini

The Next Greece? A Sketch of Spain

in *World Affairs*, Vol. 16, n. 3, May / June

BARCELONA—;—;Joan Miró's farmhouse in Mont Roig, about fifty miles from here, is well known from the Catalanian artist's own depictions of it. The best of them, a work he called La Ferme (the farm), was owned by his friend Ernest Hemingway, whose widow later gave it to the National Gallery in Washington. The house itself still stands today, but it is empty, rundown, and neglected. Its walls are peeling and what furniture remains is in bad condition; the cobbles in the front courtyard where Miró and his family often dined alfresco are hardly visible among the



weeds. The Spaniards tend to enshrine the homes of famous artists—Picasso's in Málaga and Dalí's near Cadaqués. So what's behind this obvious disregard for the house of Spain's third great artist of the last century? The answer provides a case history in miniature of Catalonia's economic woes. And Spain's, for that matter.

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Noferini, Andrea

The Participation of Subnational Governments in the Council of the EU: Some Evidence from Spain in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.4 , 361-386

By 2004 Spanish subnational governments are allowed to participate in some formal meetings of the Council of the European Union as well as in its working groups. For proponents of the multi-level governance approach, a regional presence in the Council provides evidence in support of enhanced subnational participation in EU policy making. For intergovernmentalists, on the contrary, the Spanish case demonstrates that central government still maintains a crucial gatekeeper position since it formally regulates the main aspects of subnational participation. By presenting the results of a case study on the formal participation of the Spanish regions in the Council, the paper agrees that, even in a context of Europeanization, the central state still ultimately retains some veto powers. Nevertheless, the article takes issue with the argument that subnational participation is mainly formal and lacks substantive value. The article provides evidence, on the contrary, that the definition of the joint common position reinforces intrastate relations in EU policy making with a positive net effect for subnational governments.

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Brewer Evan

The Participation of the European Union in the Work of the United Nations: Evolving to Reflect the New Realities of Regional Organizations in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 1 , 121-155

ABSTRACT: In May 2011, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 65/276 to provide the European Union with an "enhanced observer status" to participate more extensively in the General Assembly. The EU needed to restructure its participation in international organizations following the Lisbon Treaty, and this resolution effected some of those changes. Numerous UN member states expressed concerns that the expanded participation rights might compromise the integrity of the General Assembly as an inter-state entity. Ultimately, the rights granted pose a minor speculative threat, but offer a considerable opportunity at increasing the ability of regional organizations to better represent the common positions of their member states in the General Assembly and to improve the efficiency of the General Assembly.

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Herwig C.H. Hofmann and Alessandro Morini

The Pluralisation of EU Executive - Constitutional Aspects of "Agencification" in European Law Review, vol. 37, issue 4



The Treaty of Lisbon has put emphasis on a stricter separation of executive functions between the European Union and the Member States. At the same time, it attempts to concentrate more executive powers on the Union level in the hands of the Commission. This article argues that the Treaty of Lisbon's innovations have some paradoxical effects. In reality, they favour the ongoing diversification of executive structures. The article discusses possible explanations and models for understanding and assessing the ongoing delegation of powers.

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Kriesi Hanspeter

The Political Consequences of the Financial and Economic Crisis in Europe: Electoral Punishment and Popular Protest

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 18, Issue 4, December 2012 , 518-522

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/spsr.12006/abstract>

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Oppermann Kai

The Politics of Avoiding Referendums on the Treaty of Lisbon

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 35, Issue 1 , 73-89

After the defeat of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (TCE) in the French and Dutch referendums, governments across Europe had little appetite for popular votes on the Lisbon Treaty. Indeed, nine of the ten countries which were committed to (or had held) referendums on the TCE got around such votes on Lisbon. The article investigates how it was possible for governments in these nine countries to avoid putting the treaty to the people despite the precedent set by the TCE. It will be argued that three factors were crucial in this regard: first, the European-level collusion between governments; second, domestic political changes during the 'period of reflection'; and third, governing strategies of depoliticising the decisions against referendums. Thus, the politics of avoiding referendums could only succeed due to the interplay between the determined agency of governments at the European and domestic levels and auspicious domestic contexts of ratification.

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George Papandreou

The Politics of Fear

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter , 27-30

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.



When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.

The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.

The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.

Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European



president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national interests and passions.

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Joerg Baudner

The Politics of 'Norm Diffusion' in Turkish European Union Accession Negotiations: Why It was Rational for an Islamist Party to be 'Pro-European' and a Secularist Party to be 'Anti-European'

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 922-938

The article will suggest a bottom-up approach to analyzing the impact of European Union (EU) conditionality on candidate countries. If requiring comprehensive reforms, EU accession negotiations offer domestic actors a legitimacy standard, external constraints and a focal point for electoral coalitions as resources in the domestic political arena. The Turkish case serves as a hypothesis-generating case study suggesting that domestic actors who are disadvantaged in domestic resources in these dimensions embrace EU accession, whereas domestic actors who feel threatened in their domestic resources adopt an opposite strategy. It will be demonstrated that the two major Turkish political parties adopted a cost-benefit calculus in their position towards EU accession. The Turkish case is particularly intriguing because the positions adopted by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP), respectively, have been counter-intuitive, and in fact both parties have drastically reversed earlier positions towards EU accession and done so in disregard of the preferences of their core electorate.

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Rajendra Kumar Jain and Shreya Pandey

The Public Attitudes and Images of the European Union in India

in *India Quarterly*, Vol. 68, n°4 , 331-343

This article seeks to fill a major gap in existing studies on how Asians perceive the European Union. It discusses the Union's efforts to promote its visibility in India since the mid-1990s and provides an overview of the Indian literati's perceptions of contemporary Europe. This article examines the perception, representation and visibility of the EU in the Indian media, among business, civil society and media 'elite' and in public opinion. It explores whether the Union's self-proclaimed representation as a global actor, a normative power and a leader in environmental negotiations conforms to how it is actually perceived in Third World countries. It evaluates whether more than a decade of summitry has led to greater visibility of the EU in the Indian media. The article concludes by making a comparison of EU imagery in media, elite and public opinion discourses, and makes several recommendations on how EU can possibly improve its visibility in future.

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Karin Van Boetzelaer, Sebastian Princen

The Quest for Co-ordination in European Regulatory Networks

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 819-836

The establishment of European Regulatory Networks (ERNs) has been presented as a way to promote the uniform implementation of EU law in a range of issue areas. This article argues that the level of co-ordination achieved in ERNs crucially depends on the level of interdependence between Member State authorities in a given issue area. Drawing on a survey among national representatives in two ERNs and a set of in-depth interviews, it shows that both the uniformity of implementation and the use of common purpose as a way to reach co-ordination are strongly associated with the perceived level of interdependence.

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Mikalayeva Liudmila

The Revocation of Minority Protection Rules in New EU Member States Language and Education Policy in Slovakia and Latvia

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 364, 2012/2 , 379-400

This article explores the conditions for the revocation of minority protection rules in the ten new EU member states from Central and Eastern Europe. It examines the political constellations for all cases in which restrictive legislation in the area of minority protection was adopted since the beginning of accession negotiations. A strongly minority-sceptic government, high issue salience (indicated by large and mobilized minorities together with strong electoral support for nationalist parties) and a high level of protection are found to be jointly sufficient for negative change. Under such conditions, restrictive legislation is adopted even when EU conditionality and veto players are present—they at best delay and moderate the result. To illustrate this constellation, the article presents three case studies: Slovak legislation on language rights (1994-1998 and 2006-2010) and Latvian legislation in the fields of education (1997-2004) and language (1997-2000).

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Tantik, Merli - Sá, Creso M.

The Role of Experts in the European Union's Research Policy

in *Review of Policy Research* , volume 29 n.4 , 449-465

This research analyzes the role of experts in the European Union's policy-making process. Focusing on the field of research policy, this study seeks to probe how expert participation in the Open Method of Coordination informs policy decisions. The paper reports on an analysis of the expert group in the European Internationalization Strategy in Science and Technology. Our analysis reveals the dynamics of expert participation at the micro level, as it identifies who these experts are, how they are appointed, and in what ways expert knowledge gets used in policy making.

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Schnellbach Christoph

The Role of NGOs in Promoting Minority Rights in the Enlarged European Union
in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 4 , 497-512

In the field of minority protection, several concepts have been utilized to explain domestic change – like policy transfer, norm diffusion and emulation – to name only a few. But how and why have some EU policies been transferred and others not? Why do accession countries introduce antidiscrimination laws but at the same time undermine individual or collective minority rights in the (post-) enlargement process? When looking for variables of successful EU conditionality in the field of minority policy, the role of non-state actors and advocacy group influence is often neglected in the Europeanization literature. Thus, the article examines and compares the impact of NGO advocacy in the EU enlargement process with a focus on Roma policy. EU enlargement shows that compliance with EU norms can be enforced through transnational advocacy networks (TANs), lobbying on behalf of an ethnic minority. While in non-discrimination, a causal relationship between the advocacy of intermediary institutions and policy reform can be detected, NGOs seem to have less influence on special minority rights. Moreover, the emergence of TANs formed around the issue of the Roma demonstrates that advocacy groups appear to substitute other ‘norm entrepreneurs’ like kin states or minority parties.

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Koeth Wolfgang

The Serbia-Kosovo Agreement on Kosovo’s Regional Representation and the ‘Feasibility Study’: A Breakthrough in EU – Kosovo Relations?

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 18, issue 1 , 127-144

ABSTRACT: 2012 was a year of significant developments for Kosovo: on 24 February, Serbian and Kosovo-Albanian negotiators reached an EU-mediated agreement on the representation of Kosovo in regional fora. Whereas this agreement enabled Serbia to gain the coveted status as EU candidate in March, it opened the way for Kosovo to participate in international meetings at regional level as an entity in its own rights. As stipulated in this agreement, the European Commission on 10 October also delivered a Feasibility Study on the conclusion of a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Kosovo and the EU, which concluded that there would be no legal obstacles for the EU to sign an SAA (a mandatory pre-requisite for EU accession) with Pristina, in spite of the non-recognition by five EU Member States. However, it can be asked whether these measures were genuine diplomatic victories for Pristina or just rather symbolic measures without a real potential of opening a realistic accession perspective for both Kosovo and Serbia.

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Moro Giovanni, Mazzuca Lucia, Ranucci Roberto

The Single Currency and European Citizenship

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno VII, n. 2-3, maggio dicembre , 411-432

Even before it became legal tender, the euro has been and is, today more than ever, the focus of an intense debate in which different voices and positions are interwoven. The considerable attention paid to the single currency is related to



the evidence of the success (or the failure) of the European project on the single currency, essentially seen in a macroeconomic perspective: the lion's share in the debate is played, in this sense, by the amount of analysis, studies, statements about the economic changes and financial implications that the adoption of the euro has led and will lead for the economy at the Member States, the European Union and the wider international context levels. There is, however, another side of the euro, which is strongly linked to the citizenship-building process and, paradoxically, results as a less and/or properly thematized matter both by the scientific community and policy makers. In particular, four dimensions of this "hidden side" of the euro can be detected:

- the cultural one, identifying the currency as an instrument to foster a common identity;
- the social one, identifying the euro as a communication and exchange means that ties people in a community based on trust;
- the one of the economy of everyday life, as currencies allow citizens to access to goods and services, to sell and purchase, to measure the value of their own work;
- the political one, as currencies represent the political system that, by emitting them, exercises powers on the behalf of citizens that chose it.

The article attempts to analyse these hidden dimensions by firstly presenting the results of a survey carried out by FONDACA between 2010 and 2011, aimed at investigating the extent to which they have been dealt in the scientific and policy debate. Then, a more analytical reflection on the "other side of the euro" is provided, by analyzing the dimensions as an empirical phenomenon.

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Peers Steve

The Stability Treaty: Permanent Austerity or Gesture Politics?

in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 8 - Issue 03 , 404-441

Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance – Economic governance – Stability Pact – The European Council – National constitutional law.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roberto Dominguez and Sebastián Royo

The Study of the European Integration Process in the United States

in *European Political Science* , Vol. 11, Issue 3 , 285-297

This article explores the institutional development of European studies in the United States. We show the extent to which the study of European integration reflects the deep roots that sustain the vitality and strength of the transatlantic relationship since the end of World War II. Outside Europe, the United States is still the country where studies on European integration have the most prominent place in the research agenda of scholars.

Section C) Regional integration processes



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Biscop Sven

The UK and European defence: leading or leaving?

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1297-1313

ABSTRACT: The UK, with France, initiated the European, today Common, Security and Defence Policy (ESDP/CSDP) in 1998–9. A strong consensus on the need to address capability shortfalls, which the UK accepted to attempt under the EU flag, however masked the lack of consensus about the extent to which the EU would also make policy and launch operations (which would require permanent planning and conduct structures). This debate about the degree of EU autonomy vis-à-vis NATO and the US is one of the reasons why Europeans collectively have no strategic vision on the regions and scenarios for which they should assume responsibility, as the Libyan crisis demonstrated. But also on the capability side, the UK in the end never fully committed, withholding the necessary budget to allow the European Defence Agency to operate as intended and resisting moves towards military integration, such as Permanent Structured Cooperation, in favour of bilateral arrangements such as the 2010 agreement with France. Meanwhile, however, the US came to demand that Europe take charge, autonomously, of crisis management in its own neighbourhood. British policy now seems to have struck a dead end. London has managed to slow down the CSDP. NATO has seen even fewer results in capability development, but when it comes to operations, in the absence of US leadership NATO is equally blocked by the lack of a collective European strategic vision. London, with Paris, remains the only European actor able and willing to engage in crisis management and war, but cannot mobilize many other capitals to join in. Unlike the US, the UK does not have the means to go in alone if necessary. A fundamental revision of policy is needed if the UK wants to maintain its level of influence in security and defence.

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Daddow Oliver

The UK media and 'Europe': from permissive consensus to destructive dissent

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1219-1236

ABSTRACT: This article examines the nature and impact of changing media coverage of European integration in Britain from accession to the European Economic Community in 1973 to the present day. It does so through a consideration of the causes behind the collapse of the 'permissive consensus' on European affairs, which since the time of the 1975 referendum has given way to a form of 'destructive dissent' across vast swaths of the written and broadcast media, particularly noticeable in the UK tabloids. The collapse in media support for the EU project has been expressed in a number of ways, some of them bordering on the nationalist and/or xenophobic, and opportunities for the expression of such views have merely been increased by the EU's own efforts to deepen integration in the face of widespread popular distrust of both national politicians and supranational constitution-building. The article alights on the 'Rupert Murdoch effect' as a core explanation for this general shift in attitudes, as market leader on Euroscepticism expressed in agenda-setting outlets such as the Sun, The Times and The Sunday Times. The newspaper mogul's commercial interests in promoting deregulated media markets have kept him closely watchful of European affairs in Britain, and he has proved particularly willing to back leaders and parties he believes will be most conducive to the furtherance of these interests. The article suggests that Murdoch led the way in creating a climate of fear around European matters that severely tested the leadership qualities of even notionally pro-European prime ministers on this vexed question in British politics. Newspapers might not be able to tell people what to think, but they can affect what they think about, and News



International, with willing support from ideological Eurosceptics across the top-selling UK tabloid and broadsheets, has proved effective at keeping the British public in a permanent state of 'war' with the EU since the 1980s.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beckmann Joscha, Belke Ansgar, Kühl Michael

The cross-country importance of global sentiments—evidence for smaller EU countries

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 9, Numbers 3-4 / September 2012 , 245-264

This paper examines the importance of the economic sentiments of some macroeconomic key variables in Estonia, Slovenia and Latvia. We analyze the importance of domestic as well as foreign sentiments with respect to these economies against the background of their accession to the European Monetary Union. For this purpose, we develop and apply a framework which is based on a restricted autoregressive model. We focus on two issues: firstly, we investigate the relationship between domestic stock prices, income and sentiments; and, secondly, we take external effects stemming from EMU and US share prices and sentiments into account. Our results show that European sentiments are important for income and domestic sentiments. Furthermore, we are able to establish linkages between global share prices and domestic income. From a more general perspective, we find a significant positive influence stemming from (domestic) share prices on sentiments in Estonia and Latvia, and also find evidence for an inverse relationship in Latvia.

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Christian Kaunert, Sarah Léonard

The development of the EU asylum policy: venue-shopping in perspective

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1396-1413

The development of the EU asylum and migration policy is often explained as the result of 'venue-shopping', that is, the move by policy-makers to an EU policy venue in order to avoid national constraints. This article demonstrates that, contrary to what would have been expected on the basis of this widespread view, EU co-operation on asylum matters has actually led to a rise in the legal standards applicable to asylum-seekers and refugees. This outcome can be mainly explained by broader changes that have gradually affected the EU 'system of venues' and have thereby decreased the likelihood of more restrictive measures being adopted in the EU asylum policy venue. This has important implications for the EU governance of asylum and migration in general.

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Ludlow N. Piers

The discomforts of life on the edge: Britain and Europe, 1963–1975

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 6, november , 1331-1340

ABSTRACT: The publication of Stephen Wall's second volume of The official history of Britain and the European



Community allows us to revisit a period when Britain found itself perched uncomfortably on the edge of the EEC. The period covered, between 1963 and 1975, includes the failure of Britain's first attempt to accede to the EEC in 1963, the second Labour-led application of 1967 which like its predecessor was thwarted by a veto from General Charles de Gaulle, the revival of Britain's second application once de Gaulle had left power, the membership negotiations of 1970–1, the struggle to secure parliamentary ratification of the European Communities bill, Britain's first year in the European Community and the Labour-inspired renegotiation of British membership in 1974, before ending with the 1975 referendum on British membership which resulted in a seemingly decisive popular vote in favour of remaining within the EEC. Throughout the emphasis is on the high politics of entry, with Harold Macmillan, Harold Wilson and Edward Heath playing the starring roles—and with de Gaulle cast as the lead villain.

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Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saward Michael

**The dynamics of European citizenship: Enactment, extension and assertion
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 11, n. 1, January , 49-69

ABSTRACT: When interpreted as citizenship of the European Union, the development of European citizenship has prompted a series of debates on rights, membership and belonging, and democracy and constitutionalism. These debates can be enriched by highlighting the ways in which European citizenship is enacted by a variety of actors. It is argued that acts of European citizenship occur under two different dynamics: extension and assertion. Acts under the dynamic of extension are most often acts extending existing legal citizenship regimes by formal and public institutions, such as the European Court of Justice. Acts under the hitherto relatively neglected dynamic of assertion are likely to be more diffuse in location and visibility and uncertain in their goals and impacts. Understanding such acts – and the links between acts under the two dynamics – has the potential to reinvigorate and expand research agendas in the study of European citizenship.

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Grech John C.

**The economy in an evolving twenty-first century paradigm: society at a crossroads
in European View** , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 109-117

The process of European integration, and the state of the eurozone in particular, seem to be in crisis. However, it is not only the European dream that appears to be challenged. Although there have been a number of success stories in newly developed countries, the global system is facing the issues of poverty, corruption and global warming in addition to the recent financial meltdown and slowing of the world economy. One wonders if we are witnessing a major world crisis that suggests the need for major and fundamental change. There may well be a general misalignment between the technology that humanity has managed to create and the speed of innovation on the one hand, and the rate of social and economic adjustment on the other. The developments in Information and Communications Technology (ICT) are of particular relevance here. These developments are creating a new reality and also leading to major steps forward in personal awareness and empowerment. This is leading to the emergence of the 'person' as distinct from the 'individual'. The person is more aware, more conscious, more committed and more opinionated. The person's creativity and



communal role in society are central to the evolving twenty-first century paradigm, and this raises the question of how society should be organised and how the economy should be structured. This leads to a number of issues related to policy formation and regulation, organisational dynamics and the underlying principles of economic theory. It also puts into perspective the need to take a more community approach to social organisation and political life, emphasising ethics and governance. The fundamental issue is closely tied to leadership that needs to be both inspired and inspirational. The twenty-first century paradigm offers the potential to re-dimension democracy to make it more genuinely participative. Europe may have the potential to lead the way if the necessary leadership is available. However, piecemeal solutions will not allow Europe to overcome the current impasse.

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Stephan Brunow, Hanna Brenzel

The effect of a culturally diverse labour supply on regional income in the EU

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 39 n.4 , 461-485

Because of an inflow of people into the EU but also because of the freedom of workplace choice within the EU, European regions are becoming more diverse in cultural terms. Despite the redistribution of labour and changes in regional labour supply, the ultimate question raised is whether there are additional gains or losses as a result of immigration flows. This paper therefore focuses on the impact of migrants on regional Gross Domestic Product per capita for European regions. Does the proportion of foreigners in the labour force increase or lower regional income? Does the composition of non-natives with respect to their countries of origin matter? We provide evidence that immigration and a higher degree of cultural diversity raise regional income, while controlling for endogeneity. We show that cultural diversity promotes income gains for destination countries. Whereas the presence of dominant groups reduces the costs of interaction and integration, diversity among foreign-born people increases the supply of different skills, knowledge and tasks. Thus, in general immigration has a positive net effect on regional performance and the costs of immigration in destination regions are balanced out. The regions of origin within the EU face a rise or a decline in income, depending on the labour market status of movers.

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Nenad Stanišić

The effect of economic crisis on income convergence in the European Union

in *Acta Oeconomica*, volume 62 n.2 , 161-182

This paper evaluates income convergence in the European Union, between “old” (EU15) and “new” member states from Central and East Europe (CEE10), and among the countries within these two groups. The GDP per capita convergence should be expected according to the exogenous economic growth model and neoclassical trade theory. The presence of β -convergence and both absolute and conditional α -convergence is tested for on a sample of 25 European Union countries (EU25). Results confirm the existence of α -convergence of GDP per capita at purchasing power parity among EU25, but not among EU15 and CEE10 countries. β -convergence has been confirmed among EU25 and CEE10 countries, while GDP per capita has been diverging in the EU15 group of countries. Moreover, the results reveal that recent economic crisis has reversed long-term tendencies and led to income convergence within EU15 and divergence within CEE10. During the crisis, the income differences among the EU25 countries have increased, but the



scope and duration of this effect has been limited and has not affected the long term convergence path. However, the obtained long term speed of convergence is significantly lower compared with the previous researches.

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Gherghina Sergiu, Chiru Mihail

The first casting happens at home: role formation in the European parliamentary elections in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 12, n. 2 , 299-314

This article illustrates the importance of recruitment procedures for early representational role formation. Using data from elite interviews and socio-demographic characteristics of 34 Romanian candidates in the 2009 European parliamentary elections, our analysis fulfils two goals. Apart from substantiating the relationship between the degree of selection centralization and party-oriented roles, this study tests and validates new causal dimensions. Thus, a strong perception of the selectorates' inclusiveness discourages the members of the European parliaments to act as party delegates. At the same time, longer party membership seems to have the opposite effect and seems to strengthen party loyalty.

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Cohen Benjamin J.

The future of the euro: Let's get real
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 689-700

After three years of recurrent crisis, what is the future of the euro? For some skeptical observers, mounting tensions in the euro zone are fast approaching a breaking point. Europe's daring monetary experiment, we are told, is doomed to end in spectacular failure. For others, by contrast, the outcome ultimately will be not less union but "more Europe" – an even tighter merger of national economic sovereignty. Tested by adversity, the euro will emerge more successful than ever. Who is right? The correct answer is: Neither. Skeptics are wrong because they underestimate Europe's deep political commitment to the euro's survival, in some form or other. Euro-enthusiasts are wrong because they overestimate the amount of "give" in Europe's domestic politics. The euro will neither fail nor succeed. Defective but defended, it will simply endure.

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Cohen Benjamin J.

The future of the euro: Rejoinder to Schwartz
in *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 19, Issue 4, 2012 , 709-710

No abstract available

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Novotný Vít

**The harmless spectre of a multi-speed Europe
in European View** , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 21-29

The idea of a 'two-speed Europe' has often been viewed negatively, as a threat to European unity and a departure from the European ideal. This article argues that the EU has always allowed 'variable geometry', or selective membership, in certain policies and projects. Speaking of 'the danger' of a two-speed Europe therefore makes little sense. Instead of fearing a multi-speed Europe, we should embrace the term as a positive expression of the EU's ability to accommodate the preferences of different national electorates. The variable geometry makes it possible to keep countries inside the EU instead of forcing them out of the Union by imposing unacceptable policies on them. The new set of laws concerning economic governance has introduced even more 'speeds'; however, in principle this does not represent a departure from the existing pattern.

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Maier Michaela, Adam Silke, Maier Jürgen

The impact of identity and economic cues on citizens' EU support: An experimental study on the effects of party communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament elections
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 13, n. 4, December , 580-603

In this article we seek to understand whether national parties have an impact on citizens' EU support by publicly cueing Europe as a risk to or as an opportunity for the economy or identity. In order to answer this question, we have conducted a cross-country survey experiment (covering Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden) relying on real-world stimuli from party campaign communication in the run-up to the 2009 European Parliament elections. By introducing this new methodology to cueing research we show substantial evidence for cueing effects even when thoroughly controlling for nuisance variables drawn from EU research as well as country contexts. We find support for the general cueing hypothesis in experimental groups that were exposed to negative economic messages while in two other groups partisanship works as a relevant moderator of the effects of persuasive messages. These findings are explained by distinguishing between consensual and conflicting issues and show in what circumstances campaign messages might reach beyond the particular partisan base.

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Bruton John

The influence of the economic crisis on centre-right values: a Christian Democratic perspective
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 179-188

Does the economic crisis affect our values, and how? A values system helps individuals and organisations to analyse the world around them and shapes their political responses to it. It is important, in discussing our values as parties occupying the centre-right, that we continue to draw heavily on the rich heritage of Christian Democracy, which is part of the inheritance of many of the European People's Party member parties. Economic growth is but a means to an end,



and efforts to avoid future crises must not be based solely on regulation, but on a long-term vision of the values that underpin our political system and the search for sustainable economic growth.

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Keirsbilck Bert

The interaction between consumer protection rules on unfair contract terms and unfair commercial practices: Perenicová and Perenic

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 247-263

No abstract available

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Piris Jean-Claude

The issue: Could rescuing the €-17 fatally weaken the EU? My verdict: No, there are several models for a “two-speed Europe”

in **Europe’s World**, Issue 22, Autumn

Reconciling the closer economic and political integration of the 17-member eurozone with the need to avoid harming the integrity of the EU-27 is now a fundamental problem for Europe. Jean-Claude Piris sets out the options for a “two-speed Europe” that might offer a solution.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22044/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Bruton John

The issue: Is the EU en route for political union? My verdict: If we are, we’ll need a European demos

in **Europe’s World**, Issue 20, Spring

Europe’s economic woes are creating fresh interest in political and/or fiscal union within the EU. Former Irish prime minister John Bruton traces the events and arguments that feature in the debate, and emphasises that only the direct election of EU leaders will be politically acceptable.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21922/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Porat Ariel

The law and economics of mistake in European Sales Law

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 127-146

ABSTRACT: The Common European Sales Law (CESL) sets the conditions in which the mistaken party is prima facie entitled to rescission and compensation from the other party. Some of the CESL's provisions, however, are inconsistent with efficiency. First, under the CESL, as long as the mistake is fundamental, for the mistaken party to be allowed to rescind the contract, it is sufficient that the other party caused the mistake. From an efficiency perspective, however, causation is not enough to allow rescission. Second, the CESL permits rescission when one party failed to disclose information to the other party that would have revealed to the latter his fundamental mistake and the former party knew or could be expected to have known the mistake. In contrast, under efficiency, not all fundamental mistakes made by the one party that the other party knew or could have known about constitute grounds for rescission. Third, the CESL allows rescission for fraud, which includes non-disclosure of information. The CESL provides a list of considerations that should be taken into account in deciding whether a duty of disclosure arises. In contrast, under efficiency, there are far more concrete guidelines for determining whether a duty of disclosure arises, and in fact, under certain conditions, intentional ("fraudulent") misrepresentations are even permitted. Fourth, the CESL allows a contract to be rescinded when both parties made the same fundamental mistake. Yet efficiency considerations entail that this should not always be the case and that some mutual mistakes should not be grounds for rescission.

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Alberto Heimler, Frédéric Jenny

The limitations of European Union control of state aid

in **Oxford Review of Economic Policy**, volume 28 n.2, 347-367

The European Union (EU) is one of the few jurisdictions in the world that has introduced specific legal provisions for controlling state aid. The treaty provisions are structured in such a way that the Commission is in principle obliged to authorize every single grant of aid. This has proved to be practically impossible, the more so with 27 members of the EU. As a result, the Commission has issued a number of exemption and de minimis rules, for which notification is not required, that suggest that the bulk of state aid is beneficial. In order for state aid policy to become more rigorous, the 2005 State Aid Action Plan rightly enhanced the role of economic analysis. This means rethinking the exemption regulations and the way individual decisions are taken. One important step forward would be to make sure that distortions of competition are noticeable before a state measure is declared incompatible. As a result, at least with respect to individual decisions, EU policy would stop addressing cases where the distortions of competition are minimal. Furthermore, the Commission would stop imposing irrelevant constraints on subsidized forms. This is particularly the case for restructuring aid, where the restoration of the healthiness of the firm is the final objective of the aid. However, even in recent decisions taken as a result of the financial crisis, the Commission uses competition-type considerations only to overcome moral hazard by attaching a number of intrusive conditions to its authorization decisions (prohibition of reducing prices before a competitor does, introduction of capacity or sales caps, merger prohibitions, caps on managers' salaries, etc.). Very often these conditions reduce, not increase, the probability that these companies restructure successfully. Moral hazard can only be eliminated by not allowing the aid, by limiting the aid to what is strictly necessary, or by making sure that it is a once-and-for-all option, and not by constraining the company from competing.



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Erin O'Hara O'Connor

The limits of contract law harmonization

in **European Journal of Law and Economics**, volume 33 n.3 , 505-519

Contract law harmonization in the European Union has met with some significant but limited success. This Essay explores some of the psychological and political forces that can complicate or even hinder law reform efforts. Even when there is a general institutional drive for law reform, as there is in the EU, scarce reform resources force attention to be focused on salient issues, while a status quo bias in individual member states by government officials can provide a braking inertia regarding nonsalient legal reforms. This braking influence can be seized upon and enhanced by interest groups that oppose reforms, especially where there is an alternative to proposed law reforms for private entities. In the case of contract law harmonization, contract doctrine that is not focused on providing consumer protections remain nonsalient, commercial entities can solve the confusion of diverse laws by choosing their own, and interest groups in nations whose laws and dispute resolution forums are commonly chosen will oppose harmonization. Thus, the current state of affairs may prove relatively difficult to alter.

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Daniel Wunderlich

The limits of external governance: implementing EU external migration policy

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 19, Issue 9 2012 , 1414-1433

The European Union's (EU's) attempts to extend its policies into non-member states have been conceptualized as 'external governance' and have become particularly visible in projects towards neighbouring countries. The article shows the theoretical limits of the external governance approach for assessing their implementation and argues for adopting an organizational perspective to overcome these limitations. It distinguishes macro-political, distributional and organizational factors and their influence on implementation of external policies in order to evaluate the empirical limits of external governance. External migration policy is used as a test case to assess implementation dynamics of a EU priority towards Ukraine and Morocco. Rather than a story of policy transfer, this article indicates that distributional and particularly organizational factors draw out the limits of EU external governance in non-accession countries when engaging in concrete external action.

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Casini Carlo

The new international treaties in the context of the European Union: a temporary solution for the current political challenges or a risk to the institutional future of the Union?

in **European View** , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 15-20

The Treaty of Lisbon is a stage in a process—not a final outcome, but rather an intermediate result. The EU can be seen



as a building that is currently under construction; but now for various reasons this project is facing a major crisis, especially in the economic area. Two treaties have recently been signed with the hope that they are the tools needed to overcome this obstacle. Although anomalous, they may, under certain conditions, return us to the correct path.

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Wille Anchrit

The politicization of the EU Commission: democratic control and the dynamics of executive selection
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , Vol. 78, No. 3 , 383-402

Since the rise of the narrative on the 'democratic deficit', at the beginning of the 1990s, EU governance is expected to be democratic and its executive is expected to be democratically legitimated. Since this issue was forced onto the European agenda, the EU has been in a process of continuous polity building in which the Treaties have been revised every few years by the member states to make – among other things – the holders of political power in the institutions more accountable. This article links the changes in the legal and political framework governing the appointment and tasks of the EU Commission to changes in executive recruitment. It explains how strengthened democratic control and accountability over this part of the EU executive has politicized the selection of EU commissioners. This has become visible in the access and exit procedures of this part of the EU executive, but also in shifts in the demand and supply factors in the process of EU executive recruitment. This change is best characterized as a response and adaptation to the increasingly demanding political environment within which the EU Commission finds itself entrenched – one where the highest political personnel of the EU executive need to address the modern problems of a democratic polity.

Points for practitioners The expansion of democratic accountability arrangements in the EU has politicized the appointment of EU commissioners in three respects: in the procedures of appointing commissioners; in the composition of the College; and in the career pathways of commissioners. Democratization has meant that representation and political professionalization have become very significant in the selection of the EU executive.

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Posner Eric A.

The questionable basis of the Common European Sales Law: The role of an optional instrument in jurisdictional competition

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 261-275

ABSTRACT: The Common European Sales Law is designed as an optional instrument that European parties engaged in cross-border transactions could choose for their transactions in preference to national law. The goal is to increase cross-border transactions and perhaps to enhance European identity. But the CESL is unlikely to achieve these goals. It raises transaction costs while producing few if any benefits; it is unlikely to spur beneficial jurisdictional competition; its consumer protection provisions will make it unattractive for businesses; and its impact on European identity is likely to be small.



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Solomos Dionysios K., Koumparoulis Dimitrios N.

The recent reform of European governance: A critical review

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 5, September 2012, 298-303

This paper investigates whether the recent EU governance reform is a step in the right direction and discusses its ability to restore European financial stability. The authors argue that the reform appears incapable of dealing with the factors responsible for the sovereign debt crisis, and they stress the need for financial sector reforms and sound fiscal policies. To that end, the adoption of national fiscal rules seems capable of dealing with the profligacy of governments and tackling the problem of deficit bias. Regarding the introduction of the new Excessive Imbalance Procedure, this article argues that EU authorities should adopt a symmetric approach instead of the one currently being pursued.

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Jarle Trondal & B. Guy Peters

The rise of European Administrative Space: lessons learned

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 2 2013, 295-307

Despite advances in contemporary research on the 'European administrative space' (EAS), no widespread understanding about its meaning, mechanisms and significance yet exists. This contribution offers a comprehensive conceptualization of EAS and takes stock of accumulated lessons learned. The development of EAS can be understood as a process of institutionalization of common administrative capacity at a 'European level'. The contribution suggests that the rise of EAS can be analytically grasped in terms of three analytical dimensions: independence; integration; and co-optation. Taken together, these dimensions seem to capture central aspects of the integration of public administration in Europe.

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Dahms, Harry F.

Theorizing Europe as the Future of Modern Society: European Integration between Thick Norms and Thin Politics

in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 11, n°5, 762-781

Many Americans are overwhelmed when confronted with questions relating to the European Union. And sociologists who are not working directly on related themes, as well as social theorists concerned with incarnations of modern society, have long ignored the peculiar character and historical implications of the developing European Union. But now a growing number of European theorists have begun to focus on the significance of European integration for the very discipline of sociology. To situate and evaluate some of this recent work, I deploy Gregg's (2003) distinction between thick norms and thin politics. That distinction helps us see that developments in the European Union point toward the formation of a new kind of modern society.



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Niall Ferguson, Nouriel Roubini

This Time Europe Really is on the Brink

in New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 29, Issue 3, Summer , 22-25

Because they have failed to address the fundamental economic imbalances within Europe obscured by the single currency, each effort by European leaders so far to resolve the euro crisis has only deepened it. Without a decisive move toward fiscal and political union, accompanied by policies that push productivity and competitiveness toward convergence while closing the democratic deficit, the Eurozone will disintegrate.

To discuss the way forward, the Nicolas Berggruen Institute's Council on the Future of Europe met in Rome on May 28 with Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti. In this section we publish the contributions from that meeting by the former European leaders, scholars and Nobel laureates who are members of the Council.

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Richard Bellamy & Dario Castiglione

Three models of democracy, political community and representation in the EU

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 20, Issue 2 2013 , 206-223

The EU's political system represents European citizens via three different channels: through the European Parliament; indirectly through their governments in the Council; and through domestic elections, which hold these last democratically accountable to national parliaments or citizens. However, these channels involve different and incompatible types of representation and forms of democracy, reflecting divergent conceptions of political community which, following Philip Pettit, we term solidarism, singularism and civicity respectively. The first channel seeks to represent the common good of a European people; the second the mutual self-interest of the single member states. We argue the first lacks social and political legitimacy, while the second proves insufficient to tackle collective European problems equitably or effectively. We propose reinforcing the third channel so as to modify these other two and produce a European 'demoi-cracy' able to sustain the form of representative democracy we associate with a civicity. We contend such a system fosters an 'ever closer Union among the peoples of Europe' by allowing the construction of shared policies that treat the different demoi with equal concern and respect.

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Editorial

Time to Transfer National Sovereignties

in Federalista (II)/Federalist (The), Year LIV, Single Issue , 3-9

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1126&lang=en



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Becker Sascha O., Egger Peter H., von Ehrlich Maximilian

Too much of a good thing? On the growth effect of EU's regional policy

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 4, May 2012 , 648-668

The European Union (EU) provides grants to disadvantaged regions of member states from two pools, the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund. The main goal of the associated transfers is to facilitate convergence of poor regions (in terms of per-capita income) to the EU average. We use data at the NUTS3 level from the last two EU budgetary periods (1994–1999 and 2000–2006) and generalized propensity score estimation to analyze to which extent the goal of fostering growth in the target regions was achieved with the funds provided and whether or not more transfers generated stronger growth effects. We find that, overall, EU transfers enable faster growth in the recipient regions as intended, but we estimate that in 36% of the recipient regions the transfer intensity exceeds the aggregate efficiency maximizing level and in 18% of the regions a reduction of transfers would not even reduce their growth. We conclude that some reallocation of the funds across target regions would lead to higher aggregate growth in the EU and could generate even faster convergence than the current scheme does.

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Steinbach Armin

Towards a European Recovery Programme for the crisis countries

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 47, Issue 6, November 2012 , 352-360

Austerity measures alone will not suffice to generate the growth needed for recovery in Greece, Portugal, Spain and Italy. A European Recovery Programme is necessary to stimulate growth through structural reforms and fiscal stimulus. This contribution describes policy areas where non-fiscal instruments are required to boost growth and identifies fields where public and private expenditures can generate significant positive spillovers for the economy or pave the way for new growth potentials.

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Carrara Stephane

Towards e-ECIs? European Participation by Online Pan-European Mobilization

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 13, n. 3, Special Issue: The European Citizens' Initiative: a First for Participatory Democracy? , 352-369

Using data on 10 pioneer European Citizens' Initiatives (ECIs), this article puts into perspective the traditional obstacles to Euro-mobilization and the potential of e-participation (normalization versus mobilization theses) to shift and/or fade the constraints to the much expected European public sphere (EPS). Taking into account the resources and results of those pan-European ECI campaigns and acknowledging that the internet appears as an indispensable tool to be adopted in the repertoire of action of ECI organizers, the article nevertheless brings critical conclusions about the ability



of the internet to significantly modify the traditional constraints met in mobilizing (new) European citizens. By making internet literacy a prerequisite to participation, e-ECIs open up new possibilities but also create new barriers to the EPS and to pan-European participation.

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Alessandro Antimiani, Valeria Costantini

Trade performances and technology in the enlarged European Union
in *Journal of Economic Studies*, volume 40 n.3

Purpose - We analyse the role of the enlargement process of the European Union as a factor fostering international competitiveness of EU Member States. We argue that the economic integration process has reduced the technological gap between old and new EU Member States, and this pattern of technological innovation can partially explain the strong impulse on the export dynamics of European countries.

Design/methodology/approach - We apply a theoretically based gravity model using a dynamic panel data estimator.

Findings - The enlargement process has produced an overall larger positive impact on export flows for new members than for old ones, and more importantly that sectors with the higher technological content have received the strongest impulse. The augmented gravity model allows shaping the crucial role of technological innovation in fostering export competitiveness. This impact seems to be stronger for old EU member states than for new ones.

Originality/value - We have developed an ad hoc technology-augmented gravity model, applied to manufacturing sectors classified by their technological content.

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Adam William Chalmers

Trading information for access: informational lobbying strategies and interest group access to the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 20, Issue 1 2013, 39-58

Lobbying in the European Union (EU) is defined by an exchange of information: well-informed interest groups supply understaffed and pressed-for-time decision-makers with policy-relevant information for legitimate 'access' to the EU policy-making process. While we know quite a bit about the informational needs of decision-makers, an interest group's capacity to meet these needs remains relatively uncharted territory. This analysis examines the informational determinants of interest group access to the EU from a supply-side perspective; namely, how do different types of information and different tactics used to provide this information buy access to different EU decision-makers? Results from an empirical analysis indicate that information tactics are, on balance, more significant determinants of access than information types. The medium, in other words, is more important than the message. I also find that largely discredited 'outside' tactics, like organizing public events and launching media campaigns, are very important in granting interest groups access to EU decision-makers.



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Thomas Raineau

Treasury Officials and the European Monetary System (1977-1979) : Unthinkable Regionalism ?

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 153-168

Among several references dealing with Britain and Europe, few have taken the Treasury as the main focus. The exception may be the pro domo plea written by former Treasury official Craig Pickering, with a view to counterbalancing the most deep-rooted prejudices about his ex-Department supposedly European awkwardness. He was pointing with good reason to...

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Recep Tayyip Erdogan

Turkey Fit EU Entry Criteria

in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Vol. 30, Issue 1, Winter , 31-32

The future of the European Union has never been more in doubt than at the very moment it has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for its historical accomplishments.

When the heads of Europe's weakest institutions—the Commission, the Council and the Parliament—collected the prize in Oslo on December 10, 2012 they spotlighted the nub of the problem. Unless these institutions can garner the legitimacy of European citizens and transform into a real federal union with common fiscal and economic policies to complement the single currency, Europe will remain at the mercy of global financial markets and the fiscally authoritarian dictates of its strongest state, Germany.

Moving beyond this state of affairs was the focus of a recent “town hall” gathering in Berlin sponsored by the Berggruen Institute on Governance. The meeting brought together current power brokers—such as the contending voices of German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble and French Finance Minister Pierre Moscovici, who rarely appear in public together—as well as Europe's top former leaders, key thinkers and young people who will govern in the future.

The peace-building project of the European Union was born out of the ashes of World War II and the anguish of the Cold War. Yet, as George Soros points out, its current inability to resolve the eurocrisis by forging greater union is dividing Europe once again, this time between creditors and debtors. Former Greek premier George Papandreou has warned that this division is fomenting a new politics of fear that is giving rise to the same kind of xenophobic movements that fueled the extreme politics of the Nazi era.

To avoid a repeat of the last calamitous century, Europe first of all needs a growth strategy both to escape the “debt trap” it is in—and which austerity alone will only deepen—and to create breathing space for the tough structural reforms that can make Europe as a whole competitive again in a globalized world. To sustain reform, it needs a clear path to legitimacy for the institutions that must govern a federal Europe.



The proof that Europe can escape its crisis through a combination of growth, fiscal discipline and structural reform comes from the one country so many want to keep out of the union: Turkey.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan rightfully boasts of Turkey's accomplishments that resulted from the difficult changes carried out after its crisis in 2001—ranging from quickly cleaning up the banks to liberalizing markets to trimming social benefits to make them more affordable in the long run. As a result, Turkey today is the fastest growing economy in the world alongside China with diminished deficit and debt levels that meet the eurozone criteria that many members states themselves cannot today meet. Turkey has even offered a 5 billion euro credit through the IMF for financial aid to Europe.

Germany itself also provides some lessons for the rest of Europe. The obvious reason Germany rules today is because it is the most globally competitive country in the European Union. That is the result of a series of reforms that were implemented starting in 2003 under the leadership of then-chancellor Gerhard Schröder.

Aimed at bolstering Germany's industrial base and its collateral small and medium enterprises which are the foundation of its middle class society, those reforms introduced more labor flexibility and trimmed benefits to make them sustainably affordable while investing in training, maintaining skills and research and development.

Even if Europe's individual nation states can shrink imbalances by following Turkey and Germany in getting their act together, the only ultimate way to save the euro, and thus Europe itself, is to build the complementary governing institutions at the European level. For those institutions to become effective, they must be empowered and legitimated by European citizens themselves. To this end, Tony Blair has suggested a bold move: the direct election of a European president.

Symbolically, the Oslo ceremonies were a historical turning point for Europe. By recognizing the European Union's peace-making past, the Nobel Prize challenged Europe to escape once and for all the destructive pull of narrow national interests and passions.

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Radeljić; Branislav

Turkey's Accession to the European Union: The Politics of Exclusion/East West Mimesis: Auerbach in Turkey/The Influence of the European Union on Turkish Foreign Policy/Turkey's European Future: Behind the Scenes of America's Influence on EU-Turkey Relations

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol. 20, issue 3, 381-386

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Semo Marc

Turquie: l'adresse aux europeens

in *Politique internationale*, n° 136 - été



In this exclusive interview, the Turkish Minister for European Union Affairs passionately defends the accession of Turkey to EU membership. However, negotiations still face the long-term problem of Cyprus: Ankara, which has occupied the northern part of the island since 1974, refuses to recognize the government in Nicosia, which it believes only represents Greek Cypriots. In other words, this project has very little chance of budging while Cyprus holds the Presidency of the EU Council, a term that started on July 1st. But to help overcome these roadblocks, in mid-May Turkey launched a "positive agenda" designed to energize the membership process. Working groups are ready to look into subjects of common interest. At the same time, however, Turkish public opinion is slowly turning away from Europe. According to Egemen Bagis, this disenchantment is due to the many humiliations inflicted on his country. And yet, with Turkey posting impressive growth of 9% last year, perhaps it is the Old Continent that should be learning from its neighbor...

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Rasmussen Anne

Twenty Years of Co-decision Since Maastricht: Inter- and Intrainstitutional Implications

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 735-751

One of the most important institutional changes in the history of the EU was the introduction of the co-decision procedure in 1993. This new legislative procedure has transformed the EU system of governance by affecting both the balance of power between the EU institutions and their internal workings. This contribution takes stock of the first 20 years of co-decision by systematically bringing together and reviewing the findings in the existing literature on EU co-decision. Empirical and theoretical work is scrutinized, which examines the interinstitutional balance of power between the institutions, intrainstitutional power shifts within them and the normative implications of the procedure. Based on these findings, an overall assessment of the long-term implications of co-decision for the functioning of the EU is made.

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Bertrand B.

Un principe politique saisi par le droit. La justiciabilité du principe de subsidiarité en droit de l'Union européenne

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 2 , 329.354

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Bray Massimo

Una fase nuova della politica europea

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9

No abstract available



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Christiansen Thomas, Duke Simon, Kirchner Emil

Understanding and Assessing the Maastricht Treaty

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 685-698

This article introduces the collection of articles of the special issue and provides a discussion of the common themes linking these contributions. The article stresses the continuing significance of the Maastricht Treaty and illustrates the various ways in which the key reforms of the early 1990s still matter today. This includes not only the bearing that the decisions at the time of the Maastricht Treaty have had on the current crisis of the Eurozone, but also the developments in the areas of foreign policy and justice and home affairs. Indeed, the very move towards 'pillarisation' as well as key institutional changes such as the creation of the co-decision procedure and the elevation of the European Council all continue to play an important role today. The article concludes with some reflections about the legacy of the Maastricht Treaty, highlighting both the achievements of the treaty but also the shortcomings in terms of enhancing democratic legitimacy and engagement with civil society — indicating the key challenges that the Union still faces today.

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Picaper Jean-Paul

Une banque pour l'Europe

in *Politique internationale*, n° 136 - été

In this exclusive interview with Jean-Paul Picaper for *Politique Internationale*, the new president of the European Investment Bank (EIB) sheds some light on this relatively unknown institution. Since being founded in 1958, the EIB has played a fundamental role in financing major European infrastructure projects, in particular working with small and medium-sized enterprises (SME). With François Hollande and a few other European leaders making growth a strategic focus, the EIB is now in the spotlight. Its capital has been doubled to increase its lending capacity for problematic economies in euroland. But Werner Hoyer also issues a word of warning to those who think the bank will resolve the crisis all by itself. Its financing arrangements are only a part of the current discussions. If Europe is to relaunch its economy, it must quickly restore investor confidence so that it once again becomes attractive in their eyes. But the only way to establish a climate of confidence is through austerity measures...

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Boriaud Jean-Yves

Une si chère grâce!

in *Revue des deux mondes*, Septembre 2012 , 42-49

Au contribuable qui se cache derrière tout citoyen européen responsable, les médias apportent complaisamment le moyen de chiffrer ce que lui coûte son soutien involontaire aux défailtantes finances grecques. Et le citoyen européen trouve ça cher, ce soutien à une République qui serait celle de tous les laxismes budgétaires, et ne devrait son statut



européen qu'à une lubie d'un ancien président de la République française... Cela relayé par des images récurrentes de violentes fins de manifestations, place Syntagma, alternant avec de très belles vues de jeunes journalistes de la télévision aux longs cheveux bruns, vues sempiternellement tournées, au crépuscule, sur le parvis du nouveau musée de l'Acropole, avec, en toile de fond, légèrement floutée, la silhouette d'un Parthénon doucement illuminé, comme pour faire honte au peuple hellène de son actuelle déchéance. Sans compter les interviews véhémentes et catastrophistes de Grec(que)s parfaitement francophones et percuté(e)s de plein fouet par la rigueur imposée par la « troïka » (Union européenne, Fonds monétaire international, Banque centrale européenne). Nous payons peut-être « cher » notre contribution à l'équilibre (?) financier du pays, mais que le contribuable européen se rassure ; ce n'est rien à côté de ce qu'endure le Grec moyen...

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Christopher Lord & Johannes Pollak

Unequal but democratic? Equality according to Karlsruhe

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 2 2013 , 190-205

In its Lisbon ruling, the German Constitutional Court claims that the 'formation of a government with the powers of a state' from within the European Parliament would require its seats to be apportioned in a strict relationship to the share of each member state in the population of the Union. In reaching this conclusion, the Court distinguishes between the equal representation of whole democratic peoples and the equal representation of individual citizens. However, we question that the composition of a European Parliament with powers of 'government formation' would need to give strict priority to the equal representation of persons, rather than continue to give some weight to both equalities. The Court's concern that a European Government should not be elected by those who represent a minority of the population could also be met if the Parliament's choice had to be confirmed by a qualified majority of the European Council.

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Catsiapis Jean

Union européenne: les défis de la présidence chypriote

in *Politique internationale*, n° 136 - été

For the first time since Cyprus joined the European Union in 2004, it will assume the Presidency of the EU Council on July 1. This tiny country, long described as the "Switzerland of the Near East", is being increasingly hard hit by the economic crisis. But the island is not bereft of assets. For instance, the discovery of large reserves of natural gas off its coast-worth at least 100 billion euros-would seem to justify the government's optimism in terms of cleaning up public finances. Interviewed by Jean Catsiapis, Ms. Kozakou-Marcoullis, the Cypriot Minister of Foreign Affairs, reviews the main issues to be dealt with during her country's term at the head of the EU.

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C.M.A. McCauliff

Union in Europe: Constitutional Philosophy and the Schuman Declaration, May 9, 1950
in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 3 , 441-472

The economic impulses for a united Europe play a familiar part in the discussion of the origins of European integration; however, the importance of the Christian Democratic philosophical framework underlying the actions of several of the politicians who served as impetuses for the formation of the European Union is little examined in scholarly literature. For a time, a democratic approach to Aristotelian philosophy as Jacques Maritain formulated it provided some of the consensus that held the Union together. While this is no longer the case, nothing else has replaced this focused commitment. The Union faces much disunity now and has been subject to many ups and downs since beginning its expansion to include more diverse member states, starting with the northern members on January 1, 1973, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark. Interest in this philosophical framework is increasing in part because of the incorporation of human rights into the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. The political philosophy of Jacques Maritain, developed during the 1930s and 1940s, provided this grounding in democracy and human rights for several of the politicians trying to envision a new society after the Second World War. Maritainian philosophy, embraced by Robert Schuman, was powerfully capable of combating the materialistic and totalitarian stance of Soviet communism, which at the time, threatened to subsume Europe under its aegis. This story, part of the air people breathed as Europe rebuilt itself with a new foundation, bears recounting today when few post-War actors are here to remind us of it themselves. The end of the Second World War presented Christian politicians with a short-term vacuum of power in Europe, a political situation that has not been repeated on such a large scale since that time. The construction of the idea of Europe as a political entity "represents the most significant undertaking of the twentieth century." n1 The disastrous setbacks and devastation Europe suffered from totalitarianism opened European public opinion to a revived role, at least temporarily, for Christian politicians to participate in the reconstruction of Europe. Both the pressure from the United States to rebuild Europe quickly in the face of the Soviet desire to expand its territory, and European Christian Democratic values of reconciliation and peace, played strong roles in the earliest integration of Europe.

The value of religious conscience, except in extreme versions of laïcité, along with respect for human rights and election of politicians to government positions, is now well incorporated into European societies. The confluence of these philosophies form a critical foundation for the Europe of today, despite the fact that we often take for granted what the post-war generation of Europeans forged in stability, prosperity, and recognition of human rights. After the long history of wars from the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 to the end of the Second World War in 1945, modern Europe may rightly take pride in the history of peace and relative brotherhood. In order to keep and deepen these gains, each generation must exercise "eternal vigilance" (in the iconic expression of Thomas Jefferson) to ward off even small threats to peace and liberty. Familiarity with the hard-won struggle to put Europe together after the Second World War will contribute to that vigilance.

Knowledge of the underlying philosophical values of brotherhood and democracy as the cornerstone of human rights in the construction of European unity and integration, on the one hand, and the threat of totalitarianism from Soviet Russia, on the other hand, give us a sense of the uniqueness of that moment when a unified Europe was struggling to be born. It also underlines for us what is timeless and universal in human inspiration, still relevant to our times, as we face a different calibration of challenges in a global society and economy.

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Reggio Sabina

Unione europea o Stati europei? Una riflessione a margine della crisi finanziaria e istituzionale del vecchio continente

in *Nuova rassegna di legislazione, dottrina e giurisprudenza*, n. 9

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Napolitano Giorgio

Unione politica ed europeizzazione della politica

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 9

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Schulz Martin

Uniti per riaffermare il primato della politica sui mercati

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

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Freudenstein Roland

Unity in diversity: the EPP's two and a half decades of expansion

in *European View*, vol. 11, n. 2, December, 133-140

During the 1980s, the originally purely Christian Democratic European People's Party (EPP) took the strategic decision to open up to conservative and other like-minded parties in order to increase its political weight. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the emergence of new democracies in Central Europe, the EPP continued its enlargement to include Central Europe's centre-right parties. Despite initial differences based on varying historical experiences, the EPP's Eastern enlargement was an enrichment. It was based on essential common values and succeeded in making this political family the strongest political force in European politics.

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Mak Chantal

Unweaving the CESL: Legal-economic reason and institutional imagination in European contract law

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 277-295



ABSTRACT: From a law-and-economics perspective, the European Commission's proposal for the introduction of an optional Common European Sales Law (CESL) has been criticized for overregulating consumer sales law in Europe and for being likely to yield more costs than benefits. In defence of CESL, it is submitted here that its optional nature may mitigate the risk of overregulation and provide an opportunity for firms to tailor their activities to consumer preferences in different markets. Furthermore, although the introduction of an optional instrument may increase transaction costs, it does not seem to be excluded that the benefits of increased cross-border trade may (on a long-term basis) outweigh these costs. Finally, in order to evaluate the institutional choices underlying the proposed rules of CESL, and other instruments of European contract law, it is suggested that the further analysis of these rules should take into account the legal-political as well as the legal-economic backdrop to this field of law.

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Di Paola Giampaolo

Un'Unione della difesa per la sicurezza europea

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 494-495

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gennip Jos van

Values, innovation, society and Europe: central elements of the new EPP Platform

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 141-147

On 18 October 2012, the European People's Party (EPP) Congress in Bucharest approved a new programme of basic principles to replace the earlier Athens Programme. The new Bucharest Programme is based on the same principal choices and characteristics that have defined the EPP from its foundation; at the same time, it reflects the party's broadening to include a number of new member parties and adapt to the new challenges faced by European politics, economy and society. Yet the new Platform, the result of two and a half years' work by an ad hoc committee, should not be the end of our reflections and proposals. On the contrary, it should generate an intensive round of discussions, studies and publications on its four main elements: values, innovation, a strong Europe and vital communities. This article summarises the central elements of the new EPP Platform. Together, these elements can reposition the EPP as the political movement for the future, while at the same time presenting a vision and a solution to the challenges of our time.

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Zarate Robert

Values, national interests and the Transatlantic Partnership's future

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 215-223

As the United States and Europe struggle today to meet their respective economic and strategic challenges, it is



becoming all too easy to take for granted, or even to forget, the significance of shared core values—including strong beliefs in individual liberty, representative democracy, freedom of expression, the impartial rule of law, minority and women's rights, and the necessity of free markets for economic growth. However, the US and Europe should not forget that their shared and enduring core values provide a source for their individual and collective renewal, and for advancing new values-based foreign policy initiatives to reaffirm and revitalise the Transatlantic Partnership in the short and long term.

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Pöschl Magdalena

Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit nach Lissabon

in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 3, september , 587-609

ABSTRACT: On 14 March 2012 the Austrian Constitutional Court has stated in a spectacular decision that the rights guaranteed by the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights would from now on serve as a yardstick for its judicial review – unlike the rest of EU law. The Court based its decision on the principle of equivalence of EU law remedies to national remedies; however, it seems doubtful whether this principle forms a suitable basis. This comment examines the arguments of the Constitutional Court and outlines the decision's consequences for the Austrian system of legal protection.

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Clerc Olivier, Kauffmann Pascal

Vers la désunion monétaire européenne?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 563, décembre , 642-650

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Gualtieri Roberto

Verso un governo democratico dell'euro

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

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Mayer Claudia

Vertrag über Stabilität, Koordinierung und Steuerung in der WWU und Europäischer Stabilitätsmechanismus

in *Journal für Rechtspolitik*, vol. 20, n. 2, june , 124-136



ABSTRACT: Anfang Februar 2012 unterzeichneten die 17 Euro-Staaten den Vertrag über die Einrichtung eines permanenten Europäischen Stabilitätsmechanismus ("ESM-Vertrag"). Einen Monat später wurde von 25 der 27 EU-Mitgliedstaaten der Vertrag über Stabilität, Koordinierung und Steuerung in der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion ("VSKS") zum Abschluss gebracht. Beide Verträge sind Teil des Krisenbewältigungsprogramms in der Union, stehen aber außerhalb des EU-Vertragswerks. Aufgrund der Ausgestaltung als rein zwischenstaatliche Vereinbarungen werfen die beiden Verträge hinsichtlich ihres Verhältnisses zu und ihrer Vereinbarkeit mit dem Recht der Europäischen Union einige interessante Fragen auf, die der vorliegende Beitrag näher untersuchen will.

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Mjur Witte

Viel Lärm um nichts? - Wirkung und Normenhierarchie des Völkerrechts im Unionsrecht vor und nach Kadi
in *Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht*, vol. 67, issue 4, december , 679-702

ABSTRACT: The paper proposes to discuss the judgments of the Luxembourg courts in the Kadi case in a manner less fraught with political ardour than was common during the earlier debate in European and public international law literature. The decisions have, at some stage, been regarded as groundbreaking for the mutual relationship between the two legal systems, but the discourse was charged with recent political implications of the "war on terror" and the tension between security policy and the protection of human rights. This paper, on the other hand, argues that the decision of the Court of Justice was inevitable, since it follows by necessity from well-established case law about the effects and rank of international law within the European Communities/Union. The ECJ, in its judgment, did neither abrogate from nor modify its previous line of jurisprudence, but merely – albeit spectacularly – reaffirmed principles laid down decades ago. This is to be demonstrated by means of an analysis of case law detached from the specific constellation of Kadi and its foreign policy implications.

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Martin Dangerfield

Visegrad Group Co-operation and Russia
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 958-974

Much thought has been given of late to how national preferences impact upon European Union-level policy-making towards Russia and it is widely accepted that discrepancies in Member State attitudes can undermine consistent and effective multilateral policies. So far there has been no attempt to ascertain whether subregional groupings that exist inside the EU (which represent a potential in-between layer of policy-making between the bilateral and multilateral) are inclined or able to attempt to co-ordinate their positions on Russia. This article focuses on the Visegrad Group (VG), which would appear to be an obvious candidate, but actually has virtually no co-operation agenda vis-à-vis Russia (the other main groupings are the Benelux Economic Union, the Nordic Council and the Weimar Triangle). The article argues that it is difficult to accommodate Russia in the current VG foreign policy framework due to the focus on 'low' politics and integration assistance. It also contends that limited capacity and intra-VG divergence on key aspects of relations with Russia mean that the VG is unlikely to expand its agenda so as to attempt more co-operation on Russia in the future.



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JHR, WTE

Watching Karlsruhe/Karlsruhe Watchers

in **European Constitutional Law Review**, Volume 8 - Issue 03 , 367-374

The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union, more commonly known as the Fiscal Compact, and the Treaty establishing the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) are closely linked in several ways. Both treaties are formally placed outside the European Union framework, but substantively govern Union matters. Together they are designed to combat the sovereign debt crisis which has been ravaging the European Union for years now. The Fiscal Compact does so by enhancing and sharpening budgetary discipline in the Eurozone states, the ESM Treaty by offering assistance to Eurozone states in financial distress. To receive financial aid from the ESM, states not only need to have ratified the Fiscal Compact, but also to have implemented a balanced budget rule in their national law in the way the Compact demands. Apart from combating the crisis, the Treaties also bring reforms to the Eurozone; they express the wish of the signatory parties to share their destinies in new ways.

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Balibar Etienne

What Democratic Europe? A Response to Jürgen Habermas

in **Social Europe Journal**, Volume 7, Issue 1, Summer / Autumn 2012 , 9-11

<http://socialeurope.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/SocialEurope-21.pdf>

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Stefan Eichler, Karol Sobanski

What Drives Banking Sector Fragility in the Eurozone? Evidence from Stock Market Data

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 50, Issue 4, July 2012 , 539-560

This article explores the determinants of banking sector fragility in the eurozone. For this purpose, a stock-market-based banking sector fragility indicator is calculated for eight member countries from 1999 to 2009 using the Merton model (1974). Using a panel framework, it is found that the macroeconomic environment, the structure of the banking sector and the intensity of banking regulation all have an effect on banking sector fragility in the eurozone.

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Witte Mark David

What Effect Did the Credit Crisis of 2008 Have on European Exchange Rates?



in *Eastern European Economics*, Volume 50, Number 3 / May-June 2012 , 79-93

During the recent credit crisis, European currencies tended to depreciate when the domestic country had relatively high long-term interest rates overshooting traditional uncovered interest rate parity. Absolute interest rate differentials, not innovations to the interest rate differential, drove the depreciation. The degree of the crisis, as measured by the TED spread, amplified this effect. Current account deficits, high inflation, and external debt held by governments or by banks only indirectly drove depreciation by creating higher domestic interest rates. In addition to the interest rate effect, Hungary saw currency depreciation relative to other East European currencies as the TED spread widened.

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Phelan William

What Is Sui Generis About the European Union? Costly International Cooperation in a Self-Contained Regime
in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 3, september , 367-385

ABSTRACT: It is widely agreed that the EU is a sui generis international organization, but current scholarship rarely specifies why. This paper identifies the EU as a "self-contained regime", a treaty institution that imposes costly requirements on its member states but rejects the use of inter-state countermeasure and reciprocity mechanisms. As a self-contained regime, the EU is a puzzle because international relations theory emphasizes the importance of inter-state countermeasures as incentives for states to fulfill costly obligations, as is illustrated by scholarly debates on the politics of both trade and human rights regimes.

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Papathanassiou Yannis

What can Greece learn from the crisis so far?
in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 1, June , 79-81

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Eidenmüller Horst

What can be wrong with an option? An optional Common European Sales Law as a regulatory tool
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 69-84

ABSTRACT: This paper analyses the proposed optional Common European Sales Law (CESL) as a regulatory tool. In principle, an optional CESL can be a sensible means to achieve some level of harmonization and the associated transaction costs savings plus network benefits and at the same time subject the CESL to a market test. However, whether these goals will actually be achieved depends on the design conditions and the content of the option. The CESL



option which is currently on the table is harmful. The Draft CESL (DCESL) is a defective product. It might nevertheless become a success on the European market for contract laws or be at least highly influential as a reference text.

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Hökmark Gunnar

What does the future of the eurozone look like?

in *European View*, vol. 11, n. 1, June, 83-84

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Wright Thomas

What if Europe Fails?

in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, Volume 35, Issue 3, Summer 2012, 23-41

The full text is free:

<http://tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/0163660X.2012.703584>

The European Union is engaged in a ferocious political, diplomatic, and economic struggle to preserve the future of the single currency, the Euro, and the viability of what has become known simply as “the project,” namely the process of integration that has been the bedrock of Western European politics for over half a century. It is distinctly possible that its members' efforts may fail, either in the short or long term, and give way to an era of disintegration. Some have sounded the alarm: German Chancellor Angela Merkel famously remarked, “If the Euro fails, Europe fails.”¹¹ Angela Merkel has repeated this numerous times in 2010 and 2011. The first time she used this phrase appears to be in May 2010. See “Zwei Linke Füße,” *The Financial Times*, May 19 2010, <http://ftalphaville.ft.com/blog/2010/05/19/235866/zwei-linke-fuse/>.

View all notes

Former president Nicolas Sarkozy of France predicted, “If the euro explodes, Europe would explode. It's the guarantee of peace in a continent where there were terrible wars.”²² Ian Wishart, “Sarkozy Warns About Italy,” *The European Voice*, November 3, 2011,

<http://www.europeanvoice.com/article/2011/november/sarkozy-issues-italy-warning/72535.aspx>. View all notes

Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski warned the Euro's collapse could cause an “apocalyptic” crisis.³³ Radek

Sikorski, “Poland and the future of the European Union,” speech in Berlin, November 28, 2011,

http://www.ms.gov.pl/files/docs/komunikaty/20111128BERLIN/radoslaw_sikorski_poland_and_the_future_of_the_eu.pdf

f. View all notes

Harvard economist Dani Rodrik cautioned “the nightmare scenario would ... be a 1930's-style victory for political extremism.” After all, “fascism, Nazism, and communism were children of a backlash against globalization.”⁴⁴ Dani Rodrik, “Europe's Next Nightmare,” *Project Syndicate*, November 9, 2011,

<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/europe-s-next-nightmare>. View all notes

The erosion of democracy in Hungary and the rise in support for populist parties in Greece, the Netherlands, Finland,



and France appears to some to be the beginning of the end.

Yet, verbal warnings from nervous leaders and economists aside, there has been remarkably little analysis of what the end of European integration might mean for Europe and the rest of the world. This article does not predict that failure will occur—it only seeks to explain the geopolitical implications if it does. The severity and trajectory of the crisis since 2008 suggest that failure is a high-impact event with a non-trivial probability. It may not occur, but it certainly merits serious analysis. Failure is widely seen as an imminent danger, but even if this moment passes, it will remain a significant risk for some time to come...

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Martens Wilfried

What kind of Union?

in **European View**, vol. 11, n. 1, June, 1-3

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Laguna de Paz José Carlos

What to keep and what to change in European electronic communications policy?

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 49, issue 6, 1951-1975

ABSTRACT: Almost fifteen years after full liberalization, electronic communications provide greater economic efficiency, innovation and consumer satisfaction. However, efforts should be made to improve the effective integration of operators, networks and services at European level. At present, tuning ex ante regulation is better than alternatives, such as phasing out regulation or applying structural remedies. A more flexible approach could facilitate network competition at the deepest level at which it is effective and sustainable. That notwithstanding, market driven forces will not secure the deployment of next generation networks in large parts of the territory. To this end, remedies will need to be applied, taking care not to distort competition or to discourage the emergence of potential competitors. Keeping an open Internet, based on best-efforts transmission, does not exclude allowing network operators from applying reasonable traffic management practices.

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Kunstein Tobias, Wessels Wolfgang

What we hope, what we fear, what we expect: possible scenarios for the future of the eurozone

in **European View**, vol. 11, n. 1, June, 5-14

financial, economic and sovereign debt crises have called into question macro-economic and monetary integration in Europe in general, and the future of the eurozone in particular. It is possible that even the future of the European Union



(EU) as a whole is at stake. Starting with the reforms of European economic governance hitherto agreed, this article develops three scenarios for the eurozone and explores their possible impact on the EU in general. The mix of procedures, both inside and outside the EU legislative framework and with varying groups of participants, offers a starting point for the emergence of an 'Optimal Institutional Architecture'.

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Anton Hemerijck

When Changing Welfare States and the Eurocrisis Meet

in *Sociologica*, n°1/2012

The aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2008 certainly marks a "stress test" for European welfare states. Massive increases in fiscal deficits and public debt, required to pre-empt a more severe global meltdown, have since forced policymakers to consider deep cuts in welfare services, including health, education, and social transfers to the poor, the unemployed and pensioners, in order to shore up public finance solvency and economic stability. The crisis has affected different economies differently, as a result of their relative vulnerability to endogenous and external economic shocks and also because of the differing institutional capacities they were able to mobilise to address the economic duress. Policies with a social investment flavour (activation, childcare) have been somewhat more resilient in the face of fiscal austerity in the early days of financial crisis management. But will the social investment carry the day as demographic headwind will bring social contracts under further duress, especially in countries facing high unemployment and the most daunting budgetary pressures, where long-run population ageing and the feminization of the workforce have not been adequately dealt with before the crisis. In the current context of fiscal predicament, it is crucial not to overlook the growth potential of productive social policies. This contribution examines what is needed to rescue an affordable social investment impetus from the one-sided short term policy orientations triggered by the financial and fiscal crisis at both the level of the European Union and its member states. Questions of institutional design today encompasses two, tightly interconnected, dimensions. Any long term resolution to the crisis has to be both effective and legitimate at level of the EU as well as at the domestic level of the national politics. At the level of the EU, the task is to devise a stable macroeconomic regime for the euro-zone, which is able to better accommodate and discipline the diverse needs of different member economies. Domestically, institutional change requires recalibrating the welfare state by combining capacitating social policy supports with a fair distribution of life chances. The key challenge is to make long-term social investment and short-term fiscal consolidation mutually supportive at both the EU level and in the Member States. The critical challenge lies in redirecting the broad political support for the welfare state in most EU member countries toward designing a new model of welfare state that is able to equip European citizens and societies to face endogenous social change and growing global competition.

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Rachid Azrout, Joost Van Spanje, Claes de Vreese

When News Matters: Media Effects on Public Support for European Union Enlargement in 21 Countries

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012, 691-708



First, this study tests for media effects on support for EU enlargement in a natural setting, while including actual media content in the analysis. Second, the moderation by anti-immigrant attitudes of media effects is tested, as it is argued that perceptions of 'others' influences how new information on enlargement is received. The study draws on a two-wave panel survey and a media content analysis in 21 countries. The results suggest there is a media effect, although not from individual exposure but from the information environment. In addition, individuals with stronger anti-immigrant attitudes are more strongly affected by a negative information environment.

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Agarin Timofey, Regelmann Ada-Charlotte

Which is the Only Game in Town? Minority Rights Issues in Estonia and Slovakia During and After EU Accession

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 13, n. 4 , 443-461

Post-communist transition went hand in hand with the European integration process. Much of the literature on EU accession focuses on the rational decision to implement a set of European norms into domestic legislation pre-accession. It is often concluded that once EU membership is achieved, states succumb their rationality and act on the basis of internalised norms. The paper claims that the past literature overlooks the wider framework within which policy-makers operate before and after the accession, namely domestic sovereignty over policy-making and implementation. Tracing the policy dynamics in the area of minority rights in Estonia and Slovakia, we demonstrate that the European integration ushered greater domestic control over policy implementation on minority issues in two states exposed to a heavy dose of conditionality. As we observe, both states have consolidated their state- and nation-building policies referencing EU conditionality in the course of accession and later EU membership to assert centrality of domestic objectives for policy-making and implementation.

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Furness Mark

Who Controls the European External Action Service? Agent Autonomy in EU External Policy

in European Foreign Affairs Review, vol. 18, issue 1 , 103-125

ABSTRACT: This article uses a principal-agent framework of analysis to discuss the European External Action Service's (EEAS) institutional design and policy mandates. Can the EEAS act autonomously with regard to the Commission and Member States? Are there policy areas in which the EEAS has greater decision-making autonomy than others? These discussions are central to understanding the post-Lisbon Treaty EU's external policymaking system and its potential strengths as an international actor.

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De Witte Floris

Who funds the mobile student? Shedding some light on the normative assumptions underlying EU free movement law: Commission v. Netherlands



in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2 , 203-215

No abstract available

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Andreas Dür, Gemma Mateo

Who lobbies the European Union? National interest groups in a multilevel polity

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 7 2012 , 969-987

What explains variation across national interest groups in their amount of lobbying on legislative proposals in the European Union (EU)? We present an argument that leads to the expectation that resource-rich associations engage in more lobbying on EU legislation than other associations. Moreover, we expect business associations to have privileged access to the European Commission and national governments; and citizens' groups to parliaments. Using original data from a survey of 1,417 interest groups in Germany, Ireland and Spain, we find support for these expectations. We conclude that national associations are heavily involved in EU lobbying, but that resource-endowment and type matter for access. The article is of relevance to the literatures on interest groups in the EU, the EU's (alleged) democratic deficit, and the role of civil society in governance beyond the nation state.

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Dimitris Papadimitriou, Petar Petrov

Whose Rule, Whose Law? Contested Statehood, External Leverage and the European Union's Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 5, September 2012 , 746-763

The article discusses the projection of European Union (EU) power under conditions of contested statehood in its 'near abroad'. Using the EU's mission in Kosovo (EULEX) as a case study, the article unpacks the various levers of external EU influence and explores the conditions under which European policy-makers become entangled in the 'existential discourse' of highly polarized societies with competing statehood claims. The contestation of these claims (both domestically and internationally) produces significant challenges for EU actorhood, affecting both self-ascribed (internal to the EU) and external (amongst the EU's interlocutors) aspects of EU presence, which, in turn, shapes the EU's ability to deploy and co-ordinate its capabilities on the ground. It is by reference to this 'presence-capabilities' nexus that this article seeks to conceptualize the limitations of the planning and early deployment of EULEX in Kosovo.

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Cash Bill

Why Cameron was right

in *Europe's World*, Issue 20, Spring

Europe is at a cross-roads, and it would not have been right for Britain to take a wrong turn by endorsing EU fiscal



union, says Bill Cash, a UK Conservative MP and noted eurosceptic. He warns that if it goes ahead it will have serious consequences for the whole of Europe, including the UK.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21953/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Theresa Kuhn

Why Educational Exchange Programmes Miss Their Mark: Cross-Border Mobility, Education and European Identity

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 50, Issue 6, November 2012 , 994-1010

Current research shows that participating in an Erasmus exchange does not strengthen European identity. However, this does not necessarily imply that transnational interactions are ineffective in fostering European identity. Rather, the Erasmus programme misses its mark by addressing university students who are already very likely to feel European. Due to a ceiling effect, their experience abroad cannot make a difference. In contrast, low-educated individuals who might respond strongly to cross-border mobility by adopting a European identity hardly participate in educational exchange because they leave school before these programmes take place. Analyses of Eurobarometer survey data support this hypothesis.

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de Ruiters Rik, Neuhold Christine

Why Is Fast Track the Way to Go? Justifications for Early Agreement in the Co-Decision Procedure and Their Effects

in *European law journal*, Volume 18, Issue 4 - July , 536–554

Since the introduction of the co-decision procedure by way of the Maastricht Treaty, the procedure has been transformed considerably. One of the most striking innovations is the possibility to adopt a legislative act in first reading. This article aims to answer the questions whether the increasing use of this fast track procedure is in line with Treaty provisions and/or intra/inter-institutional rules, and what the effects are of these stipulations. The empirical findings presented in this study indicate that two reasons for taking the fast track gain dominance in the practical political process, ie the political priorities of the Council and European Parliament (EP) and whether these actors consider a legislative file as urgent. From a study of two directives, it becomes clear that this dominance of factors has consequences for the type of early agreement reached (first or early second), the quality of the adopted legislation and its implementation at the national level.

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Gary Low



Will firms consider a European optional instrument in contract law?

in *European Journal of Law and Economics*, volume 33 n.3 , 521-540

The diversity of contract laws is said by the Commission to discourage cross-border trade and hinder the development by SMEs of a pan-European commercial policy. An optional instrument containing both facilitative general contract rules and mandatory consumer protection rules, one of the solutions proposed by the Commission, is gaining rapid support from key stakeholders. Drawing from firms' own views on the problems of legal diversity, and insights from organisational science, this article sets out the circumstances in which firms will likely consider a European optional code. Results are mixed: some firms may consider it, while others may ignore it. Much depends the firm's aspirations (i.e. SMEs cannot be assumed as-yet to have pan-European aspirations), how the firm perceives the problems of legal diversity, and how it searches for and decides upon solutions. It would appear that a European optional instrument may not be as useful or widely considered as its proponents would like to believe.

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Adam & #321;azowski

Withdrawal from the European Union and Alternatives to Membership

in *European Law Review*, vol. 37, issue 5

For the past 40 years the European Communities/European Union have been constantly enlarging to include new Member States. The integration project now involves 27 countries, with further enlargement pencilled in for 2013. However, in some of the EU Member States resentment seems to be growing and talk of withdrawal has become part of the public debate.

This is particularly the case in the United Kingdom, which has been in constant discussion about "future relations with Europe" ever since the country joined in 1973. Now that art.50 TEU (as added by the Treaty of Lisbon) provides a formal withdrawal clause, it is an interesting point at which to take a closer look with regard to the legal framework for departure from the European Union. As this analysis proves, it is not going to be easy for a State to leave the European Union as the levels of legal integration inside the European Union are very high. It is argued that although technically a unilateral withdrawal may be possible, the more likely scenario is a consensual divorce based on a withdrawal agreement. This article looks at various scenarios for both a withdrawal and for future relations of a "divorcee" with the European Union.

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Joannin Pascale

Women in Europe: more women in leading positions

in *European View* , vol. 11, n. 2, December , 163-174

In this time of crisis, the 'women's issue' is more relevant than ever. The solution does not lie in 'a return to the home', as some have imagined, but in the greater involvement of women in the business world. Women are as well qualified as their male counterparts, and often more qualified. Women are also better equipped in times of crisis because they are often experienced managers and organisers. It would indeed be a mistake not to involve them at this difficult point in time. But these vital developments are struggling to emerge naturally; stumbling blocks still exist that maintain a 'glass



ceiling' which is becoming increasingly difficult to bear. Change is occurring instead due to incentives and legislation. Feminisation is still progressing too slowly in some countries, but it is occurring. Europe as a whole is experiencing this phenomenon. It is about time the situation changed. And women have begun to network together in order to facilitate these changes.

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Van Sherpenberg Jens

Währungsfragen sind Machtfragen. Wird Europa aus der Krise gestärkt hervorgehen?

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 5, n. 3, july, 367-377

ABSTRACT: The European debt crisis has turned into a defining moment in the history of European integration. It has revealed the birth defect of the European monetary union: its lack of a deeper fiscal union. As the guarantor of last resort to the euro, Germany has emerged from the crisis as a "reluctant hegemon", profoundly changing the intra-European balance of power. Under financial market pressure France and other EU countries except the UK agreed on the German concept of a fiscal pact, despite strong U.S. opposition, in order to preserve the euro as a major global currency to rival the dollar.

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Fabbrini Federico, Granat Katarzyna

Yellow card, but no foul": The role of the national parliaments under the subsidiarity protocol and the Commission proposal for an EU regulation on the right to strike

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 50, issue 1/2, 115-143

ABSTRACT: The article analyses the role of the national Parliaments under the Subsidiarity Protocol, taking the recent Commission proposal for a regulation on the exercise of the right to strike and the reaction of national Parliaments as a case study. In this case, for the first time since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, national Parliaments activated the "yellow card" procedure set up by Protocol No. 2 to ensure compliance by the EU institutions with the principle of subsidiarity. The article claims, however, that the Commission proposal was sanctioned with a "yellow card" without having committed any foul. The article analyses the role of national Parliaments under the Subsidiarity Protocol and - on the basis of textual, structural and functional reasons - advances the argument that the review of national Parliaments should focus exclusively on violations of the principle of subsidiarity and should not extend to the evaluation of the proportionality, legal basis or political merits of a draft EU legislative proposal. The article then outlines the context and the content of the Commission proposal and examines the reasoned opinions of the national Parliaments against the draft regulation. By testing the previously developed framework, the article explains that in the present case national Parliaments have gone beyond their role, failing to identify any subsidiarity violation in the draft regulation. The article concludes by maintaining that the Commission proposal, in fact, was compatible with the principle of subsidiarity and suggests that the draft regulation may have been the most appropriate tool to strike a new balance between free movement and social rights in the EU. Because of the decision of the Commission to withdraw its proposal, nevertheless, the article warns that the Commission may have inadvertently encouraged a misuse of the subsidiarity review by the national Parliaments with potentially negative effects on the delicate balance of powers between the



States and the EU.

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Pfeil Ulrich

Zur Bedeutung des Élysée-Vertrags

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 1-3, 2013

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/apuz/152060/zur-bedeutung-des-elysee-vertrags

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Schäffler Frank, Friedrich Dirk

Zur Unumkehrbarkeit der Euro-Rettungsschirmpolitik und ihren ungewollten Fol

in *Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, vol. 5, n. 3, july, 355-366

ABSTRACT: Bailing out states and banks violates the no-bail-out-clause and thus constitutes collective breach of law. It destroys the foundations of the European Monetary Union but can not stabilize the Eurozone. The European Stability Mechanism (ESM) opens the door for an irreversible and undemocratic transfer union. Banks and states profit from financial repression. Should rising inflation make public opinion shift towards opposing bailouts, there would be no alternative for the German government but to exit the Eurozone. This would harm peaceful European unification.

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Griller Stefan

Zur verfassungsrechtlichen Beurteilung des Vertrags über Stabilität, Koordinierung und Steuerung in der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion ("Fiskalpakt")

in *Journal für Rechtspolitik*, vol. 20, n. 3, september, 177-194

ABSTRACT: Der Vertrag über Stabilität, Koordinierung und Steuerung in der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion ("VSKS" - vulgo "Fiskalpakt") wurde dem österreichischen Parlament als gesetzändernd bzw. gesetzergänzend zugeleitet. Er enthält jedoch einige verfassungsändernde Bestimmungen. Es sind dies Beschränkungen der Budgethoheit des Nationalrats, die Übertragung von Hoheitsrechten auf Organe der EU, und eine neuartige Verpflichtung zur Normenkontrolle. Der VSKS bedürfte daher vor seiner Ratifikation der Erlassung eines Bundesverfassungsgesetzes. Dies deshalb, weil weder die Bestimmungen über die Abänderung von EU-Primärrecht (Art 50 Abs 1 Z 2 iVm Abs 4 B-VG) noch die Ermächtigung zur Übertragung von Hoheitsrechten (Art 9 Abs 2 B-VG), die derartige Verfassungsänderungen decken könnten, auf den VSKS anwendbar sind.



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Schimmelfennig Frank

Zwischen Neo- und Postfunktionalismus: Die Integrationstheorien und die Eurokrise
in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Heft 3, 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Wienbracke Mike, Stelkens Ulrich

„Innerhalb der Union ist die Freizügigkeit der Arbeitnehmer gewährleistet“ – eine aktuelle Bestandsaufnahme zu Art. 45 AEUV
in *Europarecht*, Heft 5, 2012

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Dyson Kenneth

‘Maastricht Plus’: Managing the Logic of Inherent Imperfections
in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 34, Issue 7 , 791-808

Seen from the perspective of the interconnected excessive imbalances, banking, and sovereign debt crises that beset the Euro Area from 2007, the central inadequacy of the Maastricht Treaty was the failure to address the problem of the inherent imperfections of any provisions for crisis prevention and management in Economic and Monetary Union. The inadequacy stemmed from a cluster of naïve assumptions: about state capacity to comply with Treaty-based rules to prevent crises; about the tractability of economic and political cultures; about the adequacy of moral hazard as a design principle for monetary union; and about putting in place monetary union without economic, fiscal, banking, and political union. Consequently, managing crises of sovereign and bank creditworthiness had not been a problem on the Maastricht agenda. Subsequent failures to be prepared to manage compound crises were compounded by the complacency induced by the ‘political economy of good times’ into which the Euro Area was launched. EMU posed questions about the dominant teleological assumption underpinning the Maastricht Treaty. It risked exposing not just the limits of Europeanization but also serving as a catalyst for ‘de-Europeanization’.

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Pieterjan Desmet, Joost van Spanje, Claes de Vreese

‘Second-order’ institutions: national institutional quality as a yardstick for EU evaluation
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 19, Issue 7 2012 , 1071-1088



The extent to which democracy functions successfully in the European Union is a hotly debated issue. Some citizens feel that EU democracy functions well as it is, whereas others perceive a democratic deficit. Which factors contribute to this variation in opinion? In this paper, we focus on the effect that the quality of national institutions has on citizens' perceptions of the democratic performance of the EU. From voter survey data from 21 EU member states (N = 32410), we find that better quality national institutions correlate to lower rates of satisfaction with the EU's democratic performance. In addition, this effect is stronger amongst citizens who are more knowledgeable about national politics. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for our research field in particular and for society in general.

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Koutsourakis Angelos

'You Want to Wake up to Free Yourself of the Image of Europa. But It Is Not Possible': Lars von Trier's Critique of the European Narrative of Progress in His Europa Trilogy
in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 20, issue 4 , 517-535

ABSTRACT: Lars von Trier's Europa trilogy consists of three films [The Element of Crime (1984), Epidemic (1987) and Europa (1991)] that take as a starting point the idea that Europe is in a state of crisis. Privileging a visual rather than a text-bound dramaturgy, these three films complicate historical representation and chronotopical reality, making it difficult to distinguish the boundaries between past and present. This article discusses the ways these films question the view of history as an additive series of events that mark out precise boundaries between the mistakes of the past and the present historical reality. The trilogy was completed in 1991 and challenged the European nations' optimism of the time for an integrated Europe and a new era of collaboration which could leave behind the historical traumas and the animosities of the past. The Europa trilogy's refusal to portray history as a positive teleological process acquires a new historical significance in light of the contemporary historical circumstances, since the concept of an integrated Europe has been called into question by the current economic crisis, which has revived past historical traumas.

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Thygesen Niels

"We don't need full-scale treaty change to save the euro"
in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

EU leaders are confronted with the dilemma of either opting for political union of some sort or patching up the eurozone with less controversial but temporary solutions. Niels Thygesen, one of the architects of the euro project, argues that there is a middle way.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22031/language/en-US/Default.aspx

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Mathieu Petithomme

« Confiner » le clivage européen : le RPR et la gestion de ses divisions internes lors du référendum sur le Traité de Maastricht

in *Parlement(s): revue d'histoire politique*, n°18, janvier

No abstract available

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Philippe Perchoc

« Une tribune pour l'Europe. » Pratiques et usages du discours européen au Collège d'Europe

in *Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société*, n°17, 130-148

The College of Europe was founded in 1949 in the aftermath of the Hague Congress. Soon after, professors and distinguished speakers were invited to teach and deliver speeches on European affairs. Rector Henri Brugmans used to invite personalities to speak during the opening ceremony and the tradition was further formalized after 1972. Since then, heads of states and governments came year after year to share their vision on Europe in an inaugural speech

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Neumayer Laure

« Dépasser Trianon » Les transformations du nationalisme hongrois, de la « politique de la nation » à la protection des minorités dans l'UE

in *Politique européenne*, n. 37, 2012/2, 102-131

Since the end of the Cold War, major European organizations (the European Union and the Council of Europe) have changed their handling of history and implemented memory-related policies that sought to answer numerous demands of recognition of "painful pasts". This article analyses the logics of this Europeanization of memory issues by looking at the mobilizations of political actors who use the positions they simultaneously occupy in several social spaces in order to put memory conflicts on the EU's agenda. The demonstration is based on a case study – the 2001 law on the status of the Hungarians living in neighboring countries and its recent developments – that illustrates how a bilateral dispute can be turned into a "European problem". It also shows that the mediation of European organizations, instead of solving this conflict, has altered the discursive tools used by the parties involved, thereby fuelling a process of consolidation of a controversial legal category, that of "national minority", in EU Treaties.

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Perchoc Philippe

« Une tribune pour l'Europe ». Pratiques et usages du discours européen au Collège d'Europe

in *Histoire@Politique*, n°17, 2012, 130-148

Abstract



The College of Europe was founded in 1949 in the aftermath of the Hague Congress. Soon after, professors and distinguished speakers were invited to teach and deliver speeches on European affairs. Rector Henri Brugmans used to invite personalities to speak during the opening ceremony and the tradition was further formalized after 1972. Since then, heads of states and governments came year after year to share their vision on Europe in an inaugural speech

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Foret François

État, libéralisme et christianisme. Critique de la subsidiarité européenne
in *Politique européenne* , n. 37, 2012/2 , 184-187

No abstract available

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Joan DeBardeleben

Applying constructivism to understanding EU–Russian relations
in *International Politics* , Volume 49, Issue 4 , 418-433

The improved relations between Russia and the European Union (EU) in the 1990s were followed by a rise in tension since 1999. This article argues that constructivism can provide important insights into the basis of continuing difficulties. Drawing on the nature of the two actors, the author argues that the foreign policy identities of both actors are in a formative process, and thus the construction of inter-subjective meanings has the potential to be a particularly transformative element in the relationship. Both the Russian Federation and the EU are relatively new as regional and global actors, and both are in the process of forming their foreign policy identities, although in quite different contexts. Neither the EU nor Russia has developed a strategic conception for the relationship, and political discourse often obstructs communication rather than furthering the generation of inter-subjective meanings. The article argues that a constructivist analysis can help to expose the deep interconnections between normative disagreements, conflicting constructions of interests and differing concepts of governance.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Duclos Vincent

Building Capacities: The Resurgence of Indo-African Technoeconomic Cooperation
in *India Review*, Volume 11, Issue 4 , 209-225

The last few years have witnessed a revival of Indo-African technoeconomic cooperation within a host of ICT-based projects aimed at promoting capacity-building. This article is an attempt at sketching out some of the most significant traits of this evolving trend based on a discussion of two landmark initiatives: the Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation scheme and the Pan-African e-Network Project. The article suggests that differences between these two



projects typify key changes that have taken place in conceptualizations of cooperation. First, there was an ethico-political shift in relation to the responsibility of the state and of individual beneficiaries. Then, the spatiality of cooperation has been modified in ways that are epitomized by the image of the network and its concomitant ideal of horizontal dispersion. Finally, a dynamic has emerged in which connecting the world and igniting the pride of the nation feed into one another in innovative ways.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Eisenman Joshua

China–Africa Trade Patterns: causes and consequences

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 77 , 793-810

China's trade patterns with African countries have made Beijing the focal point of new anti-Chinese resistance narratives in Africa. Unlike the Maoist era, when China's trade policies served its leaders' political goals, now they aim to access markets as part of China's larger domestic development strategy. China's state-run firms can channel China–Africa trade through extra-market decisions that influence flows, yet, ultimately, Beijing's ability to direct trade with Africa is constrained by market forces. Despite suggestions that shared illiberalism drives China–Africa trade the author concludes that five interrelated causal factors overwhelmingly determine China–Africa trade: China's comparative advantage in labor-intensive and capital-intensive production; Africa's abundant natural resource endowments; China's rapid economic growth; China's emphasis on infrastructure building at home and in Africa; and the emergence of economies of scale in China's shipping and light manufacturing sectors.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Isoni Alessandro

Da Barcellona a Marsiglia. Le politiche dell'Unione europea nel Mediterraneo

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 223-241

The paper analyzes the history of European cooperation in the Mediterranean Sea. Starting from the Cold War period and from the decolonization process, the author tries to reconstruct the political premises and the interventions implemented by the European Economic Community, analyzing the limits of a similar Eurocentric approach. After the Berlin Wall fall and the Maastricht Treaty, new opportunities offered by the enlargement towards East suggested the European Union to start a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with North Africa and the Middle East States, in order not to lose a strategic area for the European security. The Barcelona Process, inaugurated in 1994 in the Spanish city, aimed to create a free trade area within 2010 in a context of peace and cooperation. Unfortunately, both the limits of the project and the evolution of the international situation, with the rise of Islamic terrorism, together with some intrinsic limits of the Partnership, led to a partial failure. Looking at a new kind of cooperation, in 2008 the French government launched the project of the Union for the Mediterranean. The outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2011 has temporarily stopped this new experiment of cooperation, confirming, then again, the importance of the Mediterranean theatre in the age of globalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gloriant Frédéric

De Moscou à Madrid, du Caire à Berlin-Est. Les pays de l'Europe orientale et la Méditerranée. Relations et regards croisés, 1967-1989. Compte rendu du Colloque international IRICE-RICHIE, 2 et 3 février 2012, Paris
in *Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin*, n. 36, Automne 2012, 139-143

The full text is free:

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-bulletin-de-l-institut-pierre-renouvin-2012-2-page-139.htm>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Mattlin Mikael

Dead on arrival: normative EU policy towards China

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms, 181-198

The European Union's (EU) normative roles in global politics have in recent years been a hotly debated topic. The EU promotes its political values outside of the Union, especially with regard to prospective accession countries and small developing countries. However, a normative foreign policy approach encounters considerable challenges when confronted with major powers, such as China and Russia that do not share the political values promoted by the EU. Attempts at pursuing a normative policy towards these countries often come across as halfhearted. This article discusses EU normative policy towards China. It identifies loss of the moral high ground, conflicting positions of EU members and lack of leverage as the three main factors hampering it. It needs to be recognised that these problems are fundamental and stem from the very nature of the EU itself. The article argues that instead of a halfhearted offensive normative approach towards China or ubiquitous dialogues with partners, the EU may be better off with a more determined policy of defensive normativity. This would entail being more insistent in upholding European values within our own community rather than seeking to export them outside of the Union, and favouring demand-driven cooperation. The choice stands between altering the self-image of the EU to make it better correspond to reality, or making reality live up to the self-image.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Korneev Oleg

Deeper and Wider than a Common Space: European Union-Russia Cooperation on Migration Management

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4, 605-624

ABSTRACT: Works that address European Union (EU)- Russia cooperation within the overarching project of the common space of freedom, security and justice (FSJ) often look at this 'space' as if it were regarded by both parties as a naturally coherent field, where cooperation had to be developed evenly in all of the sub-fields. Consequently, this misperception often leads to the conclusion that EU-Russia cooperation on issues of justice and home affairs is rather unsuccessful because, on one hand, there is still no visa-free regime and, on the other hand, developments in the sphere of human rights and judicial reforms in Russia are far from being satisfactory. This article argues that in order to



better appreciate the results of EU-Russia cooperation in the field of internal security, one should not analyse it in connection with EU attempts to promote human rights and democracy in Russia. Such constructivist - and somewhat idealist - view has prevented many researchers from a more pragmatic assessment that would take into account some real achievements of this cooperation that fit well with the commonly defined interests and goals in the sphere of internal security and migration management in particular. This article shows that both partners have managed to achieve much of what has been planned in the sphere of migration management. Moreover, through this cooperation with Russia, the EU has a chance to promote one of its most internationally visible instruments (readmission agreements) in Central Asia - a region where EU's direct involvement has not been very successful.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

De Perini Pietro

Democracy, Human Rights and Euromediterranean Citizenship: Has the «Arab Spring» Sparked a New Phase in the Evolution of Intercultural Dialogue?

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 10, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 83-104

ABSTRACT: Questo articolo parte dalla considerazione che, nel contesto euromediterraneo, la portata, gli obiettivi strategici e i campi di applicazione del dialogo interculturale sono stati spesso guidati dalle principali sfide a livello regionale e adattati per fornire risposte complementari alle relative necessità politiche, spesso subendo cambiamenti significativi. In questo ambito, l'articolo si domanda se anche l'epocale ondata di sollevazioni e rivolte in Medio Oriente e Nord Africa – ampiamente rinominata «Primavera Araba» – ha suscitato variazioni di rilievo nella promozione e nell'applicazione di tale strumento dialogico. Sulla base dell'analisi dell'attuale struttura delle politiche euromediterranee e dei principali documenti strategici/programmatici adottati a seguito degli avvenimenti nel sud del Mediterraneo, l'articolo sostiene che la «Primavera Araba» ha dato vita a un cambiamento sensibile nella concezione strategica generale del dialogo interculturale. Tale concezione risulta caratterizzata, in particolare da un innovativo legame con i temi della democrazia e dei diritti umani e da un inedito impegno a costruire forme di cittadinanza a livello regionale. Tuttavia, a causa del limitato arco diacronico di riferimento e alla dinamicità e incertezza dell'attuale situazione politica, la conferma empirica di tale cambiamento potrà essere effettuata solo in un periodo di tempo più ampio, quando l'implementazione dei nuovi obiettivi sarà valutabile concretamente. Se le conclusioni di questo articolo saranno confermate nel medio e lungo termine sarà pertanto possibile affermare che gli eventi relativi alla «Primavera Araba» hanno dato vita a una nuova fase del dialogo interculturale nella regione euromediterranea.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Juan José Ramírez Bonilla

Encuentros y desencuentros político-jurídicos. El gobierno mexicano ante la Asociación de Naciones del Sureste de Asia

in *Relaciones (Messico)*, vol. 33, n. 131 , 135-180

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Claus Leggewie

Europa y África del Norte: un nuevo proyecto generacional
in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 239

The «Arab Spring» and the crisis in the European Union tend to be observed and analyzed as two separate phenomenon. This article, however, aims to think of both processes together in order to evaluate the benefits of a potential Mediterranean union. Subjects such as democracy, energy and integration could be tackled with new focuses, at the same time as being possible to revitalize the currently questioned project of European integration, in the frame of an era of growing post-ideology.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Oegroseno Arif Havas

Europe's Asian awakening still lacks real clout
in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

The EU has tried hard of late to repair its on-off relationship with ASEAN and its 600m-plus citizens. But Arif Havas Oegroseno, Indonesia's EU ambassador, sees the creation of an EU diplomatic mission to the ASEAN Secretariat in Jakarta as missing element yet to be filled.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22041/language/en-US/Default.aspx

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Benedikter Roland

Eurozilla? Europe's Spectre in the US Presidential Election Campaign
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3 , 351-365

ABSTRACT: This essay is about the general perception of Europe during the 2011-12 US presidential election campaign, including the competing Republicans and the acting president. It tries to identify some patterns of the portrait of Europe depicted in the current US public debate by collecting some of the most important judgements given in the framework of this and partly in the previous campaign for US presidency. In order to cover a more comprehensive dimension of the issue, it covers not only what the candidates who are still in the race say but also the arch of the whole campaign.

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Delimatsis, Panagiotis

Financial Innovation and Prudential Regulation: The New Basel III Rules
in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.6 , 1309-1343



With the benefit of hindsight, financial markets and institutions proved to be much more fragile to shocks than regulators and supervisors expected. Financial innovation was accused of having played a decisive role in the recent financial turmoil. In the wake of the crisis and after the adoption of generous rescue packages and liquidity facilities by several governments, a coordinated effort is being made to revise prudential standards, both at the micro- and the macro-prudential level. In these efforts, governments appear to follow the rules promulgated within the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision (BCBS). After an examination of the interaction between prudential regulation and financial innovation, the paper critically reviews the new prudential standards adopted within the BCBS known as 'Basel III', in particular those relating to regulatory capital and liquidity. One of the essential lessons of the crisis is that such requirements can no longer be limited to banks, in view of the contribution of the shadow banking system to the crisis. Furthermore, relevant national initiatives in the EU and the US are discussed and potential conflicts with the Basel III framework are pinpointed. In addition, the relevance of the prudential carve-out within the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is examined. As rule creation outside the GATS grows, rule outsourcing in the area of financial services becomes well-established, thereby increasingly pointing to the limited role of the GATS in this area.

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Maiolini Mario E.

Gli Stati Uniti, l'Europa e il nuovo Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 345-356

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Boris Rigod

Global Europe: The EU's Trade Policy in Its Legal Context

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, vol. 18, issue 2 , 277-306

This article links recent developments in EU trade politics with the relevant rules governing the formulation of the common commercial policy. Its aim is to explain the domestic law regulating the EU's current external trade relations. Since 2006 EU trade policy has undergone a major shift from a policy of strict multilateralism towards selective bilateralism. To that end, the EU has launched a "new generation" of free trade agreements (FTAs), which are today its principle means for opening foreign markets. Despite the fact that already many bilateral trade treaties are in place between the EU and third countries, these new agreements mark a change in EU trade policy in that, for the first time, purely commercial goals are pursued on a bilateral basis. This shift in policy is accompanied by a major treaty amendment: the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which has a great impact on EU external action in general and on trade policy in particular. One of the Treaty's main features is to link the Union's trade policy with its other foreign policies. In the context of the common commercial policy, this leads to some contradictions between the language of the law and actual EU trade policies. This paper identifies the relevant factors in the move towards bilateralism and provides an in depth analysis of EU trade policies in the face of these changes.

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Behrens Maria, Janusch Holger

Great 'Normative Power': The European and American Trade Approaches with Chile and Mexico
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3, 367-386

ABSTRACT: In Europe, a lively scientific debate has emerged about the role of norms in the European foreign policy. One aspect of this debate is norms related to human rights, labour rights and environmental standards in European trade policy. In this article, the normative dimension of EU's trade policy will be analysed in comparison with the US by using the concept of normative power. By classifying the trade approaches of the EU and the United States, we question the hypothesis of Europe's normative power and ask whether the EU is a unique normative actor in world politics.

In the second section, normative power will be defined in demarcation to concepts of great power, empire and hegemon. In the third section, this theoretical differentiation will be used for the empirical classification of the European and American trade approaches. First, the self-proclamation of the EU and the US related to human rights, labour standards and environmental standards in trade policy will be analysed. Then trade approaches of the EU and the US will be measured in accordance to their self-proclamation by analysing the trade policy in three dimensions: negotiations, agreements and implementation. The trade agreements of the EU and the US with Chile and Mexico serve here as case studies.

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Quiring Manfred

Großraum Eurasien. Putins neues Superbündnis und das Ende der GUS
in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, November, 2012, 91-100

Am 7. Mai wurde Wladimir Putin zum dritten Mal inthronisiert und umgehend ergoss sich eine Flut von Präsidentenverordnungen, kurz: Ukase, über das Land. Es schien, als wollte der neue, alte Mann im Kreml aller Welt demonstrieren, dass nach vier lauen Jahren unter Dmitri Medwedjew nun wieder ein anderer, neuer Wind weht in Russland. Doch im Stil erinnert die Politik der weit gestreuten Anweisungen, mit denen Fortschritte in allen Lebensbereichen gefordert oder versprochen werden, eher an den alten Breschnew. Populistisch kündigt Putin an, künftig würden die Schlangen bei den Ämtern wieder kürzer werden: Ab 2013 dürfe niemand länger als 15 Minuten anstehen.

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Ignacio Walker, Héctor Casanueva

Hacia una sociedad de actores globales : las relaciones entre Europa y América Latina en el nuevo contexto global

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 44, No. 172, 101-111



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Taylor Ian

India's rise in Africa

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 4, july , 779-798

ABSTRACT: India's rise in Africa has been largely overlooked, despite the important implications of the growing presence of Indian corporations and a rise in New Delhi's political ties with the continent. Not only are Indian actors providing much-needed investment and capital, but Indo-African connections represent a further important diversification of Africa's international relations, something which reflects a major development for the continent. Indian activity in Africa may be said to constitute a middle ground between China's profit-maximizing and largely statist approach and the much-resented intrusive conditionalities associated with western policies. It is evident that India's growing activity in Africa has the potential to help African companies become more efficient by exposing them to competition, new advances in technology and modern labour skills. African governments could potentially use the opportunity of an increased Indian corporate presence in Africa as sources of appropriate technology, skills and advice for economic development. However, if not handled correctly, any goodwill that India possesses in Africa will quickly be squandered and/or India will become just another actor in Africa. It is up to Africans to negotiate with Indian actors to ensure that the benefits accrued from Indo-African ties are evenly shared and that Indian interest in the continent, alongside that of others, may help to serve as a catalyst for economic revitalization. The key issue is how African leaders can seek to leverage newfound Indian investment and interest in Africa so that Africa's place in global trade networks becomes more proactive and beneficial to the continent's citizens.

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Paul Jenkins, John Zelenbaba

Internationalization of the renminbi: what it means for the stability and flexibility of the international monetary system

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 512-531

The central question this paper addresses is whether internationalization of the RMB would be sufficient for the international monetary system (IMS) to provide greater stability and flexibility than today's IMS. Whether Chinese efforts to internationalize the RMB culminate in the currency achieving reserve status will be for China to realize. The path to reserve currency status, however, is not one that the Chinese can pursue unilaterally. Internationalization entails an interaction between private and public decision-making, and is a function of private-sector confidence as much as public policy. The outcome will be the result of strategic interplay involving public policies across systemically important countries and confidence-building among global savers and investors. The paper argues that international cooperation, especially among reserve currency countries on policy frameworks to achieve the common objectives of economic growth, full employment, price stability, and sustainable fiscal positions will define a coherent and well-functioning IMS.



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Jokela Juha, Gaens Bart

Interregional relations and legitimacy in global governance: the EU in ASEM

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 145-164

This article explores the ramifications of the European Union's (EU) internal legitimacy debate for its external relations. It applies the Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM) as a case study to examine the EU's attempts to promote legitimacy in global governance, more specifically in interregional institutions. The article's theoretical framework draws from the EU's legitimacy debate. It identifies three key sources of legitimacy, namely, (i) input legitimacy or democratic control and accountability, (ii) output legitimacy or performance and achievement of core purposes, and (iii) the degree of common identity as externalised through collective representation and the articulation of shared norms and values. The empirical analysis thereafter leads to three observations. First, the EU's presence has contributed to an increased democratic involvement by ASEM's different stakeholders including parliaments and civil society. Second, purely from an institutional legitimacy perspective ASEM achieves its purpose as a forum to 'constructively engage' with Asian countries and address issues relating to global governance. Third, ASEM reveals the EU's dual identity as an intergovernmental grouping and an organisation with a gradually increasing capacity of collective representation. However, the advancement of the EU's normative objectives through ASEM has been problematic, leading to a more interest-based and pragmatic policy path. The article concludes that the EU's legitimacy debate has had a bearing on relations with Asia and, in particular, with ASEM. Importantly, and given the EU's setbacks, some elements of the 'EU's way' have proven successful in promoting democratic notions of legitimacy beyond the state.

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Kuruk Paul

Investment Issues in the West Africa–European Union Economic Partnership Agreement Negotiations: Is a Harmonised Regional Investment Framework the Answer?

in *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Volume 20, Number 3 , 448-470

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Leonid Ivashov

L'Unione eurasiatica : problemi e prospettive

in *Eurasia Rivista di studi geopolitici* , XXVII (3, 2012)

Disponendo di risorse illimitate e di aree adatte al popolamento e allo sviluppo, lo spazio postsovietico costituisce la principale posta in gioco nella contesa in atto fra i principali poli geopolitici. Per la difesa della propria indipendenza, esso non può contare sui singoli Stati della CSI, i quali, Russia compresa, non sono più dei validi attori globali. Il progetto di Unione Eurasiatica proposto da Nazarbaev e sostenuto da Putin costituisce perciò l'unica possibilità per dar



vita ad un autonomo e distinto modello di civiltà continentale e ad una potenza in grado di contribuire all'instaurazione di un ordine mondiale stabile e giusto.

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Adamishin Anatoly

La Russia e l'Europa

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 397-407

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rampa Francesco, Bilal Sanoussi, Sidiropoulos Elizabeth

Leveraging South–South cooperation for Africa's development

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 19, issue 2 , 247-269

ABSTRACT: Optimising the development opportunities presented by emerging powers' growing interest in trade, investment and diplomatic engagement in Africa seems a priority for the continent in the context of a changing global system in which power is more diffuse. Taking into account a reconceptualisation of aid effectiveness as development effectiveness, this paper focuses on the manner in which African states understand and approach new opportunities for cooperation with emerging powers, especially China, India and Brazil, including the crucial issue of whether they seek joint development initiatives with both traditional partners and emerging powers. The central argument is that South–South cooperation, which is value-neutral although rhetorically reflecting the principles of solidarity and mutual benefit, must be part of an effective strategy to draw emerging economies into the national or regional development objectives of African states and the continent at large.

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Rubén M. Perina

Los desafíos de la Carta Democrática Interamericana

in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 44, No. 173 , 7-36

The Inter-American Democratic Charter (IADC) is the Organization of American States' (OAS) principal mechanism for the collective promotion and defense of democracy. It incorporates a series of diplomatic and juridical instruments developed by member states as part of a historical effort which begins in the nineteen eighties and nineties, when the great majority of OAS members returned to democratic governance. The Charter reflects an inter-American consensus and commitment to promote and defend representative democracy. However, in several Latin American countries one can observe a growing and worrisome pattern of moving away from such commitment and consensus --challenging the validity and relevance not only of the Charter but also of the historical inter-American instruments for the protection of human rights. In the emerging pattern, a government achieves power through democratic elections, but once in control



of the State, it wields its power to denigrate, dismiss and erode democratic institutions, values and practices established in their own constitutions and in the Democratic Charter. In view of these challenges, this article evaluates its relevance and effectiveness in preventing coups d'état or auto-golpes, contain the erosion of the democratic order, and restore it when it has been interrupted. It also proposes measures in order to apply the Charter to the fullest and/or reform it, so as to strengthen it as a multilateral mechanism for the promotion and defense of democracy, and specifically for preventing the collapse of the democratic order. It concludes with the caveat that such measures will be difficult to implement while the present hemispheric political and ideological differences and divisions persist.

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Mohan Giles, Lampert Ben

Negotiating China: Reinserting African agency into China–Africa relations

in African Affairs, Volume 112, Issue 446, January 2013 , 92-110

Most analyses of China's renewed engagement with Africa treat China as the driving force, and little recognition is given to the role of African agency, especially beyond the level of state elites. This article investigates the extent of African agency in engagements with China and argues that at various levels African actors have negotiated, shaped, and even driven Chinese engagements in important ways. Suggesting a theoretical framework that captures agency both within and beyond the state, the article provides an empirical analysis of African agency first by showing how elements of the Angolan state created a hybrid set of institutions to broker Chinese investment projects, and second by discussing how African social actors have influenced and derived benefits from the activities of Chinese migrants in Ghana and Nigeria. While both cases demonstrate African agency, the ability of African actors to exercise such agency is highly uneven, placing African politics at the heart of any understanding of China–Africa relations.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Foley Sean

Re-Orientalizing the Gulf: The GCC and Southeast Asia

in Middle East Policy, Volume 19, Issue 4, Winter , 77-87

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Smith Adrian, Bialasiewicz Luiza, Giaccaria Paolo, Jones Alun, Minca, Claudio

Re-scaling 'EU'rope: EU macro-regional fantasies in the Mediterranean

in European Urban and Regional Studies, volume 20 n.1 , 59-76

This article engages with the most recent spatial fantasy for the making of 'EU'ropean space: the idea of trans-European macro-regions, currently in vogue in the policy literature. In particular, we focus on the imaginings of a Mediterranean macro-region as the latest incarnation of the macro-regional fad, but also as a useful prism for reflecting on some of the underlying conceptual as well as political and geopolitical challenges of the on-going remaking and rescaling of



'EU'ropean space. We argue that, although there exists by now a vast literature by geographers and other scholars that engages with the production of 'EU'ropean spaces through regionalization, the policy literature generated by EU 'macro-regional experts' appears to entirely ignore these debates, professing an understanding of regions that is a conceptual pastiche at best, and that entirely occludes the political and geopolitical implications of region-making within, at, and beyond 'EU'rope's borders

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Blockmans Steven, Van Vooren Bart

Revitalizing the European 'Neighbourhood Economic Community': The Case for Legally Binding Sectoral Multilateralism

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 4 , 577-604

ABSTRACT: The revolutionary upheaval in the southern Mediterranean and the slow reforms in most of the eastern neighbourhood have pushed the European Union to revise its approach to the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). In May 2011, the Commission presented a full review of the ENP, introducing an enhanced form of conditionality which should see more political and financial support being given to those neighbouring countries that implement more reforms and are more democratic. Characteristic of this 'more for more' conditionality is its strong bilateral dimension. While there is some rhetorical commitment to strengthening the regional dimensions of the ENP, for example, the Union for the Mediterranean and the Eastern Partnership, few tangible proposals to that effect have been made. Notably, while the reviewed ENP repeats the goal of a 'Neighbourhood Economic Community' as a long-term objective of regional integration across the neighbourhood, it makes no proposals on instruments or strategy as to how to achieve that objective. This paper proposes that 'legally binding sectoral multilateralism' should be the EU's method and instrument of choice to reach that goal. This entails a pro-active strategy consisting of treaty-based legal integration between the EU and neighbouring countries and between the latter themselves, in sectors where such is clearly beneficial in its own right, as well as in the light of the long-term objective of a neighbourhood community. On the basis of two case studies, pertaining to the Energy Community Treaty and the draft Transport Community Treaty, the paper explores the benefits and weaknesses of this approach. The paper argues that the challenges posed by legal fragmentation in the wider European legal space can be overcome in order to reap the substantial economic and policy benefits spurred by legally binding sectoral multilateralism.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ivanov Igor

Russia and the EU both lose if they don't work together

in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

The disputes that have dogged EU-Russia relations reflect deeply rooted attitudes on both sides, acknowledges former Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov, but that's no reason to abandon efforts to improve co-operation. He charts some of the steps towards a "greater Europe" stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22037/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ratzmann Nora

Securitizing or developing the European neighbourhood? Migration management in Moldova
in **Southeast European and Black Sea Studies**, vol. 12, n. 2 , 261-280

and security could be translated into two distinct policy areas in the operational sphere: development and security. Drawing on the example of the Republic of Moldova, the focus of this article is on policy implementation of the ENP. Moldova, a former Republic of the Soviet Union, politically 'sandwiched' between the European Union (EU) and Russia, is home of an unsolved, frozen conflict with the breakaway region of Transnistria. In addition, it is characterized by low levels of economic development, high emigration rates and an imperfect democracy – problems that are also found in other ENP partner countries. Within the EU–Moldovan relationship particular attention appears to be given to initiatives regulating the cross-border movement of people. This analysis asks whether and why security interests lie at the core of the ENP, with migration being pivotal.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Dittmer Lowell

Sino-Australian Relations: A Triangular Perspective

in **Australian Journal of Political Science**, vol. 47, n. 4 , 661-675

ABSTRACT: Since the 1990s, Australia has become increasingly concerned about a perceived incongruence between its booming economic relationship with China and its security alliance with the US. There have been dire warnings that the future will be marked by an inevitable increase in tensions between China and the US as the former threatens to overtake and surpass the latter in aggregate GDP and in military force projection capability. This combination of bilateral tensions and concomitant pressures from each side for Australia's support could force Canberra into a difficult choice: renounce its economic relationship with China to side with an economically moribund West, or betray old alliance commitments in pursuit of a lucrative relationship with a rising but ideologically alien new hegemon. What should Australia do? That is not a question that can be answered scientifically, but the framework provided here can perhaps elucidate the stakes.

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Lamy Marie, Phua Kai Hong

Southeast Asian cooperation in health: a comparative perspective on regional health governance in ASEAN and the EU

in **Asia Europe Journal**, vol. 10, n. 4, December , 233-250

Globalization has led to new health challenges for the twenty-first century. These new health challenges have transnational implications and involve a large range of actors and stakeholders. National governments no longer hold the sole responsibility for the health of their people. These changes in health trends have led to the rise of global health



governance as a theoretical notion for health policy making. The Southeast Asian region is particularly prone to public health threats such as emerging infectious diseases and faces future health challenges including those of noncommunicable diseases. This study looks at the potential of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a regional organization to lead a regional dynamic for health cooperation in order to overcome these challenges. Through a comparative study with the regional mechanisms of the European Union (EU) for health cooperation, we look at how ASEAN could maximize its potential as a global health actor. Our study is based on primary research and semistructured field interviews. To illustrate our arguments, we refer to the extent of regional cooperation for health in ASEAN and the EU for (re)emerging infectious disease control and for tobacco control. We argue that regional institutions and a network of civil society organizations are crucial in relaying global initiatives, and ensuring the effective implementation of global guidelines at the national level. ASEAN's role as a regional body for health governance will depend both on greater horizontal and vertical integration through enhanced regional mechanisms and a wider matrix of cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Harpaz Guy

The Dispute over the Sovereignty of Jerusalem: EU Policies and the Search for Internal Legal Coherence and Consistency with International Law

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, vol. 17, issue 3, 451-482

ABSTRACT: This article examines the EU's post-1967 conflict resolution policies pertaining to the dispute over sovereignty over Jerusalem. Analytically, it provides the first in-depth, genealogical analysis of the evolution of the EU policies, distilling four 'generations' of them, while normatively, it offers a critique of the consistency, coherence and legal cogency of such policies and their compatibility with international law. Yet the importance of this article lies beyond the particular case-study of Jerusalem, as it establishes that EU conflict resolution policies may, drawing on the work of Aggestam, be contextualized within the conceptual in the EU's self-perceived role, from 'what it is' to 'what it does', from passively representing 'power of attraction' to adopting the proactive role of an 'ethical power'. In such a role, international legal norms upon which the EU strives to premise its contribution to the resolution of disputes over sovereignty serve it in both a constitutive and an instrumentalist manner. However, and as the article has striven to demonstrate, the EU faces significant difficulties when attempting to assist in solving disputes over contested territories, based on rule-based diplomacy and strict commitment to international law, while having to face well-entrenched realities and accommodate realpolitik considerations. Consequently, the EU cannot ensure at all times its strict compliance with international law as such compliance ignores political realities and such ignorance mitigates, in turn, the already compromised centrality and effectiveness of the EU as a Normative Power in the Middle East and elsewhere. Thus, the EU will have to continue to seek the via media between international legality and political reality, strict observance of international law and effectiveness, *lex ferenda* and *lex lata* and between Constructivist-led, universalistic, value-based conflict resolution policies and more Realist-led, self-interest, security-based and hegemony-motivated policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Hillebrecht Courtney

The Domestic Mechanisms of Compliance with International Human Rights Law: Case Studies from the



Inter-American Human Rights System

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 4, november , 959-985

ABSTRACT: In their rulings, international human rights tribunals frequently ask states to engage in costly compliance measures ranging from paying reparations to victims to changing domestic human rights laws and practices. The tribunals, however, have little enforcement or oversight capacity. The responsibility for compliance falls to domestic actors: executives, legislators, and judiciaries. Through nuanced case studies of the compliance process in Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia, this article suggests that compliance with the Inter-American human rights tribunals' rulings depends on executives' political will for compliance and their ability to build pro-compliance coalitions with judges and legislators.

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Nadia Alexandrova-Arbatova

The EU-Russia partnership: a new context

in *Interdisciplinary Political Studies*, Volume 2 (2)

The EU–Russia summit that took place on June 4 in St Petersburg met expectations for two reasons. Firstly, expectations prior to the summit were low: nobody was under any illusion that the summit would result in a radical breakthrough. Secondly, the biannual EU–Russia summits tend to produce symbolic rather than practical outcomes

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Gaens Bart, Jokela Juha, Mattlin Mikael

The EU's Asia: renegotiating boundaries, renegotiating norms

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 91-97

The global financial crisis and the shift of economic strength to a rising Asia have ushered in European introspection and allusions to the decline of the European Union (EU). The EU's ambitions to have a normative impact in the world have been called into question. The seven articles in this guest-edited issue explore processes of change relating to geopolitical definitions, regional actorhood, interregionalism, and normative power within the framework of EU–Asia relations. This introduction contextualises the themes taken up in the different articles. It considers important divides in the recent history of Europe–Asia relations and outlines key transformations in the global environment, before critically reflecting on the significance of normative power for Europe.

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Boisseau du Rocher Sophie

The European Union, Burma/Myanmar and ASEAN: A challenge to European norms and values or a new



opportunity?

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 165-180

The recent events in Burma/Myanmar, beginning with the November 2010 elections and the subsequent series of reforms, have taken Europe by surprise. For the last 20 years, the European Union (EU) has been one of the most vocal critics of the junta regime, thus jeopardising its constructive relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its members. In a new context of transition, the EU has to show that it can quickly adjust to an unanticipated scenario if it does not want its credibility to remain deeply undermined in a regional space that is undergoing structural transformations. Europe and ASEAN should together find a way to consolidate both the socio-political transitions in Southeast Asia and the validity of European values.

Fulltext Preview

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Maass Matthias

The European Union, Vietnam, and Human Rights as Law: the case of the 1995 EU–Vietnam framework agreement and its human rights clause

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, n. 4, December , 215-231

The year 1995 marked a major watershed for modern Vietnam. It completed its post-Cold War strategy of “multilateralizing” its foreign policy by joining ASEAN, normalizing relations with the US, and signing a comprehensive framework agreement with the EU. All three are recognized as major accomplishments for modern Vietnamese diplomacy. However, in the EU–Vietnam framework agreement, Hanoi made an unprecedented concession when it agreed to the human rights clause in the treaty. For the very first time, Vietnam had accepted an explicit, legally binding stipulation on human rights in a bilateral treaty. This remarkable development resulted from the confluence of three major dynamics. First, Hanoi had committed itself to establish sound relations with all major economic centers-of-gravity at the time, ASEAN, the US, and the EU. Second, the EU also was keenly interested in stronger relations with Asian countries but was flexible about prioritizing any particular bilateral relationship. Third, Brussels’ diplomats had to work off a treaty template when negotiating fundamental bilateral agreements. The standard EU framework agreement at the time included a human rights clause. In 1995, the EU was insisting that any treaty with Vietnam would have to include a clause on human rights. Initially, Hanoi rejected such a treaty provision, and the negotiations stalled. However, when Hanoi realized that Brussels felt no urgency to complete the treaty and was unable to compromise on human rights, Vietnam’s leadership reconsidered. In order to complete the strategy of “multilateralizing” its international affairs, Vietnam had to accept the human rights clause in the treaty with the EU.

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Creon Butler

The G-20 framework for strong, sustainable, and balanced growth: glass half empty or half full?

in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, volume 28 n.3 , 469-492

The G-20 Framework for Strong, Sustainable and Balanced Growth was launched by the G-20 leaders in 2009 to



strengthen coordination of national economic policies as the world emerged from the 2008–9 financial crisis. Building on earlier attempts at international economic policy coordination, the Framework has made significant advances in the detailed institutional procedures for policy coordination, including information sharing, analytical tasking, and the development of structured policy discussions to address medium-term issues. Some politically difficult challenges have been overcome using varied techniques, including enabling the system of collaboration to evolve incrementally over time. However, further progress is needed if the Framework is to deliver on the remit set by leaders.

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Hamid Faruqee, Krishna Srinivasan

**The G-20 mutual assessment process—a perspective from IMF staff
in Oxford Review of Economic Policy**, volume 28 n.3 , 493-511

In the wake of the financial crisis, G-20 leaders launched a framework to mutually assess their policies to help strengthen the global economy. This article reflects on the experience so far with the Mutual Assessment Process (MAP). It looks at the coordination problem facing G-20 economies with respect to the need for global rebalancing of demand. While a classic ‘coordination failure’ has some appeal, a more compelling case for policy cooperation is based on the role of spillovers and interdependence. In this context, the G-20 MAP—as a coordination vehicle—has the potential to build shared understanding, enhance mutual trust, and galvanize action among members. Simulated gains from collective action are potentially sizeable. However, key conditions that engendered remarkable global cooperation at the height of the crisis are now more diffuse, posing challenges to what the MAP might achieve going forward and providing some initial lessons for international policy coordination.

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Huliarasa Asteris

**The Illusion of Unitary Players and the Fallacy of Geopolitical Rivalry: The European Union and China in Africa
in Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs**, Volume 101, Issue 5 , 425-434

Journalists, academics and politicians portray the European Union and China as unitary actors that follow coherent strategies towards ‘Africa’. These perceptions help in turn to sustain a discourse of geopolitical competition: the EU and China are presented as bitter rivals of a new ‘Cold War’. This ‘new scramble for Africa’ narrative is an illusion. Despite official declarations, Brussels’ ties with ‘Africa’ are only a small part of a complex web of relationships. Moreover, China’s presence in Africa is far less monolithic than outside observers assume. However, these flawed perceptions are quite persistent because they serve the ambitions and interests of governing elites.

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Engelbrekt Kjell

**The Missing Link in the EU's Nascent Strategic Approach toward Asia: Military Diplomacy
in Asia Pacific Review**, Volume 19, Issue 2 , 62-84



The Lisbon Treaty enacted in 2009 allows the European Union (EU) to adopt a foreign, security, and defense policy with a higher profile. In particular, the High Representative and the European External Action Service are now in a position to conduct a continuous conversation with China, India, Japan, and ASEAN beyond trade-oriented dialogues. But a genuine strategic approach toward Asia requires military expertise so as to adequately assess how to best contribute to stability in this part of the world. Military diplomacy involving individual member states already takes place, yet virtually no information is shared at the EU level. The adoption of a full-fledged strategic approach toward Asia would not only be politically astute and make excellent economic sense; it can also consolidate EU institutions in the realm of foreign, security and defense policy.

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Ashok Sharma

**The Quadrilateral Initiative: An Evaluation
in South Asian Survey**, Vol. 17, n°2, 237-253

Asia's emergence as the world's fastest-growing region, with rising military expenditures and a substantial restructuring of power, has given rise to new strategic alliances and coalitions between the region's major players. The quadrilateral initiative, a grouping of the United States (US), Japan, Australia and India, emerged after tsunami cooperation in 2004 between these four countries and was later advocated by the Japanese Premier. Strategically designed to balance power and tackle issues like transnational security, terrorism and sea piracy in the Asia-Pacific region, the Quad was put on the backburner following Beijing's protests that it had been specifically designed to encircle it. Nevertheless, India's strategic ties with the US, Australia and Japan are growing and the US links with Japan and Australia have been strengthened in the Trilateral Security Dialogue. The article examines the factors that justify the existence of the Quad and asserts that the possibility of strategic partnership among these four maritime democracies remains alive.

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Thomas F. Legler

**The Shifting Sands of Regional Governance: The Case of Inter-American Democracy Promotion
in Politics & Policy**, Volume 40, Issue 5, 848-870

This article evaluates the limits and possibilities of Inter-American democracy promotion through the application of a five-part governance framework: the nature of the problem, governance architecture, the actor set, the construction of a sphere of authority, and contextual factors. I argue that the ability of the Organization of American States (OAS) to promote and defend democracy effectively has been hampered by a series of important changes in context: the structure of power, material conditions, regionalism, and ideology and discourse. The conditions that originally fostered the creation of an Inter-American defense of democracy regime during the 1990s have been largely replaced in the new millennium by strong impediments to the consolidation of this issue area as a sphere of authority. Unless the OAS acquires more stable contextual foundations, the future of Inter-American democracy promotion will remain highly problematic.

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Solís Mireya

The Trans-Pacific Partnership: Can the United States Lead the Way in Asia–Pacific Integration?

in *Pacific Focus*, Volume 27, Issue 3, December , 319–341

High stakes are involved in the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade negotiations: the United States seems to be on the verge of redirecting Asian regionalism towards an Asia–Pacific trade grouping that proclaims will not tolerate sectoral exclusions and will tackle head on non-tariff barriers (long considered glaring deficiencies of most free trade agreements). However, US domestic politics may prevent the realization of these lofty objectives. The influence of internal political constraints is evident in three areas: (i) the United States has pushed for a hybrid approach on market access negotiations that clouds the prospects of TPP adhering to the no-carve-out mantra; (ii) US trade negotiators have ramped up their negotiation objectives into a so-called platinum standard that could impose heavy preconditions on accession for new members and diminish the chances of growing the TPP membership; and (iii) the protracted ratification process and lack of trade promotion authority undermines the credibility of the United States in the eyes of prospective trade partners.

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Koga Kei

The US and East Asian Regional Security Architecture: Building a Regional Security Nexus on Hub-and-Spoke

in *Asian Perspective*, Volume 35, Issue 1 (January-March 2011) , 1-36

The current East Asian strategic environment and US strategy toward the region reveal that the United States faces foreign policy problems that would diminish US influence in the long term. While establishing an East Asian regional security architecture would curtail such progression, its design needs to be considered due to political and military uncertainty caused by China's rise. In this context, the article compares the validity of five policy alternatives in terms of effectiveness, costs, risk, and uncertainty. The argument is that the United States, as the most pivotal player in East Asian security, needs to reconstruct its security strategy toward East Asia by establishing a “regional security nexus” that allows US allies to have more diplomatic autonomy in nurturing and building an open regional community while strengthening security ties with the United States.

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Garavello Oscar

The Winds of Change? From Euro- Mediterranean Partnership to the EU's New Trade Strategies

in *Economia internazionale*, 2012, Volume 65, Issue 2 , 229-250

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Repo Jemima



The governance of fertility through gender equality in the EU and Japan

in *Asia Europe Journal*, vol. 10, nn. 2-3, July - Special Issue: The EU's Asia: Renegotiating Boundaries, Renegotiating Norms , 199-214

It is generally accepted amongst demographers that a declining fertility rate has negative economic consequences, namely in the guise of a slowdown in economic growth. Declining fertility has, therefore, been seen as a major problem in Japan and the EU for the last 20 years. Over the past two decades, demographers and social scientists have discussed intensely the causal connection between gender equality and female fertility, to the extent that during the past 10 years, gender equality has become the cornerstone of the EU and, to a degree, Japanese public policy aiming to re-optimize fertility rates. This article scrutinises the different ways in which gender equality is erected by demographic and social scientists in Japan and the EU as a technology of governance with the aim of re-exerting control over sexual reproduction. I argue that in the EU, scientists engage directly and endeavour to develop demographic theory based on European case studies, whereas Japanese gender equality policy is developed mainly by measuring the successes of European gender equality policy and considering the results it might yield in Japan. In both cases, however, gender equality is taken up as a tool for the governance of fertility.

Section C) Regional integration processes

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Licinia Simão

The problematic role of EU democracy promotion in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh

in *Communist and post-communist studies*, Volume 45, Issues 1–2 , 193-200

This article looks at the interdependences between the democratisation processes in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh and the management of the Karabakh conflict, focussing on the EU's democracy promotion policies. The article argues that the EU's normative foreign policy in the South Caucasus has been limited by the permanence of the protracted conflicts, in two interrelated ways. First, by not addressing the conflicts the EU focused on long-term goals but failed to provide short-term incentives towards peace. Second, by allowing only a limited involvement in the protracted conflicts, especially inside Karabakh, the EU was perceived as a reluctant partner, undermining its normative credentials.

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Youngs Richard, Álvarez Raquel C.

Time for Phase II in Europe's Arab awakening

in *Europe's World*, Issue 22, Autumn

The EU's reactions to the Arab spring have had merit, write Richard Youngs and Raquel C. Álvarez, but haven't added up to a strategic vision for Europe's role in the Middle East. They outline the elements for a new phase in EU policymaking towards the region's new democracies.

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/22043/language/en-US/Default.aspx



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Richter Solveig

Two at one blow? The EU and its quest for security and democracy by political conditionality in the Western Balkans

in **Democratization**, vol. 19, n. 3, Special Issue: Do All Good Things Go Together? Conflicting Objectives in Democracy Promotion , 507-534

The EU is facing a serious conflict of objectives in the Western Balkans, primarily between security interests calling for the rapid integration of these countries and its interest in democratization, which demands a stricter democracy promotion agenda and cautions against a rushed enlargement round including unconsolidated states. I argue that the EU's approach, which enforces both security and democracy through one instrument, namely, political conditionality, has yielded only limited success and has contributed to the emergence of a conflict of objectives for a number of reasons. First, to render its conditionality policy credible and consistent, the EU has been forced to prioritize security at the expense of democracy promotion. Second, compliance patterns in the two areas have differed, resulting in a conditionality dilemma that forces the EU to sanction compliance or reward non-compliance. And third, the use of political conditionality in security issues has generated counterproductive side effects that may impede the consolidation of democracy. The case study of Macedonia empirically supports this argument. The study provides evidence for an argument that contradicts much of the literature on sequencing: democracy promotion should resume playing a significant role in the early stages of post-conflict transition.

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Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pridy, Nicolas - Roux, Nathalie

Why are the Trade Gains from the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership so Small?

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.3 , 571-596

This article shows first that, despite significant trade gains expected from the Euro-Mediterranean Agreements, especially the Barcelona Agreement, actual gains are positive but small. The reasons for such small effects are investigated. They include delays in the implementation of the tariff schedule, the lack of European Union (EU) market access for agricultural products, the persistence of non-tariff barriers, the lack of regional integration in terms of services and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), the role of rules of origins, the impact of inappropriate specialization, etc. This appraisal makes it possible to suggest several policy options which are necessary to optimize the effects of the Euromed partnership. In this regard, the Arab Spring creates new opportunities to reinforce trade integration in this area.

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Wolf Grabendorff



¿Qué importancia puede tener la Unión Europea para una América Latina emergente?

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 239

Globalization, the displacements in geopolitical axis and the economic crisis have reconfigured the scenes in which European Union-Latin America and Caribbean's relations are discussed. Europe's loss of international relevance coincides with Latin American countries' advances in political, economic and international weight, which further complicates the formulation of a common agenda and obliges the rethinking of the bi-regional focus EU-LAC, in favor of more flexible discussions with countries and blocs of countries in the region, including in the most relevant subjects of today, such as security and climate change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Lépine Frédéric

A Journey through the History of Federalism. Is Multilevel Governance a Form of Federalism?

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 21-62

The aim of this article is to find out a general coherence to the federalist idea, through a study of the evolution of federalist thoughts. It comes to the conclusion that federalism have to stay an idea or a principle, and not a concept nor a theory, in order to be able to encompass all federalist discursive approaches. Moreover, it assesses that the latest development of the federalist idea is multi-level governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Khan Arshi

Contesting Democratic Polities in the Interest of Federalism

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 251-263

Federalism is not only a system of governance, but also an important political principle that has long been neglected in various parts of Asia. Federalism succeeds in those countries where either civic state and society compliments each other or civic communes, like that of the linguistic communities of Switzerland, co-exist due to the recognition of their democratic entitlements within the federal and cantonal constitutions. In other words, federal arrangements have better prospects in those places where the people have experienced a long phase of change, revolutions and reforms. Several Asian countries have endorsed the federal structure of power sharing but they have not yet developed such norms and values to sustain its benefits. As a result, political crises have emerged affecting the government and the people. It is also a fact that the application of federal order can overcome most of these crises.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Collins Michael

Decolonisation and the “Federal Moment”

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 24, n. 1 , 21-40



ABSTRACT: Post-1945 decolonisation involved the universal acceptance of nation-statehood as the alternative to imperialism. Nationalism vanquished its transnational competitors, notably imperialism and Marxism. Alternatives to imperial rule that avoided sovereign states on national lines, such as federations in the later 1940s and 1950s, have received less attention from historians. Federations involved alternative ways of thinking about sovereignty, territoriality, and political economy. British interest in creating federations, for example the Central African Federation (CAF) in 1953, offers some new perspectives on the strength of imperial ideology and the determination to continue a missionary imperialism after the Second World War. Federal thinking and practice was prominent at this time in other European empires too, notably the French and Dutch ones. The federal idea was also an aspect of the emerging European community. This is suggestive of a wider "federal moment" that points to the importance of linking international, trans-national, imperial, and world historical approaches.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Keil Soeren

Federalism as a Tool of Conflict-Resolution: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 205-218

Federalism has been used as a tool to end the violent conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and ensure political cooperation after the war. However, the ideology of federalism as well as the federal state institutions were constructs of international actors and not indigenous to Bosnia. As a consequence it can be witnessed how the idea of federal statehood remains challenged from all sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina today. While there have been a number of important reforms in Bosnia since 1995, these have generally focused on strengthening the central level at the expense of the entities. What the reforms have not created is an environment in which the Bosnian state as such is not challenged anymore. Instead, the EU had to realize that its conditionality is not working in Bosnia since local elites continue to see politics as a zero-sum game. What Bosnia needs is a constitutional reform in which the major parties agree on the nature of the Bosnian state and their relationship to the state and to each other. These reforms have to be achieved through local compromise and cooperation and cannot be imposed from the outside. Finally, this paper will demonstrate how federalism has contributed to building peace and building a federal state in Bosnia, but how it has failed in creating a consensus on the state and ensure that all parties accept the state and its federal nature

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Schmitt Nicolas

Le fédéralisme : plus fragile et plus nécessaire que jamais. Quelques réflexions illustrées par la Suisse et les pays d'Afrique in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 143-168

Introduction Dissertar sur l'obsolescence du fédéralisme est à la fois un luxe de nantis et la preuve de l'aspect éminemment démocratique du système, puisqu'il est ouvert à sa propre remise en cause. De fait, cette discussion est un peu absurde pour une raison fondamentale : le fédéralisme est un concept suffisamment vague pour faire preuve d'une grande adaptabilité. Ronald...



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Gioia V. , Bevilacqua E.

Markets, Science and Social Changes. Proudhon and the legacy of Enlightenment

in *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, fasc. 1

This paper is focused on an often neglected aspect of Proudhon's thought: his rich confrontation with the theoretical legacy of the Enlightenment authors (Rousseau, Diderot, A. Smith, Condorcet, etc.) about the nature of "commercial society" and the idea of social progress. Through the rethinking of the Enlightenment views, Proudhon builds an approach designed to inquire into the relationships between scientific advances and the increased awareness of social agents, in order to analyse the causes of economic and social changes. In this perspective Proudhon creates a new category of social progress that can explain the theoretical evolution of the social sciences and the dynamics of capitalistic society. At the centre of his analysis we find both an interesting and original reflection about the relationship between individuals and society, and about the evolution of human nature with reference to the idea of social "Justice".

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Grimaldi Giorgio

Prospects for Ecological Federalism

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 301-323

Federalism and ecologism are ideologies sharing the aim of reconciling the global perspective (federation as a guarantee for freedom, democracy, peace, prosperity, justice and the protection of world ecosystems) with the local perspective (the autonomy of the human community and the fight to protect the environmental as well as social and cultural heritage, etc.) and offer universal ideals of global solidarity, often viewed as unattainable dreams by the majority of citizens. Federalism and ecologism also share the characteristic of being supported by qualified elites and not being able to constantly engage and mobilise large portions of democratic societies. Some common elements (culture of limitation or self-limitation and eco-development or eco-sustainability, extension of individual and collective rights/duties and active democratic participation at the local, regional, national and global level based on solid civic and ecological education, territoriality enhancement and unity in diversity, the pursuit of a global multidimensional security policy based on a multipolar balance of power at the global level, on non-violent and 'defensive defence' methods) could encourage an ecological federalism aimed at dealing with global phenomena as well as recovering, at the local and national level, and building, at the regional and global level, political and democratic capacity for governance to protect and manage common global goods and promote conditions and services that guarantee a dignified lifestyle to the population, based on minimum shared values and public interests.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Law John

Sense on Federalism

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 83, Issue 3, July-September 2012 , 541-550

Debate on the relevance (or otherwise) of federalism to the development of the European Union is often characterised



by mutual incomprehension on either side. Close inspection, however, reveals that the high temperature of argument may not be solely due to differing visions of the finalite politique. For the precise meaning of the federal concept in political science remains unsettled. This article looks back to the earliest origins of federalism, in order to establish a firm basis for suggesting improvements. The idea of divided sovereignty, 'invented' in America and now thought to lie at the heart of the federal concept, is identified to be a false construction. On these grounds, it is proposed that the definition of federalism be clarified today as not 'a division of sovereignty between two levels of government', but instead 'a division of the powers flowing from sovereignty between two levels of government of equal status'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Labat Séverine

Les binationaux franco-algériens : un nouveau rapport entre nationalité et territorialité

in *Critique Internationale*, n. 56, 2012 , 77-94

Franco-Algerian Dual Nationals : A New Relationship between Nationality and Territoriality

Even though the statistics are still difficult to establish, dual nationality is now a determinant element in the relationship between France and Algeria. The particular Frenchmen and women who comprise the dual national population are bearers of both the memory of colonialism and of accepted constituents of French national identity. Does the transgression of national ties call into question the legitimacy of the Algerian separatist project or does it rather represent a new continuation of the colonial relationship ? Whatever the case, it constitutes a promising arena of research in postcolonial studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Trautsch Jasper M.

"Mr. Madison's War" or the Dynamic of Early American Nationalism?

in *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 10, n. 3, Fall , 630-670

This article explores who was ultimately responsible for the War of 1812. By applying the three-phase model of the emergence of nationalism (from an elite to a mass phenomenon) to the political situation in the United States from 1809 to 1812, it seeks to reconcile the historiographical debate between those who consider President Madison the driving force behind the movement toward war and those who argue that the war movement was anchored in the legislature. Though Madison and Jefferson had since 1803 taken an uncompromising stance toward the former mother country in order to promote an Anglophobic American nationalism, thereby escalating Anglo-American tensions, they wished to avoid outright war, as they feared that the requirements of war could overwhelm the young and fragile American republic. By 1811, however, public opinion, incited by the Republicans' persistent anti-British foreign policies, clamored for armed confrontation. A majority of Americans consequently elected Republicans to Congress who were willing to vote for a declaration of war. Yet Congress was reticent to declare war until Madison officially recommended this step, believing that a war waged without the administration's support would not succeed. Against his personal inclination, Madison opted to seek war to remain in control of American nationalism and to ensure, as a wartime president, that the waging of war would not undermine America's republican form of government. American nationalism had become a



mass movement, assuming a dynamic of its own that became increasingly difficult to control. The onset of the War of 1812 was thus partly due to the pressure exerted by a rising populist nationalism that brought the so called war hawks into Congress, and partly due to the Madison administration's bid to remain in control of the political process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Martinelli Alberto

A rejoinder

in **Quaderni di Scienza Politica**, anno XIX, n. 3 , 529

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dénes Iván Zoltán

Adopting the European Model versus National Egoism: The Task of Surpassing Political Hysteria

in **European Review**, Volume20 - Issue04 , 514-525

Analysing the images of the self and the enemy of the two main kinds of political language in the post-communist countries of East Central European, this Hungarian case study shows the shift from personal liberty to social protection, from liberal democracy to a mixture of oligarchic and ochlocratic phenomena, from constitutional revolution to a search for forging collective identity, from individual universal human-rights discourse to collectivist, including ethnicist, public speech, and from establishing the constitutional bases of the new democratic political system to different political hysterias. Its ultimate question is how to surpass political hysteria through research into the ways and means of processing collective traumas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dyrstad Karin

After ethnic civil war. Ethno-nationalism in the Western Balkans

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 6, November , 817-831

While the study of the causes of civil war is a well-established subdiscipline in international relations, the effects of civil war on society remain less understood. Yet, such effects could have crucial implications for long-term stability and democracy in a country after the reaching of a peace agreement. This article contributes to the understanding of the effects of warfare on interethnic relations, notably attitudes of ethno-nationalism. Two hypotheses are tested: first, that the prevalence of ethno-nationalism is higher after than before the war, and second, that individuals who have been directly affected by the war are more nationalist than others. The variation in ethno-nationalism is examined over time, between countries, and between ethnic groups. Three countries that did not experience conflict on their own territory serve as a control group. The effect of individual war exposure is also tested in the analysis. Sources include survey data from the former Yugoslavia in 1989, shortly before the outbreak of war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in 2003, some years after the violence in the region ended. Contrary to common beliefs, the study shows that



ethno-nationalism does not necessarily increase with ethnic civil war. The individual war experiences are less important than expected.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bosetti Giancarlo

Alle radici della xenofobia Dove nasce l'orrore di Utoya

in **Reset**, Numero 133

<http://www.reset.it/dossier/alle-radici-della-xenofobia>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Chen Rou-Lan

Beyond National Identity in Taiwan: A Multidimensional and Evolutionary Conceptualization

in **Asian Survey**, Vol. 53, no. 5, September/October, 845-871

This article conceptualizes the multifaceted concept of national identity in Taiwan. The prevailing measures on national identity were ubiquitous, one-dimensional, and categorical, forcing people to choose between being Taiwanese and being Chinese or opting for independence or unification. Conceptual haziness leaves us ill equipped to examine the essence of Taiwan's identity politics. Hence, this article goes beyond national identity to explore the dimensionality that underlies its nature.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Eric Woods

Beyond multinational federalism: Reflections on nations and nationalism in Canada

in **Ethnicities**, Vol. 12, n. 3

This article addresses the problem of managing nationalism in multinational states by evaluating the influential multinational federal model, as put forward by a group of Canadian scholars. Finding that it employs an overly primordial view of nations, the article argues that John Hutchinson's approach, which foregrounds the conflict of nationalisms that occurs within nations, offers a better lens from which to bring to light the sources of unity and disunity in multinational states. To illustrate this, the article discusses the conflict of nationalisms in Canada, suggesting that a debate over the merits of pan-Canadian nationalism within English Canada and French Québec can be identified. In failing to account for this, the article argues that the multinational federal model risks (1) marginalizing French-speaking Quebecers who support pan-Canadian nationalism and (2) encouraging English Canadian nationalism. To conclude, the article suggests that models seeking to mitigate the potential centrifugal effects of nationalism should avoid privileging one type of nationalism over another.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Miley, Thomas Jeffrey

Blocked Articulation and Nationalist Hegemony in Catalonia

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 23 n.1 , 7-26

This article focuses on the representation of preferences with regards to language policy in Catalonia. By comparing social surveys produced by a variety of organizations with its own data, this paper demonstrates that there is a substantial gap between the political preferences of significant segments of the general population of Catalonia and the political preferences of their representatives at the Parliament of Catalonia. In particular, the language policy implemented by the Catalan elites is not consistent with the preferences of Castilian-speaking working-class citizens. The article identifies two mechanisms of blocked articulation which serve to impede the representation of the preferences of these voters in the region's representative institutions. These mechanisms are: (1) the under-representation of Castilian-speakers in the region's representative institutions; and (2) the partial assimilation of elected Castilian-speakers into the attitudes and preferences of the Catalan-speaking, hegemonic fraction of the political establishment.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Tang Wenfang, Darr Benjamin

Chinese Nationalism and its Political and Social Origins

in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 21, Issue 77 , 811-826

Using the 2008 China Survey, this paper examines Chinese respondents' feelings toward their country and how such feelings are related to their democratic values. First, it compares Chinese nationalism with that of 35 countries and regions in the 2003 National Identity Survey. Second, it looks at the origins of Chinese nationalism as embedded in the social and political characteristics of individuals. Third, it further examines the impact of nationalism on people's political attitudes. The findings show that nationalism in contemporary China is better predicted by the political and economic characteristics of an individual rather than cultural attributes, and that nationalism serves as a powerful instrument in impeding public demand for democratic change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Conversi Daniele

Comparing European and American Nationalism: A Response to Alberto Martinelli's "Nationalism in the 21st Century"

in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 3 , 469-488

ABSTRACT: Il dominio americano sulla cultura e sulla politica del Novecento è stato in gran parte determinato dall'autodistruzione dell'Europa in nome del nazionalismo. Dopo che la Prima guerra mondiale aveva segnato il destino del continente, la supremazia americana si avviava a rimpiazzare la tradizionale influenza francese sulla cultura, sulla politica, sulle cose militari e sull'economia. Tuttavia, l'espansione della potenza americana non dipendeva dal suo nazionalismo, quanto dalla sua capacità di trarre profitto dai nazionalismi antagonisti degli altri attori. Per la gran parte del secolo, gli Stati Uniti non furono uno stato-nazione in senso europeo, e questo vantaggio fu decisivo nei momenti di



crisi. L'egemonia americana si diffuse a ondate sempre più intense tramite una combinazione di acquisizioni culturali e militari, in un processo di americanizzazione globale che è proseguito sino ai nostri giorni.

L'a. non condivide l'idea che il nazionalismo statunitense possa rappresentare una forza più benigna rispetto ai nazionalismi europei in competizione, anche se questi ultimi potrebbero ben risultare più distruttivi. Finché prevale il vecchio modello dello stato-nazione omogeneizzante e ostile al multiculturalismo, il nazionalismo americano può minacciare non soltanto la stabilità europea e globale, ma anche la stessa politica interna statunitense, le sue relazioni inter-etniche e la società americana nel suo complesso

Inoltre, considerato il flusso unidirezionale delle prassi istituzionali, dei modelli culturali e delle idee dagli Stati Uniti al resto del mondo, il nazionalismo americano può avere un impatto particolarmente distruttivo sulla scena internazionale, ispirando altrove nazionalismi in forma imitativa e reattiva. A ciò si aggiunga che il nazionalismo americano si scontra non solo con la "conservazione dell'impero", ma anche con qualsiasi residuo "equilibrio di potenza". Infine, è probabile che il nazionalismo statunitense intensifichi ulteriormente il nuovo "anti-americanismo" emerso nel corso della "guerra globale al terrore". Tutte queste tendenze si sono già manifestate sulla scia del fallimento della politica internazionale della presidenza Bush, segnata dal rapido declino su scala planetaria della potenza, dell'influenza e della legittimità politica degli Stati Uniti, nonostante la conservazione di un'indiscutibile posizione di dominio.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Maria Pia Casalena

Controstorie del Risorgimento: dal locale al nazionale (2000-2011)

in Memoria e ricerca , Fascicolo 40

With the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Unification of Italy several revisionist interpretations of the Risorgimento have appeared, which tend to delegitimize and present it as a series of crimes perpetrated against both Italian people and institutions. This study analyzes the path made by this production since 2000, highlighting specific editorial circuits and entering into the most successful and most representative pages. It also measures the specific gravity of this production over the past twelve years, compared with the historiography produced in Italy on the Risorgimento, highlighting a number of books not negligible and hard work of some authors that in recent years have presented (also dealing with relevant publishers) some actual complaints about the process of State-building.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Benhabib Seyla

Costruire il Sé, costruire l'Altro

in Reset, Numero 133

L'articolo riproduce l'intervento tenuto dall'autrice il 9 dicembre 2011 all'incontro "Background of Xenophobia" organizzato dall'associazione ResetDoc presso l'Institute for Public Knowledge della New York University.

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/costruire-il-se-costruire-laltro>



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Skinner Ryan Thomas

Cultural Politics in the Post-Colony: Music, Nationalism and Statism in Mali, 1964–75

in Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute, Volume 82, Number 4, November , 511-534

This article examines the shifting experience of national belonging and state patronage at a crucial juncture in Mali's post-colonial history, the ten-year period that marked the end of the country's First Republic (1960–8) and the beginning of its Second Republic (1968–91). My focus is on the contested politics of culture that characterized this period, elucidated through the experiences and expressions of two popular dance bands, Las Maravillas de Mali and Les Ambassadeurs du Motel. By following the post-colonial careers of Las Maravillas and Les Ambassadeurs I explore social and musical encounters with national community and state authority from which broader questions of political sovereignty and accountability emerge.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ole Frahm

Defining the Nation: National Identity in South Sudanese Media Discourse

in Africa Spectrum, Vol. 47, n°1

This article examines debates about national identity in the media landscape of post-referendum and post-independence South Sudan. Having never existed as a sovereign state and with its citizens being a minority group in Sudan, collective action among South Sudanese has historically been shaped in response to external pressures: in particular, the aggressive nation-building pursued by successive Khartoum governments that sought to Arabize and Islamize the South. Today, in the absence of a clear-cut enemy, it is a major challenge for South Sudan to devise a common identity that unites the putative nation beyond competing loyalties to ethnicity, tribe and family. Analysing opinion pieces from South Sudanese online media and placing them in the context of contemporary African nationalism, this article gives an initial overview of the issues that dominate the public debate on national identity: fear of tribalism and regionalism, commemoration of the liberation struggle, language politics, and the role of Christianity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Koukoutsaki-Monnier Angeliki

Deterritorialising the nation? Internet and the politics of the Greek-American diaspora

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 663-683

Abstract

In this article, analysis focuses on the websites of Greek-American diaspora organisations. The aim is to study these media outlets on two levels: (1) with regard to their communication function(s), in order to understand the spectrum of usages they offer to their visitors; and (2) with regard to the way they signify identity specificity at the crossroads of a parallel ethnic or national adherence. The low interactivity constitutes one of the general features of the media analysed.



The persistence of the nation as the framework to apprehend collective belonging and the interaction with the 'other' is another recurrent and important element. The 'identity specificity' of the Greek diaspora community is not presented in articulation to the host society, but in terms of a continuous attachment to a 'mother-nation', as a historic and cultural entity. The nationhood claimed and promoted in this manner is ethnic and cultural, and it espouses the form of an ecumenical and transcendent Hellenism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sinisa Malesevic

Did Wars Make Nation-States in the Balkans?: Nationalisms, Wars and States in the 19th and early 20th Century South East Europe

in *Journal of Historical Sociology* , Volume 25, Issue 3 , 299–330

Nationalism and protracted warfare are often seen as the most important impediments to social advancement in the Balkans. In contrast to these popular perceptions I argue that for much of its history the Balkan region was characterised by limited inter-state violence and by notable lack of nationalist ideologies. Furthermore by comparing the processes of state and nation formation and warfare in the South East Europe with those in the Western Europe the article aims to show that it is the weakness, not the strength, of nationalism and protracted warfare that historically have been the principal obstacles for social development. The general argument of the paper is developed in dialogue with Tilly's theory that ties state formation to proliferation of wars and Gellner's model that links the rise of nationalism to emergence of standardised educational systems and industrialisation. In an attempt to partially disprove Tilly and vindicate Gellner I argue that the experience of the Balkan region indicates that although wars can prove important catalysts of state formation they may not necessarily contribute to nation formation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Clement Jennifer

Elizabeth I, Patriotism, and the Imagined Nation in Three Eighteenth-Century Plays

in *Intellectual History Review*, Volume 22, Issue 3 , 391-410

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Brunnbauer Ulf

Emigration Policies and Nation-building in Interwar Yugoslavia

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 42, No. 4, October 2012 , 602-627

This article analyses the connection between emigration policies and nationalism in interwar Yugoslavia (1918–1941). It argues that Yugoslav policymakers used emigration as a means of nation-building. On the one hand, the Yugoslav state pursued long-distance nation-building by aiming to create a 'Yugoslav diaspora' out of the hundreds of thousands of



overseas emigrants of South Slavic extraction who had left territories that in 1918 became part of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the state pursued an ethnically differentiated exit policy. To this end, the emigration of minorities was supported, particularly in the case of non-Slavic Muslims, while the emigration of so-called 'national' elements was restricted. In order to assess the efficacy of these policies, the article also looks at the legal and institutional framework within which migration policies were carried out. It concludes that, while the policies' effects did not correspond with policymakers' intentions, emigration policy nevertheless provides an original perspective on nation-building in interwar Yugoslavia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Costalli Stefano

Ethnicity and strategy in the Bosnian civil war. Explanations for the severity of violence in Bosnian municipalities

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 49, Number 6, November , 801-815

The impact of ethnicity for the onset of conflicts has often been dismissed in the cross-country empirical literature on civil wars. Recently, however, several studies using disaggregated data have reached different conclusions and highlight the importance of the configuration of ethno-national groups. This article follows the latter approach and investigates a different phenomenon: the impact of ethnic heterogeneity on the severity of violence. Using disaggregated data at municipality level in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we perform a quantitative analysis to assess the impact of various indices of heterogeneity on the number of casualties that occurred in the 1992–95 war in the 109 municipalities composing the country. We argue that in a context where ethnicity plays a key role in shaping rivalry among groups, ethnic polarization, in particular, creates strategic incentives for severe violence as armed groups try to create ethnically homogenous territories in the first phase of the war. By also including the temporal dimension in the analysis, we show that ethnic polarization loses its impact as the war evolves over time; therefore, the geographic location of the municipalities becomes the best predictor of severe clashes because as the war goes on, ethnic groups shift their objective from creating internally homogenous municipalities to consolidating wider areas. As such, municipalities located on politically and militarily relevant frontlines experience the highest levels of violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Wucherpennig Julian, Metternich Nils W., Cederman Lars-Erik, Skrede Gleditsch Kristian,

Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War

in *World Politics*, vol. 64, n. 1, January , 79-115

ABSTRACT: Previous research has focused primarily on how ethnicity may trigger civil war, and its effect on conflict duration remains disputed. Rather than treating conflict as a direct consequence of ethnic cleavages, the authors argue that ethnicity per se does not affect civil war duration. Instead, its effect depends on its relationship to political institutions. They employ a dyadic approach that emphasizes the political context in which both government leaders and nonstate challengers can capitalize on the ascriptive nature of ethnicity. They show that although states can initially benefit from politicizing ethnic relations, once violent conflict breaks out, such policies may backfire on the government



and make it difficult for incumbent governments to accept settlements that could terminate conflicts. Past policies of ethnic exclusion also benefit rebel organizations fighting the government, since the resulting grievances increase collective group solidarity and render individual fighters more cost tolerant. Using a new data set that codes the nexus between rebel organizations and ethnic groups, as well as information on ethnopolitical exclusion, the authors find considerable support for their propositions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sandri Giulia

Ethno-linguistic Identity and Party Politics in the Aosta Valley

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2012 , 287-317

The French-speaking minority within the Italian part of the Alpine region has been politically mobilized since the beginning of the twentieth century. The party politics of the Aosta Valley region have been traditionally shaped on the ethno-linguistic, rural–urban and centre–periphery cleavages. The main minority nationalist party claiming to represent the French-speaking community of the region is the Union Valdôtaine (UV). This paper aims to explore the role of the main political actor of this Alpine region, the UV. The UV's ideological positions will be analysed, and also its responses to the external pressures that the party is currently facing: gaining political representation, immigration, and the processes of European integration and of regionalization of the Italian state. On the basis of an analysis of party manifestos, this paper will argue that the UV has strategically employed identity issues to secure its political survival.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Grigoryan Arman

Ethnofederalism, separatism, and conflict: what have we learned from the Soviet and Yugoslav experiences?

in International Political Science Review , vol. 33, n. 5, november , 520-538

ABSTRACT: The breakups of Yugoslavia and the USSR, as well as the violent conflicts that took place on their ruins, spurred a large number of studies claiming that the ethnofederal designs of these states were at the root of these events. I argue that the ethnofederal designs of these states were themselves the consequences of prior nationalist mobilizations in the Russian empire and the Balkans. I also criticize this literature for using the wrong baseline of comparison for evaluating the performance of ethnofederal states, for selecting cases on the dependent variable, for ascribing to ethnofederalism what should be ascribed to other variables, and for relying on certain questionable assumptions about separatism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Aberbach David

European national poetry, Islam and the defeat of the medieval Church

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 603-623

Abstract



The Muslim conquest of the Holy Land from Christendom, the invasion of southwestern Europe in the eighth century, and the Christian struggle, ultimately unsuccessful, to regain the Holy Land from Islam in the Crusades dominated European culture, particularly its poetry, for centuries. From the Old French epic, *The Song of Roland* (c. 1100) to the Albanian epic, *The Highland Lute* (early twentieth century), a vast popular culture grew in European vernacular languages in response to Muslim invasions and conquests. This article attempts to elucidate in panoramic form a neglected area of nationalism. It argues that from the medieval period until the fall of the Ottoman empire, poetry was instrumental in the rise of European national identities, partly in reaction to centuries of ascendancy of Islam, which undermined the authority of the Pope, the universal Church, the Gospel and Latin. The defeat of the medieval Church opened the way to narrower, more national and cultural concerns, reflected in a cluster of vernacular European poetic traditions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bennich-Björkman Li, Johansson Karl Magnus

Explaining moderation in nationalism: Divergent trajectories of national conservative parties in Estonia and Latvia

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 10, n. 5, december , 585-607

ABSTRACT: The puzzle to be explained in this article is how and why parties experience variation in the degree of moderation in nationalism. The article submits that an important indicator for such variation can be found in the extent to which a party is transnationally embedded, but the central claim of this article is that while external influences may well temper party nationalism they are filtered through predominantly internal factors, notably the cleavage structure and the political culture. The explanatory power of this argument is tested through a comparative case study of relative moderation in nationalism of two Baltic post-communist national conservative parties, Pro Patria Union in Estonia and For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK in Latvia, with particular attention to party preferences and positions on national questions, as well as of engagement in transnational party cooperation. Both started out as national conservative parties, but whereas the former party has turned into a more mainstream conservative party of European stance and a moderate nationalist party the latter has remained radical nationalist and basically held on to (ethno-) nationalism. The article examines the sources of this variation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Price Peter

Fashioning a Constitutional Narrative: John S. Ewart and the Development of a 'Canadian Constitution'

in Canadian Historical Review (The), Volume 93, Number 3, September , 359-381

John Skirving Ewart (1849–1933) was one of the most controversial public figures in early-twentieth-century Canada. With a background as an experienced lawyer, Ewart wrote extensively on Canadian law and national independence. This paper examines Ewart's private and public writings, focusing on the way in which he crafted a new and unique narrative of the Canadian constitution that positioned Canada as historically and politically distinct from the British Empire. At a time when a robust sense of imperialism energized much of English Canada, Ewart's ideas were controversial and contested. Assessing Ewart's constitutional narrative provides a way of understanding the early



development of independent Canadian nationalism and the constitutional changes that emerged in the mid-twentieth century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Botsh Gideon

From Skinhead-Subculture to Radical Right Movement: The Development of a 'National Opposition' in East Germany

in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 21, n. 4, November , 553-573

As the regime collapsed in 1989/90, it became clear that an extreme right movement had already developed in East Germany. Its origins and development have been variously interpreted as, first, an outcome of the conditions the GDR, second, a result of the *Wende*, the great change, and third, an outcome of the unification process. This article integrates all three interpretations. It shows how a heterogeneous, politically diffuse skinhead milieu arose as the first extreme right cliques began to develop in the GDR; how, at the time of the *Wende*, it acquired a radically nationalistic political orientation; and how it became part of a pan-German 'national opposition' in the reunited Germany.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Johns Robert, Bennie Lynn, Mitchell James

Gendered nationalism. The gender gap in support for the Scottish National Party

in *Party Politics*, Volume 18, Number 4, July , 581-601

Recent major surveys of the Scottish electorate and of Scottish National Party (SNP) members have revealed a distinct gender gap in support for the party. Men are markedly more likely than women to vote for the SNP and they comprise more than two-thirds of its membership. In this article, we use data from those surveys to test various possible explanations for the disproportionately male support for the SNP. While popular accounts have focused on the gendered appeal of recent leaders and on the party's fluctuating efforts at achieving gender equality in its parliamentary representation, we find much stronger support for a different explanation. Women are less inclined to support and to join the SNP because they are markedly less supportive of its central objective of independence for Scotland. Since men and women barely differ in their reported national identities, the origins of this gender gap in support for independence presents a puzzle for further research.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Longhi Enrico Serventi

Gli italiani «senza patria». La denazionalizzazione degli esuli antifascisti: ideologia del fascismo e politica internazionale (1925-1932)

in *Mondo contemporaneo* , Fascicolo 1/2012

Il saggio si propone di analizzare la genesi ideologica, l'applicazione e le conseguenze dell'approvazione della cosiddetta «legge sui fuorusciti» e della denazionalizzazione di 17 esuli antifascisti nel 1926. Mesi dopo il delitto



Matteotti, la denazionalizzazione fu soprattutto uno strumento per colpire i protagonisti dell'efficace campagna democratica contro il regime e per dissuadere altri italiani dall'appoggiare le correnti antifasciste in esilio. Ma la legge 31 gennaio 1926 n. 108, detta, appunto, «legge sui fuorusciti», fu l'espressione coerente dell'orientamento culturale e ideologico del regime, teso a subordinare la cittadinanza italiana all'adesione al fascismo e a considerare come stranieri («senza patria») gli oppositori. La peculiare dottrina fascista della cittadinanza si pose in evidente contrasto con il tentativo degli organismi internazionali di eliminare l'apolidia e di stabilire una disciplina comune sui rapporti tra cittadino e Stato. Il provvedimento causò un'aspra controversia nella Società delle nazioni, anche a causa delle proteste degli antifascisti italiani e dell'appoggio di correnti radico-socialiste francesi. Il dibattito fu il riflesso dell'inconciliabile differenza fra la visione della cittadinanza fascista e quella democratica e divenne un terreno su cui misurare il desiderio di Mussolini di affermare in sede internazionale i diritti della sua rivoluzione.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Riall Lucy

Guerre et nation dans l'Italie du Risorgimento

in *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* , numéro 44, 2012 , 49-64

Italian national identity is not traditionally associated with warfare, and among Italian stereotypes, there have been few as influential as the view of the Italian people as soft, feminine and reluctant to fight. This article looks at efforts made in the Risorgimento to challenge this view. It argues that, in the process, war in Italy became an act of masculine rebellion and a personal refutation of the nation's decline. Thus, instead of providing the basis for political compliance, this image was used convincingly as a call to revolution. Focusing especially on volunteers and on the image of Giuseppe Garibaldi, who best embodied the dream of renewal through military struggle in the Risorgimento, the article shows how a military ideal became linked to democratic ideas; indeed, Garibaldi reflected a romantic culture that was both passionate and dissenting and had little in common with the stern masculinity of traditional armies. However, this ideal did not appeal to all Italians, and opposition to this democratic vision can be found among those who volunteered to fight for the Pope in the 1860s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Spazzali Roberto

Idea di nazione e idea di società nel dibattito politico dei socialisti e dei democratici mazziniani in Istria tra XIX e XX secolo

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, n. 1, 2012 , 113-130

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Woelk Jens



**Identity-Diversity and the Territorial Dimension in the Western Balkans
in Europe en formation (L'), n. 363, 2012/1 , 189-204**

The building of Nation-States in the Western Balkans (WB) after the break-up of Yugoslavia has led to a greater demand for the accommodation of diversity. This paradox is explained by various factors: despite the tragedy of ethnic violence and attempts of 'ethnic cleansing' during the 1990s, homogeneity of the population could not be realised and diversity is still characteristic for most (new) States in the area. The need of guaranteeing regional stability for the States, but also the importance of peacefully living-together in diversity as indicator for a truly pluralistic democratic system led to different forms of interventions by the International Community followed by EU conditionality. The main variable emerging from a comparison is the use of territory for accommodating (ethnic) diversity. Following the Nation-State-model of Western and Central Europe, the identification of groups with (control over) a specific territory has often led to exclusive nationalist aspirations and to ethnic violence; today's challenge is to accommodate diversity, i.e. individual human rights and group claims, within a stable territorial framework.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Klausen Jytte

Identità, stereotipi aree mutevoli del consenso

in **Reset**, Numero 133

L'articolo riproduce l'intervento tenuto dall'autrice il 9 dicembre 2011 all'incontro "Background of Xenophobia" organizzato dall'associazione ResetDoc presso l'Institute for Public Knowledge della New York University.

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/identita-stereotipi-aree-mutevoli-del-consenso>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Deželan Tomaž

In the name of the nation or/and Europe? Determinants of the Slovenian citizenship regime

in **Citizenship Studies**, vol. 16, issue 3-4 , 413-429

ABSTRACT: Slovenia has been widely portrayed as a 'success story' of the transition to modern liberal democracy. This paper attempts to revise that somewhat distorted image by explaining how different political visions, and their clashes and coalitions over two decades of independent statehood, influenced the Slovenian citizenship regime, which is rife with undemocratic practices. Drawing on the 'nationalizing state' approach, the paper illuminates two dominant political agendas: the nationalizing state agenda and the Europeanizing state agenda. However, both agendas are frequently intertwined and provide legitimacy to political actors across the ideological spectrum depending on the circumstances. These circumstances are external or internal to the political system and determine the relevance of either of the two agendas. As such, they also play an important role in shaping the outcome of the political bargaining that has left its mark on the Slovenian citizenship regime. The periods of consensus between political elites regarding the overarching goals of national independence and accession to the European Union were accompanied by external pressures to introduce liberal democratic principles. Consequently, these facilitated the civic agenda. On the other hand, the absence of international pressures, in combination with internal factors, allowed serious malpractice in the field. Nevertheless,



citizenship has proved to be an extremely important aspect of both agendas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Jaime Lluch

**Internal variation in sub-state national movements and the moral polity of the nationalist
in European Political Science**, Volume 4 - Issue 03, 433 - 460

Variation in secessionism among sub-state nationalists is part of one of the great puzzles of ethnic politics. Sub-state national movements tend to bifurcate and, at times, trifurcate, into two or three basic nationalist orientations: independentist nationalism, autonomist nationalism (and its sub-variants), and federalist nationalism (and its sub-variants). There is a dearth of systematic comparative research into the sources and patterns of internal variation in the political orientations of sub-state national movements. This article investigates why some sub-state nationalists opt for a secessionist orientation while other nationalists within the same national movement opt for a variety of non-secessionist orientations. I use evidence gathered in Quebec and Catalonia, consisting of 42 interviews among the top leadership of the eight national parties of these societies, 15 focus group interviews with party militants, and 370 questionnaires answered by militants, etc. The national consciousness and materialist approaches fail to elucidate these issues. Instead, sub-state nationalists have expectations about what is fair treatment by the central state, and notions about what obligations emerge due to common membership in a plurinational state. Independentists and strong decentralizers (strong autonomists and radical asymmetric federalists) opt for their chosen orientations because they perceive that central state institutions are unable to promote an ethos of plurinational reciprocity and are aggrieved by state nationalism, while less-decentralizing nationalists (weak autonomists and traditional federalists) assert that the central state is capable of accommodation and reciprocity and have no grievances about state nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Sguazzero Tiziano

**La costruzione del carattere nazionale
in Italia Contemporanea**, n° 266, Marzo 2012

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Wieviorka Michel, Bosetti Giancarlo

**La crisi alleata dei populismi. Paura uguale nazionalismi
in Reset**, Numero 135

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/la-crisi-alleata-dei-populismi-paura-uguale-nazionalismi>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Pierre-Éric Fageol

La révolution nationale et l'exaltation impériale à la réunion durant la période de Vichy (1940-1942)
in *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, n°246 , 41-62

During the Second World War, the island of Reunion promptly declared itself in favour of the Vichy regime. The principles of the National Revolution adjusted to the colonial way of life. Rather than a form of inertia in the face of a coercive regime, it amounted to an acceptance both by the colonial authorities and a part of Reunion's society. The principle of national regeneration on the basis of Empire was reflected in all the speeches, producing forceful and highly instructive propaganda.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Bosetti Giancarlo

La sfida viene dal populismo
in *Reset*, Numero 135

<http://www.reset.it/dossier/dove-va-la-sinistra-in-europa>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Dinas Elias

Left and Right in the Basque Country and Catalonia: The Meaning of Ideology in a Nationalist Context
in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 17, Issue 3, Special Issue: Voters and Parties in the Spanish Political Space.
Guest edited by Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca and Elias Dinas, September , 467-485

Why are the Basques and Catalans the most left-wing societies in Europe? Treating peripheral nationalism and ideology as two orthogonal dimensions, the literature to date has not yet provided a systematic theoretical account of this pattern. In an attempt to fill this gap, this paper explores how nationalism has marked the meaning of ideology in these regions. Contrary to the left, the right has been treated as the opponent of regional devolution. The findings highlight the need to revise the orthogonality assumption often made when employing these two dimensions in the study of public opinion in Catalonia and the Basque Country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shlapentokh Dmitry

Lev Gumilev: The Ideologist of the Soviet Empire
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges:
In Theory and in Practice . , 483-492

Russian intellectuals like to appeal to examples of foreign history. Lev Gumilev's views on history are a good example. Gumilev was one of the most well-known representatives of Eurasianism, which was in turn one of the most interesting



intellectual constructs in Russian historiography. Gumilev believed that Russia was born not from Kievan Rus—the view of the majority of Russian historians of his time—but from the empire of the Mongols. While Gumilev saw Europe as a hostile entity to Russia/Eurasia, this was not the case with the neo-Eurasianists of the Yeltsin era. This article examines Gumilev's Eurasianism and its influence on modern Russian national identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Rabow-Edling Susanna

Liberalism and nationalism in Russia. Boris Chicherin as a modernist nationalist

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 701-718

Abstract 

This article investigates the link between nationalism and liberalism in Russia by looking at the way the leading spokesman of early Russian liberalism, Boris Chicherin, combined liberal ideas with notions of nation-building and the idea of the nation as a modernising phenomenon. The article argues that the young Chicherin, at least in the formative years of the 1850s, had an instrumental approach to liberalism. Liberalism served a specific purpose – to integrate the people and shape a community of active citizens so that Russia could modernise. Chicherin was concerned with the formation of a modern nation-state rather than the establishment of popular rule or political rights. In this sense, his thinking fits well into what, in the context of the Ottoman Empire, has been called modernist nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Micciché Andrea

Lingua, razza ed evoluzione dell'identità basca. Come cambia un nazionalismo: il caso del Partido Nacionalista Vasco

in *Spagna Contemporanea*, Anno XXI, n. 41

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Conversi Daniele

Majoritarian democracy and globalization versus ethnic diversity?

in *Democratization*, vol. 19, n. 4 , 789-811

While some types of democracy can sustain ethnic and cultural diversity, others can clearly undermine it. In *The Dark Side of Democracy*, Michael Mann argues that extreme crimes like genocide and ethnic cleansing tend to occur, or at least be legitimized, within a majoritarian democracy framework. This article broadens Mann's approach in two directions: first, it confirms that majoritarian democracy in plural societies can provide the pre-existing institutional context where conflict, nationalism and exclusion can thrive, eventually degenerating into self-destruction. Second, it focuses on the tendency by some governments to turn to patriotism and populism as sources of legitimacy at a time



when the latter appears to be crumbling. In addition, the article questions both the 'democratic peace' and the 'failed democratization' approaches for their reliance on an ideal type and fixed notion of democracy, arguing that the latter has been weakened by neoliberal globalization, particularly as it interacts with the legacy of pre-existing forms of majoritarianism. The article concludes that these forces need to be studied simultaneously in order to have a broader picture of the contemporary weakening of democratic practices and institutions within some nation-states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pettinicchio David

Migration and ethnic nationalism: Anglophone exit and the 'decolonisation' of Québec

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 719-743

Abstract

This article explains the effects of ethnic nationalism on Anglophone and Francophone migration. The rise of Québec ethnic nationalism in the 1960s dismantled the cultural division of labour, which created new opportunities for Francophones but threatened Anglophones' traditional dominance over the Québec economy. This had negative consequences for Anglophones but positive outcomes for Francophones, which in turn accounts for differences in migration patterns. Drawing from the internal colony model as well as migration and exit-voice theories, and using ecological census data, micro-census data and election panel data, I find that the key variables that increase the likelihood of Anglophone out-migration either do not explain Francophone out-migration or have opposite effects. This is because ethnonationalist policies decreased the economic return particularly for well-educated, higher-earning, professional Anglophones in Québec, while increasing the economic position of Francophones and in particular well-educated professionals.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kadercan Burak

Military Competition and the Emergence of Nationalism: Putting the Logic of Political Survival into Historical Context

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 3, september , 401-428

ABSTRACT: This essay aims to make a contribution to the conversation between IR and nationalism literatures by considering a particular question: What is the relationship between interstate military competition and the emergence of nationalism as a potent force in world politics? The conventional wisdom among international security scholars, especially neorealists, holds that nationalism can be more or less treated like a "technology" that allowed states to extract significant resources as well as manpower from their respective populations. This paper underlines some of the problems involved with this perspective and pushes forward an interpretation that is based on the logic of political survival. I argue that nationalism's emergence as a powerful force in world politics followed from the "mutation" and absorption of the universalistic/cosmopolitan republican ideas that gained temporary primacy in Europe during the eighteenth century into particularistic nationalist ideologies. This transformation, in turn, can be best explained by the French Revolution's dramatic impacts on rulers' political survival calculi vis-à-vis both interstate and domestic political challenges. The analysis offered in this essay contributes to our understanding of the relationship between IR and



nationalism while also highlighting the potential value of the political survival framework for exploring macrohistorical puzzles.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Brice Catherine

Monarchy and Nation in Italy at the End of the Nineteenth Century: A Unique Form of Politicization?
in European History Quarterly, Volume 43, No. 1, January 2013 , 53-72

This article argues that in Italy, at the end of the nineteenth century, monarchy played a strong role in the process of politicization. As the first institution of the nation, the monarchy, though theoretically super partes, was able not only to gather the political forces of the elite, but also of populations which as yet had no vote at the national level. These liberal-monarchical organizations were not classical political parties, but a network of associations acting in the political field as well as in charity, education, leisure and participation in national festivities. This rather informal way of 'making politics' must be taken into account in order to understand better the peculiar track followed by Italy at the end of the nineteenth century, and more generally, politicization before the era of mass parties.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Safran William, Liu Amy H.

Nation-Building, Collective Identity, and Language Choices: Between Instrumental and Value Rationalities
in Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2012 , 269-292

Abstract

The discussion of the place of language in politics has generally revolved around its relationship to nation-building and ethnic conflict. Yet, these are not always causally connected nor is language easily given up for the sake of a greater national or individual good. Attitudes regarding language can be influenced by anticolonialist resentments, memories of past injustice, status paranoia, xenophobia, collective megalomania, religion, ideology, and the desire on the part of a group to base its collective identity on a demarcation from a real or imagined enemy. This applies to many dimensions of language policies, including officialization, alphabetization, gentrification, and glossonym changes. We argue that governments choose language policies for strategic reasons. Whether it is to legitimize or subordinate a language or whether or not the policy is itself the objective, these choices may have unintended consequences.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Surak Kristin



Nation-Work: A Praxeology of Making and Maintaining Nations

in *European Journal of Sociology*, Volume 53, Issue 02, agosto 2012 , 171-204

This article bridges the literatures on nationalist projects and everyday nationhood by elucidating a repertoire of actions shared by both. Analysis of such “nation-work” contributes to the cognitive turn in ethnicity and nationalism research by showing how ethnonational categorization operates. Examining variation in this domain shows that though nationalism may project an image of a homogeneous “we”, internal heterogeneity is crucial for refining the experience and performance of membership in the nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Storm Eric

Nation-building in the Provinces: The Interplay between Local, Regional and National Identities in Central and Western Europe, 1870–1945 (Review Article)

in *European History Quarterly*, Volume 42, No. 4, October 2012 , 650-663

The full text is free:

<http://ehq.sagepub.com/content/42/4/650.full.pdf+html>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Breuilly John

Nation-states Matter More than Nationalism

in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 3 , 443-468

ABSTRACT: La critica del saggio di Martinelli si sviluppa in due principali sezioni. La prima è concettuale e storica, e si occupa della definizione che Martinelli dà del nazionalismo, del grado in cui tipi diversi di discorso nazionalista (per es. quello civico e quello etnico) possono essere messi in rapporto con le prassi politiche effettive, quali quelle riguardanti le regole della cittadinanza, e del modo in cui si possono utilizzare più proficuamente le distinzioni tra Staatsnation, Kulturnation, e Volksnation. La seconda sezione esamina sinteticamente la comparazione condotta da Martinelli tra il discorso nazionalista negli Stati Uniti e in Europa, e suggerisce che, anziché soffermarsi sugli effetti integranti o disintegranti di quel discorso, si dovrebbe dare maggiore rilievo al modo in cui la politica è modellata dalle istituzioni dello stato-nazione, poiché la politica all'interno di uno stato-nazione (gli Stati Uniti) assume una forma molto diversa da quella tra stati-nazione (l'Unione europea); inoltre, sostiene che ci sono cambiamenti importanti nel carattere della politica interstatale nel quadro dell'UE, a seguito del collasso del comunismo sovietico e dell'Europa orientale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Sorba Carlotta

National theater and the age of revolution in Italy

in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 4, 2012 , 400-413

Abstract

Inspired by the writings of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Denis Diderot, between 1796 and 1799 Italy lived through an intense period of theatrical reform trying to diffuse the concept of 'national theater', financed and controlled by public authorities. This process resulted in the opening of new theaters and opera houses. During the Restoration period, the same idea found a different political declination but with similar results: an even more powerful propagating of public theaters as spaces of urban sociability. The article examines the impact of this process on Italian society since the end of the eighteenth century, identifying some specific characters of the Italian theatrical system in relation to other national cases. The network of Italian theaters during the early nineteenth century shows seemingly contradictory elements whose dynamics have to be explained: local aspirations of excellence and participation in a national circuit of opera production; market dynamics and censorship; police control and involvement in political nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Carlotta Sorba

National theater and the age of revolution in Italy

in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Vol. 17, n°4 , 400-413

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Meadwell Hudson

Nationalism chez Gellner

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 563-582

Abstract

The central distinguishing feature of Ernest Gellner's most important treatment of nationalism is the proposition that nationalism is necessary for industrial society. Relatively little attention has been paid to the philosophical dimension of



this proposition. The question of necessity in social explanation, however, is a complicated philosophical problem and must be dealt with directly if this proposition is to be endorsed. I argue that Gellner's argument is philosophically flawed. The 'ordinary prose' of *Nations and Nationalism* fails to deliver what Gellner claims to have delivered: the demonstration of a necessary connection between nationalism and industrial society. This result is of particular relevance given Gellner's philosophical interests.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Martinelli Alberto

Nationalism in the 21st Century: A European and United States Comparison

in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 3 , 405-443

ABSTRACT: La tesi centrale del saggio è che il nazionalismo rappresenta oggi una minaccia per la costruzione politica dell'Unione Europea e invece una opportunità per contrastare la crescente polarizzazione politico-ideologica degli Stati Uniti. Il saggio si inserisce in una ricerca pluriennale sulle analogie e le differenze delle due grandi unioni atlantiche, l'una consolidata e l'altra in divenire (che l'a. ha sviluppato in libri come *Transatlantic Divide 2007* e *L'Occidente allo specchio 2011*) e adotta il metodo comparativo allo scopo di generare ipotesi interpretative circa i cambiamenti in atto. Il saggio si articola in tre parti: nella prima, si analizzano criticamente alcune delle principali interpretazioni del nazionalismo nelle scienze sociali contemporanee allo scopo di definire gli strumenti per la comparazione dei due casi studiati, si definisce il concetto di nazionalismo in relazione a quelli di nazione e stato, si afferma il nesso tra nazionalismo e modernità, si discutono alcune tipologie del nazionalismo, rilevandone le ambivalenze e le ragioni del perdurante successo. Nella seconda parte, si esamina lo stato presente della Unione Europea, ponendo l'accento sulle due contraddizioni fondamentali della integrazione politica europea: la formazione di una unione sopranazionale con identità multiple che usa gli stati nazionali come elementi costitutivi, ma pretende di liberarsi dei connessi nazionalismi; e la contraddizione tra lo spostamento al livello sopranazionale di porzioni crescenti di sovranità da parte degli stati membri e l'ancora insufficiente trasferimento di lealtà e impegno da parte dei loro cittadini; si discutono quindi le minacce rappresentate dal rinvigorirsi dei nazionalismi degli stati membri e gli interventi politico-istituzionali e di politica culturale che potrebbero neutralizzarle. Nella terza parte, si identificano tre principali fratture sociali che sfidano la tenuta politica e la coesione sociale degli Stati Uniti, che è stata assicurata nel tempo da un particolare tipo di nazionalismo di cittadinanza (il credo americano) iscritto nella costituzione americana; la frattura etnico-culturale (con particolare riferimento alla minoranza latino-americana), quella religiosa (connessa in particolare al fondamentalismo cristiano) e quella socio-economica (costituita in primo luogo dalla crescente disegualianza); queste fratture contribuiscono alla polarizzazione politico-ideologica e al conflitto tra due modelli di società, come è emerso anche nelle recenti elezioni presidenziali, ma possono essere contrastate e governate rivitalizzando e rinnovando il nazionalismo civico e il patriottismo costituzionale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Barreto Amílcar Antonio

Nationalism, Collective Action, and Rationality

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2012 , 316-336



Abstract

Since Olson's free-rider paradox, scholars have questioned the applicability of rational choice analyses to the study of nationalism and other forms of collective action. The most heated debates have centered on the participation of ordinary group members rather than elites. Leaders lack the material resources to adequately remunerate grassroots activists for their exploits or to individually punish defectors. This article posits that the problem lies not with the strategic thinking of nonelites but with the way rationality has been conceptualized in the scholarly literature. We should challenge the standard assumption that rational behavior is limited to accruing material rewards. This article will reexamine this conjecture in light of alternative interpretations underscoring that individuals endeavor to maximize nonmaterial utilities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mentzel Peter C.

Nationalism, civil society, and the revolution of 1989

in **Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 624-642

Abstract

Relying heavily on the work of Edward Shils, this paper argues that a robust sense of national identity among the peoples of East Central Europe played a crucial role in the revolutions of 1989 and the subsequent emergence of civil society in the region's countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Maurizio Isabella

Nationality before liberty? Risorgimento political thought in transnational context

in **Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Vol. 17, n°5 , 507-515

The introduction to this special issue reviews the historiography on the political thought of the Risorgimento from De Ruggiero's famous *History of European Liberalism* (1925) to the most recent publications. It draws attention to the endurance of the post-war Gramscian paradigm that continues to underline the backwardness and traditional features of Risorgimento liberalism and political culture despite the challenges posed to that interpretation by more recent research. The aim of the essays included in the issue is to place new emphasis on the connections, parallels and engagements that existed between the Italian and European political thought of the period, rather than on the exceptionalism of Risorgimento political thought, while suggesting that the tension between liberty and nationality constituted a distinctive features of Italian post-revolutionary political culture.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Fabbrini Sergio



Navigating the Murky Waters of Nationalism: Why Europeans Have to Consider The American Experience
in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 3 , 489-504

ABSTRACT: Il commento trae spunto dal saggio di Martinelli per discutere il seguente interrogativo: ha l'Unione europea qualcosa da imparare dall'esperienza statunitense quanto al nazionalismo? La risposta è positiva, in ragione di una configurazione di fattori ecologici particolari che rendono l'esperienza degli Stati Uniti in materia di nazionalismo analiticamente rilevante per gli europei. Gli Usa rappresentano un caso di sviluppo di un'unione di stati basata sul paradigma predominante del nazionalismo costituzionale, benché tale paradigma abbia dovuto costantemente rivaleggiare con quello del nazionalismo culturale. L'Unione europea, al contrario, mancando di un documento costituzionale formale a fondamento della sua stessa esistenza politica, è stata finora incapace di sviluppare un collante costituzionale delle sue divisioni interne. Se ciò è plausibile, allora l'UE non dovrebbe fare affidamento sulle tradizioni costituzionali dei suoi stati membri; dovrebbe invece intraprendere la strada che porta a una costituzione europea. I processi di integrazione europea continueranno a essere instabili, finché saranno privi dell'effetto ordinante dato dalla condivisione pubblica di un comune discorso costituzionale formalizzato in una legge fondamentale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Baldi Johnny Samuele

Nazionalismi e strumentalizzazioni archeologiche: qualche considerazione sulle ossessioni identitarie in protostoria

in *Intersezioni : Rivista di storia delle idee*, numero 3, dicembre 2012 , 447-462

Beyond usual and helpful tendencies towards new interpretations, acquisition of new data and innovative readings, the protohistory (even more than prehistory) has always been subjected to a political and ideological revisionism. On the basis of the nationalist and racist theories of the 19th and 20th centuries, both totalitarian regimes and regionalist-independentist movements used the protohistoric archaeology as a tool to shape identitarian feelings, through the representation of a fictional past whose antiquity would be the ancestral foundation of the theories currently propounded. From a methodological point of view, this «revisionism of the origins» stresses the concept of ethnic identity, disregards the phenomena of acculturation between the different people and uses (manipulates) archaeological data to construct completely fake cultural genealogies. The recent folkloric and political activism about the alleged Celtic origins of some territories is a good indicator of the (scientific and political) dangers inherent in the «revisionism of the origins».

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stenner David

Networking for independence: the Moroccan nationalist movement and its global campaign against French colonialism

in *Journal of North African Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 4, 2012 , 573-594



Abstract

The former nationalists of the Istiqlal Party as well as the royal family continue to suppress any discussion of Morocco's post-independence era, when both sides used any means necessary to take over national politics. The outcome of this decade-long struggle, an authoritarian monarchy dominating an array of weak and fragmented political parties, was not only the result of the clash between Morocco's two dominant institutions during the years of state formation, but was also shaped by early Cold War international politics. The Istiqlalis had commenced a global campaign to influence the nascent 'world opinion' to support their cause many years prior to independence in 1956. In order to influence the political discourse from the pages of the American media to the corridors of Capitol Hill and the UN building, the nationalists created a network of supporters that enabled them to spread their message to the United States and later on inspired the Algerian Front de Libération Nationale. This project argues that the very structure of the nationalists' non-hierarchical and flexible propaganda network and their activities abroad helped them prevail in their struggle against the French, but also enabled the Sultan to co-opt it after independence and turn the Istiqlal into an opposition party. Its informal nature, the lack of a clearly defined membership and loyalty, and the absence of a coherent ideology constituted an advantage at first, but eventually turned into a serious liability. Furthermore, the skills, resources, and personal connections, which the nationalists had acquired during their campaign abroad, fell into the hands of the Sultan and strengthened his position once he had co-opted many of the network's participants. It is by looking at the intersections of the formal and the informal, the foreign and the domestic, the individual and the structural that we can begin to understand the complicated dynamics that underlay this crucial period of Moroccan history.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Abizadeh Arash

On the Demos and Its Kin: Nationalism, Democracy, and the Boundary Problem in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, issue 4, november , 867-882

ABSTRACT: Cultural–nationalist and democratic theory both seek to legitimize political power via collective self-rule: Their principle of legitimacy refers right back to the very persons over whom political power is exercised. But such self-referential theories are incapable of jointly solving the distinct problems of legitimacy and boundaries, which they necessarily combine, once it is assumed that the self-ruling collectivity must be a prepolitical, in principle bounded, ground of legitimacy. Cultural nationalism claims that political power is legitimate insofar as it expresses the nation's prepolitical culture, but it cannot fix cultural–national boundaries prepolitically. Hence the collapse into ethnic nationalism. Traditional democratic theory claims that political power is ultimately legitimized prepolitically, but cannot itself legitimize the boundaries of the people. Hence the collapse into cultural nationalism. Only once we recognize that the demos is in principle unbounded, and abandon the quest for a prepolitical ground of legitimacy, can democratic theory fully avoid this collapse of demos into nation into ethnos. But such a theory departs radically from traditional theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Körner Axel



Opera and nation in nineteenth-century Italy: conceptual and methodological approaches

in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Volume 17, Issue 4, 2012 , 393-399

Abstract

The article responds to existing debates between historians and musicologists interested in exploring the connection between culture and politics, patriotism and opera, music and the Risorgimento in nineteenth-century Italy. Scholars in both disciplines tend to make assumptions about the nature of this relationship without investigating its content on the basis of methodologically informed archival research. Starting from three specific examples, the article argues that some of the operas that historians consider to be patriotic in content were not necessarily understood in this way by the protagonists of the Risorgimento. The article goes on to introduce the various contributions to this special issue, linking them to themes that historians and musicologists interested in the connection between opera and the Risorgimento need to explore in order to make this relationship meaningful.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Axel Körner

Opera and nation in nineteenth-century Italy: conceptual and methodological approaches

in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Vol. 17, n°4 , 393-399

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Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Neumann, Victor

Peculiarities of the Translation and Adaptation of the Concept of Nation in East-Central Europe: The Hungarian and Romanian Cases in the Nineteenth Century

in *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, Vol. 7, n°1 , 72-101

This article explores the controversial issue of concepts defining the East-Central European Romanian and Hungarian identities (nem, neam, popor, nép). It specifically focuses on the translation and adaptation of the German concept of nation by examining the inclusive or exclusive meanings this concept acquired in these two languages and political cultures during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hermoni Gal, Lebel Udi

Penetrating the 'black-box' of 'remembrance day' playlist: bereavement and the induction mechanisms of glocalization – a study in cultural sociology

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 19, Issue 1, January 2013 , 128-145

Abstract

This article examines the musical repertoire broadcast on Israeli state radio stations on Remembrance Day. Commencing with the first Remembrance Day, Israeli radio stations have refrained from broadcasting songs that do not contribute to the glorification of the military mythology or failure to reinforce the consensual perception of national loss. In view of globalization – it might be assumed that Remembrance Day songs would undergo changes in tune with the times. From a musical point of view, new songs that belong to what Regev and Seroussi classify as 'globalizing Israel' penetrated into the nationalist arena. But, following Inglehart and Baker, these songs, despite their seemingly secular façade, remain limited hegemonic enclosures organized around the core of founding values. Apparently, this is an example of the process of glocalization of culture. The article seeks answers to the strategies employed to accommodate these new songs to the traditional ideology of the classical Remembrance Day songs and examines whether the mechanisms of legitimacy that enable the inclusion of new voices on Remembrance Day, can be identified. We argue that their choice is not arbitrary and that they illustrate the manner by which voluntary cultural entrepreneurs (musical editors) are co-opted in the postnational condition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Strijbis, Oliver - Leonisio, Rafael

Political Cleavages in the Basque Country: Meaning and Salience

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, volume 22 n.5 , 595-612

The Basque party system has typically been described as organized along two cross-cutting cleavages: a nationalist struggle and a less salient class conflict. While there is consensus on the nature of the nationalist division, what remains of the historical class cleavage is unclear. Two competing hypotheses on the nature of the class cleavage are put forward: the class cleavage has realigned along the new social classes of post-industrial society, and the class cleavage is best understood as a frozen cleavage. It is shown that the freezing hypothesis best captures the nature of the class cleavage in the Basque Country today, and that once left and right are understood along these lines, the nationalist cleavage becomes more salient.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Shunji Cui

Problems of Nationalism and Historical Memory in China's Relations with Japan

in *Journal of Historical Sociology* , Volume 25, Issue 2 , 199–222

This paper employs concepts and analytical frameworks drawn from Sociology, particularly collective memory, to examine China's attempts – and the limitations of those attempts – to improve relations with Japan in the new century. In



particular, it focuses on a specific episode, the attempt to bring “new thinking” to Sino-Japanese relations. It concludes that the difficulties and complexities are the product of many factors. In the first place, CCP is constrained by its own definition of nationalism and national identity. Secondly, Beijing's control mechanisms and its ability to direct nationalist discourse in ways convenient to itself are challenged by the rise of popular nationalistic sentiment. In addition, the rise of revisionist nationalism in Japan further complicates Beijing's stance toward Japan. The achievement of China's vision of harmonious world and of “Mutually Beneficial” relations with Japan will depend on how well China handles the delicate matters of the construction of national identity and the basis of government legitimacy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Manz Stefan

Protestantism, nation and diaspora in Imperial Germany

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 744-764

Abstract

This article examines the close connection between Protestantism and nationalism in Imperial Germany within a transnational context. In the years before 1914, the Prussian State Church in particular strengthened the legal and organisational framework for an increasing number of diaspora congregations to become attached. These acted as an important vehicle to embed the nationalist rhetoric produced within the Reich into emigrants' notions of belonging. Whilst previous scholarship has noted this connection in general, the article sheds more detailed light on the mechanics and structure, but also on the limits, of this process. Feedback processes from periphery to centre, in turn, had an impact on German national identity construction as that of a nation that was not confined to state borders. Applying a constructionist theoretical framework, the contested question of whether the heterogeneity of Germans abroad allows for the application of the diaspora concept is answered affirmatively.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Halikiopoulou Daphne

Response to Alberto Martinelli's "Nationalism in the 21st Century"

in Quaderni di Scienza Politica, anno XIX, n. 3 , 519-528

ABSTRACT: Nel saggio oggetto di commento Alberto Martinelli discute la persistenza del nazionalismo nel XXI secolo offrendo una spiegazione interessante delle diverse forme del Giano nazionalista. Il nucleo della sua tesi è che il nazionalismo costituisce in Europa una forza polarizzante, e di conseguenza una minaccia allo sviluppo dell'integrazione europea; mentre negli Stati Uniti esso è un mezzo di contenimento della polarizzazione, avendo una funzione unificante e integrativa. La ragione di questa differenza consiste in parte nella diversità delle traiettorie storiche innescata dai processi globali e dalla crisi attuale. La conclusione di Martinelli, secondo la quale il nazionalismo ancora conta e può avere un impatto positivo o negativo, è pertinente. Tuttavia la sua argomentazione si fonda su diversi assunti che si prestano a essere contestati: a) la violenza e l'estremismo non sono necessariamente una prerogativa della destra; b) i valori civici non mettono necessariamente al riparo dall'estremismo di destra; c) l'impatto della crisi sistemica, dei processi globali e di altri fattori che agiscono sul lato della domanda non è sufficiente a determinare lo sviluppo e la forma di un contraccolpo nazionalista. Ne deriva l'importanza del lato dell'offerta, ossia dei modi in cui partiti e movimenti



sono in grado di affermarsi e di raggiungere il successo nell'ambito delle rispettive arene elettorali.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Metumara Durujia Moses

Resurgent ethno-nationalism and the renewed demand for Biafra in south-east Nigeria

in *National Identities*, vol. 14, n. 4 , 329-350

The renewed demand for Biafra by Igbo people is a rejection of their post-war socio-political and economic condition in Nigeria. Through the processing of primary data, the paper examines this reinvention of Igbo nationalism. It looks at its linkage with the 1999 democratic transition in Nigeria, its implications and management by the government. The paper concludes that the renewed demand for Biafra is caused by perception of inequities and injustice in the distribution of power and resources among the Igbo. Hence a deliberate effort to correct these social problems can assuage ethnic tensions and presumption of political violence in Nigeria.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Donabed Sargon

Rethinking nationalism and an appellative conundrum: historiography and politics in Iraq

in *National Identities*, vol. 14, n. 2 , 115-138

This article is meant to serve as a historiographical study of Iraq by reinserting a largely understudied people, the Assyrians, in an attempt to broaden the more common majoritiest perspective of Middle East studies. It does not intend to argue the validity of definitions of 'nationness' and nationalism, but seeks to provide a brief description of the variety of ways in which Assyrians have been both included and absent and from modern research on the Middle East and, more specifically, Iraq. Second, by doing this, it seeks to situate the Assyrians in the debate and historiography of Iraqi Studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Goio Franco

Some Reflections on Martinelli's Comparison between Nationalism in the EU and in US

in *Quaderni di Scienza Politica*, anno XIX, n. 3 , 505-518

ABSTRACT: Le opposte conseguenze del nazionalismo riscontrate da Martinelli nei due contesti presi in esame, integratrici negli Stati Uniti e dis-integratrici nella Unione Europea, si possono spiegare in base ai diversi significati del termine, che nel primo caso indica l'insieme di credenze che hanno per oggetto e legittimano l'intera comunità nazionale statunitense, e nel secondo le credenze che hanno per oggetto e legittimano le comunità nazionali dei singoli stati membri della UE. Avendo i due sistemi di credenze significati opposti quanto agli oggetti legittimati (il tutto o le parti), è naturale che anche le loro conseguenze siano opposte. Altri problemi, anche logici, sorgono in merito al ruolo che negli Stati Uniti avrebbe il nazionalismo nel comporre o nell'attenuare le linee di conflitto che polarizzano la società americana e alla effettiva incidenza di queste; mentre i suggerimenti per superare i nazionalismi divisivi in Europa appaiono a volte



deboli (p.e. la promozione di un complesso simbolico etico/epico comune alle varie nazioni), e altre volte si presentano come stati di cose la cui realizzazione presuppone l'avvenuta risoluzione del problema (p.e. la sostanziale de-statalizzazione degli stati membri e la loro riduzione a comunità culturali semi-sovrane).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lecours André

Sub-state Nationalism in the Western World: Explaining Continued Appeal in Ethnopolitics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2012 , 268-286

What explains the appeal of sub-state nationalism in developed liberal democracies such as Belgium, Spain, the United Kingdom and Canada? This article suggests six main reasons: the power of the notion of self-determination; the institutionalization of national identity and nationalist politics in decentralized arrangements featuring autonomous government; the presence of powerful nationalist narratives; institutional and constitutional questions that are either unresolved or have been addressed by a shaky compromise, which means they remain on the political agenda; the involvement of nationalist movements in debates of public policy; and processes of continental integration that help nationalist movements make the case for increased autonomy and, in certain circumstances, independence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Schwartz Alex

Symbolic Equality: Law and National Symbols in Northern Ireland
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 4 , 339-358

The way in which the law regulates the display of national symbols has important consequences for minority national groups. If the majority is allowed to monopolise the official display of national symbols, members of the minority may be further alienated and discouraged from participating in public life. In contrast, a more even-handed approach to national symbols has the potential to foster an inclusive and pluri-national public culture. This article evaluates the regulation of national symbols in Northern Ireland. It contrasts the relative success of legislation regulating the display of symbols in the workplace with the latest equality litigation under Northern Ireland's Good Friday Agreement of 1998 ('the Agreement'). With respect to the latter, it is argued that the case-law suffers from a general failure to appreciate the implications of the Agreement for the display of national symbols. The article goes on to explain how equality with respect to the display of national symbols - or 'symbolic equality' - should be understood as an extension of the Agreement's commitment to the more general principle of 'parity of esteem'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Stanivuković Senka Neuman

Territoriality is in the Eyes of the Beholder. Untangling The Nation-State from Below with a Little Help from Above
in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 219-233



The post-communist transition has placed Central and Eastern European Countries (CEECs) and the Western Balkans into a schizophrenic condition of concurrent consolidation and dissolution of the nation-state. While they did their utmost to consolidate their nation-state after years of struggle for sovereignty, they lost a part of their sovereignty during the process of EU accession. This hasty shift from a Westphalian to a post-Westphalian order was certainly not spared of its difficulties. In view of that, this paper studies changes in the domestic perception of state territoriality in the context of EU accession. More specifically, it asks to what extent and how l'Europe of the Regions, as a normative discursive formation, resonated in Croatian policy discourse on regionalization. By utilizing a discursive reading of Europeanization, this paper looks beyond conditionality-based analysis to account for horizontal norm dispersion and norm domestication via discursive framing. Ultimately, it puts doubt on the maxims established by the studies on regionalization through the accession of the CEECs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Aleksandar FATIĆ, Srđan KORAĆ;

The Albanian National Project Between Ethno-Politics and Europeanisation

in Review of International Affairs (The), VOL. LXIII, N°. 1148 October-December 2012

The article discusses the re-emergence of ethno-politics as the determining factor for regional strategy in the Balkans, after the wars of disintegration of the former Yugoslavia 1991–1995, the subsequent NATO intervention over Kosovo in 1999, and the resulting declaration of independence of Kosovo and its gradual international consolidation. This has important strategic consequences for NATO and the EU in the region. While all Balkan countries have a future EU membership as their “number one” foreign policy priority, and all apart from Serbia have either joined, or are in the process of joining NATO, Kosovo’s independence and the related upsurge of ethnic unrest in Macedonia suggest that the very South-East of the region is drawn once again into an essentially ethno-nationalist strategy, which NATO and the EU will have little manoeuvring room to counter. The authors suggest that the way forward is to bravely meet Albanian ethnic demands half-way through territorial settlements by way of a new series of diplomatic conferences on the Balkans.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

McLaren Lauren M.

The Cultural Divide in Europe: Migration, Multiculturalism, and Political Trust

in World Politics, vol. 64, n. 2, april, 199-241

ABSTRACT: One of the defining features of modern states is their incorporation of notions of political and social community based on shared language, history, and myths. However, large numbers of citizens in modern states have come to believe their national communities are under threat from several modern forces, including immigration. Using the European Social Survey (2002–9), this article explores the extent to which perceived threats posed by large-scale immigration undermine national political communities by reducing trust in national politicians and political institutions. The findings indicate that even after controlling for other predictors of trust in the political system, concerns about the effect of immigration on the national community have an impact on trust in politics. Moreover, having a lengthy postwar history with mass immigration mediates this effect, while the potentially mobilizing effects of far-right parties on the relationship between concern about immigration and political distrust are somewhat limited.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Guichard Sylvie

The Indian nation and selective amnesia: representing conflicts and violence in Indian history textbooks in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 1, January 2013 , 68-86

Abstract

'Unity is always obtained by means of brutality' wrote Ernest Renan. Following this idea, this article investigates how social conflicts and violence are included or muted in national history. This is done by comparing the successive series of history textbooks used in India in the postindependence period. The historical narratives contained in the textbooks were influenced by different conceptions of the Indian nation, and these variations allow us to observe and better understand what is remembered or forgotten in the national narrative. We will see that conflicts and violence are referred to when they involve the nation against its 'other' but depictions of conflicts within the nation as it is imagined are avoided. Thus, certain violent episodes of the past find a place in the national historical narrative, yet violence in itself is never described.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Beresford Alexander

The Politics of Regenerative Nationalism in South Africa
in **Journal of Southern African Studies**, Volume 38, Issue 4, December , 863-884

In recent years the ANC government has encountered increasing unrest in the form of a wave of community protests and industrial action. Some analysts argue that this reflects widespread antipathy towards the ANC's 'exhausted nationalism' and the beginnings of a post-nationalist political era where class politics takes centre stage. This article will examine the position of South Africa's powerful organised working class within this context, with reference to the attitudes of ordinary members of the National Union of Mineworkers. Rather than seeing ANC nationalism as a spent force, this article will highlight the more enduring nature of the ANC's nationalist appeal, which, while not making the party infallible, nonetheless restricts the potential for a new left-wing politics to emerge that can challenge ANC hegemony.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Silvia Pasquetti

The Reconfiguration of the Palestinian National Question: The Indirect Rule Route and the Civil Society Route in Political Power and Social Theory, Volume 23 , 103-146

How are social groups unmade? Current theories identify the symbolic power of the state as a primary factor in the creation of social groups. Drawing on Gramsci's *The Southern Question*, this chapter extends state-centered theories by



exploring policies that are critical but under-theorized factors in group formation. These include the concession of material benefits as well as the use of coercive means. Further, while current theories focus on how social groups are made, a Gramscian perspective draws attention to how the state intervenes to prevent or neutralize group-making projects from below. This chapter explores a case of a decrease in national group solidarity. Specifically, this study explains how in the 1990s the Israeli state weakened national group formation among Palestinians by adopting two spatially distinct but coordinated strategies. First, the rearrangement of the military occupation of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank through the establishment of an authority of self-rule (the Palestinian Authority) demobilized and divided Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories, especially along class-cum-moral lines. Second, state practices and discourses centered on citizenship rights shifted the center of political activism among Palestinian citizens of Israel toward citizenship issues. I argue that these two routes, which I call the indirect rule route and the civil society route, were complementary components of a broader attempt to neutralize Palestinian collective mobilization around nationhood. Despite recent changes and contestations, these two strategies of rule continue to affect group formation and to create distinct experiences of politics among Palestinians under Israeli rule. Analysis of the Palestinian–Israeli case shows that the state can unmake groups through the distribution of interrelated policies that are specific to certain categories of people and places. Understanding the conditions under which certain policies of inclusion or exclusion affect group formation requires going beyond the analytic primacy currently given to the symbolic power of the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zabalo Julen, Soto Iñaki, MateosTxoli

The Right to Self-determination and Basque Nationalism: A Polyvalent Debate

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 11, Issue 3, 2012 , 318-340

Literature on the right of self-determination has very often focused on a scholarly and theoretical debate on the legality and appropriateness of the said right. This article, on the other hand, examines the reasons adduced by political agents in favour of self-determination in the Basque Country. Far from a scholarly discussion, the political parties can appreciate a powerful instrumental component in the right to self-determination: rather than a right, they prefer to speak of democracy, and underline its worth insofar that it can help resolve the Basque political conflict. Led by this practical spirit, the parties alter their discourse to adapt to new social needs and conditions, although it could result in certain theoretical and practical contradictions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Halikiopoulou Daphne, Mock Steven, Vasilopoulou Sofia

The civic zeitgeist: nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 1, January 2013 , 107-127

Abstract

This article examines the relationship between nationalism and liberal values and, more specifically, the redefinition of boundaries between national communities and others in the rhetoric of radical right parties in Europe. The aim is to examine the tension between radical right party discourse and the increasing need to shape this discourse in liberal terms. We argue that the radical right parties that successfully operate within the democratic system tend to be those best able to tailor their discourse to the liberal and civic characteristics of national identity so as to present themselves



and their ideologies as the true authentic defenders of the nation's unique reputation for democracy, diversity and tolerance. Comparing the success of a number of European radical right parties ranging from the most electorally successful Swiss People's Party, the Dutch Pim Fortuyn List and Party for Freedom to the more mixed French Front National, British National Party and National Democratic Party of Germany we show that the parties that effectively deploy the symbolic resources of national identity through a predominantly voluntaristic prism tend to be the ones that fare better within their respective political systems. In doing so, we challenge the conventional view in the study of nationalism that expects civic values to shield countries from radicalism and extremism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kang Jin Woong

The disciplinary politics of antagonistic nationalism in militarized South and North Korea

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 18, Issue 4, October 2012 , 684-700

Abstract

After the Korean War (1950–53), the two militarized Koreas governed each and every member of society in similar ways through their disciplinary politics of antagonistic nationalism. The existing studies of state formation in the two Koreas have neglected an aspect of state power that was neither necessarily top-down nor violent from above but also reproduced from below. In both South and North Korea, especially from the 1960s to the 1970s, state power had internal dynamics that penetrated the day-to-day activities of most citizens and led them to actively accept and participate in nationalist rule. This article explores an understudied aspect of the two Koreas' state power that was disciplinarily diffused in people's everyday practices through reproduction of aggressive nationalism from below and the organic construction of the individual body and nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zabarah Dareg A.

The language that unites and the language that divides us: Why was Arabic kept and Serbo-Croatian abolished?

in Nationalities Papers, Volume 40, Issue 4, 2012 , 545-559

Abstract

This article explores why the Arabs chose to keep a common language, while the Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and Montenegrins chose not to. The study argues that the main reason for this can be found in the ideological constraints resulting out of the salience and interaction between different religious and ethnic group building projects in former Yugoslavia and the Arab states. Political elites in both regions favored the ethnic and religious category to different extents. Language planning reflected and implemented the respective ideological imperatives resulting out of these processes. This led to different approaches in defining the common language and its subsequent standardization.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kasprzak Michal

To reject or not to reject nationalism: debating Marx and Engels' struggles with nationalism, 1840s–1880s
in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 40, Issue 4, 2012 , 585-606

Abstract

The relationship between Marxism and nationalism has been tumultuous. While theoretically attempting to reject nationalism as a transient product of capitalism, Marxism has in practice oftentimes exploited its appeal and utilized its extensive institutional repertoire. To a large extent, the difficult dialogue between the two ideological constellations can be traced back to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who neglected to leave a definitive statement on the nationality question. The article traces the evolution of Marxism's conceptualization of the nationality question – a slow shift from an outright rejection of nationalism to an acceptance of its progressive features, complexity, varieties and influences. It re-evaluates Marx and Engels' views on the nationality question, from its outright denial to limited acceptance and application. After identifying factors that shaped their perception of the nationality question, the study offers an analysis of the evolution of these attitudes from the 1840s to the 1860s. The objective is to show how Marx and Engels' theoretical dogmatism was tainted by their desire for activism. Their views were not inflexible but rather evolved in response to changing circumstances in the mid 19th century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ghanem As'ad

Understanding Ethnic Minority Demands: A New Typology
in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2012 , 358-379

Abstract

The development of demands advanced by ethnic minorities has received broad coverage in the scholarly literature on divided societies. Current literature offers models that predict a radicalization of minority demands as the result of diverse factors, including modernization processes, discrimination, and a mother country's support for the minority's demands. The present article offers an alternative approach, one that combines the type of minority with the type of regime as fundamental elements that shape a minority's demands. The model presented in this article distinguishes between four situations in which minorities might find themselves: an indigenous minority living in a democratic regime; an immigrant minority living in a democratic regime; an indigenous minority living in an ethnocratic regime, and an immigrant minority living in an ethnocratic regime. The demands that a minority will develop in these different situations range along an axis from radical to moderate and from secession to integration on the basis of equality in a reconstituted state. As part of my analysis, I cite several examples of minority demands across the world.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Patriarca Silvana

Une émotion patriotique: la honte et le Risorgimento

in *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle* , numéro 44, 2012 , 65-83

References to shame abound in the political writings of Risorgimento patriots, on all sides of the political spectrum. Understood as the opposite of honor, shame is usually seen in sexual-gendered terms as denoting the inability of a man to protect (and control) his women from the threats of foreigners. Although the sexual meaning of shame (and honor) is certainly important, there is more to shame than the control over women's sexuality. By relying on theories of shame as a relational or interaction-based emotion, this essay shows how patriotic writings (both public and private, fictional and non-fictional) revealed a keen sensitivity to the opinions and the gaze of others, i.e. foreigners, and a desire to overcome a profoundly embarrassing condition of political subjection. In the context of Romantic culture, feelings of shame had an important role in motivating young men (and also women) to political action. These feelings were also stirred very consciously by Romantic patriots such as Mazzini who reflected on what led people to embrace the cause of the nation, and recruited the passions in the attempt to achieve their goals. In the context of the aggressive nationalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, the passion of shame would be mobilized for altogether questionable enterprises.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Roger Parker

Verdi politico: a wounded cliché regroups

in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* , Vol. 17, n°4 , 427-436

The article sums up recent and not-so-recent debates about Giuseppe Verdi and the Risorgimento. It first discusses the image of Verdi's early (pre-1848) operas as 'political' works, one largely created in the later nineteenth century, as the newlyformed Italian state searched for national monuments. Except for a brief period in the immediate build-up and aftermath of 1848 (when many operatic events were caught up in the revolutionary cause), Verdi's operas were not associated with nationalist agendas until the late 1850s, when the brief vogue of the acrostic 'Viva V.E.R.D.I.' set in train a larger process of mythicization of certain passages from his earliest works, foremost among them the chorus 'Va pensiero' from Act 3 of Nabucco (1842). The latter part of the article discusses recent attempts to rehabilitate the image of Verdi as 'Vate del Risorgimento', in particular considering the nature of the evidence marshaled to this cause.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Harris Erika

What is New about 'Eastern Nationalism' and What are the Implications for Studies of Ethnicity Today?

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 18, Issue 3, 2012 , 337-357



Abstract

Focusing on the character of postcommunist extreme nationalist parties, the meaning of “the nation” and the role of historical memory in Central and Eastern Europe, the article defends the notion of “eastern” nationalism with an aim to suggest a more fruitful research into ethnic politics in the region. It argues that contemporary “eastern” nationalism has its own dynamic; it encompasses a number of themes and developments some of which confirm that the eastern part of the continent is more ethnic, but yet others that negate it and are perhaps showing a way forward in the Europe of the future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Shubert Adrian

Women Warriors and National Heroes: Agustina de Aragón and Her Indian Sisters

in *Journal of World History*, Volume 23, Number 2, June 2012 , 279-313

Abstract:

Historians of modern Europe have lately become interested in hero cults and what they can reveal about the construction of national identities. This interest has begun to move beyond studies located in individual states to examine this aspect of the politics of the past within a European rather than a purely national context. This article represents an initial effort to explore hero cults in an even broader frame by considering a European woman warrior and national hero, the Spaniard Agustina de Aragón, in comparative perspective. Taking Lakshmi Bai and Jhalkari Bai, two women warriors and heroes from India's First War of Independence in 1857, as the point of departure, the article compares the ways in which the figure of Agustina de Aragón has been represented and used since her act of heroism against Napoleon in 1808. This comparison of hero cults in a European and a non-European country can potentially be a first step toward development of a globalized perspective on the politics of the past.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Adrian Shubert

Women Warriors and National Heroes: Augustina de Aragón and Her Indian Sisters

in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 23, n°2 , 279-314

Historians of modern Europe have lately become interested in hero cults and what they can reveal about the construction of national identities. This interest has begun to move beyond studies located in individual states to examine this aspect of the politics of the past within a European rather than a purely national context. This article represents an initial effort to explore hero cults in an even broader frame by considering a European woman warrior and national hero, the Spaniard Agustina de Aragón, in comparative perspective. Taking Lakshmi Bai and Jhalkari Bai, two women warriors and heroes from India's First War of Independence in 1857, as the point of departure, the article



compares the ways in which the figure of Agustina de Aragón has been represented and used since her act of heroism against Napoleon in 1808. This comparison of hero cults in a European and a non-European country can potentially be a first step toward development of a globalized perspective on the politics of the past.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

**Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region Ordinance on Education for Ethnic Unity
in Chinese Law and Government** , Vol. 45 No. 04 , 15 - 22

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Emanuele Senici

**'An atrocious indifference': Rossini's operas and the politics of musical representation in
early-nineteenth-century Italy**

in **Journal of Modern Italian Studies** , Vol. 17, n°4 , 414-426

This article explores the potential connection between the politics of operatic representation and politics in the more common and wider sense of the word. It does so by focusing on Gioachino Rossini's Italian operas, whose popularity was enormous between the 1810s and the 1830s. These were also crucial decades for the formation of an Italian nationalist discourse, to which opera is usually thought to have made a substantial contribution. The nature of this contribution is discussed here from the viewpoint of the anti-mimetic representational aesthetics promoted by Rossini's Italian operas. After addressing Rossini's personal political stance, as well as references to nationalist discourse in his Italian works, explored through the case study of the protagonist's final aria in *L'Italiana in Algeri*, the article interrogates the possible consequences of an anti-mimetic and ultimately anti-realistic aesthetics for an explicitly politicized reception of such references.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ozkirimli Umut

**'And People's Concerns Were Genuine: Why Didn't We Listen More?': Nationalism, Multiculturalism and
Recognition in Europe**

in **Journal of Contemporary European Studies** , vol. 20, issue 3 , 307-321

ABSTRACT: The aim of this article is to draw attention to the dangerous, indeed poisonous, nature of the current debates on immigration and multiculturalism in today's 'omniphobic' Europe, plagued not only by a severe economic crisis, but also a more general normative crisis, a 'crisis of values' so to speak, which has been consistently overlooked or manipulated by politicians and academics alike, or reduced to an epiphenomenon bound to disappear when financial balances are restored. I will argue in this context that nationalism (in some cases even outright racism) is key to understanding this crisis, a catalyst acting either as a cause or a symptom, and almost always as a profound source of



legitimacy. Following a brief critique of the literature on the purported 'death' of multiculturalism—the academic side of the same coin—the article concludes by sketching the normative contours of an alternative model of multiculturalism, one that stresses the importance of the ideas of recognition, redistribution and participation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Smith Anthony

'The land and its people': reflections on artistic identification in an age of nations and nationalism

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 19, Issue 1, January 2013 , 87-106

Abstract

From the late eighteenth century onwards, increasing numbers of visual artists came to identify with their nations and with the homeland and its people. This development was strongly influenced by growing national cultural support and regulation of the arts by academies, art schools, museums and art markets in Western Europe. On a subjective level, the Rousseauian movement of a 'return to Nature', Herder's espousal of vernacular cultural self-expression and, above all, the widespread Romantic cult of authenticity, were potent influences on the inner self-identification of visual artists after 1800, and were manifested in the novel importance accorded to landscape and rural genre painting in Western Europe. Here I consider the role of national sentiment, the 'return to Nature' and the cult of authenticity, first in landscape paintings by Paul Sandby, J. M. W. Turner and John Constable in early nineteenth-century Britain, and then in the rural genre paintings of Jean-Francois Millet and Jules Breton in nineteenth-century France and Josef Israels, Anton Mauve and Vincent Van Gogh in the later nineteenth-century Netherlands. Their work reveals how nineteenth-century visual artists became inwardly identified with the 'land and its people', and how they in turn contributed, especially through prints and engravings, to the dissemination of national imagery and a cultural nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ingrassia Brian M.

"From the New World to the Old, and Back Again": Whig University Leaders and Trans-Atlantic Nationalism in the Era of 1848

in Journal of the Early Republic, Volume 32, Number 4, Winter , 667-692

In the mid-1800s, university educators Henry Tappan (Michigan) and Francis Wayland (Brown) argued that higher education could serve as an internal improvement that would help build America's national culture. Such a nationalistic view of university education dated back to the founding generation, yet the vision of thinkers like Tappan and Wayland was profoundly influenced by mid-century Whig political ideology, as well as their own transatlantic voyages. These intellectuals saw national growth as developing in time rather than in space, and thought that universities could help tie the nation together in an era of western expansion and political fragmentation. On the one hand, Tappan and Wayland admired European universities for their concentration of library resources and intellect, but on the other hand, they were less enamored with the politics these cultural institutions supported. Such thinkers wanted to create universities that would allow the United States to compete with Europe, while at the same time protecting the New World from the extremes of monarchy and revolution—the tendency to continually begin the world all over again—that characterized the



1848-era “Old World.” This article shows that historians of mid-century higher education have focused too narrowly on mid-century German-style reforms at the expense of the larger contexts of transatlantic nationalism and Whig ideology. While Tappan’s and Wayland’s intended reforms—especially Brown’s failed “New System”—did not succeed as well as they had planned, they did represent Whig thought regarding education in an era when social turmoil rocked peoples on both sides of the Atlantic.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jorge del Palacio

¿Nación o nación de naciones? El PSOE y la cuestión nacional, 1975-2011

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, nº 34, Abril / Junio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Buruma Ian

Élite liberali, multiculturalismo e il linguaggio del risentimento

in *Reset*, Numero 133

L’articolo riproduce l’intervento tenuto dall’autore il 9 dicembre 2011 all’incontro “Background of Xenophobia” organizzato dall’associazione ResetDoc presso l’Institute for Public Knowledge della New York University.

<http://www.reset.it/articolo/elite-liberali-multiculturalismo-e-il-linguaggio-del-risentimento>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Ettore Rotelli

"Rari nantes". Federalisti, regionalisti e autonomisti dall'unificazione alla Costituente

in *Amministrare*, n. 1. Supplemento , 187-244

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Rotelli Ettore

"Rari nantes". Federalisti, regionalisti e autonomisti dall'unificazione alla Costituente

in *Storia amministrazione costituzione*, Vol. 20 , 187-244

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Salikov Alexey

'Kants Projekt des ewigen Friedens im Kontext der modernen Politik'

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 103, Issue 3, September 2012 , 377–379

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bottaro Giuseppe

Alexander Hamilton: potere politico e potere economico in America

in *Politico (II)*, n. 230, 2012 , 15-32

ABSTRACT: Alexander Hamilton was the first American statesman to understand that a National Bank and an unified Public Debt were correct instruments able to lead the economy of a modern and developed country. As Secretary of the Treasury of The United States, Hamilton clearly worked out the original idea that only a prolific industrial production such as advanced manufacturing determined the power of a nation. According to his intention, to strengthen the young American federation it was necessary to create an efficient industrial and financial system, and to increase the collective wealth. The strong central government, at the same time, would oppose the centrifugal tendencies of Jefferson's agricultural model based on constitutional rights of American Republics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Tacconi Lorenzo

Carlo Cattaneo e la trasversale alpina del Gottardo. La 'grande ferrovia delle genti'

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, n. 1, 2012 , 79-112

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Carlo de Maria

Come Andrea Costa pervenne al federalismo comunale del 1883

in *Amministrare*, numero 1/2012 supplemento , 25-44

This article discusses two speeches by Andrea Costa in 1883 on the subject of communal federalism. Both speeches came at a time of public upheaval, driven by socialists, republicans and radicals, aimed at the reform of local and regional law. Costa argues for universal suffrage together with an autonomous reform of public institutions. He demanded, on the one hand, that the right to vote be extended to all citizens, both men and women, and on the other,



that governmental control imposed on cities be scrapped. In the most important meeting of this time of unrest, which took place in Ravenna on 11 November 1883, Costa went as far as calling for the abolition of prefectures. At that point, his proposal was no longer simply a programme for different local administration but explicitly appealed for an autonomous reformation of the controlling order. It was a true leap forward: from a simple administrative programme to a programme of State reform. Key moments and events from the political life of Costa during the 1870s and '80s are also examined, highlighting how his federalist plan is indebted to the tradition of anarchic thinking, where the federation of free communes replaces the centralizing State.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Carlo De Maria

Come Andrea Costa pervenne al federalismo comunale del 1883

in *Amministrare*, n. 1. Supplemento , 25-44

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

De Maria Carlo

Come Andrea Costa pervenne al federalismo comunale del 1883

in *Storia amministrazione costituzione*, Vol. 20 , 25-44

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bevilacqua Alexander

Conceiving the Republic of Mankind: The Political Thought of Anacharsis Cloots

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 4, December , 550-569

During the French Revolution, Jean-Baptiste "Anacharsis" Cloots (1755–1794) developed a theory of the world state as the means to guarantee perpetual peace for mankind. Though his ideas have largely been misunderstood, Cloots's political writings were in fact an extensive plea for a more cosmopolitan understanding of the French Revolution. His system adapted institutions and concepts of the French revolutionary republic for a world state, the republic of mankind. This essay recovers his political vision and connects it both to the heritage of eighteenth-century political thought, especially Rousseau, and to revolutionary political culture. The goal is to retrieve the meaning of Cloots's universal republic, and with it a chapter in the history of cosmopolitan thought.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Calamia Pietro



Giuseppe Vedovato, uno spirito internazionale in un'anima nazionale

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 169-172

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Jeffrey Sikkenga

Government Has No “Religious Agency”: James Madison's Fundamental Principle of Religious Liberty

in *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 56, Issue 3 , 745–756

Religious liberty has reemerged as a problem in liberal democracy. For guidance we can turn to James Madison. Unfortunately, his fundamental principle of religious liberty has been misunderstood. Madison believed that power over religious conscience always remains with the individual, which means that government never has a power to attempt to cause or prohibit religious opinions or profession and only has the power to prohibit religious practices that are “adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.” Madison's fundamental principle of religious liberty is therefore that government has no “religious agency.” In matters of religious establishment, “no agency” means that government lacks even the power to cognize religious opinions or practices. But in matters of free exercise, “no agency” means that government can accommodate citizens' religious consciences, even if that accommodation requires cognizing their religious opinions. An important but widely overlooked example of Madison's complex but principled approach to religious liberty is his 1790 proposal for a statutory exemption from federal militia service for religious objectors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Albertini Mario

I principi d'azione del Manifesto di Ventotene

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LIV, n. 3 , 185-191

http://www.thefederalist.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1393&lang=en&Itemid=77

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Alessandro Candido

Il contributo di Gaspare Ambrosini al regionalismo italiano

in *Quaderni Regionali* , n. 1 , 33-48

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Mazzei Federico

La politicizzazione del cattolicesimo italiano. La «questione Sturzo» nella nuova storiografia cattolica in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XI, n. 28, "I cattolici, la laicità e la politica", giugno

Within the historical and ideological debate of the early 1950s, this essay deals with the development of the Italian Catholic historiography on Luigi Sturzo's political culture and the issue of «popolarismo», which was seen as a crucial turning point in modernising the post-Unification Catholic movement. The reference to Sturzo's political thinking and partisan action took place in the debate between two historians, Gabriele De Rosa and Pietro Scoppola, acquiring for both a critical meaning with respect to the stronger religious commitment of post-Fascist Christian Democracy. On the historiographical ground, the question of «popolarismo» enabled the analysis of continuing intransigent Catholic opposition to the liberal State, thereafter also creating the framework of an «a-confessional» framework like the Popular Party.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Majocchi Luigi Vittorio

Mario Albertini e Altiero Spinelli. Un rapporto difficile
in **Quaderni di Scienza Politica**, anno XIX, n. 2 , 399

ABSTRACT: This brief note reviews the turbulent relationship between two prominent leaders of the European Federalist Movement such as Altiero Spinelli and Mario Albertini. The a., who took part in the struggles of the MFE by the '950s on, divides that relationship in three phases: the brotherhood, the break, and eventually the reconciliation, a few months before Spinelli's death.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Amari Giuseppe

Per i settant'anni del Manifesto federalista di Spinelli, Rossi, Colorni
in **Il Ponte**, Numero 7 - luglio 2012

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Roldan Concha

Perpetual Peace, Federalism and the Republic of the Spirits: Leibniz Between Saint-Pierre and Kant
in **Studia Leibnitiana**, Band 43 - Heft 1/2011

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Hirsch Philipp-Alexander

Wege zur Freiheit? Offene Fragen der Kantischen Rechts- und politischen Philosophie

in *Kant-Studien*, Volume 103, Issue 4, December 2012 , 494–498

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baughan Emily

'Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in inter-war Britain

in *Historical Research*, Volume 86, Issue 231, February 2013 , 116-137

Abstract

In the immediate aftermath of the First World War, internationalist ideals became increasingly important in British politics, popular culture and society. However, this new vogue for internationalism did not mean that imperial sentiments were waning, rather imperial celebrations such as Empire Day and the 1924 Empire Exhibition became increasingly prominent. This article explores the tensions and intersections between internationalist and imperialist world views in the activities and publications of the Save the Children Fund (S.C.F.), Britain's most successful international charity in the inter-war years. It argues that, despite its radical, internationalist agenda, the S.C.F. was involved in a process of reimagining the British empire as a peaceable, moral force, which exemplified the co-operative spirit of internationalism. In this vein, the S.C.F. promoted a vision of imperial international responsibility, arguing that it was the duty of the united British empire to extend its care to the children of all nations. In instances where the fund's imperial language sat uneasily with its more radical membership, a discourse of 'humanity' and universal responsibility was mobilized to overcome tensions. However, embedded within this discourse of humanity remained a hierarchical imagining of a 'world civilization', of which the British, both through their empire and their support for internationalist principles, were the champions and exemplars.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Quane Helen

A Further Dimension to the Interdependence and Indivisibility of Human Rights? Recent Developments Concerning the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

in *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, vol. 25, issue 1

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Brunssen Frank

A Moral Authority? Günter Grass as the Conscience of the German Nation

in *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 19, n. 3 , 565-584

When it was revealed in 2006 that Günter Grass had been a member of the Waffen-SS towards the end of the World War II, critics stripped Germany's most famous contemporary writer and intellectual of his widely recognized position as "a self-designated and fearless conscience of the nation" (Fritz Stern). Against the historical background of moral authority figures in twentieth century Germany, this article examines Grass' contributions as the nation's conscience to his country's political culture. For a start, the historical preconditions are analyzed that allowed Grass from the early 1960s onward to ascend to the public role of a moral authority figure. Second, this article then assesses to what extent this position must be regarded, on the one hand, as the result of external configurations and, on the other, as the outcome of Grass' own aspirations to create a self-image as a moral leader. In the light of his former membership of the Waffen-SS; third, the question is addressed whether Grass' confession has led to his "moral downfall," as many critics have claimed, or whether he should still be regarded as a "moral compass," as others believe. This article concludes by arguing that his recent dismissal from his position as the nation's conscience does not merely reveal widespread disenchantment with Grass but indicates, at a much wider level, a new public understanding that no longer associates the role of the writer in the twenty-first century with moral leadership.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Edwards Lawrence, Lawrence Robert Z.

A strategic view of South African trade policy in relation to the future global trading environment

in *South African Journal of International Affairs* , vol. 19, issue 3 , 277-298

ABSTRACT: This paper puts forward a strategic view of what South African trade policy should be doing in relation to the future global trading environment. The future is uncertain, but if the past is prologue, South African trade policy needs to be positioned for a continuation of the commodity cycle, and to exploit markets in emerging economies, including Africa, more fully. Simultaneously, it needs policies to spur labour-intensive services and manufacturing exports, both because these will be needed if commodity markets are less robust and because of their employment-creating potential. South Africa's current strategy, however, is inflexible, heavily focused on domestic concerns and is in danger of placing South African exporters at a disadvantage in accessing the growing emerging economies. It also gives rise to an inherent tension between the interests of South Africa and the African region in trade negotiations. Having as the central tenet of trade policy a commitment to deal with tariffs on a case-by-case basis will not serve South Africa well in the global economy that is likely to emerge over the next 15 years. A simpler tariff structure would facilitate the conclusion of free trade agreements and actually make industrial policy more effective.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Von Bogdandy Armin, Steinbrück Platise Mateja

ARIO and Human Rights Protection: Leaving the Individual in the Cold

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 9, n. 1 , 67-86

ABSTRACT: International organizations may be regarded as international public authorities, since their acts increasingly



impinge on individuals, private associations, enterprises, States, or public institutions. However, this development has not been followed by the creation of a corresponding system of international legal responsibility for international organizations. Some are even seen as a risk to fundamental rights. The Articles on Responsibility of International Organizations (ARIO) bring some progress in this regard, but nevertheless leave the victims of human rights violations largely overlooked. The article analyses some of the achievements and gaps of ARIO with respect to human rights protection and explores the possibilities for victims of human rights violations to seek remedies against international organizations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Goodman Jane E.

Acting with One Voice: Producing Unanimism in Algerian Reformist Theater
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 55, Issue 1, January , 167-197

Scholars of democracy from Tocqueville to Habermas have long considered the proliferation of so-called voluntary associations as a sign of a flourishing civil society and as central to the rise of democratic modernity. I contend that the Algerian theatrical and musical associations of the reformist period anticipate another kind of civic history: a history of displays of unanimism in public life. I am interested in how and why Algerians learned to produce public displays of agreement for particular audiences (including themselves) at particular historical moments. I emphasize three factors that contributed to the production of unanimity: the achievement of law and order or unity in the Islamic reform movement, vernacular practices of consensus-based argumentation, and French colonial legal and surveillance mechanisms. The essay engages theories of civil society, colonialism, and performance. It draws primarily on material from the French colonial archives for the city of Constantine, Algeria.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gause III F. Gregory, Lustick Ian S.

America and the Regional Powers in a Transforming Middle East
in Middle East Policy, Volume 19, Issue 2, Summer , 1-9

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Moore Gregory J.

An International Relations Perspective on the Science, Politics, and Potential of an Extraterrestrial Sino-US Arms Race
in Asian Perspective, Volume 35, Issue 4 (October-December 2011) , 643-658

This article brings an international relations perspective to the discussion of the science and policy of avoiding a Sino-US arms race in space. A blind adherence to realist and space nationalist assumptions, without considering



alternative approaches such as the policy options offered here, will likely doom China and the United States to a long, expensive, and potentially dangerous arms race in space for decades to come.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Narizny Kevin

Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy

in World Politics, vol. 64, n. 2, april , 341-373

ABSTRACT: For the past three centuries, Great Britain and the United States have stood in succession at the apex of the international hierarchy of power. They have been on the winning side of every systemic conflict in this period, from the War of the Spanish Succession to the Cold War. As a result, they have been able to influence the political and economic development of states around the world. In many of their colonies, conquests, and clients, they have propagated ideals and institutions conducive to democratization. At the same time, they have defeated numerous rivals whose success would have had ruinous consequences for democracy. The global spread of democracy, therefore, has been endogenous to the game of great power politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Thompson Eric C.

Anthropology in Southeast Asia: National Traditions and Transnational Practices

in Asian Journal of Social Science, Volume 40, Numbers 5-6 , 664-689

ver several generations, since the mid-20th century, anthropology has become an established academic discipline throughout much of Southeast Asia. Academic anthropology in Southeast Asia is emerging as a scholarly practice driven increasingly by local initiatives and dynamics, though still maintaining ties to global academic networks. The purpose of this article is to contribute to an assessment and understanding of the national traditions and transnational practices of anthropology in Southeast Asia through a comparative perspective. I focus on four national traditions - those of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. While providing a comprehensive account of these diverse traditions and practices is not possible in the space of a single article, I attend to four significant issues relevant to the current state of anthropology across the region. First, I compare the emergent national traditions of the four countries, focusing on the transnational conditions shaping their development, particularly in the late colonial and early post-colonial period (i.e., the mid-20th century). Second, I compare the structuring of anthropological selves and others across these traditions, which shapes the ways in which anthropologists see their work and the people they write about. Third, I discuss ways in which localised anthropological practice can and should contribute to theory building by way of grounded theory and critical translation projects. And finally, I conclude by examining emergent transnational linkages and practices, which suggest current directions that anthropology is taking in the region. While only a partial of narrative anthropology in Southeast Asia, this article is a provocation to think beyond both the older dynamics of the-West-versus-the-rest and the newer constraints of methodological nationalism in anthropologists' on-going efforts to build a vital and valuable discipline.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cingari Salvatore

Antonio Gramsci, il trasformismo e l'Italia della globalizzazione
in *Italia Contemporanea*, n° 266, Marzo 2012

Il saggio è diviso in tre paragrafi. Nel primo si ricostruisce l'utilizzo del concetto di trasformismo nel Gramsci precedente alla carcerazione. L'esigenza di elaborare un pensiero politico autonomo del proletariato deriva dall'idea di contrapposizione a una politica socialista tendente al compromesso e a un protezionismo che danneggia i ceti subalterni e il Sud Italia. Nel secondo paragrafo si analizzano i Quaderni del carcere, in cui il trasformismo è una componente fondamentale della teoria della "rivoluzione passiva". Attraverso il passaggio dei democratici nelle file moderate e dei socialisti in quelle democratiche o riformiste e poi anche dei sindacalisti nel fascismo, le fasi rivoluzionarie in Italia hanno trovato esito nella conservazione degli equilibri sociali tradizionali. Nel terzo paragrafo si affronta il problema di come il giudizio di Gramsci sul trasformismo sia stato preso in esame negli ultimi anni in Italia in relazione a un più generale sforzo di interpretazione della 'transizione' politica del paese negli anni della globalizzazione.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Raterman Ty

Bearing the Weight of the World: On the Extent of an Individual's Environmental Responsibility
in *Environmental Values*, Volume 21, Number 4, November , 417-436

To what extent is any individual morally obligated to live environmentally sustainably? In answering this, I reject views I see as constituting two extremes. On one, it depends entirely on whether there exists a collective agreement; and if no such agreement exists, no one is obligated to reduce her/his consumption or pollution unilaterally. On the other, the lack of a collective agreement is morally irrelevant, and regardless of what others are doing, each person is obligated to limit her/his pollution and consumption to a level that would be sustainable if everyone were to act in this way. I argue that the truth is somewhere between these, but that a very precise specification of the extent of one's responsibility is impossible. Roughly, what can be said is that each individual ought constantly to strive to do more than she/he does currently and to push her/himself into new, uncomfortable territory, though no one is obligated to martyr her/himself for an environmental cause.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Williams Garrath

Between Ethics and Right: Kantian Politics and Democratic Purposes
in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 479-486

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00557.x/abstract>

Abstract



Force and Freedom insists that, 'Freedom, understood as independence of another person's choice, is [all] that matters'. In this paper I suggest that this premise leads Ripstein to an instrumentalization of democracy that neglects a properly public and collective notion of freedom. The paper first criticizes Ripstein's key argument against any extension of public purposes beyond the upholding of persons' 'independence of others' choice'. More constructively, the paper then suggests that a space of public freedom is opened up when people deliberate in order to form and pursue democratic purposes. Citizens may act together to promote ends that they think are worthwhile, without dominating one another or restricting individual freedom.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peterson Timothy M., Thies Cameron G.

Beyond Ricardo: The Link between Intra-Industry Trade and Peace

in **British Journal of Political Science**, vol. 42, issue 4, october , 747-767

ABSTRACT: In this article, it is argued that horizontal intra-industry trade is associated with reduced conflict propensity within dyads. Horizontal intra-industry trade is characterized by participation in international markets for similar – in many cases, branded – commodities, resulting from economies of scale and consumer tastes for variety. Conversely, inter-industry trade in accordance with the Ricardian and Heckscher–Ohlin models, while providing valuable trade gains, in some instances provokes vulnerability to trade partners, such that its overall impact on dyadic conflict is ambiguous. Support for this expectation is found in empirical tests spanning from 1963 to 2001. Additionally, there is evidence that development is insufficient to preclude conflict when jointly developed dyads engage in no intra-industry trade.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Booth Carol

Bystanding and Climate Change

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 21, Number 4, November , 397-416

Most normative advice to individuals about what they should do to help prevent climate change focuses on reductions in personal emissions. This is consistent with an accountancy model of morality, with perpetrators held responsible for the harms they individually cause. An alternative focus receiving less popular and philosophical attention, but with greater potential to achieve substantial mitigation outcomes, is citizen activism for systemic reforms. Rather than perpetration (consisting of negligible contributions to climate change) priority moral concern can be directed to bystanding (as political passivity facilitating preventable and potentially catastrophic harms). To more effectively guide action, reformist ethics need to be informed by psychosociological research on motivation and societal transformation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sangiovanni Andrea

Can the Innate Right to Freedom Alone Ground a System of Public and Private Rights?

in **European Journal of Philosophy**, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 460-469



The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00555.x/abstract>

Abstract

The state regulates the way in which social power is exercised. It sometimes permits, enables, constrains, forbids how we may touch others, make offers, draw up contracts, use, alter, possess and destroy things that matter to people, manipulate, induce weakness of the will, coerce, engage in physical force, persuade, selectively divulge information, lie, enchant, coax, convince, ... In each of these cases, we (sometimes unintentionally) get others to act in ways that serve our interests. Which such exercises of power should the state forbid? Which should it permit? An intuitively appealing way to answer this question is, with Ripstein and Kant, to point to the role of freedom: exercises of social power can be legitimately prohibited when (and only when) they restrict people's freedom. But this raises a further question: How do we identify when such exercises of power make people unfree in the relevant sense? Ripstein, in defending Kant, draws a crucial distinction between actions that subject others' wills to our choices (and which it would therefore be presumptively legitimate for the state to forbid) and actions that merely affect the contexts in which others act (and which it would therefore be presumptively illegitimate for the state to forbid). I query that distinction, and argue that the idea of independence cannot bear, on its own, the weight it is expected to bear within the Kantian framework.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Armillotta Giovanni

Capitani, sergenti e caporali nel potere africano

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169, gennaio-inverno , 181-191

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seyla Benhabib

Carl Schmitt's Critique of Kant Sovereignty and International Law

in *Political Theory* , Volume 40, n. 6, December , 688-713

Carl Schmitt's critique of liberalism has gained increasing influence in the last few decades. This article focuses on Schmitt's analysis of international law in *The Nomos of the Earth*, in order to uncover the reasons for his appeal as a critic not only of liberalism but of American hegemonic aspirations as well. Schmitt saw the international legal order that developed after World War I, and particularly the "criminalization of aggressive war," as a smokescreen to hide U.S. aspirations to world dominance. By focusing on Schmitt's critique of Kant's concept of the "unjust enemy," the article shows the limits of Schmitt's views and concludes that Schmitt, as well as left critics of U.S. hegemony, misconstrue the relation between international law and democratic sovereignty as a model of top-down domination. As conflictual as the relationship between international norms and democratic sovereignty can be at times, this needs to be interpreted as one of mediation and not domination.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kornai János

Centralisation and the capitalist market economy†

in **Economics of Transition**, Volume 20, Issue 4, October 2012 , 569-591

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kong Qingjiang

China's Uncharted FTA Strategy

in **Journal of World Trade**, volume 46 n.5 , 1191-1204

China is embracing free trade agreements (FTAs). This article tries to probe into whether China has an FTA strategy, presuming that launch of FTAs emanates from the interaction between the decision-making mechanism in the trade area and the potential limits of the guiding principles. It argues that China will likely keep concluding more FTAs to weave an FTA net once technical evaluations lead to positive indicators for FTA negotiations. However, China's complicated structure of trade policy-making mechanism may also hinder its ability to conclude, especially when the bureaucratic actors are not in a position to evaluate the ripeness of the timing for a launch of FTA negotiations with a particular country in terms of the political considerations involved.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Verkhovskii Aleksandr, Pain Emil

Civilizational Nationalism. The Russian Version of the "Special Path"

in **Russian politics and law**, vol. 50, n. 5, September-October , 52-86

"Civilizational nationalism," the view that Russia follows a special path that predisposes it to authoritarian government, affects both the country's prospects for full-fledged democracy and the way in which academic and political circles discuss those prospects.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

FitzRoy Felix, Franz-Vasdeki Jennifer, Papyrakis Elissaios

Climate Change Policy and Subjective Well-Being

in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 22, Issue 3, May-June , 205-216

A small (but increasing) number of economists has recently started to recognize that the costs of climate change mitigation measured as reduced growth in GDP need not reduce welfare in view of the weak correlation between the two



in richer economies, provided that mitigation and employment policies are properly combined. In this paper we sketch neglected links between these – now major – research areas and discuss how subjective well-being and employment could be raised in the medium term by cost-effective mitigation and green fiscal policy, in addition to the long-run benefits of greenhouse gas reductions. A ‘green new deal’ placing more emphasis on climate change mitigation and happiness (rather than GDP as the key proxy for welfare) could be the appropriate strategy in the current economic climate of austerity and worsening recession, while also initiating the large-scale mitigation investment for job creation that is so urgently needed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fischer Anke, Peters Vera, Neebe Mirjam, Vávra Jan, Kriel Antoinette, Lapka Miloslav, Megyesi Boldizsár

Climate Change? No, Wise Resource Use is the Issue: Social Representations of Energy, Climate Change and the Future

in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 22, Issue 3, May-June , 161-176

Recent social scientific research has often dealt with public perceptions of climate change as an isolated topic. In contrast, we explored through qualitative interviews (n=202) across five European countries how members of the public conceptualized climate change within a wider context of energy and the future, drawing on social representation theory.

Our analysis suggests that, rather than separating between environmental issues, participants interpreted both climate change and energy consumption in a context of unsustainable resource use. Views on climate change were often very sceptical, but the unsustainability of contemporary resource use was almost unanimously of great concern. However, despite their strong plea for political change towards sustainability, many interviewees found it challenging to translate their views into behaviour. We argue that obstacles for behavioural change might lie in the tensions between cognitive, normative and affective aspects of people's representations, and conclude with recommendations for European climate change mitigation policies.

Full text available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.1585/pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rootes Christopher, Zito Anthony, Barry John

Climate change, national politics and grassroots action: an introduction

in Environmental Politics, Volume 21, Issue 5, Special Issue: Climate change, national politics and grassroots action, September , 677-690

There is considerable cross-national variation in the patterns of adoption and implementation of policies designed to mitigate climate change. The sources of this variation are considered. International relations, economic structures, national cultures and domestic political competition are factors, often in interaction one with another. In situations of multilevel governance, sub-national actors may be significant. Grassroots activism from without the formal political process has sometimes been critical in sharpening the focus of formal political actors, and increasing their willingness to act. Climate change is a global issue, but the political action necessary to address it is inevitably local and national as well as international.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Briggs Chad Michael

Climate security, risk assessment and military planning

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 5, september , 1049-1064

ABSTRACT: Climate and environmental changes pose emerging and unique challenges to international security—as the global community experiences issues of food insecurity, severe droughts and floods—and have cascading impacts on energy supplies and infrastructure. Environmental hazards may shift abruptly, posing new risks to vulnerable systems and critical nodes in ways that diverge from historical experience. Effective risk assessments and planning will require understanding of how climate change will affect natural disasters and disaster response, and how hazards may be more extreme or unique from past experiences. This article discusses the role of climate change in affecting security planning from a military perspective, and how integration of scientific data and intelligence methods can foster assessment and effective response.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De Schutter Olivier, Eide Asbjørn , Khalfan Ashfaq, Orellana Marcos , Salomon Margot, Seiderman Ian

Commentary to the Maastricht Principles on Extraterritorial Obligations of States in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 4, november , 1084-1169

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Leibbrandt Andreas, Sääksvuori Lauri

Communication in intergroup conflicts

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 6, August 2012 , 1136-1147

Numerous studies suggest that communication may be a universal means to mitigate collective action problems. In this study, we challenge this view and show that the communication structure crucially determines whether communication mitigates or intensifies rent-seeking for pure public goods. We observe the effect of different communication structures in the context of a finitely repeated intergroup contest and demonstrate that conflict expenditures are significantly higher if communication is restricted to one's own group as compared to a situation with no communication. However, expenditures are significantly lower if open communication within one's own group and between rivaling groups is allowed. We show that under open communication intergroup conflicts are avoided by groups taking turns in winning the contest. Our results do not only qualify the role of communication for collective action but may also provide insights on how to mitigate the destructive nature of intergroup conflict and group rent-seeking.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kovacheva Vesela, Vogel Dita, Xiaonan Zhang, Jordan Bill

Comparing the development of free movement and social citizenship for internal migrants in the European Union and China – converging trends?

in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 16, issue 3-4 , 545-561

ABSTRACT: Even though the European Union (EU) and China are different types of political units, this article explains why they can be compared in a meaningful way as internal migration areas. National citizenship of an EU member state is compared to hukou status in China, as both constitute relevant affiliations to geopolitical units with decisive implications for social citizenship. The development of social citizenship with regard to these affiliations is described. A periodization of developments in relation to legal affiliation and social rights since the 1950s is suggested showing that there are converging trends between the EU and China. Nowadays, the EU and China are areas of virtually free movement. However, the EU is far ahead concerning the social rights of internal migrants, while China has only recently started putting efforts in this direction. As a result, internal migrants in the EU are much better protected against the loss of social rights when leaving their country of national citizenship than Chinese migrants who leave their hukou region. The issue of whether free movement and more accessible social rights for migrants represent a step on the road towards a full set of civil and political entitlements of citizenship is reflected in the conclusions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fridkin Kim, Kenney Patrick, Gershon Sarah

Comparing the views of superdelegates and Democratic voters in the 2008 Democratic nomination campaign in Party Politics, Volume 18, Number 5, September , 749-770

The struggle for the power to nominate candidates for office between party elites and rank-and-file partisans surfaced in the late 1700s. The battle endures today and superdelegates in the Democratic Party represent the contemporary political elites in the nomination process. Indeed, superdelegates played a decisive role in determining the outcome of the 2008 Democratic nomination campaign. In this paper, we examine the attitudes and decisions of superdelegates towards the candidates and their own role in the nomination process. We also examine the attitudes of rank-and-file Democrats towards the delegates and the nomination process. To study these two groups, we rely on survey data collected immediately following the 2008 primary season. Results from the surveys indicate that voters and superdelegates differ greatly in their perceptions of superdelegates, their roles and decisions, as well as the legitimacy of the nomination process in the Democratic Party. We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tang Zheng Sophia

Conflicts of jurisdiction and party autonomy in Europe

in *Netherlands International Law Review*, Volume 59, Issue 3 , 321-359

Party autonomy provides certainty and predictability to the parties, reduces litigation costs, promotes the prompt assertion of jurisdiction by a court, and simplifies case management between different countries. However, the existence



of an exclusive jurisdiction clause cannot completely extinguish conflicts of jurisdiction. Common law countries traditionally adopt discretionary instruments, such as forum non conveniens and anti-suit injunctions to tackle conflicts of jurisdiction. Both instruments work together in common law countries to create a balance between international comity and effective case management. The application of these two instruments, however, has been questioned in the European Union (EU). This article examines conflicts of jurisdiction in the Brussels I Regulation and particularly focuses on the effect of the European approach in cases involving a jurisdiction clause. It is submitted that the current Brussels regime in dealing with conflicts of jurisdiction and choice of court agreements demonstrates three weaknesses: procedural certainty takes priority over party autonomy; mutual trust and comity override justice in individual cases; and an artificial fragmentation of the internal and international market. It is expected that situations will be improved after the proposed amendment in the Recast Proposal and the Presidency Amendment is adopted, which provides harmonised choice of law rules to decide on the material validity of a jurisdiction clause and the negative kompetenz-kompetenz rule to decide on the preliminary issue of an exclusive choice of court agreement. Although the proposals do not accept the common law instruments to tackle conflicts of jurisdiction in cases with exclusive jurisdiction clauses, it may not be necessary to insist that forum non conveniens and anti-suit injunctions be adopted where a proper approach has been established to ensure the effectiveness of an exclusive jurisdiction clause and to provide for the priority of the courts in deciding on its validity. However, the European lawmaker should pay specific attention to the improvement of the functioning of the Regulation in the international context to tackle conflicts of jurisdiction in choice of court agreements involving a third country.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

McIlwaine Cathy

Constructing transnational social spaces among Latin American migrants in Europe: perspectives from the UK in Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society, Volume 5 Issue 2 July , 289-304

This paper examines the construction of transnational social spaces among Latin American migrants living in the UK in relation to their multiple connections with homelands and other European countries, especially Spain. Drawing on Bourdieu's forms of capital approach, it explores how transnational practices underpin the functioning of these spaces in relation to how civic, economic, institutional cultural and social capital are mobilized, converted and depleted. It highlights the need to move beyond conceptualizations of negotiating capitals across simple home-destination connections and instead acknowledge that transnational social spaces comprise complex linkages among migrants across more than one border with evidence of important linear moves via intermediate countries on their way to their destination.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jeffrey Martin Jackson

Cosmopolitanism and Working-through the Past in Theory, Culture & Society, Volume 29, n. 3, May , 122-144

Certain of Kant's political essays suggest that the project of socio-political emancipation should be seen as a process of working ourselves out of affective attachments to pathological social relations. This aspect of Kant's thinking is read through Marx's materialist notion of commodity fetishism, which provides a paradigmatic approach to understanding the



ways in which concrete forms of sociality either thwart or facilitate the process of emancipation. It is then suggested that Freud's notion of the work of mourning can help to clarify the possibility of breaking with the fixated attachments that contribute to our own domination. In this light, the author considers the respective accounts of the relationship between Freudian theory and Kantian cosmopolitanism given by Julia Kristeva and Judith Butler in light of Theodor Adorno's materialist account of working-through the past. Reading Freud with Adorno offers a more coherent clarification of the concrete conditions of possibility of cosmopolitanism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bekou Olympia

Crimes at Crossroads: Incorporating International Crimes at the National Level
in *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, Vol. 10, Num. 3, July, 2012 , 677-691

The International Criminal Court operates on the premise that states will share the burden of investigating, prosecuting and adjudicating core international crimes by undertaking proceedings at the national level. The Court will step in only when states are 'unwilling or unable genuinely' to conduct such proceedings. The incorporation of genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes into the domestic legal order is thus essential to successful cooperation with the ICC as well as national prosecutions aimed at ending impunity. While acknowledging that transposing the relevant provisions of core international crimes into domestic law is never easy, the author succinctly surveys such efforts on the part of a number of selected states in an effort to continue shedding light on a process of empowerment of the domestic legal order that should, she argues, be at the forefront of the accountability effort.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

James Bohman

Critical Theory, Republicanism, and the Priority of Injustice: Transnational Republicanism as a Nonideal Theory
in *Journal of Social Philosophy* , Vol. 43, n°2 , 97-112

Nationalist vs Cosmopolitan Republicanism on the question of equality and social justice (or "equality of where?", in an institutional more than spatial sense).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sàenz Maria Orozco

Cuestiones jurídicas relacionadas con el estatuto jurídico del astronauta en el marco de las Naciones Unidas y de la Estación espacial internacional.
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 23, junio 2012

Analysis of United Nations legal instruments, as far as astronauts are concerned as well as other legal instruments concerning the International Space Station. Legal comparison with other juridical figures such as crew members or space tourists taking into the account the later do not have the necessary requirement for being considered from a legal



point of view astronauts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Veneruso Danilo

Dallo storicismo romantico alle relazioni tra struttura e sovrastruttura

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 423-430

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kampmann Christoph

Das „Westfälische System“, die Glorreiche Revolution und die Interventionsproblematik

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 65–92

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Léonard Laborie

De quoi l'universel est-il fait ? L'Europe, les empires et les premières organisations internationales

in *Les Cahiers Irice*, n°9 , 11-22

Les premières organisations internationales à « vocation » mondiale, sont à la croisée de dynamiques régionale européenne, impériale et atlantique. En cela, elles sont une pierre angulaire du système international en place du milieu du XIX siècle au milieu du XX siècle, constituant un lieu d'observation privilégié des interactions entre ses différentes composantes....

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Aaron N. Coleman

Debating the Nature of State Sovereignty: Nationalists, State Sovereignists, and the Treaty of Paris (1783)

in *Journal of the Historical Society (The)* , Vol. 12, n°3 , 309–340

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coetzee Eben, Hudson Heidi



Democratic Peace Theory and the Realist-Liberal Dichotomy: the Promise of Neoclassical Realism?

in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , vol. 39, n. 2 , 257-277

ABSTRACT: The idea of a separate (dyadic) peace among (liberal) democracies remains an alluring proposition for Western intellectuals and policy makers, despite criticism from non-Western circles. We contend that explanations of the democratic peace have degenerated into theoretical stalemate, with the structuralist bias depicted in (neo)realist theories and, conversely, the individualist nature of liberal theories of the democratic peace, providing little room for alternative conceptions. As a distinct theory of foreign policy in which the relationship between agents and structures, and their intersection across differing levels of analysis, is more fully explored, neoclassical realism could hold potential for transcending the explanatory dichotomies plaguing the theorisation of the democratic peace. Moreover, it could open up room for an alternative theoretical framework for theorising the dyadic peace and its implications for how peace-building initiatives are approached.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alcañiza Isabella

Democratization and Multilateral Security

in *World Politics*, vol. 64, n. 2, april , 306-340

ABSTRACT: Does democratization increase commitment to multilateral security? In this article, the author argues that democratic transitions increase the incentives of states to cooperate in multilateral security and that this is observable in the rate at which new democracies ratify international treaties of arms control, nuclear nonproliferation, and disarmament. New democrats, she asserts, seek a positive international reputation as an insurance mechanism against future regime reversals. By becoming “good citizens” of the global system, newly elected democratic leaders seek to expose potential conspirators to the possibility of diplomatic and economic sanctions if they were to attempt to reverse the transition. First, using original data on the ratification rates of 201 states for twenty major arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament treaties, the present study shows conclusively that new democracies outpace older democracies and all autocracies in committing to multilateral security. Second, the study empirically tests whether the swift ratification of security treaties works as a consolidation strategy and finds that, indeed, it does. That is, new democracies that commit to nonproliferation and arms control treaties are less likely to experience a regime reversal.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baccini Leonardo

Democratization and trade policy: An empirical analysis of developing countries

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 455-479

ABSTRACT: I show that the process of democratization in developing countries constitutes an important factor in the formation of preferential trade agreements. Specifically, democratizing developing countries are more likely to form a preferential trade agreement with richer countries, whereas there is little evidence that democratic transition affects the probability of a developing country joining a preferential trade agreement with other developing countries. This result follows naturally from median voter preferences and the Heckscher–Ohlin and Stolper–Samuelson theorems. Put simply, the median voter gains from trading with the richer states and loses from trading with the other poor states.



Since preferential trade agreements allow countries to waive the most-favored nation principle, the need for both trade openness and protectionism against competitors might explain why preferential trade agreements constitute one of the main features of the current wave of globalization. I quantitatively test this hypothesis using a newly compiled dataset that covers 135 developing countries from 1990 to 2007. An important implication of this article is that it could be more challenging than expected to combine domestic political equality with international economic equality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Le Roy Alice

Des communs sans tragédie : Elinor Oström vs. Garrett Hardin

in *Ecorev'* – *Revue critique de l'écologie politique*, n. 39, "Le Commun ou la relocalisation du politique", été

Full text available: <http://ecorev.org/spip.php?article917>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christian Aßmann, Jens Boysen-Hogrefe

Determinants of government bond spreads in the euro area: in good times as in bad

in *Empirica: Journal of Applied Economics and Economic Policy*, volume 39 n.3 , 341-356

Government bond spreads increased rapidly during the financial turmoil in the euro area. In general, government bond spreads in the euro area are attributed to solvency and liquidity risks and determinants thereof. This paper proposes the use of latent processes to model the time variation present in the evaluation of these determinants. In contrast to approaches using global measures like the US corporate bond spreads or short-term interest rates to approximate time variation, our model is also flexible enough to deal with the unfolding of the financial crisis. The findings suggest that the expected debt-to-GDP ratio explains a major part of the differences in bond yields in the euro area between 2003 and the unfolding of the financial crises. Coefficients for many determinants increased rapidly during the financial crises. Especially market capitalization gained relative importance in winter 2008/2009.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Delgado Mariano

Die Kontroverse über die Humanitäre Intervention bei der spanischen Expansion im 16. Jahrhundert

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 93–118

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Neville Robert Cummings

Dimensions of Contemporary Confucian Cosmopolitanism

in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 39, Issue 4, December 2012 , 594-613

Abstract

This paper identifies five dimensions of cosmopolitanism, though doubtless there are many more: cosmopolitanism in decision making, engaging others, attaining personal wholeness, the ultimate value-identity of life, and religious sensibility. These are discussed in terms of the Confucian ideas of the "Four Beginnings," ritual, life as cultivated education, sagehood, public versus private life, Principle, heart-mind, harmony, value, humaneness, "love with differences," "roots and branches," and filiality, among others. In all, it presents Confucianism as a living tradition that is facing up to how it might extend itself in light of the need for cosmopolitanism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ryabov Andrei

Disintegrating Community or Coherent Region?

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 50, n. 4, July-August , 7-22

Despite continued fragmentation, the countries of the post-Soviet space retain shared features associated with a unique political—economic system, "post-Soviet capitalism."

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wuthnow Joel, Li Xin, Qi Lingling

Diverse Multilateralism: Four Strategies in China's Multilateral Diplomacy

in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Volume 17, Number 3 / September , 269-290

This article addresses China's multilateral diplomacy by identifying four distinct strategies: watching, engaging, circumventing, and shaping. The typology builds on two literatures: power transition theory, and the more recent "assertiveness" discourse in the West. Drawing from a range of cases in both the economic and security domains, the article argues that China's multilateralism is diverse, and that it cannot be un-problematically characterized as either status-quo or revisionist in nature. However, the general trend appears to be towards engagement, but with an assertive tact as China's interests become further entangled in the business of international institutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferris J. Stephen, Winer Stanley L., Grofman Bernard

Do departures from democratic accountability compromise the stability of public finances? Keynesianism, central banking, and minority governments in the Canadian system of party government, 1867–2009

in *Constitutional political economy*, Volume 23, Number 3 / September 2012



This paper is concerned with the effectiveness of Westminster parliamentary institutions in ensuring the stability of a nation's public finances. Our starting point and major hypothesis is that the governance structure embodied in Canada's parliamentary system has contributed importantly to the maintenance of fiscal stability. The fact that the Government of Canada, like the central government of many other modern democracies, has survived for over a century without default on its public debt means that in some meaningful sense, long run responsibility with respect to the nation's finances has in fact been achieved, and we show that this is in fact the case. Hence a more meaningful test of our main hypothesis requires the designation of specific sub-periods when the ideological background for political policy making changed and/or when the institutions and organizations for operationalizing policy varied in ways that either improved or discouraged responsible fiscal performance. We consider ideational and institutional factors that are predicted to either enhance or detract from accountability and fiscal stability, including central banking, the adoption of Keynesianism, inflation targeting and periods of minority government, and test for their effects on long run stability of the debt to GDP ratio using data for almost the entire history of the modern state from 1867 to 2008.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Neumayer Eric

Do governments mean business when they derogate? Human rights violations during notified states of emergency

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 1, march , 1-31

ABSTRACT: Whether international human rights treaties constrain the behavior of governments is a hotly contested issue that has drawn much scholarly attention. The possibility to derogate from some, but not all, of the rights enshrined in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) during declared and officially notified states of emergency provides a hitherto unexplored test case. If governments were increasingly violating non-derogable rights during derogation periods then this provides evidence that the ICCPR has no sufficient constraining effect on state parties. I analyze whether specific individual human rights as well as two aggregate rights measures are systematically more violated during derogation periods in a global sample over the period 1981 to 2008. I find that regime type matters: autocracies step up violation of both non-derogable and derogable rights, anocracies increasingly violate some derogable and some non-derogable rights, whereas democracies see no statistically significant change in their human rights behavior during derogation periods. This result suggests that the main general international human rights treaty fails to achieve its objective of shielding certain rights from derogation where, as in autocracies and anocracies, a constraining effect would be needed most.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peksen Dursun

Does Foreign Military Intervention Help Human Rights?

in Political Research Quarterly , vol. 65, n. 3, september , 558-571

ABSTRACT: This article examines the effect of foreign armed intervention on human rights conditions in target countries. It is argued that military intervention contributes to the rise of state repression by enhancing the state's coercive power and encouraging more repressive behavior, especially when it is supportive or neutral toward the target



government. Results from bivariate probit models estimated on time-series cross-section data show that supportive and neutral interventions increase the likelihood of extrajudicial killing, disappearance, political imprisonment, and torture. Hostile interventions increase only the probability of political imprisonment. The involvement of an intergovernmental organization or a liberal democracy as an intervener is unlikely to make any major difference in the suggested negative impact of intervention.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Acemoglu Daron, Egorov Georgy, Sonin Konstantin

Dynamics and Stability of Constitutions, Coalitions, and Clubs
in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 4, June 2012 , 1446–76

In dynamic collective decision making, current decisions determine the future distribution of political power and influence future decisions. We develop a general framework to study this class of problems. Under acyclicity, we characterize dynamically stable states as functions of the initial state and obtain two general insights. First, a social arrangement is made stable by the instability of alternative arrangements that are preferred by sufficiently powerful groups. Second, efficiency-enhancing changes may be resisted because of further changes they will engender. We use this framework to analyze dynamics of political rights in a society with different types of extremist views.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Blakkisrudab Helge, Kolstøab Pål

Dynamics of de facto statehood: the South Caucasian de facto states between secession and sovereignty
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 12, n. 2 , 281-298

Scattered across the globe there exist a handful of unrecognized statelets. Although some such entities have proven short-lived, others have demonstrated remarkable tenacity. The South Caucasian de facto states – Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh – have existed for almost 20 years now. This article offers a comparative analysis of how these statelets have attempted to consolidate statehood through processes of state- and nation-building. Despite many outward similarities, both ambitions and outcomes have varied greatly. Interestingly, whether the ultimate goal has been independent statehood or status is seen only as a springboard for unification with ethnic kin does not seem to be a decisive point.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jütersonke Oliver

Echoes of a Forgotten Past: Mid-Century Realism and the Legacy of International Law
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 3, fall , 373-386

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frankova Eva, Johanisova Nadia

Economic Localization Revisited

in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 22, Issue 5, Special Issue: Special Issue from the European Society for Ecological Economics 2011 Conference: 'Advancing Ecological Economics: Theory and Practice', September/October , 307-321

The concept of economic localization, although receiving increasing academic and practical interest, still lacks a solid theoretical background. Our aim here is to suggest a working definition of the term economic localization and to outline its possible interpretations and operationalizations. Based on a detailed analysis of six monographs on the subject, we: (i) summarize the content of localization narratives as presented by the individual authors, capturing the variability of the localization agenda; (ii) present 11 localization dimensions and 17 more concrete aspects of localization arguments as a way to structure and operationalize the concept; and (iii) suggest a condensed working definition of the economic localization concept. We argue that it is crucial to acknowledge the complexity of the economic localization agenda, which should not simply focus only on some of its aspects without keeping a sense of the whole in mind. We thus propose to define economic localization as both the process and the result of moral, political and practical support of as many localized aspects of production and consumption as possible and desirable. Finally, we discuss the construction of "the other" within the localization argument, and the position of the localization concept within the research agenda of ecological economics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schulze Max-Stephan, Wolf Nickolaus

Economic nationalism and economic integration: the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the late nineteenth century
in **Economic Journal**, May 2012, Volume 65, Issue 2 , 652-673

This article seeks to square two seemingly contradictory strands in the literature on economic development in the late nineteenth-century Habsburg Empire. On the one hand, there is an extensive historiography stressing the rise of nationalism and its close correlate of growing efforts to organize economic life along ethno-linguistic lines. On the other, there is a substantial body of research that emphasizes significant improvements in market integration across the empire as an outcome of the diffusion of industrialization and an expanding railway network, among other factors. In this article, it is argued that the process of market integration was systematically asymmetric, shaped by intensifying intra-empire nationality conflicts. While grain markets in Austria-Hungary became overall more integrated over time, they also became systematically biased: regions with a similar ethno-linguistic composition of their population came to display significantly smaller price gaps between each other than regions with different compositions. The emergence and persistence of this differential integration cannot be explained by changes in infrastructure and transport costs, simple geographical features, asymmetric integration with neighbouring regions abroad, or communication problems. Instead, differential market integration along ethno-linguistic lines was driven by the formation of ethno-linguistic networks due to intensifying conflict between groups—economic nationalism mattered.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Bräutigam Deborah, Tang Xiaoyang

Economic statecraft in China's new overseas special economic zones: soft power, business or resource security?

in *International Affairs* , vol. 88, issue 4, july , 799-816

ABSTRACT: China's rapidly growing economic engagement with other developing countries has aroused intense debates, but these debates have often generated more heat than light. The Chinese government is clearly pushing its companies to move offshore in greater numbers, and state-owned firms figure prominently in many of the major investments abroad. Yet relatively little research exists on when, how and why the Chinese government intervenes in the overseas economic activities of its firms. China's state-sponsored economic diplomacy in other developing countries could play three major strategic roles: strengthening resource security, enhancing political relationships and soft power, and boosting commercial opportunities for national firms. This article examines China's programme to establish overseas special economic zones as one tool of Beijing's economic statecraft. It traces the process by which they were established and implemented, and investigates the characteristics of the 19 zones initially selected in a competitive tender process. The article concludes that even in countries rich in natural resources, the overseas zones were overwhelmingly positioned as commercial projects. Particularly in the Asian zones, China is following in the footsteps of Japan. The zone programme, and the Chinese foreign investment it hoped to foster, represents a clear case of the international projection of China's developmental state. However, in Africa (but not generally elsewhere) discourse surrounding the zones publicly positions them as a transfer of China's own development success, thus potentially enhancing China's political relationships and soft power on the continent.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nyíri Pál

Enclaves of Improvement: Sovereignty and Developmentalism in the Special Zones of the China-Lao Borderlands

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 54, Issue 3, July , 533-562

The highlands of mainland Southeast Asia have famously been the locus of "Zomia," polities resistant to control by lowland nation-states, but this relative resilience has been due to their marginality. However, as even remote borderlands connect to the market economies of what has been labeled the "Greater Mekong Subregion," these semi-independent polities are trying to transform themselves from isolated drug enclaves into regional paragons of economic modernity labeled "Special Economic Zones." The main actors in this transformation are ethnic Chinese migrant capitalists who embrace the economic rhetoric of mainland China's "growth model" to create respectability and to evoke images of a cosmopolitan future as they build casinos in the rainforest. The zones' claim to be the vanguard of modernity rests on two mutually contradictory sets of symbols: a mimicry of Chinese state paraphernalia designed to conjure up the efficacy of a strong developmental state, and the discourse of freedom from state control. This article examines the transformation of zones of political and criminal resistance into zones of economic development from a historical perspective of changing practices of sovereignty and shifting understandings of development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Materka Edyta

End of Transition? Expropriation, Resource Nationalism, Fuzzy Research, and Corruption of Environmental Institutions in the Making of the Shale Gas Revolution in Northern Poland

in *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 19, n. 3 , 599-631

This article focuses on the Polish state's strategies in making "space" for the shale gas revolution. It focuses on the state's utilization of law, research, and domination of the political debate to ensure that the shale gas exploration is legitimated on the local level and in the European Union (EU). Furthermore, this article asks what implications Poland's entrance into the shale gas revolution has had on its transition as a post-socialist state into the market economy. It points out the paradoxes of a shale gas revolution being replicated from the USA to Europe, the disjuncture between the rapidity of shale gas exploration versus public knowledge about the process, the political issues surrounding the rise of resource nationalism vis-a-vis the dependence on foreign technology in the exploration process, and raises the question of whether shale gas exploration is a national or European issue. Finally, it asks how these shale gas developments, the state's passage of laws that allow the foreign expropriation of private property owners fits into the idea of post-socialist "transition" to a market economy. Is it over? Has it back-tracked? Or do post-socialist ethnographers need a new theoretical framework?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Esteban Joan, Mayoral Laura, Ray Debraj

Ethnicity and Conflict: An Empirical Study

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 4, June 2012 , 1310–42

We examine empirically the impact of ethnic divisions on conflict, by using a specification based on Esteban and Ray (2011). That theory links conflict intensity to three indices of ethnic distribution: polarization, fractionalization, and the Gini-Greenberg index. The empirical analysis verifies that these distributional measures are significant correlates of conflict. These effects persist as we introduce country-specific measures of group cohesion and of the importance of public goods, and combine them with the distributional measures exactly as described by the theory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Moonhawk Kim

Ex Ante Due Diligence: Formation of PTAs and Protection of Labor Rights

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 4, december , 704-719

ABSTRACT: Do fair trade PTAs—trade agreements that contain provisions for protection of labor rights—lead to improvements in labor protection in PTA partner states? If so, how do the PTAs bring about such improvements? I argue that trade partner states are likely to engage in ex ante due diligence and improve the protection of labor rights at home before they sign or even enter into negotiations for a PTA. Given that large developed economies have increasingly placed value on strong labor protection, trade partners of these economies act on the belief that, holding other factors constant, having stronger labor protection will increase their attractiveness as a potential or a prospective PTA partner. I test this argument in the context of the United States and its trade partners between 1982 and 2005. The evidence shows that trade partner states indeed are much more likely to improve labor protection (i) prior to the 2002 Trade Act



publicizing the importance of labor protection and (ii) prior to signing a PTA with the United States.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Garrison Jean A, Abdurahmonov Ahad

Explaining the Central Asian Energy Game: Complex Interdependence and How Small States Influence Their Big Neighbors

in Asian Perspective, Volume 35, Issue 3 (July-September 2011) , 381-405

Dominant voices in the energy security debate describe the competition for energy resources as a zero-sum, realist game that will lead to future resource wars among prominent system-shaping states. However, the complex set of interlinked political, economic, and security issues that make up energy security involves “big” and “small” states. Complex interdependence provides a different lens to view power in situational and relational terms and thus a more comprehensive way to measure a state's potential influence. This article examines the foreign-policy behavior of energy-rich “small” states in Central Asia, specifically Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, in the context of their “big” neighbors, particularly Russia and China. The goal is to begin to explain the energy dynamic within Central Asia and the bargaining process that is reshaping Central Asia's interlinked political, economic, and security relationships.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hierro Marria, Maza Adolfo, Villaverde Josè

Explaining Polarisation in the EU 27's international migraton distribution

in Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography) , Volume 103, Issue 4, September , 396-411

This paper is aimed at analysing the European Union's international migration distribution (EUIMD) for the period 1990–2010. Besides some relevant aspects of the distribution, such as inequality and dynamics, it mainly focuses on trends in polarisation and in exploring some key factors that might be behind these trends. The results of the study reveal that polarisation in EUIMD has followed a decreasing path and that factors like geographic location and government expenditure on health are those which better explain the polarisation phenomenon.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bayer Patrick, Urpeleinen Johannes

External sources of clean technology: Evidence from the Clean Development Mechanism

in Review of International Organizations (The) , vol. 8, n. 1, march , 81-109

ABSTRACT: New technology is fundamental to sustainable development. However, inventors from industrialized countries often refuse technology transfer because they worry about reverse-engineering. When can clean technology transfer succeed? We develop a formal model of the political economy of North–South technology transfer. According to the model, technology transfer is possible if (1) the technology in focus has limited global commercial potential or (2) the



host developing country does not have the capacity to absorb new technologies for commercial use. If both conditions fail, inventors from industrialized countries worry about the adverse competitiveness effects of reverse-engineering, so technology transfer fails. Data analysis of technology transfer in 4,894 projects implemented under the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism during the 2004–2010 period provides evidence in support of the model.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Erceg Christopher J., Lindé Jesper

Fiscal Consolidation in an Open Economy

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 186–91

This paper uses a New Keynesian DSGE model of a small open economy to compare how the effects of fiscal consolidation differ depending on whether monetary policy is constrained by currency union membership or by the zero lower bound on policy rates. We show that there are important differences in the impact of fiscal shocks across these monetary regimes that depend both on the duration of the zero lower bound and on features that determine the responsiveness of inflation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ripstein Arthur

Form and Matter in Kantian Political Philosophy: A Reply

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 487-496

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00558.x/abstract>

Abstract

This paper responds briefly to four reviews of Force and Freedom. Valentini and Sangiovanni criticize what they see as the excessive formalism of the Kantian enterprise, contending that the Kantian project is circular, because it defines rights and freedom together, and that this circularity renders it unable to say anything determinate about appropriate restrictions and permissions. I show that the appearance of circularity arises from a misconstrual of the Kantian idea of a right. Properly understood, Kantian rights are partially indeterminate, but not in a way that causes problems for the account. Ronzoni and Williams seek to broaden the reach of public right, arguing that Kant's abstract approach overlooks pressing questions of social and political life, (Ronzoni) and that public right should allow for democratic deliberation about purposes that go beyond the requirement that a state provide a rightful condition for its members (Williams). I argue that the Kantian view makes room for these factors, but that each must be understood in relation to the formal constraints of right.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Monsutti Alessandro

Fuzzy Sovereignty: Rural Reconstruction in Afghanistan, between Democracy Promotion and Power Games in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 54, Issue 3, July , 563-591

This paper contributes to the study of new forms of transnational power constituted by the action of international and nongovernmental organizations, to which gravitate loose networks of activists variously promoting democracy, human rights, the empowerment of women, and environmental conservation. The paper's focus is impacts that the massive reconstruction effort is having on Afghan society, examined through a case study of The National Solidarity Programme (NSP), the main project of rural rehabilitation underway in the country. Launched in 2003, its objective is to bring development funds directly to rural people and to establish democratically elected local councils that will identify needs, and plan and manage the reconstruction. Although the NSP's political significance faded in the context of the presidential elections of 2009, which were characterized by quickly evolving alliances, the program illustrates how reconstruction funds are an integral part of Afghanistan's social and political landscape. My arguments are four-fold: First, the NSP subtly modifies participants' body gestures and codes of conduct. Second, the program's fundamental assumptions are at odds with the complex social fabric and the overlapping sources of solidarity and conflict that characterize rural Afghanistan. Third, the ways in which political actors use material and symbolic resources channeled through the NSP mirror national struggles for power. Finally, such programs are one element in a much larger conceptual and bureaucratic apparatus that promotes new forms of transnational governmentality that coexist with and sometimes challenge the more familiar, territorialized expressions of state power and sovereignty.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Miskimmon Alister

German Foreign Policy and the Libya Crisis
in **German Politics**, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 392-410

German foreign policy has come under scrutiny due to its decision to abstain in the vote on UN Security Council Resolution 1973 in March 2011 on the Libyan no fly zone. Germany's decision not to support France, the UK and the USA ensured that no common EU position emerged and NATO's response to the crisis proved difficult. German foreign policy was caught between enlarging its influence and role in crisis management and reserving the right to reject involvement in operations that do not fit with its national interest. Drawing on the work of Robert Gilpin, the article argues that Germany's decision to abstain on United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 can be explained by understanding the cost/benefit calculations of the German government, pressured by the protracted Eurozone crisis.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Siniatti Piero

Gli eventi e i problemi della Russia di Putin
in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 533-549

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Boyer Mark A.

**Global Climate Change and Local Action: Understanding the Connecticut Policy Trajectory
in International Studies Perspectives** , vol. 14, issue 1, february , 79-107

ABSTRACT: Climate change is the signature global issue of our time. This is not just because of climate change itself, but also because of the host of socioeconomic and physical impacts that will result from rising temperatures globally. But fundamentally for scholars of international relations, climate change confronts the policy limitations of sovereignty and its implications for global action directly. Because of the lack of effective global and even national climate change policy action, policy initiatives to confront climate change must focus on levels below the global, even though economic models suggest that global policy provision might be the most efficient way to target the implications of climate change. Thus, this study centers on the complexity of climate change policymaking by focusing attention on the evolution of climate change policy action in the New England region, the State of Connecticut, and its municipalities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kristin Sippl and Henrik Selin

**Global Policy for Local Livelihoods: Phasing Out Mercury in Artisanal and Small-Scale Gold Mining
in Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development** , May/June 2012

Mercury is a toxic heavy metal threatening human and environmental health worldwide. In response, the international community is negotiating a multilateral environmental agreement on mercury that will open for signatures in 2013. Its successful implementation will depend on reform in the artisanal and small-scale gold mining sector (ASGM), the second largest source of mercury emissions globally. These 15 million men, women and children in mainly developing countries use mercury-based gold mining techniques to earn informal subsistence livelihoods in environmentally sensitive contexts where few alternatives exist. In addition to harming these communities, mercury emitted from ASGM bioaccumulates in aquatic food chains, harming consumers of seafood worldwide. This article asks how international efforts focusing on ASGM can ensure that phasing out mercury both protects human health globally and supports livelihoods locally. By drawing on insights from past international efforts, it argues that improved capacity building and technology transfer programs will be critical to reducing mercury's impact in the immediate and longer-range future. The new fair-trade gold certification process and non-mining livelihood options are explored, as are the broader linkages between global policy and local livelihoods and their implications for continuing sustainability efforts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lopes Paula Duarte

Governing Iberian Rivers: from bilateral management to common basin governance?

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 12, Number 3, Special Issue on Hegemony and asymmetry in transboundary river basins, September , 251-268



Traditionally, international water resources have been managed by riparian states based essentially on a technical hydraulic approach, addressing navigation concerns, water flows at the border and shared hydraulic structures, besides the definition of political borders. During the 1990s, the possibility of a paradigm change emerged, where a “technical hydraulic management approach” seemed to be giving way to a more “political environmental governance approach”. Yet, in many cases, this change did not ensue. This article argues that several riparians are trapped in stalemate due to a too strong sovereign approach to their water relations. Adopting a critical perspective on hydro-hegemony, this article argues that this framework of analysis is too limited since it is embedded in a Westphalian concept of sovereignty. To support this argument, the article draws on the Iberian Peninsula water politics. These riparians are still embedded in notions of territorial sovereignty, not being able to take on a holistic water basin governance regime embedded on considerations of equity, human rights and social justice. The article concludes that it is vital to move beyond a static sovereignty-based analysis of riparian relations and engage in a dynamic discussion of different water governance models and their consequences concerning peace and development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Simon Joan Marc

**Green Economy: an Ecological Contradiction or a Governance Challenge?
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXV, n. 3, November**

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/index.php/current-issue/borderless-debate/item/800-green-economy-an-ecological-contradiction-or-a-governance-challenge?>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ahmet Atılgan, Bünül Zeynep

Green New Deal: A Green Way out of the Crisis?

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 22, Issue 5, Special Issue: Special Issue from the European Society for Ecological Economics 2011 Conference: ‘Advancing Ecological Economics: Theory and Practice’, September/October , 295-306

The multi-dimensional nature of the current global crisis requires a holistic approach in addressing economic, social and ecological problems. Following the crisis, several organizations started to publish reports on a concept called Green New Deal (GND) with reference to the New Deal policies of the 1930s in the USA. Since then, the concept has gained increasing popularity among the public. On the other hand, it fuelled a heated discussion between its supporters and ecosocialists. The aim of this paper is to highlight the points at which GND supporters and ecosocialists converge and diverge, and discuss critically the transformative capacity of different GND proposals. We conclude that GND policies can help to set the stage for the transformation long sought by the ecosocialist agenda, and hence from this perspective, these two approaches can be seen as complementary rather than substitutes.

Full text available: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/eet.1594/pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Tischer Anuschka

Grenzen der Souveränität: Beispiele zur Begründung gewaltsamer Einmischung in „innere Angelegenheiten“ in der Frühen Neuzeit

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 41–64

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Seyfang Gill, Haxeltine Alex

Growing grassroots innovations: exploring the role of community-based initiatives in governing sustainable energy transitions

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 30, Issue 3, June , 381-400

The challenges of sustainable development (and climate change and peak oil, in particular) demand system-wide transformations in sociotechnical systems of provision. An academic literature around coevolutionary innovation for sustainability has recently emerged as an attempt to understand the dynamics and directions of such sociotechnical transformations, which are termed 'sustainability transitions'. This literature has previously focused on market-based technological innovations. Here we apply it to a new context of civil-society-based social innovation and examine the role of community-based initiatives in a transition to a low-carbon sustainable economy in the UK. We present new empirical research from a study of the UK's Transition Towns movement (a 'grassroots innovation') and assess its attempts to grow and influence wider societal sociotechnical systems. By applying strategic niche management theory to this civil society context, we deliver theoretically informed practical recommendations for this movement to diffuse beyond its niche: to foster deeper engagement with resourceful regime actors; to manage expectations more realistically by delivering tangible opportunities for action and participation; and to embrace a community-based, action-oriented model of social change (in preference to a cognitive theory of behaviour change). Furthermore, our study indicates areas where theory can be refined to better explain the growth and broader impacts of grassroots innovations —namely, through a fuller appreciation of the importance of internal niche processes, by understanding the important role of identity and group formation, and by resolving how social practices change in grassroots innovations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Silvestrini Gabriella

Guerra, diritto e politica. I «Principi del diritto di guerra» di Jean-Jacques Rousseau

in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 2, agosto 2012 , 191-204

Abstract

In the first part of this essay, the Author provides an account of the reconstruction of Rousseau's manuscript according to his fragments on war. This reconstruction is particularly relevant for the general interpretation of Rousseau's political thought. On the one hand, the dating of the manuscript on Principles of the Law of War allows to place the first draft of The Social Contract in the years 1755-1756. On the other hand, the analysis of the problematic context of Rousseau's speculation on war and on the law of war provides support for that dating, and the base for pointing out the link between the principles of political law and the principles of the law of war, concerning both method and contents.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Warner Jeroen, Zawahri Neda

Hegemony and asymmetry: multiple-chessboard games on transboundary rivers

in **International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics**, Volume 12, Number 3, Special Issue on Hegemony and asymmetry in transboundary river basins, September

Full text available: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/jx76l7mp73205663/fulltext.pdf>.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hartzok Alanna

Henry George's Perspective on War and Peace

in **American Journal of Economics and Sociology**, Volume 71, Issue 4, October 2012 , 938-955

This essay examines Henry George's perspective on war and peace. With justice added to the foundation in the way that Henry George proposes, the conditions of inequality and conflict that lead to war will no longer prevail. George saw that trade prohibitions furthered elite rule, militarization, and a worldview of "them" versus "us." George's great contribution was to see how these big issues of War and Peace bore directly upon the constellation of rules governing the relationship of people to planet, humans to humus, earthlings to earth. Social arrangements not based on the fundamental and equal human right to the earth lead inevitably to a gross imbalance of political power and thus to government corruption, odious public debt, war, and preparations for further war. Although he warned us of what might befall the United States if it took the imperialist path, George seemed hopeful that the highest and best moral purpose of our nation would prevail. The paper concludes with an assessment of contemporary devices that protect the interests of the few over the many—subsidies, the ballooning national debt, the ever-widening wealth gap, megacities, and the full-spectrum-dominance objective of U.S. imperialism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Czobor-Lupp Mihaela

Herder on esthetic imagination as a source of post-national democratic solidarity: A contribution to Habermas' constitutional patriotism

in **Contemporary Political Theory**, Volume 12, Issue 1, February 2013 , 46-70

Constitutional patriotism has been criticized for providing too thin an identity as the ground for common citizenship. Answering this criticism, Habermas recently stressed the role of affective attachments in creating constitutional patriotic bonds. Still, an account of the type of imagination that could foster such post-national affective attachments is lacking. Drawing on Herder's conception of political culture, I argue that constitutional patriotism requires a modern form of mythology. This would include narratives that shape people's imaginative capacity to see their own culture as a



vulnerable and fallible part of a plural mankind and as a free and equal contributor to the global advancement toward humanity. In contrast to ideological mythology, an enlightened use of myth would engage the interactive and communicative potential of poetic images in ways that shape a common feeling of humanity. In short, Habermas' constitutional patriotism requires supplementing the power of law to create bonds between people. This can be done through the cultivation of imaginative engagements with foreign others. Such imaginative engagements would shape good dispositions that are conducive to tolerance, peace and justice. This addition also allows Habermas' argument for constitutional patriotism to better answer the communitarian accusation of supranationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Antonio Tena Junguito, Markus Lampe, Felipe Tamega Fernandes

How Much Trade Liberalization Was There in the World Before and After Cobden-Chevalier?
in *Journal of Economic History (The)*, volume 72 n,3 , 708-740

The Cobden-Chevalier Treaty of 1860 is regarded as central turning point in nineteenth-century trade policy, inaugurating a free trade era in Western Europe. We reexamine this story and put it into global perspective with a new database covering more than 7,500 data points for 11 categories of manufactures in 41 countries and colonies around the world between 1846 and 1880. It reveals that bilateralism after 1860 reinforced a process already underway before. Nevertheless, we highlight that trade liberalization was a global phenomenon over most of our period, so that the prominent British case appears as typical rather than exceptional.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Riegner Michael

How universal are international law and development? Engaging with postcolonial and Third World scholarship from the perspective of its Other
in *Verfassung und Recht in Ubersee*, vol. 45, issue 2

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Clément Dominique

Human Rights in Canadian Domestic and Foreign Politics: From “Niggardly Acceptance” to Enthusiastic Embrace
in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 3, august , 751-778

ABSTRACT: Human rights transformed international politics beginning in the 1970s. This transformation was rooted in a



dialectical relationship between international and domestic human rights institutions and movements. This article explores how we can use social movements, law, and politics to demonstrate the way international human rights norms were received, interpreted, and applied domestically and how this affected states' participation in international politics. The focus is on Canada, which was profoundly influenced by international human rights norms and in turn contributed to transforming international politics. These developments were especially pronounced in the 1970s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Forsythe David P.

Human Rights in Political and Economic Context: Competing Views
in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 4, december , 608-614

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferraris Luigi Vittorio

Il nuovo disordine internazionale
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 3, luglio-settembre , 331-340

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hosseini Seyed Mohammed Ali

Il programma nucleare dell'Iran
in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 40-62

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giacconi Marco

Il quadrante strategico della rivolta siriana
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 373-378

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lenzi Guido

Il rispetto delle minoranze perno del sistema internazionale

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 379-385

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Simone Giulia

Il ruolo di Alfredo Rocco alla Società delle Nazioni. Documenti inediti

in *Clio - Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*, n. 1, 2012 , 27-48

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schill Stephan W.

Illegal Investments in Investment Treaty Arbitration

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 2 , 281-323

ABSTRACT: Investment treaty tribunals on numerous occasions have had to deal with the impact of breaches of domestic law by a foreign investor on the investment's protection under an international investment treaty. In this context, tribunals had to interpret different "in accordance with host State law"-clauses contained in investment treaties, but also dealt with the effect of illegality in the absence of such clauses. The present article traces this increasingly complex jurisprudence and frames it as an issue of the relationship between domestic law and international investment law. Although different approaches exist, most importantly as to the effect of domestic illegality on the jurisdiction of investment treaty tribunals, the article suggests that there is considerable potential for convergence in arbitral jurisprudence, thus unveiling the contours of a doctrinal structure for dealing with illegal investments in international investment law and arbitration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

De Santis, Roberta

Impact of Environmental Regulations on Trade in the Main EU Countries: Conflict or Synergy?

in *World Economy*, volume 35 n.7 , 799-815

In an increasingly integrated world with declining trade barriers, environmental regulations can have a decisive role in shaping countries' comparative advantages. The conventional wisdom about environmental protection is that it comes at an additional cost on firms imposed by the government, which may erode their global competitiveness. However, this



paradigm has been challenged by some analysts. In particular, Porter and van der Linde argue that pollution is often associated with a waste of resources and that more stringent environmental policies can stimulate innovations that may overcompensate for the costs of complying with these policies. This is known as the Porter hypothesis. While there is a broad empirical literature on the impact of trade on environment, the empirical literature on the impact of environmental regulations on trade flows is relatively scarce, very heterogeneous and presents mixed results. The innovative feature of this paper is its attempts to estimate, in a gravity setting, augmented with a proxy of environmental stringency, the impact of three major multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) on 15 EU countries' bilateral exports. According to our estimates, in the period 1988–2008, to be member of MEAs had a positive average impact on EU's bilateral exports. This evidence can be partly explained by a possible trade diversion effect with respect to countries that did not sign MEAs and a corresponding trade creation effect among members of the environmental agreements. Furthermore, evidence coming from interaction effects estimates seems to show that for exporting countries, having signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Montreal agreements partly mitigates (by the amount of the estimated coefficient) the negative impact of having a relatively more stringent environmental regulation on bilateral trade. This result could have important policy implications for the future international trade–environmental negotiations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kempin Reuter Tina

Including Minority Rights in Peace Agreements: A Benefit or Obstacle to Peace Processes after Ethnic Conflicts?

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 19, Number 4 , 359-397

Dealing effectively and efficiently with minorities and minority problems in the aftermath of ethnic conflict is central to durable and stable peace. The inclusion of minority rights in peace agreements is seen as a mandatory step in the resolution of the conflict and political stability. While references to human rights and minority rights are common, it is the implementation process that often lacks clarity and thoroughness. On the basis of three case studies, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Kosovo, this study examines how human rights and minority rights provisions are put into practice and how they impact the peace process. Findings suggest that the inclusion of minority rights is only beneficial in cases in which relevant institutions and adequate political and civil society support were established to implement the provisions. Formal reference to ethnic problems or minority rights is not sufficient.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Paulson Nels, Laudati Ann, Doolittle Amity, Welch-Devine Meredith, Pena Pablo

Indigenous Peoples' Participation in Global Conservation: Looking beyond Headdresses and Face Paint

in Environmental Values, Volume 21, Number 3, August , 255-276

This article explores the meaning of inclusive participation in global conservation decision-making processes. It draws on data collected in collaborative ethnographic research of the latest World Conservation Congress (WCC) held in 2008 in Barcelona, Spain. We argue that despite a discernible shift towards the incorporation of indigenous rights and indigenous peoples' representatives within the conservation equation, many challenges to full participation still exist for both indigenous peoples and other local resource users who may be affected by conservation governance decisions. Several conditions exist at a global scale that limit democratic participation, including the unequal power relations



between indigenous peoples and the global north, which limits the space for indigenous inclusion, the democratic deliberation that is often treated as a checkbox item, the limited resources to facilitate broad inclusion (in terms of both monetary and cultural capital), and the political challenges of legitimacy for some at more local scales, such as the concern of who represents whom at the global scale. We recognise effort has been given to expanded participation in global conservation governance, but inclusive and deliberative participation is still limited within IUCN and among other conservation NGOs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Karlsson Rasmus

Individual Guilt or Collective Progressive Action? Challenging the Strategic Potential of Environmental Citizenship Theory

in Environmental Values, Volume 21, Number 4, November , 459-474

While structural approaches to sustainability have remained unable to muster wider political support, green political theory has for some time taken a voluntarist turn, arguing that deep changes in attitudes and behaviour are necessary to reduce the ecological debt of the rich countries.

Within environmental citizenship theory it is believed that justice requires each individual to start living within his or her 'ecological space'. Firmly rooted in the pollution paradigm, environmental citizenship theory holds that the path to sustainability goes through a dramatic reduction in economic activity and international trade. Since such cuts in material welfare run counter to the preferences of many, doubts can be had about their political plausibility. More seriously, with a world population of more than seven billions, it is doubtful that even such harsh sacrifices would suffice to ensure environmental sustainability.

This article challenges environmental citizenship theory by arguing that it is tied to a conception of sustainability which is both theoretically misleading and strategically unfortunate in a rapidly industrialising world. Instead of further individual guilt, there is an urgent need to define new collective progressive projects aimed at universal affluence and natural restoration. Fashionable as a sense of individual guilt may be, it fails to recognise the responsibility of the rich world to provide new technologies capable of securing global environmental sustainability.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shipper Apichai W.

Influence of the Weak: The Role of Foreigners, Activism, and NGO Networks in Democratizing Northeast Asia

in International Studies Quarterly, vol. 56, issue 4, december , 689-703

ABSTRACT: Political life in modern Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan is commonly characterized by a strong central government, influential economic elites, and a relatively homogeneous society. In such settings, we would not expect to find much impact by foreigners and small NGO actors on policy changes, but the cases in these countries challenge this assessment. Relatively unskilled foreign workers in present-day Northeast Asia face a range of hardships, and existing government programs have provided little support until recently. Media portrayals of foreign workers—as in several other industrialized democracies—reinforce popular suspicions and fear of these foreigners. Yet, citizens of host countries themselves have formed numerous voluntary associations aimed at assisting foreign workers. I call the activities of these groups “associative activism.” My account of associative activism makes explicit the process through which some



activists, who initially work in concert chiefly to solve specific problems, eventually form broader political ambitions as they exert pressure on dominant features of the public sphere, especially processes of governance, political representation, and opinion formation. I identify three domains of associative activism through which political influence is exerted by immigrant rights groups: legislative, juridical, and municipal. These efforts illustrate how civil society groups can play an increasing role in protecting foreigners' rights and advancing democratization in Northeast Asia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kulesza Joanna

International Internet law

in *Global Change, Peace & Security*, vol. 24, n. 3 , 351-364

ABSTRACT: This article discusses the evolving framework of a new branch of international public law – international Internet law (IIL), the public international law framework for Internet governance. The article presents the genesis of IIL, its principles and perspectives; tackles key challenges to this new interdisciplinary area of research, such as cyber-security, jurisdiction and privacy protection; and draws analogies between IIL and such traditional areas of international public law as environmental law, human rights law and law of the sea. The article presents current proposals of applying international environmental law due diligence standard to state responsibility for cyber-attacks and giving critical Internet resources the Common Heritage of Mankind status. The role of soft law in creating IIL is emphasized and successful examples of its exercise are presented. The article then goes on to elaborate on hard-law proposals for IIL (Internet Framework Convention including a unique multistakeholder model of participation and responsibility) and presents them as the further evolutionary path for IIL.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tannam Etain

International Intervention in Ethnic Conflict: Competing Approaches

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 11, Issue 4, 2012 , 341-353

This article provides an introduction to this special issue on international intervention in conflict. It provides a brief overview of the different approaches to examining intervention. A summary of various approaches to intervention and definitions of success is provided, drawing on the other articles in this issue. A critique of local ownership is set out, drawing on articles in this issue and on the cases of Northern Ireland and the Balkans, particularly Kosovo. In conclusion, it is argued that most authors tend towards favouring either grass-roots or elite-driven approaches. However, this article highlights the merits of an elite-driven approach and emphasizes the need for more detailed investigation of the correct timing for local empowerment in a given conflict and the necessary conditions for its success.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wallace P.R. Geoffrey

International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study



in **International Organization**, vol. 67, issue 1 , 105-140

ABSTRACT: Domestic approaches to compliance with international commitments often presume that international law has a distinct effect on the beliefs and preferences of national publics. Studies attempting to estimate the consequences of international law unfortunately face a wide range of empirical and methodological challenges. This article uses an experimental design embedded in two U.S. national surveys to offer direct systematic evidence of international law's effect on mass attitudes. To provide a relatively tough test for international law, the surveys examine public attitudes toward the use of torture, an issue in which national security concerns are often considered paramount. Contrary to the common contention of international law's inefficacy, I find that legal commitments have a discernible impact on public support for the use of torture. The effect of international law is also strongest in those contexts where pressures to resort to torture are at their highest. However, the effects of different dimensions in the level of international agreements' legalization are far from uniform. In contrast to the attention often devoted to binding rules, I find that the level of obligation seems to make little difference on public attitudes toward torture. Rather, the relative precision of the rules, along with the degree to which enforcement is delegated to third parties, plays a much greater role in shaping public preferences. Across both international law and legalization, an individual's political ideology also exerts a strong mediating effect, though in varying directions depending on the design of the agreement. The findings have implications for understanding the overall impact of international law on domestic actors, the importance of institutional design, and the role of political ideology on compliance with international agreements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

DeMeritta Jacqueline H.R.

International Organizations and Government Killing: Does Naming and Shaming Save Lives?

in **International Interactions**, vol. 38, issue 5 , 597-621

ABSTRACT: Do international organizations affect government killing? Extant work has studied international organizations' effects on a set of human rights, but has not examined the abilities of specific actors to protect specific rights. I analyze naming and shaming by three types of international organizations (human rights nongovernmental organizations [NGOs], the news media, and the United Nations), focusing on their impacts on a single type of abuse: one-sided government killing. I present a principal-agent theory in which the government develops a preference for killing, and then delegates the murderous task to a set of individual perpetrators. The theory reveals new ways for international organizations to make killing costly, and statistical analyses support my expectations: By calling attention to abusive states, human rights NGOs and the United Nations can reduce both the likelihood and severity of state-sponsored murder. I also find that international organizations are better equipped to prevent killing from the beginning than to limit mounting body counts once it has begun.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Clapp Jennifer, Helleiner Eric

International political economy and the environment: back to the basics?

in **International Affairs** , vol. 88, issue 3, may , 485-501

ABSTRACT: For the past two decades, scholars of international political economy and the environment (IPEE) have



become quite focused on the study of various international cooperative initiatives that seek to link economic and environmental issues in the wake of the 1987 Brundtland Report and the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. This important work has enhanced our understanding of topics such as the economic dimensions of international environmental governance, the environmental activities of international economic institutions and regimes, and new kinds of private international regimes governing the environment–economy interface. This focus of IPEE scholarship has, however, steered attention away from larger structural trends in the international political economy, whose environmental implications are not addressed explicitly by significant international governance arrangements. Three such trends that are deserving of more attention from IPEE scholars include: the globalization of financial markets; the rise of newly powerful states such as China and India in the global economy; and the recent emergence of high and volatile commodity prices. Each of these structural trends—as well as their interrelationships—have important environmental consequences whose closer study enhances our understanding of the relationship between the international political economy and the environment. Their study also encourages scholars to widen their focus beyond treaties, institutions and regimes to examine broader global economic structures and processes, and the power relationships within them, in an interdisciplinary manner that can draw inspiration from the pioneers of the field of international political economy from the 1970s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Holeindre Jean-Vincent

Introduction: Raymond Aron, un classique de la pensée internationale?

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, No. 3 , 321-338

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hammersley Rachel

Introduction: The Historiography of Republicanism and Republican Exchanges

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges: In Theory and in Practice . , 323-337

Though the history of republicanism has been a popular topic of research since the mid-twentieth century, there are still various issues and areas that have remained neglected—not least the exchange of republican ideas from one cultural context to another, particularly across national boundaries. The purpose of this special issue is to offer some exploration of this neglected area, and this essay serves as an introduction to it. The essay offers an overview of the literature on republicanism that has been produced since the mid-twentieth century, it demonstrates the different ways in which republican exchange can be conceived and considers how the essays that follow contribute to our understanding of this issue, and finally it proposes a new way of thinking about republicanism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Österdahl Inger



Just War, Just Peace and the Jus post Bellum

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 3 , 271-293

ABSTRACT: Justice after war is becoming an increasingly pressing concern. The cases of Afghanistan, Iraq and most recently Libya illustrate the importance of as well as the difficulties involved in the efforts to manage the outcome of armed conflict in a constructive way. The Jus post Bellum is meant to serve as the normative framework for the efforts to stabilise the post-conflict situation. The jus post bellum also has the future peaceful and arguably democratic and human rights respecting development of the post-conflict society in view. This article aims at drawing the conceptual and substantive contours of the Jus post Bellum and to discuss its relationship with other parts of international law, primarily the other bodies of law making up the law of armed conflict. Depending on one's perspective the Jus post Bellum can be claimed not yet to exist, to exist already or irrespective of which to be superfluous as a separate category of law. The article recognises the apparent need for a comprehensive post-conflict law to serve as a bridge between war and stable peace. What way the international community should take in order to arrive at a just and useful normative framework for building peace is far from certain, however.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Perrin Delphine

Justice politique et tactique judiciaire. L'usage des tribunaux nationaux et internationaux en Libye

in *Politique africaine*, n. 125, mars 2012 , 43-64

Regarded as devoid of rules, the Libyan regime made a repeated and singular use of national and international tribunals, whose procedures (more than the decisions) allowed to achieve political goals. On the basis of four cases entangled over twenty years (1990-2010), the paper presents the judicial tactics that consisted in resorting to justice as an instrument of international negotiation and national communication.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Valentini Laura

Kant, Ripstein and the Circle of Freedom: A Critical Note

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 450-459

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00554.x/abstract>

Abstract

Much contemporary political philosophy claims to be Kant-inspired, but its aims and method differ from Kant's own. In his recent book, *Force and Freedom*, Arthur Ripstein advocates a more orthodox Kantian outlook, presenting it as superior to dominant (Kant-inspired) views. The most striking feature of this outlook is its attempt to ground the whole of political morality in one right: the right to freedom, understood as the right to be independent of others' choices. Is Ripstein's Kantian project successful? In this research note I argue that it is not. First, I suggest that Ripstein's notion of freedom is viciously circular. It is meant to ground all rights, but in fact it presupposes an account of those rights.



Second, I show that—independently of its inability to ground a whole political morality—such a moralized understanding of freedom is normatively unappealing.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mohd Shafi Bhat

Kashmiri Identity: Contested Terrain

in *Indian Journal of Federal Studies*, 24th Issue, 2/2011 , 11-22

The politics of identity in Jammu and Kashmir is deeply rooted in its socio-cultural, economic and political aspirations of the people. Despite the fact that Jammu and Kashmir has been constantly in a state of conflict for the past six decades, it is only during the present phase of conflict that the inner complexity of the state has come to the fore more sharply. The armed militancy advocating separatism in 1989 brought to focus the specificity of the problem in the identity politics of Kashmir on one hand and the plurality of the political responses on the other. Militancy, which affected the whole of the state, generated a process which resulted in sharpening of multiple identity politics. The peace process initiated during 2002-2003 sought to focus on the internal aspects of the problem through a process of dialogue which further augmented the process. It triggered various claims and counter claims advocating not only the various identity politics but also bringing to the centre stage the question of representation. To counter the possibility that only the dominant political voices get to be accommodated in the peace process, various claims started being made. All these claims pointed to the intricacy of the problem due to the diversity and political divergence within the state. Furthermore the gradual erosion of federal autonomy vis-à-vis special federal status has diluted the distinctive composite cultural identity of Kashmiriyat which in turn has led to the fragmentation of Kashmiri identity. Identities, as the present paper argues, overlap at certain points and cut across at other and therefore cannot be easily separated on the basis of a single type of identity. Cautioning against the tendencies towards the division of the state, the present paper makes a strong case for a democratic federal and plural system. Only such a system can resolve the tensions of plural identities and harmonize the politics of the state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Press Robert M.

Kenya's political 'transition' through the eyes of its 'foot soldiers' for democracy and human rights (1997–2012)

in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Volume 30, Issue 3, 2012 , 441-460

Abstract

This is a study of young human rights activists who provide a unique window on Kenya's recent and turbulent political history (1997–2012). The period includes the end of authoritarian rule and election of a 'reform' government in 2002 that expanded some human rights but abused others. Based on archival materials and periodic, multiple interviews by the author with key youth activists, the findings make three contributions to the study of human rights and democracy. First, it identifies the often overlooked role of secondary level activists in a human rights/democracy social movement, the so-called 'foot soldiers'. Second, it explores the failure of Kenya to consolidate its democracy and quell police violence, including the assassination of two human rights investigators, an event which sent a chill through the activist community. Third, by tracing the trajectory of some 'foot soldiers' during this period, the study confirms a theory of a cycle of social



movement activism but suggests modifications.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Amato Mangiameli A.C.

L'Europa e l'appello alla scienza giuridica. Sulle tracce di Carl Schmitt
in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2 , 51-66

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Réan Anais

L'elefante non può saltare da solo: il ruolo della democrazia indiana nel sistema internazionale
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 211-221

India is a political, economic, and military power that lacks the recognition of the other self-declared 'giants'. Its dynamism could however redefine the equilibria on both a regional and a global scale. The distinctive features of the Indian subcontinent indicate both the potential and limits: if identified and dealt with correctly, they could constitute a cultural and political model within the international system. An asymmetric democracy, born out of a diversified society, guarantees the solidity of the system. Could the domestic balance typical of the Indian State project on a wider scale, in the reorganisation of world order in a pluralist sense? So far, Delhi appeared isolated, lacking reinforced partnerships with other important players, pursuing instead a multi-alignment strategy on various fronts, in search of regional support and longer-range partners, very actively pursuing broader international ambitions. A growing number of world players however already feel the need to enlist India on their side. Time will tell.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brino Omar

L'interpretazione liberale di Hegel e il diritto statale della «Bundesrepublik». Da Joachim Ritter ad Ernest-Wolfgang Böckenförde
in *Filosofia Politica*, numero 2, agosto 2012 , 267-290

Abstract

In the decades after World War II, Joachim Ritter renewed the liberal interpretation of Hegel's political philosophy, emphasizing the dichotomy between civil society and State. Following Ritter's direction, the public law scholar Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde has compared Hegel's State law doctrine with that of the present-day democratic States: some differences are undeniable, but Hegel puts fundamental questions that are not obsolete at all.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Medici Marino

La Dottrina Obama: strategia o chimera?

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 526-532

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Albonetti Achille

La Primavera araba, la democrazia e la Storia

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 566-474

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tamburini Francesco

La balcanizzazione dell'Africa

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 192-196

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Perrin Thomas

La coopération culturelle dans l'eurorégion Nord-Transmanche : une institutionnalisation sans institution ?

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 12 - Varia

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=1132>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Giaconi Marco

La democrazia nell'Islam dopo la Primavera araba

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 603-610

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Romano Sergio

La lotta per la libertà e i diritti dell'uomo

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 575-579

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Francesco Cavatorta

La reconfiguration des structures de pouvoir en Algérie, Entre le national et l'international

in *Revue Tiers Monde*, n. 210 , 13-29

Processes of domestic political change, whether leading to democratisation or to authoritarian reconfiguration, are usually understood only through domestic variables and factors. Building on the literature on the linkages between external and internal dynamics that affect states in the economic domain due to globalisation, this articles postulates that political developments do not occur in a vacuum and that external variables are crucial in explaining domestic outcomes. Through the construction of an open model of democratisation, the article examines political change in Algeria over the last three decades and concludes that without taking into account the multiple channels of influence that exists between the "domestic" and the "international" it is impossible to explain Algeria's political and economic developments.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Honneth Axel

La reconnaissance entre États. L'arrière-plan moral des relations interétatiques

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 87, Guerres et reconnaissance, automne , 27-36

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Migliavacca Paolo

La sicurezza energetica dell'Europa

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 386-398

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Requena Casanova Millán

La solución de controversias en los modelos de APPRI: Cláusulas tradicionales y nuevas tendencias
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 24, diciembre 2012

This paper addresses those provisions in model BITs relating dispute settlement procedures, particularly provisions under the following two mechanisms: on the one hand, mechanisms for the settlement of disputes between contracting parties concerning the interpretation or application of the BIT; on the other hand, mechanisms for investor-State dispute settlement. An increasing number of States include in their model BITs precise and detailed procedural provisions, especially as to clauses for the settlement of disputes between the investor and the host State. In this sense, the trend moves towards States introducing flexibility in certain elements of the most common procedural provisions in model BITS. Likewise, the most significant innovations may be appreciated in model BITs of North-American States referring to the promotion of transparency and procedural economy in investor-State arbitration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Baldini V.

La sovranità dello stato quando l'ideologia si traveste da diritto
in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2 , 121-138

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Obama Barack

La speranza che qualcosa di meglio ci attenda
in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 18-24

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sinatti Piero

La terza presidenza di Vladimir Putin
in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 313-332

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fernandez Délia



Le Commun comme mouvement pour la démocratie réelle

in *Ecorev' – Revue critique de l'écologie politique*, n. 39, "Le Commun ou la relocalisation du politique", été

Full text available: <http://ecorev.org/spip.php?article919>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Negri Antonio, Vercellone Carlo

Le Commun c'est un "faire ensemble"

in *Ecorev' – Revue critique de l'écologie politique*, n. 39, "Le Commun ou la relocalisation du politique", été

Full text available: <http://ecorev.org/spip.php?article916>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Merlin Aude, Le Huérou Anne

Le conflit tchéchène à l'épreuve de la reconnaissance

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 87, Guerres et reconnaissance, automne , 47-68

The article addresses the issue of recognition in the case of the Russo-Chechen conflict. The main hypothesis is that the denial of recognition played a central role in the way a political conflict developed into an armed war. We tackle the recognition issue from two points of view: firstly, we analyse how not recognising the conflict as a war impacts on the conflict development itself. Secondly, we try to show how identity issues are exacerbated by exo-labellisations, while historical and colonial background are set aside as secondary stakes. In conclusion, we question the quest for justice for crimes perpetrated against civilians as the main surrogate for recognition in a post war situation where neither transitional justice nor reconciliation policies have been implemented.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lucentini Mauro

Le elezioni americane, l'Europa e il Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 98-106

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Khader Bichara

Le printemps arabe: un premier bilan

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 79, n. 2, aprile-giugno , 243-268



Since 2011, the democratic upheaval in the Arab world continues unabated. Bel Ali of Tunisia has fled. Mubarak of Egypt has been forced to quit. Ali Saleh in Yemen reluctantly accepted to leave his post. And Khaddafi has been killed. Bahrain Monarchy resists the wave of change with the help of Gulf States and the USA. Syrian regime is trying to smash the rebellion into pieces relying on the incapacity of the United Nations to adopt harsh measures. Other countries are not exception and are exposed to this democratic wave. Where elections took place, Islamist movements won the bets, to no surprise. This is a democratic choice of the peoples which should be respected. But youth remain vigilant because of the risks of their revolution being taken hostage, confiscated or even perverted. This is a momentous turn in the modern history of the Arab World. The transition is not bereft of hurdles, challenges and risks. This West which supported Arab autocrats should now send messages of hope and support for the peoples who try to topple them and struggle for a better future.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Maiolini Mario E.

Le rivoluzioni islamiche e le monarchie del Golfo

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 130-146

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hosseini Seyed Mohammad Ali

Le sanzioni economiche contro l'Iran

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 357-372

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hollyer James R., Rosendorff B. Peter

Leadership Survival, Regime Type, Policy Uncertainty and PTA Accession

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, issue 4, december , 748-764

ABSTRACT: Preferential trade agreements (PTAs) limit member-states' trade policy discretion; consequently, policy uncertainty is mitigated. Reductions in policy uncertainty stemming from accession to a PTA improve the resource allocation decisions of the voters and reduce deadweight losses from the need to self-insure against policy uncertainty. The resultant increase in efficiency improves an incumbent government's—particularly a democratic government's—chance of surviving in office. We test this prediction using survival analysis, adjusting for potential selection biases using propensity score matching. We find robust support for the proposition that governments that sign PTAs survive longer in office than observationally similar governments that do not sign. In addition, we find that this effect is stronger in democracies than in autocracies.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sciacca Fabrizio

Lo spettro esigente del potere. Appartenere, la malattia identitaria europea

in *Società Mutamento Politica*, Vol 3, N° 6 (2012) , 125-140

L'idea di appartenenza europea è stata, nell'età contemporanea, cronologicamente mistificata a tre livelli concettuali di identificazione: come razza, come cittadinanza, come comunità sacrificale. In questo lavoro si illustra come questo triplice assetto concettuale si sia rivelato fallace per la costruzione del dogma dell'identità europea e del paradigma filosofico dell'eguaglianza liberale.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hun Joon Kim

Local, National, and International Determinants of Truth Commission: The South Korean Experience

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 34, number 3, august , 726-750

ABSTRACT: In recent years, the number of truth commissions in countries around the world has continued to increase, and their scope and functions have become much broader. There is, however, still a need for a comprehensive theoretical framework that will enable scholars to explain the truth commission phenomenon. In this article, I will outline a new theoretical framework that combines social movement theory and transnational advocacy networks theory. I will then apply this framework to the South Korean truth commission experience, and analyze in detail the process that enabled local activists to successfully push for the creation of the first South Korean truth commission in 2000. Based on the South Korean case, I find that, first of all, important national and international factors would not have come into play if not for the persistent struggle of local activists. Second, I find that local activists were able to make optimal use of these national and international opportunity structures to pursue their goals through various timely and effective strategies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lenzi Guido

L'Egitto cerniera dell'Islam politico

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 147-160

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Brice Benjamin

L'avenir de la guerre dans le monde du commerce: Raymond Aron face aux philosophies pessimiste et



optimiste de l'histoire

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, No. 3 , 421-438

The West, and especially Europe, often understands globalization as a new process that will eventually challenge the domination of traditional politics. This paper will attempt to question the idea of a gradual disappearance of war in human affairs, using Raymond Aron's thoughts on the subject. In the first part we will see how the concepts of "procès" (process) and "drame" (drama) provide a method to analyze historical developments. Then, in a second part, we will apply such concepts to three general causes of conflict (namely passions, economic interests and principles) to show that pacifistic hopes must be refrained. Even the pacification in Europe does not mean an end of war.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Poggeschi Giovanni

L'évolution des droits linguistiques en Europe : Structures territoriales décentralisées et impact de l'immigration en Italie

in *Europe en formation (L')*, n. 363, 2012/1 , 391-397

Ces dernières années, les droits linguistiques ont connu une forte évolution, non seulement en Europe, mais dans le monde entier. Cette courte contribution ne touche qu'à la situation européenne, en raison de la cohérence du discours que j'entends aborder sur le sujet . Les droits linguistiques peuvent être considérés, avec raison, comme une sous-partie des droits des minorités...

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dwyer John J.

Made in Mexico: Regions, Nation, and the State in the Rise of Mexican Industrialism, 1920s–1940s

in *Hispanic American Historical Review (The)*, Vol. 92, Num. 3 , 574-575

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Epstein Mark W.

Magris, symbolic spaces and European identity

in *Journal of European Studies* , vol. 42, n. 4, december , 362-374

ABSTRACT: This essay examines selected aspects of Claudio Magris's life and work, his analysis of Mitteleuropean culture, his use of symbolic spaces and his reflection on borders, frontiers, territorialism and identity, as part of a broader set of relations between literature, values, identity, ethics, and the politics and policies of human interaction in more inclusive communities and networks.

Starting from his more local and regional northern Italian identity and Bildung, the essay traces some essential paths



through his research into Mitteleuropean culture, centred especially around an examination of the 'inner' and individual dynamics of acculturation. It then proceeds to a comparison with the sense of intellectual, Italian and European identity of another famous Germanist, finally to arrive at some of his later works, both fictional and essayistic, placing them in the context of the current institutional dynamics shaping 'European identity', examining some the global/'peripheral' forces that are most responsible for this 'shaping'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Milburn Richard

Mainstreaming the environment into postwar recovery: the case for 'ecological development'

in International Affairs , vol. 88, issue 5, september , 1083-1100

ABSTRACT: Twenty years on from the original Rio Summit and the emergence of sustainable development, which first raised awareness of the importance of the environment to humanitarian development, significant strides have been taken to integrate environmental considerations into humanitarian development, but such considerations still remain largely ostracized from core security and humanitarian theory and practice. An important issue and opportunity is therefore being ignored. This article argues that an evolutionary step beyond sustainable development is now required, both to unite under a common banner the work on this subject carried out to date, and to encourage further practical and theoretical work to be carried out to mainstream the environment into postwar recovery. To enable this transition, this article suggests adopting the concept of 'ecological development'. This concept of using the management and development of the environmental resources of water and biodiversity to mitigate conflict, promote peacebuilding and a transition from conflict towards peace—and a subsequent durable post-conflict recovery—is then expounded, demonstrated through case-studies of two very different conflicts, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in Afghanistan. The article concludes that through the implementation of ecological development, environmental management should be mainstreamed into security and humanitarian development theory and practice in order to promote a more durable and effective methodology for post-conflict recovery in the twenty-first century.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schmitt-Grohé Stephanie, Uribe Martín

Managing Currency Pegs

in American Economic Review , Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 192–97

The combination of a fixed exchange rate and downward nominal wage rigidity creates a real rigidity. In turn, this real rigidity makes the economy prone to involuntary unemployment during external crises. This paper presents a graphical analysis of alternative policy strategies aimed at mitigating this source of inefficiency. First- and second-best monetary and fiscal solutions are analyzed. Second-best solutions are prudential, whereas first-best solutions are not.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bellamy Alex J.



Massacres and Morality: Mass Killing in an Age of Civilian Immunity

in Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 34, number 4, november , 927-958

ABSTRACT: The norm of civilian immunity, which holds that civilians must not be intentionally targeted in war or subjected to mass killing, is widely supported and considered a jus cogens principle of international law. Yet not only does mass killing remain a recurrent feature of world politics, but perpetrators sometimes avoid criticism or punishment. This article argues that the paradox can be explained by understanding that civilian immunity confronts a protracted struggle with competing ideologies, some of which have proven resilient, and that decisions about how to interpret the norm in specific cases are subject to intervening contextual variables.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Touko Piiparinen

McDonaldisation of Sovereignty: A Foucauldian Analysis of Responsibility to Protect

in Global Society, Vol. 26, Issue 4, , 473-493

The importance of the principle of Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has typically been attributed either to its character as a presumed new norm (normative ontology) or to its capacity to influence international politics by mobilising political actors to protect civilians through military interventions and other forms of intervention (causal ontology), as witnessed in the recent cases of Libya and Côte d'Ivoire. This article will argue for an additional model of explanation, according to which the main significance of RtoP might best be understood by reference to its character as a political statement of global policy networks (discursive ontology) calling for the reinterpretation of the sovereignty regime. The article will apply Michel Foucault's theory of discursive fields to demonstrate that RtoP beneficially introduces human security as an additional criterion of state sovereignty, thus contributing to the "humanitarianisation of sovereignty". However, RtoP also engenders "McDonaldisation of sovereignty" and "sovereignty-consumption" mentality in that it attempts to transform and homogenise pluralistic state sovereigns into a universal, seemingly humanitarian mould. As a drawback, this McDonaldisation process excludes some victimised groups from the remit of international concern.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cogen Marc

Membership, Associate Membership and Pre-accession Arrangements of CERN, ESO, ESA, and EUMETSAT

in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 9, n. 1 , 145-179

ABSTRACT: Although there is abundant literature on membership of international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union or the WTO, membership issues concerning European scientific organizations are rarely looked upon. This can be explained by the focus of the legal community on political and economic organizations. The introduction of the article clarifies why separate European scientific organizations were needed and how the scientific community created European cooperation on a sectoral basis, sometimes aided by US scientists. The scientific organizations maintained themselves as independent organizations notwithstanding the absorptive capacity demonstrated by the dynamics of the European Union. The article argues that the four European scientific organizations developed a similar but not identical legal practice regarding admission of new member states and membership obligations. CERN and ESA are the two conceptual models for the development of legal solutions to membership



questions which contributes to the formation of a similar law pattern of European scientific organizations. Treaty amendment has been avoided and legal practice is developed by the plenary organ, the Council. Legal similarities offer the advantage to states, as members of the four scientific organizations, to understand better the particular nature of scientific organizations and their operations. The article pays attention to recent expansion of membership as a complex issue which reinforced the adoption of similar legal solutions and the introduction of a pre-accession policy with increased membership conditionality.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Borgolte Michael

Mittelalter in der größeren Welt. Eine europäische Kultur in globaler Perspektive

in Historische Zeitschrift, Volume 295, Issue 1, September 2012 , 35-61

Zusammenfassung

Eine Weltgeschichte, die alles Gewesene umfasst, neben dem Dominanten auch dem je Marginalen gleiches Recht widerfahren lässt und das Ganze in eine universale Deutung von Epochen bringt, ist unmöglich. Wo heute Weltgeschichte betrieben und gelesen wird, erwartet man von ihr aber auch keine Sinnstiftung mehr; vielmehr wird die Vergangenheit auf die nüchterne Erkenntnis bezogen, dass sich in der Gegenwart die Kommunikation universell verdichtet und beschleunigt und Grenzen für die Mobilität von Menschen, Gütern und Ideen weitgehend gefallen sind. Die neue Globalgeschichte will nicht mehr Zivilisationen vergleichen, sondern ihre Interaktionen erfassen; sie ist methodisch weniger anspruchsvoll als die herkömmliche Universalgeschichte, dafür aber auch im Unterschied zu dieser wirklich erforschbar. Das gilt auch für das Mittelalter, das zwar eine kleinere Ökumene umgreift als die heutige Welt, aber in seinem europäisch-nordafrikanisch-asiatischen Raum zahllose Schauplätze transkultureller Verflechtungen bietet.

Wie der Mittelalterband der WBG-Weltgeschichte belegt, rücken Europa und das Mittelmeer in globalhistorischer Perspektive an den Rand ihrer Ökumene. In einer Zeit vorwiegend ostwestlich gerichteter Austauschbeziehungen lag das Scharnier der Welt, wo die drei Kontinente aufeinanderstießen, am Schwarzen Meer und in der Levante. Mit ihrer Herrschaft über die Wasserwege zwischen Mittelmeer und Indischem Ozean kam in der längsten Zeit des „Mittelalters“ muslimischen Herren die Schlüsselrolle zu. Eine weitere Konsequenz des neuen Ansatzes lag darin, dass die Nomaden in gleichen Rang zu den sogenannten Hochkulturen aufrückten und unter dem Aspekt der Vielfalt der Vorsprung des plurireligiösen Asiens gegenüber Europa evident wurde.

Für eine transkulturelle Erforschung des mittelalterlichen Jahrtausends eignet sich neben den großen Reichsbildungen und dem Fernhandel besonders das unerschöpfliche Feld der Migrationen. Dabei muss die Verlockung von Identitätsbehauptungen gemieden werden, die bis in die Gegenwart etwa die traditionelle Völkerwanderungsforschung in die Irre führt; statt Kulturen zu essentialisieren, kommt es darauf an, den Austausch menschlicher Lebenspraktiken und -deutungen als unaufhörlichen kulturellen Prozess zu verstehen. Auch die Reiseforschung hat sich zu lange der Wahrnehmung und Evokation des Fremden als Faszinosum hingegeben und muss die Dimension der „cross-cultural interaction“ eigentlich noch entdecken. Zu den vielen neuen Aufgaben für kreative Köpfe gehört eine Geschichte der Diplomatie in kulturwissenschaftlicher Absicht.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Radasanu Andrea

Montesquieu on Ancient Greek Foreign Relations. Toward National Self-Interest and International Peace
in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 66, n. 1, march , 3-17

ABSTRACT: Montesquieu famously claims that modernity ushered in gentle mores and peaceful relations among countries. Consulting Montesquieu's teaching on Greek foreign policy, both republican and imperial, elucidates the character of these peaceful mores. Montesquieu weaves a modernization tale from primitive ancient Greece to modern commercial states, all to teach the reader to overcome any lingering attachment to glory and to adopt the rational standards of national interest and self-preservation. This account provides important insights on the relationship between realism and idealism in Montesquieu's international relations teaching and helps scholars to rethink how these categories are construed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Creasey Ellyn, Rahman Ahmed S., Smith Katherine A.

Nation Building and Economic Growth
in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3, May 2012 , 278–82

Over the past half-century there have been over three hundred instances of nation building initiatives, episodes where countries jointly give military and economic aid to a country embroiled in conflict. Despite the prevalence and expense of this foreign policy, little research has explored the potential growth effects from these operations. This project uses a standard growth regression framework to quantify the effects of nation building on GDP per capita growth of the recipient nation. The research considers how the characteristics of conflict zones and the interaction of diverse types of both military and economic aid impact the development process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Oppermann Kai

National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy: the Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond
in *German Politics*, Volume 21, Issue 4 , 502-519

German foreign policy can fruitfully be analysed through the lens of a modified two-level framework which identifies three interdependent drivers behind government decision making: the expectations of Germany's international partners, domestic constraints and the national role conceptions of decision-makers. In recent years, the configuration of these three drivers has witnessed a two-fold change. First, there has been a nascent shift towards the role conception of Germany as a 'normal ally'. Second, the domestic context of German foreign policy has become more politicised and contentious. In consequence, Germany's current foreign policy tends to attach relatively less weight to the expectations of its allies, to be more driven by domestic politics – and to be altogether less predictable. The widely criticised approaches of the Merkel government to the Eurozone crisis and to the NATO mission in Libya, in turn, accord to this pattern and stand for the new 'normalcy' in German foreign policy.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Taylor Laura K, Dukalskis Alexander

Old truths and new politics. Does truth commission ‘publicness’ impact democratization?

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 49, Number 5, September , 671-684

This article analyzes the relationship between truth and politics by asking whether the ‘publicness’ of a truth commission – defined by whether it has public hearings, releases a public report, and names perpetrators – contributes to democratization. The article reviews scholarship relevant to the potential democratizing effects of truth commissions and derives mechanisms that help explain this relationship. Work from the transitional justice field as well as democratization and political transition more generally is considered. Using a newly-constructed Truth Commission Publicness Dataset (TCPD), the analysis finds that even after statistically controlling for initial levels of democracy, democratic trends in the years prior to a commission, level of wealth, amnesties and/or trials, the influence of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and different cutoff points for measuring democratization across a number of models, more publicness predicts higher levels of democracy years after the commission has finished its work. The more public a truth commission is, the more it will contribute to democratization. The finding that more public truth commissions are associated with higher levels of democratization indicates particular strategies that policymakers, donors, and civil society activists may take to improve prospects for democracy in a country planning a truth commission in the wake of violence and/or government abuse.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Caselli Francesco, Coleman II Wilbur John

On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict

in **Journal of the European Economic Association**, Volume 11, Issue Supplement s1, January 2013 , 161-192

When considering engaging in conflict to secure control of a resource, a group needs to predict the amount of post-conflict leakage due to infiltration by members of losing groups. We use this insight to explain why conflict often takes place along ethnic lines, why some ethnic groups are more often in conflict than others (and some never are), and why the same groups are sometimes in conflict and sometimes at peace. In our theory ethnic markers help enforce group membership: in homogeneous societies members of the losing group can more easily pass themselves as members of the winning group, and this reduces the chances of conflict as an equilibrium outcome. We derive a number of implications of the model relating social, political, and economic indicators such as the incidence of conflict, the distance between ethnic groups, group sizes, income inequality, and expropriable resources. One of the insights is that the incidence of ethnic conflict is nonmonotonic in expropriable resources as a fraction of total resources, with a low incidence for either low or high values. We use the model’s predictions to interpret historical examples of conflict associated with skin pigmentation, body size, language, and religion.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bellamy Alex J., Williams Paul D.



On the limits of moral hazard: The 'responsibility to protect', armed conflict and mass atrocities
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 3, september , 539-571

ABSTRACT: Advocates of moral hazard theory argue that the 'responsibility to protect' causes genocidal violence that would not otherwise occur. After summarizing the main elements of the moral hazard approach, this article demonstrates that there is no empirical evidence to support the general claim that the 'responsibility to protect' is a remote cause of genocide. This is followed by an analysis of the conflicts in Bosnia, Kosovo and Darfur which demonstrates that moral hazard does not provide a plausible account of the proximate causes of genocidal violence in these cases. We suggest that a major part of the explanation for why moral hazard theory performs so badly is its reductionist account of the dynamics of armed conflict and its simplistic understanding of the dynamics of provocation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dagnino Roberto

One Region, Many Regionalisms: The Multiple Identities of a Neo-Gothic Circle in the Low Countries (1863–1900)

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges: In Theory and in Practice . , 440-451

Historical scholars have recently turned their attention to local communities, resulting in a lively debate about the role of regions and provinces in Western Europe. This has quite predictably led many to question this resurgence of local identities in order to discover the cultural roots and the geographical boundaries of these identities and their interaction with the formation of nation-states in the literary, artistic and political practices of the past two centuries. This article provides an introduction to one specific transnational intellectual network, the Guild of Saint Thomas and Saint Luke, which in the latter half of the nineteenth century served as a forum for the different local identities which were influential in the Gothic (and Catholic) Revival of the Low Countries. The interaction among the most influential members during the annual excursions of the Guild and the choice for the locations of these meetings resulted in different ideological discourses about the position and the borders of 'Christian art' in the Low Countries. Due to both internal and external influences these discourses very soon integrated into the national frame, making the definition of a potentially common style for the whole area impossible. The analysis is based on existing literature on regionalism and the Neo-Gothic Revival, and on archive material concerning the first meetings of the Guild. The above-mentioned observations offer the opportunity to underline the peculiarity of transnational permanent networks composed by a fluctuating number of participants and to stimulate debate about the applicability of this example to other geo-cultural contexts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mari L.

Ordinamento, localizzazione, uniformità: quale nomos, dopo Schmitt , per l'Europa
in *Teoria del diritto e dello stato*, n. 1-2 , 67-92

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Crisafulli Lilla Maria

Poetry as Thought and Action: Mazzini's Reflections on Byron

in History of European Ideas, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges: In Theory and in Practice . , 387-398

This article opens with a brief introduction to Giuseppe Mazzini, with particular reference to his commitment to republicanism, an ideal that would be fulfilled in Italy only after considerable time and with great difficulty. It then focuses on Mazzini's critical reception of Byron. Although Giuseppe Mazzini and Percy Bysshe Shelley would have allowed a more obvious comparison, it was Byron who really attracted Mazzini's attention and criticism. Mazzini uses Byron, on the one hand, as a means to demonstrate that Italians could discuss European poetry without putting at risk their national identity, or, as the classicists maintained, that fragile and fragmented profile of a nation that contemporary Italy offered to the minds and hearts of thousands of young people. On the other hand, however, Mazzini questions Byron's authority by subverting and converting his value, in a very personal way: he gradually substitutes Byron's with a different authority and credits him with new values. Mazzini could not accept Byron as the emblem of elitism and isolation: Byron's solipsism needed to be purified, and his renowned cynical attitude tempered; eventually Byron's myth needed to be connected to the destiny of peoples and nations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Meehan, Elizabeth

Policy Learning: Equality and Human Rights in Northern Ireland, Ireland and Great Britain

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.3 , 323-340

This article is about policy learning or diffusion in the field of equality and human rights across Ireland and the United Kingdom (UK). It first outlines the axes along which policy learning has taken place, or could do so, and the policies that are the subject of learning. It then discusses internal policy learning in Northern Ireland (NI) on the key issue of public sector duties. Learning is then examined between NI and Ireland; between NI and Great Britain (GB); and between Ireland and GB. These sections involve private and public employers, as well as the public sector duties, and touch on institutional design. In conclusion, it is suggested that it is not only because of the banking, fiscal and economic crises in Ireland and the UK that learning opportunities have been undermined. This case study demonstrates the importance of the contrast between politicians with their limited attention spans and the more analytical wider policy community of professionals and interest groups. Power relations between them are a significant factor in degrees of superficiality or profundity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ranjit Singh

Political Autonomy and Changing Contours of Akali Ideology

in Indian Journal of Federal Studies, 24th Issue, 2/2011 , 23-39



Shiromani Akali Dal, previously was known for being a Sikh party, is an important regional outfit in Punjab. However recently it has tried to shed its religious image by becoming a protagonist of Punjab, Punjabi and Punjabiati. Ideologically, it has deep socio-religious and historical basis. In the early years of its inception party was aimed at getting rid of wanton forces from the Sikh religious places. Gradually, it acquired political overtones and began to call shots in the national movement along with the Indian National Congress. In the post-independence period its role changed from being an ally of Congress in the fight for freedom to that of a political contender for power in the state. Hence its ideology has been disparate and diverse changes have been observed during the different phases of its evolution. Variety of social, religious, economic and political factors has critically shaped its ideology. In its opinion, federal set up is heavily loaded in favour of the centre leaving little room for the states and subnational identities to grow. It has been demanding more autonomy to states by reviewing the Constitution. This article analyses the various twists and turns in Akali ideology regarding autonomy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ronzoni Miriam

Politics and the Contingent: A Plea For A More Embedded Account of Freedom as Independence

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012, 470-478

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00556.x/abstract>

Abstract

This contribution defends Ripstein's attempt to reconstruct Kant's political philosophy as entirely and consistently grounded on the idea of people's innate right to freedom as independence, in particular with respect to charges of circularity raised by other contributors to this symposium. However, it also argues that, if the concept of freedom as independence is to provide a foundation for a full-blown account of political justice, a richer interpretation of it should be provided. In other words, we must be willing to make controversial and empirically informed claims about what counts as a threat to our freedom as independence under specific circumstances. We must have a more embedded account of freedom as independence, one that engages with the contingencies of politics and of the human condition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Châton Gwendal

Pour un «machiavélisme postkantien»: Raymond Aron, théoricien réaliste hétérodoxe

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, No. 3, 389-403

Raymond Aron is often considered one of the greatest modern theorists of realism. However, one may question this way of classifying Aron. Indeed an attentive reading of his work reveals a singular approach that is based on two criticisms. The first one reproaches the classical liberal tradition for having engendered illusory projects. The second one is directed to a cold war realism that is accused of transforming itself into a simplistic ideology. Thus the originality of Aron's approach resides in its attempt to overcome the classical opposition between the two schools, while preserving what is most valuable in them. That's why one proposed to consider Aron as a heterodox realist, namely as an advocate



of a « post-Kantian machiavellianism ».

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hansmann Ralph, Mieg Harald A., Frischknecht Peter

Principal sustainability components: empirical analysis of synergies between the three pillars of sustainability
in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 19, Issue 5 , 451-459

Starting from the concept of three fundamental sustainability dimensions (environmental, social, and economic), this study investigated professional contributions to sustainability by means of principal component analysis (PCA). Graduates from the Environmental Sciences program (N°542) at ETH Zurich described their best professional contributions to sustainable development. Next, they evaluated whether their best practice example contributed to achieving any of the five environmental, social, and economic objectives of the Swiss national sustainability strategy. These judgments served as the basis for a PCA aiming to identify principal sustainability components (PSCs) covering typical synergies between sustainability objectives within and transcending the three fundamental dimensions. Three PSCs capturing important synergies were identified. PSC 1 Product and Process Development reflects how ecological innovation and modernization can generate social and economic benefits and at the same time facilitate the reduction in use of as well as the responsible use of natural resources. PSC 2 Education and Social Economics reflects how educational activities and sociocultural sustainability initiatives can simultaneously promote income and employment, social and human capital, and free personal development. PSC 3 Protection of Nature and Humans covers the synergetic benefits which protection of natural spaces and biodiversity and the reduction of environmental risks have for the protection of health and safety of the population. The study also revealed that integration of environmental, social, and economic aspects is often connected to conflicts between these dimensions. However, contributions which consider the economic situation of future generations or enhance social and human capital achieved considerable integration but showed no inclination toward such conflicts.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lemaire Félicien

Propos sur la notion de « souveraineté partagée » ou sur l'apparence de remise en cause du paradigme de la souveraineté

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 92

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Timbeau Xavier

Qui sème la restriction récolte la récession Perspectives économiques 2012-2013 pour l'économie mondiale

in *Revue de l'OFCE*, 2012/4 (N° 123) , 7-36

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Graubart Jonathan

R2P and Pragmatic Liberal Interventionism: Values in the Service of Interests

in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 35, number 1, february , 69-90

ABSTRACT: Supporters of the humanitarian intervention component of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) have been guided by what the article refers to as pragmatic liberal interventionism. In the name of viability they propose legalization of a regime in which the United States and its allies exert a disproportionate influence and are guided by a mix of values and interests. This article confronts this perspective through scrutiny of the underlying premises. Through a close review of US military-security policies and their detrimental impact on past US-led interventions, this article demonstrates the perils of an R2P-enabled regime of humanitarian intervention. Besides being poorly suited for genuine mitigation of human rights atrocities, such a skewed regime will buttress a persistently aggressive US militarism and reinforce structural inequalities. This article concludes by sketching an alternative framework of moral responsibility and global solidarity, one that links human rights advocacy to resistance to the dominant order, not accommodation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Battistella Dario

Raymond Aron, réaliste néoclassique

in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, No. 3 , 371-388

Neglected since his death after having been all at once criticized and hailed during his lifetime, Raymond Aron's approach challenges any easy classification within the discipline. An interesting attempt has been proposed by Michael Doyle, who considers Aron to be a constitutionalist realist. While basically agreeing with this proposal, our contribution purports to show that Aron actually was a neo-classical realist before the term was invented. After recalling Aron's common points with Morgenthau's classical realism and Waltz's neo-realism, the article analyses the numerous epistemological and ontological affinities linking the French IR scholar to the contemporary North-American neoclassical realists who ignore that they ignore Aron.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Scheuerman William E.

Realism and the Kantian Tradition: A Revisionist Account

in *International Relations*, vol. 26, n. 4, december , 453-477

ABSTRACT: In contemporary international political theory, 'Cosmopolitanism' is typically juxtaposed to 'Realism', with many varieties of the former building on Kantian moral and political ideals, and the latter presumably rejecting Kant and his aspiration for far-reaching global reform. In agreement with a growing body of scholarship that seeks to challenge conventional views of Realism, this essay attends to the surprisingly complex views of the Kantian legacy (including Hans Kelsen, perhaps the most important neo-Kantian international thinker in the last century) within its ranks. Not all



Realists have been unambiguously critical of Kant, and when in fact they have criticized him, they have done so for many different reasons. First-generation Realists (e.g. E. H. Carr, John Herz, Hans Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frederick Schuman and Georg Schwarzenberger) offered an ambivalent reading of Kantianism consistent with their endorsement of the ultimate desirability of major alterations to the global status quo, whereas second-generation Realists (i.e. Henry Kissinger and Kenneth Waltz) tended to read Kant so as to transform him into a forerunner of their own anti-reformist and institutionally conservative versions of Realism. An examination of Realism's rendezvous with Kantianism not only helps draw a more differentiated portrayal of Realism than is still found in much scholarship, but it also helps us understand how Realism dramatically changed within a relatively short space of time during the immediate postwar decades. It also points to some important potential starting points for a more fruitful exchange between Cosmopolitans and Realists.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Daniel Kenealy and Konstantinos Kostagiannis

**Realist Visions of European Union: E.H. Carr and Integration
in Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 41 (2) , 221-246**

The past 15 years have seen an explosion of interest in the scholarship of E.H. Carr. As a founding figure of the realist approach to International Relations, as a philosopher of history and as a historian of the Soviet Union, Carr made important contributions. His work on the post-war political organisation of Europe has been somewhat neglected. While not going so far as to argue for the introduction of 'another E.H. Carr' – Carr the European integration theorist – this article argues that Carr's specific brand of realism has much to say not only about the establishment, but also about the subsequent development, of the European Economic Community. Carr's realism was, we argue, capable of understanding change in international society. This understanding was grounded in an appreciation of the role of power and morality in international politics and stands in sharp contrast to the emphasis on the structural factors that are prized by neorealists. While Carr's vision of post-war Europe has not materialised in its entirety, it captures some of the crucial fault lines that animate the European project. Building a bridge between European integration studies and Carr's realism will provide a fruitful avenue through which classical realism can once again begin to engage with developments in international politics.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bauwens Michel

**Rendre autonome la production entre pairs
in Ecorev' – Revue critique de l'écologie politique, n. 39, "Le Commun ou la relocalisation du politique", été**

Full text available: <http://ecorev.org/spip.php?article918>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Christie Gordon

Replying to Armour: Certainty and Exceptionalism: Threats to a World-Humanities?



in **Journal of Chinese Philosophy**, Volume 39, Issue 4, December 2012 , 580-593

Abstract

This article explores attitudes underscoring arguments I believe are located in Professor Armour's address in the present special issue. I first show how Armour's arguments are intertwined with a resolute belief in the existence of a unique form of knowledge, one particularly attuned to the work of humanities scholars, and then go on to argue this certainty is linked to an antecedent attitude, one of exceptionalism. Spelling out what I find to be troubling about this species of argument leads into thoughts around how a world-humanities might unfold. Such a field must develop as a conscious attempt on the part of scholars to bring about dialogue around how humans can find an appropriate place in the natural world.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Crowe Paul

Response to Armour's Article: "Thoughts on the Idea of a World Humanities"

in **Journal of Chinese Philosophy**, Volume 39, Issue 4, December 2012 , 571-579

Abstract

The article opens by stating the importance of the humanities and need for unapologetic advocacy on its behalf. Armour's metaphor of world humanities, as a conversation, is then taken as a point of departure for considering the example of Chinese and European "philosophy" that might join in conversation in order to expand, through mutual transformation, what we mean by "philosophy." The concluding section argues that if we cast Chinese thought in the light of philosophy as constructed in Europe and North America, we exclude elements that could enrich and expand our pursuit of wisdom and what that entails.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alison McQueen

Responsible Cosmopolitanism

in **Political Theory** , Volume 40, n. 6, December , 839-846

Review Essay

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dutter Lee E.

Return of the Natives: Explaining the Development and Non-Development of Political Action by Indigenous Peoples in Democratic Political Systems

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 19, Number 4 , 453-480



Studies of individuals or groups who might use violence or terrorism in pursuit of political goals often focus on the specific actions which these individuals or groups have taken and on the policies which defenders (that is, governments of states) against such actions may adopt in response. Typically, less attention is devoted to identifying the relevant preconditions of political action and possible escalation to violence and how or why potential actions may be obviated before they occur. In the context of democratic political systems, the present analysis addresses these issues via examination of indigenous peoples, who typically constitute tiny fractions of the population of the states or regions in which they reside, in terms of their past and present treatment by governments and the political actions, whether non-violent or violent, which individuals from these peoples have engaged or may engage. The specific peoples examined are Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia, Haudenosaunee of North America, Inuit of Canada, Maori of New Zealand, and Saami of Scandinavia.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Nobirabo Musafiri Prosper

Right to Self-Determination in International Law: Towards Theorisation of the Concept of Indigenous Peoples/National Minority?

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 19, Number 4 , 481-532

The problem of the concept of the right to self-determination under international human rights is that it is vague and imprecise. It has, at the same time, generated controversy as it leaves space for multiple interpretations in relevant international legal instruments. This paper examines if indigenous people and minority groups are eligible to the right to self-determination. If so, what is the appropriate interpretation of such right, in light of indigenous/minority groups at national as well as the international level?

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sorabjee Soli J.

Rule of Law: An Unruly Horse? Some Reflections on its Application in India

in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 101, Issue 4, 2012 , 331-339

Abstract

It may not be possible to define Rule of Law with scientific precision but it cannot be dismissed as an elusive notion or as an unruly horse. Rule of Law is the heritage of all mankind because its underlying rationale is belief in the human rights and human dignity of all individuals everywhere in the world. It needs to be emphasised that there is nothing western or eastern or northern or southern about the concept of Rule of Law. It has a global reach and dimension. Rule of Law symbolises the quest of civilised democratic societies, be they eastern or western, to combine that degree of liberty without which law is tyranny with that degree of law without which liberty becomes licence. It is entrenched in India to the extent that the Rule of Law cannot be abolished even by a constitutional amendment.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grancelli Bruno

Russia in transizione? L'efficacia variabile della «diffusione autoritaria» nell'economia e nella società in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno XI, n. 28, "I cattolici, la laicità e la politica", giugno

This paper aims to contribute to the debate on the nature of the Russian regime from Gorbachov to Putin. It uses the analytical instruments of economic sociology to deepen the historical and political interpretations of Russian bureaucratic authoritarianism by stressing the strategies of the economic agents in various fields. It also aims to provide an analysis of post-communism in Russia that integrates institutionalist approaches that focus on the dependence on former historical and cultural contexts, with other kinds of approaches that insist on the innovative action of key actors within the processes of transformation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Papastergiadis Nikos

Seeing through multicultural perspectives

in Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 398-410

The narrative that links the migrant rights movements with the formation of multiculturalism is now well known. There is still much to debate on the centrality of social justice in multicultural discourse and the dynamic versus static view of cultural representation. In this article, I aim to revisit some of the reflections by founding figures in Australian multiculturalism with the purpose of examining the cultural horizons that framed their motivation and aspiration. It is my contention that among many of these figures, there was not only a desire to see a more just society in which the welfare service, political rights and economic opportunities for migrants were developed in a more responsive manner, or what we may call activist multiculturalism, but there was also an implicit world view that was not only focused on securing more rights for minorities and gaining support of marginalised ethno-specific communities, but also committed to a wider sense of diversity. This article will explore the aesthetic dimensions that relate to the rather vague and often abstract sentiments that were expressed towards cultural diversity, but were also expressive of different multicultural perspectives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grundig Frank, Hovi Jon, Underdal Arild, Aakre Stine

Self-Enforcing Peace and Environmental Agreements: Toward Scholarly Cross-Fertilization?

in International Studies Review, vol. 14, issue 4, december , 522-540

ABSTRACT: Enforcement of agreements can be a major challenge in international politics. However, the interest in mechanisms of self-enforcement seems significantly lower among scholars studying international peace agreements (IPAs) than among scholars studying international environmental agreements (IEAs). Moreover, practically no exchange of ideas and findings about enforcement can be found between these two fields of research. We argue that a combination of similarities and differences between the two issue-areas provides fertile ground for mutual learning. To facilitate communication we develop a unifying but differentiated definition of self-enforcing agreements (SEAs). We then



use this conceptual framework to explore lessons about IEA design that might be learned by studying IPAs and lessons about IPA design that might be learned by studying IEAs. We submit that this kind of compare-and-contrast analysis may provide important input for the development of a more refined and general theory of SEAs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Alden Chris, Schoeman Maxi

South Africa in the company of giants: the search for leadership in a transforming global order

in *International Affairs* , vol. 89, issue 1, january , 111-129

ABSTRACT: South Africa, the continental economic giant and self-appointed spokesman for African development, is finding its distinctive national voice. Emboldened by the invitation to join the BRICS grouping, its membership of the G20 and a second term on the UN Security Council, Pretoria is beginning to capitalize on the decade of continental and global activism undertaken by Thabo Mbeki to assume a position of leadership. Gone is the defensive posturing which characterized much of the ANC's post-apartheid foreign policy, replaced by an unashamed claim to African leadership. The result is that South Africa is exercising a stronger hand in continental affairs, ranging from a significant contribution to state-building in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Sudan, to an unprecedented assertiveness on Zimbabwe. But this new assertiveness remains constrained by three factors: the unresolved issue of identity, a host of domestic constraints linked to material capabilities and internal politics, and the divisive continental reaction to South African leadership. These factors continue to inhibit the country's ability to translate its international ambitions and global recognition into a concrete set of foreign policy achievements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mola Lorenza

Sovereign Immunity, Insolvent States and Private Bondholders: Recent National and International Case Law

in *Law and Practice of International Courts and Tribunals (The)*, vol. 11, n. 3 , 525-554

ABSTRACT: This article deals with issues of sovereign immunity from foreign jurisdiction and enforcement, with respect to attempts by private bondholders to recover judicially their credit against a foreign State defaulting on its sovereign debt. It seeks to clarify these issues also in the broader context of cases where a foreign State relies on its insolvency situation as a plea to escape from recovery actions brought by private creditors on the basis of State contracts. In the case where the bonds may qualify as an "investment" under the relevant investment treaties, ICSID and other investor-State tribunals' awards and their follow-up become relevant too, as shown in the Argentinian crisis and its moratorium on foreign debt. The article reviews recent case law issued by national courts where creditors have brought a claim or tried to have their judgment enforced. In the light of this, it critically highlights the recent bondholders' practice of refusing the offer made by the 'insolvent' State under its debt restructuring plan while seeking to recover their outstanding debt through judicial means.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kivimäki Timo

Sovereignty, hegemony, and peace in Western Europe and in East Asia

in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Vol. 12, n. 3, September , 419-447

Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan wrote in volume seven of this journal that ‘the main ideas in this discipline (of international relations) are deeply rooted in the particularities and peculiarities of European history, the rise of the West to world power, and the imposition of its own political structure onto the rest of the world.’ Taking this claim as the starting point the intention of this article is to see where international relations theory over-generalizes and how it could learn from the alternative experience of East Asia. The main focus of the critique will be on two central ideas: first, the idea that unrestricted state sovereignty is necessarily a problem and a security dilemma in international relations; and second, the idea that there is a need for global hierarchy and hegemony in order to tackle the security dilemma. The article uses qualitative scholarship on the dynamics and structures of peace as the point of departure and then assesses the plausibility of these ideas quantitatively using two data sets, the Correlates of War and the PRIO/Uppsala data set (1946–2008).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vranes Erich

State Measures Protecting Against “Undesirable” Foreign Investment. Issues in EU and International Law

in Zeitschrift für Öffentliches Recht, vol. 67, issue 4, december , 639-677

ABSTRACT: Recent cases and efforts by the EU and some of its Member States to introduce laws restricting the influx of foreign investments originating in non-EU states have highlighted the extent to which domestic regulatory autonomy is already limited by the strictures of EU and international law. This article aims to trace out areas of concern and relevant legal guidelines on the levels of EU and international economic law. It illustrates these concerns and pertinent legal standards by discussing recent examples such as the EU directives on the internal market in electricity and gas, and further national attempts to regulate incoming investment originating in third countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Migliavacca Paolo

Stati Uniti, indipendenza energetica e geostrategia

in Affari Esteri, anno XLV, n. 169. gennaio-inverno , 115-127

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Holeindre Jean-Vincent



Survivre, c'est vaincre ? la pensée stratégique de Raymond Aron à l'épreuve des guerres de notre temps
in *Etudes Internationales*, Vol. 43, No. 3 , 439-457

As a theoretician, Aron was, like Clausewitz, keen to understand the nature of war. He was also an attentive witness to the ways in which war changed. While his thought is not as systematic as the Prussian thinker's, it nevertheless sheds light on the contemporary strategic context in three ways. First, his approach to international relations leads to the definition of the current system as multipolar and heterogeneous. Second, his typology of war reveals that interstate war has, since 1945, all but been replaced by nuclear deterrence and guerilla warfare. Finally, his analysis of the relationship between democracy and war brings to light a tension between the principles of liberty that define western democracy domestically and the hegemonic character of their military interventions on the international scene.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Owen David

Symposium on Ripstein's Force and Freedom: Introduction

in *European Journal of Philosophy*, Volume 20, Issue 3, September 2012 , 447-449

The full text is free:

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-0378.2012.00553.x/abstract>

Abstract

This introduction provides a very brief sketch of the fundamental claims of Arthur Ripstein's Force and Freedom before locating the criticisms of his interlocutors in relation to those claims. Valentini and Sangiovanni are situated as critics of the Kantian frame, while Ronzoni and Williams are critics situated within that frame.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Voll John, Mandaville Peter, Kull Steven, Arieff Alexis

Symposium— Political Islam in the Arab Awakening: Who Are the Major Players?

in *Middle East Policy*, Volume 19, Issue 2, Summer , 10-35

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lim Alvin T.

The Anti-Federalist Strand in Progressive Politics and Political Thought

in *Political Research Quarterly*, vol. 66, n. 1, march , 32-45

ABSTRACT: In this article, the author argues that the Progressives can be as much characterized as the antistatists of



the nineteenth century as the statist of the twentieth century because their overriding goal was the destruction of the party state and not, directly, the creation of the bureaucratic state. They found in Anti-Federalist political thought a general antistatist template that they used to articulate their specific objection to the nineteenth-century party state. This template comprised a mutual commitment to simple government, the common good as a preinstitutional reality, democracy, direct and responsive government, fear of elite rule, civic education, and cultural homogeneity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hazran Yusri

The Arab Revolutions: A Preliminary Reading

in Middle East Policy, Volume 19, Issue 3, Fall , 116-123

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ayoob Mohammed

The Arab Spring: Its Geostrategic Significance

in Middle East Policy, Volume 19, Issue 3, Fall , 84-97

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pace Michelle, Cavatorta Francesco

The Arab Uprisings in Theoretical Perspective – An Introduction

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 17, Issue 2 , 125-138

The so-called 'Arab Awakening' is a momentous event that surprised both scholars and policy makers. For over a decade the paradigm of authoritarian resilience had dominated studies of the Arab world, almost entirely replacing the democratization paradigm that had been prominent throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This inter-paradigm debate on how best to explain and interpret the politics of the Arab world now calls for a review, in light of the Arab uprisings. The contributions to this themed issue offer a first attempt at highlighting some of the theoretical issues that should inform our rethinking of this debate thus far. Overall the issue thus aims at making a theoretical contribution by providing a deeper insight into the socio-economic-political structures and the new actors that led to the uprisings in the Arab world. It also explores and considers the opportunities and constraints that these structures offer for sharpening our theoretical tools – which may in turn lead us to use the paradigms and models available to us more flexibly. The case studies that this themed issue deals with by no means exhaust all the issues and case studies that need to be re-thought since the Arab uprisings of December 2010 to date. The aim is to provide useful insights for others to apply more broadly across the whole region.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gray Anthony

The Constitutionality of Australia's Compulsory Voting System

in *Australian Journal of Politics & History* , Volume 58, Issue 4, December , 591-608

Electoral law has been the subject of several High Court decisions in recent years, and this jurisprudence, as well as some of the political science literature, is canvassed here. I argue that there are serious constitutional question marks over Australia's system of "compulsory voting". There are two particular constitutional arguments against "compulsory voting". Firstly it infringes the implied freedom of political communication which the High Court has recognised since 1992. Secondly, it is inconsistent with the right to vote recognised by the High Court as being implicit in s7 and s24 of the Constitution. On this basis citizens entitled to vote should have the freedom not to do so (as is the case in many other representative democracies in which voting is voluntary).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schlager Edella, Heikkila Tanya, Case Carl

The Costs of Compliance with Interstate Agreements: Lessons from Water Compacts in the Western United States

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 42, n. 3, Summer , 494-515

Interstate compacts are one of the primary institutional mechanisms that states use for addressing regional issues such as sharing and management of transboundary rivers. However, state compliance with compacts can be challenging and costly. This article asks: how do conflict resolution venues and the design of state administrative systems affect the distribution of compliance costs? Through a study of western interstate water compacts we find that compliance costs are more equally shared among states in voluntary conflict resolution venues compared to compulsory venues. In addition, centralized administrative systems result in state governments bearing the costs of compliance actions, whereas polycentric administrative systems distribute costs between the state and water users. Finally, we explore the applicability of our findings to other interstate settings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tellidis Ioannis

The End of the Liberal Peace? Post-Liberal Peace vs. Post-Liberal States

in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 3, september , 429-435

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Wilson Peter

The English School Meets the Chicago School: The Case for a Grounded Theory of International Institutions



in *International Studies Review*, vol. 14, issue 4, december , 567-590

ABSTRACT: The concept of primary international institutions is a core idea of the English School and central to those scholars from Bull to Buzan who have sought to take it in a more sociological direction. Yet the English School has traditionally found it difficult to define and identify with consistency the institutions of international society. A group of scholars, here called the “new institutionalists,” have recently sought to address this problem by devising tighter definitions and applying them more rigorously. But different understandings and lists of institutions continue to proliferate. The source of the problem is the reliance on “stipulative” definitions, drawn from an increasingly abstract theoretical literature. The problem is compounded by the new institutionalists’ employment of social structural and other “outsider” methods of social research. This article argues that it is only possible to empirically ground institutions, a task on which all agree, by returning to the interpretive “insider” approach traditionally associated with the school—but employing it in a much more rigorous way. To this end it makes the case for a “grounded theory” of international institutions inspired by Chicago School sociology.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dahlman Christian

The Function of Opinio Juris in Customary International Law

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 81, issue 3 , 327-339

ABSTRACT: This article claims that the requirement of Opinio Juris in the formation of customary international law means that a general practice must be generally accepted among states to become customary law. The article argues that Opinio Juris serves an important function. It prevents generally unwanted general practice from becoming customary law.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Liu Xincheng

The Global View of History in China

in *Journal of World History*, Vol. 23, n°3 , 491-511

This is an attempt to trace and contextualize Chinese scholars’ response—either positive or negative—to the “West-imported” concept of a “global view of history” after its emergence in China more than two decades ago. It also introduces how world historians in China are consciously employing this “global view of history” to compile their own world history textbooks, a practice that gave rise to a serious concern about world history methodologies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ching-Chang Chen

The Im/Possibility of Building Indigenous Theories in a Hegemonic Discipline: The Case of Japanese



International Relations

in Asian Perspective, Vol. 36, No. 3 , 463-492

A growing number of Asian scholars have been engaging in indigenous theory-building that seeks to gain wider recognition for their local experiences and intellectual traditions in an international relations discipline that is still dominated by Western theories and methods. After examining recent attempts to develop a distinctive Japanese approach to world politics, I argue that such attempts should proceed with great caution, for their epistemological underpinnings remain Eurocentric. A close look at the Japanese conceptions of international society indicates that they reproduce, rather than challenge, a normative hierarchy embedded in the English school between the creators of Westphalian norms and those at the receiving end. To take seriously the agency role of non-Western ideas in gearing the discipline in a truly international, less hegemonic direction, Japanese IR should recognize the plural origins and constitutional structures of international society and learn from social science and humanities communities in Asia and beyond.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Büthe Tim, Major Solomon, de Mello e Souza André

The Politics of Private Foreign Aid: Humanitarian Principles, Economic Development Objectives, and Organizational Interests in NGO Private Aid Allocation

in International Organization, vol. 66, issue 4 , 571-607

ABSTRACT: A large and increasing share of international humanitarian and development aid is raised from nongovernmental sources, allocated by transnational NGOs. We know little about this private foreign aid, not even how it is distributed across recipient countries, much less what explains the allocation. This article presents an original data set, based on detailed financial records from most of the major U.S.-based humanitarian and development NGOs, which allows us for the first time to map and analyze the allocation of U.S. private aid. We find no support for the common claim that aid NGOs systematically prioritize their organizational self-interest when they allocate private aid, and we find only limited support for the hypothesis that expected aid effectiveness drives aid allocation. By contrast, we find strong support for the argument that the deeply rooted humanitarian discourse within and among aid NGOs drives their aid allocation, consistent with a view of aid NGOs as principled actors and constructivist theories of international relations. Recipients' humanitarian need is substantively and statistically the most significant determinant of U.S. private aid allocation (beyond a regional effect in favor of Latin American countries). Materialist concerns do not crowd out ethical norms among these NGOs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Glotzbach Stefanie, Baumgärtner Stefan

The Relationship between Intragenerational and Intergenerational Ecological Justice

in Environmental Values, Volume 21, Number 3, August , 331-355

The principle of sustainability contains two objectives of justice regarding the conservation and use of ecosystems and their services: (1) global justice between different people of the present generation ('intragenerational justice'); (2) justice between people of different generations ('intergenerational justice'). Three hypotheses about their relationship -



independency, facilitation and rivalry - are held in the political and scientific sustainability discourse. Applying the method of qualitative content analysis to important political documents and the scientific literature, we reveal six determinants underlying the different hypotheses: quantity and quality of ecosystem services, population development, substitutability of ecosystem services, technological progress, institutions and political restrictions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gordon H. Hanson

The Rise of Middle Kingdoms: Emerging Economies in Global Trade
in *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Spring 2012 , 41-64

In this paper, I examine changes in international trade associated with the integration of low- and middle-income countries into the global economy. Led by China and India, the share of developing economies in global exports more than doubled between 1994 and 2008. One feature of new trade patterns is greater South-South trade. China and India have booming demand for imported raw materials, which they use to build cities and factories. Industrialization throughout the South has deepened global production networks, contributing to greater trade in intermediate inputs. A second feature of new trade patterns is the return of comparative advantage as a driver of global commerce. Growth in low- and middle-income nations makes specialization according to comparative advantage more important for the global composition of trade, as North-South and South-South commerce overtakes North-North flows. China's export specialization evolves rapidly over time, revealing a capacity to speed up product ladders. Most developing countries hyper-specialize in a handful of export products. The emergence of low- and middle-income countries in trade reveals significant gaps in knowledge about the deep empirical determinants of export specialization, the dynamics of specialization patterns, and why South-South and North-North trade differ.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Sung Sang-Yeon Loise

The Role of Hallyu in the Construction of East Asian Regional Identity in Vienna
in *European Journal of East Asian Studies* , Volume 11, Number 1 , 155-171

Ethnographic research in Vienna from 2009 to 2010 revealed how East Asians construct a collective regional identity by consuming Korean popular culture, known as hallyu. This paper is the first attempt at studying these immigrants as a group; scholars in Asian studies have previously focused on one nation. Unlike conventional studies of immigration, which focus largely on assimilation and integration in the new society and culture, this paper shows how immigrants construct their independent identities across national borders, and how advanced technology enables them to choose cultural content that evokes Asian values and sentiments. Hallyu thus informs their identity construction as East Asians in Europe.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Viju, Crina - Yeung, May T. - Kerr, William A.



The Trade Implications of the Post-Moratorium European Union Approval System for Genetically Modified Organisms

in *Journal of World Trade*, volume 46 n.5 , 1207-1224

Trade in genetically modified (GM) products remains a major issue in international trade. In 1999, the EU imposed a temporary import ban on genetically modified organisms. In the wake of a World Trade Organization (WTO) case brought by the US and Canada against the import ban - which the EU lost - the EU put in place a new regulatory regime for GM products. As of March 2012, the operation of this new import regime has not been formally assessed. The first GM-crops are just now working their way through the post-moratorium regulatory system and an assessment of the operation of the regime is timely. The results of this assessment suggest that the EU's approval system is only partially based in science and thus, the potential for political interference remains. Hence, the new EU regulatory regime for GM products makes investments in trade related activities pertaining to GM products very risky.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Vennesson Pascal, Rajkovic Nikolas M.

The Transnational Politics of Warfare Accountability: Human Rights Watch versus the Israel Defense Forces in International Relations, vol. 26, n. 4, december , 409-429

ABSTRACT: Transnational human rights networks span the globe, and have become more numerous and influential since the 1970s. Yet we still know relatively little about the strategic interaction between transnational advocates and their targeted state actors. Focusing on such a strategic interaction, we argue that transnational advocacy is less a diffusion of authority away from state actors than a change in the ways in which the politics of accountability is conducted between sophisticated state and non-state actors. In particular, we show that targeted actors (e.g. impugned states) can develop their own discursive capacities to challenge the facts and interpretations offered by transnational advocates and 'turn the tables' on them, expanding the scope of accountability to include the conduct of NGOs themselves. Empirically, we examine the efforts made by Human Rights Watch (HRW) to make the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) accountable during the Second Lebanon War of 2006 and the Gaza war of 2008-9.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

PETER M. R. STIRK

The Westphalian model and sovereign equality

in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Volume 38, Issue 3, July , 641-660

Although the Westphalian model takes many forms the association of Westphalian and sovereign equality is a prominent one. This article argues firstly that sovereign equality was not present as a normative principle at Westphalia. It argues further that while arguments for sovereign equality were present in the eighteenth century they did not rely on, or even suggest, a Westphalian provenance. It was, for good reasons, not until the late nineteenth century that the linkages of Westphalia and sovereign equality became commonplace, and even then sovereign equality and its linkage with Westphalia were disputed. It was not until after the Second World War, notably through the influential work of Leo Gross that the linkage of Westphalia and sovereign equality became not only widely accepted, but almost undisputed until quite recently. The article concludes by suggesting that not only did Gross bequeath a dubious historiography but that



this historiography is an impediment to contemporary International Relations.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Rajamani Lavanya

The changing fortunes of differential treatment in the evolution of international environmental law in *International Affairs*, vol. 88, issue 3, may, 605-623

ABSTRACT: This article traces the evolution of international environmental law and dialogue in the four decades from Stockholm, 1972, to Rio+20, 2012, with a focus on the changing dynamics of the discourse between developed and developing countries, and the corresponding interpretational shifts in the application of differential treatment in international environmental law—climate change law in particular. This article argues that in the first three decades of environmental diplomacy, from 1972 to 2002, the international community witnessed an exponential growth in the number and range of multilateral environmental agreements, an array of tools, techniques and practices, and a rapid expansion of differential treatment in favour of developing countries. Differential treatment in central obligations, albeit disputed from its inception, found pride of place in the Kyoto Protocol negotiated in 1997. The decade that followed, 2002 to 2012, witnessed heightened popular and political mobilization around the climate change issue. But, in response to seemingly intractable difficulties across the North–South and North–North spectrum, it was accompanied by a retreat from differential treatment in central obligations. The battle over the future (or lack thereof) of the Kyoto Protocol, and the recent developments in the climate regime—in particular the 2011 Durban Platform Decision—testify to this retreat from certain variants of differential treatment, and interpretations of equity and common but differentiated responsibilities. An analysis of these developments and the politics that gave rise to them, reveal that while the international regime can survive the erosion of certain limited forms of differential treatment, a wholesale rejection of differential treatment, and of the ‘equity’ concerns that animate it, would destabilize the normative core of the regime as well as render the climate regime unattractive to key players like India.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jowsey Ernie

The changing status of water as a natural resource in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 19, Issue 5, 433-441

This paper considers the way freshwater resources are perceived in an era of climate change. It is suggested that in many parts of the world water is moving from being a renewable resource (or continuous natural resource) to a potentially renewable resource (PRR). In some areas water is moving from being a PRR to a nonrenewable resource. Selected water problems from three continents are investigated in the context of this theoretical construct. Recent experience in the United Kingdom is then also investigated as a case study of these changes before brief conclusions are drawn.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Hayes Jarrod

The democratic peace and the new evolution of an old idea

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 4, december , 767-791

ABSTRACT: Since the democratic peace was 'rediscovered' in the 1970s, the phenomenon has become a mainstream research agenda. Significant attention and page space has been dedicated to large-N statistical tests of the phenomenon. Indeed, the methodological composition of the field is significantly tilted toward quantitative studies, creating significant lacunae in our understanding of the underlying mechanisms that generate the democratic peace. The central argument in this review is that academics need to pay much greater attention to the underlying mechanisms of the democratic peace, and in the process of doing so, the democratic peace has the potential to expand into a much more significant field of study: democratic security.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Donnelly Jack

The differentiation of international societies: An approach to structural international theory

in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 1, march , 151-176

ABSTRACT: Taking off from a recent article in this journal by Barry Buzan and Mathias Albert, I present a framework of structural differentiation as an alternative to IR's standard tripartite conception of the elements of structure. Rather than employ ideal type models, though, as Buzan and Albert do, I present a more open-textured, multidimensional account of differentiation. I also emphasize the systemic nature of structural analysis. The elements of structure are interdependent parts of wholes (systems) — not the independent variables implied by standard formulations such as 'the effects of anarchy'. A multidimensional systemic approach directs our attention to the diversity of and change in international systems and their structures, which mainstream structural IR typically ignores or obscures. I illustrate both the regularity of extensive structural change and the analytical utility of my differentiation framework with case studies of post-World War II international society and contemporary processes of globalization.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mads Dagnis Jensen & Peter Marcus Kristensen

The elephant in the room: mapping the latent communication pattern in European Union studies

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 20, Issue 1 2013 , 1-20

European Union (EU) studies is known as a fragmented and interdisciplinary field. Drawing on bibliometric methods, this article presents a novel approach to examining the alleged lines of fragmentation in EU studies. It maps the network structure arising from the citation practices in journals concerned with EU studies by analysing 2,561 documents, containing 66,162 references, published in four authoritative EU journals in the period 2003–2010. The article finds: (1) a complex network of EU and non-EU sources clustering around different bordering disciplines, particularly Political Science, Comparative Politics, International Relations and Public Administration; (2) that the two core journals – *Journal of European Public Policy* and *Journal of Common Market Studies* – play an integrating function by holding the various subfields of EU studies together; and (3) a transatlantic divide in communication practices of EU scholars.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bechtel Michael M., Bernauer Thomas, Meyer Reto

The green side of protectionism: Environmental concerns and three facets of trade policy preferences in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 837-866

A large literature in international political economy views individuals' trade policy preferences as a function of the income effects of economic openness. We argue that the expected environmental consequences of free trade play a noteworthy role for protectionist attitudes that has not been noted so far. We use unique Swiss survey data that contain measures of individuals' environmental concerns and different aspects of trade policy preferences to examine whether those who are more concerned about the environment also hold more protectionist trade policy preferences. Our results support this expectation. Individuals who are more concerned about the environment tend to think that globalization has more negative than positive effects, more strongly support jobs-related protectionism, and place more emphasis on aspects that go beyond price and quality when evaluating foreign products. Our results suggest that also the expected environmental consequences of free trade matter for trade policy preferences and not just the potential effects on the domestic wage distribution.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lees Charles

The paradoxical effects of decline. Assessing party system change and the role of the catch-all parties in Germany following the 2009 federal election

in Party Politics, Volume 18, Number 4, July , 545-562

This article examines the impact of party system change in Germany on the role, status and power of the two catch-all parties (CDU/CSU and SPD) in the light of the 2009 federal election. It argues that party system change has had a paradoxical impact. On the one hand, the decline in the overall catch-all vote undermines the two parties' integrative function. On the other, the presence of three small parties (FDP, Greens, Left Party) means that, with the possible exception of the Greens, no single small party has the potential to be 'kingmaker' and, because of their relative positions in ideological space, neither can they act in concert to extract concessions from the two catch-all parties. Thus, despite the impressive performance of the FDP in the 2009 federal election and the electoral meltdown suffered by the SPD, in office-seeking terms the catch-all parties are currently less vulnerable to small party threats of defection to alternative coalitions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bishop  Matthew Louis

The political economy of small states: Enduring vulnerability?

in Review of International Political Economy, Volume 19, Issue 5, 2012 , 942-960

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Matutinović Igor

The prospects of transition to sustainability from the perspective of environmental values and behaviors in the EU 27 and globally

in *International Journal of Sustainable Development and World Ecology*, Volume 19, Issue 6 , 526-535

The goal of this paper is to identify the present potential for transition to sustainability in industrialized economies by analyzing environmental values and behaviors obtained from public opinion studies. Semiotics is used in the reconstruction of values from attitudinal data obtained in the European Union (EU) 27 and the US. The relationship between environmental values, attitudes, and behaviors is theoretically framed with the aid of specification hierarchy theory (Salthe SN. 1993 Development and evolution: complexity and change in biology. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press). The results, represented in the Environmental Values and Behavior Matrix, suggest that on average people did not start yet to question seriously about their consumption habits and lifestyles in the context of sustainability. The diffusion of environmental values in observed populations of EU 27 and in the US is relatively low and, consequently, people's actions in preserving the environment are mostly low-effort and low-scale. This result is congruent with other empirical data obtained globally. The main findings indicate that the extant state of distribution of environmental values and behaviors in the EU, US, and, indeed, globally shows a weak potential for transition to sustainability or to any kind of 'green economy'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ambrosio Thomas

The rise of the 'China Model' and 'Beijing Consensus': evidence of authoritarian diffusion?

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 18, Issue 4 , 381-399

The rise of authoritarian great powers has raised questions about the dominance of the liberal democratic model and has led to a perception that the relative balance between democracy and authoritarianism is shifting. Consequently, there is increasing interest in and concerns about the diffusion of alternative 'models' of political and economic development. Given that China's impressive economic development has led to growing military strength and geopolitical prestige, evaluating perceptions of the legitimacy, effectiveness, and applicability of that country's model of 'illiberal capitalism' is a good place to start. This paper evaluates whether the 'China Model' or 'Beijing Consensus' is gaining traction internationally through a content analysis of eight years of US and non-US media sources. It finds that concerns about the beginnings of an anti-democratic 'reverse wave' are exaggerated and that at the present time there does not appear to be a decisive shift in favour of a model of authoritarian-capitalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bartz Kevin, Fuchs-Schündeln Nicola

The role of borders, languages, and currencies as obstacles to labor market integration

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 56, Issue 6, August 2012 , 1148-1163



Based on a modified spatiotemporal autoregressive (STAR) model, we analyze whether borders still constitute significant impediments to labor market integration in the European Union, despite the formal law of free movement of labor. Using regional data from the EU-15 countries over 21 years, we find that this is the case. We further investigate whether the abolishment of border checks through the Schengen agreement or the introduction of the Euro improved our measure of labor market integration across borders, and do not find evidence in favor. Last, we investigate the role of languages, and potentially cultures, as obstacles to labor market integration. We find that indeed language borders play a larger role than country borders in explaining the lack of labor market integration across borders.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hielscher Kai, Markwardt Gunther

The role of political institutions for the effectiveness of central bank independence
in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 28, Issue 3, September 2012 , 286-301

This paper empirically studies the impact of the quality of political institutions on the link between central bank independence and inflation. Making use of data on the evolution of central bank independence over time and controlling for possible nonlinearities, we employ interaction models to identify the conditions under which more central bank independence will enhance a country's inflation performance. Examining a cross-section of up to 69 countries, we are able to show that granting a central bank more autonomy does not necessarily lead to better inflation performance. To lower inflation by increasing independence, two conditions must be fulfilled: (1) The change in independence must be sufficiently large, and (2) the quality of the political institutions must be sufficiently high.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kaur Raminder

The transnational potentiality of transverse politics
in *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Volume 19, Issue 4 , 452-466

How can we conceive of global studies of culture and power without (i) overlooking the parameters of the nation state as a forceful axis of power, (ii) prioritising the West as the fount of energised political directives and (iii) reinforcing neo-liberal assumptions on culture and subjectivities? With a reappraisal of theories of globalisation, I elaborate on a transverse politics for transnational studies. I suggest that the national need be foregrounded in any appraisal of the power-laden axes in the co-constitution of the local and the global. Too often, the 'national' is all too easily contracted into the 'local'. I also revisit earlier works to propose multi-sited, engaged and transversal studies that do not simply follow and track global flows but question and undermine their hegemonic trails.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Henne Peter S.

The two swords. Religion–state connections and interstate disputes
in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 49, Number 6, November , 753-768



Since the end of the Cold War, a global religious resurgence has transformed many aspects of world politics, including transnational activism, human rights, and terrorism. Yet, scholars still debate whether a generalizable influence of religion on interstate disputes exists. Despite significant progress in the study of religion and world politics, then, the fundamental question remains: under what conditions does the post-Cold War era's religious resurgence influence interstate disputes? This article points to the significance of institutional religion–state connections and ideological distance between disputants to account for the varied significance of religion in interstate conflicts. Religion influences conflict behavior when there are close ties between religion and the state and when a religious state is in a dispute with a secular state, creating ideological distance between the combatants. In such instances, the dispute is more likely to involve the use of force. The article tests this theory through a quantitative analysis of interstate disputes, using a Heckman probit model for the effects of religion–state connections on dispute severity. The tests reveal that while religious–secular dyads do not experience greater risks of conflict compared to other dyads, conflicts involving religious–secular dyads are more severe than those including other dyads, even when numerous competing explanations are accounted for. The article contributes to the study of religion and politics by highlighting the political factors that increase religious effects on international relations; it also contributes to the broader study of interstate crises by demonstrating the means through which ideas can affect interstate disputes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Frost Mervyn

Théorie constitutive : reconnaissance, éthique et politique dans les relations internationales
in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 87, Guerres et reconnaissance, automne , 37-46

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lindemann Thomas, Saada Julie

Théories de la reconnaissance dans les relations internationales. Enjeux symboliques et limites du paradigme de l'intérêt

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 87, Guerres et reconnaissance, automne , 7-25

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Andreotti Alberta, Le Galès Patrick, Moreno Fuentes Francisco Javier

Transnational mobility and rootedness: the upper middle classes in European cities

in **Global Networks**, vol. 13, issue 1, january , 41-59

ABSTRACT: Some authors argue that 'mobilities' form the distinctive feature of late modern societies and represent a new social cleavage between cosmopolitan mobile élites and urban residents more rooted in their local neighbourhoods. One assumption in contemporary discourses of rootedness is that this new transnational or global society entails an



ongoing process of uprooting individuals and a mainly mobile élite packing up and relocating. In this article, we draw on empirical comparative research to examine the patterns and dynamics of mobility and belonging across European borders among upper-middle-class managers in four cities – Paris, Madrid, Milan and Lyon. We suggest that these new urban upper-middle-class managers display flight responses, or ‘partial exit’ strategies, which operate at various levels to enable them to protect and control their interests while holding onto the reins of power in their local communities. Our study adopts a micro-level perspective to explore individual experiences, strategies, motivations and values based on interviews with 480 managers in these cities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Farer Tom

Two Cheers for Humanitarianism

in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 26, n. 3, fall , 355-372

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lévy Bernard-Henri

Un uomo che può mantenere le promesse

in *Affari Esteri*, anno XLV, n. 169, gennaio-inverno , 128-129

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Lucentini Mauro

Una nuova dinamica per il Medio Oriente

in *Affari Esteri*, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 333-344

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

ROSS CAMPBELL

Values, trust and democracy in Germany: Still in search of ‘inner unity’?

in *European Journal of Political Research*, Volume 51, Issue 5 , 646-670

Twenty years after German reunification, surveys have persistently uncovered differences in political trust between the eastern and western parts of the country. Studies have offered disintegrated and inconclusive assessments of the



cross-regional variation. This variation is traced to a tenacious, retrospective sympathy for socialism steeped in political socialisation and experiential learning. Empirical analyses confirm the presence of two key effects. First, retrospective evaluations of socialism not only fuel popular distrust of political institutions, but are more strongly correlated with trust in the east. Second, East–West evaluations of socialism are sufficiently different to contribute towards explaining the contrasting levels of trust between the two regions. That socialist values constitute a core axis upon which East German attitudes pivot presents a challenge for nurturing trust in democratic institutions and renews attention to processes through which supportive attitudes to democracy are acquired in transitional countries.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Albonetti Achille

Verso l'anno 2013

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, n. 168, settembre-autunno , 467-475

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Medici Marino

Verso le elezioni presidenziali americane

in **Affari Esteri**, Anno XLIV, numero speciale, n. 167 , 303-312

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kampmann Christoph

Vom Schutz fremder Untertanen zur Humanitären Intervention. Einleitende Bemerkungen zur diachronen Analyse einer aktuellen Problematik

in **Historisches Jahrbuch**, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 3-10

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Antoine Auberger

Voting and economic factors in French elections for the European Parliament

in **Public Choice**, volume 153 n.3/4 , 329-340

This article builds and estimates several econometric models that explain and forecast the outcomes of the French



elections for the European Parliament. These models show the influence of the change in the local unemployment rate to explain the vote for the moderate Left and the moderate Right in the French elections for the European Parliament. These models appear to be accurate in forecasting the elections of the past, and their behavior for the 2009 French election for the European Parliament is satisfactory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Pernau, Margrit

Whither Conceptual History? From National to Entangled Histories

in Contributions to the History of Concepts, Vol. 7, n°1 , 1-11

The last decade has witnessed a remarkable internationalization in conceptual history. Research covers more countries and languages than ever before, and there have been a number of very good comparative studies. This article reflects on the possibility of taking conceptual history beyond comparison. Like nations, languages can no longer be considered as naturally given entities, but have to be viewed as profoundly shaped by historical exchanges. This brings conceptual history into a dialogue with translation studies in a common attempt to unravel how equivalents between languages have been created by the actors.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Johansen Hørrigmo, Aase Marthe

Why Study the Spread of Culture-led Development Strategies?

in Regional and Federal Studies, volume 22 n.5 , 553-576

Culture, entertainment and amenities as urban and regional development policies have received much attention over the last decade. In the wake of recent work on the creative class, culture-led development policies have been applied in cities and regions across the Western world. This article uses quantitative data to examine whether these policies have gained the support of Scandinavian local and regional politicians and, if so, why and how. Drawing on policy diffusion and policy transfer theory, the article examines from where politicians are influenced. Can the sources of influence be characterized as (1) horizontal, (2) top-down or (3) bottom-up? The main finding is that the top-down perspective identifies significant national pressure on local and regional policy-makers, leading to the conclusion that regional and local policy-making in this policy area depends on national policies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Panke Diana, Petersohn Ulrich

Why international norms disappear sometimes

in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 18, n. 4, december , 719-742

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the empirical puzzle as to why some formerly deeply embedded international norms either incrementally or rapidly lose their prescriptive status and, in the extreme, can even cease to exist. Why is it that



some norms are replaced while others simply disappear? The IR literature has rich explanations for norm creation, diffusion and socialization, yet there is a theoretical and empirical gap on both the dynamics and scope conditions for the degeneration of international norms. Thus, we develop hypotheses on processes and outcomes of norm disappearances that are tested with a series of qualitative studies. Norm degenerations require the presence of actors who challenge the norm and the absence of central enforcement authorities or individual states that are willing and capable of punishing norm violations. Moreover, our study shows that norms are likely to be abolished swiftly if the environment is unstable and rapidly changing and if norms are highly precise. In contrast, norms are likely to become incrementally degenerated if the environment is relatively stable and if norms are imprecise. Both processes lead to norm substitutions, provided that competing norms are present. If rival norms are absent, norms simply disappear without being replaced.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Patel Kiran Klaus

William Penn und sein Essay „Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe“ (1693). Friedensfürst, Vordenker europäischer Einigung oder Machtpolitiker?

in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Volume 295, Issue 2, October 2012 , 330-357

Abstract

William Penn's „An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe; by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, Or Estates“ of 1693 belongs to the core canon of texts envisioning European integration. Still, Penn's work is difficult to assess, particularly if one is interested in the author's motives for writing the essay. This article provides the first thorough analysis of these questions. It demonstrates that alongside idealistic motives Penn was reacting to very concrete political problems of his time. Moreover, it reveals that Penn was pursuing tangible private interests, as the essay was also an attempt to redeem himself after supporting the losing side in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Finally, the article contextualizes Penn's essay with his extra-European experiences. It demonstrates that his extended stay in America left only a very indirect mark on his deliberations. All in all, Penn appears to have been more Eurocentric than existing research has it; the article shows that Penn contributed a great deal to establishing Eurocentrism in the first place.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

DeGroat Judith

Working-Class Women and Republicanism in the French Revolution of 1848

in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges: In Theory and in Practice . , 399-407

Following the February Revolution in 1848, working-class women as well as men attempted to hold the government to its promise of the right to work, through street demonstrations, individual and collective demands for work, and participation in the national workshops that had been established in an attempt to address the problem of unemployment



in the capital. In the process, these activists articulated what scholars have labelled as a democratic socialist vision of republicanism. In June of 1848, women participated in the insurrection that sought to defend the vision of a social republic. While the republicanism of working-class men and bourgeois women such as George Sand has been examined, studies of working-class women in the first half of the nineteenth century have to this point focused on the romantic socialist influences that shaped their activities, in particular the Saint-Simonian movement. Drawing primarily on individual letters, police interrogations and newspaper reports, a vision of republicanism emerges that includes the ability for women to sustain their families through waged as well as household labour. This concept of republican virtue based itself not in suffrage but in women's capacity to act as both producers and consumers under just and equitable conditions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cheng Chung-Ying

World Humanities and Self-Reflection of Humanity: A Confucian-Neo-Confucian Perspective
in *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, Volume 39, Issue 4, December 2012 , 476-494

Abstract

This article presents and develops Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian theory of heart-mind-will and human nature as the source and basis for the understanding of humanity. This article next shows how Kant and Confucius could be said to share the same vision of humanity in light of one particular historical connection between them. Finally, I have explored four forms of knowledge in light of a distinction between feeling and observation as well as their basic unity. This gives rise to our vision of humanity as world-rooted, and so indicates further how it can serve as a grounding for world-humanities.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schulz Matthias

„Bulgarische Greuel“ und der russischosmanische Krieg 1877: zur Problematik der Humanitären Intervention im Zeitalter des Imperialismus

in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Jahrgang 131, 2011 , 119–145

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Branch Jordan

‘Colonial reflection’ and territoriality: The peripheral origins of sovereign statehood
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 18, n. 2, June , 277-297

ABSTRACT: The modern international system is commonly argued to have originated within Western Europe and spread globally during centuries of colonialism. This article argues, instead, that the character of the modern system of



territorially sovereign states resulted from a complex interaction between European colonizing polities and events, actors, and spaces in other parts of the globe. In particular, through a process of colonial reflection, many of the foundational ideas and practices of modern statehood were formed in the interactions of Europeans with the unknown, supposedly empty, spaces of the New World in the 16th and 17th centuries. These novel practices were applied only later to politics among states in Europe. Most important among these developments is the ideal of territorial exclusivity as the sole basis for state sovereignty. This analysis also has implications for the study of contemporary international systemic change.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

MacMillan John

'Hollow promises?' Critical materialism and the contradictions of the Democratic Peace in International Theory, Volume 4, Issue 03, November , 331-366

The Democratic Peace research programme explicitly and implicitly presents its claims in terms of their potential to underpin a universal world peace. Yet whilst the Democratic Peace appears robust in its geographical heartlands it appears weaker at the edges of the democratic world, where the spread of democracy and the depth of democratic political development is often limited and where historically many of the purported exceptions to the Democratic Peace are found. Whereas Democratic Peace scholarship has tended to overlook or downplay these phenomena, from a critical materialist perspective they are indicative of a fundamental contradiction within the Democratic Peace whereby its universalistic aspirations are thwarted by its material grounding in a hierarchical capitalist world economy. This, in turn, raises the question of whether liberal arguments for a universal Democratic Peace are in fact hollow promises. The article explores these concerns and argues that those interested in democracy and peace should pay more attention to the critical materialist tradition, which in the discussion below is represented principally by the world-system approach.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Millar Gearoid

'Our brothers who went to the bush': Post-identity conflict and the experience of reconciliation in Sierra Leone in Journal of Peace Research, Volume 49, Number 5, September , 717-729

A number of distinct subfields within conflict resolution share foundational theories and emerge from similar understandings of social conflict. One of the most influential of these theories assumes that conflict environments give rise to 'otherizing' dynamics between competing groups. This theory assumes that conflict occurs between and further reifies identity groups. It follows from this theory that conflict resolution practice, and particularly that within the subfield of peacebuilding, must undermine dyadic 'in-group/out-group' conflict through processes of reconciliation and transitional justice. However, the theorized dynamic does not always pertain. In Sierra Leone the truth and reconciliation commission was tasked with fostering reconciliation between the perpetrators and victims of wartime violence. This article describes, however, how former combatants in Sierra Leone are described by many as brothers and friends, as opposed to hated members of a collective 'other'. These findings attest to a distinct lack of 'otherizing' dynamics and demand a reconsideration of peacebuilding practices after what are often considered 'new wars' or 'postmodern conflicts' in sub-Saharan Africa. The article argues that some contemporary conflicts might best be considered post-identity because they are based less on national, racial, religious, or ethnic identity than on circumstance, need,



and opportunity. In addition, after post-identity conflicts truth commissions may create new competing identities, such as those between victims and perpetrators. In such cases the applied conflict resolution interventions must emerge from new conflict resolution theory which can adequately understand contemporary conflict dynamics and begin to develop non-identity focused interventions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hamilton Paul

'Realpoetik': Revolution by Other Means in European Romantic Restoration Thought

in History of European Ideas, Volume 38, Issue 3, Special Issue: Republican Exchanges, c.1550–c.1850/Intellectual Exchanges: In Theory and in Practice . , 370-386

This essay speculates about the degree to which a counter-image of Europe imagined by Romantic period writers showed them to be transforming an inherited idea of the republic of letters for political purposes. While Anglophone romanticists recognise that the French Revolution is an indisputable agent in shaping the contemporary English literary imagination, they then usually ignore the role played by the Restoration which followed. Romantic criticism can perhaps learn an appropriate sensitivity here from the work of critics of English Restoration writing of the seventeenth century. That epochal uncertainty, when the regicides beheaded the King and then wondered what to do politically, was succeeded in the Restoration by a kind of Dissenting determination to continue under or memorialise that uncertainty, not as a dilemma but as the experience of political opportunity. A similar pattern of pursuing revolution by other means is visible in the political revisionism and literary experimentation of post-Revolutionary Romantic radicals. In my picture, then, the Romantic transformation of the republic of letters recovers an older literary republicanism. In what is here dubbed Realpoetik the battle for what is to be political reality is fought on a rhetorical field whose free speech is exemplary of what politics should be like.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hyslop Jonathan

'Segregation has fallen on evil days': Smuts' South Africa, global war, and transnational politics, 1939–46

in Journal of Global History, Volume 7 - Issue 03 - November 2012 , 438-460

Abstract

South African state policy in the 1940s moved in significantly new political directions that were not simply the prelude to apartheid. This shift, under the leadership of Jan Smuts, towards a welfarist management of black urbanization, can only be understood by focusing on transnational dimensions of the period that have been neglected by historians of South Africa. The reorganization of the state was made possible as a consequence of the business of fighting a global war. South African policy changes were intimately linked to the evolution of British colonial policy. And the South African interventions in world politics to support the creation of the United Nations and to reconfigure the southern African subcontinent were to have drastic and unforeseen consequences.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Messari Nizar

À propos de la complexité des révoltes dans les pays arabes

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 85-86, L'institutionnalisation du Parlement européen. Pour une sociologie historique du parlementarisme supranational, printemps-été , 187-212

In order to understand the changes in the Arab World during 2011, I analyze in this article the events through some theoretical models which objective is to explain social and popular mobilizations. My objective is first to provide a key to understand these events, and then to analyze the impact of these mobilizations on the existing theoretical models. Two interrelated questions have to be answered here: why have the population of several Arab countries mobilized in 2011? Why did they do so almost simultaneously? From a theoretical point of view, there are two sets of conceptual explanations: on the one hand, the existence of political opportunity structures which would have paved the way for further changes, on the other hand, a network of events, not necessarily linked but mutually influencing each other, which evolution impacts the evolution of events in other countries. The Arab revolts show that speaking of structures of political opportunities privileges the structure at the expense of agency, whereas agency played a key role in these events. A revision and adaptation of this theoretical model is hence necessary.