



Bulletin n. 1/2010 - July 2010

List of contents

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Mann Rex A.

A Horizontal Federalism Solution to the Management of Interstate Aquifers: Considering an Interstate Compact for the High Plains Aquifer

in *Texas Law Review*, Vol. 88, issue 2 , 391-413

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Gerstle Gary

A State Both Strong and Weak

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 115, Number 3, June

http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/na101/home/literatum/publisher/uchicago/journals/content/ahr/2010/655473/ahr.115.3.779/production/ahr.115.3.779.fp.png_v03

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Vickers Jill

A Two-Way Street: Federalism and Women's Politics in Canada and the United States

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 412-435

Contributing to the gender and federalism debate, this article explores how characteristics and historical legacies of the Canadian and U.S. federations shape women's activism. Following discussion of three positions gender scholars and activists hold regarding federalism, their shared view that federalism is gendered is explored. Reversing the causal arrow to compare how organized women circumvent or change obstructive federal arrangements, the text uses abortion rights campaigning to illustrate. It shows that the weaker pan-Canadian women's movement succeeded in effecting constitutional and judicial change because of a favorable division of powers and preoccupation with Quebec. But a negative historical legacy and division of powers, counter-movements and partisan polarization limited the stronger U.S. movement to circumvention strategies.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Ahdieh Robert B.

Asuntos exteriores, derecho internacional y el nuevo federalismo: Lecciones derivadas de la coordinación



in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 109-172

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10001&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Bußjäger Peter

Between Europeanization, Unitarism And Autonomy. Remarks On The Current Situation Of Federalism In Austria

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 10 , 11-39

full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Bussjager_tcm112-124464.pdf

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Hou Matthew

Canadian Federalism and the Anti-Globalization Movement: Managing Violence through Evolution

in *Federalism-E*, volume 11, April , 52-63

Federalism, in the Canadian experience, has been an adept form of political organization in response to the integrative economic processes of globalization. Canada's ability to successfully transition from a domestic development economic model to a liberal free trade model without accompanying political shocks in the 1990s illustrates the resilience of its federal political structure to negotiate competing interests. Globalization's economic impact, multiplied by innovative communication technology, influences every aspect of economic and political decision-making today. The accompanying reaction to globalization, anti-globalization, poses a range of challenges to extant economic and political methods of organization.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Gamkhar Shama, Vickers Jill

Comparing Federations: Lessons from Comparing Canada and the United States

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 351-356

No abstract available

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



Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Blankenau Joe

Comparing Rural Health and Health Care in Canada and the United States: The Influence of Federalism
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 2, Spring , 332-349

Canada and the United States have significantly different arrangements for the provision of health care. They also have contrasting federal systems. While much research has considered the implication of these factors in terms of national health outcomes, there is little consideration of how these differences affect subpopulations within the countries. This article compares rural health outcomes between the two countries and how the variant federal arrangements address rural health. It is found that rural health outcomes are similar in spite of significant divergence in their institutional and intergovernmental responsibilities. Thus, it appears that rural health disparities are best understood as a function of social and economic environments of rural areas rather than institutional and policy assignments flowing from differences in their federal systems.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Durazo-Herrmann Julián

Concevoir le fédéralisme en Amérique latine
in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=784>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Hernandez Antonio M.

Constitutional culture and federalism in Argentina.
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 2

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

de Briant Vincent

Contribution à l'étude des «arrangements fédératifs», de l'État fédéral à l'État unitaire décentralisé
in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Full text available at
<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=841>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation



Glazer Nathan

Democracy and Deep Divides

in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 21, Number 2, April

How do democracies deal with the deep divisions created by race, ethnicity, religion, and language? The cases of Canada, India, and the United States show that democratic institutions—notably, competitive elections and independent judiciaries—can bridge divides and build stability, but they must find a way to manage the tension between individual and group equality.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Palau Yves

Du fédéralisme en milieu centralisé : le cas du mode de gouvernance unitaire de l'Église catholique

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Full text available at

<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=811>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Gavosto Andrea

Egoista o solidale: il federalismo e la scuola

in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud", 96-102

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

McGeachie Erin

Ethnofederalism in Ethiopia: An Analysis on the Implementation and Impact of Ethnofederalism in Domestic Ethnic Conflict within the State of Ethiopia

in *Federalism-E*, volume 11, April, 30-42

Attempts are currently being made to resolve the problem that a colonial history has created within multi-ethnic states, by granting autonomy to groups whose culture and identity has been suppressed in the unity of modern nation-state. The system of ethnofederalism was created to allow conflicting ethnic communities to obtain a level of autonomy and self-government from the central authority without resorting to secession. Specifically ethnofederalism allows for regional political communities to provide a nonviolent means of dealing with differences between these groups. This paper will argue for the effectiveness of ethnofederalism when a state's constitutional structure supports the equilibrium of power between central and state autonomy. This will be argued in terms of the necessity for a



successful division of fiscal power, equity between the ethnic groups, federal toleration for political dissent and the implementation of fail-safes to prevent federal domination over regional governance.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Chernick Howard, Tennant Jennifer

Federal-State Tax Interactions in the United States and Canada

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 508-533

The potential for vertical tax competition is strongest when different levels of government share the same base. Because there is greater sharing of common tax bases in Canada than in the United States, we expect vertical tax competition to be weaker in the United States than in Canada. Econometric analysis of US data supports this hypothesis. Taking account of the deductibility-related endogeneity of federal tax burdens by state, federal income tax burdens have no effect on average state income tax burdens. Introducing distributional considerations into the vertical tax competition model, we do find a significant displacement effect for higher income taxpayers, with higher federal burdens associated with lower state income tax burdens in the highest income quintile. For low-income taxpayers, federal and state tax burdens are complementary.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Broschek Jörg

Federalism and Political Change: Canada and Germany in Historical-Institutionalist Perspective

in *Canadian Journal of Political Science--Revue canadienne de science politique*, Volume 43, Issue 1, March , 1-24

This paper starts from the assumption that historical institutionalism has much to offer in order to address important questions raised in the literature on comparative federalism. Historical institutionalism is a useful approach to enhancing our understanding of both the origins that drive federal system dynamics and the dynamic patterns which federal systems unfold over time. The paper conceptualizes federalism as a multi-layered political order, comprising an institutional and an ideational layer. It then introduces two models of political change, the model of path dependence and the process sequencing model, and asks how each model can contribute to explain the emergence of the federal order in Canada and Germany. I conclude that while the model of path dependence lends itself well to capturing federal system dynamics in Germany, the process sequencing model, in contrast, is better suited to explaining sources and patterns of change in Canada.

Résumé. L'article part de la position que l'institutionnalisme historique constitue une source intéressante pour aborder des questions importantes issues de la littérature sur le fédéralisme comparatif. L'institutionnalisme historique est une approche utile pour élargir notre compréhension des dynamiques politiques dans les systèmes fédéraux. Cet article conceptualise le fédéralisme comme un ordre politique à plusieurs niveaux comportant une strate institutionnelle et une strate idéationnelle. Puis, deux modèles de transformation politique sont introduits : le modèle de la dépendance du sentier et un autre qui trace les diverses séquences d'un changement dont la temporalité est décisive pour les résultats. On analyse ensuite la capacité des deux modèles d'expliquer la formation d'un ordre politique fédéral en Allemagne et au Canada. L'article conclut que le modèle de la dépendance du sentier est utile pour cerner les dynamiques du système fédéral allemand tandis que le modèle des séquences temporelles est meilleur pour expliquer les sources et



les transformations du fédéralisme canadien.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

de Cueto Nogueras Carlos

Federalismo y democracia consociacional en la política belga
in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 545-563

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10016&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Burke Brendan, Ferguson Margaret

Going Alone or Moving Together: Canadian and American Middle Tier Strategies on Climate Change
in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 436-459

This article builds upon previous research that indicates that multilevel governance, especially at subnational levels and in the private sector, has the greatest potential to address the problem of climate change. Specifically, this article updates the study of climate change efforts among the Canadian provinces and the American states through case analysis. We identify two longitudinal strategies found in both the provinces and the states—a fragmented response to portions of the climate change problem, and a comprehensive strategy based on stakeholder education and participation. Institutional variations between the provinces and the states lead to some differences in the process of policy development, but not in the resulting policy tools used to address the issue.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Raynaud Philippe

Il federalismo impossibile: il caso francese
in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud" , 154-162

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

De Andreis Marco

Il federalismo leggero: perché conviene all'UE
in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud" , 141-153



No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Fagiolo Silvio

Il modello americano e le esitazioni europee

in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud", 134-140

No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Jamin Jérôme

Introduction. Unité et diversité du fédéralisme américain

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=783>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Melkevik Åsbjørn

La question de la sécession dans une fédération: Une critique des mauvaises interprétations

in *Federalism-E*, volume 11, April, 2-18

Nous avons intitulé notre essai « la question de la sécession » à dessein ; cela implique nécessairement qu'il y ait une question à poser et sur laquelle il convient de réfléchir. Michael Ignatieff, mesurant bien toute l'importance de la question de la sécession au Canada, écrivait: «Members of my generation have spent their entire adult political life wondering whether the country either can or deserves to survive». En effet, cette question suscite des passions profondes, qui malheureusement entraînent souvent, de la part du sujet passionné, soit un appui total ou un rejet total d'une possible sécession. Au contraire, il ne faut pas rejeter a priori l'interrogation ou affirmer simplement qu'elle est déjà réglée. Autant les attitudes rejetant complètement la possibilité d'une sécession que les attitudes attribuant à la sécession une certaine valeur transcendante inévitable sont dangereuses pour le fédéralisme et pour la discussion démocratique devant nécessairement précéder un retrait formel d'une entité fédérée.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

de Briant Vincent, Palau Yves

Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral. Introduction

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral



Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=801>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Novack William J.

Long Live the Myth of the Weak State? A Response to Adams, Gerstle, and Witt

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 115, Number 2, April

<http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/ahr.115.3.792>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Erk Jan, Koning Edward

New Structuralism and Institutional Change: Federalism Between Centralization and Decentralization

in *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume 43, No. 3, 353-378

This article aims to contribute to the debate on institutional change by introducing social structure as the basis for theorizing about the direction of such change. The empirical context is the long-term trends of federal institutional change in the federations of the industrialized West (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States). It is the authors' contention that institutions change in order to reach a better fit with the underlying linguistic structure. The direction for institutional change in federal systems with territorially based linguistic heterogeneity is decentralizing, for homogeneous ones the direction is centralizing. The argument is based on the growing importance of language as the provider of democratic space. It is through the less formalized interest group politics that the underlying linguistic base finds its way into influencing the direction of institutional change.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Basta Karlo

Non-ethnic Origins of Ethnofederal Institutions: The Case of Yugoslavia

in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Volume 16, Issue 1, January 2010, 92-110

Abstract

Many scholars argue that the territorial accommodation of nationalist demands usually results from "ethnic" factors, such as the threat of ethnonationalism to the integrity of the state. Using the case of the former Yugoslavia, this article shows that explanations of ethnofederal outcomes must also consider non-ethnic political factors. In the Yugoslav case, the anti-statist ideology of the central leadership provided the autonomy-seeking actors with the discursive means to neutralize their centralist opponents and, in the process, to turn the state into a confederation.

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



Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Constantelos John

Playing the Field: Federalism and the Politics of Venue Shopping in the United States and Canada

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 460-483

Research on interest group strategies in federal systems is converging with the venue shopping and multilevel lobbying literature in the European Union. Drawing on both literatures, the article compares the lobbying strategies of U.S. and Canadian interest groups during the economic crisis of 2008–2009. The impact of political institutional and political partisan factors on venue choice is analyzed in a comparative crucial case study of Michigan and Ontario. Statistical analysis of original survey data from ninety-eight business, trade, and professional associations indicates that neither interest group financial resources nor the severity of the crisis predict lobbying frequencies or targets. Two factors strongly influence where interest groups lobby: the relative importance of the government levels and the partisan control of government.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Bakvis Herman, Brown Douglas

Policy Coordination in Federal Systems: Comparing Intergovernmental Processes and Outcomes in Canada and the United States

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 484-507

Federations exist to divide power and to promote diversity. Nonetheless, in federations interdependence requires degrees of policy coordination across governments. We examine two means of coordinating policies in the U.S. and Canadian federations: administrative and jurisdictional federalism. The former, with its centralized coordinative mechanisms, is thought to produce more uniform national policy outcomes; the latter, operating in the context of non-hierarchical relationships, greater policy variation. An analysis of cases in three policy areas in both countries indicates that despite contrasting coordinative practices, outcomes in actual policies implemented in the two federations are relatively similar. Hierarchical administrative federalism in the United States does not always produce the degree of coordination one might anticipate while a decentralized non-hierarchical system in Canada can achieve surprising degrees of coordination.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Al-Qarawee Harith

Redefining a Nation: The Conflict of Identity and Federalism in Iraq

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , N- 31-41

The debate on federalism in Iraq is interrelated with the identity conflict which has dominated Iraqi politics since the regime change in 2003. Federalism was proposed and became constitutional in 2005 as a way to face the inherent crisis in modern Iraq resulting from the lack of a political system through which power could be distributed and the peculiarities of different ethno-sectarian communities could be included. However, federalism has not been clearly defined and there are several concerns about its form, structure and limits. The question whether this federalism will be ethno-sectarian or administrative is very crucial today, and is strongly connected to identity politics and to the conflicting concepts regarding



the definition of Iraqi nationalism and identity. This article attempts to locate the debate concerning federalism within that broader debate and to analyse, albeit briefly, the socio-political and ideological implications

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/61-redefining-a-nation-the-conflict-of-identity-and-federalism-in-iraq>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Simeon Richard, Radin Beryl A.

Reflections on Comparing Federalisms: Canada and the United States

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 357-365

This article illustrates the challenges involved in preparing a systematic comparison of two federal countries. It examines questions as to what explains similarities and differences in federal systems. It rejects any single-variable approach to explaining federalism but gives primacy to ideas and to institutions. While there are fundamental differences in founding ideas and historical legacies, there are major similarities between these two federations. We conclude this analysis by underlining the value of comparison. Comparison helps clarify explanations for both variation and similarity, corrects misconceived perceptions of differences, and suggests areas of learning from one another.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Vergari Sandra

Safeguarding Federalism in Education Policy in Canada and the United States

in **Publius: The Journal of Federalism**, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 534-557

This article examines government power over elementary and secondary education policy in Canada and the United States. The study distinguishes between federal government policy and national policy that results from subnational governments adopting similar policies voluntarily. The analysis identifies factors that encourage development of national education policy. Federal policy appears to have greater potential for success than national policy due to federal resources and enforcement authority. However, there are constitutional constraints on federal power over education in Canada, and political and technical constraints in both countries. Subnational governments in both countries actively safeguard federalism and protect their autonomy. The study indicates that subnational commitment is essential for the success of both national education policy and federal education policy.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Fabbrini Sergio

Stati Uniti: un'alternativa a Westfalia

in **Aspenia**, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud" , 126-133



No abstract available

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Ceccanti Stefano

Sussidiarietà: istruzioni per l'uso di un principio a doppio taglio.

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 5

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Ejobowah John Boye

Territorial Pluralism: Assessing the Ethnofederal Variant in Nigeria

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 251 - 274

Ought states to adopt institutional arrangements that enable groups to exercise internal political autonomy? This paper answers this question with specific reference to ethnofederalism in Nigeria. It proceeds by surveying the theoretical literature that invokes liberal principles to defend group claims to internal self-government or full independence and the empirical literature that maintains political autonomy for groups is a recipe for democratic failure and state breakdown. It combines and uses these ideas to normatively evaluate four institutional elements of Nigerian ethnofederalism. Its main arguments are: first, contemporary liberal-based arguments for the right of groups to territorial self-government speak to and would defend Nigerian ethnofederal arrangements; and, secondly, empirical claims that ethnofederal institutions risk conflict and instability are valid in the Nigerian context; however, these potential dangers can be deflected through solutions that are just and democratic.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Adams Julia

The Puzzle of the American State ... and Its Historians

in *American Historical Review*, Volume 115, Number 3, June

<http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/abs/10.1086/ahr.115.3.786>

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

Studlar Donley T.

What Explains the Paradox of Tobacco Control Policy under Federalism in the U.S. and Canada? Comparative Federalism Theory versus Multi-level Governance

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 389-411



Canada is generally recognized as having more decentralized federalism than the United States. Even though the content of tobacco control policy in the two countries has been similar, the United States has had a more decentralized process, with policy usually led by the state level, while Canada has had a centralized process, with most initiatives coming from the federal government. This article examines this anomaly, utilizing two different approaches to intergovernmental relations, Kelemen's "comparative federalism" and Hooghe and Marks' "multi-level governance" (MLG). Overall, MLG is a better explanation for tobacco control policy in both countries, especially in the U.S. Discretionary implementation from the central level in parliamentary systems, unitary or federal, may be more broadly applicable than the legalistic implementation of separation-of-powers systems.

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

Subsection 1. The theory of federation

March Luke

Why Not Parties in Russia? Democracy, Federalism, and the State
in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 88, n. 3, July , 584-586

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Logroscino Pierdomenico

Brasile: la "parzializzazione" delle modifiche tacite della Costituzione
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1786 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Snow Eric

Constitutional Accords and National Discord: The Impact of Constitutional Reform on Canadian Unity
in *Federalism-E*, volume 10, April , 16-27

Two particularly significant efforts have been made to amend the constitution since it was patriated in 1982: the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord. During each process, Canadian leaders acted boldly and decisively to renew Canadian federalism, satisfy the disenfranchised and keep all Canadians happy at once. However, while constitutions are intended to draw people together under a common purpose, this bold action succeeded in nothing but driving Canadians apart. The country was politically fractured into a collection of divided constituencies, and at its culmination the country was almost torn apart forever. Starting with the aftermath of the Constitution Act, 1982, this paper will consider several proposals from the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords respectively. The reasons why each accord failed will be...

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



Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Marko Joseph

Constitutional Design for Divided Societies. Integration or Accommodation?

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 375-381

Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation? raises important conceptual questions of consociational theory and powersharing mechanisms and tests them against a wide range of regional case studies from Europe, Africa and Asia. The axiomatic, underlying interest for analysis is the question: how can and should culturally divided societies be politically managed, not the least through constitutional arrangements? All of the articles are based on the conceptual distinction of "integration" versus "accommodation" as a follow-up to the Lijphart-Horowitz debate. However, the main achievement of the book is the insight into the necessity to de-construct this conceptual dichotomy and to develop better refinements by bridging the gap between comparative politics and comparative constitutional law. In the end the book thus provides fresh food for thought on how to reconcile consociational theory and powersharing mechanisms with the problems of self-determination disputes usually overlooked by the former concepts.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Núñez Rivero Cayetano

El principio autónomico en el texto constitucional boliviano de 2008

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 565-584

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10017&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Mulard Claudine

Faut-il réviser la Constitution californienne ?

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 133 , 17-27

La Californie est en crise, et on accuse la Constitution, déjà volubile lors de sa ratification en 1879, mais qui gonfle à chaque scrutin électoral. Car les électeurs du Golden State s'adonnent au référendum d'initiative populaire et additionnent les amendements constitutionnels. Aujourd'hui, ils admettent que leur système politique est enrayé, mais divergent quant aux remèdes : faut-il réviser la Constitution au coup par coup, ou oser rédiger un nouveau texte, mieux adapté au grand État moderne ?

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Ruutu, Katja

Future, Past and Present in Russian Constitutional Politics: Russian Constitutions in a Conceptual-Historical Perspective



in *Review of Central & East European Law*, vol. 35, n. 1 , 77-110

The present article uses the methods of conceptual history to investigate the transformation of Soviet and Russian constitutional concepts. My intention is to show the whole constitutional movement of Russia, and to focus on the 'time layers' (future, past and present) used by actors in constructing the key concepts that inform the narratives of the constitutional unity of the Soviet Union/Russian Federation. By focusing on the six constitutions adopted in the Soviet Union/Russian Federation, the article will seek to show that Soviet/Russian conceptual history is more multifaceted, and more political in nature, than is commonly thought. Because the political unity of the state was restricted not only by the constitution, but also by the party ideology of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, political debates concerning constitutional concepts represented the key discussions for all the reformative pursuits of Soviet politics. Constitutional concepts were the most important means to argue and create a basis for a new political presentation and new political programs. This pattern has also been typical of present-day Russian politics, with the difference that, so far, only one constitution has been adopted in the Russian Federation. Specifically, we will seek to relate Putin's constitutional concepts to the textual base, and the political background, of the previous constitutions. On a more general level, the present article should contribute to the development of a theory of periodization that takes into consideration the shifts in a period's key concepts and vocabularies.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Cassetti Luisa

Governi di fatto, revisioni “atipiche” e mancata attuazione della Costituzione nell’esperienza argentina

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1774 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Terragno Giuliana

La fine della “siesta constitucional” in Messico

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1820 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Poggeschi Giovanni

Le modificazioni costituzionali tacite in Spagna. L’Estado autonómico modello ammirato del diritto comparato ma in crisi di identità e legittimazione in patria

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1764 ff.

No abstract available



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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Imposimato Ferdinando

Per lo Stato di diritto e la Costituzione

in *Il Ponte*, n. 12, dicembre , 15-16

full text available

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Häde Ulrich

Sobre la reforma del federalismo en Alemania

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 479-489

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10013&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene

The Transformation of Mongolia's Political System: From Semi-parliamentary to Parliamentary?

in *Asian Survey* , Volume: 50, Number: 2 March/April , 311–334

This paper outlines Mongolia's regime transformation, focusing on its 2000 constitutional amendments that turned Mongolia into a parliamentary system, albeit with a popularly elected fixed-term president. The paper also emphasizes the prominence of institutional authority to form the executive in determining regime type, and makes an effort to clarify Duverger's second criterion of semi-presidentialism as the presidential authority to form the cabinet.

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

Subsection 2. Constitutional reform

Vespaziani Alberto

USA: il dissolversi della distinzione tra Costituzione scritta e Costituzione non scritta

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1829 ff.

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



París i Domènech Neus

Aproximació al procés de transposició de la directiva de serveis: incidència en el sistema de distribució de competències dissenyat per la CE i l'EAC

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals*, n. 10 , 72-108

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Paris_Corretja_tcm112-124467.pdf

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

Auel Katrin

Between Reformstau and Laender Strangulation? German Co-operative Federalism Re-considered

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 229 - 249

Two features of German federalism have been the subject of much criticism in recent years, the veto power of the Bundesrat and the centralization of legislative competences. The former is made responsible for the (in)famous German 'Reformstau', the latter for severely limiting autonomous policy making at the Laumnder level. The paper argues that both complaints about the federal system are exaggerated. Neither does the bicameral structure completely block reforms, nor are the Laumnder immobilized by the corset of centralized legislation. Instead it will be argued that public opinion and electoral dynamics constrain political actors and provide them with few incentives to pursue a radical reform course or to embrace policy competition at the Laumnder level.

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

Lamb Charles M., Wilk Eric M.

Civil Rights, Federalism, and the Administrative Process: Favorable Outcomes by Federal, State, and Local Agencies in Housing Discrimination Complaints

in *Public Administration Review*, Volume 70 Issue 3 (May/June 2010) , 412-421

Some theorists argue that cooperative intergovernmental relations are critical to policy implementation in the United States. This assertion is explored in the context of fair housing enforcement by comparing favorable administrative outcomes in fair housing complaints at the federal, state, and local levels from 1989 to 2004. What conclusions can be drawn from this systematic comparison of intergovernmental enforcement in one policy area over an extended period of time? First, cooperative federalism works well in fair housing enforcement. Second, of special significance, state civil rights agencies resolve complaints in favor of complainants nearly as often as the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and localities sometimes do so even more frequently.

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

Hackney Ryan

Don't Mess with Houston, Texas: The Clean Air Act and State/Local Preemption



in *Texas Law Review*, Vol. 88, issue 3 , 639-668

In this Note, Hackney discusses the legal issues surrounding state/local preemption. He examines this broad area of law by looking at what steps a city may take to ensure that its citizens breath clean air if the city determines that the state is not doing enough to regulate air pollution.

Noting that local government is often the only entity that can effectively solve this type of problem, Hackney addresses the question of how far a city can go in addressing the issue given that state law expressly governs.

Full text available at:

<http://www.texasrev.com/sites/default/files/issues/vol88/pdf/Hollis.pdf>

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

Harwood Jeffrey , Phillimore John, Fenna Alan

Federal Implications of Northern Territory Statehood

in *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, Volume 69 Issue 1 , 34 - 46

Just over a decade since the failed referendum of 1998, statehood for the Northern Territory (NT) is back on the political agenda. The achievement of statehood would be a first for Australian federalism, where no new state has been created or admitted since Federation. Following a discussion of the concept of statehood and how it might be achieved, it traces the political development of the NT. The article then examines the implications of NT statehood for the Australian federation and finds that statehood would facilitate constitutional change in the federation by lowering the threshold required for success in a national referendum. Statehood may also raise questions about the equal representation in the Senate of less populous states. However, statehood would have no effect upon financial arrangements with the Commonwealth, the standing of the Northern Territory at COAG meetings, or the legal standing of the other states.

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

Pritam Singh

Federalism, Nationalism and Development: India and the Punjab Economy

in *Journal of South Asian Development (The)*, Volume 5, No. 1, April , 169-172

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

Trojsi Anna

Il riparto di competenza legislativa tra Stato e Regioni in materia di impiego pubblico regionale

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 6 , 1213-1248

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

Bertolino Cristina

Il ruolo delle Regioni nell'attuazione del diritto comunitario. Primi passi significativi e profili problematici in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1249-1308

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

Blasco Díaz José Luis

La distribución competencial en materia de costas
in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 10 , 245-285

full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Blasco_tcm112-124443.pdf

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

Bacigalupo Saggese Mariano

La distribución de competencias entre el estado y las comunidades autónomas en materia de energías renovables
in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 10 , 286-329

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Bacigalupo_tcm112-124445.pdf

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

Strazzari Davide

Le attività a carattere internazionale degli enti territoriali in Francia. Valorizzazione dell'autonomia locale o promozione localizzata dell'interesse nazionale?
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 6 , 1349-1392

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

Leung Yvonne

Natural Resources and the Environment: Constitutional Challenges Facing Climate Change Policy in Canada in Federalism-E, volume 11, April , 19-29

This paper will begin by looking at the Kyoto Protocol and examining the jurisdictional conflicts that have resulted from its signing, as well as the problems that arise with attempts at its implementation. With that, I will then look at the possible constitutional conflicts between federal and provincial governments over greenhouse gas reduction policies. Ultimately, this paper aims to explore and understand how climate change policy in Canada is affected by jurisdictional tensions and how governments, both federal and provincial, should proceed in future to effectively tackle climate change.

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

Bin Roberto, Benelli Filippo

Prevalenza e "rimaterializzazione delle materie": scacco matto alle Regioni in Regioni (Le), n. 6 , 1185-1212

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

Fierlbeck Katherine

Public health and collaborative governance in Canadian Public Administration, Vol. 53, issue 1 , 1-19

The nature of governance in Canada, both horizontally (between federal departments) and vertically (between federal and provincial governments) is changing. Or is it? Two distinct trends seem to have emerged over the past decade: one towards horizontal coordination and one towards vertical collaboration. These trends are perhaps best exemplified by the Public Health Agency of Canada, which depends very emphatically on integrated relationships both with other federal departments and with provincial and territorial governments. Yet in the past year, severe criticisms have emerged regarding the agency's ability to meet its objectives. To what extent are these problems due to the failure of collaborative governance? On a wider level, have decision-makers been too insouciant about making importunate public policy decisions on an assumption of the viability of collaborative governance? This article argues that problems in vertical collaboration in public health have occurred largely due to failures in horizontal coordination within the national government

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

Randall Brent

Strengthening Federalism Through Charter Decisions in Federalism-E, volume 10, April , 101-112



The Constitution Act, 1982, containing the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, is seen by many to be a major victory for individual liberty. The Charter is seen as a ground-breaking provision, but it is also at the mercy of interpretation. Like the Constitution containing it, there are many ambiguous terms which inevitably demand application when settling disputes between two parties. This requirement of interpretation can turn the Charter from celebrated to controversial depending on the interests involved. In Canada, provincial and federal legislatures are most often in charge of interpreting the Constitution favourably by creating laws that capture the spirit of the document. If for some reason there is concern with how the Constitution, and Charter, is interpreted through this legislation, the Supreme Court of Canada is the final decision-maker on its validity.

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

Tsang Stephen, Kolk Ans

The evolution of Chinese policies and governance structures on environment, energy and climate

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 20, Issue 3, May-June , 180-196

Although a successor to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol has not yet materialized, the 2009 Copenhagen meeting underlined the importance of China in international debates on climate and energy. This is based not only on China's current climate emissions, but also on its expected energy use and economic growth. Within China, climate issues have, like environmental pollution more generally, received increasing government and societal attention, but so has energy - topics that relate to one other but also have different priorities and actor interests behind them. However, while climate change has become more prominent, as shown in the targets included in the current five-year plan, its institutional embeddedness in relation to particularly energy issues has received limited attention. This paper aims to help shed some light on how Chinese policies and governance structures on energy, climate and environment have evolved, particularly considering the roles of national and provincial authorities. Administrative structures and policy-making processes turn out to be very complex, with a range of units and bodies at different levels with distinct responsibilities as well as inter-linkages. Moreover, tensions and conflicts can be found regarding climate change and environmental policies on the one hand, and prevailing objectives to further economic development on the other. Energy policies serve the same economic goals, with climate change being most often operationalized in terms of energy conservation.

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

Hollis Duncan B.

Unpacking the Compact Clause

in *Texas Law Review*, Vol. 88, issue 4 , 741-806

Professor Duncan Hollis discusses the relationship between foreign-state agreements (FSAs) and the Constitution's Compact Clause. The Compact Clause plainly prohibits states from entering "into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power" absent congressional consent. Nevertheless, states have entered into hundreds of such FSAs over the years. Professor Hollis explores the reasons underlying this contradiction and argues that the federal government should exercise more oversight over FSAs.

The Supreme Court has interpreted the interstate-agreement portion of the Compact Clause loosely, allowing states to enter into a number of agreements without congressional approval. A similarly lax standard has been applied to FSAs, although no authority has addressed whether such treatment is appropriate. Professor Hollis suggests that the



Constitution actually contains two Compact Clauses: one for interstate agreements and one for FSAs. Functionally, distinct justifications exist for foreign and interstate compacts that, in turn, support differing treatment. Accordingly, Professor Hollis concludes that substantial arguments exist for subjecting FSAs to supervision by the federal political branches

Full text available at:

<http://www.texaslrev.com/sites/default/files/issues/vol88/pdf/Hollis.pdf>

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Hatcher Andrea C.

A Man for All Seasons: Partisan Constraints on U.S. Senate Majority Leaders

in Party Politics, Volume 16, Number 3, May , 323-346

In this article, I examine the roll-call voting behaviour of U.S. Senate Majority Leaders, finding that Leaders generally locate around the ideological mean and median of their party at selection and at the beginning of their tenure but move toward the partisan extreme as their leadership progresses. Statistical analysis links this movement to size of majority; that is, as their partisan majority increases, their roll-call voting becomes more extreme. These findings, then, contribute a new interpretation of the existing literature's 'middleman' theory of congressional party leadership.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Berry Christopher R., Burden Barry C., Howell William G.

After Enactment: The Lives and Deaths of Federal Programs

in American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 54, Issue 1 , 1-17

While many scholars have focused on the production of legislation, we explore life after enactment. Contrary to the prevailing view that federal programs are indissoluble, we show that programmatic restructurings and terminations are commonplace. In addition, we observe significant changes in programmatic appropriations. We suggest that a sitting congress is most likely to transform, kill, or cut programs inherited from an enacting congress when its partisan composition differs substantially. To test this claim, we examine the postenactment histories of every federal domestic program established between 1971 and 2003, using a new dataset that distinguishes program death from restructuring. Consistent with our predictions, we find that changes in the partisan composition of congresses have a strong influence on program durability and size. We thus dispel the notion that federal programs are everlasting while providing a plausible coalition-based account for their evolution.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Larocca Roger



Committee Parallelism and Bicameral Agenda Coordination

in *American Politics Research*, Vol. 38, n. 1, January , 3-32

We examine why a significant proportion of the policy issues passed in either the U.S. House or Senate often fail to pass in the other chamber. We hypothesize that much of this failure of the House and Senate to coordinate their agendas occurs because committee jurisdictions are not parallel across chambers. To compare House and Senate agendas, we develop a comprehensive issue-level data set covering all bills introduced in the 103rd Congress. We estimate a multinomial logit model that reveals that the degree of jurisdictional parallelism across chambers is indeed one of the most important determinants of whether issues that pass in one chamber also pass in the other chamber.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Nogueira Marco Aurélio

Corrupción en el Senado brasileño: síntoma de una crisis de larga duración

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 225 , 171-188

La crisis del Senado brasileño, iniciada con las acusaciones de corrupción contra su presidente, se propagó al Poder Legislativo e incluso al Ejecutivo. El artículo sostiene que se trata del reflejo de una crisis general de los partidos políticos y de los parlamentos modernos, resultado de las presiones combinadas del decisionismo gubernamental y la espontaneidad social, que limitan la capacidad de acción del Legislativo. En el fondo, esto es una consecuencia de una situación de malestar institucional más amplia, una crisis de subjetividad política, en la que los sistemas políticos se vuelven incapaces de interactuar con la cultura y la sociedad producidas por los nuevos términos de la vida globalizada.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Lago-Peñas Ignacio, Lago-Peñas Santiago

Decentralization and electoral accountability

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 2, April , 318-334

On the basis of aggregated and individual-level survey data of national and regional elections in Spain, this paper analyzes how economic voting is impacted by vertical and horizontal dimensions of clarity of responsibility. Our findings suggest that economic voting is enhanced when mechanisms of accountability are simple.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Lee Frances

Senate Deliberation and the Future of Congressional Power

in *Political Science and Politics*, vol. 43, issue 2, april , 227-229

ABSTRACT: Current circumstances might seem to present real opportunities for Congress to reassert itself relative to its



weakened role during George W. Bush's presidency. Large, unusually cohesive Democratic majorities in both chambers; unified government; and an administration staffed with people who know Congress well—all this might lead one to expect a productive working relationship permitting Congress wide scope of action. Nevertheless, the Senate's internal deliberative processes threaten to create difficulties so significant that they may outweigh these developments. Looking to the future of Congress, changes in Senate procedures and practices are important not only because of their effects on the institution's internal power structure. Left unchecked, they are also likely to have implications for the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of government.

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

Subsection 4. The legislative branch

Thames Frank C.

The Effect of Governor Support on Legislative Behaviour in the Russian Duma
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 1, January , 125-143

Until the 2007 Duma election, the Russian polity displayed several characteristics that should have allowed regional leaders to have an impact on deputies: a federalist system, an electoral system that encouraged regional representation, weak political parties, and regional leaders with electoral resources. Recent research on Russian mixed-member Duma elections argues that governors influenced the election of single-member district deputies. This raises the spectre that governors could have influenced the behaviour of these deputies. Using data from the third post-communist Duma, I demonstrate that single-member district deputies backed by regional leaders in the 1999 Duma election behaved differently from others in two critical areas: parliamentary party choice and support for the presidential legislative agenda. Governor support did not, however, affect committee choice.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Seijas Villadangos María Esther

Diseño constitucional e implementación de la federación canadiense: de Macdonald a Harper
in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 511-543

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriaYRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10015&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Mashaw Jerry L.

Federal Administration and Administrative Law in the Gilded Age
in *Yale Law Journal (The)*, Vol. 119, n. 7, May , 1362-1473

The dominant story of America's so-called "Gilded Age" describes an era of private excess and public corruption. In a



rapidly industrializing society, private capital, in league with venal politicians, ran roughshod over a national state apparatus incapable of responding to the emerging social and economic needs of the day. Only toward the end of this era, with the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, did the national government begin to break free from a laissez-faire ideology that was antithetical to state building in virtually all of its forms. Indeed, on this conventional account, the American administrative state, and with it administrative law, only began to emerge in the early twentieth century. And both remained underdeveloped until the New Deal constitutional revolution.

There is much truth to this familiar narrative, but it is far from the whole truth. State capacities built steadily throughout the post-Reconstruction era. Congress created multiple new departments, bureaus, and programs, and federal civilian employment grew much more rapidly than population. Just as today, conflicts between political parties, the drama of electoral politics, and the vagaries of congressional lawmaking dominated the headlines. But the day-to-day activities of government were in the charge of administrative departments and bureaus. Operating under broad delegations of authority, administrators developed a rich internal law of administration that guided massive administrative adjudicatory activity and substantial regulatory action as well. Moreover, policy innovation at the legislative level depended heavily on the research and recommendations of existing administrative agencies. In short, if we look at legislative and administrative practice rather than at constitutional ideology or political rhetoric, we can see the emergence of a national administrative state and national administrative law before either had a name.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Sacharoff Laurent

**Former Presidents and Executive Privilege
in Texas Law Review**, Vol. 88, issue 2 , 301-352

The Constitution provides former Presidents with no powers or role, and yet numerous former presidents including Truman and Nixon have asserted executive privilege in order to withhold information from Congress, historians, and the public. The most recent former President, George W. Bush, is likely to make similar assertions based upon his sweeping view of the rights of former Presidents as reflected in his recently revoked Executive Order 13,233, potentially leading to a constitutional collision between the rights of former Presidents and those of Congress. This Article argues that, notwithstanding *Nixon v. Administrator of General Services (GSA)*, former Presidents should retain no right to assert executive privilege based upon the text, structure, and historical context of the Constitution and its antimonarchical premises, as well as the nature of executive privilege when compared to other privileges

Full text available at:

<http://www.texasrev.com/sites/default/files/issues/vol88/pdf/Sacharoff.pdf>

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Volterra Sara

**Le molte facce del Secondo Emendamento della Costituzione federale statunitense
in Studi Parlamentari e di Politica Costituzionale**, n. 160 II trim. , 7-40



No abstract available

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Yaroulovna Khabrieva Talia

Le statut constitutionnel du Président de la Fédération de Russie

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 81

No abstract available

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Pion Geoffrey

Les résultats électoraux des élections du 4 novembre aux États-Unis montrent-ils une unité du peuple américain derrière Barack Obama ?

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=793>

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Field Bonnie N.

Minority Government and Legislative Politics in a Multilevel State: Spain under Zapatero

in *South European Society & Politics*, Volume 14, Issue 4, Special Issue: Spain's 'Second Transition'? The Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, December, 417-434

What explains minority government performance? An analysis of Spanish governments (1979-2008) finds mixed support for the importance of parliamentary procedural mechanisms. Yet an analysis of the Zapatero government (2004-8) reveals that a governing party with a central position in the party system can indeed shift alliances, which is consistent with the hypothesis that shifting facilitates effective governance. Additionally, the evidence indicates that minority governments may also or instead rely on alliances across governmental levels in a multilevel system. Regional parties with representation in the national parliament and sub-national governing responsibilities provide the critical link between governmental levels.

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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Escamilla Alberto

Presidencialismo y elecciones en México

in *El Cotidiano : revista de la realidad mexicana actual*, n. 159

No abstract available



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

Subsection 5. The executive branch

Bernier Luc, Gagnon Stéphanie

Restructurer peu, restructurer mieux : leçons d'expériences ministérielles récentes au Canada
in **Canadian Public Administration**, Vol. 53, issue 1 , 21-46

In this article, we take a look at restructuring initiatives involving functional departments. First, we review the documented reasons leading to the decision to restructure. Next, we compare recent restructuring activities in three Canadian provinces and at the federal government level. The examples used provide us with information on the reasons for engaging in the restructuring process, and its implications. The cases reported (all territories combined) reveal that some areas seem more problematic than others (for example, economic development, environment) – that is, they are the focus of more frequent restructuring, and the subsequent outcome is not always satisfactory. The reasons for explaining the restructurings point to the complexity of the file and government priorities. Furthermore, the consequences of the restructuring process fall into three main areas: implications at the administrative and budgetary levels (costs related to moving, printing, etc.), implications revolving around the department's direction (mission and vision), and implications on personnel (loss of employment, impact on employees' morale, etc.). On a practical level, the premiers must particularly avoid the restructuring of departments during Cabinet shuffles

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Wright John R.

Ambiguous Statutes and Judicial Deference To Federal Agencies
in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 22, n. 2, April , 217-245

The Supreme Court's Chevron decision raises questions about why Congress passes ambiguous statutes and why courts defer to agencies rather than impose their own interpretations. This article presents a model of policymaking where the legislature chooses strategically between an ambiguous and explicit statute, and where rulemaking and judicial review follow. The analysis reveals that when statutes are ambiguous, judges gain few policy advantages by deciding strategically on the basis of their policy preferences as opposed to simply following Chevron precedent. The results shows that legislative policy entrepreneurs can frequently advance their policy interests more successfully with ambiguous than with explicit language.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Stone Adrienne

Democratic objections to structural judicial review and the judicial role in constitutional law
in **University of Toronto Law Journal**, Vol. 60, N. 1 , 109-135

This article revisits my argument that structural judicial review – judicial review of those provisions of a constitution that establish the basic structure of government and divide power between the constituent parts of a federation – is



vulnerable to the objection from democracy and defends that claim against arguments made by Jeffrey Goldsworthy and others. First, I deny that the democratic objection to judicial review can, by virtue of its commitment to respect for rights, be wielded only against rights review: on the contrary, I argue, it applies where judges have the power to interpret and enforce constitutional provisions or principles that are uncertain in their scope and which therefore require judges to make evaluative judgments in the face of reasonable disagreement. Structural judicial review routinely involves judges' making, or reaffirming, choices of just this kind. Second, I deny that federal judicial review is immune from the objection either because it constitutes only a weak form of judicial review or because judicial review is a necessary attendant of federalism: on the contrary, federal judicial review requires judges to choose between contested conceptions of federalism in a manner not susceptible to legislative revision. In addition, I argue, there are institutional structures that would allow for the resolution of federal disputes without begging the question at the heart of federalism. Finally, I deny that judicial review of legislative procedures, of requirements establishing an independent judiciary, or of federal anti-discrimination norms (categories identified by Goldsworthy) create practically significant exceptions to my claim

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Urías Joaquín

El tribunal constitucional ante la participación autonómica en el nombramiento de sus miembros
in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 10 , 207-244

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Urias_tcm112-124469.pdf

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

O'beirne Allison

Intergovernmental Relations' Third Wheel: The Role of the Supreme Court in an Era of Collaborative Federalism
in *Federalism-E*, volume 10, April , 1-16

The Supreme Court of Canada has an absolutely undeniable role in intergovernmental relations. As the country's only constitutionally entrenched body charged with the resolution of division-of-powers disputes, its decisions and rulings are always certain to influence the way in which governments interact with each other. Recently, however, the Supreme Court has come to be less highly regarded as a method of resolving the disputes that arise between governments. As Robinson and Simeon propose in their article "The Dynamics of Canadian Federalism - Canada is moving from an era of constitutional federalism, governed by the courts, to one of collaborative federalism (Robinson and Simeon, 2004: 106).

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Fix Michael P.; Randazzo Kirk A.

Judicial Deference and National Security: Applications of the Political Question and Act of State Doctrines
in *Democracy and Security*, Volume 6, Issue 1, January , 1-16



This article briefly examines the history of federal court adjudication of national security issues to determine how judges have employed specific legal rationales for deciding not to decide in order to avoid confrontation with the executive branch. By focusing on the historical development of these legal strategies, we demonstrate that while judges have been generally deferential to the executive on national security issues, this deference increases in times of crisis. Through a series of qualitative case studies, we examine the use of threshold issues as a legally justifiable means to avoid ruling on the merits. Specifically, we focus on the use of the political question and act of state doctrines both historically and in the post-September 11th environment. We conclude that the federal courts continue to employ these techniques to avoid resolving challenges to national security, thereby promoting a continued deference to the executive branch.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Lax Jeffrey R.; Rader Kelly T.

Legal Constraints on Supreme Court Decision Making: Do Jurisprudential Regimes Exist?

in **Journal of Politics (The)**, vol. 72, issue 2, April , 273-284

The founding debate of judicial politics—is Supreme Court decision making driven by law or politics? —remains at center stage. One influential line of attack involves the identification of jurisprudential regimes, stable patterns of case decisions based on the influence of case factors. The key test is whether the regime changes after a major precedent-setting decision, that is, whether the case factors are subsequently treated differently by the Supreme Court justices themselves so that they vote as though constrained by precedent. We analyze whether binding jurisprudential regime change actually exists. The standard test assumes votes are independent observations, even though they are clustered by case and by term. We argue that a (nonparametric) “randomization test” is more appropriate. We find little evidence that precedents affect voting.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Nunes Rodrigo M.

Politics without Insurance: Democratic Competition and Judicial Reform in Brazil

in **Comparative Politics**, Volume 42, No. 3 , 313-331

Brazilian presidents have expanded the authority of the Supreme Court since democratization to improve governance and facilitate the policy pursuits of electoral winners. This conclusion contradicts insurance theories of judicial reform, which argue that incumbents promote judicial power when they foresee an electoral defeat in order to constrain future majorities. In contrast, analysis of judicial reform in Brazil suggests that powerful courts are not antithetical to the interests of elected governments, and that even politicians who expect to remain in office may find it beneficial to support and promote independent judicial authority. As observed in Brazil, a court that is institutionally subject to politics may provide incumbents with benefits that exceed the costs usually associated with judicial review.

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Strozzi Girolamo

Responsabilità degli Stati membri per fatto del giudice interno in violazione del diritto comunitario



in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 4 , 881 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Goldsworthy Jeffrey

Structural judicial review and the objection from democracy

in *University of Toronto Law Journal*, Vol. 60, N. 1 , 137-154

Judicial review of legislation to ensure its compatibility with vague and abstract principles of political morality is often argued to be incompatible with the democratic right of ordinary citizens to participate on equal terms in public decision making. Adrienne Stone argues that 'structural' judicial review, aimed at protecting constitutional structures such as federalism and the separation of powers, is just as vulnerable to this objection as 'rights' review, aimed at protecting constitutionally entrenched rights. I argue that some kinds of structural review are distinguishable from rights review and not susceptible to the objection: it does not apply to (a) judicial enforcement of provisions dividing powers within a federation; (b) genuine 'manner and form' requirements governing the composition, powers, and procedures of the legislature and its houses, provided that they leave its substantive power to legislate unaffected; (c) a requirement that only independent courts may exercise the judicial power of determining the concrete legal rights and duties of litigants, based on the application of general laws that legislatures have made and remain free to change; or (d) provisions forbidding states or provinces within a federation from discriminating against the residents or commercial enterprises of other states or provinces

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Zypries Brigitte

The Basic Law at 60 – Politics and the Federal Constitutional Court

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 1 , 87-98

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No1/PDF_Vol_11_No_01_87-98_GG60_Zypries.pdf

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Amestoy Jeffrey L.

The Supreme Court Argument that Saved the Union: Richard Henry Dana, Jr., and the Prize Cases

in *Journal of Supreme Court History*, Volume 35 Issue 1 March , 10-24

On January 1, 1863, Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, claiming constitutional authority to do so "as a fit and necessary war measure." The epic struggle between North and South had been raging for nearly two years. There were over a million soldiers under arms. At Antietam there had been more than 20,000 casualties in the bloodiest



single day of battle in American history. But was it, in point of law, a war?

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

Subsection 6. The judiciary branch

Castellà i Andreu Josep Maria

Tribunal Supremo y cambios en el federalismo de Estados Unidos

in *Teoria y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 491-510

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10014&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Gervasoni Carlos

A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces

in *World Politics*, vol. 62, n. 2, april , 302-340

ABSTRACT: Levels of subnational democracy vary significantly within countries around the world. Drawing on fiscal theories of the state, the author argues that this variance is often explained by a type of rentierism that is not geographically determined by natural resources but politically created by certain fiscal federalism arrangements. He posits that less democratic regimes are more likely in rentier provinces—those that receive disproportionately large central government transfers and practically forgo local taxation. Intergovernmental revenue-sharing rules that produce large vertical fiscal imbalances and favor the economically smaller districts provide their incumbents with generous “fiscal federalism rents” that allow them to restrict democratic contestation and weaken checks and balances. Statistical evidence from a panel data set of the Argentine provinces strongly confirms this expectation, even after controlling for standard alternative explanations such as level of development. Sensitivity analysis shows that this finding is extremely robust to alternative panel estimators. Qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests that the effect of heavy public spending on the economic autonomy of political actors is the main causal mechanism at work.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Callaghan Helen

Beyond methodological nationalism: how multilevel governance affects the clash of capitalisms

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , 564 - 580

This article challenges the methodological nationalism of the convergence debate by arguing that multilevel governance destabilizes the coalitions thought to underpin liberal and co-ordinated varieties of capitalism. Many attempts to explain



how coherent production regimes emerge and persist assume that some dominant social bloc ensures coherence by imposing its interests across all relevant regulatory subspheres. This assumption is not tenable in systems of multilevel governance. Three features of multilevel governance diminish the scope for a homogenous social bloc to ensure a tight coupling of complementary regulations. First, the incentives for interest groups to unite at the transnational level vary across regulatory subspheres, because the transnational scope of legislation adds a 'constrain-thy-neighbour' dimension to actors' decision-making that may either strengthen or weaken interest group cohesion. Second, the strategic opportunities for playing multilevel games vary across subspheres. Third, the institutional set-up at the supranational level of Europe's multilevel polity reduces the capacity of state actors to impose coherence from above. To illustrate these claims, the article draws on case studies of EU legislative initiatives concerning takeovers and worker participation.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Jacobs Jan P. A. M., Ligthart Jenny E., Vrijburg Hendrik

Consumption tax competition among governments: Evidence from the United States

in **International Tax and Public Finance**, Volume 17, Number 3 , 271-294

The paper contributes to a small but growing literature that estimates tax reaction functions of governments competing with other governments. We analyze consumption tax competition between US states, employing a panel of state-level data for 1977–2003. More specifically, we study the impact of a state's spatial characteristics (i.e., its size, geographic position, and border length) on the strategic interaction with its neighbors. For this purpose, we calculate for each state an average effective consumption tax rate, which covers both sales and excise taxes. In addition, we pay attention to dynamics by including lagged dependent variables in the tax reaction function. We find overwhelming evidence for strategic interaction among state governments, but only partial support for the effect of spatial characteristics on tax setting. Tax competition seems to have lessened in the 1990s compared to the early 1980s.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Dincer Oguzhan C., Ellis Christopher J., Waddell Glen R.

Corruption, decentralization and yardstick competition

in **Economics of Governance**, Volume 11, Number 3 , 269-294

Several empirical studies have found a negative relationship between corruption and the decentralization of the powers to tax and spend. In this paper we explain this phenomenon using a model of Yardstick Competition. Using data on federal corruption-related convictions in U.S. states, we also provide new evidence that points to the existence of a spatial autoregressive component to explaining corruption. We interpret this as consistent with the theoretical findings.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Pandiello Javier Suárez

De tribulaciones y mudanzas. Sobre la reforma de las Haciendas Locales.

in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, n. 88



This article focuses on several key issues about the reform of Local Financing System. So, a general framework is offered regarding the current state of Spanish Local Finance and the expected future, once the process of translation of economically relevant competences to Autonomous Communities is «closed». Furthermore, big guidelines on the road to the reform are pointed out, from the conclusions of a report elaborated for Spanish Federation of Municipalities and Provinces. Finally, some «loose ends» and circumstantial issues are discussed, linked the depth economic crisis we are living, which could add more risk to the viability of the reform

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Egger Peter, Koethenbuerger Marko, Smart Michael

Do fiscal transfers alleviate business tax competition? Evidence from Germany

in **Journal of Public Economics**, Volume 94, Issues 3-4 , 235-246

According to theory, capacity equalization grants cause local governments to internalize the effects of their tax policies on revenues of neighboring jurisdictions and so raise equilibrium tax rates. This paper empirically analyzes the incentive effects of equalizing transfers on business tax policy by exploiting a natural experiment in the state of Lower Saxony which changed its equalization formula as of 1999. We resort to within-state and across-state difference-in-difference estimates to identify the reform effect on municipalities' business tax rates. Confirming the theoretical prediction, the reform had a significant impact on the municipalities' tax policy in the 4 years after the reform with the effect stabilizing in the fourth to fifth years. The finding is robust to various alternative specifications.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Redoano Michela

Does Centralization Affect the Number and Size of Lobbies?

in **Journal of Public Economic Theory**, Volume 12 Issue 3 , 407 - 435

Previous research has shown that the effect of fiscal centralization is to reduce lobbying. However empirical evidence suggests that this is not always the case. This paper attempts to explain the empirical evidence in a two-jurisdiction political economy model of endogenous lobby formation and policy determination. We measure lobbying in two ways: (i) the number of lobbies formed under the two settings and (ii) their impact on policy decisions. We show that, contrary to the predictions of the preference dilution effect, the effect of centralization on lobbying are ambiguous with respect to both measures of lobbies.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Brancasi Antonio

El modelo italiano de federalismo fiscal

in **Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional**, n. 88

In 2001 an important reform was enacted in Italy to amend part of the constitution regarding the autonomous nature of the regions and the local corporations. The new provisions on their treasuries led to statements (perhaps politically



motivated to play to the media) that the Constitution had introduced a system of fiscal federalism. But the interpretation of the new provisions followed two underlying ideas: federalism for solidarity and federalism for separation. Although eight years have gone by since the constitutional reform, the current system of regional and local funding remains the same and only recently has a law been passed that empowers the government with legislative authority to activate fiscal federalism. The guidelines that the parliament established for exercise of this authority show a compromise between the two concepts of fiscal federalism yet leave various problems unsolved.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Messner Verena

El sistema de financiación del Estado Federal de Austria

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 88

After presenting the historical development of the Austrian financial system, the author analyses the general principles in Austria's financial constitution. She then focuses on the general guidelines behind financial compensation, stemming from the implementation of the financial constitution. Finally, she gives a brief classification of the elements in the Austrian financial system based on the model systems of financial compensation in decentralised States, and a view on what options are open to reform the financial constitution in Austria.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Aoyama Naoto, Silva Emilson C. D.

Equitable and Efficient Federal Structures with Decentralized Leadership, Spillovers, and Attachment of Heterogeneous Labor

in *Journal of Public Economic Theory*, Volume 12 Issue 2 , 323-343

Relying on differentiability assumptions and on conditions that guarantee interior solutions, we show that a federation featuring decentralized leadership, interregional spillovers, and labor attachment allocates resources efficiently under two sets of circumstances. The first is when the center is Rawlsian. The second is when individual utilities are quasi-linear, regional welfare functions are Benthamite, and the center's objective function is a Bergson–Samuelson transformation of regional welfare levels, which also satisfies conditions needed for the center to view regional welfare levels as normal goods. In both sets of circumstances, efficient behavior follows from incentive equivalence promoted by the center's egalitarian transfers.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sokolow Alvin D.

Federal Policy for Preserving Farmland: The Farm and Ranch Lands Protection Program

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 2, Spring , 235-256

Since 1996, the Farm and Ranch Lands Protection Program, administered by the Natural Resources Conservation Service of USDA, has been the federal government's chief policy for preventing the urban development of agricultural



lands. The program helps state and local governments and nonprofit conservation organizations to fund the purchase of easements on privately owned farms and ranches, permanently preventing development. How the FRPP has dealt with a complex intergovernmental delivery network is the theme of this article. Examining the program's participation requirements and funding patterns, we find that the FRPP operates differently from other federal assistance programs. In its short history, it has pursued an intergovernmental strategy of accommodating state and local interests while vigorously retaining core agency values and centralized control

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kotsogiannis Christos

Federal tax competition and the efficiency consequences for local taxation of revenue equalization in *International Tax and Public Finance*, Volume 17, Number 1 , 1-14

Recent work has shown that a system of equalization grants can neutralize the efficiency loss caused by tax competition among lower-level governments. These models, however, ignore the vertical tax externalities that occur when the federal and lower-level governments levy taxes on the same base. This paper incorporates equalization grants into a standard capital tax competition model in which there are horizontal tax externalities between jurisdictions and vertical tax externalities between the levels of government. It is shown that, even in the presence of vertical tax externalities, an efficient level of lower-level government taxation can be achieved with a modifying version of a standard equalization grant formula.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Shafiqul Ahmed, Watton Nathan

Federalism and the Implementation of Environmental Policy: Changing Trends in Canada and the United States in *Public Organization Review*, Volume 10, Number 1 , 71-88

In a federal system of government, powers are shared by the national and sub-national units in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. However, the process of policy implementation may differ on the basis of allocation of power and the nature of the system. Canada and the United States of America adopted federal systems of government, and faced similar pressures for implementing policies on environmental issues. Yet, the degree of success and outcome appear to be different due to variations in the strength of the respective federalist systems. An analysis of the various aspects of the federal system in the two countries reveals noticeable differences in institutional configurations, relationship between national and sub-national units, and variances in intra-institutional relations. All these have contributed to a divergence in the past, but there is an emerging trend of convergence as both the Canadian and American governments are gradually moving away from their existing patterns of policy implementation toward a new approach involving private-sector initiatives and self-enforcement with strong inclinations toward voluntarization, corporatization and marketization.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Tucciarelli Claudio



Federalismo fiscale, ma non solo: la legge n.42 del 2009

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 10

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Rivosecchi Guido

Finanza delle autonomie speciali e federalismo fiscale

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Neyapti Bilin

Fiscal decentralization and deficits: International evidence

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 26, Issue 2, June 2010 , 155-166

This paper investigates macroeconomic effects of fiscal decentralization, which has been a neglected area of research. Panel evidence for 16 countries over 1980–1998 indicates that expenditure and revenue decentralization reduce budget deficits. A principal finding is that the fiscal disciplining effect of fiscal decentralization increases with population size. Interestingly, absence of local elections is associated with greater effectiveness of fiscal decentralization. The benefits of expenditure decentralization decrease with ethnolinguistic fractionalization and 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

Hall Jeremy L.

Giving and Taking Away: Exploring Federal Grants' Differential Burden on Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Regions

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 2, Spring , 257-274

This article examines federal economic development policy implemented through fiscal federalism. A new measure is developed to assess the burden created by local financial match requirements on federal grant awards over time. This measure is applied to counties in three states (Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina) to determine if burden varies by metropolitan or nonmetropolitan status. By mapping the data and through regression analysis, it was found that match burden is disproportionately higher in nonmetropolitan areas than in metropolitan areas. In spite of the observed geographic differences, burden levels are best explained by wealth, land area, and the level of fiscal distress, not by metropolitan status alone.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Miguel Azpitarte Sánchez

Gobernar la crisis. Crónica política y legislativa del año 2009

in *Revista Espanola de Derecho Constitucional*, n. 88

This paper analyzes the main novelties in constitutional law due to the political and constitutional reality. First, this paper works on the different ways to govern the economic crisis. Therefore I unravel actions ready to concentrate markets, sustain the markets, feed the market through the local administration or regulate the freedom of services. Second, I study the new system of the federal financing, which have elements of continuity and some new resources that are distribute through two funds. Finally, I analyze the new law of foreigner status

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Tobos Fernando, Scorsone Eric

How Much Power to Tax do Regional Governments Enjoy in Spain Since the 1996 and 2001 Reforms?

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 2 , 157 - 174

From 1979 to 1983, a new intermediate level of government was created in Spain. This article focuses on the financial aspects of political decentralization in Spain. How much power to tax do the new regional parliaments and executives enjoy? What other sources of income do they dispose of? Which rules have been settled for regulating their tax and non-tax sources of income? Has fiscal decentralization affected fiscal discipline? Are these governments now financially autonomous? These are the questions addressed. The article shows that, with the exception of the Basque Country and Navarre, regional governments were financed mainly through intergovernmental grants during the 1980s and 1990s. However, as a result of several recent reforms, their power to tax as well as their financial autonomy has increased substantially since the mid-1990s, mainly through their participation by law in the revenues of several central taxes (known as ceded taxes) upon which they also enjoy significant regulatory rights. As the ceded taxes mechanism is not a simple revenue-sharing formula in Spain, the article concludes that the Spanish model departs from both the more uniform and top-down German model and the more heterogeneous and competitive one characterizing the taxing rights of the States in US federalism.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina

Il federalismo fiscale dinamico in Spagna

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 9



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Brosio Giorgio

Il federalismo fiscale sarà mai attuato? La legge delega

in *Nuvole*, anno XX, n. 43, aprile

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

Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina

Il federalismo fiscale: dalla nozione economica a quella giuridica

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1417 ff.

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

Bassanini Franco

Il federalismo fiscale: riforma necessaria e difficile

in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud" , 78-95

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

Jorio Ettore

Il federalismo fiscale: una risorsa anche per il Mezzogiorno (a condizione che...)

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 10

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sacchi Agnese

Il finanziamento della sanità in Italia: finanza autonoma o derivata?

in *Economia Pubblica*, Fascicolo 1-2

Recent reforms of the National Health Service (NHS) financing system in Italy (D.Lgs. 446/97 and D.Lgs. 56/2000) have potentially given more responsibility for health care to Regions, increasing their power over this function. Starting from



this normative process, the aim of the paper is to analyse the Italian health spending in the Ordinary Statute Regions (OSR), by proposing a model to verify empirically whether the financing mechanisms are actually defined at local level or if Regions act as agents of the central government. The empirical results do not support the evolution of fiscal federalism in the health sector, highlighting in fact that health financing decisions are mostly centralized in Italy, even if the institutional context has recently moved towards decentralization of health financing sources, extending the autonomy of sub-national governments.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Rizzo Leonzio

Interaction between federal taxation and horizontal tax competition: theory and evidence from Canada in Public Choice, Volume 144, Numbers 1-2 , 369-387

The aim of this paper is to determine to what extent and how federal taxes affect local tax decisions. Testing the impact of an increase in the federal tax on horizontal tax competition with Canada-US data for 1984–1994, it finds evidence that an increase in federal tax makes horizontal tax reactions weaker. This is because an increase in federal tax raises the cost, in terms of utility of income, of a unit increase in the province's tax rate. On the methodological side, it is possible to estimate the impact of the federal tax on the fiscal policy of the province without neglecting control for year effects, which cannot be used in the empirical literature because they are perfectly collinear with the federal tax.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Jarocińska Elena

Intergovernmental grants in Russia. Vote-buying or bargaining power of regions? in Economics of Transition, Volume 18 Issue 2, April 2010

Two hypotheses about the determinants of Russian intergovernmental grants are tested. According to the first hypothesis, federal transfers to regions correlate with recent voting behaviour of regional electorates. The second hypothesis states that transfers are higher in regions with politically powerful governors. I find a strong confirmation for the first hypothesis and no evidence for the second hypothesis for the years 1995–99. This result is robust across specifications. However, in the years 2000–2004 electoral variables show no effect on transfers. The only significant political variable is Putin's visits to regions.

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Gianniti Luigi , Lupo Nicola

La Commissione bicamerale per il federalismo fiscale: alla ricerca di un ruolo per le Camere nei complessi procedimenti delineati dalla legge n. 42/2009 787

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 3, settembre , 787-800



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Soriero Giuseppe

La legge 5 maggio 2009, n. 42 recante delega al Governo in materia di federalismo fiscale, in attuazione dell'art. 119 della Costituzione: analisi dei contenuti e considerazioni critiche

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 3, settembre , 777-786

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Buglione Enrico

La nuova autonomia finanziaria delle regioni e degli enti locali

in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 10

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Revelli Federico

La specie del federalismo fiscale

in *Nuvole*, anno XX, n. 43, aprile

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

Ruta Michele

Lobbying and (de)centralization

in *Public Choice*, Volume 144, Numbers 1-2 , 275-291

This paper presents a positive theory of (de)centralization of policy decisions in an international union -defined as a supranational jurisdiction that may exercise a policy prerogative on behalf of member countries. I build a benchmark model where national lobbies can coordinate (i.e. form a trans-national lobby) at no cost and show that lobbying does not affect the fiscal regime. On the other hand, when interest groups cannot coordinate, decentralization emerges as a political equilibrium with lobbying. Policy centralization hurts national lobbies by increasing competition for influence. At a constitutional stage, interest groups induce politically motivated governments to reject centralization. Three extensions show that this result depends on the level of cross-border externalities; the voting rule at the constitutional stage; and the details of the institutional decision mechanism under centralization.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Petithomme Mathieu

L'État espagnol et le financement autonome. Le dilemme de la conciliation entre autonomie régionale et solidarité nationale dans un contexte de fédéralisation asymétrique (1980-2009)

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Full text available at

<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=831>

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kébabdjian Gérard

L'économie politique à l'épreuve de l'intégration européenne

in *Etudes Internationales*, 1, Mars 2010

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

Jordahl Henrik, Liang Che-Yuan

Merged municipalities, higher debt: on free-riding and the common pool problem in politics

in *Public Choice*, Volume 143, Numbers 1-2, 157-172

This paper uses the Swedish municipal amalgamation reform of 1952 to study the common pool problem in politics. The amalgams were common pools and the municipalities had incentives to free-ride on their amalgam partners by increasing debt prior to amalgamation. We find that municipalities that merged in 1952 increased their debt between 1948 and 1952 when the reform could be anticipated. The increase amounted to 52% of new debt issued or 1.5% of total revenues in the merged municipalities. But contrary to the "law of 1/n", free-riding did not increase in common pool size.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Sanchez Marcelo

Monetary Union of Small Open Economies: The Role of Transparency Misperceptions

in *Economia internazionale*, Volume LXII, No. 4 - November, 2009

The cross-country examination of monetary policy transparency scores, economic size and supply slopes produces no clear patterns for the empirical relations in question. This evidence prompts us to formulate a general setup for the study of currency union stabilization when there is monetary policy uncertainty and structural parameters may vary. For small



open economies, small size is detrimental to the relative effectiveness of the single monetary policy.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Aronsson Thomas

Optimal income taxation and decentralized fiscal federalism

in *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, Volume 40, Issue 4 , 187-195

This paper concerns redistribution and public good provision under asymmetric information, which are here ingredients of a policy-problem facing each member state (nation) of an economic federation with decentralized leadership. Each member state is assumed to have its own redistributive policy and pattern of public consumption, whereas the federal level redistributes (ex-post) between the member states. The results show how and why federal ex-post redistribution may modify the use of income taxation and public good provision at the national level, relative to the policy outcome in the absence of a federal government, as well as how the national policy incentives depend on whether or not the federal government uses distortionary taxes.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Breuilé Marie-Laure, Vigneault Marianne

Overlapping soft budget constraints

in *Journal of Urban Economics*, Volume 67, Issue 3 , 259-269

Our paper identifies a potential problem with decentralization at a time when its virtues are widely extolled. We show that responsibility for equalization at multi-levels within a decentralized federation creates an overlapping equalization policy that can worsen fiscal discipline. Contrary to Qian and Roland (1998), we also show in our set-up that fiscal competition among regional rescuers does not act as a commitment device to harden the local budget constraint.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Immordino Dario

Ragioni e prospettive della specialità finanziaria nel nuovo assetto del sistema di finanza pubblica

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 6 , 1309-1348

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

CooperRussell, Kempf Hubert, Peled Dan

Regional debt in monetary unions: Is it inflationary?

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 54, Issue 3, April 2010



This paper studies the inflationary implications of interest bearing regional debt in a monetary union. Is this debt simply backed by future taxation with no inflationary consequences? Or will the circulation of region debt induce monetization by a central bank?

We argue here that both outcomes can arise in equilibrium. In the model economy, there are multiple equilibria which reflect the perceptions of agents regarding the manner in which the debt obligations will be met. In one equilibrium, termed Ricardian, the future obligations are met with taxation by a regional government while in the other, termed Monetization, the central bank is induced to print money to finance the region's obligations. The multiplicity of equilibria reflects a commitment problem of the central bank. A key indicator of the selected equilibrium is the distribution of regional debt holdings. We show that regional governments, anticipating central bank financing of their debt obligations, have an incentive to create excessively large deficits. We use the model to assess the impact of some policy measures within a monetary union as well as dollarization.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Gallo Fredrik

Resisting economic integration when industry location is uncertain

in **European Economic Review**, Volume 54, Issue 3, April 2010

This paper analyses the political determination of transportation costs in a new economic geography model. In a benchmark case with certainty about where agglomeration takes place, a majority of voters favour economic integration and the resulting equilibrium is an industrialised core and a de-industrialised periphery. Allowing for uncertainty, a high level of trade costs may win the election and maintain the initial distribution of industry. The reason is that a coalition of risk-averse immobile factors of production votes for the status quo due to uncertainty about which region will attract industry if economic integration is pursued. Finally, the standard view that agglomeration is unambiguously beneficial to residents in the industrial centre is challenged by introducing costs of undertaking economic integration.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Munley Vincent G., Harris Mary H.

State aid programs for equalizing spending across local school districts: does the structure of the program matter, or only it's size?

in **Public Choice**, Volume 143, Numbers 1-2 , 23-47

This paper provides interesting insights into an important causal mechanism underlying Murray, Evans and Schwab's (Am. Econ. Rev. 88(4):789–812, 1998) finding that court mandated reforms result in less inequality in spending per pupil levels across rich and poor school districts within a state. Treating the choice of an education program's structure as endogenous, following the analysis of Leyden (Public Finance/Finances Publiques 47:229–247, 1992; Public Choice 115(1–2):83–107, 2003), yields empirical results suggesting that court mandated reforms increase the likelihood that a program's structure will include a price effect and that the inclusion of a price effect in turn results in a decrease in spending inequality.



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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Kelders Christian, Koethenbuerger Marko

Tax incentives in fiscal federalism: an integrated perspective

in **Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue Canadienne d'Economique**, Volume 43 Issue 2 , 683 - 703

Models of fiscal federalism rarely account for the efficiency implications of intergovernmental fiscal ties for federal tax policy. This paper shows that fiscal institutions such that federal tax deductibility, vertical revenue-sharing, and fiscal equalization (being common features of existing federations) encourage local taxation, but may discourage federal taxation. Furthermore, the structure of public spending is skewed towards local spending. We also show that, when considering Leviathan governments, fiscal institutions reduce confiscatory taxation by the federal government. The result is contrary to the Cartelization Hypothesis (Brennan and Buchanan 1980). Finally, we characterize the efficient design of intergovernmental fiscal ties.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Gosselin Katherine

The Canadian Federation and Fiscal Imbalance

in **Federalism-E**, volume 10, April , 76-89

Canada, like all other federations, must function despite the complex nature of fiscal relations between the country's multiple levels of government. The Conservative government, under Prime Minister Stephen Harper, has acknowledged that a fiscal imbalance exists in the Canadian federation. Through a number of recent measures, the government has strived to reconcile the country by trying to achieve a state of fiscal equilibrium. This paper will explain how Canada came to be in a state of imbalance, what that means, and how it relates to Alain Noël's three conditions for fiscal balance. In particular, this paper will focus on the perceived imbalances or disadvantageous financial situations in large Canadian cities like Toronto and in the provinces of Ontario and Saskatchewan.

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

Subsection 7.Economic and fiscal federalism

Scuto Filippo

The Italian Parliament paves the way to fiscal federalism

in **Perspectives on federalism**, Vol. 2, issue 1 , E- 67-88

This article examines law no. 42 of 2009 which, in accordance with art. 119 of the Constitution, opens the way to the introduction of "fiscal federalism" in Italy. The new law falls within the sphere of the Reform of Title V of the Constitution of 2001. Following a brief reconstruction of the genesis of the text, the author emphasises the choice of law of delegation to the Government for the implementation of fiscal federalism and examines the consequences. The Article analyses the most important principles and directive criteria contained in the law, tackles certain problematical aspects and highlights some unresolved issues within the text

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/essays/57-the-italian-parliament-paves-the-way-to-fiscal-federalism>



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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Gordin Jorge P.

The Politics of Fiscal Decentralization Revisited: a Typology and Comparative Evidence

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Although the practice of fiscal decentralization is worldwide and its implementation and effects vary from country to country, its political significance has been often neglected, or worse, treated as implicit to decentralization. This study considers the sources of politicization of fiscal decentralization, focusing on the determination and manipulation of intergovernmental transfers. It develops a new index of fiscal politicization and proposes an explanatory typology that takes into account subnational transfer dependency and the extent to which transfers are politically determined. This analysis renders a conceptual tool that captures nuanced facts about the intergovernmental level of conflict to a larger extent than conventional measures of fiscal decentralization do. We found that the effects of fiscal dependency are intertwined with political asymmetries derived from legislative overrepresentation of territorial units and intergovernmental bargaining strategies.

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=839>

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

Subsection 7. Economic and fiscal federalism

Geys Benny, Heinemann Friedrich, Kalb Alexander

Voter involvement, fiscal autonomy and public sector efficiency: Evidence from German municipalities

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 26, Issue 2, June 2010 , 265-278

Social and/or political involvement within the population is often argued to enhance public sector performance. The underlying idea is that engagement fosters political awareness and interest and increases the public's monitoring ability. Still, weak fiscal autonomy can undermine voters' interest in and demand for an efficient production of public services. In our contribution, we test whether and how voter involvement in the political sphere is related to government performance – in terms of its efficiency – using a broad panel of German municipalities. Our results suggest that voter involvement indeed has a positive impact on cost efficiency. Crucially, however, this efficiency-enhancing effect of voter involvement is significantly positively affected by local governments' fiscal autonomy.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Eslava Marcela

Central bankers in government appointed committees

in *Journal of Public Economics*, Volume 94, Issues 5-6 , 363-379

I study the policy choices of members of a central bank committee, who are appointed by the government. Central bankers balance their desire to protect the Central Bank's reputation against their interest to be reappointed. Committees can be more successful than single central bankers at reducing inflation and insulating policy from



government pressures. These gains are only achieved if the turnover rate of committee members is low and the committee is small. The former is associated with a low risk of being replaced for not supporting the government's preferred policy. The latter, meanwhile, implies high probability that a single vote affects policy, making any individual member more weary of potentially affecting the Central Bank's reputation through his vote.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Baghestani Hamid, AbuAl-Foul Bassam

Factors influencing Federal Reserve forecasts of inflation

in **Journal of Economic Studies**, Volume 37, Number 2 , 196-207

This study aims to both test the asymmetric information hypothesis and explore the factors influencing the one- through four-quarter-ahead Federal Reserve inflation forecasts for 1983-2002. - Encompassing tests are used to examine the asymmetric information hypothesis. In modeling the Federal Reserve inflation forecasts, the authors are mindful of alternative theories of inflation which emphasize such determinants as cost-push, demand-pull and inertial factors. - First, the Federal Reserve inflation forecasts embody useful predictive information beyond that contained in the private forecasts. Second, with the private forecasts controlled for, the near-term Federal Reserve inflation forecasts make use of qualitative information, and the longer-term forecasts are influenced by the forecasts of growth in both unit labor costs and aggregate demand as well as the preceding-quarter inflation forecasts and monetary policy shifts. - The Federal Reserve forecasts are released to the public with a five-year lag and are currently available up to the fourth quarter of 2002. This limits the use of the most up-to-date forecasts desirable for this study. - The factors influencing the Federal Reserve inflation forecasts are basically those emphasized publicly by monetary authorities. This finding points to the Fed's transparency and should thus help enhance its credibility with the public. Also, our results (which shed light on the predictive information in the Federal Reserve inflation forecasts not included in the private forecasts) are of value, since they can help the Fed better predict how inflation will respond to policy actions, and they can help the public form more informative inflationary expectations.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Meade Ellen E.

Federal Reserve Transcript Publication And Regional Representation

in **Contemporary Economic Policy**, Volume 28 Issue 2 , 162 - 170

This article looks at disagreement within the Federal Reserve's monetary policy committee, the Federal Open Market Committee or FOMC, following a change in transparency practices taken in 1993 to publish verbatim transcripts of FOMC meetings. Other literature has examined the effects of opening the FOMC's deliberations to public view and provided empirical evidence that the publication of transcripts made policymakers less willing to voice disagreement with the chairman's policy proposal. This article adds to that work by examining whether regional variables are important to the analysis and whether the transcription effects are robust to the inclusion of regional variables. The results indicate that transcription effects are indeed robust, regardless of the regional indicator used, and that larger Federal Reserve districts may be more likely to voice agreement with a given policy proposal.



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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Chang, Kuan-Chun

From Zero to Something: The Necessity of Establishing a Regulatory System of Financial Conglomerates in China

in *Asia-Pacific Law and Policy Journal* , Volume 11, Issue 1 , 1-100

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)

Blinder Alan S.

How Central Should the Central Bank Be?

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 48, No. 1 , 123–133

The nature and scope of the Federal Reserve's authority and the structure of its decision making are now "on the table" to an extent that has not been seen since 1935, and the Fed's vaunted independence is under some attack. This essay asks what the Federal Reserve should -- and shouldn't -- do, leaning heavily on the concept of economies of scope. In particular, I conclude that the central bank should monitor and regulate systemic risk because preserving financial stability is (a) closely aligned with the standard objectives of monetary policy and (b) likely to require lender of last resort powers. I also conclude that the Fed should supervise large financial institutions because that function is so closely to regulating systemic risk. However, several other functions now performed by the Fed could easily be done elsewhere

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Banchs Angel Garcia, Mollejas Luis Mata

International monetary asymmetries and the central bank

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 32 No. 03

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)

Filipozzi Fabio

Market-Based Measures of Monetary Policy Expectations and Their Evolution Since the Introduction of the Euro

in *Economic Notes*, Volume 38 Issue 3 , 137 - 167

The paper considers the relation between monetary policy expectations and financial markets in the case of Europe. A number of money market instruments are compared, with the result that the 1-month forward interest rates extracted from the Libor yield curve has the best prediction power of the future monetary policy path. These forward rates have been used to study the evolution of market expectations regarding the monetary policy of the European Central Bank (ECB). The sharp increases and the following decreases in interest rates during 2000–2001 have reduced the predictive



power of money market instruments, but smoother management of interest rates and better communication from the ECB has helped to improve the forecasting power of money market instruments.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Beckworth David

One nation under the FED? The asymmetric effects of US monetary policy and its implications for the United States as an optimal currency area

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 32, Issue 3 , 732-746

Is the United States best served by a single currency? This question is explored in this paper by looking at the regional effects of US monetary policy shocks through the perspective of the optimal currency area framework. Using monthly state-level data for the period 1983:1–2008:3, this paper finds that some regions of the United States during this time may have benefited from having their own currency.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Loddo Salvatorangelo

Present and Future in Central Banking

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 13, n. 2-3

Le domaine des Banques Centrales est caractérisé par un bon niveau de coopération dans la zone euro. L'ECB a réalisé en effet une étroite coordination entre les Banques Centrales Nationales; par conséquent, l'euro représente une devise très fiable. Cependant, des questions ouvertes dans les comportements des Banques Centrales demeurent, dans l'Europe comme dans d'autres pays. En particulier, le financement des banques et l'activité de monitoring des performances des systèmes bancaires doivent être analysés, avant tout dans la zone euro. L'article commence par analyser la politique microéconomique à l'extérieur de cette dernière : le Federal Reserve System, la Banque du Japon, la Banque de l'Angleterre, faisant ressortir des différences intéressantes dans la politique de monitoring comme dans la politique de re-financement. Dans la zone euro, l'article analyse 1) l'apparente absence du last resort window; 2) la pénurie d'instruments pour le crédit ordinaire; 3) l'absence d'une claire distinction entre une politique de supervision, i.e. de compétence d'une autorité de supervision, coïncidant (Italie) ou non (Royaume Uni; Japon) avec la Banque Centrale nationale, et une politique de monitoring, institutionnellement de compétence de cette dernière. Une approche moderne (efficace) à la Banque Centrale est esquissée dans les conclusions.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Taino Danilo

Slow Recovery in Europe

in *Equilibri*, anno XIII, n. 2, agosto , 241-244

Financial analysts and experts alike are looking for signs announcing that the crisis is over. Something is changing, but not in Europe, which most observers believe will be the last to leave the crisis behind, with slow growth rates for a long



time to come. One of the reasons is that unresolved contradictions surface during a crisis, such as the rigid economies of the leading European countries, and the euro, a technically successful currency. The European Central Bank has an irksome task managing the monetary policy of so many different economies (with different growth rates) and a single interest rate for both slow and fast economies.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Mojon Benoit

The 2007–2009 Financial Crisis and the European Central Bank

in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 21, Number 1 , 175-182

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)

Belke Ansgar, Cui Yuhua

US–Euro Area Monetary Policy Interdependence: New Evidence from Taylor Rule-based VECMs

in *World Economy*, Volume 33 Issue 5 , 778-797

This paper analyses the monetary policy interdependence between the European Central Bank (ECB) and the Federal Reserve (Fed) for the period 1999–2006. Two models are specified: a partial vector error correction model (VECM) and a general VECM. In the partial VECM, we look for a long-run interdependent relationship between the interest rates of the two currency areas and specify the Taylor Rule terms as exogenous variables. In the general VECM, we regard all variables as endogenous, and look for long-run equilibrium relationships among them, which may reveal monetary policy interdependence between the two central banks. Weak exogeneity is checked in both models in order to establish a possible leader–follower relationship. The empirical results of both models indicate interdependence between the ECB and the Fed, but only the general VECM testifies a leader–follower pattern between the two central banks. According to this pattern, the ECB does follow the Fed.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Feldstein Martin

What Powers for the Federal Reserve?

in *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 48, No. 1 , 134–145

In this essay, I explain my reasons for the following policy recommendations: (1) The Fed should continue to manage monetary policy as it has in the past, should act as the nation's lender of last resort, should fully supervise the large bank holding companies and their subsidiary banks, and should be given resolution authority over the institutions that it supervises. (2) While a council of supervisors and regulators can play a useful role in dealing with macro prudential risks, it should not replace the central role of the Federal Reserve. (3) The virtually unlimited lending powers that the Fed has recently exercised in creating credit and helping individual institutions should be restricted in duration and subjected to formal Treasury approval backed by Congressional preauthorization of funds. (4) The Fed's capital rules for



commercial banks need to be strengthened by replacing the existing risk-based capital approach with a broader definition of risk and the introduction of contingent capital. (5) Subjecting mortgage lending to a broader range of Federal Reserve regulations and allowing the Fed to deal with nonbank creators of mortgage products would be better than the creation of a new consumer financial protection organization.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Dreher Axel, Sturm Jan-Egbert, de Haan Jakob

When is a central bank governor replaced? Evidence based on a new data set

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 32, Issue 3 , 766-781

Using new data on the term in office of central bank governors for a large set of countries for 1970–2005, we estimate a model for the probability that a central bank governor is replaced before the end of his legal term in office. We formulate hypotheses based on the literature on the determinants of central bank independence that are tested using conditional logit models and the robustness approach of Sala-i-Martin (1997). We conclude that, apart from the share of the legal term in office that has elapsed, political and regime instability, the occurrence of elections, and the ratio of private credit to GDP increase the probability of a turnover.

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

Subsection 8. The Central Bank(s)

Judson Ruth A., Klee Elizabeth

Whither the liquidity effect: The impact of Federal Reserve open market operations in recent years

in *Journal of Macroeconomics*, Volume 32, Issue 3 , 713-731

Previous research indicated that the daily liquidity effect, or the change in the federal funds rate associated with an exogenous change in Fed balances, varies with several factors including the day of the maintenance period. In this paper, we examine data from 1998 to 2007, the recent period of increased Federal Reserve transparency before the financial crisis, and find that the liquidity effect stabilized across days of the maintenance period. We conclude that the liquidity effect may be a function of the uncertainty about banks' end-of-day balances, as well as pure maintenance period effects. Moreover, we find that increased transparency led to a larger liquidity effect on the days prior to an FOMC meeting.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Chandler Jim

A Rationale for Local Government

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 1 , 5-20

This article develops an ethical justification for local government based on classical liberal theory and analyses its implications for the structure and functions of a system of local governance within a liberal democracy. It will argue that local government ought to determine and implement those policies that do not infringe the interests of those outside its area and represent its views to other agencies where its policies affect others. The principle would require, as a



consequence, radical restructuring to secure a multi-tiered system based on spatial communities of interest as is established in much of Europe and North America. The role of the central government in the context on inter-governmental relations would be to act as the guarantor of both individual and collective freedom and equality of opportunity between local governments as well as determining those policies that affect all members within the national polity

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zhang Xiuming

Address at the Area Work Meeting on the Concentrated Overhaul in Key Districts of the Autonomous Region (October 18, 1998)

in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 02, March-April , 66-78

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Zhou Shengtao

Address at the Meeting to Discuss the Autonomous Region's Concentrated Overhaul (December 10, 1997)

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 3, Number 1, Spring , 61-69

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Boef Jean-Luc

All'ombra delle collettività locali francesi in fiore. Lettera dal futuro (2029)

in *Amministrare*, n. 3 , 395-404

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Oldreive Melissa

Autonomy versus Authority: Approaches to Canadian Municipal Reform

in *Federalism-E*, volume 11, April , 43-51

Since Confederation in 1867, Canada has become a highly urbanized nation. In fact, just over half a century later, Canada was classified as an urban nation (Tindal and Tindal, 2009, 65). Since the early part of the twentieth century, Canada has continued to become increasingly urbanized. This has had, and will continue to have, profound implications on how government is structured and how it



represents its citizens. This paper argues that governments must address the interests of urban populations and governments in cooperative forums as opposed to strictly formal institutional means. Beginning with the importance of municipalities in the Canadian context, this paper will outline why the municipal question, regarding what level of autonomy municipalities and local governments should be granted, cannot be ignored. This paper will then go on to explain the different historical approaches to municipal reform at the federal level as a reaction to the increasing urbanization of Canadian society. Giving weight to both municipal autonomy and municipal authority arguments, this paper will express the importance of addressing municipal concerns, and that the best way to go about doing so is through pragmatic cooperation.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Forquilha Salvador Cadete

Chefferie traditionnelle et décentralisation au Mozambique : discours, pratiques, dynamiques locales
in *Politique africaine*, n. 117 , 45 ff.

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Merloni Francesco

Controlli sugli enti territoriali e maladministration
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 847-854

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lorelli Quirino

Controlli sulle pubbliche amministrazioni e prevenzione della corruzione
in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 873-908

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Frosini Tommaso E.

Da una regione a un'altra. Il percorso costituzionale dei comuni.
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 2



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Evans Matt

Electoral Reform and Political Pluralism in Local Government

in Party Politics, Volume 16, Number 3, May , 394-413

Electoral reform to a system of direct election of mayors has recently been promoted in a number of countries. It has been advocated as a way of strengthening local government, improving governance, and increasing accountability. However, studies supporting such a change have been detached from research on electoral systems and electoral reform. This article examines the consequences of a shift to a two-ballot system through Israel's 30-year experience following reform of the system for local government elections. The move to direct election of mayors led to a major decline in the main national parties and a rise in smaller parties representing a variety of sectoral interests. This resulted in greater political pluralism and increased representation for a variety of groups, while at the same time widening the gap between national and local elected leaders. The results of this electoral reform raise important considerations for local government reforms that have been proposed in other countries.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Schakel Arjan H.

Explaining Regional and Local Government: An Empirical Test of the Decentralization Theorem

in Governance, Vol. 23, n. 2, April , 331-355

Decentralization of policy provision is omnipresent yet we are not able to sufficiently account for the extent of this phenomenon. The decentralization theorem explains the decentralization of policy provision as a trade-off between heterogenous preferences, interjurisdictional spillovers (externalities), and economies of scale. Empirical tests of the theorem have been hampered by a measurement problem on the independent as well as on the dependent variable. This article tackles these problems by using a new data set that combines a measure of externalities and scale effects of policies obtained from an expert survey with the actual provision of policies across governmental tiers in 40 countries. The analyses provide an empirical test of the decentralization theorem by showing that decentralization of policy provision is to a large extent determined by functional characteristics of policies and heterogenous preferences but other country-specific variables, such as democracy, economic development, and European subsidies, also matter.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

López-Laborda Julio, Vallés-Giménez Jaime

Factors explaining the regulatory activity of the Spanish Autonomous Communities (1989 – 2001)

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 469-491



The aim of this paper is to explain the regulatory activity of the Autonomous Communities (Spanish regional governments) between 1989 and 2001, employing the methodological framework provided by the economic theory of regulation. To this end, a 'model of regulatory demand' and a 'model of regulatory supply' are specified and estimated for the seventeen Autonomous Communities over this period. The results of these estimations show that for the fields of institutional and economic regulation the behaviour of the Autonomous Communities between 1989 and 2001 may be explained by a complementary set of supply and demand factors: financial, political, and institutional factors on the supply side, and the heterogeneity of preferences and the role of interest groups on the demand side. However, with respect to total regulation and social regulation, supply factors outweigh demand factors in the explanation of regional regulatory production.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Creek Heather M., Karnes Kimberly A.

Federalism and Election Law: Implementation Issues in Rural America

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 40, n. 2, Spring , 275-295

With the passage of the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) in 2002, federal guidelines established the need for more coordination between states and local election administrators. We examine the implementation of HAVA in rural election districts, where a lack of resources increases the district's cost of becoming compliant with the federal law. Using case studies of Maryland, Virginia, and New York, we analyze how centralization of state election authority can affect the inequality of implementation costs between rural and urban districts. We find that the centralization of election administration is important, but it alone cannot account for the experience of rural districts implementing HAVA. These findings have implications for policymaking in the area of election reform; particularly that federal data collection should measure the cost of HAVA implementation, rather than just compliance, in the localities so that states could use the data to develop funding formulas that would reduce strain on rural election districts.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bahl Roy, Sethi Geeta, Wallace Sally

Fiscal Decentralization to Rural Local Governments in India: A Case Study of West Bengal State

in Publius: The Journal of Federalism, vol. 40, n. 2, Spring , 312-331

Rural local governments in India provide essential services to over 70 percent of the national population. Yet, little is known about the efficacy of the financing system that supports these local governments, nor is there a fiscal information system that will allow a tracking of rural local government expenditures and revenues. In this article, we describe the role of rural local governments in India's; federal system, and use a database, newly gathered for West Bengal State, to present an analysis of rural local government financing patterns. We find that expenditures are significantly higher in less populated and more backward gram panchayats. At the margin, however, higher rates of literacy also are associated with higher levels of spending, suggesting an education effect.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Swianiewicz Pawel, Mielczarek Adam

Georgian Local Government Reform: State Leviathan Redraws Boundaries?

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 291-311

Territorial fragmentation has been viewed as a problem in several countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Georgia is one of very few cases which has introduced an amalgamation reform dealing with this issue. The paper analyses the process of preparation and implementation as well as the consequences of the reform. It shows alternative reform proposals and discussions around them, which led to the selection of the most radical option of territorial consolidation. The paper briefly discusses the role of international aid programmes and especially of the Council of Europe (and the European Charter of Local Government) in structuring the discourse of the reform. On the basis of a public opinion survey and interviews, it shows that in spite of radical character of the reform it did not attract much of public attention, which is related to the fact that local government is not seen as an important element of the Georgian political system. In spite of initial declarations of the goals of the reform, the actual change was limited to the redrawing of administrative boundaries by the omnipotent (Leviathan) state and was not accompanied by parallel functional or fiscal decentralisation. According to some interpretations, the reform led to an even more centralised power structure. The price of the negative consequences of the amalgamation (such as local government being more distant from the citizens) has been paid, but the potential positive results of more capable and powerful local governments have not been achieved. Unreformed financial system has not allowed to reduce regional inequalities in capacity to finance local services either. Central government is afraid that decentralization may strengthen separatist tendencies undermining unity of the country and that is why the government is hesitant to introduce more decentralization

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Address at the Autonomous Region's Seventh CPPCC Fifth Session (January 22, 1997) Wang Lequan

Get a Clear Understanding of the Situation, Strengthen Confidence, Work Together with One Heart to Safeguard Xinjiang's Stability (Abridged)

in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 02, March-April , 53-65

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Brock Gregory

Growth in Russia's federal districts, 1994-2003

in *Post communist economies*, Volume 22 Issue 1 2010 , 19 – 31

Russian macroeconomic growth in the transition era is analysed across federal districts using a neoclassical production function often found in studies of Soviet-era economic growth. An adjusted capital stock series for Russian regions is created and used in the aggregate production function for 1995-2003 to analyse growth across the 11 federal districts in Russia. Federal district output growth is found to be explained well by neoclassical growth theory, indicating that poorer regions may converge to richer regions, thereby strengthening the Russian Federation. Federal districts also have high capital/labour ratios, suggesting that expanded regional domestic and foreign investment across Russia in the future will enhance growth.



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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Della Cananea Giacinto

**I controlli sugli enti territoriali nell'ordinamento italiano: il ruolo della Corte dei conti
in Regioni (Le), n. 5 , 855-872**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Principato Pasquale

**I controlli sulle società partecipate dagli enti locali
in Regioni (Le), n. 5 , 925-956**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Swianiewicz Paweł;

**If territorial fragmentation is a problem, is amalgamation a solution? An East European perspective
in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 183 – 203**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Autonomous Region Party Committee and Autonomous Region People's Government

**Implementation Plan for the Work of Conducting Concentrated Overhauls of Social Law and Order and Severely
Cracking Down on Violent Terrorist Crimes in Key Districts (April 21, 1997)**

in Chinese Law and Government , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 50-60

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9.Local government(s)

Hlepas Nikolaos K.

**Incomplete Greek territorial consolidation: from the first (1998) to the second (2008-09) wave of reforms
in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 223-249**



The modern Greek state has been consolidated through the imposition of centralism and the abandonment of the former autonomist tradition which characterised the kind of fragmented society that was typical of the many countries that experienced Ottoman rule. Like other Southern European states, Greece experienced periods of civil war, authoritarian state practices, and dictatorship, before the establishment of a stabilised Third Republic in 1974. By the beginning of the 1980s, an overwhelming majority believed that public administration would become friendlier to citizens if many responsibilities were delegated to the municipalities. Socialist governments (1981-1989) undertook several decentralisation reforms, but were hesitant to promote obligatory amalgamations. The need for efficiency was the main argument for the Capodistrias Plan of amalgamations (1997) that were intended to restructure the first tier and create new, stronger municipalities. The majority of public opinion and political personnel seemed to approve the option of territorial reforms. By 2007, former opponents of the reform, namely the conservative leaders, initiated a debate on a second wave of amalgamations, thus implicitly acknowledging the success of territorial reform or at least the positive dynamics of a transformation that had to be completed. Dominant reasons which motivated amalgamations during the 1990s were Europeanisation combined with efficiency prerogatives. Territorial consolidation responded, furthermore, to emerging needs for complying with new articulations of entrepreneurial and sectoral interests. Nowadays, re-scaling is obviously combined to managerialist approaches that demand the creation of fewer and bigger structures that are expected to be more efficient and less costly

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

nantha Raman Govindasamy

Indians and Rural Displacement: Exclusion from Region Building in Malaysia
in Asian Journal of Political Science, Volume 18 Issue 1

Building regions often creates socio-economic imbalances that exclude low-income earners from the benefits of development. In Malaysia, an example of this is the territorial and cultural displacement of Indian plantation workers by rapid economic growth and urbanisation. Since 1980, nearly 300,000 Indians have been forced to move from the long-term relative security of their plantation estate communities, and have relocated into urban squatter settlements, when plantation land has been subdivided for housing and industrial estates. This article examines the loss of income, social role and cultural identity which accompanied the loss of physical place. Using a case study from Kamiri Estate in Perak, it also outlines the Indian community's attempts to politically engage and negotiate a level of regional belonging.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Banas Pawel A.

International ideal and local practice - access to environmental information and local government in Poland
in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 20, Issue 1, January-February , 44-56

Access to information plays an important part in modern governance and is vital for sustainability, as envisaged in Agenda 21, the Aarhus Convention and EU environmental law. Given a shortage of relevant studies dedicated to CEE countries, this paper presents empirical evidence regarding application of the international principle of access to information at the very bottom of administrative hierarchy in one of the largest CEE states. Taking into account the great variety of Polish municipalities with respect to their demographic, economic, environmental and urban characteristics, the paper examines practical access to very basic environmental information. The paper scrutinizes one particular type



of information while referring to different modes of accessibility. Survey and interview based data shows to what extent the principle is already adopted at the local level, to what extent e-government is utilized to secure the provision of information and whether an urban-rural cleavage occurs in this respect.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vigvári A.

Is the conflict container full? Problems of fiscal sustainability at the local government level in Hungary
in *Acta Oeconomica*, Volume 60, Number 1 , 49-77

The paper discusses the reasons and possible resolutions of the contradictions in the Hungarian local government system, and proposes methods to resolve them. The nature of the Hungarian system cannot be described by classical normative theories of fiscal federalism. The operation of Hungarian local governments is determined rather by the decentralisation of conflicts stemming from the reduction of state responsibilities, and the resulting municipal behaviour. The second generation theory of fiscal federalism pays particular attention to the institutional guarantees of fiscal discipline shown by the lower levels of government sector. Actors in the Hungarian system, a system that functions as a 'conflict container', try to offset the financial pressures, weighing heavily on them by borrowing and by contingent liabilities. While central government has transferred new duties to local governments from year to year, it has reduced the amount of fiscal subsidies. Until a long-term comprehensive reform is implemented, consequent risks must be treated in the short run, as well.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Dallara Antonio

Le dimensioni della sostenibilità delle province italiane e la pubblica amministrazione locale
in *Economia Pubblica*, Fascicolo 1-2

The aim of this paper is the analysis of economic-social-environmental factors of Italian provinces development. The focus is on Local Public Administration (LPA). We propose a model to describe the Territorial Socio-Economic Systems (TSES). We take the ESE model (Economy, Society, Environment) presented last year (Ciciotti, Dallara, Rizzi, 2008; Dallara, 2005a; Dallara, 2006, Dallara, 2008) and we enlarge it with the structure and the strategies of the LPA. The Local Public Administrations are the chief town of the province, all the other town of each province but the chief town, and the Public Administration of Province. The structural indicators of Local Public Administration are quantitative information about internal structural organization (number and skills of employees), about patrimonial and financial structure, about public expenses. The LPA strategies are described with the functional distribution of expenses, divided in expenses for economy (economic development, tourism, productive services), expenses for society (justice, local policy, education, culture, sport) and expenses for environment (urbanization, transport and mobility).

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Taillefait Antony

Les contrôles sur les autonomies territoriales en France: les développements récents



in **Regioni (Le)**, n. 5 , 957-978

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vergniolle de Chantal François

Les revendications locales et le système fédéral américain

in **Fédéralisme Régionalisme** , Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=782>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Bassoli Matteo

Local Governance Arrangements and Democratic Outcomes (with Some Evidence from the Italian Case)

in **Governance**, Vol. 23, n. 3, July , 485-508

This article carries a broad definition of public-private concertation as a flexible form of governance that is able to overcome the distinction between network governance and participatory governance. It creates a unified framework relying on a process-related democratic approach in order to properly assess these practices in their democratic outcomes. This allows the article to fully depict how local governance arrangements affect local democracy, both positively and negatively. Drawing on four exemplary cases of urban policies developed in the Province of Milan, it highlights two variables that give account of the democratic implication of these practices: the role of the political leadership and the inclusive strategy that they adopt. Moreover, it underlines four additional factors that help more democratic outcomes: presence of cognitive justification, quality of participation, active opposition, and an outward communication.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Valeria Guarneros-Meza, Mike Geddes

Local Governance and Participation under Neoliberalism: Comparative Perspectives

in **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, Volume 34 Issue 1 , 115 - 129

This symposium originated in March 2007 at an international workshop on Urban Governance, Public Service Delivery and Participation organized by the Local Governance Research Unit, De Montfort University and the Local Government Centre, Warwick University. We are grateful to participants in the workshop for their contributions, which have helped to inform these articles; and also to the PSA Urban Studies group and the Society for Latin American Studies for support. The articles in the symposium have also benefited from the comments of two sets of anonymous IJURR referees.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Groulier Cédric

L'exercice fédéré des compétences locales. À propos de la fonction de «chef de file» en droit des collectivités territoriales français

in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Full text available at

<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=809>

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Tang Zhenghong, Brody Samuel D., Quinn Courtney, Chang Liang, Wei Ting

Moving from agenda to action: evaluating local climate change action plans

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 53, Issue 1, January , 41-62

Climate change is conventionally recognised as a large-scale issue resolved through regional or national policy initiatives. However, little research has been done to directly evaluate local climate change action plans. This study examines 40 recently adopted local climate change action plans in the US and analyses how well they recognise the concepts of climate change and prepare for climate change mitigation and adaptation. The results indicate that local climate change action plans have a high level of 'awareness', moderate 'analysis capabilities' for climate change, and relatively limited 'action approaches' for climate change mitigation. The study also identifies specific factors influencing the quality of these local jurisdictional plans. Finally, it provides policy recommendations to improve planning for climate change 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)

Bjørnå Hilde, Aarsæther Nils

Networking for development in the North: power, trust, and local democracy

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 2, April , 304-317

This paper addresses modes and effects of local government involvement in development projects. In particular, it examines public – private interactions with regard to networking and power relations. The study is based on four development projects involving local authorities, located in two neighbouring municipalities in northern Norway. In these we find that most relationships are balanced and that a networking mode underpins the capacity of 'getting things done' or 'power to'. 'Power over' relations, however, are observed over time, related to critical events in the implementation of the projects, and demanding explanations that exceed network analysis approaches. Rather than being classified as a distinct type of governance, networking and networks should be regarded as elements of varying importance in processes that also involve hierarchical and market-based inputs. In the processes studied, we found municipal leaders capable of resuming control by staging metagoverning activities.



Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Opinions of the CCP Committee of the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region on the Implementation of the Party Center's No. 7 Document and Further Safeguarding Social Stability (May 6, 1996)
in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 18-49

No abstract available

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Amundsen Helene, Berglund Frode, Westskog Hege

Overcoming barriers to climate change adaptation - a question of multilevel governance?
in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 2, April , 276-289

This paper analyses the results from two surveys which were sent to all Norwegian municipalities in 2007 and gives an overview of adaptation measures undertaken by local governments. Our analyses show that municipalities have more often invested in measures related to extreme precipitation and flooding than in measures for securing buildings and infrastructure against climate change. One key factor explaining their efforts is whether they have experienced extreme events. Hence adaptation efforts are mainly reactive. With a changing climate comes a greater demand for proactive adaptation processes, as well as knowledge of how adaptation policies and measures could be implemented successfully. This paper emphasises the importance of enhancing institutional capacity in order to address the challenges of climate change adaptation at the municipal level; and asserts that a multilevel governance framework is a way of advancing proactive adaptation and overcoming the identified barriers to adaptation.

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Lucarelli Alberto

Quelle nouvelle réforme pour les collectivités locales territoriales françaises?
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 2

Section A) The theory and practise of the federal states and multi-level systems of government
Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Delamaza Gonzalo, Ochsenius Carlos

Redes de participación institucional y gobernanza democrática local. El caso de los Presupuestos Participativos en Chile
in *Reforma y democracia (Venezuela)*, n. 46



Se describe y analiza el contexto institucional, la emergencia, desarrollo y metodología de dos casos de Presupuesto Participativo (PP), uno comunal y otro sectorial, llevados a cabo en Chile en años recientes. Se destacan sus potencialidades y nudos críticos como experimentos de democratización de la gestión de políticas públicas de nivel local y de fortalecimiento de las capacidades de incidencia y control de la ciudadanía en tales decisiones. Se concluye que el diseño de estos PP, si bien metodológicamente participativos, no resultan estratégicamente decisivos para la construcción de gobernanza democrática local, dada (i) la falta de autonomía de las contrapartes civiles respecto a las prioridades de las autoridades y burocracias implicadas en las redes de política construidas; resultado a su vez, de (ii) la falta de autonomía de las agencias subnacionales para reorientar localmente las políticas sociales, y procesar transversalmente así las demandas de la agenda social local, bajo criterios consensuales de solidaridad y equidad social.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Feng Zhen, Qing Shen, Boxiu Jian and Jun Zheng

Regional Governance, Local Fragmentation, and Administrative Division Adjustment: Spatial Integration in Changzhou

in *China Review (The)*, Volume 10, Number 1, Spring

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Turovskii Rostislav F.

Regional Political Regimes in Russia. Toward a Methodology of Analysis

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 48, n. 2, March-April , 27-49

Following a critical survey of existing research on regional political regimes in Russia, the author proposes a three-dimensional model for the characterization and typologization of such regimes in terms of the monopolistic or oligopolistic character of their power structure, their autonomy from or dependence on the center, and their degree of democracy or authoritarianism.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Blomqvist Paula, Bergman Patrik

Regionalisation Nordic Style: Will Regions in Sweden Threaten Local Democracy?

in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 1 , 43-74

Governance in the Nordic countries has a highly local character. Most public services are provided by locally elected bodies that enjoy a high degree of autonomy in relation to political institutions at the national level. In recent years, questions about the appropriate size of local government have re-surfaced, prompted, at least in part, by the current trend towards regionalisation within the EU. In this paper we investigate empirically the question of whether regionalisation in the Nordic setting can be said to reduce the democratic quality of governance in the area of health



care. We do so by comparing conditions for democracy in a provincial governing unit (a so-called county council) in Sweden, with an average size of about 260,000 inhabitants, with those in a newly created region, populated by 1.5 million. We ask, thus, if it is true that governance in the smaller unit, i.e. the county council, is more democratic than in the region, and, if so, in what way? Our results point to that there is in fact little difference in democratic conditions between the region and the county council; a result that can be attributed to the fact that local institutions for decision-making and citizen participation were carefully re-constructed when Swedish county councils were amalgamated into regions. Hence, we conclude that institutions that facilitate direct democratic participation, such as the right of citizens to attend assembly meetings or submit proposals to the assembly are probably more important for the democratic quality of governance than size. 'Small' is not always more beautiful, at least not in democratic terms

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Sedlacek Sabine, Gaube Veronika

Regions on their way to sustainability: the role of institutions in fostering sustainable development at the regional level

in Environment, Development and Sustainability, Volume 12, Number 1, February , 117-134

Sustainable regional development as a politically requested concept challenges regions within the European Union since the Amsterdam Treaty 1997. A growing body of literature identifies cooperation between stakeholder groups as one of the limiting factors for implementing sustainable regional strategies. This leads to the question, how cooperation within a region could be organised. How can institutions support the implementation process of sustainable development on the regional level? Regional institutions are both supporters of cooperation between regional stakeholders and key players in regional development processes. Their connections strengthen the importance of networks in the sustainable regional development process.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Moon-Gi Jeonga; Soo-Gil Oha

Searching for Participatory Governance in Korea

in Journal of Contemporary Asia, Volume 40 Issue 2 , 275 - 290

This study examines the possibilities and challenges of committee governance in President Roh Moo-hyun's "Participatory Government" initiative in Korea. Governing by committee or commission gained more prominence in the Roh administration (2003-07) than in any other administration previously. The analysis in this paper builds on the theory of participatory governance in line with the "new governance" approach. It empirically examines the Presidential Commission on Sustainable Development (PCSD) established in response to the "Agenda 21" initiative. In particular, this study addresses why governing by committee has limitations in representing non-state actors in the national policy-making process. It analyses government reports and statistics as well as survey and interview data from former committee members and public officials. The major findings suggest that, whereas the PCSD improved representation of citizens in the national policy process, the internal decision-making process was limited to a small number of participants that included public officials rather than a more diverse range of committee members.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kolar Bryan Tara, Wolf James F.

Soft Regionalism in Action: Examining Voluntary Regional Councils' Structures, Processes and Programs in Public Organization Review, Volume 10, Number 2 , 99-115

In the United States, the voluntary regional council is the dominant organizational form used by local, state and federal agencies to address regional issues. However, research addressing the details of their operations including their structures, processes and programs has been limited. This article reports on a survey of thirty of these regional councils that are located in large metropolitan areas. The findings indicate that these councils reflect a form of "soft regionalism." Primarily, they facilitate, coordinate and energize, but they don't have the more expansive capabilities of consolidations, regional governments and annexations.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Amudong Niyazi

Speech at the Autonomous Region's Conference of Department-(Ting) and Bureau-Level Cadres (July 26, 1995) in Chinese Law and Government , Vol. 43 No. 02, March-April , 10-21

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Vrangbaeligk Karsten

Structural Reform in Denmark, 2007-09: Central Reform Processes in a Decentralised Environment in Local Government Studies, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 205-211

This paper investigates the policy process leading to the rapid and somewhat surprising introduction of a major structural reform in Denmark in 2007. The reform reduced the number of regional and local authorities and changed their responsibilities and financing. The research question is why a reform of this magnitude and scope was introduced in a Scandinavian country at this point in time in spite of previous failures and in spite of likely resistance from actors with vested interests in the existing structure? The article explains the initiation of the reform by a rare opening of a window of opportunity due to a number of contextual factors. Once the window was opened the process changed to one of opportunistic pursuit of institutional and personal interests. Skilful management of the reform process by central actors was important for getting the decision through possible resistance points

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Standing Committee of the Central Politburo

Summary of Minutes of the Meeting on Safeguarding Stability in Xinjiang (Excerpts) (March 19, 1996) in Chinese Law and Government , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 9-17



No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Wollmann Hellmut

Territorial Local Level Reforms in the East German Regional States (Laumlnder): Phases, Patterns, and Dynamics

in **Local Government Studies**, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 251-270

The article deals with the territorial reforms at municipal and county government levels which, following German unification in 1990, were carried out in the re-established (five) regional States (Laumlnder) each of which, according to the German tradition and federal system, has the power to pass legislation on local government institutions as well as territorial structure. Conceptually influenced ('institution transfer', 'institutional isomorphism') by the territorial reform policies that were carried out in the West German Laumlnder during the 1960s and 1970s, the East German Laumlnder, after 1990, embarked on a 'carrot and stick' strategy. In a first ('participatory') phase, reform commissions were set up and public hearings held, followed by a ('voluntary') phase during which local governments were given the opportunity to 'voluntarily' agree to the territorial scheme proposed by the Land government. Finally, however, again in line with previous practice in West German Laumlnder, if such local consent was not achieved, the Laumlnder decided by binding ('coercive') legislation. In the period immediately after 1990, most East German Laumlnder refrained from redrawing the boundaries of the multitude of small municipalities. Instead their strategy was largely to retain the latter while, again in a 'carrot and stick' approach, promoting the creation of a layer of intermunicipal bodies meant to operationally support the (administratively inept) small municipalities. Recently, a new round of territorial reforms has opened in most East German Laumlnder, aimed at establishing territorially enlarged municipalities through mergers and, at the same time, reducing the number of intermunicipal bodies. A main reason for this 'reform of the reform' has been that the very small municipalities have proved politically and economically ever less viable, and that the intermunicipal bodies lack direct democratic legitimacy and have exhibited serious coordination problems and 'transaction' costs

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Primo David M.

The Effect of Initiatives on Local Government Spending

in **Journal of Theoretical Politics**, Volume 22, n. 1, January , 6-25

Tools of direct democracy, such as the citizen initiative, are available at both the state and local levels in the United States, yet models of the process typically do not consider these institutions in tandem. In this article, I develop a model of local fiscal policy that incorporates the impact of a statewide as well as a local initiative process. I posit that the statewide initiative process leads to lower levels of state spending, additional spending mandates on the local level, and reduced deadweight costs of taxation, with these three factors leading to an increase in local spending. I then show that the ability of interest groups to secure particularistic spending through the local initiative has a similarly pro-spending impact. Subsequently, I explore data from the year 2000 in over 600 cities with a population greater than 25,000 and find that the spending-enhancing effects of the local initiative are strong when signature requirements are low, leading to a 12—14 percent increase in spending compared to local governments without such an initiative process in place.



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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Kreci Veli, Ymeri Bekim

**The Impact of Territorial Re-Organisational Policy Interventions in the Republic of Macedonia
in *Local Government Studies*, Vol. 36, issue 2 , 271-290**

This paper attempts to analyse territorial reorganisation policy interventions in Macedonia, first in 1995 and again in 2004, which overreached their aims and objectives; and where economic viability and institutional reform were trumped by ethnic factors in defining local government boundaries. The core argument is that through territorial reorganisation, opportunities are provided to major ethnic political parties, both Macedonian and Albanian, in order to exercise more power by increasing their 'market share' in local governments. This paper argues that this political approach adds to a higher level of segregation among ethnic communities. Further, this paper clearly explains how balancing political, economical and institutional qualifications for the two territorial policy interventions posed challenges in Macedonia due to its citizens perceptions and demographic profile.

In understanding the need for territorial re-organisations in Macedonia, one must not ignore historical legacy and developments around the region in the last decade. Immediately after Macedonia became a sovereign and independent state in September 1991, the new Macedonian constitution was drawn up and later adopted in November 1991. This revealed tensions between two major ethnic groups over constitutional nationalism and the principle of democracy. It was not until 2001 when the Ohrid Framework Agreement was signed through mediation of the international community that the country's political leadership recognised the need for a new political discourse in order to bring more social and economic progress to the country

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Gorenburg Dmitry

**The Structure of Regional Politics in Russia
in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 48, n. 2, March-April , 3-6**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Ting, J.

**The Xinjiang Problem (I): Stabilization and Rectification Policies, 1996-98
in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 3-8**

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)



Tong, J.

The Xinjiang Problem (II): Violent Disturbances and Religious Policy, 1995-98
in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 3-9

No abstract available

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Qingshan Tan

Why Village Election Has Not Much Improved Village Governance

in *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Volume 15, Number 2 / June , 153-167

Village elections have been implemented throughout China for more than a decade. Much improvement has been made in the institutionalization of village elections. However, village election is widely viewed as producing little effect on village governance. What has been perceived as electoral achievement has yet to be translated into improving the way villages are governed. Why has village election remained largely irrelevant to effective village self-government? This paper intends to answer the question by examining some causal factors responsible for ineffective village governance. Specifically, this paper looks at the dysfunctional village governance structure, township re-assertiveness over villages, and the village dual-leadership factor. This paper proposes a new governing model that incorporates major village players to ensure that village elections will lead to effective village governance in the countryside.

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

Subsection 9. Local government(s)

Speech at the Autonomous Region's Summing Up and Mobilization Meeting on the Work of Concentrated Overhauls (April 17, 1998) Wang LeQuan

um Up Experience, Define Tasks, Continue to Grasp This Year's Regionwide Work of Concentrated Overhauls

in *Chinese Law and Government* , Vol. 43 No. 01, January-February , 70-80

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

Béjar Algazi Luisa

From Centralization to Decentralization. The New Institutional Design of the Congress of the Union

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 1

Contrary to what might be expected, the shift in Mexico from a highly centralized political system to a decentralized one has barely given rise to a small reduction in voting unity among the parliamentary groups. In this context, this article questions the transformations experienced in the regulatory framework of the Congress of the Union to contain indiscipline and lack of cohesion among their number. The modification of that body's internal procedures has pointed toward increasing the powers of the group coordinators as members of the Political Coordination Board. That strategy has been in response to a dual purpose: 1) reinforcing control over the members of their group; 2) facilitating legislators'



negotiations in benefit of the sub-national stakeholders on whom their political future now depends.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Field Bonnie N.

A 'Second Transition' in Spain? Policy, Institutions and Interparty Politics under Zapatero (2004-8)

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 14, Issue 4, Special Issue: Spain's 'Second Transition'? The Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, December , 379-397

This work analyses whether the first government of Socialist Prime Minister Jos Luis Rodrguez Zapatero (2004-8) represents a 'second transition' in relation to the transition to democracy that occurred in Spain in the mid-1970s. After reviewing the concept of a second transition and the electoral context, the work analyses the patterns of change and continuity in the areas of public policy, political institutions and interparty politics. It concludes that while there were significant changes during the Zapatero government, they do not amount to a second transition.

Full text available at http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/903977__919194787.pdf

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Botella Joan, Teruel Juan Rodríguez, Barberà Oscar, Barrio Astrid

A new political elite in Western Europe? The political careers of regional prime ministers in newly decentralised countries

in French Politics, Volume 8, Issue 1, April , 42-61

This article aims to observe the effects of decentralisation on the political careers of the regional elite in Spain, France and the United Kingdom. We address the main career pathways of these elites, and we test whether the type of decentralisation and the duration of decentralisation make a difference to their careers. The results show different career pathways, and outline the eventual emergence of a new *cursus honorum* in which local and national career paths are dissociating. Institutional structure and time make a difference. In France, regional presidents tend to follow a traditional career path, whereas in Spain we find new territorial careers. The consolidation of regional institutions seems to favour the differentiation of political careers.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Statnyk Kristopher

Aboriginal Self-Government: Finding A Path

in Federalism-E, volume 10, April , 90-100

Aboriginal self-government is a reoccurring issue in Canadian politics. The basis for this issue can be found in the history of colonization of the Aboriginal peoples by the Canadian nation-state. The legitimacy of the claims to Aboriginal self-government are derived from the fact that the Aboriginals were the first peoples of pre-colonization Canada and were alienated from the formation of the state and its Constitution. Since the institutional recognition of an Aboriginal



inherent right to self-government by the 1982 Constitution Act, the Chrétien government in 1995, and the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the discourse on what model of Aboriginal self-government to adopt has developed into a highly contested topic with several proposals and objections (Abele and Prince 576-577). I will explore the possible models of self-government, the applicability of these models, as well as their legitimacy. It will be argued that the only legitimate and just, yet fundamentally inapplicable, form of Aboriginal self-government is obtained through a model of treaty federalism where the Aboriginal peoples' relationship to Canada is one of nation-to-nation (Turner 8).

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Molero Juan Carlos, Rodr#305;guez-Tejedo Isabel

**An index of political support for decentralization: the Spanish case
in Constitutional political economy**, Volume 21, Number 1 / March, 2010

This paper presents a method to make measurable what was not: the discourses of politicians regarding decentralization. For this purpose, we develop a "matrix of arguments" and a set of indexes, and apply them to provide a snapshot of the politicians' views on the "General Law of Budgetary Stability", a landmark for the process of decentralization in Spain.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Petroni Angelo M.

**Arguments for Federalism in Italy
in Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XXXIX, n.176, 177, Luglio-Dicembre

In the last twenty years, in Italy federalism has turned from an entirely minority vision, relegated among possible and unaccomplished hypotheses to the historiography of the formation of the national state, into the possible term of reference for the reform of the structure of the state adopted by the most disparate political ideologies and traditions. The aim of this essay is to outline the fundamental theoretical cleavages of contemporary federalist theory, and to verify to what extent federalist or neo-federalist concepts may serve to understand the key questions that the country has to address. Although there are good reasons to believe that the implementation of federalism would not have solely positive consequences, arguments for it have a solid base in the consequences of public spending for economic growth and in the transfer of most national state functions to the European Union.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Vanto Benjamin Pierre

**Autonomie politique et réforme statutaire en Espagne : regards sur le « blindage des compétences »
autonomes dans le nouveau statut de la Catalogne**



in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 81

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

Demuro Gianmario

Autonomie speciali e principio di differenziazione

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

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

Bussell Jennifer

Between State and Citizen: Decentralization, Institutions, and Accountability

in *India Review*, Volume 9, Issue 2, Special Issue: From Outlays to Outcomes: Getting Development From Development Expenditures, April , 285-294

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

Gorenburg Dmitry

Center-Periphery Relations After Ten Years of Centralization

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 48, n. 1, January-February , 3-7

The articles in this issue examine the processes through which center-periphery relations have actually worked in Russia. They show that the cycle of decentralization and recentralization that took place in Russia over the last twenty years is not unique but rather parallels events both in Russia's past history and in other parts of the region. At the same time, the authors in this collection argue that even as members of the regional elite are adapting to the new system of center-periphery relations, it has increased the vulnerability of the country's political system as a whole to future political and economic shocks.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Libman Aleksandr

Cycles of Decentralization in the Post-Soviet Space

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 48, n. 1, January-February , 8-20



The author develops the concept of cycles of decentralization and recentralization of power and applies it to the various states of the post-Soviet region.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Leone Roberto, Carroll Barbara W.

Decentralisation and devolution in Canadian social housing policy

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 389-404

Beginning in 1945 Canada had a relatively successful housing policy meeting the needs of returning veterans, baby-boom parents, and, later, baby boomers themselves in addition to those less advantaged through a number of income-support housing programs. The reasons for this success are well documented and largely relied upon the dominance of the federal government in this policy space. This was achieved despite housing being constitutionally primarily a provincial responsibility due to a process known as 'cooperative federalism'. This success ended in the mid-1990s and Canada has not had a national housing policy, nor successful provincial policies, since that time. Much of the demise of housing policy can be attributed to what at the time was considered to be a unique Canadian federal phenomenon called 'province building'. We look at the institutional arrangements which made for a successful housing policy for nearly fifty years and the institutional failings which led to its demise. In particular, we analyse why the unique position of municipalities in Canada vis-à-vis other federal states made it more difficult to deal particularly with planning and social housing problems in Canada. The lessons of Canada are apt for other federal states trying to trade off regional and ethnic interests versus national priorities.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

West Anne, Allmendinger Jutta, Nikolai Rita, Barham Eleanor

Decentralisation and educational achievement in Germany and the UK

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 405-468

We examine decentralisation in school-based education, with particular reference to two countries, Germany and the UK. In section 2 we explore the notions of devolution and decentralisation. We examine different types of decentralisation and some of the ideas with which it is associated including, in education, improving educational standards. In section 3 we consider the decentralisation of education in Germany and the UK. We examine the decentralisation of political authority, policies pursued at national and subnational levels, and the delegation of responsibilities to school level. We then compare achievement levels in the two case study countries and explore whether particular policies, pursued at subnational levels, might be associated with differing levels of attainment. We argue that decentralisation in the field of education is multifaceted and complex, with different types of decentralisation coexisting. Our analysis suggests that certain policies, pursued as a result of decentralisation, may be associated with different educational outcomes, but it is not possible to draw definitive conclusions particularly in light of the differing political, policy, and socioeconomic contexts.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Crawford Gordon

Decentralisation and struggles for basic rights in Ghana: opportunities and constraints

in International Journal of Human Rights (The), Volume 14, Issue 1, February , 92-125

This article looks at the intersection between decentralisation of government and a human rights-based approach to development as a means of poverty reduction. Although relatively unexplored, a potential synergy is noted between the perceived benefits of decentralisation and the two-pronged strategy of a rights-based approach, underpinned by local democratic politics. Through a case-study of Ghana, this article examines the opportunities and constraints on securing human rights at the local level, notably core socio-economic rights, through engagement with local government. It addresses two key questions: to what extent has decentralisation enabled local rights-holders to make claims for basic rights; and to what extent have local government duty-bearers been able to respond to such claims? The article is based on primary research undertaken in the Northern Region of Ghana. Findings are that the opportunities are outweighed by the constraints. On the one hand, decentralisation has enabled poor communities to make claims for basic rights, often facilitated by NGOs. On the other hand, two crucial shortcomings are highlighted. First, the approaches of rights-promoting NGOs have been restricted to human rights education, with little attempt at securing rights through strategies such as community mobilisation and alliance building. Secondly, the accountability of local government duty-bearers to local citizens is very limited, largely arising from democratic deficits in the national political framework of decentralisation. In concluding, suggestions are made about tackling the constraints and simultaneously strengthening the two-pronged strategy of a rights-based approach in a local context.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Harbers Imke

Decentralization and the Development of Nationalized Party Systems in New Democracies: Evidence From Latin America

in Comparative Political Studies , Volume 43, No. 5 , 606-627

The extent to which a party system is nationalized—with nationalization being defined as the degree to which major political parties obtain similar vote shares throughout the national territory—has considerable consequences for political representation, public policy making, and even the survival of democracy. Yet, so far there is little empirical evidence about the conditions that promote or inhibit the development of nationalized party systems in new democracies. Using electoral data from 89 elections in 16 Latin American democracies, this article provides a systematic analysis of the effect of decentralization on party system nationalization. The results show that political decentralization and fiscal decentralization inhibit the development of nationalized party systems, thus suggesting that a trade-off exists between decentralized governance and party system nationalization. These results are robust when controlling for ethnolinguistic fractionalization and characteristics of the electoral system.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Banting Keith, Costa-Font Joan

Decentralization, welfare, and social citizenship in contemporary democracies

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 381-388

Full text available at <http://www.envplan.com/epc/editorials/c2803ed.pdf>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cecchetti Marcello

Differenziazione e specialità regionale nell'unità e indivisibilità della Repubblica

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

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

De Falco Vincenzo

Dinamiche degli interessi culturali e nuove tendenze dei regionalismi contemporanei: ipotesi per un'analisi

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1443 ff.

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

Costa-Font Joan

Does devolution lead to regional inequalities in welfare activity?

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 435-449

A recurrent objection to incipient processes of welfare-state devolution is that inducing diversity in welfare activity hampers public service uniformity and opens the door to regional inequalities. However, limited empirical evidence has been reported to back this claim from experiences of welfare-state devolution. I draw upon empirical evidence of three welfare services—namely, health care, education, and long-term care in Spain, 1998 – 2006. I aim to explore whether devolution has shifted the patterns of regional inequalities in welfare activity, and examine the impact of regional economic development and political and fiscal devolution on the observed patterns of inequality in welfare activity. My findings indicate a reduction in regional inequalities in welfare activity after the completion of regional devolution of all three welfare services examined. This was especially noticeable in education but also occurred (less markedly) in health and long-term care. Political devolution was found to be associated with 34% of (the declining of) inequalities in health care activity, 22% of those in education, and only 4% of disparities in long-term care activity where local authorities have continued to play a heavy role, and inequalities are largely explained by regional differences in tax responsibilities.



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Béland Daniel, Lecours André

Does nationalism trigger welfare-state disintegration? Social policy and territorial mobilization in Belgium and Canada

in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 420-434

Since the late 1990s a growing number of scholars have explored the relationship between decentralization, nationalism, and social policy development. In this paper we explore the impact of substate nationalism on the territorial integration or disintegration of the welfare state in Belgium and Canada. As argued, although substate nationalist mobilization is intuitively associated with welfare-state disintegration, there is little evidence to support this claim. In Belgium, despite Flemish nationalist pressures, francophone opposition and major constitutional obstacles have prevented the decentralization of the federal social insurance system. In Canada competitive nation building between the federal and Quebec governments has not led to the erosion of social protection. Instead, this logic has favored the creation of a decentralized and asymmetrical welfare state while exacerbating pressures for social policy expansion. In order to explain such contrasted outcomes we draw on the existing scholarship on the role of ideas and of institutions in policy development.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Tudela Aranda José

El Estado autonómico treinta años después: ensayo de una valoración

in Teoría y realidad constitucional, n. 24 , 191-242

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10003&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Solozábal Echavarría Juan José

El Estatuto de Cataluña ante el Tribunal Constitucional

in Teoría y realidad constitucional, n. 24 , 173-190

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10002&dsID=PDF>

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

AA.VV.

Encuesta sobre el estado autonómico

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 11-105

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10000&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bryant Christopher G.A.

English Identities and Interests and the Governance of Britain

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 2, April , 250-265

Are the identity and interests of the English nation still sufficiently protected by the British state? (the English question). And can the British state still secure sufficient loyalty from all its citizens? (the Britishness question). The omission of England from the programme of devolution implemented by Labour governments since 1999 has not led to a strong demand in England for its inclusion. One reason for this is that most English identities do not need an English parliament for their further articulation. There is an ease of fit between English identity and Britishness as recently reformulated by Gordon Brown and his colleagues. This does not, however, dispose of the English question. England still needs a stronger political voice to protect its interests. The Barnett formula divides annual increases in public spending for a wide range of services between the four parts of the United Kingdom in a way that is unfavourable to England. The British government is unwilling to reform or replace it and, polls suggest, this is widely resented in England. The West Lothian question refers to the anomaly whereby Scottish MPs continue to vote at Westminster on matters pertaining only to England when English MPs cannot vote on equivalent matters pertaining only to Scotland because responsibility for them has been devolved to the Scottish parliament. This, polls suggest, is also widely resented in England, but the British government is disinclined to do anything about it. The only work in hand addressing the Barnett formula and backed by the major British parties (but not the Scottish National Party) is that of the (Calman) Commission on Scottish Devolution set up by the Scottish parliament. Its first report does not anticipate radical change. The only proposal by one of the major parties to answer the West Lothian question is that of the Conservatives' Democracy Task Force for a version of English Votes on English Laws (EVoEL) that meets many of the objections to earlier versions of EVoEL.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Jamart Annick

Et si la Belgique disparaissait?

in *Esprit*, Juillet 2010

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



Troyan Brett

Ethnic Citizenship in Colombia: The Experience of the Regional Indigenous Council of the Cauca in Southwestern Colombia from 1970 to 1990

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 43, Number 3, 2008 , pp. 166-191

This article argues that the national political context of Colombia in the 1970s and 1980s led the Colombian indigenous movement to elaborate an ethnic citizenship. The failures of the left and the decline in effectiveness of partisan citizenship played a large role in the representation and political practices of the premier indigenous grassroots organization Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca (Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca; CRIC). This article focuses on the formative moments of the 1970s and early 1980s when CRIC began to represent its movement as a primarily indigenous, ethnic one, minimizing the importance of nonindigenous actors. The nation-state, at each stage of the movement's development, fostered the "ethnicization" of the indigenous movement of Colombia in hopes of weakening the southwestern insurgency and legitimizing its institutions.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Pica Federico

Federalismo e Mezzogiorno

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 3, settembre , 773-776

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Leith Murray Stewart

Governance and Identity in a Devolved Scotland

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 2, April , 286-301

This article focuses on the products of governance in Scotland and the UK, considering policy documents, public announcements and press releases and examines these outputs to consider the presence of Britishness within the institutions, agencies and other groups that govern in Scotland. It is our contention that Britishness, and the idea of Britain, is increasingly absent within the discussion, operation and outputs of governance in Scotland, despite the best efforts of the current British Government to entrench a sense of Britishness within the socio-political realm. By focusing on aspects of specific policy areas, such as citizenship in education and the railways within transport, this article will illustrate that the banal emphasis of governance within Scotland is not on Britishness but on Scotland and Scottishness. The end-result of such a focus, whether it be intentional or not, is the increasing differentiation of Scottishness from other British identities. Such findings pose serious questions for the political organisation and operation of the UK.

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Christina S. Ho

Health Reform and De Facto Federalism in China

in *China: an International Journal*, Volume 8, Issue 1 March , 33-62

Understanding China as a de facto federalism can generate explanations and recommendations concerning the path of China's health reform. The first section reviews how de facto federalism drove the historical development of the problems plaguing China's health system. The next section shows how certain features of the current reform plan, namely, the plan's ambivalence between government and market approaches and its lack of strong centralisation, can be explained by de facto federalism. The third section uses the hypothesis of de facto federalism to generate two courses of action — one cautionary; the other, aspirational — that could be considered for the future. The consequences for the health sector of under-articulated federalism are clarified and point to the need for discursive reasoned elaboration, as opposed to political bargaining alone, in federalism.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

D'Elia Giuseppe, Panzeri Lino

I contenuti ulteriori degli Statuti d'autonomia delle Regioni italiane e delle Comunidades Autónomas

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1581 ff.

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

Gazzetta Cristina

Il federalismo russo, tra principio di democratizzazione e tutela delle minoranze nazionali e delle regioni a cultura etnica

in *Archivio giuridico*, n. 3 , 357-396

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

Marchetti Gloria

Italian Regions and Local Authorities within the framework of a new Autonomist System

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , E 89-121

The view prevailing among legal scholars - and endorsed in this paper - is that the coming into force of the reform of Title V, Part 2, of the Constitution introduced a multi-polar institutional framework in Italy, in which the various bodies making up the Republic are on an equal footing. Accordingly, this has made it necessary to re-consider the relationships between Regions and Local Authorities, which should rely on increasingly co-operative models. Regions are called upon to become policy-making bodies in charge of steering and planning activities for the respective territories. Given this



scenario, the need is highlighted to introduce suitable decision-making, planning, and monitoring tools that can ensure an integrated system of governance. In particular, concerted action mechanisms should be implemented as regards the various entities concerned in order to determine the objectives, the procedures applying to Local Government, the responsibilities vested in the individual entities, and the co-operation mechanisms between Regions and Local Authorities. This is aimed at ensuring a certain degree of uniformity at regional level in a multi-tiered system that has to reconcile the requirements of differentiation resulting from the enhanced potential of locally autonomous bodies with the need to safeguard uniformity and consistency of the regional system

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Carboni Giuliana Giuseppina

La Corte indica le fonti dell'autonomia finanziaria delle Regioni speciali e anticipa le scelte della legge delega sul "federalismo fiscale"

in *Rivista giuridica del mezzogiorno*, numero : 3, settembre , 801-812

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Pérez Sola Nicolás

La competencia exclusiva de las comunidades autónomas en materia de consultas populares

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 433-454

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10011&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Garrido Mayol Vicente

La deconstrucción del Estado autonómico

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 383-408

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10009&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Cabedo Mallol Vicente

La iniciativa legislativa popular en las comunidades autónomas: la necesaria reforma de su legislación



in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 455-476

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10012&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Porrás Ramírez José María

La justicia en los estatutos de autonomía de segunda generación

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 265-292

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10005&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Medina Alcoz Luis

La partecipazione del governo locale ai processi decisionali negli Stati decentralizzati

in *Istituzioni del federalismo*, n. 4 supp. , 43-92

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

Fernández Alles José Joaquín

La progresiva equiparación al Estado como modelo autonómico: (el caso de Andalucía)

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 323-355

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10007&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Luis Esteban Delgado del Rincón

La reforma estatutaria en Castilla y León

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 293-322

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10006&dsID=PDF>



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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Barbusse Béatrice

Le modèle fédéral dans le sport français, un principe fondateur dépassé ?

in **Fédéralisme Régionalisme** , Volume 9, Numéro 2 - Le fédéralisme sans l'État fédéral

Full text available at

<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=837>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Morrell, E.

Local Agency and Region Building in Indonesia's Periphery: Shifting the Goalposts for Development

in **Asian Journal of Political Science**, Volume 18 Issue 1 , 48-68

Indonesia's post-Suharto regionalism is a response to the nation's former centralist governance, and to real or perceived socio-economic disadvantage. Islands in the eastern archipelago illustrate this well, because there—far from the national capital Jakarta—local and national interaction is being redefined as regions seek improved social, economic, and political environments. Whilst in most cases not defying national integration, people in these regions no longer wish to be dependent upon the central authority of Jakarta, and look beyond previously restricted boundaries for new opportunities. This article explores some of the territorial realignments and key geopolitical networks that have been formed as a result of this. These include new provinces and trans-regional collaborations in which leaders claim to offer greater protection for local interests. In case studies from the eastern zone, this article examines some of the cooperation and competition generated in the process of forming the new locations and alliances. It evaluates benefits for local communities, and seeks to understand how the new regionalism may influence established concepts and patterns of power in the nation.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Kakumba Umar

Local government citizen participation and rural development: reflections on Uganda's decentralization system

in **International Review of Administrative Sciences** , March 2010, Volume 76, No. 1 , 171-186

The governance and development discourse continues to embrace citizen participation as a fundamental mechanism of building local capacity towards poverty reduction and rural development. This article presents a review of the decentralization system of local governance in Uganda and evaluates its participatory mechanisms to establish how far they have enhanced the process of rural development. The review acknowledges achievements in human development, arising from citizen participation and representation, but these are yet to be translated into empowerment and shared benefits for the rural poor. Whereas some powers and functions have been devolved to local governments, the cardinal goals of decentralization seem to be elusive, whereby there is less support of the community's role in raising resources for local development, demanding accountability from their leaders, participating in planning, and choosing their leaders



without manipulation from the local 'elite' at the time of elections. The unfolding central government (CG) control rekindles the 'recentralization' of decentralization. It is argued that tackling rural development in predominantly agricultural economies like that of Uganda requires participation to link to mechanisms that can boost agricultural production, increased employment and household incomes. Likewise, the central government's conceived development strategies should enlist participation in order to attain strong local ownership and empowerment.

Points for practitioners

The greatest challenge of local democratic representation is the failure of its associated human development elements to translate into production and improvement in household incomes. To realize the cardinal goals of decentralization and community participation in rural development requires invigoration of the local community's role in resource mobilization, demanding accountability from local leaders, participating in planning, and choosing leaders without manipulation from the local elite and central government. Thus, participation must translate into effective representation and empowerment before benefits for all can be realized to spearhead poverty reduction. Likewise, tackling rural development in predominantly agricultural economies requires participation to link to agricultural production, increased employment and household incomes.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Sánchez Ferriz Remedio

Los nuevos estatutos de autonomía en busca de una forma de Estado: entre el Estado federal y la enésima repetición de la máxima de Lampedusa

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 359-381

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10008&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Ruiz Miguel Carlos

Los vicios de origen de los procesos autonómicos

in *Teoría y realidad constitucional*, n. 24 , 243-264

Full text available at:

<http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:TeoriayRealidadConstitucional-2009-24-10004&dsID=PDF>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gianfrancesco Eduardo



L'attuazione dell'articolo 116, comma 3 e il riequilibrio del regionalismo italiano

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Bond Ross, Rosie Michael

National Identities and Attitudes to Constitutional Change in Post-Devolution UK: A Four Territories Comparison

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 1 , 83 - 105

This paper analyses survey data drawn from two distinct time points (2003 and 2006/07) to examine whether national identities in the UK are associated with support for further constitutional change. It compares all four 'national' territories of the UK: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. We use logistic regression to model the relationships between identities and constitutional attitudes, taking into consideration other relevant social and political variables. While in England there is little evidence that national identities are constitutionally significant, in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, national identities remain significant in explaining support for constitutional change, even after we have controlled for the effects of other variables. However, this significance needs to be qualified by considering trends in national identification in these territories and the likelihood that these will contribute to demands for further constitutional change.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Diwakar Rekha

Party Aggregation in India. A State level analysis

in *Party Politics*, Volume 16, Number 4, July , 477-496

Existing research on party aggregation focuses on the national level, relating it to changes in the federal distribution of powers. I argue that party aggregation also affects sub-national party systems, and therefore that study of party aggregation needs to extend beyond the national level. A comparative analysis reveals that party aggregation at the Indian sub-national (state) level does not respond uniformly to changes in the federal distribution of powers. While federal centralization has positive and significant effects on the number of parties in Indian states, the effects of federal decentralization are relatively less important. Furthermore, Indian states that are highly dependent on the national government have fewer parties and a higher degree of party aggregation. I conclude that existing analysis of party aggregation is simplistic, and that we need to develop a more comprehensive set of explanatory factors by which to study this phenomenon and to extend research in this area to the sub-national level.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Kok Wah Loh Francis



Restructuring Federal-State Relations in Malaysia: From Centralised to Co-operative Federalism?
in *Round Table (The): the Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 99, Issue 407, April

The coming to power of the Pakatan Rakyat (PR) opposition coalition in five states following the 2008 election has interrupted the one dominant party political process that has prevailed for more than 50 years, and that facilitated the Barisan Nasional (BN)'s domination of the centre and penetration into the states and local authorities. Nowadays, the PR-led states of Selangor and Penang in particular have challenged federal domination as never before. The old ways of bullying weaker and poorer opposition-led states such as Kelantan and Sabah in the 1990s have been rejected. The new balance of federal-state relations has allowed the BN-led states of Sabah and Sarawak to press for decentralisation of decision-making, increased development allocations, and a greater say in determining local issues. Hence, in spite of the absence of constitutional reforms vis--vis federal-state relations, some restructuring of those relations is underway. However, the regular occurrences of controversies suggest that Malaysia has still not transited from a centralised federalism to a more co-operative one.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Chepikova Ksenia, Leïße Olaf

Russlands simulierter Föderalismus. Regionalpolitik unter Putin und Medvedev

in *Osteuropa*, 60. Jahrgang, Heft 1, Januar , 15-26

ABSTRACT: Laut seiner Verfassung ist Russland eine Föderation. Doch der Föderalismus existiert nur noch auf dem Papier. Präsident Putin setzte eine Rezentralisierung des Staates durch, die die Regionen zur politischen Peripherie und die regionalen Eliten zu Statisten im politischen Prozess degradierte. Präsident Medvedev stärkt entgegen seinen Ankündigungen die Machtvertikale weiter, indem er auch die Kommunen unter Kuratel des Zentrums stellt. Gleichzeitig wird die Partei „Einiges Russland“ immer mehr zum Instrument, mit dem die Regionen kontrolliert werden. Putin behält damit als Vorsitzender der Partei die Fäden in der Hand.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Pitruzzella Giovanni

Sanità e Regioni

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 6 , 1177-1184

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

Bradbury Jonathan , Andrews Rhys

State Devolution and National Identity: Continuity and Change in the Politics of Welshness and Britishness in Wales

in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 2, April , 229-249



Wales is one of the principal cases in Europe where the stateless nation enjoys relatively high levels of identification relative to the state, and is a key focus for addressing identity politics in the UK following devolution in 1997–1999. However, the development and political consequences of Welshness and Britishness are currently relatively neglected in the research literature. This article explores these issues in relation to post-devolution Wales. Part one examines survey evidence on national identities, governmental reference to identity in policy development, and public attitudes to constitutional reform. Part two examines the approaches of the political parties, as key agents of identity politics, to Welshness and Britishness in their political strategies. Overall, the paper argues that since 1999 civic Welshness has become predominant in public discourse and support for further devolution has grown. The political parties have all converged on the politics of a civic Welshness in their political strategies. At the same time the underlying extent of identification with Welshness and Britishness since devolution has in fact changed little and the increased assertion of Welshness has not led to a rise in support for independence. Devolution appears to have both enhanced Welsh identity loyalties as a framework for political life and sustained a stable basis for Wales within the UK.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gosse Kimberly

Striving to Maintain on a Holistic Nation: Preventing Quebec Sovereignty

in **Federalism-E**, volume 10, April , 28-42

Federalism is essentially a system of voluntary self-rule and shared rule [...] a binding partnership among equals in which the parties to the covenant retain their individual identity while creating a new entity. Canadian federalism illustrates how a political sub-unit such as a province, can maintain personal autonomy while contributing and recognizing its importance to the holistic entity. The federal and provincial governments' relationship is constitutional, as their division of powers is entrenched in our written Canadian constitution. However, [...]

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Muro Diego

Territorial Accommodation, Party Politics, and Statute Reform in Spain

in **South European Society & Politics**, Volume 14, Issue 4, Special Issue: Spain's 'Second Transition'? The Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, December , 453-468

The term 'accommodation' refers to the capacity of states to contain conflict within the mechanisms and procedures embedded in existing institutional arrangements. During the first government of Jos Luis Rodrguez Zapatero (2004-8), the Socialist government had to accommodate the Catalan proposal to reform the statute of autonomy and the controversial plan to turn the Basque Country into 'an associated free state' with Spain. Whereas the Basque initiative was rejected, the approval of the Catalan statute impelled several regions to apply for greater autonomy. Statute reform is a complex multilevel negotiation process characterised by intense party competition and heterogeneous policy results.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization



Greer Scott

Territorial politics in hard times: the welfare state under pressure in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom in Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, Volume 28, Issue 3, Theme issue: Federalism, decentralization, and the welfare state, June , 405-419

The author argues that the design of decentralized political institutions shapes the effect of economic crisis on the welfare state. He proposes a simple framework for understanding the effects of crisis on areas under the responsibility of regional governments: their responses and mediating effects will vary with the financial system, degree of regional input into central decisions, and legal framework. Further, the ways in which territorial political institutions channel economic pressures should lead to changing territorial politics as the relative resources and credibility of governments change. The author discusses the influence of territorial political institutions on responses to economic crisis in Germany, Spain, and the UK. It is concluded that Germany is most likely to proceed unchanged, Spain might see the hardest landing due to the difficult finances of many regional governments, and devolution in the UK is economically sustainable and limits negative welfare-state effects but might be politically unsustainable. The conclusion suggests that welfare-state analysis should take more account of specific territorial political institutions, that further analysis should include local government, and that economic pressure might reshape territorial politics in at least some countries.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Gelman Vladimir

The Dynamics of Subnational Authoritarianism in Russian politics and law, vol. 48, n. 2, March-April , 7-26

The author establishes a typology of systems of subnational authoritarianism and applies it in analyzing the decentralization and subsequent recentralization of the Russian state over the last two decades.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Maiz Ramon, Caamaño Francisco, Azpitarte Miguel

The Hidden Counterpoint of Spanish Federalism: Recentralization and Resymmetrization in Spain (1978-2008) in Regional and Federal Studies, Volume 20 Issue 1 , 63 - 82

The recent evolution of the Spanish 'State of Autonomies' has given rise to numerous political and academic criticisms, which argue that the initial federal logic of the system is giving way to a confederal logic that threatens the cohesion of the state. This article contradicts the negative diagnosis, outlining the main mechanisms that retain and in fact reinforce the powers of federalization in tandem with the fundamental political decentralization process that has taken place since 1978. This paper focuses on three critical areas: the distribution of legislative power, the fiscal system and the dynamics of the political process. In these three areas powerful mechanisms are at work reinforcing the power of federalization and weakening the power of the sub-federal entities.

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



Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Seto Megan

The Issue of Sovereignty: The Clarity Act as an Effective and Legitimate Response to Canada-Quebec Relations in Federalism-E, volume 10, April , 43-58

Quebec sovereignty in the Canadian federation has elicited strong emotion across the spectrum of politics and national interest. The forwarding of the Clarity Act by Jean Chretien's Liberals was an attempt by the federal government to seek a resolution to the question of Quebec unilateral secession in a legal and clearly defined manner. The Act of 2000 was not of abstract materialization. Rather, it highlighted the complexity of Canada's multinational identity and the historical quandaries of her founding races. The Act was a response to the 1995 Quebec referendum, yet despite it being an attempt to provide clarity to concerns arising from the referendum, the Act has generated further debate and new anxieties regarding Canada-Quebec relations.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Caravita Beniamino

The Italian challenge between federalism and subsidiarity in Federalismi, Anno VIII - Nr. 5

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Mann Stefan, Gennaio Maria Pia

The central role of centralisation in environmental policy initialisation in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, Volume 53, Issue 3, April , 283-295

While economic research on environmental policy is mainly concerned with instruments, political science concentrates on actors. The issue of centralisation needs to be analysed using a multidisciplinary approach because it is connected with both actors and instruments. Linking the Advocacy Coalition Framework with an economic approach, the paper first develops an innovative model in order to understand the mechanisms of centralisation and decentralisation in the different phases of policy processes. Focusing on environmental policy, the idea is developed that environmental policy needs the push of centralisation in order to institutionalise the prevailing social norm, but then should be organised decentrally to account for regional differences. The examples of air pollution, climate change and urban sprawl are used to test the explanatory power of the theoretical approach.

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Martinico Giuseppe

The new "Estatutos de autonomía" in Spain: a brief overview of the literature in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 2, issue 1 , R- 1-15



In the latest years, the Spanish constitutional system has been characterized by a proliferation of sub-national fundamental charters (“Estatutos de las Comunidades Autónomas”, hereinafter CAs): in fact, many CAs are currently exploring the possibility to amend their basic charters.

This short review article aims at providing a brief overview of the recent developments in this field occurred in Spain

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/review-articles/58-the-new-estatutos-de-autonomia-in-spain-a-brief-overview-of-the-literature>

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Astudillo Ruiz Javier

Una primera aproximación cuantitativa a la descentralización de los partidos de ámbito estatal en el estado de las autonomías: ¿hay diferencias entre el psoe y el pp?

in *Revista d'Estudis Autonomics i Federals*, n. 10 , 330-362

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Astudillo_tcm112-124466.pdf

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

Subsection 10. Processes of federalization and decentralization

Giuffrè Felice

Verso la Repubblica delle autonomie: dalla specialità regionale alla differenziazione diffusa

in *ItalianiEuropei*, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Palea Roberto

After the World Climate Conference in Copenhagen

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Murphy Sean D.

Aggression, Legitimacy and the International Criminal Court

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1147-1156



No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Cutillo Alberto

Consolidating Peace: the UN strategy

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XL, n.180, Luglio-Settembre

In the last fifteen years, many civil wars have come to an end, but peace has often proved too fragile and has left the way open for new conflict, sometimes more violent and destructive than the first. The United Nations, which in most cases has been assigned with the responsibility for maintaining peace, questions the motives for this failure and the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has drawn up a package of proposals as part of a broader reform of the Organisation which might serve as a remedy. It is now up to member countries, which will meet in a summit in New York next September, to launch and enact this reform. Here the author examines Annan's proposals in terms of contrasting national interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Simmons Beth, Danner Allison

Credible Commitments and the International Criminal Court

in **International Organization**, vol. 64, issue 2, april , 225-256

ABSTRACT: The creation of an International Criminal Court (ICC) to prosecute war crimes poses a real puzzle. Why was it created, and more importantly, why do states agree to join this institution? The ICC represents a serious intrusion into a traditional arena of state sovereignty: the right to administer justice to one's one nationals. Yet more than one hundred states have joined. Social scientists are hardly of one mind about this institution, arguing that it is (alternately) dangerous or irrelevant to achieving its main purposes: justice, peace, and stability. By contrast, we theorize that the ICC is a mechanism to assist states in self-binding, and draw on credible commitments theory to understand who commits to the ICC, and the early consequences of such commitments. This approach explains a counterintuitive finding: the states that are both the least and the most vulnerable to the possibility of an ICC case affecting their citizens have committed most readily to the ICC, while potentially vulnerable states with credible alternative means to hold leaders accountable do not. Similarly, ratification of the ICC is associated with tentative steps toward violence reduction and peace in those countries precisely least likely to be able to commit credibly to forswear atrocities. These findings support the potential usefulness of the ICC as a mechanism for some governments to commit to ratchet down violence and get on the road to peaceful negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gastil John, Lingle Colin, Deess Eugene

Deliberation and Global Criminal Justice: Juries in the International Criminal Court

in **Ethics and International Affairs**, vol. 24, n. 1, spring , 69-90



ABSTRACT: The jury system is one of the oldest deliberative democratic bodies, and it has a robust historical record spanning hundreds of years in numerous countries. As scholars and civic reformers envision a democratic global public sphere and international institutions, we advocate for the inclusion of juries of lay citizens as a means of administering justice and promoting deliberative norms. Focusing specifically on the case of the International Criminal Court, we show how juries could bolster that institution's legitimacy by promoting public trust, increasing procedural fairness, foregrounding deliberative reasoning, and embodying democratic values. Juries would present novel logistical, philosophical, and legal problems, but we show how each of these might be overcome to make juries a viable element of global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Peterson M. J.

How the indigenous got seats at the UN table

in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 5, n. 2, June, 197-225

ABSTRACT: Indigenous peoples are the only distinct segment of national populations having voting membership in UN bodies devoted to defining their rights and advancing their concerns. This unusual result was the result of the confluence of three factors familiar to students of transnational social movement politics: a) presence within UN offices and bodies of supporters opening forums and agendas to indigenous concerns, b) deference to the growing network of indigenous activists by anthropologists—the professional community best placed to serve as advocates speaking on behalf of indigenous communities, and c) indigenous activists' success in developing and projecting a globally-valid indigenous identity as “peoples” simultaneously uniting the various indigenous communities and providing a rationale for establishing voting rights that enough other actors could be persuaded to accept. Comparison with UN treatment of other groups indicates that indigenous voting rights are more likely to remain an isolated success rather than a harbinger of similar practices in other UN bodies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Höhn Sabine

International justice and reconciliation in Namibia: The ICC submission and public memory

in *African Affairs*, Volume 109, Number 436, July, 471-488

The article analyses the impact of international justice on the debate about public memory and visions of reconciliation in Namibia. Focusing on a recent submission to the International Criminal Court, it shows how domestic actors used international justice to advance their claims for reconciliation and it thus challenges the common assumption that reconciliation is an entirely domestic process. The article discusses how the ICC submission individualized guilt for past human rights abuses and neglected structures of suspicion and denunciation within the guerrilla movement SWAPO. The submission also challenged once more the government's efforts to reduce the complex history of the country's anti-colonial war to a narrative of a unified struggle, and showed that the official policy of active forgetting was still questioned after almost two decades of imposed silence



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Yakemtchouk Romain

La conférence sur le climat de Copenhague

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 19-34

The 193 Heads of State and Heads of Government present at the United Nations Climate Change Conference 2009 in Copenhagen have underlined that the climate change is one of the greatest challenges of our time, and have agreed that deep cuts in global emissions are required with a view to reduce emissions so as to hold the increase in global temperature below 2 degrees Celsius. Nationally mitigation actions subsequently taken by the Parties will ensure that national sovereignty is respected. The developed countries (United States, Japan and European Union) shall provide adequate and sustainable finance resources to support the implementation of adaptation action in least developing countries. Next Conference on the Protection of Climate will take place on December 2010 in Mexico.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Guéhenno Jean

Le Conseil de sécurité au XXIe siècle : un rôle en mutation

in *Revue Tocqueville - The Tocqueville Review*, volume XXX, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Clark Roger S.

Negotiating Provisions Defining the Crime of Aggression, its Elements and the Conditions for ICC Exercise of Jurisdiction Over It

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1103-1115

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Toye John, Toy Richard

One World, Two Cultures? Alfred Zimmern, Julian Huxley and the Ideological Origins of UNESCO

in *History*, Volume 95 Issue 319, July , 308-331

Against the background of revival of interest in the 'two cultures' controversy of the 1960s, this article examines an earlier episode in the struggle between literary intellectuals and scientists for cultural leadership – the choice of a British candidate for the leadership of UNESCO. Why was Sir Alfred Zimmern, the obvious choice for the post of founding Director-General, not selected? This article argues that Zimmern was ousted as front-runner because he had failed to gather the support of the burgeoning British scientific establishment, which had mounted its own successful agitation to



have science included explicitly in the new organization's remit. It examines the actions and motivations of Ellen Wilkinson and John Maud, whose joint decision it was to replace the classicist Zimmern with the biologist Julian Huxley. It concludes that the main factor behind the replacement of Zimmern was his failure to bridge the two cultures of arts and science. Nevertheless, these events should not be viewed merely as a prologue to the two cultures debate as Huxley and Zimmern's attitudes to science and culture cannot easily be separated from their respective approaches to broader international political questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Asuncion Amabelle C.

Pulling the Stops on Genocide: The State or the Individual?

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1195-1222

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Philippe Xavier, Desmarest Anne

Remarques critiques relatives au projet de loi « portant adaptation du droit pénal français à l'institution de la Cour pénale internationale » : la réalité française de la lutte contre l'impunité

in *Revue française de droit constitutionnel*, n. 81

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Andreas Paulus

Second Thoughts on the Crime of Aggression

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1117-1128

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

EI Baradei Mohamed

Security in Our Time

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 491-496

The main threats to our security today are underdevelopment, organized crime, terrorism, armed conflicts, weapons of mass destruction. All of these threats are "without borders" and require global responses and multinational cooperation. Looking at the state of the global security system over the last few decades, the Author stresses the need of effective



international institutions and of international security norms respected by all. He remarks that the nuclear non-proliferation regime has been undermined by the double standards of the weapon States, which insist that nuclear weapons are vital to their security, but that no-one else should have them because that would be destabilising. Thus he advocates a more effective global security system that depends not on weapons of mass destruction – which threaten, rather than enhance, the security of the whole world – or on sanctions – which often hurt the innocents –, but on conflict prevention, peacemaking and peacekeeping, together with nuclear disarmament all over the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Holtermann Jakob v. H.

The End of ‘the end of impunity’? The International Criminal Court and the Challenge from Truth Commissions in Res Publica, Volume 16, Number 2, Special issue: Punishing War Crimes, Genocide, and Crimes against Humanity, May , 209-225

With its express intention ‘to put an end to impunity’, the International Criminal Court (ICC) faces a substantial challenge in the shape of conditional amnesties granted in future national truth commissions (TCs)—a challenge that invokes fundamental considerations of criminal justice ethics. In this article, I give an account of the challenge, and I consider a possible solution to it presented by Declan Roche. According to this solution the ICC-prosecutor should respect national amnesties and prosecute and punish only those perpetrators who have refused to cooperate with the TC. I argue, however, that this compromise is untenable. As a general rule, if we justify the ICC on grounds of deterrence we should not accept conditional amnesties granted in national TCs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Anand R. P.

The Formation of International Organizations and India: A Historical Study
in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Volume 23 - Issue 01 , 5-21

As the clash of aspirations increased among European countries, a European ‘civil war’ started in 1914, which engulfed the whole world. With all the terrible destruction and loss of life, it was felt that an international organization must be established to avert war in future. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the British government succeeded in gaining separate representation for its dominions, including India. This created a rather anomalous situation, since a dependency of a foreign power, a colony which could not control its internal affairs, was accepted as a sovereign state by an international treaty. Europe had hardly recovered from the First World War in the late 1920s when it drifted towards a second holocaust in 1939. India became a founding member of the United Nations in 1945, even though it was still under British rule, participating in the historic founding conference. But Indian national public opinion was neither very hopeful nor enthusiastic about the conference on the new international organization. Not only India, which was not even independent at that time, but Asian countries as such played a very small and insignificant role in the formulation of the UN Charter.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Gargiulo Pietro

The use of force and collective security following the 2005 UN summit

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLI, n.183, Aprile-Giugno

Aside from general evaluations of the outcomes of the attempt to reform the UNO, the various aspects that characterised its evolution and the materials produced for the occasion offer food for thought on some of the issues —more specifically, collective security and the use of force, questions intrinsically linked to the UNO Charter and the rules established therein — that have recently been at the centre of political-diplomatic discussions between states and the analyses of scholars. Bearing in mind the preparatory initiatives and results of the world summit, the author seeks to draw guidelines about the state – and to some degree, the problematic nature – of international legal rules on the subject.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Kreß Claus

Time for Decision: Some Thoughts on the Immediate Future of the Crime of Aggression: A Reply to Andreas Paulus

in **European Journal of International Law**, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1129-1146

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ivanova Maria

UNEP in Global Environmental Governance: Design, Leadership, Location

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 1, February , 30-59

As debates on reform of global environmental governance intensify, the future of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) has come into acute political focus. Many argue that the organization has faltered in its role as the UN's leading agency for the environment. In this article, I use historical institutional analysis in combination with current international relations and management theory to explain UNEP's creation and evolution. Having described how the creators of UNEP envisioned the nascent organization, I analyze its subsequent performance, identifying the key factors that have shaped its record. I argue that the original vision for UNEP was ambitious but fundamentally pragmatic, and that the organization's mixed performance over the years can be explained by analysis of three factors: its design, leadership, and location. Thus, this article clarifies the record on UNEP's intended function, and lays the foundation for a systematic methodology for evaluating international organizations.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 1. The United Nations and its system

Ambrosetti David

«Décide de demeurer saisi de la question». La mobilisation du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU face aux crises in Cultures & Conflits, n. 75, automne , 99-122

This paper investigates the formal and informal rules whereby diplomatic delegations organize their work in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) when dealing with armed conflicts, with “crises” that set the pace of these delegations’ everyday work. In so doing, the article questions the ways to hold a sociological inquiry into state agents embedded in a multilateral environment like the UN. More precisely, it proposes an analytical frame that brings to identify specific groups, and specific collective expectations afferent to the specific positions (institutional, professional, or dispositional positions) diplomats recognize to one another in the UN. This analytical frame sheds light on diplomatic representatives’ interests to act, on their interests to handle a new situation of armed conflict and to raise it as a new crisis deserving the attention of the UN. Even if these interests lie on distant stakes in regard to the emergencies directly engendered by such armed conflicts (stakes that sometimes even reside outside the Security Council), these interests are necessarily accommodated to the grammar of the multilateral game in which states are engaged in front of larger audiences. For these diplomats, this grammar is deemed to induce new opportunities but also new risks in the execution of their duties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bhat T.P.

Assessing China’s Compliance with WTO Commitments in India Quarterly, Vol. 65, n°3 , 215-235

China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) over seven years ago. It undertook massive, complex commitments, which have to be accomplished in five and ten years’ phase-in periods. The commitments made in goods and services have by and large been accomplished as per the schedule drawn by the WTO. The accomplishments are closely related to the domestic economic reforms and globalisation of the Chinese economy. As a result of increased market access overseas, its exports increased phenomenally; the imports also increased but still lag behind exports. China’s inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI) swelled. Augmented trade surplus led to increase in foreign exchange reserves. Now, China is also an important investor abroad. A large volume of FDI has gone into the industrial sector, which made China an ‘industrial power house’ of the world. High growth in GDP has not only been sustained over the years, but also further enhanced. WTO membership has brought immense benefits to China, helping it to attain the status of a global economic power

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Helleiner Eric

A Bretton Woods moment? The 2007–2008 crisis and the future of global finance in International Affairs , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 619-636

ABSTRACT: The 2007–2008 global financial crisis encouraged speculation about the prospects for a 'Bretton Woods moment' in which the global financial system would be radically redesigned. Many of those hoping for this outcome have



since become disillusioned with the limited nature of the international financial reform agenda. But the success and innovation of the Bretton Woods conference was made possible by unique political conditions that are not present today, notably concentrated power in the state system; a transnational expert consensus; and wartime conditions. Moreover, a close reading of history reveals that the Bretton Woods system did not emerge from a single moment but rather from a much more extended historical process. If a new international financial system is being born today, it will be a slower and more incremental development process that can be divided into four phases: a legitimacy crisis; an interregnum; a constitutive phase; and an implementation phase. Viewed from this perspective, post-crisis developments look more significant. The crisis of 2007–2008 has already intensified twin legitimacy crises relating to international financial policy and leadership. It has also generated an international reform initiative that has been unusual for its speed and internationally coordinated nature. Many of the details of this reform initiative remain unresolved and its content and breadth are hotly contested in various ways. We thus find ourselves in more of an interregnum than a constitutive phase. It remains unclear how quickly, if at all, the latter might emerge and in what form.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Savona Paolo

**A New Bretton Woods to Decide on what? Some Thoughts about the Current Crisis
in *Economia internazionale*, Volume LXII, No. 3 - August, 2009**

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Velo Dario

**A Return to Fixed Exchange Rates: an Alternative to Protectionism and the International Economic Crisis
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 2-3**

La crise économique qui a frappé la généralité des systèmes exige de rechercher de solutions innovantes pour rendre à l'économie internationale la stabilité. L'expérience des années '30 montre que les solutions protectionnistes peuvent tourner sur une spirale de crise, toujours plus grave. Dans le contexte actuel, la force de la monnaie européenne et de la coopération entre la Federal Reserve et la Banque Centrale Européenne ont permis de faire face au risque de solutions protectionnistes. Il s'agit néanmoins d'une digue qui peut être bouleversée si la crise ne fait que s'aggraver et la spéculation continue à déstabiliser l'équilibre international déjà fragile. A cet égard, l'article vise à montrer que le processus européen d'intégration monétaire commencé à partir de la fin des années '60 représente un point de référence fondamental pour comprendre comment faire face à cette crise de dimension mondiale. En ce temps-là, le retour graduel à un système de taux de change fixes entre les monnaies européennes a permis de défendre l'économie européenne et d'améliorer l'intégration, à travers la création du Marché Unique et d'une institution monétaire fédérale (la Banque Centrale Européenne). Aujourd'hui, un retour graduel à des taux de change fixes entre les monnaies internationales leaders permettrait d'éviter des solutions protectionnistes, ce qui contribuerait au développement progressif d'institutions internationales capables de gouverner la mondialisation de l'économie. Les étapes de l'Union Monétaire Européenne représentent un précédent pour comprendre les étapes qui pourraient raisonnablement être parcourues au niveau international à partir des monnaies leaders pour réaliser un système de taux de change fixes



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Krogstrup Signe, Wyplosz Charles

A common pool theory of supranational deficit ceilings

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 54, Issue 2, February 2010

The budget deficit bias is modeled as the result of a domestic common pool problem and of an international externality. Deficits can be used to finance both unproductive and productive public spending. An optimally set supranational deficit ceiling is examined and welfare is compared to the unconstrained outcome and to the case of nationally set deficit ceilings. The supranational deficit ceiling is found to be welfare improving relative to similar national arrangements, but does not fully eliminate the deficit bias unless combined with a domestic fiscal institution allowing for precommitment to productive public spending.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kurtz Jürgen

Access to Justice, Denial of Justice and International Investment Law: A Reply to Francesco Francioni

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1095-1098

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Weller Patrick , Yi-chong Xu

Agents of Influence: Country Directors at the World Bank

in *Public Administration*, Volume 88 Issue 1 (March 2010) , 211-231

This article seeks to understand the operations of the World Bank by examining one particular group of players—the country directors (CDs). It argues that the analysis of international organizations (IOs), by focusing on the behaviour of their principals (states), as principal-agent analysts do, or on organizational cultures, as the constructivist approach does, is inadequate in explaining the operation and behaviour of IOs, which are themselves complex organizations with chains of cascading relationships. Country directors at the World Bank occupy a pivotal position in this chain: with executive directors and the president as their nominal and ultimate principals, vice presidents as their direct principals and client countries as informal principals. They are themselves principals to their country team and to some sector people. For both conceptual and empirical reasons, therefore, CDs deserve separate analysis. To explain the way these relationships shape the work CDs do and how they do it, this article examines three basic functions of country directors at the Bank: (1) representing the Bank to the client countries; (2) representing the country to the Bank; and (3) managing the country offices and country programmes. The empirical section of this article is based on interviews with over 80 officials in both Washington and field offices. We show that an understanding of the Bank and its operations requires an examination of its internal processes and its staff.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Bouet Antoine, Laborde David

Assessing the potential cost of a failed Doha Round

in **World Trade Review**, Volume 9, Issue 02, April 2010

This study offers new conclusions on the economic cost of a failed Doha Development Agenda (DDA). We assess potential outcome of the Doha Round as well as four protectionist scenarios using the MIRAGE Computable General Equilibrium (CGE) model. In a scenario where applied tariffs of World Trade Organization (WTO) economies would go up to currently bound tariff rates, world trade would decrease by 9.9% and world welfare by US\$353 billion. The economic cost of a failed DDA is here evaluated by the difference between a cooperative scenario (DDA) and a protectionist one (US\$412 billion in terms of welfare). Another point of view is to compare a resort to protectionism when the DDA is implemented with a resort to protectionism when the DDA is not implemented. The findings show that this trade agreement could prevent the potential reduction of US\$809 billion of trade and, therefore, acts as an efficient multilateral 'preventive' scheme against the adverse consequences of trade 'beggar-thy-neighbor' policies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rosecrance Richard

Bigger Is Better

in **Foreign Affairs**, May/June 2010, Volume 3, Number 89

After World War II, "trading states" seemed to be charting a new path forward. But small was not beautiful. Even great powers found themselves negotiating larger markets through economic associations with others. It's time the United States became such a power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Saggi Kamal, Murat Yildiz Halis

Bilateralism, multilateralism, and the quest for global free trade

in **Journal of International Economics**, Volume 81, Issue 1, May 2010 , 26-37

We develop an equilibrium theory of trade agreements in which both the degree and the nature (bilateral or multilateral) of trade liberalization are endogenously determined. To determine whether and how bilateralism matters, we also analyze a scenario where countries pursue trade liberalization on only a multilateral basis. We find that when countries have asymmetric endowments or when governments value producer interests more than tariff revenue and consumer surplus, there exist circumstances where global free trade is a stable equilibrium only if countries are free to pursue bilateral trade agreements. By contrast, under symmetry, both bilateralism and multilateralism yield global free trade.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Las Casas Campos Taiane

Brazil and India: Interests and Strategies in the Process of Construction of the G-20
in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 3

This article evaluates the internal and external factors, as well as the strategies adopted, that played a part and conditioned the creation and maintenance of the Group of Twenty (G-20) from the perspective of Brazil and India. Although the interests of the two countries were not only different, but diverged on the topic of agriculture, cooperation turned out to be the best course of action in the face of the economic and political costs of the proposal presented jointly by the United States and the European Union. The conclusion is that the creation of the G-20 enabled the negotiators of both countries to favor the interests of the respective national actors and, at the same time, to extend their own sphere of negotiations in the international arena.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nelson Stephen

Does compliance matter? Assessing the relationship between sovereign risk and compliance with international monetary law

in *Review of International Organizations (The)*, vol. 5, n. 2, June, 107-139

ABSTRACT: An important theory of international cooperation asserts that governments comply with international law because of the reputational costs incurred by reneging on public agreements. Countries that sign binding international agreements in the realm of monetary relations signal their commitment to an open economic system, which should reassure international market actors that the government is committed to sound economic policies. If the theory is correct, we should observe evidence that noncompliance is in fact costly. I test this argument by examining the effect of noncompliance with Article VIII of the IMF's Articles of Agreement on sovereign risk ratings. The results show that noncompliance with the agreement mitigates any benefits that accrue to Article VIII signatories. The empirical evidence suggests that, in addition to improving economic and political conditions at home, governments in the developing world would improve their access to financial markets by signing and complying with international monetary agreements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Tucker Paul

Ending boom and bust: The case for macroprudential instruments

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

What can be done to make the world's financial markets more resilient and the 'real economy' more stable? Paul Tucker, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, sets out his thinking on new macroprudential policies that are needed.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Germain Randall

Financial governance and transnational deliberative democracy

in Review of International Studies (The), Vol. 36, Issue 2, April , 493-509

Recent concern with the institutional underpinning of the international financial architecture has intersected with broader debates concerning the possibility of achieving an adequate deliberative context for decisions involving transnational economic governance. Scholars working within traditions associated with international political economy, deliberative democracy, cosmopolitanism and critical theory have informed this broader debate. This article uses this debate to ask whether the structure of financial governance at the global level exhibits the necessary conditions to support deliberative democracy. In particular, it considers the extent to which publicness and a public sphere have become part of the broader structure of financial governance. Although in some ways financial governance is a hard case for this debate, an argument can be made that a public sphere has emerged as an important element of the international financial architecture. At the same time, the analysis of the role of the public sphere in financial governance reveals important lessons which public sphere theorists and deliberative democracy advocates need to consider in order to extend their analysis into the realm of global political economy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Stein Howard

Financial liberalisation, institutional transformation and credit allocation in developing countries: the World Bank and the internationalisation of banking

in Cambridge Journal of Economics, Volume 34, Number 2, March 2010

The paper documents and analyses the World Bank's promotion of foreign ownership of banking in developing countries. In the wake of two decades of financial crises following exercises of orthodox financial reform, the World Bank has not only continued to push privatisation, but now sees foreign banks as the missing component that will deal with the downside risks of financial liberalisation. Concerns that foreign banks might reduce small and medium enterprise (SME) loan access because of information problems are largely dismissed by the Bank. In fact the World Bank argues for the very opposite, the existence of foreign banks is likely to have the effect of pushing local banks into SME markets where they have a greater comparative advantage. The question of access to credit for the private sector, particularly the locally owned small and medium size enterprises, is central to the issue of employment generation and poverty reduction in developing countries where the bulk of new jobs are typically created by these companies. This article traces the development of the World Bank's agenda on foreign ownership. It critically assesses the arguments and empirical work underlying the World Bank analysis and draws on alternative empirical testing and case studies to raise serious questions about the downside risks associated with the internationalisation of banking.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lesage Dries, McNair David, Vermeiren Mattias



From Monterrey to Doha: Taxation and Financing for Development
in *Development Policy Review* , Volume 28 Issue 2 , 155 - 172

Ill-conceived tax policies cost developing countries vast sums of public revenue, but this issue has received relatively little attention within the Financing for Development (FfD) process of the United Nations. The outcome documents of the FfD conferences in Monterrey (2002) and Doha (2008) largely neglect globalisation-related tax issues such as under-taxation of multinationals and capital flight to tax havens. This article analyses how this topic has been marginalised by powerful interests, ideas and institutional factors, but it also shows how a growing coalition of governments, international organisations and NGOs has recently succeeded in raising the issue much higher up the international agenda.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Peter Lloyd

Global Economic Integration

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 15 Issue 1 February 2010 , p 71-86

While the notion of global economic integration is hardly new, it is, regrettably, a rather vague notion. This paper seeks to outline what is meant by the concept of global economic integration, what benefits it may bring, and how it is coming about in terms of the modalities being used in multilateral organizations and international agreements, regional agreements and in unilateral national actions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Zirojević; Mina, Jelisavac Sanja

Global Financial Crisis and New Bretton Woods

in *Review of International Affairs (The)* , Vol. LX, n. 1135, July-September

Historically global crises demand global solutions. The financial crisis of 2007–2009 has been called the most serious financial crisis since the Great Depression by leading economists, with its global effects characterized by the failure of key businesses, declines in consumer wealth estimated in the trillions of U.S. dollars, substantial financial commitments incurred by governments, and a significant decline in economic activity. Many causes have been proposed, with varying weight assigned by experts. Both market-based and regulatory solutions have been implemented or are under consideration, while significant risks remain for the world economy. Historically all global problems are solved with mutual efforts. Great Depression than and Global Financial Crisis now are good examples to the point. In our work we will try to compare two mentioned and to draw conclusion about the actions taken in fighting these global problems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Davies Howard



Global Financial Regulation after the Credit Crisis

in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 2, May

Recent events have once again highlighted weaknesses in the global regulatory system. The highly complex network of bodies overseeing different parts of the financial markets failed to identify or respond to the macro trends that led to the crisis. There was too little capital in the banking system. There is also a serious accountability gap, with regulatory bodies free to work to their own timetables. And the links between macroeconomic policy makers in finance ministries and central banks, on the one hand, and regulators on the other, have been too weak. The changes made so far by the G20 summits are very modest and are unlikely to correct these flaws. There remains a particular problem in the European Union, where the crisis has shown that the single financial market requires more central coordination of regulation than the politicians have so far accepted. There remains, therefore, much unfinished business in financial regulatory reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wymeersch Eddy

Global and Regional Financial Regulation: The Viewpoint of a European Securities Regulator

in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 2, May

This article gives an overview of the efforts, worldwide and on a regional, that is, European, basis for introducing more effective and better harmonised financial regulation. Recent initiatives, especially the work of the G20 and the creation of the Financial Stability Board (FSB), indicate greater interest in worldwide coordination of financial regulatory intervention. The financial crisis has however dealt a serious blow to the previously existing international dialogue, and a fear exists that the main regulators may withdraw to their national battlefields. Major changes in the supervisory architecture are planned in the European Union: a more detailed coordinated approach to regulation and to monitoring the application of existing regulations is proposed by creating a European System of Financial Supervisors. A European Systemic Risk Board will also be introduced. These and comparable changes in the US may contribute to reactivating the regulatory dialogue. The core challenge remains that of effective application of the agreements, both at the regional and the international level, and there is no ready answer to this.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Woods Ngaire

Global governance after the financial crisis: A new multilateralism or the last gasp of the great powers?

in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 1, January

In the wake of the global financial crisis, three G20 Summits have reinvigorated global cooperation, thrusting the International Monetary Fund centre-stage with approximately \$1trillion of new resources. With China, Brazil, India, Russia and other powerful emerging economies now at the table, is a new more multilateral era of governance emerging? This article examines the evidence. It details the governance reforms and new financing of the IMF but finds only very limited shifts in the engagement of major emerging economies – insufficient to position the IMF to address the global imbalances, to set new multilateral rules, to operate as an alternative to self-insurance, or indeed to provide a more multilateral response to the development emergency. The IMF is shifting between borrower dependence (relying



on fee-paying borrowers for income); independence (with its own investment income); and lender-dependence (relying on wealthy members to extend credit lines to it). The result is an ambiguous set of forces restraining the IMF to stay as it is, and only weakly driving reform. The result is a new order in which multilateral institutions – such as the IMF – may end up with only a limited role to play alongside emerging national and regional strategies, unless a more radical transformation begins.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hong Qing, Smart Michael

In praise of tax havens: International tax planning and foreign direct investment
in *European Economic Review*, Volume 54, Issue 1, January 2010

The multinationalization of corporate investment in recent years has given rise to a number of international tax avoidance schemes that may be eroding tax revenues in industrialized countries, but which may also reduce tax burdens on mobile capital and so facilitate investment. Both the welfare effects of and the optimal response to international tax planning are therefore ambiguous. Evaluating these factors in a simple general equilibrium model, we find that citizens of high-tax countries benefit from (some) tax planning. Paradoxically, if tax rates are not too high, an increase in tax planning activity causes a rise in optimal corporate tax rates, and a decline in multinational investment. Thus fears of a “race to the bottom” in corporate tax rates may be misplaced.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Douste-Blazy Philippe

Innovative ideas like the \$2 plane ticket tax could rescue the MDGs
in *Europe’s World*, Issue 15, Summer

The global economic crisis has made the goal of saving the world’s poor slip from difficult to very doubtful. But former French foreign minister Philippe Douste-Blazy says the situation could easily be saved by widening the use of cheap but widespread travel taxes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Gayon Vincent

Le crédit vacillant de l’expert. L’OCDE face au chômage dans les années 1990 et 2000
in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 75, automne , 53-73

This article focuses on how OECD tackled the question of unemployment in the 1990s and 2000s. How was its credibility as economic institutional expert affected by such an increasingly serious “problem” ? To what extent did the unemployment crisis put the International Organization to a test ? The analysis I propose of the OECD’s “career” in this type of chronic crisis highlights the complex process of production and legitimization of its expertise. The enrolment of



some actors - which generally constitutes one of the strengths of this IO – is transformed into a constraint during this period. OECD is finally compelled to reposition – or even reinvent itself – on the “social question” and new jurisdictions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Ngambi Joseph

Les regroupements économiques au sein de l'OMC: quel contrôle?

in *Revue belge de droit international*, Vol. 41, n. 1-2 , 331-354

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Aslund Anders, Bergsten C. Fred

Let Russia join the WTO

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 179, June

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Long Grant

Minarets and Money: Anger in Europe and the Future of Monetary Union

in *SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)*, Volume 30, Number 1, Winter-Spring , 73-75

Of the trends in international affairs in the wake of the global financial crisis, much has been made of the status of the dollar as the world's premier international reserve currency. Many view the accumulation of dollar denominated assets in foreign central banks as a catalyst for overinflated U.S. housing prices and the subsequent global financial turmoil. Yet the dollar's critics have difficulty proposing an alternative to the dollar for international foreign currency reserves. The Swiss franc and British pound sterling, though important currencies in the world market, fail to have the requisite circulation size to supplant the dollar as a widely held foreign reserve. [...]

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Guerrieri Paolo

Multipolar governance and global imbalances

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 681-692

ABSTRACT: The deficiency of financial regulation and the presence of large macroeconomic global imbalances should be considered complementary interpretations of the global economic and financial crisis. The risk we face is that a new expansionary phase will bring back large and growing external imbalances, which will keep world growth on an



unsustainable path. At the international level there is a classical 'collective action' problem to address since if export growth oriented strategies are pursued by all major countries they will generate a deflationary bias in world demand. This article explores how multilateral cooperation and international institutions can become reengaged with, and provides a meaningful device for addressing, these new issues and problems. It is necessary to restore shared rules of the game for international macroeconomic adjustment. This means endorsing a strengthened surveillance regime for the IMF in order to induce more compatible macroeconomic policies. In this regard, the IMF should have enforcement rule incentives and mechanisms, otherwise we are going to repeat past negative experiences where peer pressure did not produce significant results.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Narlikar Amrita

New powers in the club: the challenges of global trade governance

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 717-728

ABSTRACT: No good deed goes unpunished: the WTO's timely response to accommodate the new powers—Brazil, India and China—at the heart of its decision-making has produced new inefficiencies, has heightened its proclivity to deadlock, and has exacerbated disengagement and disillusionment among all its stakeholders. Particularly in the context of a major economic crisis, a reliable international institution is necessary to ensure the continued provision of freer trade—well-recognized as the route to recovery. With the WTO's recent record to provide these necessary public goods under doubt, where do the solutions lie? This article discusses the changing role of the new powers in the WTO, and further analyses the opportunities and challenges that these developments generate. The concluding section examines possible routes to reform. While very little can, or indeed should, be done to alter the balance of power itself, it is argued that appropriate institutional reform can help the multilateral trading system retain the advances it has made on grounds of fairness and further address the concerns of efficiency that are central to the crisis that it faces today.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Hrbatá Veronika

No International Organization is an Island . . . the WTO's Relationship with the WIPO: A Model for the Governance of Trade Linkage Areas?

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 1 , 1-47

Trade has fuzzy boundaries where it overlaps with many different fields – be it the environment, intellectual property, or other. The World Trade Organization (WTO) is thus required to interact with other international institutions in order to come to an arrangement for dealing with these 'trade and ?' linkage areas. The relationship between the WTO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) could in many respects serve as a model. The picture that emerges when the various forms of interaction of the two organizations are assessed is that they benefit most from complementarity. Thus, for example, the WIPO offers detailed intellectual property rules, whilst the WTO supplements this with effective dispute settlement. This advantage may largely be due to the fact that the WTO has incorporated many of the WIPO rules into its own law. One of the recommendations put forward here is for other 'trade and ?' spheres to do the same. On the other hand, the analysis highlights a number of problems that occur when two institutions cross paths. One such difficulty is a potential conflict of law. To help to resolve it, the WTO dispute settlement



system should give greater consideration to the provisions of non-WTO law. Some hope for this is given in the US-Copyright case, but it is questioned whether this still holds in view of more recent caselaw. The interplay between the WTO and the WIPO thus forms the basis for a number of recommendations for better governance of trade linkage areas.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Jinnah Sikina

Overlap Management in the World Trade Organization: Secretariat Influence on Trade-Environment Politics in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 54-79

This article builds on recent scholarship that explores the nature of secretariat influence in global governance. By combining data from interviews with WTO delegates and secretariat staff with document analysis, this study examines how the WTO secretariat is shaping trade-environment politics by using its bureaucratic authority to influence overlap management in the WTO. This study argues that secretariat influence is present, but varies in form across cases. It shows up in the forms noted by previous scholars in their examinations of UNEP secretariats (i.e. negotiation-facilitation, capacity building, and knowledge-brokering), but also in previously un-discussed forms of influence such as marketing convention norms, and litigation facilitation. It further argues that secretariat influence matters in that the WTO secretariat plays an important role in shaping the way trade-environment issues evolve within the WTO, shaping its own identity as a hybrid administrative-judicial organ, as well as in enhancing WTO legitimacy with the broader public.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Crossen Jonathan, Momani Bessma

Rebuking Soviet IMF Membership in an Era of Glasnost

in Review of International Affairs (The) , Vol. LXI, n. 1137, January-March

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was keen to join the IMF as a sign of the international community's confidence in perestroika and in his leadership. Based on archival material, US government freedom of information requests, and personal interviews it appears that the Soviet application to join the IMF was rejected. The G7, led by the United States, had serious doubts about Gorbachev's commitment to join the free-market community. In contrast, first Russian President Boris Yeltsin was encouraged to apply for full membership only days after taking office. This article chronicles the debate in international capitals on the fate of the Soviet application in the IMF and reveals this unknown period of international relations. Moreover, this case teaches us the value of being viewed as a part of the community of states as an explanation for gaining membership into international organization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Rolland Sonia E.

Redesigning the Negotiation Process at the WTO



in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 13, Number 1, , 65-110

The negotiation structure at the World Trade Organization (WTO) primarily relies on the single undertaking, an all or nothing approach that typically precludes separate agreements among some of the parties or on some of the agenda items. This article argues for a re-examination of the value of the single undertaking, particularly with reference to developing country Members. With respect to the substantive negotiations, 'linkage' (the inter-dependent regulation of trade and other fields that are deemed to have an impact on trade) has been a powerful principle for the expansion of WTO regulation and the single undertaking has, so far, served as the vector to implement linkage. As a counterpoint, this article argues that linkage can—and should be—decoupled from negotiation design, particularly from the unquestioned and systematic recourse to the single undertaking. The article offers avenues for redesigning negotiations beyond the old dichotomy of the single undertaking versus 'à-la-carte' approaches. It proposes alternative negotiation structures that take into account the practical realities of many WTO Members with limited institutional capacity as well as the desirability for some Members to liberalize trade at a faster pace.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Elson Anthony

The Current Financial Crisis and Reform of the Global Financial Architecture

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 1, March

The current financial crisis has sparked an active debate about the adequacy of the global financial architecture (GFA) or the collective governance arrangements for promoting the stability of the international financial system which are mainly centred in the operations of the Financial Stability Forum (now Board) and IMF. There are three areas in particular in which the governance arrangements for the GFA did not work effectively in the lead-up to the current crisis: the oversight of global financial system stability, the coordination of international financial regulation, and the provision of a lender of last resort mechanism. In the light of recent G20 decisions, proposals for reform in each of these areas need to be discussed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Flor Elena

The Debate about the SDR as a Global Reserve Currency and SDR Denominated Securities

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Carrère Céline, de Melo Jaime

The Doha Round and Market Access for LDCs: Scenarios for the EU and US Markets

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 1 , 251–290



Least developed countries (LDCs) hoped that the DOHA round would bring them greater market access in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development countries than for non-LDCs. Using HS-6 tariff level data for the United States and the EU for 2004, this paper estimates that, once the erosion from preferential access into the EU to non-LDCs is taken into account, LDCs have about a 3% preferential margin in the EU market. In the US market, in spite of preferences under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), on a trade-weighted basis, LDCs are discriminated against. Under various 'Swiss formulas' for tariff cuts, effective market access for LDCs in the EU will be negligible and still negative in the United States. If the United States were to apply a 97% rule (i.e., duty-free quota-free access for all but 3% of the tariff lines), LDCs could increase exports by 10% or about USD 1 billion annually. Effective market access is further reduced by complicated Rules of Origin (RoO) applied by the EU and the United States. Furthermore, generally, the most restrictive RoO fall on products in which LDCs have the greatest preferential market access.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Nesvetailova Anastasia, Palan Ronen

The End of Liberal Finance? The Changing Paradigm of Global Financial Governance

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may, 797-825

ABSTRACT: Has the global credit crunch shifted the foundations of global financial architecture away from the philosophy of 'neoliberalism'? In this article, we argue that the neoliberal project is most probably dead and buried, despite the apparent commitment, which we detail in this article, to the spirit of neoliberal thinking in economic thought. By analysing three constitutive elements of neoliberalism (its public, private and regulatory components) before and after the credit crunch, we reveal important geopolitical shifts which are likely to prevent a return to 'business as usual' in the world of finance. We find that the defining trend among these changes is the global rise of the Eurozone. Specifically, we argue that the ideal, Anglo-Saxon model of neoliberalism was viable because it was heavily subsidised from around the world. Accordingly, the key to the future of Anglo-Saxon neoliberalism lies with the willingness of European, East Asian and Middle Eastern creditors to continue extending their financial support to the Anglo-Saxon model of finance. We believe that they are unlikely to do so in the future. Spurred by the magnitude of the credit crunch, the rise of Europe is progressively weakening each of the three dimensions of Anglo-Saxon neoliberalism we identify in this article.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

De Meester Bart

The Global Financial Crisis and Government Support for Banks: What Role for the Gats?

in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 13, Number 1, , 27-63

This article examines whether the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is a useful instrument to tackle government support that creates distortions of international competition in the banking sector. The GATS has no specific provisions on subsidies. However, general support schemes 'as such' or 'as applied' may violate Article XVII if they exclude foreign-owned banks with a commercial presence in the territory of the World Trade Organization (WTO) Member that adopts the scheme. This depends on the specific commitments of the WTO Member and the limitations to this commitment. Moreover, it is required that the excluded banks are 'like' the domestic banks. A single application of a



general scheme may violate Article VI(1) if solid evidence is available that this application is not reasonable, objective or impartial. Despite these possible violations, the great majority of measures will still be justified under the broad 'prudential carve-out'. Only support measures that are not reasonably able to achieve the prudential goal will not be exempted. Hence, the GATS imposes restraint on government support only in very limited cases. The WTO Members should address the remaining uncertainties with regard to both the obligations and the exception. This would ensure that the GATS is able to prevent that government support distorts competition and would also alleviate concerns that the GATS constitutes a danger to financial stability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Lang Andrew , Scott Joanne

The Hidden World of WTO Governance: A Rejoinder to Richard H. Steinberg
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1073-1076

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Richard H. Steinberg

The Hidden World of WTO Governance: A Reply to Andrew Lang and Joanne Scott
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1063-1071

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Truman Edwin M.

The IMF and Regulatory Challenges
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 1, March

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) plays a substantial regulatory role in the international monetary and financial system. It has been assigned a formal regulatory role in a limited number of areas, such as obligations covering exchange rate policies. Yet the Fund has a broader informal regulatory role derived from the voluntary consent of its members, such as in surveillance over members' financial sector policies and international payments imbalances. This regulatory role is unlike that of its member governments within their own jurisdictions. In order to guide the global economy in the wake of the 2007-09 crisis, the Fund's formal and informal regulation will have to be constantly nurtured and renewed via peer-review processes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Busch Marc, Pelc Krzysztof

The Politics of Judicial Economy at the World Trade Organization
in *International Organization*, vol. 64, issue 2, april , 257-279

ABSTRACT: International institutions often moderate the legal decisions they render. World Trade Organization (WTO) panels do this by exercising judicial economy. This practice, which is evident in 41 percent of all rulings, involves the decision not to rule on some of the litigants' arguments. The constraint is that it can be appealed. We argue that panels exercise judicial economy when the wider membership is ambivalent about the future consequences of a broader ruling. This is proxied by the "mixed" (that is, nonpartisan) third-party submissions, which are informative because they are costly, jeopardizing a more decisive legal victory that would benefit these governments too. We empirically test this hypothesis, and find that mixed third-party submissions increase the odds of judicial economy by upwards of 68 percent. This suggests that panels invoke judicial economy to politically appease the wider WTO membership, and not just to gain the litigants' compliance in the case at hand.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Xiaochuan Zhou

The Reform of the International Monetary System
in *Equilibri*, anno XIII, n. 2, agosto , 161-166

Zhou Xiaochuan, governor of the People's Bank of China has catalysed the world's attention with the article we have published. In the governor's opinion the outbreak of the crisis and its spillover to the entire world reflect the inherent vulnerabilities and systemic risks in the existing international monetary system. The reform of the latter would be beneficial for everybody. Zhou Xiaochuan proposes the creation of a stable international reserve currency, disconnected from individual nations, such as a reform of the SDR (Special Drawing Rights) which are used today to regulate the transactions within the IMF (International Monetary Fund).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sheng Andrew

The Regulatory Reform of Global Financial Markets: An Asian Regulator's Perspective
in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 2, May

Asia was not directly or significantly hurt through financial channels by the global financial crisis, but rather was hurt through trade channels. This article reviews the current regulatory reforms of global financial markets and how these affect Asia. The current crisis has exposed many weaknesses in the existing financial architecture, including the fragmentation of regulatory jurisdiction at the national and institutional levels. What is required is a system-wide and global view of market behaviour. The article uses a network perspective to analyse the issues and to propose solutions. The globalisation of finance and its fragmented regulatory oversight is a collective action problem that easily slips into a tragedy of the commons. Given the fact that there is no unanimity of views on how finance should be structured, there are differences in approaches to the reforms. Because Asian financial institutions and structures are less sophisticated, Asia is still struggling with how to make the financial system more efficient and responsive to real sector needs. The article suggests that Asia needs to identify its financial needs and can develop its markets through greater regional



cooperation. Identifying the need to see financial markets as ecosystems through diversity, the article suggests that Asia can evolve through simpler but more robust financial systems.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Eeckhout Piet

The Scales of Trade—Reflections on the Growth and Functions of the WTO Adjudicative Branch
in *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 13, Number 1, , 3-26

This essay argues that, increasingly, international economic law develops through adjudication. It therefore aims to offer some reflections on the growth and functions of the WTO adjudicative branch, which is of central importance to international economic law, by reviewing a number of important developments in the case law. The essay shows that important policy questions are submitted to adjudication. It aims to identify some of those questions, and to establish some parameters for WTO adjudication. It focuses in particular on the case law concerning the GATT and GATS General Exceptions, which, notwithstanding their generality and indeterminacy, occupy a central position in the resolution of international trade disputes. The essay takes issue with the use of economic concepts such as cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit balancing to characterize the adjudicative process of applying the General Exceptions. It argues that these concepts are inappropriate for analysing questions about trade versus environment/health/morals, etc. Instead, the essay suggests that legal theory offers further guidance for developing tools aimed at limiting adjudicative discretion. The essay approves of the weighing-and-balancing test which the Appellate Body has introduced, and contends that there is now a richer toolkit for tackling these sensitive cases and questions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Howse Robert , Chalamish Efraim

The Use and Abuse of WTO Law in Investor-State Arbitration: A Reply to Jürgen Kurtz
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1087-1094

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Kurtz Jürgen

The Use and Abuse of WTO Law in Investor-State Arbitration: Competition and its Discontents: A Rejoinder to Robert Howse and Efraim Chalamish
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1095-1098

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations



Vermeiren Mattias

The global imbalances and the contradictions of US monetary hegemony

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 2, June , 105-135

Over the last decade, the world economy has been characterised by escalating global current account imbalances between the United States (US) and East Asia in particular. This article argues that US monetary hegemony has been a necessary condition for the emergence of these imbalances. It is contended that the notion of structural power is indispensable to understanding the nature of US monetary hegemony and its relation to the imbalances. US monetary structural power has both induced East Asian states to increase their accumulation of dollar-denominated assets and allowed the US to decrease its savings. The article also shows that the mechanisms of US structural monetary power contain several contradictory dynamics that are able to undermine its own purpose, which is to avoid the burden of adjustment to balance-of-payments disequilibria.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Fitoussi Jean-Paul

The hard lessons of the global financial crisis

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

The downgrading of sovereign debt by the rating agencies may yet trigger another financial crisis. Jean-Paul Fitoussi explains what governments must now do to stop them from sapping the confidence of financial markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Pilkington Marc

Transnational Corporations in a Global Monetary Theory of Production: A World-Systems Perspective

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol. XVI, n. 2

ABSTRACT: In this paper, I argue that it is possible to enrich world-systems analysis with a heterodox Keynesian monetary theory of production known as the Theory of Money Emissions, based on the views put forward by the French economist Bernard Schmitt. In the aftermath of the global financial crisis, I aim to rehabilitate and adapt the old Keynesian proposal of an international clearing union to the modern world-system by providing a rationale behind a common world currency and a renewed perspective on money and transnational production.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Sacomanni Fabrizio

Turning the Page on an Era of Irresponsibility

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 1, March



The financial crisis has had some silver linings. The international community has rediscovered the importance of international cooperation and multilateral institutions. The International Monetary Fund, in particular, has been called back to centre stage. But despite the good intentions, the comprehensive action plan worked out by an upgraded G20 to rebuild the foundations for sustainable growth and financial stability in the global economy is unlikely to be strong enough to turn the page on the recent era of irresponsibility.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Vigilante Antonio

We are at a turning point for the MDGs

in Europe's World, Issue 15, Summer

It's not too late to rescue the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) from failure, says Antonio Vigilante. But it will demand a major effort and the leadership of the EU for the ill-effects of the global economic crisis to be reversed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Persaud Avinash

Where Europe and America differ on global banking regulation

in Europe's World, Issue 15, Summer

It's tempting to base ideas for global financial regulation on "bashing big banks", says Avinash Persaud, who chaired the UN's "Stiglitz Commission" on financial reform. But he warns that the greater problem is that of diverging American and European views on a safer rulebook.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Subacchi Paola

Who is in control of the international monetary system?

in International Affairs, vol. 86, issue 3, may, 665-680

ABSTRACT: Although the financial and economic crisis did not directly hit the international monetary system, it has led to the rethinking of the overall architecture that underpins the world economy. Can the current system of floating currency blocs with dollar-based trade and reserves withstand the strains of the global adjustment ahead? It is time to consider alternatives. This article argues that the existing system needs to evolve into a multicurrency one in which a number of international currencies, ideally representing the main trading areas, have the function of storing value and providing the unit of measure. A multicurrency system would respond more flexibly to the demand for liquidity and would provide a way to diversify the accumulation of reserve assets. It is also more appropriate for the increasingly multipolar world economy.



The article discusses how in today's larger and more integrated world economy the dependence on the dollar as the basis of both trade flows and financial reserves has become excessive, creating some fundamental imbalances. However, while the rationale for change is clear, the current system is locked in a form of stable disequilibrium where the status quo carries the lowest risk for most players in the short-term. Any abrupt move away from the dollar could trigger trade flow disruption and exchange value losses. Policy cooperation should keep the imbalances under control and manage the transition to a more stable system. The system will evolve, albeit gradually. Looking at the steps taken by some countries, notably China, there is the gathering impression that this decade is one of transition, rather than a 'Bretton Woods moment'. Any reshaping will have to bring in the views of the 'rising powers', China in particular, and their concerns about the limitations of the existing system and the increasingly asymmetric burden of adjustment that it imposes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Wyplosz Charles

Why the euro is not on course to dislodge the dollar

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

America's use of the dollar as a formidable instrument for its own economic management has long excited international criticism and resentment. But Charles Wyplosz explains why the euro is still far from poised to take over from the enfeebled U.S. currency.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 2. The economic and financial international organizations

Mosconi Antonio

Zhou's Wisdom

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Orlov Vladimir, Trushkin Ivan

EE UU y Rusia: avances hacia el desarme nuclear

in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

El nuevo START firmado por Medvedev y Obama el 8 de marzo ha inaugurado una 'primavera de Praga del desarme' que continúa en mayo con la Conferencia de Revisión del Tratado de No Proliferación. El objetivo en las próximas décadas es el 'cero nuclear'.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Cirincione Joseph, Bell Alexandra

EE UU y el gran pacto contra la proliferación

in **Política Exterior**, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

Nueve países tienen hoy armas nucleares. Este número podría llegar a 20 en la próxima década, y el peor escenario es que un grupo terrorista se haga con un arma nuclear. Para evitarlo, se necesita reforzar el régimen de no proliferación. El liderazgo de EE UU es imprescindible.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Stumbaum May-Britt

Europe must get inside the mind of the dragon

in **Europe's World**, Issue 15, Summer

Europe has long resisted American pressure and co-operated with China on technology, military and trade projects. Yet the EU still has little understanding of Beijing's security aims, warns May-Britt Stumbaum. It must engage China at a much deeper level if it is to match the sophistication of the U.S. relationship with Beijing.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Jensen Soren Gade

It's high time the EU and NATO worked shoulder to shoulder

in **Europe's World**, Issue 14, Spring

Afghanistan and Kosovo are worrying examples of the inefficiencies created by the impasse in relations between the EU and NATO. Soren Gade Jensen, Denmark's Defence Minister, makes the case for improved cooperation between the two, leading to a more effective and comprehensive approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Yakemtchouk Romain

L'engagement anti-terroriste de l'Union européenne face à l'Afghanistan et au Pakistan

in **Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne**, n. 537, avril , 243-251

This article briefly goes over Afghanistan's history since the Russian/British competition to the September 11 attacks that triggered NATO's intervention. After summarising the United Nations and the EU's action and the strategic challenges that the allies are facing, the article describes the Western world's strategy changes towards an Afghanisation of the conflict.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Carati Andrea, Clementi Marco

La Nato e la distribuzione dei costi della forza

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XL, Numero 1, Aprile , 23-58

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Kupchan Charles A.

NATO's Final Frontier

in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010, Volume 3, Number 89

NATO has traditionally treated Russia as a strategic pariah. But now, the West urgently needs Moscow's cooperation on a host of issues. A vision for turning Russia into a productive member of the Euro-Atlantic community is within reach: Russia should join NATO. Although NATO would run a strategic risk by admitting Russia, the Atlantic alliance is actually running a greater strategic risk by excluding it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Steen Anton

National Elites and the Russian Minority Issue. Does EU-NATO Integration Matter?

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 2 / March , 193-212

One of the main conditions for post-communist countries to attain membership of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was that national laws should be brought into line with international human rights standards, with special attention to political rights for minority groups. In the case of the Baltic States, the national elites played a major role in the process leading to more liberal citizenship laws towards the Russian-speaking minority. However, was the changing of formal institutions a manifestation of a liberalization of the national elites' orientations towards this minority? The article argues that instrumental elite strategies explain why nationalist attitudes seem to prevail both before and after membership, despite less restrictive laws and internationally-orientated elites.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Choubey Deepti

Perspectivas para la Conferencia de Revisión del TNP

in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

Detener la proliferación de armas nucleares, asegurar el uso pacífico de la energía nuclear y trabajar por el desarme son los tres pilares del TNP. Limitaciones institucionales y falta de colaboración de algunos países han debilitado uno de los instrumentos clave de la seguridad mundial.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Wasinski Christophe

Produire de la capacité de gestion de crise internationale. Le cas de l'OTAN au cours des années 2000
in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 75, automne , 15-31

This analysis is questioning how NATO is creating her crisis management capacity. Using a sociological constructionist perspective, it investigates how people speaking in the name of NATO are founding and diffusing the representation of the organisation as an entity able to solve international crisis (like the current one in Afghanistan). However, the question has nothing to do with the development of the material development of a crisis management capacity. Nor is it related to the field efficiency of the crisis management procedures in situation of "post-conflict reconstruction". The question is a narrower one asking how the affirmation that NATO has the technical capacity to manage the crisis was created. The question could be translated in more mundanely terms as : "Why and how is NATO convinced she is able to manage international crisis ?". Such an affirmation is, I believe, a necessary precondition to any NATO intervention. This is a technical public justification that is built in discourses, reports or manuals. Moreover, this affirmation contributes to provide an identity to the organisation and will have direct consequences on the credibility it is recognised to intervene in the mentioned field.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Mankoff Jeffrey

Reforming the Euro-Atlantic Security Architecture: An Opportunity for U.S. Leadership
in *Washington Quarterly (The)*, volume 33, n. 2, April

For the past year and a half, President Dmitry Medvedev of Russia has been pressing the United States and its European allies to open negotiations on a treaty establishing a new Euro-Atlantic security architecture. After enunciating a series of broad aims in mid-2008, the Russian leadership did not initially provide much detail about its idea for a new security agreement. Without a clearer sense of Moscow's aims, officials in many countries came to view the idea in a poor light, seeing it as a clumsy attempt to undermine existing European and Euro-Atlantic security institutions as well as weaken Europe's ability to pursue a unified policy toward Russia. Although Moscow finally released a draft treaty proposal in late November 2009, the Russian draft did little to allay these concerns. Russia's continued intervention in affairs of its neighbors, manipulation of energy supplies, and failure to abide by existing agreements have all made Washington and its allies wary of Moscow's proposal...

http://www.twq.com/10april/docs/10apr_Mankoff.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Devuyst Youri

Religion and American foreign policy: the Bush-Obama divide and its impact on transatlantic relations
in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 35-46

In 2003, EU High Representative Javier Solana declared that the religious certainty behind the Bush administration's sharp moral convictions constituted one of the root causes of the transatlantic rift at the start of the 21st century. While religion continues to be an important source of inspiration in President Obama's foreign policy rhetoric, Bush and Obama represent two fundamentally different streams of the American religious tradition. In contrast with Bush, Obama's philosophical and religious views - far from limiting the possibilities of international cooperation - are an active incentive for engagement and compromise and form an important contribution to today's transatlantic reconciliation. For Obama, faith is an instrument to inspire an active investment «in our common humanity» across national and religious dividing lines. In this sense, Obama's thinking comes close to the secular reasoning by European social democrats such as Willy Brandt, Olof Palme and Gro Harlem Brundtland and should help laying the foundations for transatlantic cooperation in international affairs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Baranovsky Vladimir

Russia's Approach to Security Building in the Euro-Atlantic Zone
in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 2, June

Russia-related problems remain prominent in the European security debate. While a minimalist goal would be to reduce mutual antagonism in the Russia-European security area, a more ambitious mission would be to make Europe part of the eventual solution of Russia's problems, and vice versa. Moscow's draft of a European security treaty was not met with overwhelming enthusiasm. But engaging in a serious re-thinking and re-building of the Euro-Atlantic security architecture seems to be increasingly perceived as a worthy endeavour. What is needed is an entire network of instruments for governance and joint actions, both in "traditional" security areas and in new ones. Some of these tools could appear within the framework of existing multilateral institutions or in conjunction with them, others could emerge from their reform (or, conversely, stimulate it), while certain structures would require a new basis. Within such an agenda, Russia's involvement in the Euro-Atlantic area as a respectable and responsible actor would be an essential factor in promoting security in it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Drozdiak William

The Brussels Wall. Tearing Down the EU-NATO Barrier
in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010, Volume 3, Number 89

As the United States and Europe face common threats around the globe, the time has come to break down the bureaucratic barrier between the European Union and NATO. Today's challenges require the hard power of NATO and the soft power of the EU.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Binder David

The Euro-Atlantic Brand

in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 21, Number 2, Spring , 12-17

"Euro-Atlantic" as a political power brand name was employed possibly for the first time in a 1985 speech by Bettino Craxi, then president of the European Council, when he spoke about "Italy's Euro-Atlantic role." Its political usage was codified in the label Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), a group formed in 1997 and which now numbers fifty "partner" governments. EAPC is the successor to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. (The NACC was created as an adjunct to NATO six years earlier in the first flush of post-Cold War Europe.) Among EAPC partners are not only eleven far-flung (and non-Atlantic-riparian) governments of the former Soviet Union—from Armenia to Uzbekistan—but also the six republics of the former Yugoslavia. Russia itself is listed among the partners, although its leaders remain highly suspicious of the NATO parent.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Evangelista Matthew A.

The European Road to Security

in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XL, n.179, Aprile-Giugno

The author argues that in the 1980s a European approach to security existed and that it contributed significantly to the ending of the arms race and the Cold War. The question now is whether there exists a specific European perspective for the urgent security issues of today: namely, terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons in particular. Evangelista believes that a European approach effectively exists to these questions, all the more evident if compared with the policies of the United States and Russia, whose governments have set themselves the task of fighting terrorism by declaring war and attacking Afghanistan, Iraq and Chechnya. As many countries do in wartime, they have limited the freedom of their citizens for the sake of security, but their policies have failed to achieve any great success. It has become a commonplace to say that Europe tackles terrorism differently, preferring to strengthen legality and collaboration between intelligence services than to wage war. Albeit correct, such a response ultimately opens up new issues. In Europe, the strengthening of legislative measures against those suspected of terrorist activities triggers debate about immigration and relative policies. The author concludes that Europe's success or otherwise in the fight against terrorism will depend largely on how it handles its relationship with immigrants, a field in which Europeans themselves may have something to learn from the United States and Russia.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Vassilis Kaskarelis

The Nature and Scope of the US-EU Relationship

in Mediterranean Quarterly, Volume 21, Number 1, Winter , 15-24



United by common values and threat perceptions, the United States and the EU are each other's natural allies and most obvious and important political and trade partners. Despite occasional misunderstandings, mainly on tactics, there are very few areas in which European and American interests and objectives do not coincide. It must be noted that Europe needs to be more effective internally and in its dealings with the United States. Nevertheless, past experience teaches the United States that this irreplaceable relationship will continue to develop not from more formalistic machinery or rigid definitions of burden-sharing but from sustained and results-oriented coordination, depending on the issue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Badmus Isiaka Alani

The Quest For Security After the Cold War: Africa's Security Concerns

in Review of International Affairs (The) , Vol. LX, nn. 1133-1134, January-June

This article analyses the features of African countries in the field of security spotlighting its security threats from the Cold War era. The current regional security frameworks for promoting peace and stability are also examined. Since Africa is a new entrant into the international system, all African countries south of the Sahara typified by underdevelopment, increasing inequity in wealth/income distributions, social and ethno-religious conflicts, fragile political institutions/instability, social and moral decadence, neopatrimonialism, etc., ultimately, constitute the security quagmires of these societies. This study operationalised security in a wider context. It transcends the traditional military-political conception; it rather looks at security in multidimensional facets. Therefore, security is seen beyond the political order, which protects both individuals and the states against physical threats. It encompasses the socio-economic order that is central to the concept today. Regional security, by extension, is the summation of national security of nation-states and individuals in a particular region (against both internal and external threats) defined largely in political, economic, and social terms.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Whiting A. S.

The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 83, Number 1, March , 149-151

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Khan Theodore

The United States, Europe, and the Threat of Radical Islam: Different Means of Engagement

in SAIS Review of International Affairs (The), Volume 30, Number 1, Winter-Spring , 123-125

Peter Lawler argues in the preceding article that Americans' confidence in and commitment to a set of national values



makes them more willing to accept the costs of war. Certainly the U.S. response to September 11 attests to its readiness to use military force. Europe on the other hand, chastened by two world wars, is more averse to military action. But the United States and Europe face a common threat in radical Islam, and addressing that threat requires cooperation. Given their entangled fates, it is worth examining more carefully why the United States is quicker than its allies to use military force and whether, ultimately, war serves their common interest. [...]

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Packard George R.

The United States-Japan Security Treaty at 50

in Foreign Affairs, March/ April 2010, Volume 2, Number 89

The treaty that forms the backbone of postwar relations between Washington and Tokyo is one of the most enduring treaties since the Peace of Westphalia. But with the election of the Democratic Party of Japan last summer, the deal is now being called into question.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Cogan Charles

Washington, Sarkozy, and the Defence of Europe

in European Political Science, Volume 9, Issue 2, June, 165–175

With the onset of the Sarkozy presidency, an 'era of good feeling' has set in for the often fraught French–American relationship. But it is also a hyper presidency, as there is no way of predicting what surprise initiatives Sarkozy will think up next, and this may create problems, or at least adjustments, in the way Washington views him. Sarkozy's stated aim to bring France fully back into NATO was fulfilled at the NATO summit in April 2009, although his 'condition' that the European Security and Defence Policy first be strengthened clearly fell short of his expectations, due in part to the current financial and economic crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Szabo Stephen

Why the U.S. can't look to NATO or the EU to support its Russia strategy

in Europe's World, Issue 15, Summer

Europe is proving a foreign policy disappointment to the Obama Administration as it struggles to propound a clearer strategy toward Russia. Washington now recognises, says Stephen Szabo, that only Berlin has the key to a new relationship with Moscow.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 3. Security communities and organizations

Revet Sandrine

«Vivre dans un monde plus sûr»

in **Cultures & Conflits**, n. 75, automne , 33-51

The paper analyzes the legitimization grammars used by international organizations working on the field of “natural” risks and disasters management. It first describes the space that international organizations have constructed, since the 1980’s, on this outlook. The paper then highlights the different grammars of legitimization and action competing in this space. It shows the growing importance in this field on the notion of “security” and the impact of its recent transformations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hettne Björn

Development and Security: Origins and Future

in **Security Dialogue**, vol. 41, n. 1, february , 31-52

ABSTRACT: The problems of development and security have historically formed distinct discourses. More recently, they have been inextricably linked both in discourse and in much policy, thus creating the so-called development—security nexus that pervades much of today’s international development assistance. The empirical basis for attention to this nexus has been quite obvious given the many humanitarian emergencies occurring in the 1990s. It is less clear what, in terms of linkages, went before and what will come after. This article discusses the putative nexus in different historical geopolitical contexts, probing into its origins and speculating about the shape it may take in the future. It consists of three parts. The first deals with conceptual issues and the overall theoretical framework. The second describes four historical discourses, consecutively prevalent from about 1750 to 1980. The third concerns the current discourse on globalization and its possible future shape: global development.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Falk Richard

A Radical World Order Challenge: Addressing Global Climate Change and the Threat of Nuclear Weapons

in **Globalizations** , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 137-155

Abstract

This article explores the world order constraints that inhibit responses to major challenges of global scope, considering especially the experience with nuclear weapons and climate change. The major conclusion reached is that the state system is ill-equipped to produce responses to such global challenges that serve the global public interest. This deficiency arises partly from the primacy accorded to national as opposed to global interest, the extent to which national policy is driven by short cycles of political accountability, and the biasing impact of special economic and bureaucratic



interests.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Charters Claire

A Self-Determination Approach to Justifying Indigenous Peoples' Participation in International Law and Policy Making

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 17, Number 2 , 215-240

This paper defends the legitimacy-positive impact of a “contextual-participation approach” to indigenous peoples' participation in international law-making. It argues that indigenous peoples' participation should be substantial where the issue being negotiated at the international level is of considerable interest to indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples have not consented to state representation. The “contextual-participation approach” to indigenous peoples' participation realises the justice in indigenous peoples' claims to remedial efforts to recognise their, mostly lost and historical, sovereignty, and to contemporary and evolving legal, and largely democratic, understandings of self-determination, as expressed, for example, in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. At the same time, it balances indigenous peoples' self-determination entitlements to full participation in international law making, as unjustifiably excluded sovereigns, with contemporary political realities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Maskivker Julia

A non-cosmopolitan case for sovereign debt relief

in Journal of Global Ethics, Volume 6, Issue 1, April 2010 , 57-70

Abstract

This article develops the argument that non-cosmopolitan considerations of justice justify relief of sovereign debt for highly indebted poor states. In particular, the article claims that considerations of national determination warrant some debt-forgiveness in the backdrop of unfair terms of global interaction. In a context of inequality, poor countries cannot generally afford to disregard the costs of ignoring the interests of the wealthiest states. Patterns of unbalanced interaction undermine national self-determination by limiting the poor countries' effective capacity to choose between different policies to achieve development and other worthy goals. In concrete, this article suggests that unequal terms of interaction constrain national self-determination by making of sovereign debt an 'escape mechanism' in the absence of rival alternatives to palliate the effects of underdevelopment and related afflictions, despite the causes of sovereign debt being partly domestic, possibly. Thus, this paper views national self-determination as dependent on the availability of acceptable (non-unbearably burdensome) policy options on the part of states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



van Aaken Anne, Chambers Richard

Accountability and Independence of International Election Observers

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, n. 2 , 541-580

ABSTRACT: International election monitoring has become ever more important in the national as well as the international context. Plenty of (regional) International Organizations (and NGOs) send Election Observers Missions (EOMs) to countries in order to assess the quality of their democratic process and elections. Whereas the influence of EOMs is largely undisputed, their independence, impartiality and accountability have been less discussed. This paper describes the legal set-up of EOMs in order to assess their independence and accountability. It also uses accountability mechanisms as discussed in international law scholarship (ILA Report and the Global Administrative Law project) in order to analyze the accountability mechanisms currently in place for EOMs.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Caffarena Anna

After 1989. Multilateralism and the challenges of the new world

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XL, n.179, Aprile-Giugno

In the post-1989 years, the dominant rhetoric was all about disorder – from the ‘clash of civilisations’ to ‘back to the future’. Actually, following the end of bipolarism, the international system has always been unipolar from the structural point of view, i.e. of the distribution of power, whereas, in terms of the rules of the game, it has been characterised by an attempt to first extend and then revise multilateralism. In retrospect, an attempt to change the rules of the game might be traced to the events that followed the attack of September 11. It was only from that day that the United States, guarantors of the previous world order, launched a project aimed at replacing it with a legibus solutus unilateralism. The present strategy of democratic transformation of the world, however, loses meaning and purpose, if it is not nested in a multilateral framework. Order, after all, might continue to be a repeat of itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jovanović; Miodrag

Are There Universal Collective Rights?

in *Human Rights Review*, Volume 11, Number 1 / March , 17-44

The first part of the paper focuses on the current debate over the universality of human rights. After conceptually distinguishing between different types of universality, it employs Sen’s definition that the claim of a universal value is the one that people anywhere may have reason to see as valuable. When applied to human rights, this standard implies “thin” (relative, contingent) universality, which might be operationally worked-out as in Donnelly’s three-tiered scheme of concepts–conceptions–implementations. The second part is devoted to collective rights, which have recently become a new topic of the human rights debate. This part provides the basis of political–philosophical justification and legal–theoretical conceptualization of collective rights, as rights directly vested in collective entities. The third part dwells on the problem of universality of collective rights. It differentiates between the three main collective entities in international law—peoples, minorities, and indigenous peoples—and investigates whether certain rights vested in these



collectives might, according to Sen's standard, acquire the status of the universal ones. After determining that some rights are, in principle, plausible candidates for such a status in international law, this paper concludes by taking notice of a number of the open issues that still need to be settled, primarily by the cooperative endeavor of international legal scholars and legal theorists.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fisher Dana R.

COP-15 in Copenhagen: How the Merging of Movements Left Civil Society Out in the Cold

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 11-17

What happened to non-governmental organizations' participation at the COP-15 round of climate negotiations in Copenhagen? Although the climate regime has been seen as relatively open to civil society, everything changed in Copenhagen and civil society became increasingly disenfranchised. This article discusses the three main forces that led to civil society's disenfranchisement at this round of the climate negotiations: increased registration, poor planning by the Danish organizers and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Secretariat, and the merging of movements. I conclude by discussing implications of the increase in civil society disenfranchisement to the climate regime and to the study of global environmental politics more broadly.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

McDonald Patrick

Capitalism, Commitment, and Peace

in International Interactions, vol. 36, issue 2, april , 146-168

ABSTRACT: This paper builds on the growing capitalist peace research program by examining how large quantities of public property influence the likelihood of conflict between states. Drawing on the logic of the commitment problem, it develops two explanations linking the predominance of public property in an economy to the likelihood of being the target of military conflict, defined to include both militarized disputes and war. Empirical support for this hypothesis is generated with a brief illustrative case and a series of statistical tests with monadic and directed dyadic research designs. A final section discusses how these findings suggest that capitalism plays a larger role than democracy in limiting military conflict between states.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mueller John

Capitalism, Peace, and the Historical Movement of Ideas

in International Interactions, vol. 36, issue 2, april , 169-184

ABSTRACT: A logical and causal exploration of the growing acceptance of capitalism and peace, or war aversion, is part of what Robert Dahl has called "the historical movement of ideas." Although war aversion and the acceptance of



free-market capitalism have undergone parallel and substantially overlapping historical trajectories, support for capitalism does not on its own logically or necessarily imply war aversion or support for peace. Not only must capitalism be embraced as an economic system, but at least three other ideas must be accepted as well: prosperity and economic growth must be taken as a dominant goal; peace must be seen as a better motor than war for development, progress, and innovation; and trade, rather than conquest, must be held to be the best way to achieve the dominant goal. Moreover, the causal direction may well be misspecified: it is not that free-market capitalism and the economic development it spawns cause peace, but rather that peace causes—or facilitates—capitalism and its attendant economic development. This also may explain why peace is more closely associated with capitalism than with democracy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

de Chazournes Laurence Boisson

Changing Roles of International Organizations: Global Administrative Law and the Interplay of Legitimacies in International Organizations Law Review, vol. 6, n. 2 , 655-666

ABSTRACT: Looking back over the last sixty years, there is no doubt that the role and the capacity of international organizations to conduct operations have greatly evolved. Their mandates have expanded and the objectives to be reached have been diversified. Field operations have increased in a dramatic way. It has become increasingly necessary for international organizations to resort to innovative legal mechanisms to be able to fulfil the new tasks they have been assigned. In the meantime, the appearance on the world stage of a large number of non-State actors carrying out tasks which were traditionally incumbent upon State authorities and intergovernmental organisations, has led to the establishment of specific mechanisms allowing them to collaborate closely with the latter. In face of the challenges raised by these complex interlocking legal relationships, numerous administrative law type principles have emerged as instruments for adapting the classic international system of States and intergovernmental organizations to contemporary requirements.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jacobson David

Citizenship redux: Why citizenship remains pivotal in a globalizing world in Political Power and Social Theory, Volume 20 , 281-286

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Underdal Arild

Complexity and challenges of long-term environmental governance in Global Environmental Change, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: Governance, Complexity and Resilience, August , 386-393



Some important processes of environmental change – including those of climate change and loss of biodiversity – share three characteristics that make them extremely demanding challenges of governance. First, time-lags between human action and environmental effect are very long, often extending beyond one human generation. Second, problems are embedded in highly complex systems that are not well understood. Third, these problems involve global collective goods of a type that links them to a wide range of human activities and leaves them beyond the scope of unilateral solutions. Social science research offers two essentially different models of collective response to severe challenges. One portrays effective response as collective action through central leadership and contraction of power. The other conceives of societal response as involving a variety of local activities undertaken by subunits of a complex and decentralised system. I argue that both models have considerable merit, but also that they respond to different types of challenges. Therefore, useful insights can be gained by specifying more precisely the circumstances under which each model applies.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Yan Hektor K. T.

Cosmopolitanism and What it Means to be Human: Rethinking Ancient and Modern Views on Discerning Humanity

in *Philosophia*, Volume 38, Number 1, January 2010 , 107-129

Abstract

This paper takes a conceptual look at cosmopolitanism and the related issue of what it means to be human in order to arrive at an alternative conceptual framework which is free from empiricist assumptions. With reference to a discussion on Homer's Iliad, the author develops a 'humanist' model of discerning humanity. This model is then compared and contrasted with Martha Nussbaum's version of cosmopolitanism. The notion of 'aspect-seeing' discussed by Wittgenstein in the second part of the Philosophical Investigations is also examined in order to shed light on what it involves to discern humanity. Finally, racism is discussed from the philosophical perspective elaborated in order to highlight its distinctive conceptual features. It is hoped that this paper can refocus our attention on important issues concerning the basis of what it means to see human beings as human beings.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mittelman James H.

Crisis and Global Governance: Money, Discourses, and Institutions

in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 157-172

Abstract

In our troubled times, dominant discourses about crisis have muddled its underlying dynamics. To refocus, analysis explicates the ideological effects of the narratives that accompany surges in militarization and financial securitization. It is argued that money in the form of military spending and finance, prevailing storylines about them, and international institutions entrench the structures. Whereas the task of global governance is to forge collective responses and make rules for addressing these evolving processes, their mechanisms as evidenced in top-down summitry such as Group of



20 forums have silenced many key issues. Prominent among the failings is the insubstantial agenda for development, especially in regard to the world's most vulnerable populations. The old catchphrases among developmentalists will not suffice. Rather, this inquiry touches on implications for a transformation in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

de la Rocha Vázquez Manuel

Crisis y gobierno: por una globalización más democrática

in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

El entusiasmo transformador del G-20 en los primeros momentos de la crisis se ha desvanecido sin ninguna reforma fundamental del sistema financiero. ¿Supone el G-20 una nueva distribución de poder? ¿Cómo lograr una gobernanza mundial más inclusiva y democrática?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koivisto Marjo

Crisis, What Crisis? Liberal Order Building and World Order Conventions

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 615-640

ABSTRACT: Liberal internationalism is the default setting for thinking about the development of international institutions since 1919. It provides the template for practitioners whose job it is to juggle contending norms of power and justice, rights and responsibilities. For complex reasons, proponents of liberalism believe that the default needs to be reset — their critics agree. Liberalism is in trouble because of the fragility of the inter-state order coupled to the challenge posed by rising, non-liberal powers. Closer to home, liberalism is in trouble because of a contestation over its specific liberal values. Contemporary liberal international theory understands this challenge in subtly different ways. For US-based internationalists, the crisis is one of authority; for English School internationalists, the problem with international order is that its institutions are 'deformed' because of a failure to legitimise power and institutions. Whether the crisis is on the legitimacy or authority side of the register, we argue that both internationalisms fail to adequately theorise world order in part because of their flawed characterisation of hierarchy and their related lack of attention to performances of social conventions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Remiro Brotóns Antonio

Crímenes internacionales, jueces estatales

in *Política Exterior*, 134 - Marzo / Abril 2010

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Å-sterdahl Inger

Dangerous Liaison? The Disappearing Dichotomy between Jus ad Bellum and in Bello
in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 78, issue 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pène Cedric

De Doha à Copenhague : le crépuscule des négociations multilatérales ?
in *Politique Etrangère*, vol.75, n°2, été

Les négociations sur le commerce, ou l'environnement, articulent plusieurs niveaux: ensemble des membres, groupe représentatif d'États, groupe réduit de pays clés, couple décisif de deux joueurs majeurs. Ce montage est remis en cause par de nouveaux rapports de force mondiaux, le décalage entre le temps court politique et le temps long des négociations, le poids nouveau des facteurs internes. Occasion, sans doute, de revoir l'architecture des négociations, et la place de l'UE ou de l'ONU.

Negotiations on international trade or the environment are held at several different levels: among all members of the debate, representative groups of states, smaller groups of key countries, and between the twomain players in the negotiation. This setup is challenged by new international balances of power, the discrepancy between short-term political mandates and drawn-out negotiation on long-term issues, and by new internal factors that must be taken into account. This may well be an opportunity to review the structure of negotiations and the EU and the UN's place within these debates.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Brasset James, Smith William

Deliberation and global civil society: agency, arena, affect
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 2, April , 413-430

The article provides a critical analysis of the role and function of global civil society within deliberative approaches to global governance. It critiques a common view that global civil society can/should act as an agent for democratising global governance and seeks to explore the importance of global civil society as an arena of deliberation. This more reconstructive aim is supplemented by an empirically focused discussion of the affective dimensions of global civil society, in general, and the increasingly important use of film, in particular. Ultimately, this then yields an image of the deliberative politics of global civil society that is more reflective of the differences, ambiguities and contests that pervade its discourses about global governance. This is presented as a quality that debates about deliberative global governance might learn from as well as speak to.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Higgot Richard, Erman Eva

Deliberative global governance and the question of legitimacy: what can we learn from the WTO?
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 2, April , 449-470

The integration of the global economy through the liberalisation of the trade regime, the deregulation of financial markets and the privatisation of state assets has led to what we now commonly call 'globalisation'. These processes, however, have not been accompanied by a comparable development of the global polity. At the same time, it is increasingly recognised in policy circles that without the development of norms, institutions and processes to manage globalisation many of the advantages it has brought the world could be undone by a failure to mitigate the excesses and negative consequences that emanate from it, especially for large sections of the world's poor. This article addresses two broad questions: what might we understand by global governance in an era of increasingly contested globalisation and what role might international organisations play in making it more (democratically) legitimate? It addresses these questions in three steps. First, it proposes a heuristic definition that identifies two key strands of 'governance' in the contemporary debate. It is argued that global governance understood as effective and efficient collective decision-making and problem solving is insufficient for normative reasons and must, in addition, be complemented by global governance understood as the democratic legitimisation of policy-making. In a second step, as an example of this latter type of governance, the article develops a deliberative two-track view of transnational legitimacy. It argues that deliberative democracy offers some fruitful theoretical tools in this context since it is equipped to address some of the qualitative problems of international decision-making as well as accommodate a plausible notion of political agency. Thirdly, from the point of view of this two-track view, the article examines the WTO and discusses its strengths and vulnerabilities, not only as a vehicle for trade liberalisation but also as an instrument of better global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

MacDonal Kate, MacDonald Terry

Democracy in a Pluralist Global Order: Corporate Power and Stakeholder Representation
in *Ethics and International Affairs*, vol. 24, n. 1, spring , 19-43

ABSTRACT: Whereas representative democratic mechanisms have generally been built around preexisting institutional structures of sovereign states, the global political domain lacks any firmly constitutionalized or sovereign structures that could constitute an analogous institutional backbone within a democratic global order. Instead, global public power can best be characterized as "pluralist" in structure. Some recent commentators have argued that if global democratization is to succeed at all, it must proceed along a trajectory beginning with the construction of global sovereign institutions and culminating in the establishment of representative institutions to control them. This paper challenges this view of the preconditions for global democratization, arguing that democratization can indeed proceed at a global level in the absence of sovereign structures of public power. In order to gain firmer traction on these questions, analysis focuses on



the prospects for democratic control of corporate power, as constituted and exercised in one particular institutional context: sectoral supply chain systems of production and trade. It is argued that global democratization cannot be straightforwardly achieved simply by replicating familiar representative democratic institutions (based on constitutional separations of powers and electoral control) on a global scale. Rather, it is necessary to explore alternative institutional means for establishing representative democratic institutions at the global level within the present pluralist structure of global power.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bohman James

Democratising the global order: from communicative freedom to communicative power
in *Review of International Studies (The)*, Vol. 36, Issue 2, April , 431-447

While there is much discussion of the need for democracy in transnational institutions, there is less discussion of the conditions for their democratisation. To address this deficit, a general account of democratisation is necessary. I propose that democratisation is dependent on the joint realisation of two conditions: communicative freedom and communicative power. Democratisation thus requires, first, publics and associations in which communicative freedom is realised on the one hand; and, second, institutions that link such freedom to the exercise of communicative power to decision making on the other. In order for these conditions to be met, civil society must be expanded into the public sphere. The transformation of communicative freedom into communicative power can be promoted only by institutions that recognise the decisional status of publics, which in turn depend on civil society to generate the deliberative benefits of the plurality of perspectives. Communicative power is not merely spontaneously generated through publics, but also through publics expressly formed through democratic institutional design.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Patt Anthony G.

Effective regional energy governance—not global environmental governance—is what we need right now for climate change

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Special Issue: Adaptive Capacity to Global Change in Latin America, February , 33-35

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Mol Arthur P. J.

Environmental authorities and biofuel controversies

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Special Issue: Symposium on Renewable Energy, February , 61-79



The current generation of crop-based biofuels is heavily contested for its negative consequences for the environment and the poor. Hence, the current biofuel system needs to be transformed in the direction of what can be labelled 'fair fuels': (bio)fuels that are environmentally and socially sustainable. Conventional state environmental authorities have limited power and legitimacy to effectively regulate the sustainability of current global biofuels. Hence, we witness the emergence of private market environmental authorities, moral environmental authorities and all kinds of hybrid authorities in biofuel regulation. These new forms of environmental authority should neither be condemned as ineffective and undemocratic nor celebrated as the modern answer to transnational environmental problems that face state failure. Further critical inquiry into the changing environmental authority structure under conditions of globalisation is needed.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Solbes Pedro, Youngs Richard

Europe is failing to shape the global governance debate

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

The EU's enthusiasm for reshaping global governance has dwindled, and now looks more like indifference. Pedro Solbes and Richard Youngs warn that the EU not only risks the debate being shaped elsewhere but may even find itself left out of the discussion altogether.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Vincze Hajnalka

Europe vis-à-vis an Unbalanced Multipolar World

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1 , 38-50

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Merritt Giles, Cami Geert

Europe's World Global Governance Snapshot

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21596/Default.asp

x

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Story Jonathan



Europe's soft power versus China's brute force in the global marketplace

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

Europeans tend to be over-pessimistic about their economic strengths vis-à-vis China, says Jonathan Story. He looks at the cultural and political forces that have so far shaped their relationship.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ziai Aram

German development policy 1998–2005: the limits of normative global governance

in *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Volume 13, Number 2, June , 136-162

The Social Democratic/Green government which was in office in Germany from 1998 to 2005 announced that it would practise development policy as 'global structural policy': as policy aiming to transform global economic structures in favour of poor countries. The article proceeds by analysing the attempts to do so in three areas: the reform of structural adjustment programmes and debt relief, the reform of the international financial architecture, and the 'Development Round' in world trade negotiations. The article also analyses the accompanying discourse in order to identify the factors limiting this form of normative global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Marchetti Barbara

Giustizia comunitaria e giustizia globale: spunti per una comparazione

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1381-1406

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kingsbury Benedict, Casini Lorenzo

Global Administrative Law Dimensions of International Organizations Law

in *International Organizations Law Review*, vol. 6, n. 2 , 319-358

ABSTRACT: Several important legal features of the contemporary practice of international organizations (IOs) are not easily accommodated in standard approaches to international organizations law. This article argues that Global Administrative Law (GAL) approaches may strengthen analysis of operational issues such as emergency actions by IOs and the human rights implications of IO activities, structural issues such as the involvement of IOs in field missions and in public-private partnerships, and normative issues concerning the production and effects of non-treaty regulatory instruments by IOs (guidelines, best practices, national policy assessments, and other documents rather amorously analyzed under the 'soft law' rubric). In examining these activities as forms of administration (broadly understood),



subject to precepts of good administration and legal standards concerning transparency, participation, reason-giving, review, and accountability, a GAL perspective provides a basis both for critique of problematic practices, and for increasing the effectiveness and legitimacy of some beneficial IO activities which are contentious or currently not undertaken. GAL also responds to the proliferation and differentiation of IOs and other entities in global governance through applying legal standards to their interactions, bringing a principled 'inter-public' approach to the legal relations among global public entities. GAL provides a valuable, and thus far overly neglected, addition to the field of international institutional law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Archibugi Daniele, Urbinati Nadia, Zuern Michael, Marchetti Raffaele, MAdonald Terry, JAcobs Didier

Global Democracy: A Symposium on a New Political Hope

in *New Political Science*, vol. 32, n. 1, march , 83-121

ABSTRACT: The idea that the values and norms of democracy can also be applied to global politics is increasingly debated in academe. The six authors participating in this symposium are all advocates of global democracy, but there are significant differences in the way they envision its implementation. Some of the contributors discuss if and how substantial changes undertaken by states, mostly in their foreign policies, may also generate positive consequences in global politics. Other contributors address the nature of the international arena and the possible reforms it should undergo starting with the reform of international organizations. The debate combines theoretical aspects with normative proposals that could also be advanced in the political arena and offers a wide range of perspectives on the attempts to achieve a more democratic global political community.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goldin Ian, Vogel Tiffany

Global Governance and Systemic Risk in the 21st Century

in *Global Policy*, Volume 1, Issue 1, January

Recent decades of globalisation have created a more interconnected, interdependent and complex world than ever witnessed before. While global policy has focused on facilitating integration, the implications of growing interdependence have been largely ignored. While the acceleration in global integration has brought many benefits, it has also created fragility through the underlying production of new kinds of systemic risks. The paper conceptualises systemic risk in the 21st Century and examines the challenges it poses to global governance regimes. The 2008-2009 financial crisis illustrates the failure of even sophisticated global institutions to manage the underlying forces of systemic risk, and this is symptomatic of institutional failure to keep pace with globalisation. The lessons from the financial crisis highlight the real threat of systemic risk to other 21st Century challenges, but more importantly, they expose the profound shortcomings of global institutions to manage global systemic risks in the future. The failure of the most developed and best-equipped global governance system, finance, to recognize or manage the new vulnerabilities associated with globalisation in the 21st Century highlights the scale and urgency of the challenge.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lamy Pascal

Global Governance is a challenge for democracy (but an EU opportunity).

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

Creating global governance mechanisms that are efficient but also responsive to national concerns will not be easy, says Pascal Lamy. But the WTO's Director General and former EU Commissioner sees useful lessons to be drawn from Europe.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fiorentini Riccardo, Montani Guido

Global Imbalances and the Transition to a Symmetric World Monetary System

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , E- 1-42

This article investigates some of the causes of the financial crisis – global imbalances and unsatisfactory regulation of world liquidity – and supports the need to reform the present asymmetric international monetary system based on the dollar as a dominant reserve currency. Part I examines global imbalances, the causes of the US external deficit and the consequences of the international monetary asymmetry. Part II seeks to overcome this asymmetry and the Triffin dilemma by examining two models for a new world monetary system: an international model, without a world central bank (WCB), and a supranational model with a WCB. Two urgent reforms are proposed: the adoption of a global monetary target for the industrialised countries and the issuing of UN Bonds to allow countries to substitute dollar reserves with SDR reserves

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/component/content/article/55-global-imbalances-and-the-transition-to-a-symmetric-world-monetary-system>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lee J. Frederick

Global Institutional Choice

in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n.1 , 328-357

The world faces collective action problems that are global in nature and scope, rendering nation-states unable to achieve desired goods individually. Issues such as global climate change and systemic financial risk create externalities that impel the existence and intervention of a world government to avoid suboptimal market equilibria, free-riding, and moral hazards. I submit the European Union's principle of subsidiarity as an organic, legitimizing framework for global governance that both



compels and cabins a world government. Subsidiarity optimizes social welfare by enabling a world government to achieve desired goods that nation-states would be otherwise unable to obtain individually because of collective action problems. But subsidiarity also limits a world government through a presumption in favor of local regulation as a matter of national autonomy and efficiency. The efficiency concern also enables subsidiarity to be an expansive principle for global governance because it accommodates both public and private forms of collective action. Public forms of collective action include public regulations, treaties between nations, and public institutions like the World Trade Organization. Private forms of collective action include free-market Coasian bargaining between private parties and the efforts of private international institutions like Greenpeace. Because subsidiarity accounts for these diverse institutions in a large and complex world, it is an ideal balancing principle for global institutional choice

Full text available at:

http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv1/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_065477.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Glasbergen Pieter

Global action networks. Agents for collective action

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 1, Special Issue: Adaptive Capacity to Global Change in Latin America, February , 130-141

Global action networks (GANs) are civil society initiated multi-stakeholder arrangements that aim to fulfill a leadership role for systemic change in global governance for sustainable development. The paper develops a network approach to study some of these GANs as motivators of global collective action and investigates how in their interaction processes the actors involved create the organizational capacity for collective change. Based on a variety of case studies, the paper highlights crucial factors determining the performance of GANs; among them the characteristics of the issue field and the development stage of the GAN. The analysis also shows how GANs play two crucial roles, sometimes in combination, sometimes successively. These are labelled as the broker and entrepreneur role. The paper concludes with some conditions for collective action that are underexposed in collective action theory.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Linklater Andrew

Global civilizing processes and the ambiguities of human interconnectedness

in **European Journal of International Relations** , vol. 16, n. 2, june , 155-178

ABSTRACT: Increased social power over the millennia has led to remarkable achievements in varied spheres of endeavour while introducing new possibilities for more destructive forms of harm over greater distances. Efforts to create moral frameworks to protect persons from senseless harm have been critical replies to the ambiguities of human interconnectedness. Over the millennia, societies have become entangled in global 'civilizing processes' such as the



systems of communication that now encompass humanity as a whole, enabling different peoples to become better attuned to each other. Societies of states have immense significance for that long-term development. They have been arenas in which independent communities have discovered the prospects for, as well as the constraints on, agreements on norms that can be anchored in the most readily available points of solidarity between strangers — those vulnerabilities to mental and physical suffering that are shared by human beings everywhere. The recovery of ‘universal history from a cosmopolitan point of view’ can examine the contribution that international societies have made to global civilizing processes that harness such solidarities to restrain the human capacity to cause violent and non-violent harm to distant peoples. It can support the normative project of promoting global civilizing processes that employ unprecedented levels of collective power to reduce the tragic effects of the ambiguities that have accompanied long-term trends towards higher levels of human interconnectedness.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Goodin Robert E.

Global democracy: in the beginning

in International Theory, Volume 2, Issue 02, July , 175-209

Many who discuss global democracy think in terms of a Reform-Act model of democracy, with the ideal being ‘one person one vote for all affected by the decisions’ as in, for example, a second popularly apportioned chamber of United Nations. Politically, that is dismissed as wildly unrealistic. Remember, however, the Reform Acts came very late in process of democratization domestically. Among early steps that eventually led to full democratization of that sort domestically were: (a) limiting the arbitrary rule on the part of the sovereign; and (b) making the sovereign accountable to others (initially a limited set of others, which then expanded). Globally, there are moves afoot in both those directions. Crucially, once those pieces are in place, the circle of accountability basically only ever expands and virtually never contracts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koenig Mathias, Archibugi Daniele

Global dimensions of policy

in Global Policy, Volume 1, Issue 1, January

Beyond wide agreement that many areas of contemporary policy making are unintelligible if processes that transcend the boundaries of individual states are not taken into account, analysts often disagree on how various ‘global’ and ‘local’ factors interact to produce policies and policy outcomes. The disagreement stems in part from the use of different analytic lenses, and specifically from the choice between ‘statecentric’ and ‘polycentric’ lenses. This article examines the fundamental assumptions of these general perspectives with regard to the polity, politics and policy dimensions of global policy making, and surveys some of the research questions and findings that resulted from their use. It concludes that scholars and policy makers should treat the two analytical lenses as complementary, as each of them stimulates the analyst to ask questions and look for entities and causal connections that the other lens may miss.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Warner Koko

Global environmental change and migration: Governance challenges

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: Governance, Complexity and Resilience, August , 402-413

Claims have been made that global environmental change could drive anywhere from 50 to almost 700 million people to migrate by 2050. These claims belie the complexity of the multi-causal relationship between coupled social–ecological systems and human mobility, yet they have fueled the debate about “environmentally induced migration”. Empirical evidence, notably from a 23 case study scoping study supported by the European Commission, confirms that currently environmental factors are one of many variables driving migration. Fieldwork reveals a multifaceted landscape of patterns and contexts for migration linked to rapid- and slow-onset environmental change today. Migration and displacement are part of a spectrum of possible responses to environmental change. Some forms of environmentally induced migration may be adaptive, while other forms of forced migration and displacement may indicate a failure of the social–ecological system to adapt. This diversity of migration potentials linked to environmental change presents challenges to institutions and policies not designed to cope with the impacts of complex causality, surprises and uncertainty about social–ecological thresholds, and the possibility of environmental and migration patterns recombining into a new patterns. The paper highlights fieldwork on rapid- and slow-onset environmentally induced migration in Mozambique, Vietnam, and Egypt. Current governance frameworks for human mobility are partially equipped to manage new forms of human mobility, but that new complementary modes of governance will be necessary. The paper concludes with challenges for governance of environmentally induced migration under increasing complexity, as well as opportunities to enhance resilience of both migrants and those who remain behind.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Begg Iain

Global governance could take a leaf from the EU's book

in **Europe's World**, Issue 14, Spring

Everyone knows that international policy coordination would be of benefit to all, but what structures, what mechanisms? Iain Begg looks at some of the EU devices that could help shape global governance thinking.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Payne Anthony

How many Gs are there in 'global governance' after the crisis? The perspectives of the 'marginal majority' of the world's states

in **International Affairs** , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 729-740



ABSTRACT: The G20 summit has recently emerged as the dominant agency of global governance. It claims that its economic weight and broad membership give it a high degree of legitimacy and influence over the management of the global economy and financial system. But the G20 still excludes from membership some 150 other countries, all of which have interests at stake within the contours of contemporary global governance. In the financial arena these excluded countries contributed significantly to the alternative agenda for dealing with the global financial crisis proposed by the United Nations conference that met in June 2009. In the trade arena they engaged extensively in a variety of coalitions within the World Trade Organization during the so-called Doha Round and played a part in preventing a deal emerging that was unsatisfactory from their perspective. Questions are raised about the legitimacy of the G20 by the active presence of so many other country voices outside its remit and it can be expected that the excluded 'G150' will increasingly explore different ways to engage with the members of the G20 over the next few years.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Messerlin Patrick

How the rich OECD nations should handle the emerging giants

in Europe's World, Issue 14, Spring

A new world is dawning, warns Patrick Messerlin, in which the comfortable certainties enjoyed for so long by the world's industrialised countries are to be challenged by the emerging economies. The answer should be to improve their own governance and to lead by example.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sung Won Kim

Human Security with an Asian Face?

in Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies, Volume 17, issue 1, winter , 83-103

ABSTRACT: The combination of Asia's growing material power and its longstanding commitment to principles of sovereignty and noninterference raises questions about the future of post-Cold War concepts of international law and global governance, especially the concept of "human security." This article analyzes what the emergence of an Eastphalian order might mean for efforts to improve human security. First, it briefly analyzes the concept of human security and its relevance to international law and global governance in the early twenty-first century. Second, I explore why the Asian region might constitute an interesting laboratory for the human security project despite the longstanding commitment of Asian countries to the principles of sovereignty and noninterference. Third, I examine the relevance of Confucian thinking in order to see whether this powerful philosophical heritage of many Asian societies contains insight that will help shape the evolution of Asian perspectives on human security. Fourth, the article briefly considers Japan's efforts to embrace the human security concept in its foreign policy, especially its development assistance. Finally, it considers whether the emergence of a more Asian-centric international system can develop a distinctive Asian contribution to the problems the concept of human security was developed to address. While some scholars have expressed worry that the rise of Asian countries in world politics may threaten the future of human security as a concept and policy objective, whether such a threat actually emerges depends on how Asian countries perceive human security in light of their philosophical heritage, political principles, and material interests. Predicting the trajectory of human security in an Eastphalian order proves a very complicated task.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jones Charles

Human rights and moral cosmopolitanism

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 115-135

What does it mean to defend moral cosmopolitanism in terms of human rights? I outline 'human rights cosmopolitanism', explain the role of equality in giving content to this conception, and defend the liberal view of human rights against the restricted view by considering - and responding to - several arguments for remaining neutral between a range of cultural and ideological perspectives on the demands of social justice and political legitimacy. I defend the liberal view that a conception of human rights should not remain neutral on controversial questions of justice and legitimacy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Enabulele A. O.

Humanitarian intervention and territorial sovereignty: the dilemma of two strange bedfellows

in **International Journal of Human Rights (The)**, Volume 14, Issue 3, May , 407-424

Over time and through history the main function of international law has been to preserve the distinct existence of each independent state and provide, as an alternative to war, machineries for pacific settlements of disputes. Towards this end, international law prohibits the use of force against the territorial integrity of another state, except in the manner and under circumstances permitted by law. These permissible limits are contained in the Charter of the United Nations - force could only be used in self defence under article 51 or for enforcement of collective measures under Chapter VII. The enlarged interest of international law in matters of human rights, have on many occasions led to a violation of the territorial integrity of some states by other states for the purpose of halting human rights violations in those other states - humanitarian intervention. Whenever this occurs, its legality is automatically called into question. There are those who argue that the violation of territorial integrity for the purpose of human rights enforcement is within the permissible exclusion; but this argument is trenchantly challenged by those who believe that humanitarian intervention falls within the prohibited degrees of territorial violation. This article contributes to the arguments, and challenges the view that humanitarian intervention is permissible under international law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Sassen Saskia

Incompleteness and the possibility of making: Towards denationalized citizenship?

in **Political Power and Social Theory**, Volume 20 , 229-258

The changing articulation of citizenship is traced, both in relation to the national and the global. Conceiving of citizenship as an incompletely theorized contract between the state and the citizen, and locating her inquiry at that point of incompleteness, the author opens up the discussion to the making of the political. The central thesis is that the incompleteness of the formal institution of citizenship makes it possible for the outsider to claim for expanded inclusions.



It is the outsider, whether a minoritized citizen or an immigrant, who has kept changing the institution across time and space. Times of unsettlement make this particularly visible. The current period of globalization is one such period, even though this is a partial unsettlement. New types of political actors are taking shape, changing the relationship between the state and the individual, and remaking the political.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dimitrov Radoslav S.

Inside Copenhagen: The State of Climate Governance

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 18-24

This article clarifies the outcome of the Copenhagen climate conference from the perspective of a government delegate. Access behind closed doors reveals the full extent of the damage. The failure at Copenhagen was worse than our worstcase scenario but should not obscure a bigger and brighter picture. Aggregate climate governance is in healthy condition that contrasts with the plight of multilateral climate governance. While the multilateral UN process is damaged, multilevel governance comprising regional, national and local climate policies worldwide is steadily gaining speed. The challenge to the academic community is to develop a composite measure of multilevel governance that captures aggregate public and nonstate policy initiatives at various levels.

Full text available at <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/glep.2010.10.2.18>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Young Oran R.

Institutional dynamics: Resilience, vulnerability and adaptation in environmental and resource regimes

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: Governance, Complexity and Resilience, August , 378-385

Like all social institutions, governance systems that address human–environment relations – commonly know as environmental or resource regimes – are dynamic. Although analysts have examined institutional change from a variety of perspectives, a particularly puzzling feature of institutional dynamics arises from the fact that some regimes linger on relatively unchanged even after they have become ineffective, while others experience state changes or even collapse in the wake of seemingly modest trigger events. This article employs the framework developed to study resilience, vulnerability, and adaptation in socio-ecological systems (the SES framework) in an effort to illuminate the conditions leading to state changes in environmental and resource regimes. Following a discussion of several conceptual issues, it examines institutional stresses, stress management mechanisms, and the changes that occur when interactive and cumulative stresses overwhelm these mechanisms. An important conclusion concerns the desirability of thinking systematically about institutional reform in a timely manner, in order to be prepared for brief windows of opportunity to make planned changes in environmental regimes when state changes occur.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fausett Elizabeth, Volgy Thomas



Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) and Interstate Conflict: Parsing Out IGO Effects for Alternative Dimensions of Conflict in Postcommunist Space

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, issue 1, march , 79-101

ABSTRACT: While the relationship between intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and conflict has captured the attention of international relations scholars for decades, the empirical results of this research agenda have presented contradictory conclusions regarding the pacifying effect normally attributed to IGOs. We address these contradictions by refocusing primarily on potential IGO effects on low-severity conflicts. We examine new states in the postcommunist space spanning Europe and Central Asia as a useful research site to explore these relationships in the post-Cold War era. We argue that especially in the case of newly emerging states, where there is little institutional memory and long-term experience in foreign affairs, IGOs expose differential policy preferences between members, and such information should be associated with the likelihood of increased low levels of conflict. We find a strong association between shared IGO membership and low severity conflict, a significant relationship between low and high severity conflict, and differences between IGO membership effects on low versus high severity conflict, consistent with our theoretical argument.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gartzke Erik, Hewitt Joseph

International Crises and the Capitalist Peace

in *International Interactions*, vol. 36, issue 2, april , 115-145

ABSTRACT: Recent research suggests that free markets and economic development contribute to a reduction in interstate conflict. This “capitalist peace” has been seen alternately to complement or to supplant the more well-known democratic peace effect. Here, we compare the behavior of democracies and capitalist dyads in the context of the Interstate Crisis Behavior (ICB) dataset. The ICB data offers a number of advantages in assessing the conflict decisions of national leaders, rather than the accidents of subordinates or others. In particular, we explore as yet untested implications of each perspective, examining the effect of regime type and economic and interest variables on escalation and crisis intensity. Our findings provide new evidence that free markets, economic development, and similar interests account for the special peace in liberal dyads.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Fidler David

Introduction: Eastphalia Emerging?: Asia, International Law, and Global Governance

in *Indiana Journal for Global Legal Studies*, Volume 17, issue 1, winter , 1-12

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bernauer Thomas, Kihn Patrick



Is there an environmental version of the Kantian peace? Insights from water pollution in Europe
in *European Journal of International Relations* , vol. 16, n. 1, march , 77-102

ABSTRACT: We examine whether there is an environmental version of the Kantian peace; that is, whether democracies that trade and are bound by international treaties are less likely to harm each other environmentally. Specifically, we study five factors that are likely to help in reducing beggar-thy-neighbour behaviour in terms of transboundary pollution: democracy, supranational institutions, trade relations, stringency of domestic environmental policy and international environmental commitment. The empirical focus is on upstream—downstream water pollution in Europe in 1970—2003. The observed effects of the five variables differ considerably across forms of pollution and definitions of beggar-thy-neighbour behaviour. Some of our explanatory variables contribute to reducing beggar-thy-neighbour behaviour. Hence there is some empirical support for the environmental Kantian argument. Nonetheless, state behaviour in this area remains characterized by free-riding incentives; the forces of democracy, trade and national and international regulation and institutions do not easily produce decent international behaviour.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Shawki Noha

Issue Frames and the Political Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of the Jubilee 2000 Movement and the Currency Transaction Tax Campaign

in *Global Society*, Volume 24, Issue 2, April , 203-230

Since the end of the Cold War, a large number of transnational advocacy networks (TANs) have launched campaigns focusing on a number of different global issues. Some of these campaigns have been quite successful in influencing global public policy, while others have not. What accounts for differences in TANs' ability to shape the global policy process? How can we explain the variation in TAN campaign outcomes? To answer these questions, I draw on the concept of framing, which has been used to explain social movement mobilisation and outcomes, and apply it to two TAN campaigns that have had different outcomes: Jubilee 2000 and the Currency Transaction Tax campaign. I argue that effective framing strategies, i.e. the use of issue frames that resonate with international norms and values and provide compelling analyses and policy proposals, is one explanation for the variation in the outcomes of these two TAN campaigns.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Harhoff Frederik

It is all in the Process: Reflections on the Relation between International Criminal Trials and International Humanitarian Law

in *Nordic Journal of International Law*, vol. 78, issue 4

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy



Duquesne

L'impossible équation de la gouvernance mondiale

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 1, printemps

La crise pose avec une acuité particulière la question de la gouvernance mondiale. Le G20 semble s'être imposé, mais sa relation avec les autres formats, et avec les institutions «de Bretton Woods» est peu claire: thématiques, poids des différents acteurs, place des regroupements régionaux (tout particulièrement de la Représentation de l'Union européenne)... Le renforcement de l'influence des pays émergents est nécessaire, mais il ne suffit pas à définir une nouvelle architecture.

The crisis poses with particular urgency the question of the function of a global governing body. The G20 has established itself; but its relation with other governing bodies, and with the 'Bretton Woods' institutions, however, remains hazy. Its intended purpose, the weight of each player and the role of regional groups (particularly the European Union) have yet to be clearly defined. The influence of emerging countries must be reinforced but that alone will not suffice to define a new global architecture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zaccai Edwin

L'échec de Copenhague en perspective

in *Esprit*, Février 2010

Abstract

Que peut-on dire du résultat des négociations internationales sur le changement climatique qui n'a pas débouché sur l'accord espéré fin 2009? Sans enrayer un processus de négociations qui se poursuit, l'occasion de confirmer des engagements a été manquée. Mais quel impact cela aura-t-il sur nos stratégies environnementales, économiques et sur les formes de solidarité internationale qui restent à inventer ?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lachman Desmond

La minaccia da non dimenticare: gli squilibri globali

in *Aspenia*, n. 48, marzo, "Economia e Felicità", 161-171

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Schirm Stefan

Leaders in need of followers: Emerging powers in global governance

in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 48, issue 2, march , 197-221



ABSTRACT: Emerging powers such as Brazil and Germany increasingly articulate their desire for leadership in global governance. Examples comprise the bids for permanent membership in the UN Security Council and the founding of the G20 at the WTO meeting in Cancùn. Emerging powers, however, often fail to achieve their goals. This article focuses on followership as a core condition for success and failure of emerging power leadership in global governance. I argue that in order to perform successfully, any leadership must be accepted by followers and that followership depends on the credible inclusion of the interests and/or ideas of potential followers into the leadership project. This argument is tested in case studies on Brazil's and Germany's bids for structural power in the UNSC, for directorship in international organizations and for policy positions in the WTO trade negotiations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Colombo Alessandro

Legitimacy in the balance. International society between democracy and inequality

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XL, n.179, Aprile-Giugno

The predictable transition to a post-bipolar international order conceals the fact that the present international system is experiencing an even more profound transition involving the very principles, norms and fundamental rules of international coexistence. Albeit stemming from a current that lasted the entire twentieth century, this transition is aggravated by a historically unusual and politically sensational fact: namely that this time the initiative to review existing norms and institutions comes not from weak and marginal players, but, on the contrary, directly from the strongest country of all. Whereas the United States' argument against the legitimacy of the existing law and institutions is based on the idea – by no means extraneous to European political culture, hence all the more insidious for its critics – that democratic systems and non-democratic systems do not deserve to enjoy the same rights; that the same action (such as the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, the use of force or even the occupation of territories, as in the exemplary case of the United States' indulgence towards Israel) changes in significance according to whether it is performed by one type of system or the other; that even the re-establishing of the rights of individuals, peoples and states has to be subordinated to the ascertainment of their adhesion to democratic and liberal principles.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Andornino Giovanni B.

Multilateralism and order à la chinoise

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLII, n.187, Aprile-Giugno

What do we mean when we talk about multilateralism in China? To what extent does it make sense to say that the dimension of strategic dialectics between Washington and Beijing is more temporary than structural? This essay provides food for thought on these burning issues by pondering on some of the challenges that await the international order over the next few decades.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bloch Michael

Möglichkeit und Unmöglichkeit internationaler Politik. Rousseaus Auffassung des Krieges
in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 58. Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2010 , 288-306

Abstract

A recently reconstructed text written by Rousseau is obviously the first part of a broader work he had intended to write on the Principles of War. Although the opus remained incomplete, Rousseau integrated most of the insights he had gained from this early analysis on war into his later political thought. The two main premisses of Rousseau's analysis are that war does not exist between human beings in the state of nature, but only between artificial bodies, i. e. societies consolidated into states, and that therefore war must be regarded as being solely the consequence of the social state. On the international level, the competition between the already constituted wills of the states, who strive to weaken and eventually annihilate each of the other state's general will, leads to the sheer impossibility of construing a permanent international order based either on force or on law. However, as war has this aporetic nature, for it threatens and at the same time consolidates the constituted civil order, Rousseau will henceforth concentrate on how to strengthen the general will against private interests while, by the same token, enabling it to curb the ambitions of the sovereign.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lavranos Nikolaos

National Courts, Domestic Democracy, and the Evolution of International Law: A Reply to Eyal Benvenisti and George Downs

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 1005-1011

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ernst Tanja, Isidoro Losada Ana María

Nord-Süd-Beziehungen: Globale Ungleichheit im Wandel?

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 10, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/Y73LLO,5,0,NordS%FCdBeziehungen%3A_Globale_Ungleichheit_im_Wandel.html#art5

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gabler Melissa

Norms, Institutions and Social Learning: An Explanation for Weak Policy Integration in the WTO's Committee on



Trade and Environment

in **Global Environmental Politics**, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 80-117

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) recognized that sustainable development can only be actualized if environmental norms are integrated into other areas of policy across levels of governance. This article examines the Committee on Trade and Environment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to answer the question of why actors' efforts to enhance the mutual supportiveness of trade and environmental norms have resulted in minimalist policy outcomes. I first introduce a framework for analyzing norms and their levels of compatibility and a social learning explanation for policy integration emphasizing the importance of normative and institutional conditions. Second, I show that low levels of both norm compatibility between UNCED and WTO and institutional capacity in the WTO for learning have contributed to weak integration. The approach contributes to constructivist theory development and the findings provide insights to policy-makers grappling with how to support the integration of norms and institutions in global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Pelletier Nathan

Of laws and limits: An ecological economic perspective on redressing the failure of contemporary global environmental governance

in **Global Environmental Change**, Volume 20, Issue 2, May , 220-228

The persistent failures of international environmental governance initiatives to halt the degradation of the global commons are directly linked to the implicit worldview and assumptions fueling the proliferation of industrial society. These include an instrumental conception on non-human nature, rampant materialism, technological optimism, and an expansionary economics premised on the axiomatic necessity of unconstrained growth. Permeating contemporary environmental governance regimes, it is argued that these premises are fundamentally incompatible with the requirements of environmental sustainability. Proceeding from the perspective of ecological economics, it is further argued that achieving environmental sustainability in industrial society requires foremost that we restructure and constrain the scale of economic activities relative to global biocapacity. It is concluded that a scale-based approach to governing the environmental commons, operationalized by a strong world environment organization, offers at least a partial solution to this conundrum.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ypi Lea

On the Confusion between Ideal and Non-ideal in Recent Debates on Global Justice

in **Political Studies**, Volume 58 Issue 3, June , 536-555

This article assesses two contending global theories of justice (cosmopolitanism and statism) in light of the role that ideal and non-ideal considerations should play in political theory. It starts with a distinction between ideal and non-ideal and it proceeds to show how both statist and cosmopolitan are ideal when non-ideal considerations should prevail and how both are non-ideal when ideal theorising is required. This view is assessed with reference to two issues on which



statists and cosmopolitans appear particularly divided: the relevance of states and the principles of global justice. With regard to the former, the article shows that the discussion on states is ideal (discussing the place of special associative relations in normative justifications of distributive equality) when it should be non-ideal (emphasising the role of states as the most relevant agents of justice in real-world circumstances). On the second issue, it illustrates how the discussion on principles is non-ideal (limited to assessing the consequences of global poverty in unfavourable conditions) when it should be ideal (investigating the grounds of injustice at the appropriately fundamental level). The article concludes by sketching an alternative analysis of global justice which is able to accommodate some statist and cosmopolitan concerns but which avoids the criticisms that each theory usually attracts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Koller Peter

On the interrelations between domestic and global (in)justice

in **Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy**, Vol. 13, n. 1, March , 137-158

My paper consists of two parts. The first part deals with the fundamental normative standards of domestic social justice on the one hand and global justice on the other, standards that are requisite in order to identify injustices on both levels. On this basis, the second part focuses on the interrelations between domestic social justice and global justice with particular attention to the interdependencies between domestic and global injustices.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lee Raymond L.M.

On the margins of belonging. Confronting cosmopolitanism in the late modern age

in **Journal of Sociology**, Volume 46, No. 2, June 2010 , 169-186

Abstract

Recent debates on cosmopolitanism have focused on the problem of solidarity and belonging within the context of the nation-state. In particular, the idea of belonging is taken to be a key feature of social organization related to the institutions of the nation-state. Yet the complexities of belonging have not been closely examined. In this regard, the idea of liquid modernity and the recent work on racialized labour pose new questions concerning the limits of belonging. Weakening social bonds due to liquidity and new forms of belonging arising from resistance to racialization suggest paradoxical conditions problematizing the meaning of cosmopolitanism. The aim of this article is to articulate the significance of liquidity and marginality in conceptualizing the relation between the nation-state and cosmopolitanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Downes Alexander, Lilley Mary Lauren

Overt Peace, Covert War?: Covert Intervention and the Democratic Peace

in **Security Studies**, vol. 19, n. 2, may , 266-306



ABSTRACT: Proponents and critics of the democratic peace have debated the extent to which covert attempts by democracies to overthrow other elected governments are consistent with or contradict democratic peace theory. The existing debate, however, fails to acknowledge that there are multiple democratic peace theories and that inter-democratic covert intervention might have different implications for different arguments. In this article, we first distill hypotheses regarding covert foreign regime change from three theories of democratic peace. Relying primarily on declassified government documents, we then investigate these hypotheses in the context of U.S. covert intervention in Chile (1970-73). The evidence suggests that covert intervention is highly inconsistent with norms and checks-and-balances theories of democratic peace. The evidence is more consistent with selectorate theory, but questions remain because democratic leaders undertook interventions with a low likelihood of success and a high likelihood that failure would be publicized, which would constitute exactly the type of policy failure that democratic executives supposedly avoid.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Garapon Antoine

Peut-on imaginer une prévention internationale des génocides?

in *Esprit*, Mai 2010

Abstract

Les désastres de la décennie 1990 ont suscité de nombreuses réflexions sur la prévention des génocides, qui ne se réduisent pas à la mise en place des tribunaux pénaux internationaux. D'autres séries de démarches sont discutées ou déjà esquissées, qu'on peut réunir en quatre grands thèmes : distinguer les signes précoces, envoyer des messages cohérents de la part des autres pays, enrayer la logique génocidaire, lutter a posteriori contre l'impunité.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Joseph Jonathan

Poverty Reduction and the New Global Governmentality

in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Volume 35, n. 1, Jan.-Mar. , 29-52

Are international organizations using the issue of poverty reduction as a new way to approach global governmentality?

This article recognizes that serious problems are involved in so approaching the idea of global governmentality, given the lack of success these strategies have. It is suggested here that such strategies operate not to improve the condition of populations but as a means for regulating states and their governments.

Once states, not populations, are recognized as the main targets, it can be seen that features of governmentality are working from a distance to responsabilize state conduct through ownership, partnership, and continuous monitoring.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Biermann Frank, Boas Ingrid

Preparing for a Warmer World: Towards a Global Governance System to Protect Climate Refugees in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 1, February , 60-88

Climate change threatens to cause the largest refugee crisis in human history. Millions of people, largely in Africa and Asia, might be forced to leave their homes to seek refuge in other places or countries over the course of the century. Yet the current institutions, organizations, and funding mechanisms are not sufficiently equipped to deal with this looming crisis. The situation calls for new governance. We outline and discuss in this article a blueprint for a global governance architecture for the protection and voluntary resettlement of climate refugees—defined as people who have to leave their habitats because of sudden or gradual alterations in their natural environment related to one of three impacts of climate change: sea-level rise, extreme weather events, and drought and water scarcity. We provide an extensive review of current estimates of likely numbers and probable regions of origin of climate refugees. With a view to existing institutions, we argue against the extension of the definition of refugees under the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Key elements of our proposal are, instead, a new legal instrument specifically tailored for the needs of climate refugees—a Protocol on Recognition, Protection, and Resettlement of Climate Refugees to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change—as well as a separate funding mechanism.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Okereke Chukwumerije, Dooley Kate

Principles of justice in proposals and policy approaches to avoided deforestation. Towards a post-Kyoto climate agreement

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 20, Issue 1, Special Issue: Adaptive Capacity to Global Change in Latin America, February , 82-95

This paper offers a normative analysis of the current negotiations on reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Drawing on existing theories of distributive justice, we seek to determine which interpretations of equity are embodied in the key proposals and policy approaches to REDD in the run up to a post-Kyoto climate agreement. Our analysis indicates that whilst the various proposals are characterised by different and sometimes contradictory notions of equity, it is the ideas that are more consistent with neoliberal concepts of justice that tend to prevail. The result is that despite abiding contestations and controversies, emerging REDD policy solutions for the post-2012 climate regime looks very likely to reflect a commitment to market-based approaches to forest governance. However, whilst such market-based approaches might serve the preferences of powerful players, their effectiveness in terms of forest preservation, the protection of indigenous peoples and sustainable community development remains extremely dubious. On a broader note, our analysis reinforces the growing realization that the international arena is not beyond the pale of moral arguments but rather that the governance of global environmental change implicates elemental ethical questions regarding which ways of life human beings ought to pursue.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Steffek Jens



Public Accountability and the Public Sphere of International Governance

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 24, n. 1, spring , 45-68

ABSTRACT: In much of the current literature on global and European governance, "public accountability" has come to mean accountability to national executives, to peers, to courts, and even to markets. I argue that such a re-conceptualization of "public accountability" as an umbrella term blurs a crucial dimension of the original concept: the critical scrutiny of citizens and the collective evaluation of government through public debate. In this article I critically discuss the advance of managerial and administrative notions of accountability that accompanied the steep rise of the governance concept. I advocate a return to a conception of public accountability as accountability to the wider public. I investigate the prospects for such public accountability beyond the state, which depends upon the emergence of a transnational public sphere, consisting of media and organized civil society. The function of such a transnational public sphere is to put pressure on governance institutions in case of massive maladministration, and to make sure that emergent political concerns and demands are recognized in the process of international policy making.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Andonova Liliana B.

Public-Private Partnerships for the Earth: Politics and Patterns of Hybrid Authority in the Multilateral System in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 25-53

The article examines the politics and patterns of public-private partnerships for the environment in the multilateral system. It argues that two kinds of dynamics have contributed to the hybridization of environmental authority at the global level. On one hand, the fragmentation of environmental regimes and the parallel growth of non-state actors have resulted in structural pressures and opportunities for public-private collaboration. More significantly, however, international organizations have responded to the pluralization of global environmental politics selectively and acted as entrepreneurs of collaborative governance. The analysis uses a principal-agent perspective of international organizations to specify the conditions for organizational entrepreneurship of public-private partnerships. The theoretical propositions inform the comparative analysis of three "meta" partnership programs in the multilateral system: the Small Grants Program, the Prototype Carbon Fund, and the environmental portfolio of the United Nations Fund for International Partnerships. The study demonstrates that public-private partnerships represent neither a radical "powershift" from established institutions, nor are partnerships a marginal governance fad. The three partnership programs examined here emerged out of the mandates and expertise of their lead organizations and partners, but established and diffused new niches of environmental governance, particularly around community-based biodiversity management and climate-change related technology diffusion.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Thompson Alexander

Rational design in motion: Uncertainty and flexibility in the global climate regime in European Journal of International Relations , vol. 16, n. 2, june , 269-296

ABSTRACT: Recent International Relations scholarship offers valuable rational choice explanations for the design of



international institutions. However, the rational design literature has relied heavily on institutional outcomes as evidence for testing models. Such studies must be complemented by research designs that analyze the decisions and bargaining that drive design choices in order to expose causal mechanisms and test a wider range of observable implications. I assess an important rational design hypothesis, that uncertainty leads to flexible institutions, by analyzing the negotiations behind the climate change regime and by considering two distinct institutional outcomes across time. While the hypothesis receives considerable support, significant behavior and outcomes do not conform to its logic. I propose refinements for rational design theory in general and work on uncertainty and flexibility in particular. Rational choice theory speaks to the process of institutional design and should not content itself with predicting — and testing itself against — equilibrium outcomes.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Chin Gregory

Remaking the architecture: the emerging powers, self-insuring and regional insulation

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 693-715

ABSTRACT: This article examines the interaction between the emerging and traditional powers in global governance reform, and asks whether we are heading towards an international financial system that is more fragmented, where power is more diffused and national and regional arrangements play a more prominent role, at the expense of global multilateral institutions. It begins with a brief discussion of the global systemic and country-specific factors that motivate Brazil, China and other emerging countries to accumulate large currency reserves. We find that national arrangements for managing financial and currency crises will continue to hold sway for emerging countries in the wake of the global crisis. However, the actual capacity of regional arrangements in managing future financial crises is uncertain, and the significance of regional alternatives in the emerging architecture should not be overstated. The real capacity of East Asian regional arrangements to manage financial crises, payments problems or currency attacks is still untested, and key thresholds in multilateralization still lie ahead. In South America, multilateral lender-of-last-resort support inside the region is largely confined to the sub-regional level and is limited by Brazil's reticence. Enduring reliance on bilateral measures for financial crisis management is noted. Where there has been progress in regional solutions, since the global crisis, has been in the role of regional development banks in providing financing for developing countries to enact counter-cyclical policies. Such support also provides insulation for states in the region against the contagion effects of international financial crisis. We are in the midst of transitioning to a more diverse and multi-tiered global financial and monetary system. A reformed IMF could have a role to play in addressing global imbalances and encouraging a shift from national reserves to collective insurance, however, it would be preconditioned by significant shifts in the policy, lending operations, and internal governance of the Fund, and willingness among the G20 to strike a new consensus on how to deal with imbalances, and new accommodation on acceptable reserve levels.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Beck Ulrich

Remapping social inequalities in an age of climate change: for a cosmopolitan renewal of sociology

in *Global Networks* , vol. 10, n. 2, april , 165-181

ABSTRACT: Climate change globalizes and radicalizes social inequality; it exacerbates inequalities of rich and poor,



core and periphery, and at the same time dissolves them in the face of a common threat to humanity. Climate change combines with the inequalities arising from globalization, decoupling the producers and subjects of risk. Remapping inequality in the age of climate change and globalization therefore requires taking account of the unbounding of both equality and inequality, and an awareness of the end of the opposition between society and nature, one of the founding principles of sociology. The article outlines four theses of inequality, climate change and globalization, and concludes with the question: what does a cosmopolitan renewal of the social sciences mean and how will it be possible?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Weikard Hans-Peter, Dellink Rob, van Ierland Ekko

Renegotiations in the Greenhouse

in *Environmental & Resource Economics*, Volume 45, Number 4, April , 573-596

International climate policies are being shaped in a process of ongoing negotiations. This paper develops a sequential game framework to explore the stability of international climate agreements allowing for multiple renegotiations. We analyse how the incentives to reach an international climate agreement in the first period will be impacted by the prospect of further negotiations in later periods and by the punishment options related to renegotiations. For this purpose we introduce a dynamic model of coalition formation with twelve world regions that captures the key features of the climate-economy impacts of greenhouse gas emissions. For a model with one round of renegotiations we find that a coalition of China and the United States is the unique renegotiation proof equilibrium. In a game with more frequent renegotiations we find that the possibility to punish defecting players helps to stabilise larger coalitions in early stages of the game. Consequently, several renegotiation proof equilibria emerge that outperform the coalition of China and USA in terms of abatement levels and global payoff. The Grand Coalition, however, is unstable.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Seabrooke Leonard, Tsingou Eleni

Responding to the Global Credit Crisis: The Politics of Financial Reform

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Vol. 12, Issue 2, May , 313-323

This financial crisis emerged from an over-supply of financial innovation and an under-supply of financial regulation within the core advanced economies. Financial governance reform can focus on behaviour, acknowledge systemic implications and inherent limitations, and strive for more representation and

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baker Andrew

Restraining regulatory capture? Anglo-America, crisis politics and trajectories of change in global financial governance

in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 647-663

ABSTRACT: A growing number of respected commentators now argue that regulatory capture of public agencies and



public policy by leading banks was one of the main causal factors behind the financial crisis of 2007–2009, resulting in a permissive regulatory environment. This regulatory environment placed a faith in banks own internal risk models, contributed to pro-cyclical behaviour and turned a blind eye to excessive risk taking. The article argues that a form of 'multi-level regulatory capture' characterized the global financial architecture prior to the crisis. Simultaneously, regulatory capture fed off, but also nourished the financial boom, in a fashion that mirrored the life cycle of the boom itself. Minimizing future financial booms and crises will require continuous, conscious and explicit efforts to restrain financial regulatory capture now and into the future. The article assesses the extent to which this has been achieved in current global financial governance reform efforts and highlights some of the persistent difficulties that will continue to hamper efforts to restrain regulatory capture. The evidence concerning the extent to which regulatory capture is being effectively restrained is somewhat mixed, and where it is happening it is largely unintentional and accidental. Recent reforms have overlooked the political causes of the crisis and have failed to focus explicitly or systematically on regulatory capture.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Afionis Stavros, Chatzopoulos Ioannis

Russia's role in UNFCCC negotiations since the exit of the United States in 2001

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 10, Number 1, March , 45-63

The unexpected exit of the United States from the Kyoto Protocol in 2001 signaled the exponential increase in the importance of the Russian Federation as a key player in international climate change politics. Until then a relatively minor player, Russia's active participation in the evolution of the climate change regime is now considered a paramount and immediate necessity. A longitudinal study of Russian climate policy over the years is therefore a highly useful exercise as it allows for the better understanding of current developments and provides some basis for prediction of its future actions. The primary aim of this article is threefold: First, to offer a comprehensive account of Russian involvement in international climate negotiations. Secondly, to clarify the actual reasons behind Russia's decision to delay its ratification of the Protocol for almost three long years, and finally, to try and map out the post-2012 positions of Russia on the road to the 2009 Copenhagen Conference of the Parties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Scheuerman William E.

The (classical) Realist vision of global reform

in International Theory, Volume 2, Issue 02, July , 246-282

Most Realists today oppose far-reaching global reform on the grounds that it represents unrealistic and potentially irresponsible 'utopianism'. An earlier generation of mid-century Realists, however, not only supported serious efforts at radical international reform but also developed a theoretically impressive model for how to bring it about. They considered the possibility of post-national political orders and ultimately a world state as desirable long-term goals, but only if reformers could simultaneously generate the thick societal background (or what they called 'supranational society') required by any viable order 'beyond the nation state'. As they fail to engage constructively with proposals for global reform, present-day Realists betray their own intellectual tradition. By reconsidering the subterranean legacy of Realist reformism as advanced by mid-century international thinkers (e.g. E.H. Carr, John Herz, Hans Morgenthau,



Reinhold Niebuhr, and Frederick Schuman), the essay provides a revisionist reading of the history of twentieth-century international theory, while also highlighting its significance for ongoing debates about global reform.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kearn David

The Baruch Plan and the Quest for Atomic Disarmament

in *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, vol. 21, n. 1, march , 41-67

ABSTRACT: Arms control has emerged as a central component in the diplomatic approach unveiled by the Obama administration. With a long-term goal of abolishing nuclear weapons, interim steps include the revision and potential expansion of existing treaties and a strengthening of the non-proliferation regime, including a potential Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). Such a treaty would mandate that member states submit to rigorous inspection and cataloguing of their stocks of nuclear materials in return for assistance in the development of civilian nuclear programs. This approach, whilst ambitious, is not new. In this article I explore the development, negotiation and ultimate failure of what is often referred to as "the Baruch Plan," the first attempt to cooperatively control atomic energy under the auspices of the newly formed United Nations. The failure of the Baruch Plan provides important lessons for scholars and practitioners, and underscores the inherent challenges of arms control cooperation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Greenhill Brian

The Company You Keep: International Socialization and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms

in *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 54, issue 1, march , 127-145

ABSTRACT: Does membership in Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) affect states' human rights behavior? One might expect IGOs with a specific human rights mandate, like the International Labour Organization or the Council of Europe, to have a positive effect on the human rights practices of their member states. But what about other sorts of IGOs, particularly those with no direct connection to human rights issues? This study employs cross-national data on abuses of "physical integrity rights" for 137 countries over the period 1982–2000 to test the hypothesis that IGOs can promote the diffusion of human rights norms by providing venues for interstate socialization. Recent empirical work on IGOs has suggested that this sort of socialization effect can play an important role in promoting democracy and can also lead to a more general convergence among states' interests. The results presented here suggest that IGOs can have a surprisingly powerful influence on states' human rights practices as a result of this process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Somek Alexander

The Concept of 'Law' in Global Administrative Law: A Reply to Benedict Kingsbury

in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 20, n. 4 , 985-995

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Levi Lucio

The Decline of Power Politics and the Need for a New Architecture for International Organizations in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Europe's World

The Europe's World panel on global governance in Europe's World, Issue 14, Spring

http://www.europesworld.org/NewEnglish/Home_old/Article/tabid/191/ArticleType/articleview/ArticleID/21603/Default.aspx

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cooper Andrew

The G20 as an improvised crisis committee and/or a contested 'steering committee' for the world in International Affairs, vol. 86, issue 3, may, 741-757

ABSTRACT: Arguably the most important catalytic effect of the 'Great Recession' of 2008–2009 has been the creation of the G20 at the leaders' level. As a form of improvised diplomacy the G20 merits extensive scrutiny, revealing as it does the degree of adaptation possible in the international system. The G20 links a significant ideational component, a new dynamic between established and emerging powers, and a complex set of issues. The innovative quality of the G20, however, rests on two very distinct strands of activity and tests of accomplishments. The G20 can be viewed as a 'recession-buster' with a vital but momentary purpose. Alternatively, the G20 can be taken to be an embedded 'steering committee' for the world. Both of these interpretations have validity. The crisis committee scenario highlights a technical regulatory-driven agenda. The steering committee scenario by way of contrast showcases the connection between the G20 and a new type of global settlement. Passing the test as a crisis committee hinges on very specific deliverables. Passing the test as a steering committee is even more demanding as any move toward a new state-specific 'concert' is highly contested. This article examines these debates, locating the G20 in a historical/comparative perspective and in terms of the wider context of shifting power structure at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Van de Haar Ewin

The Liberal Divide over Trade, Peace and War



in *International Relations*, vol. 24, n. 2, june , 132-154

ABSTRACT: In IR it is almost common knowledge that a strong relation exists between liberalism and the idea that trade promotes peace. This paper shows that this is based on an incomplete view of the liberal tradition. The trade-leads-to-peace hypothesis does not originate in liberalism, while some of the most important liberal thinkers, notably Smith, Hume and Locke, never predicted trade to have a positive influence on peace. The two Scots actually saw a strong relation between trade and war. This has been widely overlooked in IR, largely due to one-sided interpretations of their writings from the early nineteenth century onwards. This article seeks to improve on the disciplinary historiography, calls on IR theorists to reappraise liberalism in relation to the trade-leads-to-peace thesis, and suggests that scholars working on trade and peace follow up on a number of important insights put forward by Hume and Smith.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ikenberry John

The Liberal International Order and its Discontents

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 509-521

ABSTRACT: The American-led world system is troubled. Some would argue that it is in crisis. But what sort of crisis is it? Is it a crisis of America's position in the global system or is it a deeper world historical transition in which liberalism and liberal international order are at risk? Is the American-led 'liberal era' ending, or is it transforming into a new sort of liberal order? In this article, I argue that the American liberal hegemonic order is in crisis. But it is a crisis of authority within liberal international order and not a crisis of its underlying principles and organisational logic. That is, it is a crisis of the American governance of liberal order and not of liberal order itself. The crisis of liberalism today will ultimately bring forth 'more liberalism'. The post-Cold War liberal international order is more durable than many think. Russia and China are not inevitable enemies of Western international order. A grand alternative to liberal order does not exist. To put it sharply: the pathway to the future still runs through institutions and relationships created over the last 60 years. American unipolarity will eventually give way to something new. Power and authority will shift in the global system as they have over the centuries. But rival orders will not emerge — even if new leaders will. In the decades ahead, the United States and Europe and rising states — many of which are in Asia — will have more reasons and not fewer reasons to cooperate in open and rule-based ways. The future still belongs to the liberal international order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dunne Tim

The Liberal Order and the Modern Project

in *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 38, n. 3, may , 535-532

ABSTRACT: A persistent struggle within liberal thought is how to recognise cultural particularity within an ethical system in which toleration does not become indifference. The liberal internationalism espoused by leading US-based authors assumes a single logic of modernity, in which adherence to liberal rules and institutions is both necessary and inevitable. The article finds an echo of this view in earlier English School work on the expansion of international society, and



subsequently teases out some lessons from recent revisionist accounts of how international society and its institutions were shaped by the multiplicity of their interactions. Historical and cultural encounters in international society show that liberal internationalists are mistaken in their belief that there is only one pathway to modernity and that re-rising powers, such as India, Russia and China will sustain the liberal order after American hegemonic decline.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Massai Leonardo

The Long Way to the Copenhagen Accord: Climate Change Negotiations in 2009

in *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Volume 19, Issue 1, April , 104-121

The Copenhagen Summit did not conclude the 2 years negotiation process initiated in Bali in 2007. Ten official meetings among parties were not sufficient to reach a conclusion on the future of the international climate change regime after 2012. This paper summarizes the main issues addressed by the parties under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Kyoto Protocol tracks in the course of 2009, the longest year ever for climate change negotiations, and tries to explain the reasons behind the Summit's failures. Furthermore, an overview of the main points of the Copenhagen Accord is provided together with its implications and relation with the UNFCCC process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Parsi Vittorio Emanuele

The Multilateralism of Democracies. A forced choice in a unipolar world

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XL, n.179, Aprile-Giugno

US foreign policy over the last four years has caused serious doubts about the legitimacy of the central actor of the system – with extremely damaging effects. To solve the problem, at the start of his second administration President Bush clearly stated the principles according to which he intends to exercise hegemony: freedom and democracy above all. His appeal to the shared principles of democracy is, however, insufficient to change the attitudes of public opinions and governments, if such principles are not pursued through multilateralism. It has to be added that a consequent change in strategy is demanded, as opposed to permitted, by the different situation we find ourselves in today, over three years after September 11. While a return to multilateralism is thus to be hoped for – and it is up to Europe to create the best conditions for this to happen – no one regrets the lack of multipolarism, which has failed to work in the past.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hehir Aidan

The Responsibility to Protect: 'Sound and Fury Signifying Nothing'?

in *International Relations*, vol. 24, n. 2, june , 218-239



The term 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) has dominated debate on humanitarian intervention since the publication in 2001 of the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). Today 'R2P' has become a seemingly obligatory reference point for all researchers in this field and R2P's near ubiquity is testament to the effective marketing of the idea. This article will argue, however, that the currency of the term obscures its hollowness. R2P has undeniably changed the discourse surrounding humanitarian intervention, and possibly broadened interest in the subject, but it has contributed little of substance or prescriptive merit. Though the report was drafted with the mandate to reconcile international human rights with state sovereignty it fudged the key issues, namely, substantive reform of the United Nations Security Council, the legitimacy of unilateral humanitarian intervention and the threshold for intervention. The shift in focus from response to prevention since 2001 evades the key issue which prompted the ICISS to draft its report and fails to provide a viable or innovative approach.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Bellamy Alex

The Responsibility to Protect—Five Years On

in Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 24, n. 2, summer , 143-169

ABSTRACT: The Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) has become a prominent feature in international debates about preventing and responding to genocide and mass atrocities. Since its adoption in 2005, it has been discussed in relation to a dozen major crises and been the subject of discussion at the UN Security Council and General Assembly. This article takes stock of the past five years and examines three questions about RtoP: What is its function? Is it a norm, and, if so, what sort? And what contribution has it made to the prevention of atrocities and protection of vulnerable populations? In relation to the first, it argues that RtoP is commonly conceptualized as fulfilling one of two functions (a framework for a policy agenda and a speech-act meant to generate the will to intervene), but that these two functions are incompatible. In relation to the second question, it argues that RtoP is best thought of as two sets of norms relating to the responsibilities of states to their own populations and international responsibilities. The first set are well defined and established, the second though are indeterminate and lack compliance-pull, limiting the extent to which RtoP can serve as a catalyst for action. This, the article argues, is reflected in RtoP's track record thus far. RtoP has failed to generate additional political will in response to atrocity crimes but it has proven useful as both a diplomatic tool and as a policy lens.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Morgera Elisa

The Rules of Copenhagen. Climate Agreements, Forests and North-South Cooperation

in Equilibri, anno XIII, n. 3, dicembre , 357-371

This article underscores the importance of the current international negotiations on climate change not only from an environmental viewpoint, but also from the perspective of global security and North-South cooperation. It sketches the structure of the negotiations and touches upon their legal complexity, focusing on forest-related questions. It concludes with the identification of the possible legal outcomes of the negotiations on a post-2012 international regime on climate change, indicating that negotiations are likely to continue beyond 2009.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Held David

The changing Face of Global Governance: between past Strategic Failure and Future Economic Constraints
in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 5, Issue 1, Summer

<http://www.social-europe.eu/2010/01/the-changing-face-of-global-governance-between-past-strategic-failure-and-future-economic-constraints/>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Draghi Mario

The future of global financial stability
in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 23-27

The current economic crisis has revealed the shortcomings of the current global financial system, and it is clear that there must be a fundamental shift in the approaches to global financial governance. The seeds for a more comprehensive global system have been sown, as evidenced by the increasing amount of international dialogue, not only amongst the global economic giants but also amongst emerging economies. However, there is a need to develop mechanisms for high-quality regulation rather than falling into the trap of reacting to the current crisis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Smith Michael Peter

The incompleteness of rights-bearing citizenship: Political obligation and renationalization
in *Political Power and Social Theory*, Volume 20 , 275-280

A full picture of the making of new rights-bearing subjects requires theorizing the political obligations as well as entitlements of citizenship. These must be specified lest the enumeration of political obligations be left to extreme nationalists and advocates of racial, ethnic, gender, and cultural exclusion. The worst global economic crisis since the Great Depression has led many nation-states to re-regulate their national economies and decouple them from the global economy. New terms of engagement and combinations of political rights and duties are likely to follow from nations' turn to looking out for themselves in the uncharted waters of the global meltdown.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Persaud Avinash

The locus of financial regulation: home versus host
in *International Affairs* , vol. 86, issue 3, may , 637-646



ABSTRACT: If the G's are the world's steering committee, the step from G7 to G20 deepened the democratic legitimacy of this committee. However, it also shifted influence to a group that share little else other than economic power: they have diverse experiences, challenges, cultural perspectives and starting points. This is particularly the case in the field of financial regulation, where action across these countries in recent months—despite all the language of global regulation—is increasingly local. The prospect of the new global being quite local has dismayed some. But it need not. This article challenges the dichotomy of more global versus more local. It argues that financial internationalism—greater cooperation by nations for the benefit of all—is better served by institutions that help to integrate diverse systems than those which try to enforce one-size-fits-all approach to very different economies.

International banks persuaded regulators of the benefits of home country regulation and a level playing field for bankers. But the benefits accrued largely to the banks in the boom and proved an avenue for contagion during the crash. Host country regulation may prove a safer way to regulate financial systems, in particular by allowing regulation to be more responsive to national economic conditions and cycles. It is likely that a shift back to host country regulation will act as a drag on international capital flows. The instinct of economists is that the cost of this is uncertain, suspect and conditional, especially when compared to the costs of financial crashes. Host country regulation does not mean there is no role for international institutions, such as the newly minted Financial Stability Board. Instead, it suggests a more nuanced role, potentially encompassing the policing of international market infrastructure, financial protectionism, information free flow between regulators and the convergence of regulatory principles and the consolidation of regulatory instruments. An informed and collegiate process of integrating different financial systems will be a more resilient system than one which tries to apply a single rule book across inherently different countries.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Cresswell Tim

The prosthetic citizen: New geographies of citizenship

in Political Power and Social Theory, Volume 20 , 259-273

The relationship between changing geographies and the notion of citizenship is outlined. As well as focussing on the transformation of the nation-state, it is argued, it is necessary to concentrate on other kinds of geographical transformation. These include changing regimes of mobility, the privatisation of public space and the salience of belonging at the local level. The paper insists on the importance of geography (both material and imaginative) to the process of making up the citizen and this is illustrated through considerations of the 'denizen' and the 'shadow citizen' in relation to their various geographies. In each case issues of place and mobility lie at the heart of the process by which citizens and their other come to be defined and lived. Recognizing the geographical constitution of the citizen means thinking about the citizen not as a self-sufficient individual body but as a 'prosthetic citizen' who is a product of the assemblage of the body and the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Ebbesson Jonas

The rule of law in governance of complex socio-ecological changes

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 20, Issue 3, Special Issue: Governance, Complexity and Resilience, August , 414-422



This article discusses the impact of the rule of law on the resilience of societies for governing complex socio-ecological changes. It concludes that the notions of the rule of law and legal certainty have changed, and that they can be compatible with the use of framework laws of a rather open-textured character, provided certain legal safeguards, such as the right to a legal review, are at hand. While legal certainty is an important virtue of law, it does not as such necessarily prevent adequate flexibility in administrative decision-making concerning health, the environment or the use of natural resources. The article also considers to what extent certain established administrative means of control in the field of environment protection and the use of natural resources match the findings and proposals, e.g. on flexibility and adaptability, provided by resilience research. Finally the article discusses the impact of state sovereignty on governance of large-scale socio-ecological changes, with reach across state borders. It concludes that, despite some attempts of softening the impact of state borders in transboundary environmental decision-making and management, state sovereignty still hampers multilevel governance and management of resources in such contexts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Baker Gideon

The 'Double Law' of Hospitality: Rethinking Cosmopolitan Ethics in Humanitarian Intervention in International Relations, vol. 24, n. 1, march , 87-103

ABSTRACT: By way of a discussion of the deliberately hard case of humanitarian intervention, this article considers the merits of an alternative cosmopolitan ethics to that of liberal cosmopolitanism, one which finds its universalism on an ethics of hospitality rather than the rights of man. Jacques Derrida describes the ethics of hospitality as defined by an unconditional welcome which nonetheless must become conditional in order to function. This leads to a profound paradox — an 'undecidability' — in the practice of the ethics of hospitality, the implications of which need to be better understood if the ambition of 'another cosmopolitanism' is to be realised. Interrogating the ethics of hospitality and the undecidability to which it gives rise in relation to humanitarian intervention, it is argued that responsibilities to others, which sometimes imply intervention, must always be kept in tension with openness to the coming of the Other, which limits intervention. Far from being blind or paralysing action, such 'bounded undecidability', it is suggested, actually defines the site of responsible, just decisions in humanitarian intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Wirbel Loring, Webb Dave

Toward a Common Space Policy in a Multilateral World in Peace Review, vol. 22, n. 1, january , 40-49

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Attinà Fulvio

Towards the World State. Three analyses of change



in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLII, n.186, Gennaio-Marzo

This article analyses past and future changes in the world political system. It examines, compares and assesses Frank's world system approach, Modelski's evolutionist theory and Wendt's teleological approach to the study of world change. Basing himself on the analyses developed by these three scholars, Attinà seeks to contribute to the building of further research strategies on changes in world political institutions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Deuchars Robert

Towards the global social: sociological reflections on governance and risk in the context of the current financial crisis

in **Cambridge Review of International Affairs**, Vol. 23, n. 1, March, 107-125

This article explores the relationship between contemporary forms of governance and risk. International Relations scholarship tends to locate governance within a theoretical framework derived from sovereignty. I suggest that a Foucauldian notion of 'governmentality' entails a better understanding of modes of governance, especially in so-called advanced liberal societies. In these societies, a particular form of rationality and a series of invasive techniques render individuals as objectified, classified and calculable things, in turn, making them more amenable to risk-based technologies of control. Via a survey of credit-rating, auditing, insuring and other calculative practices, I examine that ways in which governance operates as a biopolitical technology. This clears the way for thinking about governance in terms of the 'global social'.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Dorussen Han

Trade networks and the Kantian peace

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 1, January, 29-42

Classical-liberal arguments about the pacifying effects of international trade are revisited, and it is argued that they consistently refer to the ability of trade to provide 'connections' between people and to create a perceived 'global community'. Dependency and openness are commonly used to test for any pacifying effects of trade in the current literature, but these measures fail to capture some of the classical liberals' key insights. Several network measures are introduced in order to give natural expression to and to develop the classical-liberal view that trade linkages reduce interstate conflict. These measures applied to trade flows are incorporated in the Russett & Oneal triangulating-peace model. The main results are that trade networks are indeed pacifying in that both direct and indirect trade linkages matter, and as the global trade network has become more dense over time, the importance of indirect links by way of specific third countries has declined, and the general embeddedness of state dyads in the trade network has become more relevant. These findings suggest that the period since World War II has seen progressive realization of the classical-liberal ideal of a security community of trading states.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Lenzi Guido

Trans-atlantic relations and world governance

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 9-18

In the present transitional phase, the transatlantic relationship must recover its original task to preserve the Western unity of purpose, critical as it is for the restoration of a world-wide system of international relations, in a resumption of the international liberalism approach. The global agenda itself requires a more substantive European contribution, in both political and operational terms. The Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, finally appropriately structured, although genetically different from the US strategical stance, could usefully complement it. Euro-American cohesion remains essential also to involve Russia in the reintegration of Europe, a pre-requisite for any broader world governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Anker Christien van den

Transnationalism and Cosmopolitanism: Towards Global Citizenship?

in *Journal of International Political Theory*, Volume 6, Number 1, April , 73-94

The concept of transnationalism, despite a variety of earlier uses, has recently been used to describe the sociological phenomenon of cross-border migrants considering more than one place 'home'. This can be in terms of identity and belonging, cultural expression, family and other social ties, visits, financial flows, organising working life in more than one nation-state or transnational political projects. In this paper I discuss the theory and practice of transnationalism to assess the practical, explanatory and normative strength of the concept. I then introduce three different forms of cosmopolitan approaches and assess whether transnational migrants' practices contribute to a cosmopolitan outlook and active global citizenship. I show that the extent to which transnationalism contributes to various forms of global citizenship varies according to the different conceptualisations of transnationalism and cosmopolitanism. In conclusion I draw out the implications of these differences for the future protection of the rights of migrants.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Jaeger Hans-Martin

UN reform, biopolitics, and global governmentality

in *International Theory*, Volume 2, Issue 01, March , 50-86

Commentary on the United Nations (UN) reform efforts of 2004–05 has broadly followed two different trajectories. International lawyers and political theorists have focused on the implications of reform for sovereignty as a fundamental principle of international law and international relations. International Relations (IR) scholars have discussed reform focusing on state power and the UN's institutional authority. Against the background of these debates and drawing on Foucault's political theory and related IR scholarship, this article argues that UN reform discourse indicates a biopolitical 'reprogramming' of contemporary sovereignty and global governance. The analysis 'displaces' the concerns with



sovereignty, state power, and institutional authority by demonstrating that UN reform (also) constitutes the UN as a project of managing and regulating the global population through a variety of securitizing, economizing, and normalizing rationalities and techniques. The article illustrates this by pointing to the biopolitical rationales of reform conceptions of human security and collective security, and to (neo)liberal governmentalities of risk and responsibility, contractualism, benchmarking, and networks. It thereby challenges the conceptual and normative priority accorded to juridical sovereignty in international law, and to state- and institution-centric accounts in IR theorizations of UN-relayed global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Gianolla Cristiano

Vertical Cosmopolitanism: The Intergenerational Approach towards Human Rights of Future Generations in Pace Diritti Umani, anno 6, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 107-128

ABSTRACT: Il soggetto dei diritti umani sono tutti gli esseri umani, tutta l'umanità. La violazione dei diritti di taluni individui è compiuta normalmente da altre persone, loro contemporanei. È tuttavia emersa di recente la possibilità per l'essere umano di mettere a repentaglio in modo serio la vita delle generazioni successive.

Per far fronte a queste due problematiche viene riaffermata l'importanza del cosmopolitismo in quanto teoria di riferimento nella difesa dei diritti umani di tutta l'umanità. Il cosmopolitismo è classicamente inteso nella forma qui definita orizzontale, ovvero quella che include tutti gli individui senza distinzione geografica.

L'elemento innovatore di questo scritto sta nell'individuazione della nuova dimensione di questa teoria: il cosmopolitismo verticale. In quest'ultima si punta sul riconoscimento dell'uguaglianza di tutti gli umani nati o che nasceranno, quindi senza distinzione temporale. Viene così concessa l'inclusione cosmopolita alle generazioni future. Il cosmopolitismo giunge in tal modo alla sua propria completezza fatta di orizzontalità (spaziale) e verticalità (temporale). Con questa integrazione il cosmopolitismo assume una forma sferica che abbraccia tutta l'umanità (senza distinzioni di spazio o tempo) riconfermando anche la sua adeguatezza al discorso sui diritti umani.

L'elemento centrale di queste speculazioni è il dialogo. Si possono infatti affermare i diritti delle future generazioni dando loro la possibilità di intervenire nel dibattito politico che le riguarderà. Esse devono essere rappresentate. Il dialogo intergenerazionale viene stabilito in parallelo a quello interculturale: come il secondo è il ponte fra culture diverse, così il primo apre la strada al confronto fra generazioni. Per rendere concreto il dialogo fra generazioni si rende necessaria l'intermediazione dell' «Ombudsperson per i diritti delle generazioni future». Si tratta di un rappresentante di coloro che vivranno le conseguenze delle decisioni prese quando non avevano la capacità di influenzarle.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Kaye David

Völkerrechtliche Implikationen des Goldstone-Berichts



in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 9, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/9D00L2,0,V%F6lkerrechtliche_Implikationen_des_GoldstoneBerichts.html

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Panke Diana

Why (big) states cannot do what they want. International legalization at work

in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 2, March, 186–209

Non-compliance occurs in all international organizations and hampers the effectiveness of international law. Despite increasing international legalization, we know little about how international courts abolish non-compliance. Why do states sometimes abolish non-compliance before but sometimes only after judgements or even threats with penalties? This article argues, first, that there are few differences between weak and powerful states in reacting to the European Court of Justice. Second, contrary to the expectation of legalization approaches, judicial means, such as judicial discourses, cannot always facilitate compliance. Third, by contrast to the expectations of enforcement theories, powerful states do not resist judgements and sanction-threats to a greater extent than weak states. Fourth, non-country variables, such as the gravity of the infringement or the choice of judicial interpretational devices, are scope conditions for the success of judicial discourse and sanctions and are crucial in explaining how norm violations of weak and powerful states can be resolved by the international courts.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Hutchings Robert

Why U.S. - EU economic co-operation holds the key to global governance

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

The globalised economy and the rise of new economic giants demand a radically reformed international system, says Robert Hutchings. But it will nevertheless fall to Europe and America to fashion these new structures for global governance.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Zanetti Véronique

Wie lässt sich das Recht auf humanitäre Intervention begründen?

in *Information Philosophie*, Band 38, Heft 2, 2010

Die beiden Imperative des Völkerrechts



Das Völkerrecht wird von zwei Imperativen, die oft miteinander unvereinbar sind, in die Zange genommen:

- Zum einen soll es weltweit für die konkrete Umsetzung der Grundrechte der Individuen sorgen. Das Recht soll auf Seiten der Individuen gegen die Souveränität des Staates stehen, wenn dieser für sie eine Bedrohung darstellt.
- Zum anderen ist der Grundsatz der Souveränität der Nationen ein zentrales Prinzip. So lautet Ziffer 7 von § 2 der Charta der UNO: „Aus dieser Charta kann eine Befugnis der Vereinten Nationen zum Eingreifen in Angelegenheiten, die ihrem Wesen nach zur inneren Zuständigkeit eines Staates gehören (...), nicht abgeleitet werden.“ Der komplexe Ausdruck „Recht auf humanitäre Intervention“ veranschaulicht diese Spannung. Die Rede ist von einer Intervention in die inneren Angelegenheiten eines souveränen Staates, dessen Verhalten als sträflich angesehen wird. Damit stellt sich die Frage nach den Gründen, die die Aufhebung des Souveränitäts-Prinzips der Nationen rechtfertigen. Die Intervention wird als humanitär bezeichnet, um deutlich zu machen, dass ihre Legitimität eng mit den Grundrechten der Personen zusammenhängt. Die Frage der Rechtfertigung verschiebt sich dann unvermeidlich vom Gebiet des Rechts zu dem der Ethik.

Haben die Staaten ein Recht zu intervenieren, oder haben die Individuen ein Recht darauf, dass man zu ihren Gunsten interveniert, wenn sie massiven Verletzungen ihrer Grundrechte von Seiten ihrer Regierung ausgesetzt sind? Die in Bielefeld lehrende Schweizer Philosophin Véronique Zanetti ist der Frage in ihrem Beitrag

Zanetti, V.: Vom Recht auf Selbstverteidigung zum Recht auf Hilfe, in: Sandkühler, H. J.: Menschenrechte in die Zukunft denken, 2008, Nomos, Baden-Baden.

nachgegangen. Der Begriff „humanitäre Intervention“ gehört danach zur Erbmasse der Theorie des gerechten Krieges und der Vorstellung, dass die Staaten, in gewissen extremen Fällen – einseitig oder im Einverständnis mit anderen –, berechtigt sind, die Waffen gegen einen dritten Staat zu erheben, der eine Gruppe der eigenen Staatsbürger bedroht. Die Intervention wird dann meistens als Bestrafung gesehen: Weil das offizielle Verhalten einer Regierung gegenüber ihrer Bevölkerung sträflich ist und weil dieses Verhalten eine Bedrohung für den Frieden darstellt, darf das Angriffsverbot einseitig aufgehoben werden. Damit dieses Verbot aufgehoben werden darf, muss die Schuld schwerwiegend und die Bestrafung verhältnismäßig zur Schwere der Tat sein. Das Gewohnheitsrecht erkennt an, dass eine militärische Intervention dann gerechtfertigt ist, wenn es sich um massive Menschenrechtsverletzungen handelt, d. h. Massaker, Zwangsumsiedlung oder Vertreibung eines wichtigen Teils der Bevölkerung, „ethnische Säuberung“ oder Verfolgung einer Minderheit.

Unter dem Einfluss eines Individualrechts-Liberalismus besteht auf der anderen Seite eine Tendenz zu einer individualistischen Interpretation des Rechts auf humanitäre Intervention, die sich nicht leicht mit dem Verhältnismäßigkeitsprinzip der Doktrin des gerechten Krieges in Einklang bringen lässt. Beide Konstruktionen – die staatszentrierte wie die individualrechtliche Variante – beruhen auf zwei rechtsphilosophischen Prinzipien, die so gut wie nie hinterfragt werden: nämlich dem individuellen Recht auf Selbstverteidigung einerseits und, analog, dem staatlichen Recht auf Selbstverteidigung andererseits. Aus diesen beiden Prämissen wird das Recht auf humanitäre Intervention abgeleitet. Hätten tatsächlich weder die Individuen noch die Staaten ein Recht, sich im Falle einer existentiellen Bedrohung, auch mit Gewalt, zu verteidigen, dürften sie sich weder selbst verteidigen noch einem Dritten zur Hilfe kommen. Die Erlaubnis, jemandem zu helfen, setzt voraus, dass diese Person sich selbst auch gewaltsam verteidigen darf, dass sie es unter anderen Umständen auch tun würde, aber in dieser bestimmten Situation nicht in der Lage ist, es zu tun.



Besitzt sie jedoch dieses Recht nicht, darf auch kein anderer es in Vertretung ausüben.

...

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Álvarez-Verdugo Milagros

Will Climate Change Alter the NPT Political Balance? New Challenges for the Non-proliferation Regime
in *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 21, n. 1 , 205-219

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Takashi Inoguchi

World Order Debates in the Twentieth Century: Through the Eyes of the Two-level Game and the Second Image (Reversed)

in *Chinese Journal of International Politics (The)*, Volume 3, Number 2, Summer , 155-188

This article presents a somewhat unconventional grand framework under which to understand world order, in particular the dialectic framework of international relations. By dialectics I mean approaches to world order, with emphasis on interactions among competing forces within international relations and domestic competition. My objective in applying the two-level game and the second image game and second image reversed to the state strategy of leading powers is to examine and analyze the long-term evolution of world order in the extended 20th century period 1890–2025. My aim is to enrich the existing picture of this evolution in international relations in the last century. More specifically, by focusing on the leading powers within different timeframes of this extended century—Britain in the 19th century, and the United States for the best part of the 20th century, especially the last quarter, and at the dawn of the 21st century

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 4. Global governance, supranational federalism and democracy

Balcerowicz Leszek

Worldwide reform means engaging public opinion first

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

There are real fears that the deep-seated reforms demanded by the global financial and economic crisis will not get the public support that is needed, warns former Polish finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz. He sets out a six-point approach for ensuring long-term recovery.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Riddervold Marianne



'A matter of principle'? EU foreign policy in the International Labour Organization

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , 581-598

This article contributes to the debate on the role of norms in European Union (EU) foreign policy by looking at EU policies in the making of a Consolidated Maritime Labour Convention (MLC). Given the economic importance of shipping for many EU members, one would expect the EU to promote its economic interests in the International Labour Organization (ILO). However, the EU was described as a human rights promoter and had positions on the MLC that after common EU implementation will increase costs for both ship-owners and national administrations. How can this be? I answer by examining the arguments that mobilized the actors to agree to the policies conducted, differentiating between three ideal-types: pragmatic; ethical-political; and moral arguments. I conclude that moral arguments, supporting a thesis that a concern for establishing global law for the protection of rights, have been particularly important in mobilizing the EU to promote a convention of high standards.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Smith Peter, Smythe Elizabeth

(In)Fertile Ground? Social Forum Activism in its Regional and Local Dimension

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol XVI, n. 1

ABSTRACT: Since its inception in 2001 World Social Forum (WSF) has grown in numbers and drawn activists from all areas of the globe. It has also spawned a myriad of social forums around the world. But the pattern of participation within the WSF global event or within other forums has not been evenly spread in geographic or spatial terms. This chapter examines how and why social forum activism emerged in some places and not others. We map the social forum from the first WSF in 2001 through its proliferation and fragmentation over time as it has taken root at various levels—continental, national, regional and local. Then we provide comparative case studies of sub-global forums drawn from North and South America, Europe and Africa. We also compare different manifestations of social “forumism” along a number of dimensions. Drawing on comparative politics and its emphasis on the specifics of place and the role of context we discuss these patterns and the factors that might account for why these forms of resistance find barren or fertile ground around the world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Peterson V. Spike

A Long View of Globalization and Crisis

in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 187-202

Abstract

The crises we confront raise fundamental questions: how do we rethink our objectives? What are we assuming as 'given' that is getting in the way? I approach these questions by undertaking a 'long history' of accumulation processes and the social hierarchies, justificatory ideologies, and subjective investments they generate. Early state formation marked a turning point in potential scales of accumulation; the 'industrial revolution' and European state making marked



a subsequent leap associated with modern capitalism. Accumulation throughout has involved both economic and non-economic processes and a mixture of coercion and consent. I argue that a history of these transformations illuminates issues shaping current crises: in particular, the 'givenness' (normalization) of inequalities within and between groups; belief systems that cultivate stratifications and antagonistic relations; erasure of social reproduction as the indispensable foundation of sustainability; and the idealization of 'growth' that underpins accumulation processes but is in tension with equitable and sustainable conditions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Tienhaara Kyla

A tale of two crises: what the global financial crisis means for the global environmental crisis in European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance, Volume 20, Issue 3, May-June , 197-208

Humanity is currently faced with two global crises, one financial and one environmental. Although ostensibly distinct, these crises are in fact interlinked. Unsustainable consumption, at the heart of the environmental crisis, is driven to a large extent by unsustainable debt, which creates financial instability. If these underlying issues are tackled, and investment is directed into environmental initiatives through a green new deal, then the ultimate outcome of the financial crisis could be the mitigation of the environmental crisis. If, conversely, economic hardship is used as a justification for delaying action on critical environmental issues and economic growth remains at the centre of government policy, then the ultimate outcome of the financial crisis could be the deepening of the environmental crisis. The relationship between the two crises therefore provides both opportunities and threats to achieving long-term economic and ecological sustainability.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle

African Voices and Activists at the WSF in Nairobi: The Uncertain Ways of Transnational African Activism in Journal of World-Systems Research, vol XVI, n. 1 , Siméant Juhanna

ABSTRACT: Transnational social movement studies have long neglected the way activists from the South, and particularly from Africa, have participated in World Social Forum processes. Alterglobal activists have also been accused of neglecting or dominating southern voices.

The organization of the WSF in Nairobi was seen as an opportunity to make African voices be heard. This examines how Africans activists participated in Nairobi, and the complex relationship they have to northern and other southern (such as Asia and Latin America) activists. The African alterglobal movement is seen as a space of tensions (i.e. between South Africans and the rest of the continent, between French and English speaking Africa, or between NGOs and more radical organizations) reflected in national mobilizations. Our team of 23 French and 12 Kenyan scholars made collective ethnographic observations in more than a hundred workshops and conducted 150 biographical interviews of African activists in order to examine how: Africa was referred to in the WSF; activists financed their trip to Nairobi; and Afrocentric, anti-imperialist, and anticolonial arguments have been used.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bieler Andreas, Lindberg Ingemar, Sauerborn Werner

After 30 Years of Deadlock: Labour's Possible Strategies in the New Global Order

in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 247-260

Abstract

This article is based on the understanding that in order to analyse labour's current inability to defend social standards and to shape the discussion of how to overcome the financial crisis, it is necessary to examine labour's wider role in the global economy during the last 30 years. It will be argued that because globalisation has severely weakened labour, new strategies and power resources have to be recovered in its struggle against neo-liberal restructuring. Importantly, this requires a generally new perspective which needs to be operationalised depending on the particular industrial sector and geographical location. The experience and challenges of Northern trade unions in transnational manufacturing must not be generalised.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Luke Timothy

An Apparatus of Answers? Ecologism as Ideology in the 21st Century

in *New Political Science*, vol. 31, n. 4, december , 487-498

ABSTRACT: This article examines how far we are, individually and collectively, from "the end of ideology" by mapping how "green living," after the time when ideology allegedly "ended," now becomes that political point where ecology can morph into "the ideology of ends." As popular enthusiasm for realizing green moral and political ends builds, many are turning "ecological" values, thoughts, and practices into an apparatus of answers for the conduct of their everyday life. By transforming such Earth-centered programs for valorizing, thinking, and doing various human activities, proponents of "ecologism" become advocates of representing the Earth as an apparatus of answers on how to live in "the present." Such seemingly significant markers for ethical guidance in ecologism are then adopted as cohesive clusters of political responses to pressing contemporary social necessities. Once endorsed as such, one supposedly can discover paths to a "sustainable society." Sustainability's questionable existence or ultimate attainment is rarely doubted, because of the awe with which this apparatus of answers from ecologism is regarded as a changing face of ideology in the 21st century.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wei Y. H. Dennis

Beyond new regionalism, beyond global production networks: remaking the Sunan model, China

in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Volume 28, Issue 1, February , 72-96

I attempt to advance the research on globalization and regional development in China through a study of Kunshan City. I investigate the restructuring process, the structure of foreign direct investment, and the nature of global – local networks to understand trajectories and models of regional development in the context of globalization. I highlight the interactions



of the Chinese state, transnational corporations (TNCs), and regional assets in shaping the trajectories of regional development. I argue that Kunshan's pathway to globalizing regional development is state centered and heavily dependent on global forces, which has made Kunshan a TNC satellite district and a dual city segmented between TNCs and domestic firms. I also argue that TNCs' local embeddedness has to be positioned in their global and external networks and that the assessment of regional development has to be conditioned upon a region's specific context. The findings suggest that neither new regionalism nor global production network perspectives can fully explain regional development in China with huge domestic markets and large regional disparities. I promote an alternative, middle-ground perspective to regional development to better integrate global forces, state institutions, and local contexts. Such a third approach to regional development has the potential to localize TNCs and to develop indigenous capacities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Grabendorff Wolf

Brasil: de coloso regional a potencia global

in *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 226 , 158-171

El golpe de Estado en Honduras y la crisis política posterior pusieron en evidencia los déficits de los mecanismos interamericanos como la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) y revelaron las debilidades de las dos grandes potencias del hemisferio occidental: Estados Unidos y Brasil. La presencia de Manuel Zelaya en la embajada brasileña y las dificultades para lograr su restitución dejaron a Brasil en una situación incómoda. Partiendo de este caso, el artículo analiza el tránsito de Brasil de gigante regional a potencia global, y los desafíos y consecuencias que ese tránsito genera

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Della Porta Donatella, Mosca Lorenzo

Build Locally, Link Globally: The Social Forum Process in Italy

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol XVI, n. 1

ABSTRACT: Considered an innovation because of its capacity to develop transnational processes, the World Social Forum however also has strong local roots as well as effects on organizational models and collective identities at the domestic level. Focusing on the Italian case, this article shows how local social forums, as arenas for exchanges of ideas, played a cognitive role in the import, but also the translation of new ideas, as well as helping the emergence of dense network structures and tolerant identities. The first section of the article examines how local social forums contributed to innovation in the organizational formulas of the Global Justice Movement -- considering both structure (organizations) and process (methodologies) aspects—through the development of different, more participatory conceptions of internal decision making. It then addresses the innovations in the definition of collective identities, stressing the linkages of local struggles and global framing as well as the development of a cross-issue discourse around an anti-neoliberal frame. The final section will discuss the contribution of local social forums to contemporary social movements, stressing the role of these new arenas for the cross-fertilization among different movement families and spreading a method of



working together that becomes part of the repertoire of action of local social movement organizations. The empirical research consists mainly of in-depth interviews and focus groups with activists from social movement organizations which were involved in local social forums.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Aydin Mustafa, Özen Çınar

Civilizational futures: Clashes or alternative visions in the age of globalization?

in Futures, Volume 42, Issue 6, August - Special Issue: Futures for Multiple Civilizations , 545-552

This article underlines the existing similarities between Samuel Huntington's civilizational approach hypothesis and the fundamentals of political Islam. The similarity pertains to the argument related to the gradual weakening of nation-states, which also constitutes the main theme of the globalization debate. The civilizational approach and political Islam signify new efforts to reach a much larger political community and organization in world politics. Both of them argue that the formation of new political actor(s) is replacing the old nation-states across religious and cultural affinities. The terrorist organization Al-Qaeda is trying to legitimize its political violence by manipulating the weakness of the nation-states and the utopia of the formation of a much more comprehensive political community and political organization through Islam. Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis indirectly provides a base for Al-Qaeda's rhetoric and a certain type of justification for its terror activities, since the theory argues for the inevitability of the conflict between civilizations, regardless of their political regimes (liberal or totalitarian) with civilizations being determined by their cultural and religious differences—a theme that is used by the ideologues of political Islam.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Inglis David

Civilizations or Globalization(s)? Intellectual Rapprochements and Historical World-Visions

in European Journal of Social Theory, Volume 13, No. 1, February 2010 , 135-152

Abstract

Civilizational analysis of the kind propounded by Eisenstadt and globalization theory are apparently wholly incommensurate paradigms, with radically differing visions of the contemporary world order, the former championing the notion of 'multiple modernities' and the latter envisioning a world of trans-national processes and institutions. This articles challenges such a dichotomizing view, and seeks to illustrate how in various ways they overlap and can come to inform each other. Particular attention is given to how a focus on inter-civilizational interactions can lead to productive rapprochements between civilizational analysis and globalization theory, as it allows some of the themes of the latter to be analysed through civilization-analytic lenses. The pioneering work in this regard of Benjamin Nelson is shown to provide a basis for future civilizational analyses of globalization, especially in the pre-modern world.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hoon Oh Chang, Reuveny Rafael

**Climatic natural disasters, political risk, and international trade
in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 2, May , 243-254**

This paper statistically analyzes the effects of climatic natural disasters and political risk on bilateral trade in a large-N sample of countries and years. Our theory suggests that the effects of these forces on trade need to be studied together and that the two forces may interact with one another. In the statistical analysis, the unit of analysis is a pair of countries and the model is based on the trade gravity design. The results show that the direct effects of increases in the incidence of disasters and the political risk level in the importer or the exporter countries are negative, reducing trade. The results for the interaction between the two forces show (1) as the incidence of disasters increases, the marginal effect of political risk on trade becomes more negative, which indicates a greater decline in trade and (2) as political risk declines the marginal effect of disasters becomes less negative, indicating a smaller decline in trade. Additional analyses demonstrate the robustness of these results to changes in model specification, disaster measure, and estimation method. In the bigger picture, our findings suggest that if climate change increases the incidence of climatic disasters as projections of the global science suggest, the growth of economic globalization may decline, *ceteris paribus*.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

D'Andrea Dimitri, Lo Russo Michelantonio, Zolo Danilo

**Conditio humana. Il rischio nell'età globale di Ulrich Beck
in *Iride*, numero 3, dicembre 2009 , 691-706**

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fach Gomez Katia

**Construyendo un nuevo Derecho Internacional de las inversiones: Las propuestas del Instituto Internacional
para el Desarrollo Sostenible
in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 18/ 2009**

This article analyzes the content of the Model Agreement on Investment for Sustainable Development. This text, prepared by the International Institute for Sustainable Development, hopes to strengthen the social dimension of international investment agreements, with the aim that in the future developing countries can prioritize the qualitative aspect of the investment. Reflecting on the essential aspects of this model also allows an analysis of comparative law in this area and predict future trends that will characterize the prospective International Investment Law.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



George Susan

Converging Crises: Reality, Fear and Hope

in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 17-22

The full text is free:

www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a921645309~frm=titlelink

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Emeseh Engobo, Ako Rhuks, Okonmah Patrick , Ogechukwu Obokoh Lawrence

Corporations, CSR and Self Regulation: What Lessons from the Global Financial Crisis?

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 230-259

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No2/PDF_Vol_11_No_02_159-209_Articles_Tim_Connor.pdf

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ives Peter

Cosmopolitanism and Global English: Language Politics in Globalisation Debates

in *Political Studies*, Volume 58 Issue 3, June , 516-535

While it is commonly agreed that language standardisation was an integral feature of the historical formation of the modern nation state, current debates on globalisation and its effects on the nation state rarely address language issues in more than a superficial fashion. Yet the quadrupling of the number of English speakers in the last half-century and other changes associated with 'global English' would seem to have more substantial political implications. Particularly in the recent wave of discussions of cosmopolitanism, language questions seem to lurk below the surface but are rarely addressed explicitly or comprehensively. Important exceptions to this neglect of current language issues include Daniele Archibugi, who addresses these questions head on, and Nancy Fraser's most recent attempt to rethink Habermas' critical theory of the public sphere. This article agrees with both Archibugi and Fraser that language is an important, even central, aspect of political responses to processes of globalisation, specifically cosmopolitanism. However, I argue that Antonio Gramsci's approach to the politics of language in the early twentieth century highlights the insufficiency of Archibugi's reliance on the metaphor of Esperanto as well as the intractable nature of Fraser's critique for any critical theory of global public sphere(s), despite her attempt to advance such a theory. I do this by looking at Gramsci's critique of Esperanto from 1918 and his later prison writings concerning language politics in Italy. Gramsci, I argue, provides a much more adequate approach to contemporary questions of the politics of language, which includes an understanding of the continued role of the state which is most often obscured both by cosmopolitan perspectives and by much research on global English in fields outside political science.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Di Salvo C.J. Pereira, Raymond Leigh

Defining the precautionary principle: an empirical analysis of elite discourse

in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 1, Special Issue: Symposium on Renewable Energy, February , 86-106

The precautionary principle (PP) has gained influence in environmental politics as a 'policy principle' - an idea that can spur policy change. Yet, exact definitions of the PP remain elusive, making evaluation of its actual political influence difficult. Given the controversy over the PP's meaning and policy utility, broader empirical analysis of its public formulations is overdue. Elite discourse on the PP is analysed in the search for a dominant formulation among 238 articles in a variety of disciplines. The modal PP formulation is found to be a mix of stronger and weaker elements, broadly resembling Principle 15 of the 1992 Rio Declaration. The data suggest that the principle has become weaker over time, and that its critics formulate it more strongly than proponents. Contrary to some assertions, however, American and European authors do not differ significantly in their interpretations of the PP.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Andornino Giovanni B.

Economic Globalisation: 'when' and 'what'. For a dynamic historical-methodological approach to the process of globalisation

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XL, n.181, Ottobre-Dicembre

When did globalisation begin and how has it evolved? This essay addresses one of the liveliest debates of our time with a thumbnail analysis of the positions taken on the issue by some of the most authoritative scholars on the international scene. Stressing the procedural nature of this economic and social phenomenon, the author pinpoints the three stages in its development: episodic, relational and integrative. This dynamic analytical perspective, capable of reconciling the transnational asymmetries and domestic dynamics of each society, may prove a useful tool for comparative and interdisciplinary analysis.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Habermas Jürgen, Mendieta Eduardo

Ein neues Interesse der Philosophie an der Religion? Zur philosophischen Bewandnis von postsäkularem Bewusstsein und multikultureller Weltgesellschaft

in **Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie**, 58. Jahrgang, Heft 1, 2010 , 3-16

Abstract

In this interview with Eduardo Mendieta, Jürgen Habermas provides his perspective on the philosophical meanings of post-secular consciousness as well as of multi-cultural global society.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dufour Pascale, Conway Janet

Emerging Visions of Another world? Tensions and Collaboration at the Quebec Social Forum
in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol XVI, n. 1

ABSTRACT: The Quebec Social Forum (QSF) took place 23-26 August 2007 in Montreal. It attracted about 5000 people from across Quebec. Both organizers and observers viewed the event as an unqualified success. In this article, we seek to describe and document this historic gathering and to understand it in its Quebec context, against the larger organizing process which produced it. We also situate the Social Forum, both as event and process, within the longer history of social mobilization in Quebec. Historicizing the Social Forum in this way helps us interpret its cleavages and conflicts more adequately and apprehend its larger significance. We argue that the conflicts that have plagued the organizing of the Quebec Social Forum are a reprise of those that appeared in the movement in the late 1990s and came to a head in the 2001 massive demonstrations

against the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas in Quebec City. The chasm then was widely perceived as one over tactics but we argue, then and now, it is more substantive than that. It is about the clash of profoundly different ethics, practices and theories of democracy and, beneath them, different horizons of hope and visions of transformation.

The organizing of the Social Forum is the occasion for this debate, which may say something about the significance of the Social Forum more generally and the challenge it poses to established cultures and practices of politics on the left. The cleavage is generational but not only or simply. It signals a struggle and transition but the outcomes are not yet clear and are certainly not pre-ordained.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gallagher Mary, Smith Douglas

Empire and Culture Now: Francophone Perspectives on Globalisation
in *Modern and Contemporary France*, Volume 18, Issue 2, May , 147-155

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/section?content=a922126278&fulltext=713240928>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parker Noel

Empire as a Geopolitical Figure
in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, n. 1, January , 109-132

This article analyses the ingredients of empire as a pattern of order with geopolitical effects. Noting the imperial form's



proclivity for expansion from a critical reading of historical sociology, the article argues that the principal manifestation of earlier geopolitics lay not in the nation but in empire. That in turn has been driven by a view of the world as disorderly and open to the ordering will of empires (emanating, at the time of geopolitics' inception, from Europe). One implication is that empires are likely to figure in the geopolitical ordering of the globe at all times, in particular after all that has happened in the late twentieth century to undermine nationalism and the national state. Empire is indeed a probable, even for some an attractive form of regime for extending order over the disorder produced by globalisation. Geopolitics articulated in imperial expansion is likely to be found in the present and in the future - the EU, and still more obviously the USA exhibiting the form in contemporary guise. This does not mean that empires figure in geopolitics simply by extending their own order, however; they are at least as much purveyors of other dynamics and orders, which possess their own discrete effects. The article ends with stipulations regarding the variety of forms that empires may take: neither fully bounded nor centred; neither straightforwardly self-serving nor easily made legitimate.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Frankel Jeffrey, Xie Daniel

Estimation of De Facto Flexibility Parameter and Basket Weights in Evolving Exchange Rate Regimes

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010 , 568-572

As is by now well-known, the exchange rate regimes that countries follow in practice (de facto) often depart from the regimes that they announce officially (de jure). Many countries that say they float in fact intervene heavily in the foreign exchange market.¹ Many countries that say they fix in fact devalue when trouble arises. Many countries that say they target a basket of major currencies in fact fiddle with the weights. A number of economists have offered attempts at de facto classifications, placing countries into categories (such as fixed, floating, and intermediate).⁴ Unfortunately, these classification schemes disagree with each other as much as they disagree with the de jure classification. Something must be wrong.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Goodman James

From Global Justice to Climate Justice? Justice Ecologism in an Era of Global Warming

in *New Political Science*, vol. 31, n. 4, december , 499-514

ABSTRACT: Justice globalism, as an ideological field, emerged to prominence from 2001 with the World Social Forum. It has offered powerful responses to market globalism, grounding alternatives as well as refusals. With the intensification of global warming, the question of climate justice is increasingly subsuming issues of global justice. Climate justice offers a distinct trajectory, with its own dilemmas and potentials. The article addresses these differences along six axes: scope, discourse, space, strategy, temporality, and agency. It is argued that climate justice is a totalising concern, that is scientifically measurable, that creates new leverage for late industrialisers, requires a proactive strategy, within a limited temporal horizon, embedded within an all-encompassing and radically challenging epistemology. As such climate justice addresses some of the limitations of global justice, while creating problems of its own. It is argued that emerging dynamics of climate justice are pre-figuring paradigmatic transition, forcing broad-scale transformations in the terms of political contestation.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hoogvelt Ankie

Globalisation, Crisis and the Political Economy of the International Monetary (Dis)Order

in Globalizations , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 51-66

Abstract

This article argues that the origins of the financial crisis of 2008 reside in the conditions of economic globalisation in the context of an imperfect world monetary order. It first describes the emergence of globalisation, after the demise of the Bretton Woods Monetary System, as a 'historical structure' in which financialisation has become the dominant mode of capital accumulation. It next outlines the interregnum period of a petrol-backed dollar reserve currency that underpinned, for a time, US hegemony. The concluding sections explore the consequences of the present crisis, the decline of the US dollar and alternative scenarios of world monetary order.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Martens Pim, Dreher Axel, Gaston Noel

Globalisation, the global village and the civil society

in Futures, Volume 42, Issue 6, August - Special Issue: Futures for Multiple Civilizations , 574-582

Human dynamics, institutional change, political relations and the global environment have become increasingly intertwined. The development of multicultural societies has certainly not been without its problems. The re-emergence of extremist political parties, the segregation of cultures and ethnic conflict, illustrate the problematic side of socio-cultural integration at the local level. We argue that socio-cultural factors not only change as a result of globalisation, but also can be causes, as well as challenges to the process of globalisation itself. We describe how the recent introduction of the MGI and KOF globalisation indices can be used to empirically address to what extent globalisation affects social phenomena. Overall, while the rigidity of national borders slackens, to speak about a global community is misleading. National borders still exist and the nation-state still matters. The fact is that they have to co-exist with civil society. The institutions of global civil society place limits upon the government and function as a sort of check on various forms of government, especially the authoritarian and absolutist varieties.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Fourçans André

Globalisation: Myths and Realities

in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XL, n.179, Aprile-Giugno

The article examines the complex phenomenon of globalisation in the light of the facts – hence as rationally as possible. The author analyses the historical origins of the phenomenon to contextualize it, and hence to improve understanding thereof. Issues of central importance thus emerge: the role and importance of multinational enterprises, the impact of



free trade – the fulcrum of the process of globalisation – on growth and employment in advanced countries and on the development of poor countries, poverty and inequalities, the relationship between globalisation and environment, and, ultimately, how states and the private sector are influenced by the growing power of NGOs, non-governmental organisations, and governmental organisations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank or the World Trade Organisation.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hsiao Hsin-Huang Michael, Wan Po-San, Wong Timothy Ka-Ying

**Globalization and Public Attitudes towards the State in the Asia-Pacific Region
in Japanese Journal of Political Science**, Volume 11, Issue 1, April , 21-49

Globalization has led to a redefinition of the functions and roles of the state. Based on data drawn from a cross-national social survey, this article examines the influences of globalization on the public's attitudes towards their state in Australia, China, India, Japan, Russia, and the United States, by focusing on satisfaction with government performance and demands on the government. The six countries differ extensively in their sociopolitical and technological situations, as well as in the experiences of their people with globalization in terms of the following aspects: connectivity with the world through personal ties and digital means, English language capacity, and support for the forces of globalization. There are also huge disparities in the public rankings of government performance and demands for expanding government spending in a wide range of policy areas. Our analysis reveals that, although both intra- and inter-country variations in the influences of globalization on public attitudes towards the state are not particularly prominent, those who support globalization not only are more inclined than others to be satisfied with the government's performance, but also demand more government intervention.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Munck Ronaldo

**Globalization, Crisis and Social Transformation: A View from the South
in Globalizations** , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 235-246

Abstract

The dominant narrative around the unfolding capitalist crisis is firmly focused on the dominant economies, and in particular the US. This is understandable given that the proximate causes of the crisis lie in the imperial heartlands and crisis resolution measures taken there will have a global impact. But a 'view from the South' is needed to redress the balance and prevent the decimation of global majority livelihoods being presented as mere collateral damage. The first section below tackles the crisis from a global (globalization) perspective emphasizing its impact in the South and what that it might mean in terms of political prospects. I then go on to develop a hybrid Karl Polanyi/Antonio Gramsci theoretical lens on counter-movements based on their writings responding to the last systemic capitalist crisis in the 1930s. Finally, I turn to the ways in which the international labour movement and the subaltern or post-colonial worlds



are contesting the terrain vacated by unregulated market capitalism. As Gramsci would say the old is dying but the new has not yet been born.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Wood Lesley

Horizontalist Youth Camps and the Bolivarian Revolution: A Story of Blocked Diffusion

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol XVI, n. 1

ABSTRACT: Between 2001 and 2005, the Intercontinental Youth Camp at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil became associated with a decentralized, horizontalist form of organizing. When the polycentric forum took place in 2006, this horizontalist identity and strategy did not diffuse successfully to the new site in Caracas, Venezuela. This article argues that for diffusion to be successful, the local hosts must be able to deliberate on the locally new idea, see themselves as similar to the earlier users, and have the opportunity to adapt the tactic to the local context. Analysing interviews with participants, and activist writing, I argue that the relational context of Caracas, Venezuela, along with recent events in that city, made such processes impossible. In particular, the deliberation essential for diffusion was blocked by the centralization and polarization of the political field, the formalization of the potential adopters, and the temporal proximity of a similar event, the World Festival of Youth and Students.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Raimondo Cubeddu

Individual Freedom in the Age of Globalisation

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XXXIX, n.176, 177, Luglio-Dicembre

The process of globalisation brings to an end the merging of political space (i.e., within which democratic sovereignty is exercised) and economic space (i.e., politically controlled and guided national markets). The prime victim of this process is the modern national state. It is thus vital to reformulate the relationship between individual freedom and non-violent political institutions. If the conception of the state as a 'necessary evil' now appears unsustainable, still less so is democratic liberalism's view of it as a tool for expanding individual and social freedom. If we wish to maintain the right to choose the model of life best suited to the maintaining of individual freedom, we have to relinquish the state as we have known it to date. But we also have to acknowledge the fact that we do not know – neither in practice nor, arguably, in theory – how to replace it.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Antràs Pol, Costinot Arnaud

Intermediation and Economic Integration

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010, 424-428



In Pol Antràs and Arnaud Costinot (2009), AC hereafter, we have developed a stylized but explicit model of intermediation in trade. In this paper, we present a variant of AC that illustrates the potential role of intermediaries in facilitating the realization of the gains from trade. We consider a Ricardian model with two goods and two countries. Our only point of departure from this standard model is to assume that producers do not have a direct access to centralized (Walrasian) markets. Instead, producers must be matched with a trader in order to have access to these markets. Upon matching, producers and traders bargain bilaterally.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kelly M.G.E.

International Biopolitics: Foucault, Globalisation and Imperialism

in Theoria, Volume 57, Number 123, Summer 2010 , 1-26

Abstract

In this article, I present a new Foucauldian reading of the international, via Foucault's concept of 'biopolitics'. I begin by surveying the existing Foucauldian perspectives on the international, which mostly take as their point of departure Foucault's concept of 'governmentality', and mostly diagnose a 'global governmentality' or 'global biopolitics' in the current era of globalisation. Against these majority positions, I argue that analysis of the contemporary international through the lens of Foucauldian biopolitics in fact shows us that our world system is marked by a parasitic imperialism of rich sovereign states over poor ones, carried on at the level of populations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Skonieczny Amy

Interrupting Inevitability: Globalization and Resistance

in Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Volume 35, n. 1, Jan.-Mar. , 1-28

Recent and past events indicate that the meanings, effects, and outcomes of globalization are highly contested. Despite this, an underlying assumption of inevitability characterizes dominant globalization discourses. How is it possible that inevitability claims persist despite multiple contestations? In this article, the author makes two arguments. The first corrects a pervasive problem in the literature that separates contingency and inevitability as two competing logics of globalization; the second proposes a new analytic approach, based on a postcolonial critique, that more appropriately challenges teleological arguments while explaining their persistence. This approach is illustrated through an examination of an encounter that took place during an antiglobalization rally in Washington, D.C., in April 2000 and in a rethinking of our current economic crisis and the "new thrift" that has changed US consumer behavior.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Bayart Jean-François

Is Globalisation Threatening the State? African Paradoxes

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XL, n.181, Ottobre-Dicembre

If a commonplace exists about African political societies, it's that of 'failed states'. And if there's a lesson to be learnt from these societies, it is precisely the vacuity of such a notion. In reality, the incisive 'failed state' thesis merely betrays the incapacity of the new theory of international relations to free itself from the trap it got into when it created the academic artifice of the so-called 'New World Order' in the 1990s. Over the last two centuries, we have witnessed a global generalisation of the principle of the nation-state as a regime of territorial sovereignty and 'autonomisation' of the political sphere. Albeit imported by the colonial powers, the state in Africa has been the subject of complex processes of 'appropriation' that have rapidly added their own social and cultural foundations.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Goldberg Linda S.

Is the International Role of the Dollar Changing?

in *Current Issues in Economics and Finance*, January Volume 16, Number 1

Recently the U.S. dollar's preeminence as an international currency has been questioned. The emergence of the euro, changes in the dollar's value, and the financial market crisis have, in the view of many commentators, posed a significant challenge to the currency's long-standing position in world markets. However, a study of the dollar across critical areas of international trade and finance suggests that the dollar has retained its standing in key roles. While changes in the global status of the dollar are possible, factors such as inertia in currency use, the large size and relative stability of the U.S. economy, and the dollar pricing of oil and other commodities will help perpetuate the dollar's role as the dominant medium for international transactions.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

de Soysa Indra

Is the hidden hand an iron fist? Capitalism and civil peace, 1970-2005

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 3, May , 287-298

There is surprisingly little empirical scholarship on the spread of capitalistic economic policies under the rubric of 'globalization' and domestic peace. While the classical liberals saw free markets leading to social harmony because of self-interest of individuals, who cooperate for profit, Marxists and others viewed markets as anarchical, requiring state intervention for obtaining justice and peace. The authors argue from an opportunity-cost perspective that the payoffs to rebellion are structured by how an economy is governed. Closed economies are likelier than more open ones to accumulate 'rebellion specific capital' because of high payoffs to organization in the shadows. Using an index of economic freedom that measures how free people are to transact in an economy, the authors find that countries more favorable to free enterprise have a reduced risk of civil war onsets, a result that is robust to the inclusion of institutional quality, per capita wealth, and sundry controls. The results hold up despite a battery of specification changes, alternative data, and testing methods. The findings do not suggest that states under conditions of capitalism lose their autonomy to



provide the public good of peace, as skeptics of globalization claim. Peacemakers will do well to build institutions that reward productive investment over rent-seeking, alongside democratic institutions that ultimately gain their legitimacy on the back of good economic performance and well-functioning markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Frankel Giorgio S.

Is western supremacy coming to an end? / How the geography of world power is changing

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLIII, n. 192, Luglio-Settembre

Crude oil at well over 100 dollars a barrel in 2008 – the shock would not necessarily be greater than those of the 1970s and early 1980s. The difference is that it is bound up in other processes that are leading the world towards a truly epoch-making, irreversible turnaround, with the end of the postwar world order, the rapid decline of the power of the United States and the dollar, the stagnation of the process of European unification, the rise of China and India (which are turning Asia into the new barycentre of the world) and the possible future birth of major international ‘alignments’, if not veritable ‘blocs’, including parts of Asia, the Middle East and Africa.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bauer Alain

La globalisation du crime

in *Pouvoirs*, n. 132, 5-16

Le crime est devenu la plus importante entreprise globalisée du monde. Fonctionnant selon les règles de l'économie de marché, l'entreprise criminelle a réussi à dépasser les frontières physiques et culturelles, pour devenir un puissant opérateur de plus en plus intégré. Système spécialisé, le crime est en voie d'hybridation accélérée, intégrant la dimension terroriste au rythme de sa déterritorialisation et de la mutation entre action « politique » et dévoiement criminel

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Delpérée Francis

La souveraineté de l'État à l'heure de la mondialisation

in *Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel*, n. 3, 241-251

No abstract available



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Portinaro Pier Paolo

La teoria politica e il dibattito sulla globalizzazione. Un bilancio.

in *Teoria Politica*, Vol. 25, Fascicolo 3

Political Theory and the Globalization Debate. An Assessment - The article offers an assessment (by sampling) of the evolution of political theory in the age of globalization, the phenomenon which has become the idol and the bugbear of present times. The diagnosis of the demise of the state is balanced by the one regarding the rise of new empires, the unifying perspectives of cosmopolitan constitutionalism, markets' disorder and financial capital's anarchy. Within this framework, we can observe the triple divorce between modernization and westernization (with the re-explosion of ethnic tribalism), modernization and secularization (with the return of religions), modernization and pacification (with the proliferation of violence in asymmetric wars and civil wars).

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lavallée Sophie

Le principe des responsabilités communes mais différenciées à Rio, Kyoto et Copenhague. Essai sur la responsabilité de protéger le climat

in *Etudes Internationales*, 1, Mars 2010

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lenfant François, van Broekhoven Lia, van Lierde Frank

Les conséquences de la guerre contre le terrorisme sur le monde des ONG. Le cas du réseau de partenaires de Cordaid à travers le monde

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 76, hiver, 67-86

National and international NGOs working in peace, humanitarian or development matters in conflict contexts face numerous challenges, especially with regard to their position vis à vis governments. This tension was exacerbated by the war on terror as witnessed by civil society organization leaders from different African, Latin American and Asian countries during a series of workshops. The impact of counter terrorism measures on international and local NGOs vary from the politicization-securitization of development funding, to the stigmatization of organizations considered as suspicious, the strengthening of control, the arbitrary placement on so-called terrorist lists, to the use of physical as well as psychological violence against representatives of civil society organizations. The war on terror is often misused by repressive regimes to legitimize the clamping down of civil society organizations. The war on terror pursued by the United States administration under the presidency of George W. Bush fueled national security agendas and legitimized



measures restricting the autonomy of NGOs. The fundamental question is whether these counter terrorism measures are compatible with the freedom of association, a cornerstone of democratic life.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Murphy Craig N.

Lessons of a 'Good' Crisis: Learning in, and From the Third World

in Globalizations , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 203-215

Abstract

The current crisis has implications for the structure of world power. Some parts of the developing world have enjoyed a very 'good' crisis, with sustained economic growth and even increasing equity. Similarly, during the Great Depression, Third World countries that adopted less-orthodox policies did better than core countries. These relative successes helped shape a generation of thinking about economic policy. Unfortunately, policies that made sense when the core was weak made less sense when the core again became strong, yet some states continued to follow them. A generation from now, some of today's successful states may find themselves confronting different changed circumstances with policies that have become equally problematic. Chinese policy makers may learn a lesson that will prove incorrect: that the centralization of authoritarian government in the hands of a small, pro-capitalist clique is good for economic growth and global power. In contrast, the lessons learned during the crisis by successful states that are more democratic may still be valid.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Caffarena Anna

Liberal Internationalism in the Age of Globalisation

in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XXXIX, n.176, 177, Luglio-Dicembre

This essay focuses on the perspective of international liberal reform in the international order which has emerged since the Cold War. After exploring Stanley Hoffmann's pessimism about the possibility/capability of liberal states to promote liberal values in the international arena, the author states the reasons why the present globalising trend represents a new challenge, but also offers new chances for liberal internationalism. The new knowledge which truly liberal analysis, totally independent from the realist research tradition of international politics, offers on how the international arena works is an essential part of the liberal agenda for change. Such change, says the author, should be achieved largely through the spread of democracy within states and the democratisation of the rules governing international relations themselves.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bethoux Camille, La Branche Stéphane



L'appropriation des normes de participation dans les institutions internationales. Le cas du développement durable dans les grands barrages

in *Etudes Internationales*, 1, Mars 2010

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Rodrik Dani

Making Room for China in the World Economy

in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010, 89-93

As it comes out of the crisis, the world economy faces two apparently conflicting demands. On the one hand, achieving global macroeconomic stability and preventing a protectionist backlash will require that we avoid large current account imbalances of the type that the world economy experienced in the run-up to the crisis. On the other hand, returning to rapid growth in the developing nations will require that they resume their conquest of global market share in tradable goods.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Abdelal Rawi, Meunier Sophie

Managed globalization: doctrine, practice and promise

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 3 2010, Pages 350 – 367

Two alternate visions for shaping and explaining the governance of economic globalization have been in competition for the past 20 years: an ad hoc, laissez-faire vision promoted by the United States versus a managed vision relying on multilateral rules and international organizations promoted by the European Union. Although the American vision prevailed in the past decade, the current worldwide crisis gives a new life and legitimacy to the European vision. This essay explores how this European vision, often referred to as 'managed globalization', has been conceived and implemented and how the rules that Europe fashioned in trade and finance actually shaped the world economy. In doing so, we highlight the paradox that managed globalization has been a force for liberalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Patomki Heikki

Neoliberalism and the Global Financial Crisis

in *New Political Science*, vol. 31, n. 4, december, 431-442

ABSTRACT: First I make a case for the possibility of defining neoliberalism in a sufficiently evident and coherent way as a programme of resolving problems of, and developing, human society by means of competitive markets. Second, I argue that the more narrow, technical and short-term one's definition of Keynesianism is, the more plausible the claim about a new era of Keynesianism may seem. A multidimensional comparison between ideal-typical models of social



democracy and neoliberalism shows, however, that the ongoing global economic crisis has so far prompted responses that are leaving neoliberalisation intact in most dimensions and may even elicit further neoliberalisation. I conclude by discussing the limits of thinking about ideologies in territorial-statist terms. The current era may well be replaced by an era of green global Keynesianism; but a full-scale return to mere national social democracy is unlikely, especially given the discrepancy between the reaches of territorial states and private capital operating in competitive, liberalised world markets.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sandler Todd

Overcoming Global and Regional Collective Action Impediments

in Global Policy, Volume 1, Issue 1, January

At the outset, the article traces the increased prevalence of transnational collective action to globalization, technological progress, population growth, and enhanced surveillance. This article then identifies fifteen factors that facilitate successful collective action at the global and regional level. Generally, collective action problems with more of these facilitators are easier to address and, in some instances, will require no explicit policy intervention. By identifying essential facilitators and inhibitors, this article indicates where collective action has either a good or bad prognosis. Thus, scarce policy resources can be directed at those issues where the prognosis is unfavorable. Much of the article concentrates on spatial considerations, institutional engineering, and aggregator technologies. For regional collective action concerns, spatial considerations are particularly important since propinquity and relative location of countries influence how actions of other countries affect social well-being. Simple institutional designs – cost sharing, thresholds, and refunds – can effectively overcome impediments to collective action by making contributors view their net benefits from the viewpoint of the collective. Throughout the paper, contrasts are drawn between global and regional collective action. Myriad examples and policy recommendations are offered.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Acemoglu Daron, Yared Pierre

Political Limits to Globalization

in American Economic Review, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010, 83-88

We live in an unprecedented age of globalization, where technology, ideas, factors of production, and goods are increasingly mobile across national boundaries. The current wave of globalization is distinguished from previous ones in part because of the major role of information technology. Nevertheless, globalization is not irreversible. Openness to international trade, finance, and technology is a choice that countries make, and despite the facilitating role of information technology, many countries, even many leading players in the world economy including the United States, China, India, Brazil, and Russia, could decide to close their borders. In this paper, we emphasize that globalization, which depends on political decisions of nation states, has political limits, and that these limits are related to nationalism and militarism. Despite the increasing reach of globalization, anecdotal evidence suggests that nationalism and militarism are strong around the world.



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Hyun-Chool Lee

Ratification of a Free Trade Agreement: The Korean Legislature's Response to Globalisation
in *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 40 Issue 2 , 291 - 308

This article examines the changing nature of the state's capacity under conditions of globalisation. In particular, it explores how the Korean National Assembly reacts to the challenge of globalisation as well as how a state develops its capacity to deal with transnational issues. By analysing the National Assembly's response to the ongoing issues of the Korea-Chile and Korea-USA Free Trade Agreements, this article points out the causes of the imbalance that exists between the parliament and the executive administration under the multi-level system of governance. It also examines ways of strengthening state capacity by reducing a perceived democratic deficit. The Trade Procedure Acts submitted to the 17th and 18th National Assembly can be expected to contribute to the improvement of the National Assembly's responsiveness and accountability and the state's capacity in the supranational sphere.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Parsons Craig

Revisiting the Single European Act (and the Common Wisdom on Globalization)
in *Comparative Political Studies* , Volume 43, No. 6 , 706-734

The European program of liberalization launched by the Single European Act (SEA) of 1987 is commonly seen as a powerful instance of "globalization" trends of economic integration, liberalization, and international institution building. This article revisits the origins of the SEA to argue that the extent and success of its liberalizing program depended on a causally distinct push for European institutional reform. A retracing of concrete political patterns behind the SEA greatly strengthens broader statistical and theoretical challenges to the notion of strong universal trends of globalization.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Stiglitz Joseph E.

Risk and Global Economic Architecture: Why Full Financial Integration May Be Undesirable
in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010 , 388-392

Integration of global financial markets was supposed to lead to greater financial stability, as risks were spread around the world. The financial crisis has thrown doubt on this conclusion. A failure in one part of the global economic system caused a global "meltdown." The recent crisis has shown that in the absence of appropriate government intervention, privately profitable transactions may lead to systemic risk. This paper provides a general analytic framework within which we can analyze the optimal degree (and form) of financial integration. Within this general framework, full integration is not in general optimal. Indeed, faced with a choice between two polar regimes, full integration or autarky, in the simplified model autarky may be superior.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations



Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Balibar Etienne

Secolarismo e cosmopolitismo

in *Lettera Internazionale*, n. 103, 2010

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Kyung Soo Kim, Hyoung-Kyu Chey

Some salient issues raised by the global financial crisis

in *Pacific Economic Review*, Volume 15 Issue 1 February 2010 , p 1-10

The recent global financial crisis has raised a number of important issues. This paper discusses five specific issues: first, macroprudential regulation, an issue related to the cause of the crisis; second, management of economic openness, an issue especially relevant for emerging market economies; third, diverse measures for coping with instability due to capital outflows, for example self-protection through foreign exchange reserve accumulation as well as international and regional cooperation; fourth, the future of the international monetary system, in particular the dollar-centred system; and fifth, the implications of the crisis for the economics profession.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dussouy Gérard

Systemic Geopolitics: A Global Interpretation Method of the World

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, n. 1, January , 133-150

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ivanović Ivan M.

The BRIC Countries from Brazilian Perspective

in *Review of International Affairs (The)* , Vol. LX, n. 1136, October-December

Globalization has changed the world, which is not seen today as bipolar or unipolar as it was the case in the end of the 20th century. Money, goods, people, technology and ideas transgress national borders with ever increasing pace. Although it was one of the major benefits for the most developed countries, globalization also prompted the development of at that time dormant giants, undoubtedly including Brazil, Russia, India and China, jointly named by acronym the BRICs in 2001 by Jim O'Neill, analyst of Goldman Sachs. Only one of these countries is situated in the western hemisphere, in the neighborhood of the greatest world power, and it is Brazil. Is the letter 'B' in this acronym indeed meant to be included here, will Brazil successfully manage all the awaiting challenges and, following the predictions, become one of the world's greatest powers by 2040?



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Sbragia Alberta

The EU, the US, and trade policy: competitive interdependence in the management of globalization
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 3 2010 , Pages 368 – 382

Competitive interdependence characterizes the EU-US relationship vis- -vis third markets. Each defines success in relation to the other while each also views the other as its key geo-economic competitor in the world economy. CI has developed as the EU has attempted to manage globalization in the field of trade policy by focusing on the multilateral level and then by reversing course and privileging the regional, which in turn has expanded the EU's territorial influence. The reversal occurred largely because the Bush Administration in Washington pursued free trade agreements (FTAs) in a process of 'competitive liberalization'. The US outflanked the EU by negotiating FTAs that favored US firms in third markets. The EU, to protect its own firms, then began to negotiate FTAs itself. Geo-economic competition between the EU and the US is thus key to shaping EU trade policy.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

El Ouali Abdelhamid

The Flexibility of Territoriality from Early States to Globalisation: Making States Survive Through Territorial Autonomy

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, n. 1, January , 82-108

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Suter Keith

The Future of the Nation-State in the Era of Globalisation

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno L, n. 3 , 203-217

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2008-3-EN.pdf>

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Veltmeyer Henry

The Global Crisis and Latin America

in *Globalizations* , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 217-233

Abstract



This article provides a critical perspective on the current global financial crisis from the standpoint of its dynamics in Latin America. It is argued that the crisis is but the latest manifestations of an endemic propensity towards crisis. It is also argued that in Latin America strategic responses of organisations and movements in the popular sector are paving the way for a way out of the crisis that goes beyond out-of-control markets, greedy bankers and ineffective regulation or saving capitalism. At issue is the economic model (neoliberal globalisation) used to guide national policy for the past twenty-five years. Also at issue is the capitalist system itself.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Brach Juliane, Loewe Markus

The Global Financial Crisis and the Arab World: Impact, Reactions and Consequences in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 1, March , 45-71

Much has been written on the impact of the global financial crisis on Europe, Asia and the Americas but only little on the Arab states. This article makes an early attempt to take stock of recent developments in the Arab world and offers a systematic approach to disentangle the various inter-linkages and effects of the crisis on the region. It argues that most Arab countries might be lucky and get off lightly, especially the energy-importing Arab countries which have proved not to be very vulnerable because they are only weakly integrated into global trade and capital markets. The energy exporters have been hit by the decline in energy prices, but most of them have also mastered the crisis well thanks to substantial financial reserves. The situation is more critical however for Dubai, Iraq and Yemen.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Houtart Francois

The Multiple Crisis and Beyond

in Globalizations , Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010 , 9-15

The full text is free:

www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a921645652~frm=titlelink

Abstract

The issue we face today is a crisis with multiple aspects, for which I would first like to offer an analysis. Beyond that, moreover, I would like to look ahead to a utopia, and to the question: how can a solution to this crisis move us beyond the parameters of capitalism?

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Dauvergne Peter

The Problem of Consumption

in Global Environmental Politics, Volume 10, Issue 2, May , 1-10



One of the biggest challenges for global environmental governance is “the problem of consumption.” The task involves far more than simply influencing what consumers choose, use, and discard. It requires a concerted effort to address the systemic drivers—including advertising, economic growth, technology, income inequality, corporations, population growth, and globalization—that shape the quantities, costs, and distribution of consumer goods. Current efforts to green consumption are “improving” management on many measures, such as per unit energy and resource use. Yet, this essay argues, such “progress” needs to be seen in the context of a rising global population and rising per capita consumption, where states and companies displace much of the costs of consumption far from those who are doing most of the consuming. This raises many questions about the value of sub-global measures for evaluating the environmental effectiveness of efforts to govern consumption. It also suggests the need for more global cooperation to mitigate the ecological effects of consumption. Current international initiatives such as the Marrakech process to draft a 10-Year Framework on “sustainable production and consumption,” however, will need to go well beyond simply promoting efficiencies, new technologies, and a greening of household consumption. Researchers in global environmental politics can assist here by probing even further into the complexity of governing the drivers and consequences of consumption, then working to thread these findings into the international policy process.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gills Barry K.

The Return of Crisis in the Era of Globalization: One Crisis, or Many?

in **Globalizations**, Volume 7, Issue 1 & 2, March 2010, 3-8

The full text is free:

www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a921645870~frm=titlelink

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Estévez López Ariadna

The Structural Relationship between Globalization and Migration: Implications for Universal Citizenry

in **Foro Internacional**, VOLUMEN XLIX - NÚMERO 3

There is a structuring relationship between globalization and migration which assumes a degree of autonomy of undocumented immigrants to change their condition and have a positive or negative influence on globalization processes. This relationship suggests the need for programs that contribute to ensuring that migrants are a positive factor in globalization processes and channel their autonomy into the composition of socially integrated communities and not of minorities inclined toward conflict. To confront the problem, here the idea of universal citizenry is proposed, which appeals to the primacy of the universal system of human rights

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Cohen Maurie J.



The international political economy of (un)sustainable consumption and the global financial collapse
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, Special Issue: Symposium on Renewable Energy, February , 107-126

Adopted at the 1992 Earth Summit and elaborated at the Johannesburg Conference a decade later, sustainable consumption occupies an increasingly prominent political position. Numerous governmental ministries and supranational organisations have produced sustainable consumption plans. However, actual programmatic initiatives have been limited to modest information and education campaigns as policy proposals are constrained by political contexts. Researchers have documented flows of materials and energy, but have disregarded the political and economic dynamics that animate throughput movements. Inattention to factors that propel the global metabolism, scholarship largely failed to anticipate the ongoing global financial collapse. Work on the household economics and macroeconomics of consumption is reviewed and an international political economy of (un)sustainable consumption is developed. Realignment of the global economic order will require renegotiation of the tacit agreements that the USA strikes with its trading partners and the design of more efficacious systems of production and consumption.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Ilan Benshalom

The new poor at our gates: global justice implications for international trade and tax law
in *New York University Law Review* , Vol. 85, n.1 , 1-81

This Article explains why international trade and tax arrangements should advance global wealth redistribution in a world of enhanced economic integration. Despite the indisputable importance of global poverty and inequality, contemporary political philosophy stagnates in the attempt to determine whether distributive justice obligations should extend beyond the political framework of the nation-state. This results from the difficulty of reconciling liberal impartiality with notions of state sovereignty and accountability. This Article offers an alternative approach that bypasses the controversy of the current debate. It argues that international trade creates “relational-distributive” duties when domestic parties engage in transactions with foreign parties that suffer from an endowed vulnerability, such as the extreme poverty prevalent in the developing world. These relational duties differ from “traditional” distributive justice claims because they rely on actual economic relationships rather than hypothetical social-contract scenarios. In a competitive market, however, private parties cannot address these relational-distributive duties by themselves because doing so would put them at a competitive disadvantage. This Article therefore argues that the only collective action solution to this systemic problem in the current geopolitical setting is the transfer of wealth among states. This Article then suggests some policy implications of this normative analysis in the field of international tax law. It points out that the allocation of taxing rights is a form of wealth allocation that divides globalization’s revenue proceeds among nations. As such, tax allocation arrangements should help “correct” international trade relationships that fail to meet relational-distributive standards. This discussion stresses a point frequently neglected in both the tax and political philosophy literature: Real-world attempts to promote a more just distribution of global wealth could benefit greatly from the integration of distributive considerations and tax allocation arrangements.

Full text available at:

http://www.law.nyu.edu/ecm_dlv1/groups/public/@nyu_law_website__journals__law_review/documents/documents/ecm_pro_065472.pdf



Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Lyons Terrence, Mandaville Peter

**Think Locally, Act Globally: Toward a Transnational Comparative Politics
in International Political Sociology**, Volume 4, Issue 2, June 2010 , 124-141

ABSTRACT

Political dynamics and outcomes around the globe have been transformed by globalization, new patterns of human mobility, and the development of innovative transnational social networks. These new political processes are rooted in communities and networks that are not restricted by geographic location. Although politics has been delinked from territory in this way with regard to processes and actors, this does not mean that transnational politics focuses exclusively on universal issues or global approaches to social justice. Rather much of the new transnational politics is intensely focused on specific locations, identities, and issues (for example, "globalized" neighborhood associations, ethnicities, patrimonialism). Transnational politics also includes new conceptions and practices of citizenship and accountability (for example, legislative seats reserved for expatriate labor migrants) as the body politic becomes increasing mobile, political affinities delinked from geographic proximity, and critical constituencies reside outside of the territory of the state. This article outlines a new approach to investigating the actors and processes at the heart of contemporary transnational politics, with a particular focus on the ways in which diasporas are strategically constructed and mobilized to advance political goals through the use of salient symbols, identity frames, and social networks.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Irti Natalino

**Tramonto della sovranità e diffusione del potere
in Diritto e società**, n. 3-4 , 465-482

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Gómez Isa Felipe

**Transnational obligations in the field of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
in Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales**, Número 18/ 2009

Given that States, particularly developing States, are more exposed than ever before to actions taken by other States, International Organizations, and Transnational Corporations, there is a pressing need to carefully reflect on the obligations States may have with regard to the effects that their international activities have on the economic, social and cultural rights (ESC rights) of people living in another country. Unlike extraterritorial obligations in the field of civil and political rights and International Humanitarian Law, the discussion on the transnational obligations in the area of ESC rights



has not received much attention so far.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Bradatan Cristina, Popan Adrian, Melton Rachel

Transnationality as a fluid social identity

in **Social Identities**, Volume 16, Issue 2, March 2010 , 169-178

Abstract

How does the concept of transnationalism fit within the framework of social identity? What is the relationship between 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism'? Do transnational migrants define themselves as such, or are they labelled by others (researchers of simply 'others')? These are some of the questions we will try to answer in this paper by discussing the concept of 'transnationalism' through the lenses of several perspectives drawn from sociology, anthropology, psychology and political science. We want to highlight what is characteristic of 'transnationalism' as a concept by integrating it within the larger perspective of social identity and by comparing and contrasting it with nation/nationalism and diaspora. While belonging to one group implies exclusions from other comparable groups, we see transnationalism as fitting well within the postmodern idea of fluid identity, where defining one's self depends on the audiences without affecting the 'true' meaning of self.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Adhikary Maniklal, Chowdhury Samrat

Virtual Water Trade, Sustainability and Territorial Equity across Phases of Globalisation in India

in **Environmental Values**, Volume 19, Number 1, February , 33-56

The aim of this paper is to bring out the effect of economic reforms introduced in India on the direction of virtual water trade (through trade of agricultural products). The study also identifies the dual role that virtual water has in an economy. It is a source of export earnings (benefit side), but at the same time there is a loss of virtual water (cost side) through agricultural trade. The study is novel in the sense that it not only identifies the trade-off between benefits and costs of virtual water trade for India, but also tries to capture the impact of phases of globalisation on the trade-off. The cost side has serious implications on sustainability and territorial equity. In order to address the issues more coherently, we have to introduce a concept of virtual water miles. Then we argue with intuitive reasoning about the possible effects of virtual water trade on sustainability as well as on territorial equity.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Romer Paul M.

What Parts of Globalization Matter for Catch-Up Growth?

in **American Economic Review**, Vol. 100, No. 2, May 2010 , 94-98



In his Ely Lecture, Stanley Fischer (2003) split globalization into noneconomic and economic interactions that extend across borders. “Economic globalization, the ongoing process of greater economic interdependence among nations, is reflected in the increasing amount of cross-border trade in goods and services, the increasing volume of financial flows, and the increasing flows of labor.” Charles Jones and I have recently argued that we can take the analysis one step deeper (Jones and Romer 2010). Globalization is driven by the gains from reuse of ideas. Flows of ideas are the part of globalization that matters for poverty reduction and catch-up growth, yet most economists still shy from talking about them because they have trouble finding the right words.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Smythe Elizabeth, Byrd Scott

World Social Forum Activism in Belem and Beyond

in *Journal of World-Systems Research*, vol XVI, n. 1

No abstract available

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process

Spangenberg Joachim H.

World civilisations at crossroads: Towards an expansionist or a sustainable future—Lessons from history

in *Futures*, Volume 42, Issue 6, August - Special Issue: Futures for Multiple Civilizations , 565-573

Like many periods of the past, the future will be characterised by resource scarcities, with limited pollution sink capacities constituting a new constraint. The strategic choices discussed in the West today resemble quite closely the strategies developed in Europe during past centuries to deal with resource scarcities: to overcome them by means of market mechanisms leading to efficiency improvements and substitution, by global trade enhancing resource availability, or by forcefully seizing foreign resources. In order to learn lessons for the future, these strategies are discussed regarding their past performance and their present applicability. They face severe limits regarding their problem solving capabilities, either because they are structurally unsuitable as a response to global economic and environmental scarcity problems, or their success is too questionable to rely on it. Consequently, another strategy is needed to adapt human economies and societies to the limits of Planet Earth. Sustainable development is such a strategy, developed in Europe in the 18th century to deal with absolute scarcities; its roots help to understand its current relevance. In a globally interconnected world it cannot be operationalised top-down, but is dependent on cooperation to become effective. Sustainability strategies cannot be designed as one-size-fits-all solutions, but are civilisation specific. This in turn requires an international institutional framework based on the subsidiarity principle (the imperative to take decisions at the lowest effective level), requiring the acceptance of political and cultural diversity of the current and future world society. It encourages different civilisation specific development objectives and trajectories, however with all actors contributing in their own ways to the achievement of agreed common goals like combating climate change, preserving biodiversity or eradicating poverty, following the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities.

Section B) Global governance and international organizations

Subsection 5. The Globalization process



Gosse David

Xinjiang, pivote de Eurasia

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Murray Philomena

Comparative regional integration in the EU and East Asia: Moving beyond integration snobbery

in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July, 308–323

In comparative regional integration (RI) analysis, the European Union's (EU) advancing of its own experience as a model is a significant problem. This article explores this problem by focusing on comparative aspects of RI in the EU and East Asia. It argues that there are important and valid aspects of comparison, such as the origins and objectives of these two regions, but fewer points of comparison between the two when it comes to achieving their objectives. It suggests that historical differences between the two regions constitute the major reason that a direct comparison is neither useful nor productive. It analyses the centrality and the exceptionalism of the EU in much of the comparative RI literature. It argues that the promotion of the EU experience as a form of model or paradigm is far from analytically helpful – the method of comparative analysis needs to be the focus of our study as much as the objects of comparison. The article examines how the centrality of the EU in some analysis can amount to a form of de facto snobbery in the positioning of the EU on a rather unsteady pedestal. This 'integration snobbery' – to coin a phrase utilized by an EU official – is not constructive for comparative analysis of the EU and East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

McCracken Scott, Stähler Frank

Economic integration and the choice of commodity tax base with endogenous market structures

in *International Tax and Public Finance*, Volume 17, Number 2, 91-113

This paper analyzes the choice of commodity tax base when countries set their taxes noncooperatively in a two-country symmetric reciprocal dumping model of intraindustry trade with free entry and trade costs. We show that the consumption base (destination principle) dominates the production base (origin principle) when trade costs are high or demand is linear. For lower levels of trade costs and nonlinear demand, the welfare ranking of the two tax bases is ambiguous. Hence, there is no clear preference for a tax principle with an ongoing movement toward closer economic integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Van de Vleuten Anna, Ribeiro Hoffmann Andrea

Explaining the Enforcement of Democracy by Regional Organizations: Comparing EU, Mercosur and SADC

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010, p 737-758



Regional organizations sometimes intervene to preserve democracy in one of their Member States. When a regional organization has developed a democratic identity, non-intervention in case of violation of democratic principles would damage its credibility domestically and internationally. Nonetheless, violations of democratic principles sometimes go unsanctioned. Building on case studies of (non-)interventions by the EU, Mercosur and SADC, we show that the ideational costs of pressure by third parties and the interests of the regional leading powers can explain the enforcement of democracy by regional organizations. Third party pressure remains ineffective, however, when there is a clash between regional identities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 1. Theory of regional integration processes

Hwee Yeo Lay

Institutional regionalism versus networked regionalism: Europe and Asia compared in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July, 324–337

For much of the second half of the twentieth century, regionalism has been conceptualized with reference to Europe. The European Union (EU) is seen as the most successful example of regional integration and this 'model' is largely based on an exclusive 'institutional' regionalism where integration is achieved through endowing specific institutions with far-reaching decision-making powers to shape the behaviour of the member states. In contrast, the East Asian region-building process seems to operate on a different logic, with an emphasis on open-ended networked regionalism. This article sketches out the process of regional construction in Europe and East Asia and attempts to develop and contextualize the idea of networked regionalism in order to assess how useful it can be in explaining the trajectory and contours of region-building in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Houssa Romain, Otok Christopher, Puschel Radu

A Model for Monetary Policy Analysis for Sub-Saharan Africa in *Open Economies Review*, Volume 21, Number 1, 127-145

We develop a small open economy DSGE model usable for monetary policy in Sub-Saharan Africa. In this paper we apply the model to quarterly data from Ghana from 1981–2007. We find that permanent, but not transitory, technology shocks are the most important source of fluctuations. We find that the estimated monetary policy rule suggests that policy is aimed almost exclusively at fluctuations in output and ignores inflation, imports and exports. A negative result is that there appears to be significant issues in identifying some important parameters.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Giorgis Andebrhan W.

Coordinating International Support for African Peace and Security Efforts: From the G8 to the EU in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 2, June

The many regional and intrastate wars and conflicts have contributed significantly to Africa's overall economic, political



and strategic marginalisation in world affairs. The AU's new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) is designed to provide conflict prevention, peace-keeping and peace-building on the continent, but lacks autonomy. The UN, EU, G8 countries, China and, to some extent, NATO and India are active players on the African peace and security scene and are engaged in assisting APSA's operationalisation. But the multiplicity of actors, the magnitude of resources involved and the enormity of the challenges point to the need to enhance coordination by setting up a single entry point for channeling international assistance. Having provided the most funding to date, and with its strong strategic ties with Africa and its extensive participation in other regional and global fora, the EU is best equipped to coordinate support to minimise wasteful duplication, ensure synergy in developing the APSA and implementing its mandate.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Haji Hatibu Haji Semboja

East African Economic Integration. Base Case Economic Analysis

in African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration, Vol. 3, n. 2, October , 185-222

The paper presents a base case economic analysis of the current East African regional integration processes. The fast track political federation processes which started in 2004, establishment of East African customs Union (EAC-CU) in 2005, and the recent 2008 renewed African Economic Community initiatives are part and parcel of the third generation regional integration economic and political reforms pursued by the partner states, and aimed at fostering both national and regional competitive social economic capacities. The paper notes that East African economies are small, but with regional integration, there is a possibility for opening up new business activities, markets, access to finance and technology. These aspects are crucial for maximum utilization of natural and human resources for sustainable economic growth and reduction of poverty. Also, the paper finds that standards of living in these East African countries are similar, below average African continental standards and declining in many areas. These similar features of the East African economies at the base year, suggest that further regional integration might provide a suitable mechanism for promoting economic growth and reduction of poverty through increased investment, production and trade. But other features of the EAC economies, such as high investment costs due to poor infrastructural services, have shown that step-wise regional integration may not provide a viable means of achieving the articulated equitable and sustainable economic growth. To realize this regional integration potential, there is need to search for new modalities of regionalism that lean towards more self reliance, indigenous control on natural resource utilization, cooperation and equal opportunities in the social and political economic development. These new cooperation arrangements have important contributions to make in helping to develop African social economic and political infrastructure and thus in reducing the region's unusually high transaction costs that inhibit trade, investment and economic growth.

Intégration économique de l'Afrique de l'est

Analyse économique

Résumé : Cet article présente un cas d'analyse économique des processus actuels d'intégration régionale de l'Afrique



orientale. Les processus politiques qui ont suivi et débuté en 2004, la création de l'EAC-CU en 2005 et le récent regain communautaire de l'initiative Economique Africaine en 2008 font partie intégrante de la troisième génération du processus d'intégration économique régionale et des réformes politiques conduites par les États Membres, et visant à encourager la compétitivité économique au niveau national et régional.

L'article note que les économies de l'Afrique orientale sont petites. Mais l'intégration offre des opportunités additionnelles relatives à l'avènement de nouvelles activités commerciales, à l'accès au financement, et à la technologie. Ces aspects sont essentiels pour une utilisation optimale des ressources naturelles et humaines pour générer une croissance économique durable et réduire la pauvreté. En outre, l'article fait ressortir que le niveau de vie dans ces pays d'Afrique orientale sont semblables, inférieur à la moyenne et en déclin dans de nombreux domaines. Ces caractéristiques similaires des pays Est-africains, donnent à penser que l'intégration régionale plus poussée pourrait constituer un mécanisme approprié pour promouvoir la croissance économique et réduire la pauvreté par l'augmentation des investissements, la production et le commerce. Mais, d'autres caractéristiques des économies de l'EAC, tels que les coûts élevés d'investissements en raison de la mauvaise qualité des infrastructures, ont montré que l'intégration régionale constitue une voie appropriée décision pour fournir un moyen viable de parvenir à la croissance équitable et durable articulé économiquement. Pour réaliser ce potentiel d'intégration régionale, il est nécessaire de rechercher de nouvelles modalités de régionalisme qui penchent vers une plus grande autonomie, et le contrôle des nationaux sur l'utilisation des ressources naturelles, la coopération et l'égalité des chances dans le développement économique, social et politique. Ces nouvelles modalités de coopération aident à développer l'infrastructure sociale, économique et politique et donc à réduire, des coûts de transaction de la région qui sont anormalement élevés et qui entravent le commerce, l'investissement et la croissance économique.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol3No2/document%205%20East%20african.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Hallaert Jean-Jacques

Economic Partnership Agreements: Tariff Cuts, Revenue Losses and Trade Diversion in Sub-Saharan Africa
in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 1 , 223–250

In contrast to existing published literature that assumed the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) tariff cuts, this paper uses the tariff cuts actually agreed by some African countries to quantify fiscal revenue losses from the EPAs and estimate potential trade diversion. It finds that the profile in the tariff cuts varies significantly across countries and that revenue losses are significant but spread over long transition periods. Using taxable imports instead of total imports (a standard method of the literature), in order to take into account tax breaks and preferences granted to other partners in regional groups, increases the estimated revenue losses. However, the potential trade diversion, a source of additional indirect revenue loss, could be significant.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Keshavarzian Arang

Geopolitics and the Genealogy of Free Trade Zones in the Persian Gulf



in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 263-289

Free trade zones have been championed by policy makers as important mechanisms for the “economic liberalisation” and “globalisation” of the Middle East. While a growing number of political economists have begun to investigate the performance of these projects, few have considered why states voluntarily limit their sovereign powers by establishing these liberalised territories. To address this question, this paper studies the Jebel Ali free trade zone in Dubai (UAE) and the Kish free trade zone in Iran, two of the earliest such projects in the region. Rather than being products of neoliberal ideology or pressure from advanced industrial economies, the essay argues that paradoxically these zones were developed by the Iranian state and Dubai emirate to project territorial sovereignty in turbulent geostrategic settings and moments as well as nodes to circulate rent to domestic and international members of ruling coalitions. The geostrategic and state-building logics informed when, where, and how these projects were developed. More generally, this analysis illustrates that the Middle East is neither absent from the process of globalisation, nor does it simply respond passively and reactively to this complex process. Free trade zones are an example of local strategies working in consort with international processes to fashion new forms of economic and political interconnectedness.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Seka Pierre Roche

Integrating Agrarian Economies: The Case of ECOWAS

in **African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration**, Vol. 3, n. 2, October , 1-42

It is generally agreed that agriculture, which is the overwhelmingly important productive sector and especially as employer in African economies, failed to act as the backbone, to fully integrate the ECOWAS region². The failure argument comes from scholars who state that agricultural growth should cause industrial growth, which has not happened in most of West African economies. Nevertheless, by testing for Granger causality from agriculture to industrial development in Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, where the causal flow is unidirectional from agriculture to industry, there is a relatively sizeable industrial base.

Hence, the paper argues that if the agricultural sector is promoted carefully, it can serve as an industrial base for the entire integrated region of ECOWAS. For that purpose, proposed priorities of properly designed strategies and programs would include harmonisation of agricultural research, infrastructural investment agro-based projects and programmes, in line with each country's comparative advantage

Il est une réalité que l'agriculture qui demeure le secteur productif le plus important et le plus pourvoyeur d'emplois a échoué dans son rôle premier d'intégrer la région CEDEAO. Cet argument provient des auteurs qui pensent que le développement de l'agriculture doit permettre le développement des autres secteurs de l'économie, ce qui de loin n'a pas été le cas dans la plupart des pays de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Cependant à travers le test de causalité à la Granger de l'agriculture au développement industriel, il s'est avéré qu'en Côte d'Ivoire et au Nigeria cette relation causale existe de façon unidirectionnelle.

L'article suggère donc que si l'agriculture est prise au sérieux, elle peut servir comme base d'intégration des pays de la CEDEAO. Pour atteindre un tel objectif, des priorités en termes de stratégies et programmes doivent être formulées,



comprenant notamment l'harmonisation des programmes de recherche agricoles, des infrastructures et services publics, ainsi que des projets et programmes agricoles tenant compte de l'avantage comparatif de chaque pays.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol3No2/Doc.1%20%20Integrating.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Fouda Owoundi Jean Pierre

La surliquidité des banques en zone franc : Comment expliquer le paradoxe de la CEMAC ?

in African Integration Review - Revue Africaine de l'Integration, Vol. 3, n. 2, October , 43- 62

The excess liquidity of banks in Franc Zone: How to explain the paradox of the CEMAC?

The holding by Banks of a certain volume of liquidity can theoretically be explained by the need to ensure the liquidity of the economy. Surprisingly, banks from the Franc zone have been carrying excess liquidity for the last fifteen years while funds available to finance growth are on the decrease. This paper analyzes the factors that influence excess liquidity using panel data, namely consolidated balance sheets and income statements for the period 1993 thru 2006. The empirical results confirm that there is an interaction between uncertainty due to bad economic environment, the recollection of past banking crises, as well as financial reforms generated by economic liberalization.

La détention par les banques d'un volume de liquidités est justifiée théoriquement par leur mission d'assurance de liquidité. Mais depuis une quinzaine d'années, les banques de la zone Franc détiennent des liquidités en abondance largement supérieures à ce qui est nécessaire à cette mission et paradoxalement les crédits octroyés à l'économie sont en baisse. Dans cet article, nous proposons une analyse des déterminants de cette surliquidité à partir du cas des six pays membres de la CEMAC. Cette analyse est étayée par des vérifications empiriques, effectuées avec les données de panel des bilans et des comptes de résultat bancaires agrégés, portant sur la période de 1993 à 2006. Nos tests confirment globalement nos hypothèses sur le rôle de l'interaction entre plusieurs facteurs : l'incertitude liée à la forte dégradation du climat des affaires, l'effet de mémoire des crises bancaires antérieures et le renforcement de la frilosité des banques, ainsi que les innovations financières engendrées par la libéralisation financière.

<http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol3No2/Doc.2%20La%20surityuidite.doc.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Adejumobi Said

Popular Participation and Africa's Development Agenda: Projecting a Citizen-Based United States of Africa

in Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies , Volume 36 Issue 3 , 403 - 422

The discourse on the formation of a Continental union government and subsequently, the United States of Africa (USA) is the most contemporary regional agenda in Africa. This is rooted in the Pan-African idea, which sought to promote the unity, solidarity and integration of African states as a basis of facilitating their development and gaining voice and power



in the international arena. However, a major obstacle in the consummation of any union government agenda or United States of Africa is the active involvement of the people in the continental initiative and their ownership of it, without which the project cannot be enduring, sustainable and people-driven. If people are the means and the end of development, they should be in the foreground of Africa's regional economic and political integration project. The paper takes both a retrospective and a prospective view on the issue of popular participation in Africa's development agenda especially regarding the current discourse on a union government and the United States of Africa. The paper argues that while popular participation and citizen involvement was a major cliché and rallying point in the anti-colonial struggle, this has not been a reality in postcolonial governance. In fact, the continent is witnessing disengagement between state and society in national as well as regional development projects. For meaningful regional economic and political integration to take place in Africa, people must be made the focus of the debate, institutions, processes and policy agenda of the evolving regional integration architecture. This needs to extend beyond the current superficial engagement through the advisory organ of the Social, Economic and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the African Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Adejumobi Said

Popular Participation and Africa's Development Agenda: Projecting a Citizen-Based United States of Africa
in *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies* , vol. 36, n. 3, december , 403-422

ABSTRACT: The discourse on the formation of a Continental union government and subsequently, the United States of Africa (USA) is the most contemporary regional agenda in Africa. This is rooted in the Pan-African idea, which sought to promote the unity, solidarity and integration of African states as a basis of facilitating their development and gaining voice and power in the international arena. However, a major obstacle in the consummation of any union government agenda or United States of Africa is the active involvement of the people in the continental initiative and their ownership of it, without which the project cannot be enduring, sustainable and people-driven. If people are the means and the end of development, they should be in the foreground of Africa's regional economic and political integration project. The paper takes both a retrospective and a prospective view on the issue of popular participation in Africa's development agenda especially regarding the current discourse on a union government and the United States of Africa. The paper argues that while popular participation and citizen involvement was a major cliché and rallying point in the anti-colonial struggle, this has not been a reality in postcolonial governance. In fact, the continent is witnessing disengagement between state and society in national as well as regional development projects. For meaningful regional economic and political integration to take place in Africa, people must be made the focus of the debate, institutions, processes and policy agenda of the evolving regional integration architecture. This needs to extend beyond the current superficial engagement through the advisory organ of the Social, Economic and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) of the African Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Keshavarzian Arang, Hazbun Waleed

Re-Mapping Transnational Connections in the Middle East
in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 203-209

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Jegele Ademola

The African Union peace and security architecture: Can the Panel of the Wise make a difference?

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 9, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Forere Malebakeng, Stone Lee

The SADC Protocol on Gender and Development: Duplication or complementarity of the African Union Protocol on Women's Rights?

in *African Human Rights Law Journal*, vol. 9, n. 2

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Hazbun Waleed

US Policy and the Geopolitics of Insecurity in the Arab World

in *Geopolitics*, Vol. 15, n. 2, April , 239-262

In the wake of 9/11, President George W. Bush downplayed traditional 'realist' security concerns by defining America's goal as countering threats generated by the internal characteristics of Arab societies. Bush advanced a strategy of regional transformation based on regime change in Iraq and economic, social, and political reform across the Arab world. This strategy, however, failed to address the security interests of regional governments while generating insecurity for Arab societies. To explain these results, the article develops a framework for understanding the Middle East regional system that recognises the role of societal discourses of insecurity and the system's multipolar structure. The framework is used to suggest an alternative strategy for US Middle East policy. Rejecting both a renewed project of regional transformation and a return to neorealism, the paper outlines a strategy based on managing a multipolar, pluralist system.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 2. Cooperations and integration in Africa and in the Middle East

Sager Abdulaziz

Why the EU, for all its problems, is still a model for the Arab World

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

The countries of the Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) often look with admiration at the EU. Abdulaziz Sager who chairs



the Gulf Research Centre, assesses what the GCC can and cannot learn from the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Kaim Markus

Die sicherheitspolitischen Folgen des Klimawandels Kanada und die Frage arktischer Souveränität
in *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 20. Jahrgang (2010), Heft 1, 89-108

Climate Change and Conflict?

Canada's Security Policy Adaption in the Arctic

It remains a pending question to what extent climate change and global warming increase the risk of violent conflict. This paper seeks to show the impact of climate change on the foreign policy of affected states by reviewing Canada's policy in the Arctic region. Lured by the opening of previously frozen sea routes and, potentially, an improved access to the area's natural resources, Arctic states have voiced competing claims. Consistent with its foreign policy tradition Canada, too, has recently pursued a policy of Arctic sovereignty. This, however, does not imply that the Arctic is on the road to conflict: Canada has sought to use international law to solve most conflicts. Domestically, Canada's native population successfully pushed policies of sustainable development and livelihoods. Existing patterns of cooperation in the Arctic have a positive effect on international conflict resolution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Fernandez Linda

Environmental implications of trade liberalization on North American transport services: the case of the trucking sector

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 2, June, 133-145

The paper offers an assessment of the environmental impact of trade liberalization on the cross-border trucking sector in North America. Specific policies in the realm of transportation, environment and trade are investigated with data directly related to the time of implementation that varied across ports on each of the two international borders in North America subsequent to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The data on truck flows, wait times, air quality and trade value are analyzed using econometrics for quantitative analysis. Results show various policies do have a positive impact on reducing air emissions through changes in trucking characteristics (technology, patterns) in particular ports where they have been implemented.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Meléndez Luz-Aída Martínez

NAFTA, tourism, and environment in Mexico

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 2, June, 107-131



The purpose of this paper is to determine how NAFTA influenced the Mexican tourism sector and its effects on the environment. The linkage between the tourism sector and NAFTA is done through the analysis of foreign direct investment and cross-border trade in services. The quantitative section of the paper focuses on analyzing commercial presence in the form of hotels and restaurants, as well as the use of services abroad. The paper concludes that NAFTA represented greater certainty to investors but was not the main driver behind the investments in tourism services. The analysis of visitors from US and Canada in Mexico recognizes that NAFTA did not have significant impact on the tourism flow. NAAEC, on the other hand, serves in this research as a qualitative connection between tourism sector and the environment for attending to citizen submissions on failures in environmental law enforcement in Mexico regarding tourism projects. It is included with an economic-environmental balance in Cancun—which shows that the greatest environmental impact is of global importance: CO₂ released into the air by air transportation, followed by the local impact of water consumption, waste generation, and electricity usage, in that order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Zhang Zhongxiang

Services, the environment and the NAFTA

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 10, Number 2, June , 89-91

Environmental assessments of trade agreements remain in its infancy and demonstrate that trade in itself will not green our economies. By examining various aspects of the environmental effects of services trade in North America, this special issue not only contributes to deepening our understanding of the key issues in the services and environment debate but also helps to formulate mutually supportive services and environmental policies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Ferrier Grant

The evolution of the environmental industry in the post-NAFTA era in Mexico

in International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics, Volume 10, Number 2, June , 147-164

The market for environmental goods and services in Mexico almost doubled in size between 1995 and 2005, amounting to \$4.7 billion in 2005. But just how large a role did the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) play directly in this cycle? According to environmental industry participants in Mexico, while not meaningless, the NAFTA law and its implementation were not a major factor in directly driving environmental market growth. First, the environmental market grew only marginally higher than the gross domestic product (GDP) during 1995–2005. Second, it was largely two factors that paced the environmental market growth: an increase in certain domestic environmental programs that largely separate from NAFTA and an influx of foreign manufacturers into Mexico, some of which brought a higher standard of environmental operations with them. Drivers of environmental markets are both economic and regulatory, and in both instances, they are multifaceted, so that no one policy instrument or economic trend is solely responsible for major trends within the environmental industry. However, it is apparent that NAFTA has had some role in accelerating the evolution of environmental markets in Mexico, but arguably a lesser influence than it could have been. Notably, NAFTA had little impact on stimulating growth on the domestic environmental industry in Mexico as trade deficits increased during 1995–2005. The lesson for policymakers may be that trade agreements need some more active entity in assuring not just some uniformity in environmental standards and in the compliance with same, but also in the



environmental industry capacity to meet those compliance objectives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 3. Cooperations and integration in Central and North America

Magee Christopher Sean Patrick

Would NAFTA have been approved by the House of Representatives under President Bush? Presidents, parties, and trade policy

in *Review of International Economics*, Volume 18, Issue 2, May 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Grabendorff Wolf

Brasiliens Aufstieg: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen regionaler und globaler Politik

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 12, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/ATC2ZP,0,Brasiliens_Aufstieg%3A_M%F6glichkeiten_und_Grenzen_regionaler_und_globaler_Politik.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Alcañiz Isabella

Bureaucratic Networks and Government Spending: A Network Analysis of Nuclear Cooperation in Latin America

in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 45, Number 1, 2010, pp. 148-172

What do technology-driven bureaucratic sectors do when their budgets are cut? In Latin America, this type of state institution has come to expect budget reductions, given recurrent economic crises, lack of coherent science policy, and more recently, state rationalization policies. On the basis of in-depth interviews I conducted with nuclear specialists of the region and drawing from network theories, I argue that bureaucratic institutions with expertise in nuclear science and technology respond strategically to decreased government spending by becoming more active in transnational policy networks. I test this argument using social network and maximum likelihood techniques to study collaborative research projects in nuclear science and technology among twenty Latin American countries over a period of twenty years (1984–2004). Study findings confirm expectations and carry implications for how science policies are adopted in Latin American states under chronic budget deficits.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Bresser-Pereira Luiz Carlos, Holland Marcio



Common currency and economic integration in Mercosul

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 32 No. 02

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Briceño Ruiz José, Gomes Saraiva Miriam

Different Viewpoints on the Building of Mercosur in Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela

in *Foro Internacional*, VOLUMEN L - NÚMERO 1

This article analyzes the views on Mercosur held by the main political actors in the largest countries that comprise it. The aim is to appraise the arguments in the public sphere in support or rejection of this regional initiative. To achieve this objective the ideas defended in Argentina and Brazil are analyzed, and an assessment is also made of how far the political actors in Venezuela have participated in their country's process of incorporation into Mercosur.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Cardim de Carvalho Fernando J.

Economic integration and development in Latin America: perspectives for Mercosul

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 32 No. 02

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Olivar Jimenez Martha Lucía

El Derecho del MERCOSUR y el Derecho Internacional - La lucha por independencia

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 18/ 2009

In almost twenty years of existence as an integration process and fifteen as an international organization of intergovernmental nature, the MERCOSUR has produced an impressive amount of normative instruments. The problem is in the inefficacy of most of these instruments, due in great part to the lack of their internalization and application in the territory of the member States or, if that is not the case, to their frequent collision with domestic rules. The efforts carried out in the last years by the organization's very institutions, scholars, national courts and dispute settlement institutions in the sense of recognizing an independent nature to the MERCOSUR norms and granting them a superior hierarchy constitutes the main goal of this paper.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Lluch Salvador

Intervención en el acto de conmemoración de los 40 años de integración andina

in *Estudios internacionales* : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile, Vol. 43 / 2009 / Nr 164

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Khoudour-Castéras David

La dollarisation en Amérique latine: beaucoup de bruit pour rien

in *Lettre du CEPIL*, N°295 décembre 2009

Les années 2000-2001 ont été marquées par l'adoption par l'Equateur et le Salvador du dollar comme monnaie nationale. Cette décision a suscité de nombreuses critiques qui ont freiné l'enthousiasme d'un certain nombre de pays en développement désireux de substituer plus de stabilité et de crédibilité à une part d'indépendance. Mais que nous dit l'expérience latino-américaine en matière de dollarisation ? L'utilisation de la monnaie d'un autre pays se traduit-elle par des coûts additionnels en termes de performances économiques ? Et ces coûts sont-ils plus élevés que les bénéfices qui découlent d'une plus grande stabilité ?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Huerta-Goldman Jorge A.

Mexico in the WTO and NAFTA in a Nutshell: Litigating International Trade Disputes

in *Journal of World Trade*, Volume 44 Issue 1 , 173–202

In this short article, I examine Mexico's trade dispute cases in regional and multilateral fora, and attempt an explanation of its conduct. I argue that lobbying efforts (political economy) play an important role in determining Mexico's decisions to initiate litigation. In turn, concerns relating to bargaining power seem to guide its implementation. Finally, I advance some thoughts on the choice of forum (NAFTA v. WTO), when it comes to cases that could go under either. I do not attempt to provide a comprehensive response to the issue of forum shopping as this work is focussed on offering an explanation on how Mexico deals with its trade disputes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Gnos Claude , Monvoisin Virginie, Ponsot Jean-Francois

Regional currencies and regional monetary zones in Latin America: what prospects?

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 32 No. 02

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 4. Cooperation and integration in Central and Latin America

Bartolomé Mariano César

South American Armed Forces and prospects for cooperation in combating terrorism and organized crime
in *Estudios internacionales : revista del Instituto de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Chile*, Vol. 43 /
2009 / Nr 164 , 7-30

The current South American scenario in defense and security matters is characterized by its dynamic nature and its degree of complexity. At present, the Armed Forces continue to fulfill their main traditional roles associated with defense against external aggressions originating in other states. At the same time, threats to the security of the state and its citizens from non-state actors who operate within a transnational dynamics and use of violence according to asymmetric criteria are at the top of the hemispheric agenda.

The article focuses on the ten Latin nations in South America and defines whether over the last few years Armed Forces have been used - and in what manner- against two specific transnational threats, i.e., terrorism and organized crime. Objectives pursued will be to highlight the heterogeneity of our continent when it comes to the use of the military against these threats, as well as to evaluate whether there are prospects for effectively channeling military cooperation in this area through regional multilateral institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Bitzinger, R.A.

A New Arms Race?: Explaining Recent Southeast Asian Military Acquisitions
in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 32, Number 1, April , 50-69

There is growing concern that Southeast Asia is in the midst of a regional arms race. Certainly many nations in the region have been on a veritable "shopping spree" for advanced conventional weaponry, and this has been enabled by a corresponding increase in military spending. However, these acquisitions do not fit the pattern of an "arms race" as laid out in prevailing theory: mutually adversarial relationships, explicit tit-for-tat arms acquisitions, the intention of seeking dominance over one's rivals through arming and intimidation, etc. Additionally, the actual numbers of arms being acquired are, for the most part, relatively small. That said, the regional re-arming process is significant in that the types of arms being acquired go beyond the "mere modernization" of regional armed forces and could greatly change the nature and character of potential regional conflicts. The resulting arms competition, or "arms dynamic", has at least the potential to contribute to a classical "security dilemma", a situation whereby actions taken by a country can actually undermine the security and stability that they were meant to increase.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Pettman Ralph

Asian perspectives on the European experience of regionalism
in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July , 293-307



How have European state-makers managed to coordinate various key activities to the point where many of them see the European Union as providing a model for the rest of the world in general and Asia in particular? For example, most of Europe now shares a common market and a common currency. This was originally considered unthinkable. However, most European state-makers did surrender significant aspects of their sovereign power to make this happen. State-makers in the Asian region have not yet followed suit. This tells us something about their competing politico-strategic, economic and social concerns. Asian state-makers are nonetheless capable of sustaining their own form of regionalism. This tells us something about the different politico-cultural context in which they live. This context makes it possible to promote distinctly 'Asian' perspectives. It provides an Asian alternative to European regionalism and a way of compensating for the limits and distortions of the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

China and Maritime Cooperation in East Asia: recent developments and future prospects in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Volume 19 Issue 63 , 291 - 310

Future international relations in East Asia are likely to be largely shaped by the maritime strategies and policies of various actors. This paper examines China's policy and behavior in maritime cooperation in the East Asian region in recent years, a topic that has been insufficiently understood. I suggest that while it is necessary and useful to take into account China's naval power, more attention to Chinese intentions and policy on East Asian maritime issues is warranted to arrive at a more balanced, and arguably more accurate, understanding of China's role in East Asian maritime affairs. This paper takes stock of China's changing perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors in maritime cooperation in the region. I describe China's new policy moves in the South China Sea and East China Sea. I also address some of the major Chinese concerns for further maritime cooperation in East Asia. I conclude that while a grand cooperative maritime regime is still not possible from a Chinese perspective, China is likely to agree to more extensive and substantive maritime cooperation in many functional areas, most notably in the non-traditional security arena.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Abanti Bhattacharya

China's Discourse on Regionalism: What it Means for India in *Asia Pacific Review*, Volume 17 Issue 1 , 97 - 123

China's approach towards regionalism and multilateralism is essentially driven by realpolitik paradigm. More specifically, China's tilt towards regionalism has been propelled by three reasons: one its own rise, two its domestic concerns and three change in the world-order in the aftermath of the collapse of bipolarism and the resultant emergence of new threats and insecurities. Regionalism in Chinese discourse is rooted primarily in the quest for building a China-led regional order, supporting China's peripheral diplomacy and grand strategy, than on mere rationale of economic gains. Therefore, in Chinese conceptualization realpolitik issues hold primacy over normative and liberal notions of interdependence. The web of regional security architecture, thus, evolved serves essentially China's security needs and grand strategy.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Haftel Yoram Z.

Conflict, Regional Cooperation, and Foreign Capital: Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Formation of ASEAN in Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume 6 Issue 2, April 2010

Despite seemingly little prospects and meager results, many developing countries invest substantial resources in regional cooperation organizations. Considering the widespread skepticism regarding the benefits of these organizations, this enthusiasm is puzzling. This study offers an answer to this puzzle and argues that under certain conditions international organizations among developing countries function as a signal of regional peace and stability. In turn, they reduce the political risk associated with foreign investment and increase the inflow of much needed capital to the economies of their members. I evaluate this argument in the context of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). I show that Indonesia forcefully promoted the formation of ASEAN and that Indonesian foreign policymakers believed that joining this organization will reverse its aggressive and irresponsible image in the eyes of international donors and investors. Evidence regarding political risk and foreign direct investment in Indonesia and other ASEAN members provide additional support for the argument.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Cai, Kevin

Currency and Contest in East Asia: The Great Power Politics of Financial Regionalism in Pacific Affairs, Volume 83, Number 1, March, 135-136

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Chai Hee-Yul

European and Asian monetary issues in International Politics, Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July, 388-401

In recent years, there has been considerable scholarly and policy community attention accorded to comparisons between the EU's monetary integration and attempts to create monetary integration in East Asia. This article examines these attempts in comparative perspective, focusing in particular on the challenges of monetary integration in Asia. After explaining recent development of financial and monetary cooperation initiatives in East Asia, such as Post-Chiang Mai Initiative and the attempt to introduce a Regional Currency Unit (RCU), this article illustrates why it is preferable for East Asia, in its attempt to pursue monetary integration, to follow a path similar to the European experience, rather than to follow alternative paths such as a parallel currency approach or a harmonized inflation targeting. That RCU could in the future be issued by the so-called 'Asian Exchange Rate Stabilization Fund' (AERSF). The AERSF would assure the stability of regional currencies taken as a whole vis-à-vis third currencies, and between themselves as well, and as such, pave the way for full monetary integration in Asia. Comparisons with Europe are explored and implications for European and Asian regionalism are examined.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

C.M., Dent

Free trade agreements in the Asia-Pacific a decade on: evaluating the past, looking to the future in *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, Volume 10, Number 2, May , 201-245

This paper charts the growth and patterns of free trade agreement (FTA) activity in the Asia-Pacific, discussing the extent to which there has been evolution and learning in FTA practice among Asia-Pacific states, with attention to the most notable trends in technical policy content and the different ideational approaches to formulating agreements. This sets the broad context for considerations of the current and likely future paths of FTA convergence, harmonization, and transformation in the Asia-Pacific. It is argued that new options for economically rational and politically feasible bilateral FTA partnerships within the Asia-Pacific region are running out. One response has been to explore more seriously options for forming wider plurilateral and regional agreements within the Asia-Pacific. However, a number of constraints and hindrances will work against such FTA convergence and harmonization. The longer term transformation of existing, mostly bilateral FTAs into different or expanded types of agreement has stronger prospects.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Juliet Pietscha; Marshall Clarkb; Baogang He

Generational change: regional security and Australian engagement with Asia in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 2 , 163 - 181

The Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd has recently announced plans to develop greater regional integration and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. Historically, Australian opinion, however, has expressed some anxiety about forging closer economic, political and security ties with Asia. Using trend data from the Australian Election Study and the Lowy Institute Poll, this article examines changes in Australian public opinion on closer engagement with Asia and whether the Australian public is likely to support the Rudd government's push towards developing deeper regional diplomacy. The article finds a shift in opinion since the 1990s with a younger generation of voters who are moderately supportive of Australia's engagement with Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Curtis Gerald L.

Getting the Triangle Straight: China, Japan, and the United States in an Era of Change in *American Foreign Policy Interests*, Vol. 32, Issue 3 , 169-182

This think piece, which focuses on change—domestic, regional, and international—analyzes the nuanced relationships that exist among the three powers in East Asia and proposes that the United States adopt a strategy of engagement within a trilateral context rather than pursue the tactics of reaction within a bilateral setting in order to enhance its relationships with China and Japan.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kien Nguyen Trung

Gravity Model by Panel Data Approach: An Empirical Application with Implications for the ASEAN Free Trade Area

in **ASEAN Economic Bulletin**, Volume 26, Number 3 , 266-277

This paper examines the determinants of export flows of countries in the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) through estimations of panel data using a gravity model. In particular, the paper employs the Hausman-Taylor (HT) estimation for a country panel data of thirty-nine countries during the period 1988–2002 based on a two-way error component form of the gravity model. The estimations show that export flows increased proportionately with GDP, and that the formation of AFTA has resulted in significant trade creation among its members. Finally, the paper suggests that trade facilitation policy can play an important role in setting the stage for AFTA's transition to a Free Trade Area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Hao Duy Phan

Institutions for the Protection of Human Rights in Southeast Asia: A Survey Report

in **Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs**, Volume 31, Number 3, December , 468-501

This research note presents the findings of an expert-based survey on regional human rights cooperation in Southeast Asia. The survey was conducted to explore the views of different actors in the region regarding the establishment of the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). The survey also examines the case for a selective approach to establishing a regional human rights court for a selected number of Southeast Asian countries. The survey's findings have important implications and enable a deeper understanding of the process by which regional human rights cooperation is being institutionalized in Southeast Asia. As the survey results suggest, although the establishment of the AICHR represents a step forward, it may not substantially contribute to the development of a strong and effective mechanism to protect human rights in Southeast Asia. Respondents conclude that while the proposal for a human rights court for a selected number of regional countries is a good idea, significant challenges lie ahead and there is still a long way to go before the idea of a strong regional human rights system can be realized.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Takamine Tsukasa

Institutions of the Asia-Pacific: ASEAN, APEC, and Beyond

in **Pacific Affairs** , Volume 83, Number 1, March , 137-138

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Peou Sorpong

International Relations in Southeast Asia: The Struggle for Autonomy

in Pacific Affairs , Volume 83, Number 2, June , 409-411

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Meijknecht Anna, de Vries Byung Sook

Is There a Place for Minorities' and Indigenous Peoples' Rights within ASEAN?: Asian Values, ASEAN Values and the Protection of Southeast Asian Minorities and Indigenous Peoples

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 17, Number 1 , 75-110

Southeast Asia is one of the most culturally diverse regions in the world. Nevertheless, unlike minorities and indigenous peoples in Western states, minorities and indigenous peoples in Asia have never received much attention from politicians or legal scholars. The level of minority protection varies from state to state, but can, in general, be called insufficient. At the regional level, for instance, within the context of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), there are no mechanisms devoted specifically to the protection of minorities and indigenous peoples. In December 2008, the ASEAN Charter entered into force. In July 2009 the Terms of Reference (ToR) for the ASEAN Inter-Governmental Commission on Human Rights were adopted. Both the Charter and the ToR refer to human rights and to cultural diversity, but omit to refer explicitly to minorities or indigenous peoples. In this article, the extent to which this reticence with regard to the protection of minorities and indigenous peoples is dictated by the concept of Asian values and ASEAN values is explored. Further, it is analysed how, instead, ASEAN seeks to accommodate the enormous cultural diversity of this region of the world within its system. Finally, the tenability of ASEAN's policy towards minorities and indigenous peoples in the light of, on the one hand, the requirements of international legal instruments concerning the protection of minorities and indigenous peoples and, on the other hand, the policies of the national states that are members of ASEAN is determined.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Amarjit Kaur

Labour migration in Southeast Asia: migration policies, labour exploitation and regulation

in Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The), Volume 15 Issue 1 , 6 - 19

Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand are Southeast Asia's economic development success stories and have been shifting towards an intra-regional bias on trade and migration matters. All three countries are heavily dependent on foreign workers and have government-mediated migration policies for their continued economic growth and prosperity. Managing migration is a major problem facing these countries, and the guest worker programme is increasingly seen as the optimal solution to fill labour market gaps. Migration policies often provide incentives for skilled workers, boost circular migration flows among low-skilled guest workers and include stringent border-control regimes to exclude unauthorised migration. The guest worker programme is also reliant on networks and intermediaries, and brokerage



fees contribute to less-skilled migrant workers' marginalisation and exploitation. Changes in global migration governance, the inclusion of migrant labour exploitation under the banner of trafficking and the threat of economic sanctions are increasingly resulting in interstate cooperation and more humane border regimes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Socorro Gochoco-Bautista Maria, Mapa Dennis S.

Linkages between Trade and Financial Integration and Output Growth in East Asia

in Asian Economic Journal, Volume 24 Issue 1, March 2010

The effects of trade, financial and other variables generally seen as indicative of the degree of economic integration on movements in industrial production growth among countries in East Asia are assessed using the common component of movements in industrial production growth in the ASEAN 5 + 3 countries as a business cycle benchmark for the region. The results show the dominance of trade-related variables, as well as the world price of oil, in driving regional industrial production growth. Financial variables, while important, are not as robust.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

N/A

NGO Statement on Country Specific Human Rights Defenders to Fourteenth Asia Pacific Forum

in Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law, Volume 9, Number 2 , 97-101

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Eisenbaum Boris

Négociation, coopération régionale et jeu d'influences en Asie centrale: l'Organisation de coopération de Shanghai

in Politique Etrangère, vol. 75, n° 1, printemps

La fin de l'URSS redonne à l'Asie centrale son importance stratégique: espace peu structuré entre la Russie et la Chine, zone de développement de la menace islamiste, réservoir de sources d'énergie, aire d'implantation de la puissance américaine à la faveur du 11 septembre et de la guerre afghane. L'Organisation de coopération de Shanghai répond à ces défis. Mais son avenir dépend de nouveaux équilibres de puissance régionaux, et de la solidité du rapprochement russo-chinois.

The fall of the USSR restored Central Asia's strategic importance: poorly structured area between Russia and China, home to a growing Islamic threat, energy sources and American power—since September 11th and the war in Afghanistan. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization was set up to address just these issues. The organization's future, however, depends on the new balance of regional powers and on the solidity of the rapprochement between Russia and China



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Endo Ken

Recent Developments of Regionalism in East Asia and Their Implications for Europe in Federalist Debate (The), Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Yoshimatsu H.

Regional cooperation in Northeast Asia: searching for the mode of governance in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 10, Number 2, May , 247-274

Since the late 1990s, China, Japan, and South Korea – the core states in Northeast Asia – have gradually engaged in various initiatives and institutions for regional cooperation. Such initiatives extend from summitry to functional cooperation in finance, environmental protection, logistics, and other areas. Furthermore, the three countries have shown their willingness to vitalize cross-border economic activities by concluding commercial arrangements. Given these evolutions, this article seeks to address the following questions: what features are found in trilateral cooperative initiatives and how these features are evaluated in terms of ‘regional governance’? The paper advances two propositions. First, regional cooperation in Northeast Asia can be characterized as weak neoliberal orientation and intensive business involvements in cooperative projects in state-directed policy networks. Second, regional governance in Northeast Asia has gradually intensified the nature of regulatory governance in which the governments of the three countries sought to harmonize standards and regulatory systems through trilateral cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Kavalski E.

Shanghaied into Cooperation: Framing China’s Socialization of Central Asia in Journal of Asian and African Studies , Volume 45, No. 2, April , 131-145

This article offers a much-needed conceptual analysis of China’s emerging international agency in Central Asia. In particular it engages with the apparent susceptibility of Central Asian states to China’s normative power. The contention is that the emphasis on the dynamics of international socialization offers a relevant framework for evaluating Beijing’s capacity to engage regional states. By relying on its normative power, China has gradually attracted Central Asia into its sphere of influence through the promotion of various initiatives for regional cooperation consolidated in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Such conceptualization of Beijing’s conditioning propensity reflects upon China’s international role(s) in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

N/A

Summary of Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop on the ASEAN Regional Mechanism on Human Rights in Asia Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law, Volume 9, Number 2 , 102-113

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Lewington R.

The Challenge of Managing Central Asia's New Borders in Asian Affairs, Volume 41 Issue 2 , 221 - 236

The collapse of the Soviet Empire faced the newly-independent countries of Central Asia with the daunting and unexpected challenge of managing their own borders. These were both the so-called 'internal borders' between themselves and the 'external borders' with China, Iran, Afghanistan etc. As the internal borders had previously been purely administrative they cut through many linguistic, ethnic, cultural and geographical lines, not to mention the problems caused by a clutch of illogical enclaves. The border facilities inherited from the Soviet era were totally inadequate and the border guards ill-trained. Accordingly the EU launched two technical assistance programmes, BOMCA and CADAP, which are described in detail in the article.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Uttama Nathapornpan Piyaarekul, Peridy Nicolas

The Impact of Regional Integration and Third-Country Effects on FDI: Evidence from ASEAN in ASEAN Economic Bulletin, Volume 26, Number 3 , 239-252

This paper is aimed at providing a better understanding of FDI determinants in the main ASEAN countries through new developments in FDI theories. This paper simultaneously explores bilateral, third-country as well as regional integration as determinants for FDI. As an extension to the existing literature, it first proposes a theoretical framework which builds on and extends the work of Baltagi, Egger, and Pfaffermayr (2007) by including the impact of regional integration. The theoretical model is then tested empirically for FDI flows from the United States to five ASEAN countries, i.e., Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines, over the period 1995–2007 for fifteen industries. Alternative panel data models are considered, especially models with spatially correlated residuals. The results show that third-country effects and regional integration are significant determinants of FDI in ASEAN countries, especially for vertical and complex vertical FDI.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Vellano Ernesto

The Trilateral Commission in China in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XLI, n.183, Aprile-Giugno



This article is a summary of the annual meeting of the Asia-Pacific Group of the Trilateral Commission (November 25-27 2005), held for the first time in Beijing. Since 2000, with the transformation of the Japanese group into the 'Asia-Pacific' group, some representatives of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan have joined the Trilateral Commission (founded in 1973 by a group of European, North American and Japanese citizens). During the meeting, Chinese politicians and intellectuals insisted that the development of China is 'peaceful' and that Chinese communism is a 'national' political system that has nothing to do with the internationalist and expansionist vision typical of Soviet policy. As to relations between China and Japan, still very delicate at the political-cultural as opposed to the economic level, it should be remembered that Japanese representatives claim that the people who flaunt nationalist ideas in Japan today belong to an increasingly small minority of a few right-wing extremists and fringes of an old generation that is now disappearing.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Takashi Terada

The origins of ASEAN+6 and Japan's initiatives: China's rise and the agent-structure analysis in Pacific Review (The), Volume 23 Issue 1, 71 - 92

The move towards ASEAN+6 began in earnest with a speech by Junichiro Koizumi in 2002, when the former prime minister called for Australia and New Zealand to be included as 'core members' in the process towards creating a community in East Asia, along with the 10 members of ASEAN and China, Korea and Japan. With the inauguration of the East Asian Summit in 2005, a tangle of regional institutions competes for attention and resources, and as long as the 16-nation ASEAN+6 framework continues to coexist with the 13-nation ASEAN+3 framework in East Asia, the argument as to which is the more effective framework for regional cooperation continues to linger. Why is Japan so interested in promoting ASEAN+6 as an 'expanded' East Asian regional concept, despite the existence of ASEAN+3?

This article has considered how changes in the US-led structure have influenced Japan as the agent in which regional integration within the ASEAN+6 framework was generated, by focusing on the process by which consideration of a countermeasure to the rise of China led Japan's Ministries - such as Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry - to propose and advocate the East Asian Summit and the Comprehensive Economic Partnership in East Asia, respectively, in lines with prime ministers' policy stances. The regional structure in which China's challenging behaviour was more directly relevant, can be considered to have exerted a strong influence on the Japanese state as an agent where two rival ministries shared the concern and commonly promoted ASEAN+6 framework despite the lack of strong inter-ministerial communication. This article finally examines the more recent changes in the structure, highlighted by the US initiative in the promotion of the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific and the re-emergence of ASEAN+3 triggered by China's aggressive regional financial initiatives, and asserts these events have dimmed the prospects for ASEAN+6, since these changes meant the transformation of the preconditions behind the birth of ASEAN+6 in Japan.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 5. Cooperation and integration in Asia and the Pacific Area

Jong Kun Choi and Chung-in Moon

Understanding Northeast Asian regional dynamics: inventory checking and new discourses on power, interest, and identity in International Relations of the Asia-Pacific, Volume 10, Number 1, January, 343-372



Northeast Asia has emerged as the center of gravity in contemporary international relations (IR), partly owing to China's rise, over the past two decades. In understanding regional dynamics in Northeast Asia, the (neo-) realist perspective has been dominant. Despite its rich analytical and empirical contribution, however, preoccupation with power and its distribution, blurred geographic focus, and built-in status quo bias have prevented the existing realist literature to capture the new reality of the region that can be characterized by trends toward liberal transition, the politics of national identity, and growing correlates of perception, domestic politics, and regional interactions. Against this backdrop, we attempt to undertake an inventory checking of new discourses on power, interest, and identity in accounting for regional change and stability as well as to shed new light on debates on theorizing of IR in Northeast Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Poncet Jean François

L'Europe entre puissance mondiale et puissance regionale

in *Politique internationale*, n. 126 - hiver

http://www.politiqueinternationale.com/revue/article.php?id_revue=126&id=895&content=synopsis

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Louis Jean Victor

L'Union européenne après Lisbonne. Les problèmes d'une "transition"

in *Les Cahiers de droit europeen*, Vol 45, n. 5-6 , 631-638

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cossé Pierre-Yves

La crise de confiance dans l'Europe

in *Esprit*, Juillet 2010

Abstract

Comment l'échec collectif de la gestion de la crise grecque a-t-il pu se nouer ? Le retournement de la conjoncture économique et la nouvelle stratégie spéculative des marchés ont mis à nu les difficultés de l'Europe. L'impuissance institutionnelle, qui arrange les États, comporte aussi des risques pour un projet au milieu du gué comme la monnaie commune. Peut-on encore trouver une issue qui ne soit pas dictée par les marchés?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Houser M.



La fédéralisation du budget de l'Union européenne

in *Revue du droit de l'Union Européenne*, n. 4 , 681 - 702

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Šlosarčík Ivo

'Czech Republic 2006–2008: On President, Judges and the Lisbon Treaty'

in *European public Law*, Volume 16 (2010) Issue 1 , 1–16

The President of the Czech Republic is vested, by the Constitution of the Czech Republic, with an impressive catalogue of competencies, both in the domestic domain and in the formulation of the foreign policy of the Czech Republic. Several of these powers can be exercised autonomously by the President; the rest of the catalogue can be exercised only with the cooperation (approval) of the government. The Czech political life already identified several constitutional gaps that had to be filled by constitutional conventions and case law of the Constitutional Court. The presidency of Václav Havel (1993–2003) witnessed, among others, constitutional disputes on the constitutionality of the lustration act, the electoral act, and the appointment procedure of the governor of the Czech National Bank, whose results had significant impact on the political system of the Czech Republic. The presidency of Václav Klaus (2003 – present) brought forward another set of constitutional controversies, and this article contains an analysis of three constitutional issues recently decided by the Czech judiciary – review of the constitutionality of the Lisbon Treaty, the constitutional framework of the appointment of new judges (Langer case), and the constitutional limits for removal of the judicial functionaries by the executive (Brožová case).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bale Tim, Hanley Sean, Szczerbiak Aleks

'May Contain Nuts'? The Reality behind the Rhetoric Surrounding the British Conservatives' New Group in the European Parliament

in *Political Quarterly* , Volume 81, Issue 1, March 2010 , 85-98

ABSTRACT

The British Conservative Party's decision to leave the European Peoples' Party-European Democrats (EPP-ED) group in the European Parliament and establish a new formation—the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR)—has attracted criticism, much of it focused on the supposedly extremist politics and character of the partners with which the Conservatives have chosen to work. In fact, while those parties which have joined the Conservatives in the new group are for the most part socially conservative, they are less extreme and more pragmatic than their media caricatures suggest. Moreover, such caricatures obscure some interesting incompatibilities within the new group as a whole and between some of its Central and East European members and the Conservatives, not least with regard to their foreign policy preoccupations and their by no means wholly hostile attitude to the European integration project.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leca Jean

'The Empire Strikes Back!' An Uncanny View of the European Union. Part II – Empire, Federation or What? in Government and Opposition , Vol. 45, n. 2, April , 208-290

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziller Jacques

'The German Constitutional Court's Friendliness towards European Law: On the Judgment of Bundesverfassungsgericht over the Ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon' in European public Law, Volume 16 (2010) Issue 1 , 53–73

Novel features of the VerfG's judgment in relation to the previous 'solange' and Maastricht jurisprudence are: (1) the very strong link between democracy and sovereignty in the implementation of the principle of conferral; and (2) the indication that the Constitutional court will be the sole interpreter of what constitutes Germany's constitutional identity. The Court does not indicate what would happen in procedural terms if it were to find a provision of EU law in contradiction with Germany's constitutional identity or which would not respect the principle of conferral. This writer's view is that the only correct way to solve such an issue would be for a Constitutional court to refer to the European Court of Justice (ECJ) for a preliminary ruling on the invalidity of such a provision.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tatham Michaël

'With or without you'? Revisiting territorial state-bypassing in EU interest representation in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 76 – 99

Both the number and the powers of sub-state entities in the European Union (EU) have grown. These sub-state entities represent their European interests using both intra- and extra-state channels. The increasing use of the latter has encouraged scholarly literature to focus on the emerging 'paradiplomacy' of these entities. Sub-state paradiplomacy, however, can be both conducted in tandem with its member state or bypassing it. This article seeks to better understand such patterns of interaction between state and sub-state interest representation. Using original survey data, it tests five different hypotheses about the determinants of state bypassing and non-bypassing. It argues that devolution of powers and party politics are relevant factors explaining the frequency of bypassing and co-operative interest representation. Other factors, including size, financial resources and length of exposure to the integration process do not seem to play a role.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Niemann Arne, Mak Jeannette

(How) do norms guide Presidency behaviour in EU negotiations?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 727-742

This paper takes stock of the growing body of research on the European Union (EU) Presidency, a vital player in EU negotiations. The paper also suggests new avenues of research, among which we prioritize one issue cluster: we ask under what conditions and in what way (following which social logic) norms guide Presidency behaviour? Our focus is directed towards the impartiality norm as that norm most strongly influences whether, and to what extent, Presidencies act as a 'broker', one of the Presidency functions that has received most attention in the literature. We also suggest a number of pointers concerning methodology and operationalization of the above question for empirical research. We conclude with some brief thoughts on the implications of our proposed approach to Presidency norms for bridge-building between rationalist and sociological accounts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aloisio Salvatore

Overcoming the Intergovernmental Conference Method in the Reform of the Treaties: What Further Steps Towards a Constituent Phase are Possible?

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno L, n. 3 , 186-193

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2008-3-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Milian i Massana Antoni

2004-2009: l'evolució del règim lingüístic en el dret de la unió europea. de l'ampliació del 2004 al tractat de Lisboa

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 10 , 109-161

Full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Milian_tcm112-124444.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rossolillo Giulia

A "Federal Core" in a Wider European Union. How Should the Core Be Founded? How Should its Institutions Be Structured? What Should Be the Nature of its Relations with the Institutions of the Wider Union?

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1 , 58-65



<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ahmed Tawhida

A Critical Appraisal of EU Governance for the Protection of Minority Rights

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 265-285

The European Union (EU) has increasing regulatory capacity and capability for minority rights protection. A combination of old and new governance measures have been useful in affording the EU that capacity. Both modes of governance impact on EU migrant groups, particularly where they are free movers of a different nationality, race or ethnic origin to the (dominant) members of the states to which they have migrated. In addition, new governance measures also allow a degree of impact on other minority groups, such as national minorities, whether or not individuals from these groups exercise free movement rights. Together, old and new governance measures offer certain extents of 'respect' for, 'protection' of and 'promotion' of minority rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majocchi Alberto

A European Plan for Growth and Sustainable Development

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Huyseune Michel

A Eurosceptic vision in a europhile country: The case of the Lega Nord

in *Modern Italy*, Volume 15, Issue 1, February , 63-75

As a consequence of Italy's integration in the EMU in 1998, the Lega Nord shifted from a pro-European to a Eurosceptic position. The Lega's Eurosceptic vision combines a strong identification with Europe with a hostile attitude towards the institutions of the EU. Identification with Europe expresses in the first place the party's geopolitical view of Padania as a European and hence modern and entrepreneurial region. Its critique of the EU incorporates numerous, sometimes contradicting influences such as the neo-liberal vision of a free-trade based Europe with minimal rules and regulations, and a protectionist defence of northern Italian economic interests. It is in particular the party's institutional vision that attributes centrality to the right of Padania to autonomy and self-government which leads to its rejection of the centralism and dirigism of the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Hopner Martin, Schafer Armin

A New Phase of European Integration: Organised Capitalisms in Post-Ricardian Europe
in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 2, march , 344-368

ABSTRACT: In the past, economic integration in Europe was largely compatible with the preservation of different national varieties of capitalism. While product market integration intensified competition, member states could build on and foster their respective comparative advantage. Today, this no longer unequivocally holds true. This article contends that a new, 'post-Ricardian' phase of European integration has emerged in which the Commission's and the European Court of Justice's (ECJ's) attempts to promote economic integration systematically challenge the institutions of organised capitalism. It demonstrates this by discussing recent disputes over the Services Directive, the Takeover Directive, and company law. In the current phase of European integration, the Commission's and the ECJ's liberalisation attempts either transform the institutional foundations on which some of the member states' economic systems rely or they create political resistance to an extent that challenges the viability of the European project.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gilbert Mark

A Polity Constructed: New Explorations in European Integration History
in *Contemporary European History* , vol. 19, n. 2, May , 169-179

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Goetze Stefan, Rittberger Bethold

A matter of habit? The sociological foundations of empowering the European Parliament
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 37-54

ABSTRACT: In this article we study the 'institutionalization' of the European Parliament (EP), analysing those processes whereby the EP and its role in the EU's institutional setting acquire legitimacy and are increasingly taken for granted by political actors. In order to both explain the process of institutionalization and to understand why granting the EP more powers has become the EU's standard response to eliminate the (alleged) democratic deficit, we argue that a sociological perspective is necessary. In particular, only when we relate the evolution of the EP to its perceived legitimacy among EU member states, can we begin to better grasp the process of its empowerment. To that effect, we discuss the concept of legitimacy and conceive of it as an inter-subjective property that, nevertheless, operates through individuals via cognitive scripts. We then empirically demonstrate that the legitimacy of the EP did change over the course of its existence. Whereas until the early 1990s, categorical opposition to extend the powers of the EP was commonplace and several governments drew symbolic boundaries between the EP and national legislatures, the value of these indicators of legitimacy had fundamentally changed by the mid-late 1990s. We therefore suggest to perceive of the more recent episodes of empowering the EP as common habitual responses triggered by a recurring challenge rather than explicit calculations based on instrumental rationality.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Nicolaidis Phedon

A model of Europeanisation with and without convergence

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010

There is a general consensus that member state interaction within the EU system will lead to convergence and an overall improvement of domestic policies and administrative systems. This article poses that non-convergence is also possible and develops a model of Europeanisation that explains both convergence and non-convergence. It also identifies the circumstances under which member states could spread negative policies to other member states, leading to convergence to the bottom.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brandsma Gijs Jan

Accounting for input in comitology committees: an uncomfortable silence

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 4 2010, 487-505

This article analyses to what extent comitology is an accountable form of governance. Past research related to this question exclusively focused on the formal arrangements between European institutions and the comitology committees, and showed that accountability is on the increase but still quite poorly developed. However, it took no notice of an equally important set of actors: the superiors of the committee participants working in national ministries. This article uses new survey and interview data collected among Dutch and Danish superiors of committee participants. It shows that superiors are generally able to sanction or reward the behaviour of their subordinates, but they do not actively process information and they do not often discuss the input of the committee participants. This article concludes that accountability for this multilevel governance setting is lost somewhere between the European and national levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aakre Stine, Rübhelke Dirk T.G.

Adaptation to climate change in the European union: efficiency versus equity considerations

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 20, Issue 3, May-June, 159-179

EU climate policy based on reduction (mitigation) of greenhouse gas emissions is coupled with measures aimed at responding efficiently to the unavoidable consequences of climate change (adaptation). However, as the European Commission stated recently in its Green and White Papers on adaptation in Europe, there is still need to develop an overall EU adaptation strategy. Moreover, such a strategy should take into consideration both efficiency and equity concerns. In this article we propose a framework for EU adaptation policy that addresses the two concerns and which enables a transparent decision-making process. In the proposed scheme universal weightings of the individual policy objectives have to be agreed upon prior to actual decision-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grønnegaard Christensen Jørgen, Lehmann Nielsen Vibeke

Administrative capacity, structural choice and the creation of EU agencies
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 176 – 204

Since the 1990s the EU has established an ever-increasing number of administrative agencies. Their creation has been seen as a result of policy-makers' acknowledgement of a credible commitment problem where trust in the Commission has gradually eroded. This article systematically tests this credible commitment hypothesis. While finding support for it as a normative ideal informing the Commission's governance strategy, there is little evidence of its acceptance by member countries. Rather the design decisions made in the Council of Ministers conform to the predictions of structural choice theory as there is an inverse relationship between the legal authority delegated to agencies and their formal autonomy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maass Gero, Mross Karina, Engels Jan N.

After the European Elections: Why we need a more European Social Democracy
in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 5, Issue 1, Summer

<http://www.social-europe.eu/2010/01/after-the-european-elections-why-we-need-a-more-european-social-democracy-and-more-social-democratic-europe/>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spaventa Eleanor

Analysis and Reflections - Leaving Keck behind? The free movement of goods after the rulings in Commission v Italy and Mickelsson and Roos
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 34, issue 6 , 914-932

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papazoglou Manos

Assessing models of citizenship in the EU: the idea of responsive citizenship
in *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 14, n. 2, april , 221-236

ABSTRACT: There is an interesting debate about democracy and citizenship in the EU. Views diverge about the features of democratic deficits currently facing the EU and accordingly, about the scope for Union citizenship. The paper suggests an analytical distinction between asymmetric and symmetric normative models of dual - national and Union - citizenship. Moreover, it proposes an alternative model of dual citizenship that puts emphasis on the responsiveness of citizens vis--vis phenomena that undermine democratic governance and the claim for equal respect and concern. One of



the main ideas of responsive citizenship is that effective democratic control should complement procedural legitimacy in the EU as a means to prevent phenomena of political domination and guardianship. This is possible through the combination of competences ascribed on citizens through national and Community legislation vis--vis national and Union executive bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Isoni Alessandro

Assonanze planistiche e obiettivi produttivistici dell'Alta Autorità CECA

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 1, gennaio-marzo , 57-76

The paper analyzes the influence of third way ideologies on the ECSC High Authority, particularly with regard to its duties and organisation. Starting from the scientific debate about the legal status of the first successful attempt of European integration, the Author reconstructs a set of ideal and personal links between groups and people operating throughout the Thirties and Forties of the XXth century in France and some economic measures adopted in the same country during the postwar period. In this line, it is easier to understand some administrative and economic novelties introduced by the Monnet Plan for the French industrial reconstruction and the Schuman Plan, both elaborated by Jean Monnet and his staff. In this line, the Author underlines how Jean Monnet was deeply inspired by Paul Reuter, Pierre Uri and, last but not least, Jean Fourastié, who played a very important advisory role, pushing Monnet to invent a model that was able to blend European planism and American productivism in an original supranational public power.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marzo Claire

Aux frontières de l'Europe: comparaison de la situation des résidents, ressortissants de différents états tiers, à celle des citoyens de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 538, mai , 286-294

The object of this article is the comparison of the civil, political, social and economic rights between citizens of the European Union and those of the other inhabitants of the European territory. The distinction between nationals of Member states, citizens of countries that have passed a treaty of association with the Union, and citizens of other countries, allows the realization of progressive assimilation. This highlights the potential happy confusion between the different statuses, and leads to the question of the renewal of the notion of citizenship, which is nowadays closer to a residency status.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pisani-Ferry Jean, Sapir André

Banking crisis management in the EU: an early assessment

in *Economic Notes*, Volume 38 Issue 3 , 341 - 373

For well over a decade many observers had warned that the European Union was ill-prepared in case of a financial



storm because its market integration far outpaced its policy integration. This situation was well known to policy-makers but it was hoped that financial crises would wait until policy integration occurred. The reality turned out differently, however. We assess the management of the 2007--2009 banking crisis within the EU against this backdrop. In a nutshell, we find that Europe has done better than could have been expected on the basis of existing arrangements. The two federal institutions acted swiftly, the European Central Bank by providing ample liquidity and the European Commission by enforcing competition discipline flexibly. However, there was no institutional innovation in the form of an EU-financed bail-out of transnational financial institutions or a genuine EU financial stress test. Supervisory responsibilities remained entirely with individual countries and coordination problems were managed through a combination of ad-hoc, discretionary cooperation and reliance on EU rules and procedures. It is not possible, however, to determine whether this relatively satisfactory situation is due to the fact that ad-hoc coordination was fundamentally sufficient or because no complex case of cross-border bank failure occurred.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duer Andreas, Mateo Gemma

Bargaining Power and Negotiation Tactics: The Negotiations on the EU's Financial Perspective, 2007–13
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 557-578

We argue that in intergovernmental negotiations in the European Union, large Member States, countries with a good alternative to negotiated agreement and governments facing domestic constraints are more likely to resort to a hard bargaining strategy than less powerful Member States. We test this prediction with data from a survey with high-level officials from all EU Member States for the case of the negotiations concerning the EU Financial Perspective 2007–13. The evidence provides support for our argument and casts doubt on studies that suggest either that there are no differences in bargaining strategies across EU member countries or that the main differences exist between old and new EU Member States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McGuinness Nina, O'Carroll Conor

Benchmarking Europe's Lab Benches: How Successful has the OMC been in Research Policy?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 293-318

This article traces the progress of the open method of co-ordination in research policy, and examines one of its strands, the Mobility Strategy, as a 'best practice' OMC. Despite the critical analyses it has received to date, we argue that the OMC has shown the potential to impact on national systems and achieve convergence, albeit not necessarily of a quantitative kind. Under the Ljubljana Process, the OMC has been confirmed as the central method of governance to further develop the European research area and here we put forward several recommendations for its future application.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Warntjen Andreas

Between bargaining and deliberation: decision-making in the Council of the European Union



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 665-679

The Council of the European Union (EU) is a crucial actor in EU legislative decision-making. However, how it reaches decisions is subject to considerable debate. Constructivists argue that the dominant mode is norm-guided behaviour and deliberation, pointing to the informal 'culture of consensus'. Scholars working in a rational choice tradition assume that member states strive to maximize their utility and move outcomes as close as possible to their ideal positions, either by using their power in bargaining or by arranging beneficial exchanges of votes. Several bargaining and exchange models have been advanced by this literature. This contribution explores the logics underlying these different conceptualizations of negotiations in the Council of the EU. Furthermore, it discusses the interpretation of the existing empirical results and tasks for future research. Due to observational equivalence empirical findings are often inconclusive.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mabbett Deborah, Schelkle Waltraud

Beyond the Crisis – The Greek Conundrum and EMU Reform

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 81-85

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dryburgh, Lynne

Blair's First Government (1997–2001) and European Security and Defence Policy: Seismic Shift or Adaptation?

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Vol. 12, Issue 2, May , 257-273

Tony Blair's New Labour government came to power in 1997, promising a new attitude towards Europe, distinct from the 'Euro-scepticism' associated with its predecessors, the Conservative party. Analysts were keen to highlight this as a significant shift in British politics, pointing in particular to Blair's instrumental role in the development of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) as evidence of the change. This article examines Labour attitudes towards both the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the ESDP in comparison with those of its Conservative predecessors to argue that Blair's actions represented more a policy of adaptation than a momentous change in UK policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ernste Huib

Bottom-up european integration: How to cross the threshold of indifference?

in *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie (Journal of Economic & Social Geography)* , Volume 101, Issue 2, April , 228-235

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Draetta Ugo

Brevi note sulla sentenza della Corte costituzionale tedesca del 30 giugno 2009 sul Trattato di Lisbona
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 3 , 719-733

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Poggiolini Ilaria

Britain in Europe in the 1980s: east and west. Introduction
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 7-16

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tavani Sara

British Ostpolitik and polish Westpolitik: "push and pull" diplomacy
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 79-94

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bache Ian

Building multi-level governance in Southeast Europe?
in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 111-122

Drawing on the contributions to this volume, this concluding analysis reflects on the extent to which European Union (EU) cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments are contributing to the development of more compound polities in Southeast Europe and, specifically, promoting multi-level governance. It argues that these EU policies have created more compound polities but that system-wide multi-level governance remains weak in the case study states and central governments remain prominent. However, there are interesting and potentially important developments in relation to particular features of multi-level governance, not least in states whose engagement with the EU in this sphere is relatively new. As such, a large part of this story appears yet to unfold.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Ayala José Enrique

Carta de Europa: El rescate de Grecia

in *Política Exterior*, 134 - Marzo / Abril 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Ayala José Enrique

Carta de Europa: La crisis que no cesa. Sólo si lidera, la UE existirá

in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

Las consecuencias políticas y anímicas de la crisis no han tardado en aparecer en toda la UE: caídas electorales de los partidos gobernantes, auge del nacionalismo y una moral euroescéptica. La crisis financiera y económica está lejos de superarse en la mayoría de los Estados europeos.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Ayala José Enrique

Carta de Europa: Lisboa, por fin

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reijnen Carlos W. C.

Central European History and the European Union: The Meaning of Europe

in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 88, n. 3, July , 579-581

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kösters Wim

Challenges Facing European Monetary Union – Rules and Assignment or Discretion and Coordination?

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 86-89

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fontan Clément

Chantiers de recherche transfert d'idées et résistances au changement : le cas de la banque centrale européenne après la crise. Questionnement scientifique et objectifs de la thèse

in *Politique européenne* , n. 30

Depuis 1999, la politique monétaire des pays de la zone Euro a été complètement transférée à une institution supranationale : la Banque centrale européenne (BCE). La Banque a une place particulière dans le dispositif économique et monétaire de l'Union européenne (UE) car elle fonctionne de manière complètement indépendante¹ tout en disposant d'une mission clairement définie :...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duer Andreas, Mateo Gemma

Choosing a bargaining strategy in EU negotiations: power, preferences, and culture

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 680-693

We introduce a series of arguments that explain how country characteristics influence the choice of bargaining strategies. The country characteristics that we consider are a country's power resources, preferences and culture. We derive a series of hypotheses from these variables, and present their implications for intergovernmental negotiations in the European Union (EU). We also discuss the methodological difficulties inherent in studying negotiation behaviour: the secrecy surrounding the negotiations; the biases introduced by asking participants; and the difficulty of inferring from role plays to real-world negotiations. While recognizing these difficulties, we conclude that research on this topic is essential to arrive at a better understanding of how the negotiation process influences negotiation outcomes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meij Arjen W.H.

Circles of Coherence: On Unity of Case-Law in the Context of Globalisation

in *European Constitutional Law Review* , Volume 6 - Issue 01 , 84-101

Arcelor ruling – Legal pluralism in European integration – Judicial law-making transcending hierarchy – Role of courts for legal unity – Autonomy of courts under different mandates – Joint responsibility for legal coherence – Councils of State Report 2008 – Reversal of method of reference – Cilfit and Köbler prevent headway – Horizontal cooperation between national judges



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vink Maarten P., Groot Gerard-René de

Citizenship Attribution in Western Europe: International Framework and Domestic Trends

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, n. 5, May, Special Issue: Migration and Citizenship Attribution: Politics and Policies in Western Europe , 713-734

This special issue of JEMS deals with the challenges of migration for citizenship attribution in Western Europe. In this introductory paper we analyse recent developments in citizenship attribution across Western Europe over the past 25 years. Despite the contradictory impact of the instrumentalisation and politicisation of citizenship policies, and the fact that countries have different citizenship traditions and migration experiences, we observe six broad trends. These relate to the descent-based transmission of citizenship by women, men and emigrants; ius soli provisions for second- and third-generation immigrants; the acceptance of multiple citizenship; the introduction of language and integration requirements for naturalisation; the avoidance of statelessness; and the increasing relevance of EU membership. We describe the background and core features of each of these six trends and provide empirical examples from citizenship policies in 18 West European countries since the early 1980s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kohler-Koch Beate

Civil society and EU democracy: 'astroturf' representation?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 100 – 116

The growing uneasiness about the democratic deficit of the European Union (EU) has incited politicians and academics alike to look for remedies other than institutional reforms and giving more powers to the European Parliament. Strategies of 'good governance' shifted centre stage and the governance turn initiated a lively discourse on the democratic credentials of involving civil society. This article presents the changing views on the role of civil society in EU discourse. Although the Commission and even the Constitutional Convention put high hopes on the legitimacy input of civil society, a representation discourse is conspicuously absent. The article introduces an analytical framework to assess the contributions and limitations of civil society to democratic representation in EU governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kutter Amelie, Trappmann Vera

Civil society in Central and Eastern Europe: The ambivalent legacy of accession

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 41-69

Civil society organisations in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have remained weak players compared to their counterparts in established democracies. Given the particular incentives that the EU offered for the empowerment of non-state actors during pre-accession, it has often been assumed that EU intervention improved this situation. We argue that, instead, the EU's impact was highly ambivalent. Although the EU aid and EU-induced policy reform levelled the way for established actors' involvement in multilevel politics, it reinforced some of the barriers to development that the civil society organisations face in CEE. In particular, EU measures have failed to address the lack of sustainable income,



of formalised interactions with the state and of grassroots support. Drawing on the experiences of trade unions and environmental groups, we show that this ambivalent 'legacy of accession' is due to an unfortunate interrelation between various, often implicit mechanisms of the EU's enlargement regime on one hand, and particular problems inherited from state socialism and transition on the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laïdi Zaki

Climat, biotechnologies, finance, guerres : l'Europe a-t-elle une aversion pour le risque?

in *Esprit*, Juin 2010

Climate, biotechnologies, finance and war: Is Europe risk-averse?

On the international scene, Europeans stand out for their stance on climate change mitigation, caution in the face of biotechnologies, a willingness to regulate the financial sphere and an avoidance of war. Should these be seen as symptoms of Europe's powerlessness and its inability to face up to the challenges of the future? From a more positive angle, can this be taken as a more lucid awareness of risks? Or even some form of political identity that might be specific to Europe?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bailleux Julie

Comment l'Europe vint au droit. Le premier congrès international d'études de la CECA (Milan-Stresa 1957)

in *Revue française de science politique*, volume 60, n. 2, avril

À travers l'analyse du premier Congrès international d'études de la CECA qui s'est tenu en 1957, et des échanges entre acteurs politiques et professeurs de droit auxquels son organisation a donné lieu, l'auteur se propose de revenir, à la fois, sur l'opportunité et l'ensemble des contraintes, qui pèsent sur ce qui s'apparente bien à une entreprise de mobilisation de la science juridique au service de la légitimation d'un projet politique ; et sur la « naturalité » du droit communautaire comme cadre d'appréhension et de légitimation de l'Europe politique. Ce retour aux origines permet ainsi de prendre la mesure des difficultés politiques et cognitives qu'il y a eu à inventer un droit véritablement supranational.

The aim of this article is to question whether European Community law – as the legal framework for apprehending and legitimizing European integration – is "natural" by examining the period of its inception. By analyzing the first International Study Conference on the ECSC held in 1957 and the ensuing exchanges between policymakers and law professors, the author seeks, on the one hand, to bring to light the role European political institutions played in constructing an autonomous European juridical doctrine and, on the other, to highlight the limitations encountered in the use of law to legitimize a political project. Finally, this article points up the political and cognitive difficulties involved in



the invention of a truly supranational law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vennesson Pascal

Competing Visions for the European Union Grand Strategy

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 15, issue 1, 57-75

ABSTRACT: What should be the grand strategy of the European Union (EU)? What are the main arguments about the EU's role in the world that compete in public discourses in Europe? What are their sources and characteristics? The objective of this paper is to identify, clarify, and discuss critically four alternative grand strategies for the EU that can be termed Euro-neutralism, Superpower EU, Euro-Atlanticism, and Civilian power EU. These four grand strategic conceptions underline the policy debates regarding the EU security strategy as well as its implementation. First, I define the notion of grand strategy and I explain its significance for foreign policy making. Second, I uncover and discuss the four competing visions for the EU grand strategy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haunss Sebastian, Kohlmorgen Lars

Conflicts about intellectual property claims: the role and function of collective action networks

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 2 2010, Pages 242 – 262

Decision-making processes in Europe involve complex networks of actors who are trying to influence them at the various levels of the European multi-level governance system. Interest group research often assumes that the ability of an actor to exert influence depends mainly on its financial and personal resourcefulness, on its ability to provide expert knowledge and on its economic and/or political power. Recent conflicts in which 'weak' actors were able to persist have challenged this assumption. We claim that a careful analysis of the actor networks is able to complement the traditional actor-resource-centred perspective, and that paying attention to the structure of collective action networks is necessary to fully grasp the dynamics of decision-making processes in Europe in which the power of networks sometimes outweighs the power of resources.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rohrschneider Robert, Whitefield Stephen

Consistent choice sets? The stances of political parties towards European integration in ten Central East European democracies, 2003–2007

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 1 2010, Pages 55 – 75

Political representation in Western democracies is largely accomplished through and by parties. Surprisingly, however, few studies directly examine how well parties in post-communist democracies function as effective agents of



representation. Furthermore, the few exceptions to this rule focus on one time point only even though the concept of representation contains a dynamic component: parties need to offer consistent choices in order to communicate with voters in ways that provide clear alternatives to voters, and that establish incentives for parties to follow through on election promises. We therefore examine party stances towards European integration between 2003 and 2007. Contrary to the predominantly negative assessments in the research literature, we find that parties' policy stances establish several preconditions for political representation in new democracies in Central East Europe (CEE).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McNamara Kathleen

**Constructing Europe: Insights from historical sociology
in Comparative European Politics**, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 127-142

ABSTRACT: This article argues that one of the benefits of mainstreaming sociology in EU studies is the potential to better understand the underpinnings of the EU's political authority. In particular, the use of macrohistorical approaches and insights from the sociology of culture literature can help us see what is innovative about the EU as an emergent political form while highlighting the tensions in its claims on European citizens' loyalty.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vermeersch Peter

**Contesting Europe: Strategies and Legacies in Polish Political Competition
in Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 62, n. 3, May , 503-522

This essay explores positions on European integration in the campaigns of a number of mainstream Polish political parties in recent elections. It shows how contestations of the European Union have, to some extent, been driven by strategic considerations related to inter-party competition. In Poland's fluid party landscape, political actors have sometimes relied on Euroscepticism to create seemingly clear lines of division between themselves and their political competitors. Yet these Eurosceptic views interact with, and are therefore also constrained by, certain legacies: ideas on the relationship between Europe and Poland that are already part of the cultural context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lanza Elisabetta

**Core of State Sovereignty and Boundaries of European Union's Identity in the Lissabon – Urteil
in German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 4 , 399-418

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No4/Vol_11_No_04_399-418_Lanza.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Moes Jeroen

CosmoPoles: A Mixed-methods Study on the European Identity of Higher-educated Polish Youth in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, vol. 9, n. 3, December , 429-451

Through the combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses, this study investigates the extent to which a European identity has emerged across Europe and what it means to 'be European' for higher-educated Polish youth. The results of a quantitative comparative analysis (multilevel regression analysis on Eurobarometer survey data) are complemented by the results from a qualitative inquiry that was conducted within the framework of the same research project. It is argued that national and European political identifications are not mutually exclusive but rather seem to complement each other (both quantitatively and qualitatively). It is further argued that mixed-methods research designs offer a promising approach to the study of collective identities and Europeanisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wonka Arndt, Rittberger Bethold

Credibility, Complexity and Uncertainty: Explaining the Institutional Independence of 29 EU Agencies in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 4, July , 730-752

ABSTRACT: The delegation of policy-making tasks to EU agencies and their remarkable growth in number over the past two decades mark a striking new development in the EU's institutional make-up. While most of the nascent literature on the EU's 'agencification' addresses the conditions for agency creation and the implications of agency governance from the perspective of democratic accountability, there is a lack of empirical research systematically scrutinising the institutional structure and degree of formal-institutional independence of these agencies. This article offers a comprehensive empirical assessment and measure of the variation in institutional independence displayed by the entire set of 29 EU agencies operating under the EU's three pillars and tests hypotheses explaining variation in formal independence among agencies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pisani-Ferry Jean, Sapir André

Crisis Resolution in the Euro Area: An Alternative to the European Monetary Fund in Intereconomics, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 72-75

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

European Economy News



Croatian accession

in *European Economy News*, January 2010 - Issue 16

Croatia has weathered the recession relatively well thanks to the inherent strengths of its economy. Nevertheless, the country's large foreign debt is a key vulnerability. The country also needs to complete the re-structuring of its inefficient public sector, reform labour markets and finalise the privatisation of loss-making state industries. Despite the challenges ahead, Croatia is expected to complete negotiations for EU accession in 2010.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sigalas Emmanuel

Cross-border mobility and European identity: The effectiveness of intergroup contact during the Erasmus year abroad

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 11, n. 2, June, 241-265

Cross-border people mobility has long been seen as a promising method to promote European integration. In this article, I test the premise that the ERASMUS student experience abroad and direct interpersonal contact promote a European identity. The results draw from a two-wave longitudinal survey on two samples of ERASMUS students who studied in continental Europe and England, respectively. Although studying abroad led to increased socializing with other Europeans, contact with host country students remained limited. The paired sample t-tests reveal that ERASMUS does not strengthen students' European identity; on the contrary, it can have an adverse effect on it. Nevertheless, the regression analyses show that increased socializing with Europeans has a positive, though modest, impact on European identity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zemanek Holger, Belke Ansgar, Schnabl Gunther

Current account balances and structural adjustment in the euro area

in *International Economics and Economic Policy*, Volume 7, Number 1 / May, 2010

the past decade, a set of euro area countries has accumulated large current account deficits. After a brief relaxation of the euro area internal imbalances in the wake of the financial crisis, it appears as if this pattern arises anew when times normalize again and Germany still sticks to export-led growth. This issue has been labelled one of the most challenging economic policy issues for Europe inter alia by the European Commission and some other players on the EU level. In this paper, we analyse the role of private restructuring and structural reforms for the urgently needed sustainable readjustment of intra-euro area current account balances. A panel regression reveals a significant impact of structural reforms on intra-euro area current account balances. This implies that in particular structural reforms and wage restraint in notorious current account and budget deficit countries such as Greece are highly suitable to support long-term economic stability in Europe.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Baun Michael J., Marek Dan

**Czech Foreign Policy and EU Integration: European and Domestic Sources
in Perspectives on European Politics and Society**, vol. 11, n. 1, April , 2-21

Abstract

This paper examines the impact of EU integration on the foreign policy of the Czech Republic. It surveys Czech foreign policy since 1989, focusing on five distinct periods of the Czech Republic's relationship with the EU. The paper concludes that EU integration has had only a limited impact on Czech foreign policy in comparison to domestic political factors. EU membership also does not appear to have altered basic perceptions of Czech foreign policy interests, which remain largely determined by (pre-1989) historical experience and perceptions of geopolitical vulnerability. However, the Czech Republic has also sought to use the EU to achieve its key foreign policy goals, especially during its EU presidency in the first half of 2009, and EU membership has influenced the development of Czech policy towards Eastern Europe. In these regards, at least, Czech foreign policy can be said to have been 'EU-ised'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinzler Petra

**Das Ende der Illusionen. Wenn die EU ihre tiefen ideologischen Risse kittet, kann sie sogar gestärkt aus der
Krise hervorgehen**

in *Internationale Politik* , 65 Jahrgang, n. 5-6, Mai-Juni

ABSTRACT: Vielleicht hat die Krise doch auch etwas Gutes: Die Defizite der Union wurden offenbar und könnten jetzt korrigiert werden. Dazu müssen sich die Europäer aber von Illusionen verabschieden und energisch Reformen voranbringen. Damit künftig nicht mehr mit dem Finger auf „die da“ gezeigt wird, sondern ein europäisches „Wir-Gefühl“ entstehen kann.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grimm Dieter

**Das Grundgesetz als Riegel vor einer Verstaatlichung der Europäischen Union. Zum Lissabon-Urteil des
Bundesverfassungsgerichts**

in *Staat*, vol. 48, issue 4 , 475-971

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Müller-Graff Peter-Christian

Das Lissabon-Urteil: Implikationen für die Europapolitik

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 18, 2010



The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/5DYQIE,0,Das_LissabonUrteil%3A_Implicationen_f%FCr_die_Europapolitik.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmedes Hans-Jörg

Das Mosaik der Interessenvermittlung im Mehrebenensystem Europas
in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 19, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/ME0N9J,0,Das_Mosaik_der_Interessenvermittlung_im_Mehrebenensystem_Europas.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Segers Mathieu

De Gaulle's Race to the Bottom: The Netherlands, France and the Interwoven Problems of British EEC Membership and European Political Union, 1958–1963
in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 19, n. 2, May, 111-132

Why did de Gaulle veto the United Kingdom's accession to the European Economic Community in 1963? This article addresses the interlinked struggles over British accession and European political union in the early 1960s. The focus is on the crucially conflicting relations between de Gaulle and the Netherlands, his main opponent on both issues. Who won the Franco-Dutch battle and why? This article assesses these questions on the basis of new multi-archival material and highlights a hitherto largely unnoticed rhetorical battle, which explains the course of events and reveals a previously largely unnoticed logic behind de Gaulle's manoeuvring in the intertwined negotiations over European political union, the Common Agricultural Policy and the UK membership bid.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ritleng D.

De l'utilité de principe de primauté du droit de l'Union
in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 4, 677 - 696

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmid Dorotée

De l'élargissement à l'éloignement : la Turquie veut-elle toujours adhérer à l'Union européenne ?



in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 1, printemps

L'ouverture des négociations avec l'UE a été pour Ankara une bonne nouvelle, vue comme un succès et un encouragement. La bonne surprise tourne en déconvenue devant le rythme des négociations et leur absence de perspective. Décideurs et opinion mêlés, la Turquie pourrait passer, vis-à-vis de l'UE, de la posture du rapprochement à celle de l'éloignement. Le tout, dans un contexte de redéfinition rapide des espaces d'intervention d'une diplomatie dynamique et en plein essor régional.

The start of negotiations with the European Union was good news for Ankara, an encouraging token of success. However, the slow progression and absence of perspective in negotiations has made the good news start to seem like failure. Public opinion and government policy seem to have fallen in line on the issue, and Turkey rethink its desire for a rapprochement with the EU. This turn comes in the midst of a fast-paced redefinition of the field of influence of a dynamic diplomacy and a regional boom.

http://www.ifri.org/downloads/IFRI_pe12010dorotheeschmid.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Basilien-Gainche Marie-Laure

De la rétention des étrangers et de ses limites dans le temps. Réflexions sur la première interprétation par la CJCE de la Directive Retour

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 537, avril , 237-242

In a Said Shamilovich Kadzoev ruling dated November 30, 2009 (C 357/09 PPU), the High Chamber of the Luxembourg Court interprets for the first time the directive referred to as the Return Directive: directive 2008/115 dated December 16, 2008, on the common standards and procedures applicable in member countries to the return of illegally residing third party country citizens. In doing so, it offers an interpretation of EU law in the area of asylum and immigration, that may influence the implementation of the asylum package passed by the European Parliament on May 7, 2009. Indeed, the Court of Justice states that illegal migrant retention should stop as soon as the maximum duration of 18 months is reached or as soon as there is non more "reasonable prospect of transfer". Such absolute and relative limits put on retention, logically meets the requirement of immediate migrant release.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sabatkakakis Ekaterini

De nouvelles voies pour l'Europe sociale – Réflexions autour des services sociaux d'intérêt général

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 197-202

Right from 1957, the social Europe faced the issue of the market and compliance with the principle of automatic social condition improvement through economic integration. However, though European institutions exceeded obstacles and



implemented a legal basis protecting workers' social rights, they are currently to play a new role: that of improving economic interests.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parry John

Democracy in the European Union: Dream or Reality?

in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bellamy Richard

Democracy without democracy? Can the EU's democratic 'outputs' be separated from the democratic 'inputs' provided by competitive parties and majority rule?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 1 2010, Pages 2 – 19

Various European Union (EU) analysts suggest that although a democratic deficit exists from the perspective of 'input' democracy, democratic processes such as competitive parties and majority rule are neither necessary nor suitable to secure democratic 'outputs' of the kind the EU delivers. This article disputes this claim. 'Input' arguments are vital to the legitimacy of decision-making in the EU's policy areas, and the non- and counter-majoritarian mechanisms these analysts advocate have perverse rather than beneficial effects on the quality of 'outputs'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pisciotta Barbara

Democratizzazione e sistema internazionale: l'Europa post-comunista dal crollo del muro di Berlino all'integrazione europea

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 77, n. 1, gennaio-marzo, 77-92

This essay deals with the international dimension of democratization in East and Central Europe. In the first part it discusses the conceptual framework of external factors of democratic consolidation and describes the historical development of Western strategies to promote democratic regimes before 1989. In the second part the article proposes an empirical approach, according to the conditionality concept suggested by Philippe Schmitter, to explain the dynamic of post-communist transformation. More specifically, it examines the role of European Union in determining the institutional change of Eastern countries to subdue the European membership in compliance with the Copenhagen criteria. Moving from this perspective, the comparative explanation for political and economic change can proceed from the following assumptions: 1) the role of the European Union was more decisive in those countries where the internal conditions set back the stabilization of democracy and the external influence consequently forced the national élites to conform their legislation to the international standard (i.e. Slovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia); 2) the impact of external factor seems to be irrelevant in those countries where the national leadership prevented the European



conditionality to promote democratic stabilization before the accession agreements (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia). The available data demonstrate the existence of a significant relationship between European conditions and democratic performances in many post-communist countries and underline a crucial role of the European Union as an external anchor, to promote successfully the shift from a fragile democracy to a stable democracy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sánchez Barrilao Juan Francisco

Derecho europeo y globalización: mitos y retos en la construcción del Derecho Constitucional Europeo
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 12

Este trabajo tiene por objeto, de un lado, el mito del Derecho europeo como instrumento efectivo frente a la globalización, y de otro, los retos que en la actualidad supone la globalización en la construcción europea. A tales efectos, se analiza primero cómo la globalización viene afectando al Derecho constitucional, así como las respuestas que al respecto hasta ahora se han planteado. A continuación, se trata el carácter compuesto del Derecho europeo, de manera que el éxito del Derecho comunitario, en cuanto que Derecho caracterizado por un alto grado de flexibilización y adaptabilidad a las exigencias de una originaria globalización fundamentalmente económica, resultaba compartido con los Derechos estatales, caracterizados en su mayor parte por su ordenación constitucional y su superior rigidez. Se destaca a continuación los efectos negativos, al tiempo, de la referida flexibilización del Derecho comunitario tanto en relación a él mismo, como respecto a los Derechos estatales, y la consiguiente pérdida de eficiencia del Derecho europeo ante una globalización que se extiende sustantivamente más allá del mercado global, entroncando con el desarrollo tecnológico, el terrorismo global, el calentamiento global y la inmigración.

Respuesta a los nuevos retos de la globalización ha sido la extensión geográfica y sustantiva de la integración europea, dando lugar a un nuevo espacio político y jurídico más plural y más afecto a materias medulares de los sistemas constitucionales de los Estados miembros; en tal sentido, la profundización constitucional de la integración europea deviene insoslayable, más allá del retroceso que ha supuesto al respecto el fracasado proceso de ratificación del Tratado por el que se establece una Constitución para Europa, y avance final que significa el ya vigente Tratado de Lisboa.

Pero igualmente necesario es la progresiva reforma de las Constituciones de los Estados miembros, no sólo en relación al propio proceso de integración, sino en cuanto a las nuevas necesidades que plantea la globalización; y además, tanto a nivel europeo, como estatal, que dichos procesos constitucionales asuman un mayor perfil cooperativo en el contexto internacional, a fin de procurar un Derecho europeo suficientemente compacto como para hacer frente a una realidad cada vez más globalizada

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/06Barrilao.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Streinz Rudolf

Die Rolle des EuGH im Prozess der Europäischen Integration. Anmerkungen zu gegenläufigen Tendenzen in der neueren Rechtsprechung



in *Archiv des öffentlichen Rechts* , Band 135, Heft 1, Januar 2010 , 1-28

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wahl Rainer

Die Schwebelage im Verhältnis von Europäischer Union und Mitgliedstaaten. Zum Lissabon-Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts

in *Staat*, vol. 48, issue 4 , 587-1202

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kühnhardt Ludger

Die zweite Begründung der europäischen Integration

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 18, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/1SGE50,0,Die_zweite_Begr%FCndung_der_europ%E4ischen_Integration_Essay.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bendrath Ralf

Digitale Bürgerrechte – von Karlsruhe nach Brüssel

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, April, 2010

The full text is free:

www.blaetter.de/archiv/jahrgaenge/2010/april/digitale-buergerrechte-%E2%80%93-von-karlsruhe-nach-bruessel

Nach der Urteilsverkündung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts zur Vorratsdatenspeicherung brach am 2. März großer Jubel unter den Datenschützern aus. Dabei wurde allerdings übersehen, dass die Entscheidung einen entscheidenden Haken hat: Denn die EU-Richtlinie zur Vorratsdatenspeicherung ist auch nach dem Urteil weiterhin in Kraft. Für die digitale Bürgerrechtsbewegung bedeutet dies, dass sie jetzt eine Europäisierung der Bewegung verfolgen muss. Schließlich brachte die Europäische Union die Vorratsdatenspeicherung auf den Weg – nun muss sie auch dort abgeschafft werden.

Dennoch gilt es zunächst festzuhalten, dass das Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts eine schallende Ohrfeige insbesondere für die Parteien der ehemaligen großen Koalition bedeutet, die die Vorratsdatenspeicherung im November 2007 beschlossen hatte. Denn das Gericht erklärt die flächendeckende, anlasslose Überwachung von Kommunikations-



und Bewegungsprofilen der gesamten Bevölkerung für nicht vereinbar mit dem Grundgesetz. Dabei geht das Urteil durchaus weit, denn die Richter untersagen zugleich die Verwendung der bereits gespeicherten Daten in Strafprozessen und schließen auch eine Übergangsfrist für das Gesetz aus, sie bestanden also auf der unverzüglichen Löschung der Daten...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rabadán Jonatan García, Miró Baz Luis Carlos

Dilema y reto: por una política comunitaria en energía

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 42 , 101-123

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gambino Silvio

Diritti fondamentali, fra Unione europea e Costituzione italiana

in *Panoptica. Revista Eletrônica Acadêmica de Direito*, n. 18 , 73-126

The Treaty of Lisbon (entered into force in 1 December 2009) gives the formal legal status of the European Community Treatises to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, originally proclaimed in Nice (in 7-9 December 2000) and re-proclaimed in Strasbourg (12 December 2007). In the framework of the Constitutional theory and of the constitutionalism of the EU countries and in Italy, are proliferating discussions regarding the legal effects and the consequences of the Charter on the EU and national legal systems, particularly on the primacy and direct applicability of the EU provisions into the European Union Member States and on the fundamental principles and fundamental rights as guaranteed by any national Constitutions. Many European Constitutional Courts, particularly the Italian and the German Courts, affirmed in its decisions the mandatory and imperative status of fundamental constitutional rights respect the EU rights (counter-limits theory). In the Kreil case (2000), contrary, this jurisprudence was overruled by the primacy of EU provision which precluded the application of national measures which involved the gender discrimination. The legal status of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, through its (substantial) incorporation in the new EU

Treatises, nevertheless, may introduce a new kind of judicial review of the community law led by any national judges, by means of the reference for preliminary rulings on cases brought before the EU Court of Justice and by means of interpreting the national legislation consistently with European Community law. This trend may limit the role of the national Constitutional Courts and at the same time may reduce the guarantees of the Courts and of the national constitutional laws.

full text available at: http://www.panoptica.org/2010_18_pdf/18_4.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Fritzsche Alexander

Discretion, Scope of Judicial Review and Institutional Balance in European Law
in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 2 , 361-403

ABSTRACT: This article undertakes an inquiry into the jurisprudence of the Community courts (now the EU courts) discretionary powers and the scope of judicial review, revealing that although they are aware of the issue, they do not address it in depth and leave crucial things unsaid.

On the basis of this inquiry, a framework is presented in which discretion and scope of judicial review can be analysed as an issue of horizontal division of tasks and powers between the European courts and the other EU institutions and therefore as part of the general principle of institutional balance. For that purpose, discretion is defined as the administrator's competence to decide with highest authority about the application of the law to a specific fact pattern resulting from both the absence of precise statutory predetermination and subsequent de novo decision by controlling administrative courts. While the institutional balance between the courts and the other institutions is primarily determined by the attribution of tasks and competences to them by primary and secondary EU law, it unfolds normative power whenever these provisions leave gaps or uncertainties. It is argued that in such cases functional criteria can be utilized to "fine-tune" the institutional balance. The institution that is best suited in terms of organization, composition, function, legitimation, and procedure shall then decide a certain aspect with highest authority. Finally, this approach is applied to the joint application of Articles 101, 102 TFEU to specific cases by the European Commission and the General Court, trying to establish what complex economic facts are and give reasons why the GC must defer to the Commission whenever those facts have to be appraised.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

European Economy News

Divergences within the euro area: threat and opportunity

in *European Economy News*, April 2010 – Issue 17

Divergences in the competitive positions and current-account balances of euro area Member States have been building up over the past decade. The divergences may threaten both the economic stability of individual countries and the cohesiveness of the euro area. Addressing the divergences will require significant price and cost adjustments in current-account deficit countries and removing the structural factors that hinder domestic demand in surplus countries. Nonetheless, the euro area and the EU as a whole now have the chance to improve economic surveillance and policy coordination.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Paterson William E.

Does Germany Still Have a European Vocation?

in *German Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, March , 41-52

The narrative of Germany's European vocation falls into three stages. In the first stage - constituting Germany in Europe - European integration was a vital secondary arena for ensuring that the Federal Republic was able to develop



economically, and to become a stable democracy. The second stage, of ever closer union accompanied by institutional export, was already evident under Helmut Schmidt, but became really manifest during the Kohl Chancellorship, reaching a high point in the early 1990s. In the post-Kohl third stage the European vocation persists, but has been very much scaled back.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Belkaïd Akram

Doit-on vraiment sauver la monnaie unique européenne ?

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

« Si l'euro échoue, annonçait la chancelière allemande Angela Merkel, le 13 mai 2010, c'est l'Europe qui échoue. » Onze ans après la création de l'euro, la Banque centrale européenne a renoncé à tous ses principes pour tenter d'enrayer la crise financière. Un seul mot d'ordre : sauver la monnaie unique. Enquête sur les fondements de ce volontarisme europhile. Et sur ses bénéficiaires.

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/06/BELKAID/19187>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Richardson Keith

Dreaming the impossible dream – A truly democratic EU

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

Introduction of the Lisbon treaty has been widely seen as marking the end of the EU's institutional reform process for the foreseeable future. But Keith Richardson sets out an idea for a much more radical overhaul of the EU's political and democratic structures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lucey Brian, Aggarwal Raj

Dynamics of Equity Market Integration in Europe: Impact of Political Economy Events

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 641-660

Unlike most prior literature in finance and economics, this article focuses on events in the political economy and examines the integration of European equity markets over the 1988 through 2002 period using two innovative techniques that assess how the level of integration in equity price indices changes over time. The results show that notwithstanding the rising interdependencies between the European and US equity markets during the mid- to late 1990s, the long-run integrative relationships governing the European markets strengthen only in the late 1980s. This evidence suggests that despite several years of political willingness by European leaders to integrate economies, the



equity markets only responded to the Delors Report (1989) and the Strasbourg Declaration (1989) that the European Economic Community would move towards European Monetary Union, but they provided little positive long-run response to subsequent developments pertaining to European Monetary Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ursula, Jasper; Svetlana Ž.

ESDP at ten, the Lisbon Treaty and Serbia's security policy

in Review of International Affairs (The), Vol. LX, n. 1136, October-December

As the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) marks the tenth anniversary, there are numerous attempts to assess its results. Simultaneously, long awaited ratification of the Lisbon i.e. Reform Treaty of the European Union brings an end of ESDP, introducing Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) instead, and other important changes. With the Lisbon Treaty in place on one hand, and declared neutrality of Serbia and SAAgreement on another hand, the elements are in place for reconsidering Serbia's security policy related to CSDP. The paper proposes Serbia's participation in CSDPmissions and other forms of cooperation in that area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jasper Ursula, Portela Clara

EU Defence Integration and Nuclear Weapons: A Common Deterrent for Europe?

in Security Dialogue, vol. 41, n. 2, april, 145-168

ABSTRACT: Nuclear weapons remain the unquestioned core of the defence postures of both France and the United Kingdom. At the same time, the European Union is progressively enhancing its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), notably through the establishment of a European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). Yet, despite evident progress in the CFSP, whose ultimate purpose is to lead to a 'common defence policy', EU member-states still deal with nuclear issues on a predominantly national basis. What is the alleged purpose of European nuclear forces? How is the raison d'être of the French and British nuclear deterrents conceptualized against the background of progressing European (defence) integration? This article examines the construction of the rationale of the French and British nuclear forces and their compatibility with the emerging European defence policy, particularly with regard to a hypothetical integration of both arsenals into a common deterrent. Could and should a 'European nuclear deterrent' be envisaged as the final stage in the framing of a European defence?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barrell Ray, Fitzgerald John, Riley Rebecca

EU Enlargement and Migration: Assessing the Macroeconomic Impacts

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010, p 373-395



Enlargement of the European Union in May 2004 was followed by an increase in migration from the poorest of the central and eastern European New Member States (NMS) to other Member States. We consider the macroeconomic impacts of these migration flows across Europe, highlighting impacts in receiving and sending countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Vries Catherine E.

EU Issue Voting: Asset or Liability?

in *European Union Politics*, Vol. 11, n. 1, March, 89-117

This study develops and tests arguments about how political parties' electoral fortunes in national elections are influenced by voters' preferences regarding the European Union (EU). To date, there is increasing evidence demonstrating the impact of EU issues on vote choice in national elections — a process commonly referred to as EU issue voting. Yet little is known about which parties actually gain or lose as a result of EU issue voting. Using a two-step hierarchical estimation procedure, I first estimate an individual-level model of vote choice estimating the impact of EU preferences for individual parties. The first stage of the analysis reveals that the extent of EU issue voting varies substantially among political parties. In the second stage, I utilize party characteristics to account for this variation across parties by using an estimated dependent variable model. The analysis demonstrates that the inter-party variation in EU issue voting is largely a function of two factors: parties' intrinsic positioning regarding the EU and strategic considerations. The empirical analysis employs data from UK, Danish, Dutch and German elections between 1992 and 2002.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lo Turco Alessia, Parteka Aleksandra

EU enlargement and labour demand in the new member states

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010

Research to date on labour market responses to EU integration has tended to concentrate on the labour markets of the "old" EU members. But what effect has the integration of trade had on wages in the new member states? The following article attempts to answer this question using an empirical model of conditional sectoral labour demand.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Becker Johannes, Fuest Clemens

EU regional policy and tax competition

in *European Economic Review*, Volume 54, Issue 1, January 2010

The European Union (EU) provides coordination and financing of trans-European transport infrastructures, i.e. roads and railways, which link the EU member states and reduce the cost of transport and mobility. This raises the question of



whether EU involvement in this area is justified by inefficiencies of national infrastructure policies. Moreover, an often expressed concern is that policies enhancing mobility may boost tax competition. We analyze these questions using a model where countries compete for the location of profitable firms. We show that a coordination of investment in transport cost reducing infrastructures within union countries enhances welfare and mitigates tax competition. In contrast, with regard to union-periphery infrastructure, the union has an interest in a coordinated reduction of investment expenditures. Here, the effects on tax competition are ambiguous. Our results provide a rationale for EU-level regional policy that supports the development of intra-union infrastructure.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Woolcock Stephen

EU trade and investment policymaking after the Lisbon treaty

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 1 / January, 2010

The ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon will have a number of potentially important implications for decision-making in EU external trade and investment policy. This article summarises the main changes and discusses some key implementing measures that will shape the medium to long-term impact of the treaty changes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dembinski Matthias

EU-Außenbeziehungen nach Lissabon

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 18, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/0NIIOF,0,EUAu%DFenbeziehungen_nach_Lissabon.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luther Jörg

El constitucionalista europeo como observador participante de la democracia europea

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 12

¿Cuál es el estado de la democracia en Europa? Esta cuestión abre este ensayo con el que se pretende analizar el estado actual de la democracia en el seno de la Unión Europea y, en última instancia, participar en el desarrollo de una cultura constitucional europea. Para ello, se centra en tres contribuciones jurídicas a la teoría de la democracia: 1) la relación entre dignidad y democracia y el consiguiente reconocimiento del carácter fundamental de los derechos políticos, 2) la identificación y defensa de un mínimo común denominador de buenas costumbres democráticas europeas y 3) las bases que sostienen o deben sostener la voluntad de construir una Europa más democrática. El estudio se completa con el análisis de tres cuestiones prácticas de la democracia en el Derecho público de la Unión Europea: 1) las propuestas de reforma del sistema electoral a escala europea, 2) la defensa y promoción de formas de



democracia directa en el seno de la Unión y, por último, 3) la defensa del carácter integrador de la democracia europea.

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/03Luther.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barreira López Ana

El papel de la UE en las negociaciones de cambio climático

in *Cuadernos europeos de Deusto*, n. 42 , 41-57

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bechtel Michael, Schneider Gerald

Eliciting Substance from 'Hot Air': Financial Market Responses to EU Summit Decisions on European Defense

in *International Organization*, vol. 64, issue 2, april , 199-223

ABSTRACT: The results of deliberations in multilateral fora are often considered ineffective. Decision making in the European Union (EU) and in particular its key intergovernmental body, the European Council, poses no exception. Especially in the domain of EU foreign and security affairs, the unanimity requirement governing this institution allegedly allows nationalist governments to torpedo any attempt to build up a credible European defense force and a unified foreign policy stance. In this article, we take issue with the claim that multilateral summits merely result in "hot air" by looking at whether and how decisions made during EU summit meetings affect the European defense industry. We argue that investors react positively to a successful strengthening of Europe's military component—a vital part of the intensified cooperation within the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP)—since such decisions increase the demand for military products and raise the expected profits in the European defense industry. Our findings lend empirical support to the view that financial markets indeed evaluate the substance of European Council meetings and react positively to those summit decisions that consolidate EU military capabilities and the ESDP. Each of the substantial council decisions studied increased the value of the European defense sector by about 4 billion euros on average. This shows that multilateral decisions can have considerable economic and financial repercussions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Koutalakis Charalampos

Enabling harmonization - Business actors and the eastern enlargement of the EU

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 247-267

In recent years, most enlargement research has focused on theorizing the process of eastern enlargement and analysing the incentives of both the European Union (EU) and candidate member states to initiate a gradual process of



legal and policy approximation with the prospect of eventual membership. Although the bulk of the literature draws on bilateral executive negotiations between the European Commission and central governments, there is little systematic account of the role of non-actors in the process of policy approximation with EU standards during the pre-accession negotiations. In light of the enormous economic, political and administrative challenges posed by the EU's eastern enlargement, we raise the question of the extent to which eastern enlargement has provided new opportunities to private actors from the Central Eastern European region to pursue their interests in the process of aligning domestic regulatory regimes to European policies. Drawing on empirical evidence from pharmaceutical harmonization in Hungary and Poland, the article analyses the extent to which enlargement has empowered non-state actors as shapers of success or failure in the efficient and effective adoption of and adaptation to EU regulatory requirements.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brummer Klaus

Enhancing intergovernmentalism: the Council of Europe and human rights

in International Journal of Human Rights (The), Volume 14, Issue 2, April , 280-299

International governmental organisations (IGOs) thoroughly scrutinise their member states' domestic human rights policies. More often than not, though, the organisations' decision-making bodies are unwilling to act on the information that their monitoring bodies generate. This paper discusses three options that might enhance intergovernmental human rights protection: the strengthening of institutions, the creation of new institutions, and the intensification of cooperation with other organisations. However, there are formidable obstacles to a proper implementation of any of those options. Therefore, human rights protection by IGOs will remain suboptimal. The Council of Europe - Europe's human rights watchdog - serves as a case in point.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

URGE, Unità Ricerca Governance Europea

Equality and non-discrimination in the European Union

in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XLIII, n.190, Gennaio-Marzo

This section, presented by Stefano Sacchi, marks the continuation of collaboration between Biblioteca della libertà and URGE, the Collegio Carlo Alberto European Governance Research Unit, on a subject of great interest for the present and future of Europe (the last number of this journal, 186, addressed the puzzle of the so-called Bolkestein Directive). As Krzysztof Nowaczek shows, the authors view the European Union's contribution to the fight against discrimination from the points of view of sexual orientation (Robert Biedroń), age (Olivia Bonardi) and ethnic groups (Fabio Zuccheri), presenting and assessing the numerous actions promoted by the EU to improve the conditions of groups at risk of discrimination. According to Biedroń, by banning sexual discrimination, France made an important step forward twenty years ago: some countries have since followed her example, others have not. He reconstructs this process and European institutions' significant involvement in it, outlining the institutional regime connected to anti-discriminatory measures against LGBTs (lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders) and making observations about social issues related to such groups. Finally, to provide a broader picture of the EU's contribution to the protection of LGBTs, Biedroń briefly analyses their condition in new member and other states. For Bonardi, the new ban on discrimination for reasons of age is starting to have some effect on the policies and legislations of the member states of



the European Community, forcing them to adjust employment and social policies to the new demands of a society whose demographic profile is changing rapidly. Nonetheless, the effect of the new anti-discrimination legislation is, in some respects, limited both by its sphere of application and by the many exceptions that are permitted. A more complex question is that of multiple or crossover discriminations that, for a variety of reasons, lead to the mistreatment of people and, even exponentially, offend their dignity in a particularly serious way. The tools that the Community and national legal systems envisage to protect against this type of discrimination are not only few but also problematic. This is an aspect of discriminatory law that still has to be studied in depth, especially in Italy where the situation is still at a 'primordial' stage. Zuccheri stresses that EU member states continue to consider the question of minorities exclusively as a matter of national policy. In the last few years, the European Union has confined itself to promoting legislation to fight racial and ethnic discrimination. One of the conditions the Union explicitly imposed on budding members was the need for measures to protect minorities, but following the broadening of the Union, such measures have proved more formal than substantial. In view of a further possible enlargement of the EU to Turkey and the Balkan countries, it is necessary to achieve tangible results in terms of the protection of minorities, so to avoid the risk of importing situations that would endanger the stability and security of the Union. At all events, to be able to play an incisive role, the EU has to become a fully-fledged political union, capable of acting in the name of a single people, comprehensive of different European minorities.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbé Esther

Espana, Europa y el Mundo: Juego a Tres Niveles

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 18/ 2009

La cuarta presidencia española de la Unión Europea llega en un contexto nuevo para Europa, con el despliegue del Tratado de Lisboa, y para el mundo, un mundo interpolador en palabras de Diego López Garrido, secretario de Estado para la Unión Europea [El País, 1 diciembre 2009]. El juego a tres niveles en que se va a desarrollar la presidencia española de la UE, que implica el nivel español, el europeo y el mundial, nos da pie para plantear dos cuestiones.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Becerril Soledad

España, al frente de la UE. La presidencia de la crisis

in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

El rescate financiero de Grecia y la puesta en marcha de las instituciones y procedimientos del Tratado de Lisboa están ocupando a una presidencia española de la UE marcada por la crisis. La presidencia española de la Unión Europea supone que España, desde comienzos de enero y durante seis meses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Pitarch Pedro

Estructuración militar europea a la luz del Tratado de Lisboa
in *Política Exterior*, 134 - Marzo / Abril 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Villarino Camilo

Europa en un mundo transformado

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martens Wilfried

Europe 2020 and Beyond

in *European View*, vol. 9, n. 1, June, 1-3

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dadush Uri, Naim Moises

Europe Bought Time and Not Much Else

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 178, May

The bailout may soothe markets, but it won't fix the fundamental problems that have pushed Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Italy to the brink.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fusacchia Alessandro

Europe after Lisbon. A New Beginning?

in *Equilibri*, anno XIV, n. 1, aprile, 117-127

With the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU seems better equipped to act as a global player and face the major changes and developments which are taking place at the international level. The article argues that more than anything else will do the political willingness (and capacity) of the new European leadership to fully



implement the Treaty and transform it into an asset to conduct an effective common foreign policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Filippi Laura

Europe and Research

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1, 51-57

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jacoby Wade, Meunier Sophie

Europe and the management of globalization

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 3 2010, Pages 299 – 317

European policy-makers often speak of their efforts to 'manage globalization'. We argue that the advocacy of managed globalization is more than a rhetorical device and indeed has been a primary driver of major European Union (EU) policies over the past 25 years. We sketch the outlines of the concept of managed globalization, raise broad questions about its extent, and describe five major mechanisms through which it has been pursued: (1) expanding policy scope; (2) exercising regulatory influence; (3) empowering international institutions; (4) enlarging the territorial sphere of EU influence; and (5) redistributing the costs of globalization. These mechanisms are neither entirely novel, nor are they necessarily effective, but they provide the contours of an approach to globalization that is neither ad hoc deregulation nor old-style economic protectionism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fioretos Orfeo

Europe and the new global economic order: internal diversity as liability and asset in managing globalization

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 3 2010, Pages 383 – 399

The diversity of market economies that constitute the European Union (EU) presents both constraints and opportunities for Europe when it comes to shaping the post-neoliberal global economic order. Diversity is a constraint in that it often prevents strong common positions in global negotiations and thus undermines the ability of Europe to exercise its collective hard power resources. Paradoxically, however, the EU's enduring diversity over time has become the source of a different type of power that also provides Europe with opportunities to shape the nature of global economic governance. By reconciling commitments to greater economic openness and extensive multilateralism with national discretion, the EU enjoys 'model power'. This type of power is based in specific institutional innovations within the EU that accommodate internal diversity and allow the EU to exercise important, if limited, influence over the substantive content and rules guiding the management of globalization.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duchesne Sophie

Europe between integration and globalisation. Social differences and national frames in the analysis of focus groups conducted in France, francophone Belgium and the United Kingdom

in *Politique européenne* , n. 30 , 67-105

Le tournant qualitatif qu'ont connu les études européennes à la fin des années 1990 devait permettre d'approfondir la nature des relations que les citoyens de l'Europe entretiennent avec leur Union, et notamment de mieux prendre en compte les dimensions émotionnelle et identitaire. L'enquête comparative par entretiens collectifs dont nous rendons compte dans cet article met au contraire en évidence la forte indifférence à l'égard de l'intégration européenne qui caractérise les groupes populaires et ce, dans les trois pays de l'enquête. Cette indifférence s'explique notamment par le fait que les cadres nationaux de compréhension du processus d'intégration tendent à le noyer dans la globalisation. Le « dissensus contraignant » redouté par les spécialistes des études européennes ne concerne que les groupes les plus éduqués et surtout les plus politisés. Le miroir grossissant de cette approche très qualitative ne permet donc pas de mieux observer l'émergence d'une identité européenne, au contraire. Il conduit à souligner la diversité des processus d'appropriation ou de réaction à l'intégration et l'absence d'autonomie du niveau européen par rapport aux niveaux national et mondial dans les représentations des citoyens.

European studies experienced a qualitative turn at the end of the 1990s. This was intended to facilitate the deeper investigation into the nature of the relationship that European citizens have with their Union and more particularly it was supposed to better account for the emotional and identity dimensions of this relationship. The comparative research presented in this article, based on focus groups, show on the contrary the clear indifference towards European integration that characterizes working class people in the three countries studied. We explain this indifference notably by the fact that national framing of the integration process tends to drown it in globalization. The “constraining dissensus” dreaded by European Studies scholars concerns only the more educated and above all the more politicized of the participants. The magnifying glass that this qualitative approach provides us thus does not allow us to better observe the emergence of European identity. On the contrary, it leads us to emphasize the diversity of the appropriation or reaction processes to European integration as well as the lack of autonomy of the European level in relation to the national and global levels in the representations of citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Donnelly Brendan

Europe in the World: All Change or No Change in Foreign Policy After Lisbon?

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 2, June

The Lisbon Treaty sets ambitious goals for the Union in the field of external relations, but makes limited changes in the pursuit of these goals. The role of the High Representative is reinforced and an External Action Service will be set up,



but decisions on the common foreign and security policy are still to be taken by consensus. The Representative and the Service will seek to facilitate the emergence of such consensus and to increase the effectiveness of its external implementation. But this can only be a gradual process, the success of which will depend largely upon the continuing political will of the member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laitinen Ilkka

Europe is ready for a common borders policy

in Europe's World, Issue 14, Spring

Control of the EU's external borders is improving, says Ilkka Laitinen, who heads the Frontex agency. But he warns that without a coherent Europe-wide approach to illegal immigration and cross-border criminality it will be of little use.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruton John

Europe needs a new development model

in European View, vol. 9, n. 1, June, 19-22

With the relative decline of the European economy, the governments of Europe have used deficit spending to shield themselves from structural economic change. This deficit spending has proven unsustainable and European governments need to seriously re-evaluate public expenditure. There is a need to re-evaluate how public services such as health care and education are funded, and to better manage the Eurozone so as to avoid a second debt crisis. European states need to re-examine how public money is spent, and the current economic crisis could be the catalyst for the necessary structural changes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Castaldi Roberto

Europe needs vision and leadership to overcome the crisis

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 2, issue 1, I-XXV

This paper applies the interpretative scheme "crisis-initiative-leadership" - developed to analyse the European integration process as a whole – to the current crises to analyse if and how it is exploited by adequate initiative and leadership in the EU

Full text available at http://www.on-federalism.eu/attachments/069_download.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schmidt Vivien A.

Europe tomorrow / Envisioning a Less Fragile, More Liberal Europe. A Dialogue with Paul Magnette and Maurizio Ferrera

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLIII, n.193, Ottobre-Dicembre

This essay on the fragility of the EU's liberal project begins where Paul Magnette and Maurizio Ferrera left off. While Magnette developed a historical narrative about what the EU is as a liberal project and Maurizio Ferrera added further philosophical grounding to that narrative, I address the question of how to build upon such a philosophically-grounded historical narrative in order to construct a more prospective set of ideas and discourse about the EU's liberal project from now into the future. This requires two further strands of argumentation. The first is about how the member states actually conceive of the EU's liberal project – that is, their ideas – and discourse about what the EU is and ought to be. The second is about how and whether the EU is able to reconcile the four differing visions member states adhere to, which brings us back to the question of how to envision what the EU is and what it could become as a liberal project. My proposal is to reconceptualise the EU as a 'regional state'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beroš Marta Božina

Europe's regulatory reform after the crisis — a macroprudential perspective

in *Columbia Journal of European Law*, Vol. 16, issue 1 , 47-51

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scherpereel John

European Culture and the European Union's 'Turkey Question'

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 4, july , 819-829

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to discern whether Turkey belongs to Europe's emerging pan-European cosmopolitan culture and investigates the political implications of Turkish cultural 'otherness'. The article revisits Laitin's (2002) suggestion that social mobility in contemporary Europe requires individuals to possess 2 ± 1 cultural repertoires. Then, drawing on analysis of Eurobarometer, World Values Survey, European Values Survey, and original datasets, it compares the cultural repertoires of citizens from four groups of European countries - the EU's founding members, countries that joined the Communities between 1973 and 1995, countries of the 2004/2007 enlargement wave, and Turkey itself. The data support the conventional wisdom that Turkey is culturally quite different from EU norms. Still, the article concludes by interrogating the political implications of this difference and suggesting that Turkey's cultural alterity does not necessarily preclude the possibility of smooth Turkish integration into the EU.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Batora Jozef

European Defence Agency: A Flashpoint of Institutional Logics

in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 1, January, 1075-1098

ABSTRACT: The European Defence Agency (EDA) works in a policy area traditionally characterised by high diversity among actors regarding basic notions of what level of integration and which principles of interaction in the defence sector are appropriate for the EU, which countries should participate in defence cooperation, and what coordination mechanisms and instruments should be used. In all these dimensions, the EDA has been a flashpoint of institutional logics representing different visions of how various aspects of defence integration in the EU should be organised. There are tensions between the logic of supranational regulation and the logic of intergovernmental networking; between the logic of defence sovereignty and the logic of pooled defence resources; between the Europeanist and the Euro-Atlanticist logic; and finally between the logics of liberalisation and Europeanisation of the defence market. Studying the ways in which the collisions of institutional logics are being accommodated by the EDA can contribute to greater understanding of the emerging political order of European defence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boerzel Tanja

European Governance: Negotiation and Competition in the Shadow of Hierarchy

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010, p 191-219

This article argues that the 'nature of the EU beast' is neither unique nor captured by a particular type of governance. Like its Member States, the EU features a combination of different forms of governance that cover the entire range between market and hierarchy. The analysis of this governance mix reveals several characteristics of the EU that have been largely overlooked in the literature. First, the EU relies heavily on hierarchy in the making of its policies. Its supranational institutions allow for the adoption and enforcement of legally binding decisions without the consent of (individual) Member States. Second, network governance, which systematically involves private actors, is hard to find. EU policies are largely formulated and implemented by public actors. Third, political competition has gained importance in European governance. Member States increasingly resort to mutual recognition and the open method of co-ordination where their heterogeneity renders harmonization difficult. The article shows that the EU mainly governs through inter- and transgovernmental negotiations and political competition between states and regions. Both forms of public-actor-based governance operate in the shadow of hierarchy cast by supranational institutions. This governance mix does not render the EU unique but still distinguishes it from both international institutions and national states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Radeljić; Branislav

European Neighbourhood Policy As Security Complex

in Review of International Affairs (The), Vol. LX, n. 1136, October-December

The end of the Cold War brought a period of stability and safety, which gave an additional stimulus to the European



Union to play a key role in the international security arena. However, due to the potential risk of importing instability, the European Council adopted the European Security Strategy in 2003 under the title "A Secure Europe in a Better World," the first strategic vision of the Member States. The European Neighbourhood Policy is designed to avoid new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbours to the east and on the southern and eastern shores of Mediterranean. Accordingly, tackling the issue of terrorism in terms of the new ENPhas appeared to be a vital synergic component linking the EU member states and its partners. This paper will assess the potential of the ENP to constitute an instrument for the fight against terrorism engaging joint participation of the European Union and its neighbouring region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bouvet Florence, Dall'Erba Sandy

European Regional Structural Funds: How Large is the Influence of Politics on the Allocation Process?
in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 501-528

The allocation of Structural Funds, the most important component of the European Union (EU) cohesion policy, is subject to intense bargaining between national governments and across layers of political governance. Using Structural Funds data for each cohesion objective over 1989–99, we examine which variables, economic and political, determine the actual funds allocation. We test our hypotheses with a Tobit model that accounts for the two-stage allocation process and our limited dependent variables. Our results indicate that economic criteria are not the only determinants of funds allocation. Indeed, we find that the political situation within a country and a region and the relations between various layers of governance influence the allocation process. This article is also the only study to measure the impact of additional funds provided by the region or the country itself, and to differentiate the analysis by cohesion objective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Benson David, Jordan Andrew

European Union environmental policy after the Lisbon Treaty: plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose?
in **Environmental Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 3, May , 468-474

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brusis Martin

European Union incentives and regional interest representation in Central and East European countries
in **Acta Politica**, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 70-89

The article argues that the EU regional policy model implied by the Structural Funds has provided incentives for the mobilisation of local and regional interests in Central and Eastern Europe. However, the strength and impact of empowerment depends on whether local or regional interest groups (1) existed as organised political actors rooted in



regional communities or identities, (2) formed broader pro-regional advocacy coalitions with other political actors and (3) participated in government. Examples from Bulgaria (weak mobilisation), the Czech Republic (limited mobilisation) and Serbia/Vojvodina (significant mobilisation) are given to illustrate the importance of domestic political actors, their resources and political strategies for explaining how the opportunity structure of enlargement is being instrumentalised in Central and East European countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

White Jonathan

European integration by daylight

in Comparative European Politics, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 55-73

ABSTRACT: It has become common to highlight the desirability of a more 'politicised' European Union (EU) so as to counter the low visibility of its policymaking and the disaffection this may breed. Endorsing this view, the article argues existing contributions to the topic tend to give insufficient attention to the relationship between institutional settings and everyday life, and to underplay the significance of how political actors interpret and reproduce the social and political world. The article explores how one might reconsider these questions, drawing on some of the insights of cultural and pragmatic sociology to suggest that the important obstacles to further politicisation may be rooted in contemporary political culture. A contribution is thereby intended both to the topic in question and to a wider effort to supplement institutional perspectives in EU studies with those drawn from sociology.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pinelli Cesare

European single currency, citizenship and constitutional developments

in Perspectives on federalism, Vol. 2, issue 1 , N- 9-17

The author questions the influence of the creation of a single currency on the formation of European citizenship. Whereas the transnational dimension of such citizenship (which affects the citizen of one Member State residing in another) must be kept separate from the supra national dimension (which affects the relationship between the people and the public powers of the Union), he believes that the euro mainly concerns the second dimensions and that it marks the peak in the contradiction between the success of the European market (compared with the division in national markets) and the failure of the Union as an organised form of political cohabitation. The reasons would consist mainly in the shortsighted and irresponsible vision of the national political classes, interested in maintaining the image of a European bureaucracy or technocracy in order to continue gaining consensus without taking responsibility

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/59-european-single-currency-citizenship-and-constitutional-developments->

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Cirtautas Arista Maria, Schimmelfennig Frank

Europeanisation Before and After Accession: Conditionality, Legacies and Compliance

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 3, May , 221-241

This introductory essay reviews the literature on historical legacies in the post-communist area and relates it to the study of enlargement and Europeanisation. The authors develop a framework for the special section, specify various ways in which historical legacies can be conceived of affecting conditionality and compliance, give an overview of the contributions and summarise the findings.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Atanasova Gorica, Bache Ian

Europeanization and F.Y.R. Macedonia: towards a compound polity?

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 85-96

This contribution considers whether European Union (EU) pre-accession aid is contributing to the development of a more compound polity in F.Y.R. Macedonia and, specifically, the extent to which there is a process of Europeanization characterized by emergent features of multi-level governance. After examining the state of play concerning governance and politics, the different EU pre-accession instruments are discussed with a focus on the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance. The main argument advanced is that F.Y.R. Macedonia is a simple polity that is quickly evolving into a compound polity and that the EU accession process and the requirements of pre-accession aid are important factors in this evolution process. However, alongside EU-induced changes are other initiatives and processes that are often promoting change in the same direction that make it increasingly difficult to isolate the independent effect of EU pressures.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bache Ian, Andreou George

Europeanization and multi-level governance in Slovenia

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 29-43

This study considers whether EU cohesion policy has contributed to the development of a more compound polity in Slovenia and, specifically, considers the extent to which there is a process of Europeanization characterized by emergent features of multi-level governance. After providing a brief background on the nature of domestic governance and politics, it reviews the development of cohesion policy instruments in Slovenia and, then, discusses the scope and the nature of changes that have taken place in the last decade. The main finding is that despite the pre-existing corporatist tradition suggesting a greater openness to cross-sectoral engagement than in most new member states, this tradition has little impact on the domestic approach to governing the structural funds. Only a weak system of multi-level governance has been developed, meeting the letter rather than the spirit of EU requirements, with central government ministries dominating both planning and implementation processes.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ertugal Ebru

Europeanization and multi-level governance in Turkey

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 97-110

This study considers whether European Union (EU) pre-accession instruments relating to cohesion policy are contributing to the development of a more compound polity in Turkey and, specifically, assesses the extent to which Europeanization promotes features of multi-level governance. Empirical findings suggest that the implementation system for EU pre-accession aid is centralized with signs of a limited shift towards multi-level governance. Empirical findings also reveal that the implementation structures designed for national policy in response to EU requirements represent a greater degree of shift towards multi-level governance. The argument developed is that the latter is potentially transformative in character as far as regional development policy-making is concerned, though the Turkish polity is to date only slightly more compound as a consequence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bache Ian

Europeanization and multi-level governance: EU cohesion policy and pre-accession aid in Southeast Europe

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 1-12

This opening contribution provides the framework for discussion for the case studies that follow. It outlines the key concepts employed - simple and compound polities, Europeanization and multi-level governance - and explains the origins and development of EU cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments. It concludes by summarizing the main themes and issues addressed in the subsequent contributions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bache Ian, Tomsic Danijel

Europeanization and nascent multi-level governance in Croatia

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 71-83

This contribution considers whether the EU's pre-accession instruments of cohesion policy are contributing to the development of a more compound polity in Croatia and, specifically, considers the extent to which there is a process of Europeanization characterized by emergent features of multi-level governance. It argues that while some features of multi-level governance are emerging in Croatia, the emphasis of EU programmes is at this stage on national implementation and central government has to date proved adept at shaping and steering the partnerships and networks induced at national level. Sub-nationally, there is greater activity independent of central government, and some evidence



of a deeper learning taking place, with EU-inspired activities and practices being transferred to other spheres

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dobre Ana Maria

Europeanization and new patterns of multi-level governance in Romania

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 59-70

This study considers whether EU cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments have contributed to the development of a more compound polity in Romania and, specifically, considers the extent to which there is a process of Europeanization characterized by emergent features of multi-level governance. In particular, it brings forward a number of explanatory factors which account for the process of regions' creation in a centralized unitary post-communist state such as Romania. It shows that the regional reforms and regionalization have occurred in a very functional way and mostly as a means of accessing and managing regional-level structural funds. It concludes by illustrating the emergence of new patterns of multi-level governance in the context of socialization and engagement with the EU's cohesion policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Onar Nora Fisher, Özgüneş Meriç

Europeanization of Greek and Turkish Minority Policies

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 17, Number 1 , 111-136

The article examines the Europeanization of Greece and Turkey's policies towards their respective Turkish/Muslim and Greek/Orthodox minorities. It begins with a comparative survey of nation-building processes in both countries. It shows that as bilateral tensions rose, minorities' rights as citizens were increasingly compromised by the perception that minorities were agents of their kin-states. Greek accession to the European Economic Community in 1981 catalyzed a slow process of internationalization of European norms of minority protection among policymakers, though pockets of resistance persist to this day. Turkey, meanwhile, became a candidate for membership in December 1999. The carrot-and-stick incentive structure of the accession process led to a rapid succession of taboo-shattering reforms, catalyzing a partial transformation of minority policies. By 2007, however, an altered calculus of domestic and international forces impeded the implementation of reform and consequently the transformation of minority treatment.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kluver Heike

Europeanization of Lobbying Activities: When National Interest Groups Spill Over to the European Level

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 32, Number 2 / March , 175-191

The increasing transfer of competencies to the European level together with the growing heterogeneity of European interest federations puts national interest groups under extensive pressure. In order to guarantee the representation of their interests at the European level, they have to lobby the European institutions directly. However, not all national



interest groups do so. This article therefore analyses under what conditions national associations engage at the European level. A theoretical framework is developed, combining resource mobilization theory with rational choice institutionalism. It is empirically tested in a comparative case study of lobbying strategies of French and German agricultural interest groups in the Doha Round. Drawing on a comprehensive survey conducted in 2006/07, this study combines a comparative research design with the new multi-value qualitative comparative analysis. The main conclusion is that resources as well as the domestic national institutional context determine whether national interest groups Europeanize their lobbying strategies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Camyar Isa

Europeanization, Domestic Legacies and Administrative Reforms in Central and Eastern Europe: A Comparative Analysis of Hungary and the Czech Republic

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 2 / March , 137-155

In this paper, I explore how European dynamics and domestic legacies interact in generating a specific pattern of change at the domestic level. Specifically, I examine the different impacts of the European Union (EU) on the adoption of administrative reforms in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries in the 1990s and the early 2000s. I claim that the EU's influence on the reforms was mediated by the reformist legacies of preceding communist regimes in those countries. While the EU affected the reforms through the mechanism of anticipation in countries with strong reformist legacies, the influence of the EU flowed through the mechanism of conditionality in countries with weak reformist legacies. I illustrate my case through a comparative analysis of Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

European Economy News

Europe's 'moment of truth': how the Europe 2020 strategy must transform the Union

in *European Economy News*, April 2010 – Issue 17

The crisis has made the task of securing Europe's future economic growth more difficult and exposed some structural economic weaknesses. A lack of concerted action could consign Europe to relative decline. The Europe 2020 Strategy is a fresh approach designed to help Europe exit and move beyond the current crisis by emphasising smart, sustainable and inclusive growth and improving the governance structure needed to make it happen.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thym Daniel

Europäische Integration im Schatten souveräner Staatlichkeit. Anmerkungen zum Lissabon-Urteil des Bundesverfassungsgerichts

in *Staat*, vol. 48, issue 4 , 559-1146

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Markowski Radosaw , Tucker Joshua

Euroscepticism and the Emergence of Political Parties in Poland

in Party Politics, Volume 16, Number 4, July , 523-548

One of the most interesting features of the 2003 Polish referendum on European Union (EU) membership was the strong link between voting behaviour in the 2003 referendum and voting behaviour in the 2001 Polish parliamentary election. In this article, we test two competing mechanisms that could account for this finding: a responsible party model, whereby citizens' attitudes towards EU membership would have been driven by their preferred party's position on the issue, and a more Downsian model, whereby the existence of an unrepresented Polish Eurosceptic electorate could have driven the success of two new Eurosceptic parties in the 2001 parliamentary elections. Drawing upon data from the 1997, 2001 and 2005 Polish National Election Studies, we find much stronger empirical support for the Downsian approach. Far from being led to their Euroscepticism by party leaders as the 2003 referendum on Polish EU membership approached, voters for Poland's Eurosceptic parties in 2001 already possessed healthy degrees of Euroscepticism, especially when compared to supporters of other parties and even to non-voters.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Johansson Karl Magnus, Tallberg Jonas

Explaining Chief Executive Empowerment: EU Summitry and Domestic Institutional Change

in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 2, march , 208-236

ABSTRACT: One of the most prominent trends in the organisation of European parliamentary democracies is the empowerment of chief executives. This article submits that an important reason contributing to this development is summit decision-making in the European Union, which requires states to confer additional authority, discretion and resources on chief executives. The effects are long-term shifts in the domestic institutional balance of power between the executive and the legislature, as well as within the executive branch. The explanatory power of this argument is tested through a case study of chief executive empowerment in Sweden, as well as comparative qualitative evidence from a broader set of European states. The findings carry implications for research on the presidentialisation of politics, the domestic implications of international cooperation, and the Europeanisation of EU member countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gelderman, Kees, Ghijsen Paul, Schoonen Jordie

Explaining Non-Compliance with European Union Procurement Directives: A Multidisciplinary Perspective

in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 243-264

Since their adoption in the 1970s, compliance with European Union (EU) procurement directives has been problematic. Many studies have reported on the effectiveness of the directives, mostly in terms of the impact on the openness of public procurement and the impact on cross-border trade. However, research on the explanation (or the lack) of



compliance with EU directives is limited. This article identifies the directives which are most sensitive to non-compliance. A multidisciplinary model for explaining compliance is presented, drawing from criminal theory, economics, social psychology and public purchasing. The impact on compliance is quantified, using survey data from purchasing professionals of the Dutch Ministry of Defence. The results indicate that both the expected gains of compliance and the organizational pressure have a positive impact on compliance. In contrast, no support is found for the effect of certainty and severity of sanctions and the perceived resistance of suppliers in case of non-compliance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tallberg Jonas

**Explaining the institutional foundations of European Union negotiations
in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 633-647

European Union (EU) negotiations take place within the framework of a set of formal and informal institutions. Member states negotiate in the organizational context of the Council and the European Council, take decisions through alternative procedures and decision rules, and sustain a set of norms for the conduct of negotiations. While the effects of these institutions on negotiation behaviour and outcomes have received extensive attention, the question of why these particular institutions have been established or evolved remains underexplored. This contribution makes an argument in favour of systematic attention to the design of negotiation institutions in the EU, and suggests that we should draw on general theoretical approaches to institutional design for these purposes. Moreover, rather than engaging in the exercise of trying to prove or falsify theoretical approaches, we should exploit the potential for explanatory complementarities in concrete empirical domains. To this end, the paper advances a domain-of-application approach to institutional design and illustrates its applicability to EU negotiation institutions through four empirical illustrations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dijkstra Hylke

**Explaining variation in the role of the EU Council Secretariat in first and second pillar policy-making
in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , 527-544

This article explains variation in the role of the Council Secretariat in first and second pillar policy-making. While the Council Secretariat started in both pillars as a facilitator of decision-making, it has been delegated additional tasks in foreign policy: from providing content expertise to representation. Such functions would normally have gone to the European Commission, yet in the sensitive domain of foreign policy the member states have preferred their own secretariat. This has implications in terms of agency. Due to its additional tasks, the Council Secretariat has more bureaucratic resources in the second pillar. While its activities furthermore used to be restricted to the decision-making phase, it is now also playing a role in the agenda-shaping and implementation of European foreign policy. These additional bureaucratic resources and opportunities not only impact on the Council Secretariat's political influence in the second pillar, but also on its strategies to promote its preferences.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



European Economy News

Exploring new avenues: innovative financing at a global level

in *European Economy News*, January 2010 - Issue 16

At its meeting in October 2009, the European Council agreed on the need for a coordinated exit from fiscal stimulus policies and for fiscal consolidation. But at the same time Europe, and the world, is likely to face enormous financing needs in the coming decades, to meet the costs of financial stability, climate change and development. The Council therefore invited the Commission to examine the potential contribution of innovative financing mechanisms in response to which Commission, including ECFIN, staff have recently published a working document on 'Innovative Financing at a Global Level'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levinson Marc

Faulty Basel

in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2010, Volume 3, Number 89

Attempting to prevent future financial crises by drafting new global regulations will do more harm than good. If governments adopt the same regulations, they will make the same mistakes. Instead, financial regulation must be the task of individual governments and not multilateral committees.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Guttry Andrea

Fighting Piracy and Armed Robbery in the XXI Century: Some Legal Issues Surrounding the EU Military Operation Atalanta

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno II, n. 2 , 325-350

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Von Bogdandy Armin

Founding Principles of EU Law: A Theoretical and Doctrinal Sketch

in *European law journal*, Volume 16 Issue 2 , March , 95-111

The article discusses the roles of founding principles of the EU with the method of doctrinal constructivism, thereby explaining this specific approach to legal scholarship. At the same time it proves the usefulness of the constitutional approach to EU law. Core characteristics of the EU legal order should become more tangible.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Elgström Ole, Frennhoff Larsén Magdalena

Free to trade? Commission autonomy in the Economic Partnership Agreement negotiations

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 205 – 223

In this article, we suggest that the degree of (dis)unity - both between the member states (MS) in the Council and within the Commission - is a key factor in affecting the balance between Commission autonomy and MS control in international trade negotiations. We shed empirical light on this issue, and on the relative influence of MS and the Commission in general, through a case study of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) negotiations between the European Union (EU) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. We suggest that the differing preferences and priorities among MS and the relative cohesiveness of the Commission provided the Commission with quite a high degree of autonomy during all phases of the EPA negotiations. The informational and procedural advantages given by its institutional position as sole negotiator also contributed to the significant autonomy of the Commission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Collard Sue

French Municipal Democracy: Cradle of European Citizenship?

in *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* , vol. 18, n. 1, march , 91-116

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to make a contribution to the empirical study of the development of European citizenship at grass roots level, through the analysis of political participation of non-French EU citizens resident in France (NFEUCRIFs) at local elections in 2001 and 2008 in France. Official statistics show that whilst there has been a considerable increase in 2008 both in terms of voter registration and election to municipal councils compared with 2001, these figures still represent only a tiny proportion of the total number of voters and elected candidates. Nevertheless, France remains a fruitful site for further qualitative analysis of how these 'pioneers' of European citizenship may (or may not) be contributing to the building of some kind of 'Eurodemocracy' at grass-roots level, and whether or not any links between municipal politics and the wider European framework can be meaningfully established.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hubé Nicolas, Rambour Muriel

French Political Parties in Campaign (1989-2004): A Configurational Analysis of Political Discourses on Europe in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 11, n. 2, June, Special Issue: Which Europe Do Parties Want? A

View from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain , 146-166

This article analyses the nature of French political parties' attitudes towards the EU. Three main dimensions of the EU process and of its impact on the member states are focused upon: identity, representation and scope of governance. We propose for the analysis a complementary insight in to the ideological explanations of party attitudes towards the EU by focusing on two main factors of variation: the institutional position of parties and time effects. We show that French parties divide over EU issues, along the lines opposing (1) major parties to radical and outsider parties, and (2) governmental parties to non-governmental and extra-parliamentary parties. Left and right do not impact the pattern of



contestation of the EU issue in the French case. Parties divide upon EU issues producing in the end a peculiar pattern that differs from the more traditional patterns of party competition of France. Finally, there is diversity between the attitudes of the party central office and the party in public office.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bechev Dimitar, Nicolaidis Kalypso

From Policy to Polity: Can the EU's Special Relations with its 'Neighbourhood' be Decentred?
in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 475-500

The article investigates the institutional and policy choices regarding the EU's relations with the countries and regions covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). It juxtaposes the notion of special relationship inaugurated by the Lisbon Treaty to three models for organizing relations with proximate countries: pre-accession, the European Economic Area (EEA) and association. The convergence-access paradigm is found to be the basic pillar of the EU approach. The article brings in a series of dilemmas concerning the design and the implementation of the ENP as well as perceptions from selected partner countries. As a potential way to manage tensions and dilemmas inherent in the EU strategy, the article proposes an altogether novel dimension: decentred integration geared towards polity-building that could partially delink convergence and access. The last section maps out four scenarios for the future directions of the ENP that cover the whole continuum from piecemeal enhancement of the policy to the creation of a European Partnership Area underpinned by a new tier of institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Georgakakisa Didier, Weisbeinb Julien

From above and from below: A political sociology of European actors
in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 93-109

ABSTRACT: The aim of the article is to develop a perspective on EU studies centred on social agents and to assess its contribution to the understanding of both the making of an EU political field at the top and the emergence of European social fields at the bottom. This perspective, intellectually informed by authors such as Pierre Bourdieu or Norbert Elias, provides a way to deepen existing approaches and to expand the scope of EU studies in two ways. First, it aims to evaluate the social foundations of the European integration process through a very precise analysis of what social actors involved in EU processes think and do considering their position in wider structures of interaction and domination. Second, it calls for wider collaboration with sociology, history and anthropology and bringing back traditional notions and toolkits from other social sciences in order to better understand an emerging European institution-society nexus.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

WTE , MC

From confederacy to convoy: Thoughts about the finality of the Union and its member states
in *European Constitutional Law Review*, Volume 6 - Issue 01 , 1-5



We as constitutionalists owe it to ourselves and even to the 500 million other citizens of a member state and of the Union at the same time, to come up with a legally and constitutionally readable understanding of the situation. It must not be one suffering from the split between international and domestic public law. It must not mystify the Union as a completely original structure, intelligible only in its own terms. Such understanding should encompass not only the limits but also the logic of the situation; not only its mechanics but also its evolution. It should be intelligible for the public. It should allow for the multiple dualities of loyalty, of function, of legitimacy. It should allow for shared authority. Constitutional thought is well equipped to deal with actual duality and ambivalence. These characteristics of the Union are real and are here to stay.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bachmann Klaus

Frontex and Transborder Governance in the EU

in Review of International Affairs (The) , Vol. LIX, n. 1132, October-December

This paper discusses the impact of horizontal and vertical overspill in a neofunctional sense on transborder governance, understood as a set of mechanisms to incline non-EU countries to adopt to certain policies of the EU. It argues, that the mere shifting of competences and changes of decision making rules within the EU influences internal security reforms in non-member states. This, the paper claims, is true for accession states as well as for countries, who are not willing to enter EU, but are neighboring countries, included into the EU's neighborhood policy. Frontex, as the nucleus of a future central border protection agency, plays a significant role in this process.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bickerton Christopher J.

Functionality in EU Foreign Policy: Towards a New Research Agenda?

in Journal of European Integration, Volume 32, Number 2 / March , 213-227

The study of European Union (EU) foreign policy has hitherto been dominated by the question of effectiveness, i.e. does it work? This takes the external impact of the EU's foreign policy as its analytical starting point. In addition to asking whether EU foreign policy works, we should also inquire into its functions. The article identifies three functions served by EU foreign policy: (1) the legitimization of inactivity at the national level; (2) as a site for the struggle over political power between different actors in the EU; (3) as a means for exploring ontological issues relating to the EU's underlying purpose and its finalit politique. A common feature of each of these functions is their internal orientation. From this perspective, the study of EU foreign policy need not be limited to assessing the impact of the EU on the rest of the world. It can also tell us a great deal about the political dynamics and the ongoing search for meaning within the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jaeger Marc

Garantire una giustizia di qualità: bilanci e prospettive a 20 anni dall'entrata in funzione del Tribunale
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 2 , 281-300

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kropp Sabine

German Parliamentary Party Groups in Europeanised Policymaking: Awakening from the Sleep? Institutions and Heuristics as MPs' Resources

in *German Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2, June , 123-147

As a contribution to the 'de-parliamentarisation' debate, this article discusses the Europeanisation of the Bundestag by focusing on parliamentary party groups and their policy experts. In the German 'working parliament', these units are focal points for coordinating policymaking. By adding the explanatory power of 'belief systems' and, more generally, of 'heuristics' to theories of new institutionalism, this explanatory study reveals that although new institutionalism frameworks have served as rather good guidelines for explaining why German MPs have backed off scrutinising the government and co-governing in EU policymaking, they can be further improved by explicitly integrating elements of cognitive theory. The study empirically draws on elite interviews with MPs and their staff. These interviews offer insights into heuristics which serve to diminish information overload and which help MPs to cope with trade-offs and conflicts between EU issues and programmatic positions that point back to national party affiliations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mittag Jürgen

Gewerkschaften zwischen struktureller Europäisierung und sozialpolitischer Stagnation

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 13-14, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/9GMLFF,0,Gewerkschaften_zwischen_struktureller_Europ%EA4isierung_und_sozialpolitische_r_Stagnation.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ippolito Francesca

Giurisdizione comunitaria e accordi misti: dal criterio della competenza alla leale cooperazione

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 3 , 657-680

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Triggiani Ennio

Gli equilibri politici interistituzionali dopo la riforma di Lisbona

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 1 , 9-34

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kelemen R. Daniel

Globalizing European Union environmental policy

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 3 2010 , Pages 335 – 349

This contribution explores the European Union's (EU) efforts to 'globalize' EU environmental regulation. EU leadership on global environmental governance emerged as a result of the combined effects of domestic politics and international regulatory competition. The growing power of environmental interests in Europe from the late 1980s, coupled with dynamics of EU policy-making, led the EU to commit to ambitious environmental policies. Given this commitment, it was in the EU's international competitive interests to support international agreements that would pressure other jurisdictions to adopt similar environmental regulations. Promoting treaties that spread EU environmental norms internationally also served to legitimize EU rules and to shield them from legal challenges before world trade bodies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Connor Tim

Goods, Persons, Services and Capital in the European Union: Jurisprudential Routes to Free Movement

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 2 , 159-209

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No2/PDF_Vol_11_No_02_159-209_Articles_Tim_Connor.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Braithwaite Rodric

Gorbachev and Thatcher

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 31-44

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hout Wil

Governance and Development: changing EU policies

in *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 31 Issue 1 , 1 - 12

This introductory article to the special issue on European Union, development policies and governance discusses how notions of ('good') governance have come to dominate development discourses and policies since the mid-1990s. The article argues that governance was part of the so-called Post-Washington Consensus, which understands governance reform as part of the creation of market societies. Although academics have commonly emphasised the fact that governance concerns the rules that regulate the public sphere, the dominant understanding of (good) governance in policy circles revolves around technical and managerial connotations. The second part of the article introduces some important features of EU development policy, and argues that this is essentially neoliberal in nature and favours a technocratic approach to governance reform. The EU's main instrument in relations with developing countries is the Country Strategy Paper, which includes a set of governance indicators for the assessment of the political situation in partner countries. In addition, the European Union has developed a 'governance profile', which consists of nine components

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schwarzer Daniela

Governance-Dynamik in der Eurozone

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 18, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/ZXZ9SO,0,GovernanceDynamik_in_der_Eurozone.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Börzel Tanja A., Buzogány Aron

Governing EU accession in transition countries: The role of non-state actors

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 158-182

Accession appears to be both a blessing and a curse to transition countries. On the one hand, EU membership supports their transformation from authoritarian regimes with centralized planning economies into liberal democracies with market economies. On the other hand, the accession countries face great difficulties in restructuring their economic and political institutions in order to meet the conditions for EU membership. The systematic involvement of non-state actors in the adoption of and adaptation to EU requirements was thought to be a remedy for the problems of European Enlargement towards 'weak' transition countries. Companies and civil society organizations could provide the governments of the accession countries with important resources (money, information, expertise and support) that are necessary to make



EU policies work. The article explores the role of non-state actors in governing the double challenge of transition and accession. Focusing on the field of environmental policy, we seek to find out to what extent accession has empowered non-state actors by giving them a voice in the adoption of and adaptation to the EU's green acquis. Our study on the implementation of EU environmental policies in Poland, Hungary and Romania shows that accession left little room for the involvement of non-state actors into the policy process. The article argues that both state and non-state actors in transition countries were often too weak to make cooperation work during the accession period. The double weakness of transition countries and a political culture hostile to public involvement seriously constrained the empowering of non-state actors by 'Europeanization through accession'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lachman Desmond

Greece's Threat to the Euro

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 92-95

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kollias Christos. Paleologou Suzanna-Maria

Growth, investment and military expenditure in the European Union-15

in *Journal of Economic Studies*, Volume 37, Number 2 , 228-240

- The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relationship between growth, investment and - The paper uses fixed panel models, random coefficient models and a trivariate VAR model to examine empirically the relationship between these three macroeconomic variables. - The results obtained and reported herein show a significant positive effect of the growth rate on the share of military expenditure and on the share of investment. However, on the whole, the findings do not seem to point to any consistent quantitative relation between defence spending and either growth or investment. Thus, they appear to be in line with the findings of other studies.- The economic effects of military spending have drawn considerable attention. Demand side effects on capacity utilisation are one possible channel through which the economy can be positively affected by such expenditure. On the other hand however, reduced investment and capital stock have been reported as a possible negative economic impact of defence outlays that can more than offset any growth inducing effective demand stimulation. The paper attempts a simultaneous assessment of the impact of defence expenditure on both growth and investment for the EU-15, something that has not been tried before.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Shtalbi Haki

Grèce et Macédoine: un rapprochement est-il possible?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 537, avril , 252-256

The dispute over the name "Macedonia", a topical issue, emerged both at European and international level. At European



level, the question, so far insoluble, involves Greece, Member State of the European Union, on one hand, and Macedonia, candidate country since 2005, on the other hand. At international level, this issue requires negotiations between the two parties under the auspices of the UN and the role of the United States which have already recognized Macedonia under its constitutional name. Greece, in turn, exercised its right of veto. Its refusal to recognize this former republic of Yugoslavia the right to be designated by the term "Macedonia" constitutes an obstacle and even a big challenge to the progression of Skopje towards joining NATO and the European Union. The question arises whether reconciliation between the two countries is possible and this will depend basically on a balance of power and decision-making coordinated by the European Union and on the diplomatic action and political will of both parties to reach an agreement and find a possible solution to the conflict. The issue of the European perspective of Macedonia is also the issue of bilateral relations between these two Balkan countries which will have to work together to maintain and consolidate political stability in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández-Arias Carlos

Hacia una diplomacia común

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Broad Matthew, Daddow OLiver

Half-Remembered Quotations from Mostly Forgotten Speeches: The Limits of Labour's European Policy Discourse

in *British Journal of Politics & International Relations* , Vol. 12, Issue 2, May , 205-222

This article uses discourse analysis to study the continuities in British foreign policy thinking within the Labour party from the 1960s to the present day. Using representative extracts from speeches by Hugh Gaitskell, Harold Wilson, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, it identifies the ideational consistencies in the leaders' attitudes to: Empire; federalism in the EEC/EU; and laying down conditions that have to be met before any constructive engagement with 'Europe' can be countenanced. We argue that these consistencies, spanning a 50-year period, exemplify a certain stagnation both within Labour's European discourses and within British foreign policy thinking more widely. We develop the idea that Labour party thinking has been crucially framed by both small 'c' conservative and upper-case Conservative ideology, popularised by Winston Churchill in his 'three circles' model of British foreign policy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bandelj Nina

How EU Integration and Legacies Mattered for Foreign Direct Investment into Central and Eastern Europe



in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 3, May , 481-501

This essay uses the case of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Central and Eastern Europe to stipulate how European Union (EU) integration affected the economic globalisation of the post-socialist region. Existing studies argue that expectations of impending EU membership had a direct effect on raising FDI inflows because they reduced perceived investment risks for potential investors. In contrast, I show that the EU accession process worked through an indirect effect on FDI: it influenced post-socialist states' efforts to promote FDI as a desirable strategy of economic development and the behaviour of firms. These state efforts, in turn, increased FDI inflows, net of conventional risk and return factors. Further analyses indicate that decisions about state FDI-promotion have been influenced not only by EU conditionality but also, and importantly, by particular legacies, namely the countries' initial choice of privatisation strategies, extent of reform during socialism and history of state sovereignty. Overall, the results suggest that EU integration and legacies of the past shape both the structural and the ideational context for domestic decision-making elites in Central and Eastern Europe, and may act not only as constraints but also as enabling conditions facilitating the global economic integration of the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carter Elisabeth, Poguntke Thomas

How European Integration Changes National Parties: Evidence from a 15-Country Study

in *West European Politics*, vol. 33, n. 2, march , 297-324

ABSTRACT: This article examines the impact of European integration on the balance of power within national political parties. It does this by drawing on the results of a survey of key actors in up to 55 parties in the 15 pre-2004 enlargement member states. The analyses show that, when they are involved in EU-level decision-making, party elites are relatively powerful vis--vis their national parties and that in a number of instances their intra-party power has also increased over time. National parties have, to some extent, attempted to constrain their elites but appear to be fighting a losing battle. Although there are some minor differences by country and by party, the empowerment of party elites is a general phenomenon. This research provides an empirical dimension to the existing research on the Europeanisation of national political parties and presents an important substantiation of the widely discussed democratic deficit that exists within the EU system of governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jung Alexander, Mongelli Francesco Paolo, Moutot Philippe

How are the Eurosystem's Monetary Policy Decisions Prepared? A Roadmap

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 319-345

The monetary policy framework of the Eurosystem has received considerable attention in recent years: there is a well-established and rich literature on the price stability objective, as well as the two-pillar strategy of the ECB. This is less the case for the regular monetary policy preparations and the decision-making process. This article provides an insider's roadmap to the procedures to prepare monetary policy decisions by the Governing Council of the ECB. The architecture of the Eurosystem permits the processing and analysis of a vast amount of national and aggregate economic, financial and monetary data and assists the Governing Council in taking monetary policy decisions – and this



each month. Our aim is to describe the role of a variety of committees and sub-committees that prepare and support the monetary policy decision-making process. A federal organization is at the heart of this process. At the top of the pyramid of information there is a two-tiered committee structure with the Executive Board taking the lead in bringing together most of the economic, financial and monetary analyses, and the Governing Council utilizing that information, for its monthly economic and monetary analyses.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zandee Dick

**How governments should compensate for defence spending cuts
in Europe's World**, Issue 14, Spring

Many European governments cut their defence budgets last year, intensifying fears that the EU's military outreach, and thus the goals of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), will be seriously weakened. The European Defence Agency's Dick Zandee puts his case for a European approach to defence cooperation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lewis Jeffrey

**How institutional environments facilitate co-operative negotiation styles in EU decision-making
in Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 648-664

Thinking of the European Union's (EU's) Council system in terms of institutional environments can help generalize the scope conditions under which co-operative styles of negotiation develop and become durable over time. Analytically, we expect to find that those institutional environments which code higher on a set of four independent variables should exhibit more robust patterns of co-operative negotiation; that is, are highly insulated from domestic audiences, transact with wide scope, high interaction intensity, and/or maintain a high density of norms and group standards. This in turn offers a concrete application of the sociological argument that EU institutions not only matter, but shows how, by building legitimation and appropriateness standards into the negotiation process, institutional environments can place limits on instrumentalism.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

HELBLING MARC, HOEGLINGER DOMINIC, WÜEST BRUNO

How political parties frame European integration

in European Journal of Political Research, vol. 49, issue 4, June , 495-521

ABSTRACT: This article analyses how political parties frame European integration, and gauges the consistency of their argumentation. Over the course of investigation, one can see how actors' positions are justified, and how the European Union is perceived (i.e., what forces give rise to Euroscepticism and Europeanism). It is argued here that the parties' framing of issues depends on the interests they traditionally defend at the national level, their general positions on European integration, and whether or not they belong to the established political actors in their respective countries. The



coding approach enables the relation of frames to actors and positions, moving beyond the techniques employed by existing studies that analyse the media presentation of European integration. Sophisticated frame categorisations are provided to capture the complex structure of argumentation, going beyond a simple dichotomy of economic and cultural frames. Relying on a large and original media dataset covering the period 2004-2006, six Western European countries are investigated.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hague William

How the UK's new Tory-led government sees its EU policy in Europe's World, Issue 15, Summer

Britain's new Foreign Secretary William Hague says that in spite of his party's frank criticism of some aspects of the EU, the Union also deserves considerable credit for making Europe freer, more stable and more prosperous.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gros Daniel, Mayer Thomas

How to Deal with the Threat of Sovereign Default in Europe: Towards a Euro(pean) Monetary Fund in Intereconomics, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 64-68

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Koutsiaras Nikos

How to Spend it: Putting a Labour Market Modernization Fund in Place of the European Globalization Adjustment Fund in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 617-640

In this article a case is made for the establishment of a Labour Market Modernization Fund aiming at stimulating national labour market reforms, via rewarding effective policy effort and alleviating political economic constraints. It also is argued that the Labour Market Modernization Fund should take the place and, at least, the dowry of the European Globalization Adjustment Fund, the economics of which is weak and its politics questionable, hence making its relevance doubtful and poorly providing for meaningful adaptation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Elie

How to stop anti-crisis policies from becoming protectionist



in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

"Industrial policy" has long been a euphemism in most parts of Europe for economic nationalism, and the problem is getting worse. Elie Cohen looks at the policy aftermath of the financial crisis and sets out a framework for EU-level industrial policymaking.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Parson Craig

How – and how much – are sociological approaches to the EU distinctive?

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 143-159

ABSTRACT: Though sociological approaches to European Union (EU) studies are diverse, most share a distinctive conceptual and methodological core. Their novel project is to set aside most of the theoretical dichotomies that have organized earlier EU literature – like national/supranational, state/society, objective/subjective, ideational/material – and to attempt to pose open-ended questions about the spatial and interpretive 'fields of action' that actors in the European Union perceive around themselves. Behind this project looms the figure of Pierre Bourdieu, even if he is invoked to varying degrees by the members of this emerging school. The strength of Bourdieu-inspired approaches is that they cut through analytic dichotomies to offer nuanced, concrete accounts of practical action. Their weakness is that their rejection of old dichotomies leaves them unwilling to state how much they are distinctive from other approaches. This essay suggests that a re-engagement with old distinctions will allow these scholars to unpack, recombine and so strengthen their aspirations to a novel synthesis.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jean Carlo

I riflessi geopolitici della crisi dell'euro

in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud" , 198-203

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gasparini Casari Vittorio

I fondamenti del diritto amministrativo europeo

in *Archivio giuridico*, n. 3 , 283-300

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palermo Francesco

I mutamenti costituzionali informali dell'Unione europea
in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1748 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rossi Lucia Serena

I principi enunciati dalla sentenza della Corte costituzionale tedesca sul Trattato di Lisbona: un'ipoteca sul futuro dell'integrazione europea?

in *Rivista di diritto internazionale*, vol. XCII, fascicolo 4 , 993-1018

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Murkens Jo Eric Khushal

Identity trumps Integration. The Lisbon Treaty in the German Federal Constitutional Court

in *Staat*, vol. 48, issue 4 , 517-1052

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiroux R.

Identité européenne, identité nationale, identité politique

in *Revue administrative (Ia)*, n. 373 - Janvier-février , 99-109

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ingravallo Ivan

Il Kosovo tra l'amministrazione delle Nazioni Unite e le prospettive di ammissione all'Unione europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 2 , 528-546

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Immediato Miriam

Il Trattato di Lisbona e la Carta dei diritti fondamentali dell'Unione europea di fronte al Parlamento italiano
in *Diritto comunitario e degli scambi internazionali*, n. 4 , 689 - 720

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Furlan Federico

Il dopo Trattato di Lisbona: chi guiderà la politica estera dell'Unione europea?
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, marzo , 139-141

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lorenzon Sara

Il dopo Trattato di Lisbona: completezza ed effettività dei rimedi giurisdizionali di fronte alla Corte di giustizia
in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, marzo , 135-138

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bauman, Zygmunt, Touraine, Alain

Il futuro dell'Europa
in *MicroMega*, n. 5 , 215-221

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Munari Francesco

Il programma GMES. Un laboratory case per testare le nuove frontiere (spaziali) del diritto dell'Unione europea
in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 3 , 563 ff.

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gfeller Aurélie Élisia

Imagining European Identity: French Elites and the American Challenge in the Pompidou–Nixon Era in Contemporary European History, vol. 19, n. 2, May , 133-149

Charles de Gaulle has cast a long shadow over French political history and history writing. In exploring the French response to the United States' 1973 'Year of Europe' initiative, this article challenges the dominant scholarly paradigm, which emphasises continuity between the 1960s and the 1970s. Drawing on a wide range of French and US archives, it demonstrates that renewed concerns about US power spurred the French elites both to reappraise the value of collective European action in foreign policy and to foster a pioneering concept: a politically anchored – as opposed to a geographically circumscribed – 'European identity'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haar Laura N.

Industrial Restructuring in Romania from a Bilateral Trade Perspective: Manufacturing Exports to the EU from 1995 to 2006

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 5, July , 779-805

The article presents an analysis of changes in the volume, structure and quality of Romanian manufacturing exports to the EU since 1995 in order to determine the nature and extent of industrial restructuring in Romania. We argue that the observed five-fold increase in the volume of manufactured exports from Romania to the EU over more than a decade-long period, although it is a positive development, still hides a persistent reliance upon labour-intensive and low value-added products. Only towards the end of the examined period have Romania's export patterns begun to resemble those of the more advanced Central and East European countries, reflecting the more important role played by intra-industry exports of differentiated products, the gradual transition from labour intensive, low valued-added exports to more technology-intensive ones and the improvement in product quality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pijpers Roos

International Employment Agencies and Migrant Flexiwork in an Enlarged European Union

in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, n. 7, August , 1079-1097

In the literature on migrant networks, the constitutive role of employers and recruiting actors remains underexposed, despite a persistent economic demand for migrant labour which is cheap, readily available and easily dismissed. Aiming to further understand how the recruitment of migrant labour by employers is organised, this paper focuses on the example of international employment agencies (IEAs). It is argued that these agencies are currently the anchors of the



circular labour migration between Poland and the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, temporary staffing is a fully legal and common phenomenon, allowing agencies to transfer part of the Polish employment from the underground to a more visible presence. When viewed through the lens of geographical and work-organisation literature on the issue of labour flexibility, these migrant workers could be named migrant flexiworkers. Apart from analysing the origins and current functioning of the IEAs, the paper discusses their development prospects and other more normative aspects of migrant flexiwork.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

European Economy News

Interview with Commissioner Olli Rehn

in **European Economy News**, April 2010 – Issue 17

Olli Rehn, the new Economic and Monetary Affairs Commissioner, took office on 10 February 2010 following endorsement of the whole Commission line-up by the European Parliament. The Finn was previously Commissioner for Enlargement and has a long political career at European level as a Member of the European Parliament, Economic Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister of Finland, and Head of Cabinet of former Finnish Commissioner Liikanen. Here Commissioner Rehn tells European Economy News about his vision for his five-year term of office.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wickens Mike

Is the Euro the Success that Everyone Seems to Think?

in **Open Economies Review**, Volume 21, Number 1, 183-185

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Onado Marco

Is the Larosière Proposal on European Financial Regulation on the Right Path?

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 1, March

The financial crisis has prompted an extensive debate on the lessons to be learned, particularly from a regulatory point of view, and especially in Europe where the crisis could mean a serious setback for financial integration. The Larosière Report has set out guidelines for improving the European regulatory framework and has inspired a proposal for European legislation. Although the Report has been praised for its effort to overhaul European financial regulation, many details are still vague. In particular, there are seven points at the macro-level of prudential supervision on which clearer and tougher solutions are needed. Furthermore, there are two unresolved problems in the proposals for micro-supervision. It is important to take all of these issues into account in the future discussion on European legislation.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pleines Heiko

Is this the way to Brussels? CEE civil society involvement in EU governance

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 229-246

Whereas state actors from new EU member countries receive formal representation and voting rights that safeguard against their marginalisation in the system of EU governance, civil society organisations from new member states find it much harder to gain access to decision-making processes at the EU level. However, as many of them work on issues that are now (at least partly) decided at the EU level, participation in EU governance should become an integral part of their strategy. Based on a quantitative assessment of membership data for European umbrella organisations and on case studies for which interviews with leading civil society actors were conducted, this article gives a first comparative assessment of the actual participation of civil society organisations from the Central and East European member states in EU governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McKibben Heather Elko

Issue characteristics, issue linkage, and states' choice of bargaining strategies in the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 694-707

How do the character and distribution of issues (i.e., issue linkage) affect the choice of bargaining strategies in the European Union (EU)? I argue that despite several important steps taken in the current literature, the theoretical and empirical evaluation of the impact of issue characteristics and issue linkage on bargaining strategies in the EU remains an important path for future research. I briefly review this literature and highlight gaps in our current understanding of these effects. I then build on this discussion to develop empirically testable hypotheses for future work in this research programme. After deriving these hypotheses, I highlight several difficulties related to conceptualization, measurement and research design that future research must overcome in order to empirically test these hypotheses in a rigorous and systematic way. I then conclude by arguing that overcoming these difficulties, though challenging, is a worthwhile endeavor in the study of EU bargaining.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Conti Nicolò, Memoli Vincenzo

Italian Parties and Europe: Problems of Identity, Representation and Scope of Governance in the Euromanifestos (1989-2004)

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 2, June, Special Issue: Which Europe Do Parties Want? A View from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain , 167-182

This article analyses the nature of Italian political parties' attitudes towards the EU. Three main dimensions of the EU process and of its impact on the member states are focused upon: identity, representation and scope of governance. We



document how these three dimensions structure the programmatic offer on the EU of the party system and how this structure has changed over time. Then, we analyse the preferences of the individual parties along these three dimensions so as to document their attitudes toward the EU. Finally, we conclude by explaining the attitudes of the Italian parties in the light of the main theoretical arguments available in the literature. The analysis shows that the Italian case has over-stepped the exceptional consensus on the EU that emerged in the country by the end of the 1980s, and has joined the typical pattern of competition on the EU that opposes the centre-left to the centre-right and, less intensely than elsewhere, moderate to radical parties.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Abbey Tristan, Palter Scott

Jean-Claude Trichet, Call Your Office

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 177, April

The European Central Bank is trying very hard not to get stuck bailing out Greece.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guliyeva Gulara

Joining Forces or Reinventing the Wheel? The EU and the Protection of National Minorities

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2, 287-305

This article explores a model of minority protection that the European Union (EU) could adopt. The discussion first assesses the possibility for the EU to join forces with the Council of Europe through internalising, or even acceding to, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). This would provide numerous benefits, such as provision of consistent benchmarks of minority protection when applied to candidate States in the accession process to the EU, availability of mechanisms to resolve remaining issues relating to minorities within the EU post-accession and elimination of double standards between 'new' and 'old' Member States. Yet these developments are politically sensitive and prone to create procedural difficulties. The alternative option of an EU regime of minority protection is discussed next, focusing on the impact EU law may have on minority rights in Member States. Based on this analysis, the article concludes that an attempt by the EU to develop a coherent system of minority protection may result in reinventing the wheel. Therefore, it is suggested that the EU may be better placed to encourage candidate countries and Member States' implementation of the FCNM.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cartabia Marta, Lamarque Elisabetta, Tega Diletta

L'Agenzia dei diritti fondamentali dell'Unione europea. Uno sguardo all'origine di un nuovo strumento di promozione dei diritti

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 3, 531 ff.

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dastoli Pier Virgilio

L'Europa ci riprova

in *Mulino (il)*, n. 1, gennaio-febbraio, 2010 , 78-83

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luis J.-V.

L'Union européenne après Lisbonne. Les problèmes d'une "transition"

in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 5-6 , 631-638

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

1 - 6

L'Union économique et monétaire dans la tourment des déficits publics

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 1 , Prietro Catherine

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Amalfitano Chiara

L'acquis communautaire: da esperienza giuridica a fattore di integrazione

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 4 , 789 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kaddouri Hamid

L'ambivalence des interactions entre l'immigration et la cohésion sociale – Le cas de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 184-196

Social cohesion is an ongoing process which concentrates upon establishing shared objectives and values whilst at the



same time offering equal opportunities for all of the members of the European community. This process is founded upon the tenets of trust, hope and reciprocity amongst all individuals. There are multiple factors which influence social cohesion as an entity. Nevertheless, we are witnessing recently a focalising of analysis upon immigration as an element of major concern. In Europe for example, considering the antagonisms and the ambivalences which pull at the social cohesion of the European Union are the direct consequence of the latest extensions to the East, but also a result of the significant number of immigrant communities on European soil. Admittedly, this untamed and unmanaged flow of migrants can pose a threat to social cohesion in so much, putting into jeopardy the capacity for certain societies to welcome and assure the well-being of all its individuals. Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic, even dismissive a view to link immigration and social cohesion together in a purely negative context. The relationship between the two phenomena are ambivalent. This relationship swings between being complementary to being antagonistic, passing through phases of indifference, since the fundamentals which influence this relationship can be either complementary or can alternatively fuel the heterogeneity are not reunited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

von Ungern-Sternberg Antje

L'arrêt Lisbonne de la Cour constitutionnelle fédérale allemande, la fin de l'intégration européenne?
in *Revue du droit public et de la science politique en France et à l'étranger*, n. 1 , 171-183

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hanf Dominik

L'encadrement constitutionnel de l'appartenance de l'Allemagne à l'Union européenne. L'apport de l'arrêt "Lisbonne" de la Cour constitutionnelle fédérale
in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol 45, n. 5-6 , 639-710

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hanf D.

L'encadrement constitutionnel de l'appartenance de l'Allemagne à l'Union européenne. L'apport de l'arrêt bLisbonne de la Court constitutionnelle fédérale
in *Cahiers de Droit Européen*, n. 5-6 , 639-710

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Popovic Dusan

L'harmonisation du droit privé des pays des Balkans Occidentaux avec le droit communautaire

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 170-178

The process of domestic law harmonisation in Western Balkans countries with community laws was being done both in the period before the execution of the stabilisation and association agreements and in the period following the execution thereof. Yet the character of harmonisation changes when there is an association agreement: it switches from a wilful and unilateral phase to a mandatory and contractual phase. Whatever the nature of the harmonisation of the private law with community law, it seems to us that its outcome could sometimes led to law unification instead of a bringing together of the domestic law with the private law. Thus, paradoxically, harmonisation becomes a unification tool. That situation seems to prevail particularly in some business law branches.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Martinico Giuseppe

L'idea (statunitense) di Europa: uno studio sulla dottrina comparatistica americana in tema di integrazione europea

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 1 , 251-276

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Beauvais Grégory

L'intégration dans l'Union européenne des microétats tiers: du rapprochement à l'adhésion?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 538, mai , 315-322

European and community law is implemented beyond the geographical and political borders of the European Union. European third countries - whether candidates or not - are therefore concerned by that law. Among those countries, micro-countries enjoy an atypical situation. They do not wish to apply for membership, but their survival as sovereign States depends a great deal on the legal and political relationships they maintain with the Union and member countries. Hence the increasing integration of European and community law in their legal systems. This study reviews the rapprochement of micro-third countries and the European Union and wonders whether it does not announce future membership.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jamart Annick

La Belgique, microcosme de l'Europe?

in *Esprit*, Juin 2010

The full text is free:



www.esprit.presse.fr/archive/review/article.php?code=35682&folder=1

Belgium as a microcosm of Europe?

Why is political paralysis so protracted in Belgium? Although the prospect of a confederation seems to be inevitable, the path leading to it is both a chaos and a trauma, with every stage a golden opportunity for irresponsible behaviour. Still, if Belgium were to strike a proper balance between central and federal government, this would come as an interesting model for the European Union, whose powerlessness the country rather looks like a mirror image.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Piccardo Lara

La Comunità/Unione Europea, l'ambiente e le relazioni esterne. Nuove prospettive di ricerca negli studi storici in Ventunesimo Secolo. Rivista di Studi sulle Transizioni, Anno IX, n. 21, febbraio

Review article

Laura Scichilone

L'Europa e la sfida ecologica. Storia della politica ambientale europea (1969-1998), Il Mulino, 2008

Alessandra Bitumi, Gabriele D'Ottavio, Giuliana Laschi (a cura di)

La Comunità europea e le relazioni esterne, 1957-1992

Clueb, 2008

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Novic Elisa

La Cour de justice des CE face aux carences de l'ordre juridique international in Les Cahiers de droit europeen, Vol. 45, n. 3-4 , 375-408

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Valcárcel Darío

La Europa estratégica: el vuelo del A400M in Política Exterior, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La Grèce et l'urgence d'un gouvernement économique européen

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 537, avril , 209-210

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blanco-Morales LimonesPilar

La Presidencia Española de la UE 2010: Contribuciones del Derecho Internacional privado para el espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 18/ 2009

También en la perspectiva del Derecho internacional privado resulta obligado subrayar que la Presidencia española de la Unión Europa se enmarca en los colosales desafíos que conlleva la entrada en vigor del Tratado de Lisboa. Huelga reiterar su significado para impulso al espacio de libertad, seguridad y justicia, ámbito en el que se enmarcan, prima facie, las competencias comunitarias que afectan particularmente al DIPr, si bien no debemos olvidar la trascendencia de otras políticas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fernández Sola Natividad

La Presidencia de España del Consejo de la Unión Europea. Prioridades en Política Exterior, de Seguridad y Defensa

in *Revista Electrónica de Estudios Internacionales*, Número 18/ 2009

Del 1 de enero al 30 de junio de 2010 España asume la Presidencia del Consejo de la UE, por cuarta vez desde la incorporación a la Comunidad Europea en 1986. En el desempeño de esta función que no es un ejercicio meramente administrativo, tiene ante sí, además de un reto organizativo, una agenda detallada de temas a abordar con carácter prioritario. La experiencia de mandatos anteriores y un análisis de la evolución del papel de la Presidencia en el proceso de integración, confirman su rol clave en el impulso, negociación, coordinación y representación de la Unión.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bossuat Gérard

La Quatrième République et les Traités de Rome

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 13, n. 2-3



The Fourth Republic in France is always perceived as an unloved political system due to the failure of the Algerian crisis solution and the political instability. Is it fair? Certainly not regarding the Western Europe unity. Indeed in spite of the economic difficulties of France, issued of the extreme caution of Premier Guy Mollet to preserve the welfare and therefore his weakness to fight against inflation, the government took the risk of the Common Market, the most dangerous of the two Rome Treaties. According to the witness of Emile Noël, former General Secretary of the European Commission, Guy Mollet and his staff, with the French Foreign Minister, Christian Pineau and the under-secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, the young Maurice Faure, decided to negotiate new European institutions which entered France in a new process of unity in Europe. Mollet thought the European Treaties (Common Market and Euratom) would drive France to walk towards the "real independence" in order to promote all the potentially of his country. More, from the point of view of Guy Mollet, the atlantist, the two Treaties were giving Europe to become a partner of the United States for creating friendship with USSR and to reduce the tension between the two super-powers. The Rome Treaties opened the way to a Political united Europe. They were the means of giving the under-developed countries a true post colonial emancipation in the economic and social fields. But the French government said that never Europe will be strong without the British. This article founded on archives and works pertaining to the unknown story of this strategic decision shows how France was entering the process of unity after the rejection of the European Defence Community by the Parliament in August 1954 and what was the role of a politician, Guy Mollet, convinced of the great interest of the European unity for France. He reached this goal with realism and skilfulness in spite of the general reluctance of the political and economic elite. Times have changed and this governmental team push the French Parliament to approve the ratification of the Rome Treaties. This article presents the European choice of the Socialist Guy Mollet, the deep difficulties to overcome them and the foreign constraints on France, then the compromises which finally explain the success story of the Rome Treaties in France. Therefore the Rome Treaties were a "audacious gamble" according to one of his father, Christian Pineau.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duplá Tomás

La UE y sus vecinos del Sur: agenda europea para España

in **Política Exterior**, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Agapito Serrano Rafael

La Unión Europea y la globalización

in **Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo** , n. 12

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/05DeAgapito.htm#abstract>



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Roldán Barbero Javier

La Unión Europea y la soberanía de España

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 12

El estudio analiza, desde una perspectiva general pero con abundantes ejemplos concretos y prácticos, la remodelación de la soberanía española a consecuencia de su pertenencia al proceso de construcción europeo. Si bien formal y nominalmente la soberanía permanece inalterada, y la UE la respeta expresamente, es indudable que nuestro país se ve condicionado y determinado por el Derecho de la Unión, por lo que su autonomía decisoria se ve recortada, especialmente en el ámbito económico, objeto del epígrafe II del artículo (los otros dos epígrafes, el I y el III, tienen un carácter más genérico). Es, en efecto, en el plano económico donde la integración europea ha alcanzado avances más significativos. Sin embargo, esta soberanía limitada o compartida resulta querida y alentada por España, pues resulta saludable y hasta necesaria para hacer frente a los retos y funciones, tanto internos como externos, que tiene por delante el Estado

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/10Roldan.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Coosemans Thierry

La composition du Parlement européen élu en juin 2009 et les nouveaux rapports de force entre ses groupes politiques

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 98-109

A new European parliament emerged from the June 2009 elections. Its 736 elected representatives will represent some 375 million European citizens coming from 27 European member countries in the 2009-2014 Parliament. The vote mainly resulted in a victory of right wing or centre-right parties to the detriment of socialist or social-democrats parties. Liberal party representation remains stable overall, though low in new member countries. Green parties continue their progression. Both the far right and the far left have variable results. The progress of euro-scepticism is real, though not as significant as expected. Within the European Parliament, those results translate in a reinforcement of the first place of the PPE Group, however amputated of its conservative fraction, which is creating its own group. The PPE group beat the socialist group, which changed its name to Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S & D). The ADLE, Greens-ALE and GUE/NGL groups retain their weight. Though there is no far right, euro-sceptic parties are gathered in a group named "Europe of Freedom and Democracy". Those relative balances are reflected in the allotment (according to the D'Hondt system) of commission and delegation chairmanships and vice-chairmanships. The European Parliament presidency is covered by a technical agreement entered into by the PPE and the S & D group, allowing the election of the former Polish prime minister Jerzy Buzek.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Kotzur Markus, Michael Lothar

La construcción del Derecho constitucional europeo
in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 12

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/12perfil.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guérot Ulrike

La crisi dell'euro vista da Berlino

in *Aspenia*, n. 49, luglio, "Passaggio a sud", 210-215

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Quirico Roberto

La democrazia si è fermata a Bucarest. Limiti e prospettive del processo di democratizzazione nei paesi ex-sovietici nuovi vicini dell'Unione europea

in *Rivista Italiana di Scienza Politica*, Vol. XL, Numero 1, Aprile, 59-82

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rask Madsen Mikael

La fabrique des traités européens. Une analyse de la genèse et évolution de la charte des droits fondamentaux

in *Revue française de science politique*, volume 60, n. 2, avril

L'article analyse la genèse de la Charte européenne des droits fondamentaux comme un exemple de fabrique d'un traité européen. Le processus de négociation de la Charte y est examiné à la fois comme un processus à court terme et à long terme. S'agissant du processus à court terme, l'analyse met en lumière les efforts déployés en vue d'établir un nouveau cadre de négociation sous la forme d'une Convention. En ce qui concerne la Charte dans la longue durée, l'article souligne deux structures sociales et politiques préexistantes : le champ des droits de l'homme et les pratiques établies de négociation des traités de l'Union européenne.

This article analyses the making of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights as an example of European



treaty-making. Using a structural constructivist approach, the article examines the treaty negotiation process as both a long-term and short-term process. In terms of a short-term process, the analysis highlights the efforts made at establishing a new framework of bargaining in the form of a Convention. In respect to the charter in the *longue durée*, the article emphasizes two preexisting social and political structures: the already existing field of human rights and the established practices of EU treaty negotiation. The article generally argues that these pre-existing structures and practices had considerable impact on both the proceedings and the outcomes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Danic Olivia

La fuyante responsabilité de la Communauté pour les dommages qu'elle cause: Retour sur les affaires FIAMM et FEDON

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 128-135

As case law work, the non contractual responsibility of the Community is based on the general principles common to member country laws, that only the Court of Justice of the European Union can determine; The FIAMM and Fedon cases, taking place on the side of the banana war, seemed to offer an opportunity to set the terms thereof, specifically in the event of a breach of international law, or in the absence of any unlawful behaviour. Such was not the case, at least for the second part. Indeed the Court confirms that it is not possible to claim a breach of WTO agreements to seek the Community's tort liability except for exceptional cases, which do not include a decision by the ORD whose implementation time has expired. Regarding non-faulty liability, the Court's ruling was particularly awaited, all the more since the first instance court had not hesitated to consecrate the principle thereof, failing applying it to the case. The Court, listening to various considerations, refuse to acknowledge an objective liability, by giving a strict interpretation of the treaty and by emphasising the community's lawmaker's freedom in the framework of its law-making sphere. Yet the principle of such liability for non law-making acts does not seem to be ruled out permanently.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Serrano Gerardo

La génesis del Tratado de Lisboa

in *Cuadernos de pensamiento político*, Nr 25, enero-marzo 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zagrebelky Gustavo

La identidad europea

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 12

El texto es una carta que el autor remite a los asistentes al Congreso celebrado en Granada en mayo en honor de Peter



Häberle, y en la que, además de disculparse y lamentar no poder asistir a éste, afronta, aun someramente, el tema inicialmente planteado para su intervención en el mismo: la identidad europea. Al respecto el autor lejos de afrontar la cuestión desde una perspectiva jurídica e historiográfica, asume una perspectiva crítica por cuanto que, de un lado, el Derecho es incapaz de abarcar íntegramente el tema, y por otro la historia de Europa resulta llena de contradicciones superadas, desde las que difícilmente cabe construir un futuro común. La cuestión así no es tanto de donde se venga, si a dónde se quiera ir, lo que a su vez supone un elemento volitivo de decisión

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/01Zagrebelky.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Woelk Jens

La lunga transizione della Bosnia ed Erzegovina "da Dayton a Bruxelles"

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 2 , 509-527

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Calangione Donatella Paola

La personalità jurídica dell'Unione Europea

in *Politico (II)*, n. 223, anno XXXV, gennaio-aprile , 207-229

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to analyze the question of legal personality of European Union to show the interpretation of this current aspect. The EU's personality has been recognized progressively to the Member States and to the International Organizations. The legal personality is a kind of "added value", vested by an appropriate international rule ad hoc to recognize personality to all corporate bodies, which have got the typical features of the sovereignty: people and territory. Recent years have seen a new debate on the future of Europe. In 2001, after the Treaty of Nice, the European Council adopted the Declaration on the future of EU, committing the Union to becoming more democratic, transparent and effective. It agreed to draft the Treaty establishing a Constitution for the Europe. This was the basis for the text adopted in the 2004, signed in Rome by the Heads of State and Government of the Member States. The text set out the values of the EU. It put the Charter of Fundamental Rights at the heart of the EU law, strengthening the guarantee of civil and political rights for all European citizens. The draft Treaty gave personality to the EU enabling it to sign International Agreements. The Berlin Declaration of the 2007 had ment the symbol of a reunited Europe. In the end of 2007 had been signed the Treaty of Lisbon by the 27 Member States. Our reality, in a so rapid evolution, faces the globalization of the economics, the climatic changes, the demographic evolution, the safety and the energy: the Europeans must to learn to have confidence in EU. The Treaty of Lisbon has gone into effect in the end of 2009.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lang Alessandra

La politica di allargamento dell'Unione europea

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 2 , 477-491

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zucca Fabio

La politica internazionale delle autonomie locali. Un contributo per una «diversa» storia dell'integrazione europea

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 6, n. 3, settembre-dicembre , 129-146

ABSTRACT: This essay is the result of a ten-year study and deals, from a historical perspective, with the relationship between the local authorities, the European integration process, and international relations.

In addition to providing indications and perspectives for new research, it shows how the international relations between the municipalities, a long-term historical factor, regained strength and awareness after World War II thanks to the *jumlaiges*, a formula invented by members of the French federalist movement,

La Fédération, which resulted in cultural-administrative exchanges and a strong political commitment to the construction of the United States of Europe. The European local authorities and their associations, in particular the Council of European Municipalities (CEM), were also the promoters of original solutions during the process of European integration, such as the creation of an Institute for European Municipal Credit, which eventually failed due to the opposition of the national bureaucracies, or the activation of the European Commission of Local Authorities under the Council of Europe, whose model can be viewed as the forerunner of the Council of Regions and of other organs of the European Union.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Deschaux-Beaume Delphine

La politique européenne de sécurité et de défense et les parlements nationaux: une comparaison franco-allemande

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 179-183

The European Security and Defence Policy (PESD) that emerged in 1999 during the European summit in Cologne, has just celebrated its tenth anniversary. Faced with the growing number of the EU's military and civilian-military operations, the question of the parliament's control over that policy, both domestically and on an European level, is now asked. Yet when one reviews the issue including by comparing the cases of France and Germany, it appears that the answer to the issue of the legitimisation of military strength is far from being consensual in the European Union. The use of strength differs not only from one side of the Atlantic to the other, but also between European countries, so strong national



military cultures remain, so closely linked they are to the historical elaboration of States. Such differences are particularly translated in the practice of parliament control over the military forces by governments, as shown in this article. In addition the weakness of the European Parliament in the area of PESD does not allow, for the time being to consider a real democratic control of the European defence policy at European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La première Commission sous le régime du Traité de Lisbonne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 73-75

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Tizzano Antonio, Gencarelli Bruno

La procédure préjudicielle d'urgence devant la Cour de justice de l'Union Européenne

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 4 , 923 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Salazar Lorenzo

La protection des intérêts financiers de l'UE: un grand avenir derrière elle...

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 539, juin , 356-361

The article aims at pointing out the fundamental contributions made by the area of the protection of the financial interests (PFI) of the European Community to the establishment and development of a criminal law system of the European Union; a contribution which still continues. From the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty up until now, various texts adopted in the field of the protection of the EC's financial interests have played a "cutting-edge" role for most of the instruments which compose the "Common Space on Justice" nowadays. The article demonstrates this continuous role by referring to the most original and innovative content of these texts, starting at the very first proposals of the Commission in 1976 and presenting the relevant case law of the Court of Justice (on sanctions, the principle of assimilation and the criminal law competence of the Community). Examples for this "cutting-edge" role are, for instance, the initial approaches of approximation in the field of criminal law, the system for introducing a liability of legal persons, the obligation to provide for value confiscation, the "principle of assimilation", which is already incorporated in the EC Treaty, the legal basis for the establishment of a European Public Prosecutor and the new competences of the Community in the criminal-law field which are both provided for in the Lisbon Treaty. In its final part, the article presents some possible perspectives in view of the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, including those which are provided for by the new Art. 325 TFEU. Accordingly, the new article not only offers relevant potential for further innovation, but, in view of the future scenario, it seems to be the only legal basis for a criminal law approximation in the area of PFI binding all



Member States. This means that the PFI still has an exciting future behind...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

La présidence de l'Union européenne, enjeux et luttes de pouvoir

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 141-142

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häberle Peter

La regresiva "Sentencia Lisboa" como "Maastricht-II" anquilosada

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 12

El autor realiza un comentario crítico de la Sentencia Lisboa del TCFA. Comienza dando cuenta de la controversia que ha suscitado en Alemania tanto en el plano doctrinal como en el político. Seguidamente señala los que pueden considerarse aspectos positivos y negativos de la sentencia. Por lo que se refiere a la vertiente positiva, menciona la atención al Derecho comparado, el hecho de que se haga derivar el principio democrático de la dignidad de la persona, la apelación a las tradiciones constitucionales "comunes europeas" y el uso del concepto de "responsabilidad sobre la integración" entre otras cuestiones.

En cuanto a los aspectos negativos, que le llevan a definirla como una sentencia retrospectiva y como "Maastricht II", considera que la sentencia se construye desde una teoría general del Estado muy alemana pero ya desfasada. Para el autor, el TCFA no ha tenido en cuenta el debate doctrinal que siguió a la sentencia Maastricht. Por ese motivo, sigue anclado en una concepción obsoleta del Estado y de la soberanía y ha perdido la oportunidad de intervenir en el debate europeo desde la "razón constitucional" en lugar de hacerlo desde la "razón estatal" de Alemania. También considera cuestionable el concepto de democracia que utiliza el tribunal, centrado en la democracia representativa y poco consciente de la función de protección de las minorías que actualmente incorpora. Critica igualmente la minusvaloración que el TCFA realiza de la ciudadanía de la Unión así como el concepto de identidad constitucional que maneja el tribunal. Para el autor, en todo caso, el TCFA no puede arrogarse la condición de garante único de la identidad constitucional alemana. En última instancia, la sentencia contradice el proceso evolutivo de constitucionalización de Europa y permanece anclada en una teoría del Estado retrospectiva en lugar de recurrir a una teoría constitucional europea que, debe reconocerse, no podrá ser desarrollada unilateralmente sino elaborada por representantes de las 27 comunidades científicas. En definitiva, la unidad jurídica europea en la „diversidad“ no se verá fortalecida sino puesta en peligro por la sentencia Lisboa

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/14Haberle.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mazuyer Emmanuelle, de la Rosa Stéphane

La régulation sociale européenne et l'autorégulation : le défi de la cohérence dans le recours à la soft law
in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol. 45, n. 3-4 , 295-334

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pignal Stanley

La terza sfida per Bruxelles

in *Aspenia*, n. 48, marzo, "Economia e Felicità" , 180-186

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bruno Randolph L., Rovelli Riccardo

Labour Market Policies and Outcomes in the Enlarged EU

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 661-685

We document and compare labour market institutions, policies and outcomes in the EU Member States, for the period between 1999 and 2006. Higher employment rates are in general positively associated with measures of policy generosity, especially with the use of active labour market policies (ALMP), and negatively with institutions and policies which induce rigidity in the labour market. We also find evidence that the relation between ALMP and employment levels is non-monotonic and that it is conditional on the informal institutions prevailing in different countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Huberdeau Philippe

Le "compromis de Luxembourg" est-il encore d'actualité après l'entrée en vigueur du traité de Lisbonne ?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 539, juin , 362-367

The 1966 Luxembourg compromise impacted European institutional practices deeply and lastingly, prompting more consensual decision-making processes, to the detriment of the qualified majority voting specified in the treaties. The last enlargement to 27 countries and the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty create a new context that weakens the inherent extent of the Luxembourg compromise text while perpetuating its spirit in the form of special procedures directly derived from it.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Haroche Pierre

Le Président du Conseil Européen: histoire d'un mythe constitutionnel

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 538, mai , 277-285

The general disappointment that followed the election of the first stable President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy reveals the basic ambiguity surrounding the European institutions and their relationship with citizens. On the one hand, there is the European system how it works, made of private negotiations and conciliatory personalities; on the other hand, there is the European system as it would like to be seen in order to win people's support, made of democratic debates and charismatic personalities embodying a strong European will. Thus, although the President of the European Council was first conceived to limit the power of the Commission, the context of referendums and the legitimacy crisis of European institutions favored its promotion in the public debate as a political leader. That presidential myth, rather than the actual definition of the function, is the origin of the disappointment that met the election of Herman van Rompuy. In fact, his role of consensus' facilitator, having no other resource than the trust of the European Council, encourages him to be discreet and to hold only depoliticized speeches that won't hurt any Member State.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thouvenin Jean-Marc

Le calvaire et la capitulation de Microsoft, ou la confirmation de la "puissance globale" du gendarme européen de la concurrence

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 76-78

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ziller J.

Le dialogue judiciaire et la Cour de Karlsruhe

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 1 , 93-98

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chaltiel Florence

Le droit, la crise économique et le pragmatisme européen – À propos du plan d'aide à la Grèce

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 539, juin , 345-348

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kokott Julianne

Le développement du droit civil européen vu de la Cour de justice européenne. Quel bénéfice pour le citoyen?

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 3 , 481 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maubernard Christophe

Le principe d'égalité de traitement: un principe cardinal du droit de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 539, juin , 373-378

The equal treatment principle is one of the basic principles of the European Union, and of many national legal systems in Europe. Gradually primary and derived law have extended its scope and extent. The European Union Court of Justice also pays careful attention to effective protection of the equal treatment principle. Recent rulings reinforce the impact of the principle, through the method of materialisation of general law principles within directives. The judge's and lawmaker's combined work thus ensures that the principle provide a role of cohesion between subjects of law, both in terms of the enjoyment or rights and of the guarantee thereof, including the jurisdictional guarantee. In spite of being so crucial, the equal treatment principle applies nonetheless differently depending on both the areas and on the subjects. Therefore it has not gained the universality that it may unquestionably claim.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Couzigou Irene

Le référendum français et la construction européenne

in *Revue de droit international et de droit comparé.*, Vol. 87 n. 1 , 30-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Habermas Jürgen

Le sort de l'Europe

in *Esprit*, Juillet 2010

Abstract

Que s'est-il passé en Allemagne pour que la solidarité européenne et la défense de l'euro aient été si tardives et si mesurées ? En retraçant le débat du côté allemand, le philosophe de Francfort constate les dégâts provoqués par le changement de génération au sein de la classe politique et, plus généralement, par le tournant historique en cours qui



fait croire aux Allemands qu'ils pourraient trouver leur voie indépendamment de l'intérêt européen.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Belot Céline

Le tournant identitaire des études consacrées aux attitudes à l'égard de l'Europe. Genèse, apports, limites.
in *Politique européenne* , n. 30 , 17-44

Malgré l'ancienneté des déclarations politiques relatives à l'identité européenne, l'analyse sociologique du processus d'identification des citoyens européens à l'entité politique européenne n'a vraiment pris corps qu'au tournant des années 2000. Les analyses quantitatives ont alors produit nombre de travaux visant à mieux prendre en compte la dimension affective - par opposition au soutien fondé sur l'évaluation et l'utilité - des attitudes à l'égard de l'intégration. L'article montre comment ces travaux convergent à la fois dans leurs résultats (la multi-dimensionnalité de ces attitudes, la persistance des variables sociales et l'importance du contexte national, l'identification à l'Europe entretenant des liens forts mais complexes avec l'identification à la nation) et dans leurs limites. Il permet de pointer le caractère lacunaire et limitatif des données quantitatives disponibles et rend compte de la difficulté d'analyser un phénomène aussi contextuel que l'identification à l'Europe.

Despite the early appearance of political declarations concerning European identity, the sociological analysis of the identification processes of citizens towards their new Union only started to take shape in the first years of the 21st century. Quantitative analysis thus led to many studies aiming to take into account the affective or emotional dimension of attitudes to integration - in opposition to support based on evaluation and utility. This article shows how these studies converge both in their results (the multidimensionality of these attitudes, the persistence of social variables and the importance of the national context, identifications with Europe maintaining strong but complex relations to the nations) and in their limitations. They draw attention to the lacunae and the limitations in the quantitative data available and reflect the difficulty in analyzing a phenomenon that is as context-dependant as identification to Europe

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lenaerts Koen

Le traité de Lisbonne et la protection juridictionnelle des particuliers en droit de l'Union
in *Les Cahiers de droit européen*, Vol 45, n. 5-6 , 711-745

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chiti Edoardo



Le trasformazioni delle agenzie europee

in *Rivista trimestrale di diritto pubblico*, n. 1 , 57 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sciannella Lucia G.

Le ultime concitate fasi di lavoro del “cantiere” europeo. Il “prima” e il “dopo” Lisbona tra forzature delle procedure e nuove prospettive per il futuro

in *Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo*, n. 4 , 1467 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schimmelfennig Frank, Scholtz Hanno

Legacies and Leverage: EU Political Conditionality and Democracy Promotion in Historical Perspective

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 3, May , 443-460

Previous studies have established strong and robust effects of EU political conditionality on democracy in the neighbouring countries. We test these effects against the claim that historical legacies condition the likelihood of successful democratisation—and possibly the EU's political conditionality as well. Based on a panel study of 36 countries of the Eastern and Mediterranean neighbourhood of the EU between 1988 and 2004, we show that cultural legacies of religious civilisation are indeed conducive to or inhibit democratisation, and reduce the effects of political conditionality, but they do not explain away the EU's role in promoting democratic consolidation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häde Ulrich

Legal Evaluation of a European Monetary Fund

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 69-72

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin

Legal Professionals or Political Entrepreneurs? Constitution Making as a Process of Social Construction and Political Mobilization

in *International Political Sociology* , Volume 4, Issue 2, June 2010 , 107-123



ABSTRACT

During 2002–2003, the European Convention prepared a draft treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe that was later reshuffled into the now in force Lisbon Treaty. Although the decision-making process at the Convention received considerable attention, little is known about the drafters themselves, both as individuals and as a group. In this article, I argue that the drafting of the constitutional treaty can be described as a process of social construction/political mobilization in which a transnational community of legal professionals/political entrepreneurs successfully put the issue of a European Constitution on the political agenda, and later framed the debates at the Convention, where a wider circle of prominent politicians proved rather receptive to their arguments. Based on an in-depth empirical study, including a systematic analysis of the social recruitment of the Convention, this article highlights the part played by transnational professional communities—somewhere in-between "epistemic communities" and "advocacy networks"—in contemporary European politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Loussert Christine

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Cinquième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? L'implication des conseils régionaux dans les politiques structurelles

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 95-97

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Blanc Didier

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Cinquième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? Les Fonds structurels européens: un modèle d'intégration territoriale

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 87-90

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Granger Maryline

Les collectivités locales, facteur de fédération dans l'Union européenne? Cinquième partie: La politique régionale communautaire: quelles évolutions pour les collectivités locales? La GECT, un nouvel instrument juridique adapté à la coopération transfrontalière entre collectivités territoriales?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 91-94

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

d'Argenson Pierre-Henri

Les enjeux de la création du service diplomatique européen

in *Politique Etrangère*, vol. 75, n° 1, printemps

La création du service européen pour l'action extérieure est un des grands enjeux de la mise en place du traité de Lisbonne. Le Haut Représentant de l'UE pour les Affaires étrangères et la Politique de sécurité va devoir se situer dans une géographie institutionnelle complexe, entre le président du Conseil, le Conseil lui-même, la Commission... C. Ashton semble pour l'heure pencher vers la Commission: un rééquilibrage est nécessaire pour donner tout son sens à la nouvelle configuration issue du Traité.

The creation of the European External Action Service is central to the implementation of the Treaty of Lisbon. The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and the EU Security Policy will have to find her place within the complex institutional landscape—between the President of the Council, the Council itself, and the Commission. Catherine Ashton seems, for now, to be closer to the Commission: roles must be properly and separately redistributed in order to give the new configuration prescribed by the Lisbon Treaty all its weight.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barbier Jean-Claude

Les frontières de la solidarité restent à définir

in *Esprit*, Juillet 2010

La crise grecque a fait remonter l'expression des passions nationales et des égoïsmes à travers l'Europe. Ce qui met l'accent sur le défi auquel l'Union n'a pas encore répondu : jusqu'à quel point peut-on mettre des politiques en commun sans organiser des formes de solidarité entre les sociétés ? Sommes-nous prêts à partager des modes de vie et des modèles sociaux en plus de quelques attributs du pouvoir politique ?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Skouris Vassilios

Les rapports entre la Cour de justice et les juridictions constitutionnelles nationales

in *Diritto dell'Unione europea*, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 4 , 775 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barroso José Manuel

Let's give Europe a vision

in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 5-10

The current economic crisis has wrought havoc on Europe. However, the crisis has also given the leaders of Europe an opportunity to re-evaluate European society and the process of European integration. The time is at hand for Europe to create a new strategic outlook for the future. The Europe 2020 strategy could provide the impetus to create a more prosperous Europe that helps citizens and makes them more dynamic in the new world order.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bangui Taha

Libertés de circulation et fiscalité direct. Quelques réflexions sur la pratique et la Jurisprudence fiscales communautaires

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 537, avril , 257-266

Taxation upon exit applicable to individuals is the result of a complex and difficult coordination between member countries. The Court of Justice was the indirect rule maker of direct taxation. Simultaneously the Commission plays a substantial part in the negotiation progress since it has become a direct rule maker. As to exit taxation applicable to legal entities, it swings between tax competition and required cohabitation as shown by the scope and consequences of the Court of Justice case law.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Oettinger Günther

Lighting it up: securing the future of Europe's energy supply

in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 47-51

Europe's economic growth has never been jeopardised by lack of energy security; however, that situation may have come to an abrupt end. Falling energy production, increasingly strict environmental standards and an ageing energy infrastructure are all threats to Europe's energy security. The EU has taken steps to ensure its energy security; however, the 'Europeanisation' of energy policy remains weak. Coordination among EU Member States is required not only to create an internal energy market, but also for the external dimension of the EU's energy policy. Liberalisation of energy markets and mediation of the Ukraine–Russia gas crisis have shown that such coordination is indeed possible.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Faraguna Pietro

Limiti e controlimiti nel Lissabon-Urteil del Bundesverfassungsgericht: un peso, due misure

in *Quaderni Costituzionali*, numero : 1, marzo , 75-100



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kotzur Markus

Los derechos fundamentales en Europa

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 12

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/04Kotzur.htm#inicio>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gąsior-Niemiec Anna

Lost in the system? Civil society and regional development policy in Poland

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 90-111

This article discusses the issue of EU-oriented attempts to empower the role of civil society in the realm of public policy in new Member States. The process of including the Third Sector in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies is analysed using the case of civil society organizations in the role of social partners in the field of regional (development) policy in Poland, supported by EU structural funds. On the one hand, provisions provided by the framework of structural funds constitute an opportunity for political-administrative elites to increase the efficiency and legitimacy of the policy by admitting in its perimeter actors representing the Third Sector. On the other hand, it turns out that Polish civil society organizations have difficulties both in playing the role of social partners and in taking advantage of this opportunity to articulate and pursue their interests. Because of several external blockages and internal weaknesses, both their legitimacy and capacity as social partners vis-à-vis the other stakeholders included in the arena of regional development appears limited.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sassoon Donald

L'Europa che non c'è

in *Passato e Presente*, fasc. 79

Neverland Europe - Neverland Europe deals with a paradox: the crisis of the European Union in terms of popular and electoral consensus, and the increasing number of States longing to adhere to its structure. Economic success has been the great hit of the Union, but it has done little to overcome the wide range of still existing nationalisms. The main feature distinguishing Europe from the Us and Japan, its Welfare State, has been seriously put in question by the high tide of neo-liberalism. The current economic crisis provides perhaps the last opportunity of shaping a European identity. This cannot be based on childish anti-americanism, nor on an abstract idea of European culture, but only on a new culture of



mutual integration and human rights.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duchnesse Sophie

L'identité européenne, entre science politique et science fiction

in *Politique européenne*, n. 30, 7-16

L'usage scientifique de la notion d'« identité européenne » a rapidement progressé depuis le milieu des années 1990. On le mesure facilement dans le cas de la littérature de langue anglaise¹ (cf. schéma ci-dessous). Pourtant l'expression n'est pas sans poser problème. Une grande partie de la littérature sur le sujet s'attache à discuter,...

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-europeenne-2010-1-page-7.htm>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Palladino Rossana

L'“autonomia” del dialogo sociale europeo nel Trattato di Lisbona

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 1, 149-176

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Skjærseth Jon Birger, Wettestad Jørgen

Making the EU Emissions Trading System: The European Commission as an entrepreneurial epistemic leader

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 2, May, 314-321

The EU has developed the first and largest international emissions trading system in the world. This development is puzzling due to the EU's scepticism to international emissions trading in greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the run-up to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. This article analyses how the EU ETS was initiated in the first place mainly from the perspectives of Liberal intergovernmentalism (LI) and multi-level governance (MLG). LI emphasises change in the positions of the EU member states as the key to understand what happened and why, whereas MLG opens up for change in the position of supranational entrepreneurial leaders as the key explanation. The main conclusion is that entrepreneurial epistemic leadership exercised by the European Commission was crucial for making the EU ETS. The principal means of leadership involved building up independent expertise on how an EU ETS could be designed, and mobilizing support from state and non-state actors at various levels of decision-making. This type of leadership may be needed more generally to deal with challenges characterized by high scientific uncertainty and social complexity in which learning is pertinent, such as climate change.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Wall Stephen

Making the single market

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 57-64

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wade Jacoby

Managing globalization by managing Central and Eastern Europe: the EU's backyard as threat and opportunity

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 3 2010 , Pages 416 – 432

As European voters and politicians increasingly demanded in the 1990s that the European Union (EU) 'manage' globalization, managing the new member states of Central and Eastern Europe (CE) emerged as an important precursor. To richer areas like the old EU-15, poor areas next door often appear as both threat and opportunity. Some EU-15 actors - mostly corporations, but also many European liberals - saw in CE a chance for new markets, new workers and new investment opportunities for the core EU-15 economies. They tried to codify new conditions of production and sale that they thought beneficial, but other EU-15 actors worried about competition from CE on capital, labor and product markets. The fearful - mostly EU-15 states and the EU itself but sometimes firms headquartered in the EU-15 - acted to try to minimize these potential threats. I show that, as a broad proposition, actors motivated by the threats seem to have shaped conditions more than those motivated by opportunity. Data from financial flows, trade in goods and services, and labor migration illustrate this central point. I conclude with speculations on how this pattern is affected by the economic downturn after 2008.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Quesada Luis Jimena

Manuel García-Pelayo y la emergencia del ius commune europeo

in *Revista de derecho politico*, n. 75-76 , 125-144

full text available at: <http://e-spacio.uned.es/fez/eserv.php?pid=bibliuned:DerechoPolitico-2009-75-76-10006&dsID=PDF>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brown Archie

Margaret Thatcher and perceptions of change in the Soviet Union

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 17-30

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toeller Annette Elisabeth

Measuring and Comparing the Europeanization of National Legislation: A Research Note

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 417-444

There is an urgent need for a method to measure quantitatively the Europeanization of national public policies, meaning the scope and extent to which national policies are shaped by European law and policy. Research on the Europeanization of public policies has so far mostly been limited to qualitative analysis. While such case studies, or comparative case or country studies have produced valuable insights into the nature of Europeanization, the challenge to measure how much national policy-making has been influenced by European law and policies has not yet been mastered by the discipline. After outlining both the scholarly and the political context of the debate, the article briefly discusses different methods that have been developed so far to measure the Europeanization of national legislation in the UK, the Netherlands, Denmark, France and Germany. Their common feature is that they aim to measure Europeanization – and that they do so by using diverse methods and measures. Not only do they display some flaws in how they measure the Europeanization of legislation, but the results of these diverse studies are by no means comparable. Based on a short discussion of these approaches that have been developed so far, I will outline how this challenge could be faced. I will then present a concept for the development of an analytical tool to measure the scope and extent of the Europeanization of national public policies across policy fields, time and countries, as a means of improving our knowledge and as a starting point for explaining variance across policy fields, across time and, most interesting, across countries. Finally more and less fundamental objections to this enterprise are discussed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Zingales Nicolo

Member State Liability vs. National Procedural Autonomy: What Rules for Judicial Breach of EU Law?

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 4 , 419-438

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No4/Vol_11_No_04_419-438_Zingales.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Alessi Giorgia

Mercato e identità europea: il pluralismo etico di Paolo Prodi

in **Storica**, nn.43-44-45 , 83-95

Paolo Prodi's work identifies the European genetic code with the persistent tension between different powers: the States, the Church, the market with its ethical principles of self-regulation. The ethical principles of the market were constructed in the early modern period



through the widening of the category of theft, seen as a breach of loyalty, trust and equity in trade. The risk is, for contemporary Europe, that of replacing the existing pluralism with the monism of a global market. The narrative is intense and fascinating, yet it overplays the intrinsic ethics of the market in the early modern period, through the lens of mainly doctrinal «scholastic» sources that ignore practices, contexts, conflicts.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guillén López Enrique

Metodología del Derecho Constitucional Europeo. Un Derecho Constitucional para la integración política de Europa. Del pluralismo territorial al pluralismo ideológico

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo* , n. 12

Este trabajo intenta analizar cuál debe ser el método del Derecho constitucional europeo. Para ello comienza señalando la importancia histórica de las cuestiones metodológicas en la historia del derecho. Tras ello pasa a estudiar cuál es el contenido del derecho constitucional europeo. Este derecho, el de la Europa como comunidad política en desarrollo, estaría compuesto por dos partes: primero, el derecho de la Unión europea con contenido constitucional y, segundo, los derechos constitucionales internos que resultan modificados por acción del derecho europeo. Estas dos partes tienen diferencias claras por lo que se refiere al método. Respecto del primer caso se trata de llevar más constitución a Europa y, en segundo término, de llevar más Europa a las Constituciones nacionales. En tercer lugar, la exposición pretende establecer cuáles son las características fundamentales de la metodología con la que se debe estudiar este derecho constitucional europeo. La nueva metodología del derecho constitucional europeo debe ser: 1) Adecuada 2) Crítica 3) Abierta, 4) Cerrada, 5) Sistemática, 6) Principialista. Con esta metodología es evidente que el método comparado resulta una aportación fundamental en la concreción del derecho constitucional europeo. Por último, trataremos de plantear cuáles son los retos a los que debe atender este nuevo Derecho constitucional europeo que, en definitiva, es el de lograr una nueva democracia

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/07Guillen.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marques Helena

Migration Creation and Diversion in the European Union: Is Central and Eastern Europe a 'Natural' Member of the Single Market for Labour?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 265-291

This article applies the concepts of trade creation and trade diversion to immigration into the EU-15 in order to investigate whether during 1986–2006 there were any significant preference effects in favour of the CEECs (central and eastern European countries) that make them 'natural' members of the EU single market for labour. If this hypothesis is



true, there should have been strong migration creation but little migration diversion in the last 20 years. The results broadly support migration creation for the CEECs prior to their EU membership. At the same time, the evidence of diversion away from other world regions is mixed. The combined impact of a common language and established communities, compared to distance and a common border, may contribute to the preservation of migration channels from outside Europe. Within Europe, to be an EU outsider can have a negative impact on migration channels. Moreover, whilst liberal immigration policies increase immigration contemporaneously, restrictive immigration policies only show an impact with a two-year lag.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levitz Philip, Pop-Eleches Grigore

Monitoring, Money and Migrants: Countering Post-Accession Backsliding in Bulgaria and Romania in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 3, May , 461-479

Using cross-national governance indicators and evidence from a recent Bulgarian survey, this essay examines political reforms in Bulgaria and Romania since EU accession and, in particular, the 'backsliding' hypothesis—that these countries have abandoned or reversed the reforms they introduced in order to qualify for membership of the European Union. It finds no systematic evidence either that these countries have been backsliding or that their trajectories differ significantly from their first-wave Central and East European neighbours, though governance reforms have slowed after accession. The second part of the essay focuses on the mechanisms responsible for the lack of significant backsliding, emphasising the role of continued conditionality through the safeguard clauses, EU funding and increasing linkage between new and old EU members, including opportunities for East Europeans to work and travel in Western Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Closa Carlos

Much Ado about Little: Continuity and Change in the European Union Policy of the Spanish Socialist Government (2004-8)

in South European Society & Politics, Volume 14, Issue 4, Special Issue: Spain's 'Second Transition'? The Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, December , 503-518

The European Union (EU) policy of the Zapatero government (2004-8) combined continuity with the Socialist policies of the 1990s with some new additions in the form of a commitment to domestic constitutional reform, including a reference to the EU in the Spanish constitution. The Socialists' EU policy also manifested important continuities with the prior Popular Party governments. The use of a referendum to ratify the EU constitution, though decided by the Socialist government, had a large domestic consensus and fitted easily with Zapatero's republican preferences. Even though change occurred, it is difficult to argue that it represented a second transition.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Spendzharova Aneta B.

Multi-level Governance of Banking Regulation in the EU: Evidence from Developing Bank Supervision in



Bulgaria and Hungary

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 3 / May , 249-268

Recent bank collapses as a result of the global financial crisis have highlighted the need to keep international bank supervision practices up to date with technological and product innovations in the sector. In the 1980s, coordination in international financial regulation resulted from multilateral negotiations in which states played a central role. Since then, international banking regulation has undergone significant transformation. This article probes the explanatory power of multi-level governance in the case of European bank regulation. According to the first proposition examined here, experts play an essential role in policy formulation. The second proposition stipulates that public, private and international actors participate in decision-making and shape the regulatory outcomes together with national regulators. The third proposition states that independent regulatory agencies, rather than government ministries, implement regulations and monitor compliance. The analysis is based on evidence from two new EU member states, Bulgaria and Hungary, that are representative of the two most common types of bank supervision organizational structure in the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carmin JoAnn

NGO capacity and environmental governance in Central and Eastern Europe

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 183-202

Following the fall of state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe, it was envisioned that environmental NGOs would be integral to democratic process by engaging in environmental decision making and policy implementation in the national and sub-national arenas. It was with this goal in mind that domestic and international agencies, governments, and foundations worked to build their administrative, technical and strategic capacities. Although a number of studies have examined environmental NGOs in the region, and the relationship between capacity building efforts and engagement in environmental governance, they focus on a small subset of organizations. To gain a better understanding of developmental trends and engagement in governance processes, a survey was conducted of the population of environmental NGOs in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. The results suggest that two clusters of organizations have emerged. The first cluster consists of a small cadre of highly professionalized and internationalized organizations that engage in policymaking in the international and national arenas. The second cluster of NGOs tends to sponsor activities and take action on behalf of their members and provide environmental and government support services at the local level. Although the former cluster is comprised of well-capacitated organizations, NGOs in latter group often are overlooked by agencies, governments and foundations, even though they make important contributions to environmental governance.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Esparza Daniel

National identity and the Other: imagining the EU from the Czech Lands

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 38, Issue 3, May 2010 , 413-436

Abstract



National identity is constructed through successive identifications with significant Others. This article discusses the phenomenon of change and continuity in Czech identity. It is focused here on the identification towards the EU, which has become the most significant Other of today in two ways: (a) (change) contributing to overcoming the identity crisis provoked by the drastic changes that occurred between 1989 and 1993 (change of regime, disappearance of the USSR and the break-up of Czechoslovakia), and therefore the subsequent drastic changes in relations with past significant Others: communism, the USSR, and the Slovaks; and (b) (continuity) reaffirming one of the fundamental elements during the national revival in the nineteenth century, democracy, upon which the various identifications towards the EU have been aligned. According to the differing interpretations of what democracy means, and three other criteria of the "levels of Othering," the EU has been "imagined," on the one hand, as an entity where Czechs can flourish in their identity and ensure their freedom and democratic values (positive Other), and, on the other, as an "oppressor" entity which portrays democratic deficit, restricts freedom, and threatens Czech national identity (negative Other).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Freyburg Tina, Richter Solveig

National identity matters: the limited impact of EU political conditionality in the Western Balkans
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 263 – 281

Political developments in South Eastern Europe raise serious doubts about the prospects for the effectiveness of the European Union's external democracy promotion via political conditionality. They make it questionable whether the European Union (EU) can repeat its success story as it is widely acknowledged in Central Eastern Europe. With reference to countries characterized by legacies of ethnic conflict, this article shows that incentive-based instruments only trigger democratic change if certain domestic preconditions are met. It will be argued that if national identity runs counter to democratic requirements, this will 'block' compliance by framing it as inappropriate action. The argument is empirically demonstrated using the example of one of the most problematic issue areas in Croatia, for which the EU has only partially succeeded in bringing about democratic change: the prosecution of war crimes.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Duer Andreas, Mateo Gemma, Thomas Daniel C.

Negotiation theory and the EU: the state of the art
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 613-618

The once-distinct literatures on European Union politics and negotiation theory are increasingly interlinked, with each drawing upon and contributing to the other. This collection aims to stimulate even more, and more systematic, research on negotiations in the EU. In particular, it presents a state of the art of the literature at the intersection of these two fields by identifying areas of considerable research progress and by proposing a set of questions that require further research. In the introduction, we elaborate the rationale of this volume and introduce the various contributions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Kastoryano Riva

Negotiations beyond Borders: States and Immigrants in Postcolonial Europe
in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 41, Issue 1, Summer , 79-95

Although the issues of immigration and integration remain within the purview of the state, states face new challenges that affect their relationship with immigrants inside and outside their boundaries. Within the EU, the coordination of policies to protect common borders from flows of immigration has forced states to re-assess their treatment of immigrants. Moreover, immigrants with the status of permanent residents or legal citizens in their adopted state increasingly foster solidarity networks across national borders on the grounds of one or more identities, thus linking their home country to their country of residence and, in the case of the EU, to a broader European space. The emergence of transnational associations underscores the development of multiple interactions between national societies, between national and supranational institutions, and between member states of the EU that continue to reshape the nature and scope of negotiations between states and immigrants.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bresso Mercedes

New Commission, new European Parliament, new Treaty
in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 5, Issue 1, Summer

<http://www.social-europe.eu/2010/01/new-commission-new-european-parliament-new-treaty-what-are-the-priorities-for-progressive-local-and-regional-elected-representatives-as-a-new-institutional-cycle-begins/>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pochet Philippe

New Priorities for the EU Institutions

in *Social Europe Journal*, Volume 5, Issue 1, Summer

<http://www.social-europe.eu/2010/01/new-priorities-for-the-eu-institutions/>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Luzzatto Gardner Anthony, Eizenstat Stuart E.

New Treaty, New Influence?

in *Foreign Affairs*, March/ April 2010, Volume 2, Number 89

With the Lisbon Treaty now in effect, the European Union has more power to implement foreign policy decisions -- on paper, at least. The reformed EU's effectiveness will ultimately depend on whether its member states focus on continued integration rather than on retaining their national perspectives.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boomgaarden Hajo G., Vliegenthart Rens, Vreese Claes H. de, Schuck Andreas R. T.

News on the move: exogenous events and news coverage of the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 4 2010, 506-526

News coverage about the European Union (EU) has the potential to inform citizens about and to involve them in matters of European integration. Investigations of factors that explain variation in EU news coverage, however, are rare. This study explains weekly variation in the visibility of EU news in newspapers from seven EU member states for the period 1990 to 2006. It identifies exogenous factors that relate to the EU polity, its policies and national politics. The descriptive results show that EU news visibility has increased overall and that weekly variation is rather similar in the seven member states. News visibility is substantially influenced by infrequent polity-related events such as European Parliamentary (EP) elections or Council summits but also by EP sessions. Also policy-related and national events affect visibility. The findings are discussed in light of the democratic deficit of the EU and the potential consequences of visible EU news coverage.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Musy Alberto M.

No Constitution No Europe?

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XL, n.180, Luglio-Settembre

In the past fifty years, the continuous competition and development of the institutional arrangement determined the creation of a network of Community organisations in Europe. Their interdependence with similar public and private organisations, at national and regional level, now constitutes the backbone of a legal and economic system, which, unlike the ones established through interstates agreements, is characterised by the overwhelming presence of an invisible political agent. This is not necessarily dreadful. Evidence is provided by the many cases in which the European model is preferred to the American one, which, on the contrary, enjoys a strong national and political depiction. To crystallize such phenomena in a constitutional Charter might lead to the risk of repeating past mistakes, transferring to the single Community regulator and to the logic which inspires him the guidance of the development process of the European institutional arrangement. In other words, this would simply constrain within tight political boundaries an institutional phenomenon that is not only legal, but also social, economic and anthropological, capable of benefiting from the interplays of interest of public, private, local, national and international actors and the pressures which they exercise on the European institutions. Europe does not exist and, for this reason, it attracts ever increasing resources, citizens and states. Europe does not exist and, for this reason, its rules and its model of governance appeal to an increasing number of people. Europe does not exist and, precisely for this reason, it works!

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Harpaz Guy, Shamis Asaf

Normative Power Europe and the State of Israel: An Illegitimate EUtopia?

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010, p 579-616



This article re-examines the concept of Normative Power. It is viewed here not merely as an abstract concept, but also as part of a complex historical, socio-political and economic context, examined through the prism of non-Europeans, in our case Israelis. By analysing the dominant Israeli approaches towards the EU and its normative apparatus, this article aspires to depict the multifarious and concrete perceptions of Normative Power Europe and to contrast these perceptions with the EU self-perceived and self-portrayed normative view.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Novak Tobias

Of Garbage Cans and Rulings: Judgments of the European Court of Justice in the EU Legislative Process in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 4, July, 753-769

ABSTRACT: This article addresses the problem of how to explain the influence that rulings of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) have on the political decision-making of the EU. It will be argued that a framework developed by Kingdon which follows the garbage can model of Cohen, March and Olson is a good approach to conceptualising this influence. This framework explains political processes in terms of problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities. In order to illustrate the argument, two famous rulings, Dassonville and Cassis de Dijon, are examined in detail. Both rulings dealt with the same subject but had different impacts on political decision-making. The difference in influence depended on the conditions of the political arena at the time the rulings were given and not on their legal contents.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Schrader Niklas

Offene Koordinierung in der EU-Rentenpolitik in Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Band 18, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/LI7D6D,0,Offene_Koordinierung_in_der_EURentenpolitik.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Papadopoulos Yannis, Magnette Paul

On the Politicisation of the European Union: Lessons from Consociational National Polities in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 4, July, 711-729

ABSTRACT: The debate on the politicisation of the EU should consider its consociational nature. Comparing the EU to Switzerland and Belgium, this article discusses S. Hix's and S. Bartolini's contrasting views on politicisation. S. Hix's recipe for bipolar politicisation is based on some incorrect assumptions. It is not obvious that the EU is evolving towards more Left-Right polarisation. Even if this were the case, the nature of the EU implies that compromises are



indispensable. Therefore, Hix's suggestions would not suffice to clarify political choice, and Euroscepticism would not be reduced. The consociational nature of the EU also makes less credible S. Bartolini's fears of possible negative consequences for governability. The politicisation of constitutive issues can even help to integrate Eurosceptic segments of public opinion. The authors suggest a middle way regarding EU politicisation based on lessons from consociational polities, and the coupling of a system of 'negotiation democracy' with mechanisms of direct popular participation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

McElroy Gail, Benoit Kenneth

Party Policy and Group Affiliation in the European Parliament

in *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 40, issue 2, april , 377-398

ABSTRACT: Systematic empirical research has yet to explain how national parties join political groups in the European Parliament. This article first demonstrates, using original empirical measures from expert surveys of party positions, that EP party groups consist of national parties sharing similar policy positions. Secondly, using Bayesian/MCMC methods, the paper estimates the policy determinants of group affiliation using a (conditional) multinomial logit model to explain that 'party group' choice is largely driven by policy congruence. Finally, predictions from the model identify national parties not in their 'ideally congruent' EP groups. The findings suggest that the organization of and switching between EP groups is driven mainly by a concern to minimize policy incongruence between national and transnational levels.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Treib Oliver

Party Politics, National Interests and Government—Opposition Dynamics

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 1, March , 119-142

This article analyses the cleavages that structured the debates within the Convention on the Future of Europe. Taking the positions on the institutional rules governing EU social policy as an empirical example, it addresses the question of whether these positions were determined by party politics or by national interests. The article also examines how the delegates' different institutional backgrounds affected their positions. A statistical analysis of a new data set on the positions of conventionists towards EU social policy expansion shows that, overall, delegates' positions were determined by a mixture of party politics and national interests. At the same time, there are institutional effects separating representatives of government parties, who tended to stress national interests, from actors representing opposition parties, who acted more according to a party political logic.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Patient Euro. Sechs Rezepte für die Zukunft der Euro-Zone

in *Internationale Politik* , 65 Jahrgang, n. 5-6, Mai-Juni



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ciampi Carlo Azeglio

**Patriottismo repubblicano, Costituzione, Europa
in Politico (II)**, n. 222, anno XXXIV, settembre-dicembre

ABSTRACT: Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi embody the Italian romantic ideal based on the concept of Fatherland, Nation and Freedom. This has nourished the need for Italian populations, who no longer wanted to live separated, to reach a single identity. Italian people realised they shared a common history and culture thanks to gaining unity after centuries of divisions and foreign domination. This self-awareness was the spur which allowed Italy to face and overcome the most difficult tests: wars, dictatorship, destructions and mass migration. Italy, over a period of only ten years, was able to become one of the most industrialized countries thanks to the commitment of its population and the farsighted policy of its ruling politicians. The Constituent Assembly's farsightedness fulfilled the Italians' strong desire for peace, democracy, stability and faith in their future, while the war wounds were still bleeding. Peace and rejection of war, the founding principles of Europe, are now taken for granted. Today, other reasons motivate the urge for European unity and this objective can no longer be postponed. Europe should speak to the world to spread its sense of balance, its capacity for dialogue, and its models of behaviour that put people first, all of which guarantee stability, security and prosperity for European citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Caminada Koen, Goudswaard Kees, Van Vliet Olaf

Patterns of Welfare State Indicators in the EU: Is there Convergence?
in Journal of Common Market Studies, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 529-556

Convergence of social protection objectives and policies in Member States is an explicit objective of the EU. Earlier research has shown that there has indeed been a tendency of convergence of social protection levels over the last decades. However, comparative studies frequently use indicators which may not be representative as measures of the welfare state. In this article we have done several convergence tests with the most recent data, using a variety of indicators of social protection: social expenditures, both at the macro and at the programme level, replacement rates of unemployment and social assistance benefits and poverty indicators. Together, these indicators provide a broader picture of the evolution of social protection. Our results are less clear cut than earlier findings. We still find convergence of social expenditure in EU countries over a longer period. However, this trend seems to have stagnated in recent years. The evidence is mixed for the other indicators. Replacement rates of unemployment benefits converged to a higher level, but social assistance benefits did not. Poverty rates and poverty gaps have converged since the mid-1980s, but the levels of both indicators have developed in the opposite direction.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Van den Brande Luc



Per un'Unione Europea politica: valori, governance inclusiva e partenariato con le sue regioni e città

in *Pace Diritti Umani*, anno 6, n. 1, gennaio-aprile , 97-110

ABSTRACT: L'Europa è oggi percorsa da fenomeni complessi: crisi finanziaria e recessione economica, effetti della globalizzazione, cambiamenti demografici, flussi migratori, cambiamenti climatici e questioni di sicurezza energetica. Queste sfide si stanno formando sempre più attorno a «spazi funzionali» sostanziali, con scarsa considerazione per i confini nazionali. Per affrontarle in maniera appropriata, è opportuno innanzitutto promuovere una visione moderna di Unione Europea, basata sul concetto di multilevel governance, un'Unione in cui non solo beni, capitali, servizi e cittadini possono muoversi senza impedimenti, ma in cui anche le regioni e le città possono cooperare liberamente, impegnarsi in dialoghi costruttivi e diventare partner, in condizioni di parità, nel processo di integrazione europea. È giunto il momento, dunque, di dare vita a «patti territoriali europei», sulla base della multilevel governance e della sussidiarietà, dell'integrazione delle politiche, della cooperazione e del dialogo territoriale. A tale fine, uno strumento particolarmente innovativo in materia, e in rapida diffusione in Europa, è il cosiddetto GECT - Gruppo Europeo di Cooperazione Territoriale. Questi GECT assicurano che tutti i vari livelli di governo e di società civile, sia pubblici che privati, possano incontrarsi in forme di partenariato; forniscono ai loro membri uno strumento giuridico sostenibile nel lungo termine per poter consolidare le loro principali linee politiche d'azione, attraverso un nuovo modello di governance multilevel e trans-frontaliera; offrono l'opportunità di stimolare il dialogo locale, promuovere progetti innovativi e realizzare la coesione territoriale. L'obiettivo non è sostituire l'Europa degli Stati con un'«Europadelle regioni», ma costruire un'«Europa con le regioni, con le città e con le autorità locali».

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gros Daniel, Mayer Thomas

Perché c'è bisogno di un Fondo monetario europeo

in *Aspenia*, n. 48, marzo, "Economia e Felicità" , 193-202

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mérand Frédéric

Pierre Bourdieu and the Birth of European Defense

in *Security Studies*, vol. 19, n. 2, may , 342-374

ABSTRACT: This paper uses an analytical framework derived from Pierre Bourdieu's sociology to explain the genesis of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP). Long-term social and institutional processes at work in the making of ESDP are addressed through an emphasis on the institutionalization of social fields, the impact of structural crises, and the socialization of policy makers into specific schemes of perception and action (habitus). Two arguments follow from this framework. First, the paper shows that the creation of ESDP after 1998 would have been impossible without the prior institutionalization of two transgovernmental arenas: (1) the European foreign policy field, wherein EU diplomats vie for influence over EU policies; and (2) the international defense field, centered upon military relations within NATO. Second, ESDP results from the strategies of a number of diplomats and military leaders who, following the end of the Cold War, perceived that they faced important organizational crises in their respective fields. This sociological



framework provides a more nuanced account of ESDP's creation than that proposed by the two dominant explanations in international relations theory—realism's balancing and constructivism's strategic culture convergence. Combining structural and ideational factors, it elucidates three empirical puzzles: the lack of opposition to ESDP when it was launched, the motives of policy makers who proposed ESDP, and the disappearance of alternative options for the European security architecture.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

DeSimone Christian

Pitting Karlsruhe Against Luxembourg? German Data Protection and the Contested Implementation of the EU Data Retention Directive

in *German Law Journal*, Vol. 11, n. 3 , 291-318

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No3/PDF_Vol_11_No_03_291-318_Articles_de%20Simone.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hüller Thorsten

Playground or Democratisation? New Participatory Procedures at the European Commission

in *Swiss Political Science Review - Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft - Revue suisse de science politique*, Volume 16, Number 1, Spring 2010 , 77-107

The full text is free:

www.ingentaconnect.com/content/spsa/spsr/2010/00000016/00000001/art00003

Abstract

In the previous decade, the European Commission has promoted direct citizen involvement in European Union (EU) affairs via institutions such as deliberative polls, citizen conferences, online consultations or citizens' initiatives. Do these instruments foster EU democratisation? In this article, the Commission's participatory turn is re-constructed. Against the yardstick of a democracy theoretical framework, two participatory instruments (European Citizens' Consultations and the Commission's online consultations) are assessed. Both instruments are seriously flawed: the ECC cannot resolve the trade-off between demanding and egalitarian participation, and remains almost unrecognised outside the forum (bridging problem). Online consultations suffer both from a lack of active participation and of the symbolic accountability of the Commission to the contributions of ordinary citizens.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Karagiannis Yannis

Political Analyses of European Competition Policy



in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , 599-611

This article reviews the political-scientific literature on European competition policy (ECP) in the 2000s. Based on four journals and an upfront methodology, it analyses the literature both quantitatively and qualitatively. It shows that although a few sub-policy areas are still neglected, ECP is not the under-researched policy it used to be. Further, the literature has greatly improved since the 1990s: almost all articles now present a clear research question, and most advance specific theoretical claims/hypotheses. Yet, additional improvements can be made on research methods and, above all, theorizing (e.g., in the game-theoretical treatment of delegation problems, or social choice-theoretical treatments of the Commission). Indeed, it is paradoxical that ECP specialists do not pay more attention to theoretical questions which are so central to the actual policy area they study.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grachev Andrei

Political and personal: Gorbachev, Thatcher and the end of the Cold War

in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 45-56

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mair Peter, Thomassen Jacques

Political representation and government in the European Union

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 20 – 35

This paper addresses two particular aspects of the much debated democratic deficit in European Union (EU) governance - the absence of a system of party government at the European level, whereby parties in the Parliament lack the capacity to effectively control the governing bodies of the EU, and the apparent failings in the capacity of parties at the European level to represent the will of the citizens of Europe. We question the self-evidence of the recommendation that the Union adapt to conventional party government models at the national level and argue that since many of the conditions facilitating the effective fusion of the functions of representation and of control of the government no longer pertain, it may actually prove unwise to seek to replicate this process at the European level. We go on to take issue with the traditional view that the European process of political representation fails mainly because political parties do not compete on so-called European issues. Despite a poor process of political representation at the European level, European elections and political parties appear to serve quite effectively as instruments of political representation. We conclude by suggesting that the effectiveness of political representation at the European level owes much to the absence of party government, such that, paradoxically, one of the most commonly cited aspects of the democratic deficit thereby appears to alleviate the other.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Urban Sabine



Politique industrielle européenne

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 2-3

Industrial development is of high importance to create richness and thus develop socio-economic expansion. However this evidence seems not to be assimilated by the majority of political leaders in Europe. Is this an expression of lack of ideas or of political will or both? An optimist observer may think that nevertheless things are on the way; a pessimistic one may deplore that industries are rather flowing away like grasshoppers. In this paper the Author tries to discern the effective strategy underlying the "European industrial policy" from the beginning of the European Union story to nowadays, i.e. the enlarged Europe evolving in a global fast interacting world. A clear vision is needed but too many European actors are reluctant to look ahead in order to maintain and develop a very rich existent human and technological capital. It is a call for fresh blood and more European spirit, but the available time for action is short!

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Chrysogonos Kostas

Popular Involvement in Constitution-Making

in *Revue européenne de droit public*, Vol. 20 - No. 4 , 1299 - 1316

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Selden Zachary

Power is Always in Fashion: State-Centric Realism and the European Security and Defence Policy

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 397-416

The European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) is in large part a product of the institutional development of the EU and the consolidation of its authority over internal issues. This parallels the development of the United States as a global actor shortly after the federal government consolidated power over domestic affairs in the 1890s.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Möstl Markus

Preconditions and Limits of Mutual Recognition

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 2 , 405-436

ABSTRACT: The principle of mutual recognition is a cornerstone both of the internal market and of the area of freedom, security and justice. It is, however, not to be misunderstood as a simple or unconditional "miracle solution" for achieving unity despite legal diversity. On the contrary, it has to be seen as a demanding concept, which requires that a difficult balance between freedoms of the individual and legitimate objectives of public interest is struck, and whose successful



application, therefore, must be based on certain preconditions and contained within certain limits. In its recent case law, the ECJ has been increasingly faced with the problem of defining such preconditions and limits; interesting results have been achieved, but no clear doctrine has emerged yet. This article analyses the scope of the principle of mutual recognition both under primary and under secondary law. It emphasizes the fundamental difference between the internal market on the one hand, where mutual recognition facilitates freedom, and judicial cooperation in criminal matters on the other hand, where it threatens freedom. The article then looks at three exemplary policy areas (recognition of diplomas, recognition of driving licences and the European arrest warrant) in order to evaluate the recent jurisdiction of the ECJ.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Maduro Miguel, Grasso Gianluca

Quale Europa dopo la sentenza della Corte costituzionale tedesca sul Trattato di Lisbona?

in **Diritto dell'Unione europea**, Anno 2009, fascicolo: 3 , 503 ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bovero Michelangelo

Quale Europa? Quali radici?

in **Teoria Politica**, Vol. 25, Fascicolo 3

Which Europe? Which Roots? - Many believe that Europe could be or become a proper political subject only if it had an homogeneous cultural identity. The author suggests, instead, that it is useless and wrong to look for a European cultural essence as a unique basis for its political existence. In particular, it has no meaning to identify the roots of a (supposed) homogeneous European political culture in the Christian religion, and to built on it the European constitution. Modern constitutionalism has in fact lay roots which come from the Enlightenment and which have been opposed through time by catholic church. The recent comeback of the modern right doctrine is an overturning of its meaning as a doctrine of individual freedom and collective self-determination. In any case, a constitution as the one Europe needs is a project of coexistenxce which does not need roots, but it must rather cut many of the existing ones.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Pasquale Patrizia

Quali scenari si aprono per l'Unione europea dopo la ratifica del Trattato di Lisbona da parte dell'Irlanda?

in **Diritto pubblico comparato ed europeo**, n. 4 , XXI ff.

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Gaspard Michel

Que change la crise au futur des économies européennes?

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 79-86

To answer this question, long term macro-economic projections conducted before the crisis (2006) have been compared with their updated 2009 version, taking into account the major 2008-2009 recession. The tool that was used is a model (2027 term) based on the assumption of a gradual convergence of the economies of the East and South of Europe with those of the West, in line with the objectives of the Cohesion policies. In closing, the outcome of the crisis will be a loss of the GDP buying power per inhabitant by about 10% in most countries, a level that could increase twofold or three-fold in the most seriously affected countries (Baltic States, Bulgaria, Romania...); the permanent loss of wealth by EU 27 can be estimated at a magnitude of 20000 billion euro by 2027; yet the long term economic convergence schedules are not likely to be questioned; - the sky-rocketing unemployment rates in 2009-2010 loosen temporarily the demographic constraint that affected the growth potential, and can therefore transform the conditions of the debate on socio-demographic and migration policies in Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Galbraith James K

Quelle Europe pour briser les marchés ?

in *Monde Diplomatique (Le)*, Juin

Le verdict fait l'unanimité des gouvernements européens : pour endiguer les assauts de la finance, rigueur budgétaire et baisse des salaires seront nécessaires. Une solution idéale pour engager l'économie sur la voie de la déflation et accentuer la casse sociale. Et si on imaginait tout autre chose...

<http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2010/06/GALBRAITH/19179>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mayer Franz C.

Rashomon à Karlsruhe

in *Revue Trimestrielle de droit européen*, n. 1 , 77-92

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Evans Case Rhonda, Givens Terri E.

Re-engineering Legal Opportunity Structures in the European Union? The Starting Line Group and the Politics of the Racial Equality Directive

in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 221-241



Using the Racial Equality Directive to test competing explanations concerning the types of actors who seek to liberalize legal opportunity structures, we find that it was pursued by a coalition of societal interests working through European Union institutions that sought reforms intended to facilitate strategic litigation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barber Tony

**Rebuilding Europe's economic potential
in European View**, vol. 9, n. 1, June , 11-17

The European Union risks entering a long period of relative economic decline unless it meets the challenges of global competition, climate change and severe pressure on public finances. With a reinforced commitment to the market economy, Europe will make progress. The key lies in political will.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mendez Fernando, Mendez Mario

**Referendums and European integration: beyond the Lisbon vote
in Public law**, April , 223-230

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Krotz Ulrich

**Regularized Intergovernmentalism: France–Germany and Beyond (1963–2009)
in Foreign Policy Analysis**, Volume 6 Issue 2, April 2010

Regularized intergovernmentalism refers to a distinct kind of foreign policy practice that connects and intertwines foreign policy processes in particular ways. This paper puts forth a concept to properly capture and expose such distinctive foreign policy realities characterizing certain periods and places. With this concept, the article systematically scrutinizes the intergovernmental fabric of bilateral Franco–German relations from 1963 to 2009. The characteristic features of Franco–German regularized intergovernmentalism represent a crucial foreign policy connection, foundational for European affairs of the past half century and a defining feature of Europe's post-war order and regional governance. Exploring key aspects of what it is that links France and Germany in particular ways, this paper offers a historically deeply grounded constitutive analysis. Based on its constitutive inquiries, the papers points at new possibilities of causal theorizing and explores some of regularized intergovernmentalism's hypothesized effects and limitations. Franco–German intergovernmental affairs may be the most developed instance of this practice. But regularized bilateral intergovernmentalism is not a Franco–German idiosyncrasy. Rather, it is an important and apparently growing approach to structuring foreign policy conduct, and seems an increasingly prominent aspect of how the world is organized.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Foret Francois, Riva Virginie

Religion between Nation and Europe: The French and Belgian 'No' to the Christian Heritage of Europe in West European Politics, vol. 33, n. 4, July, 791-809

ABSTRACT: Religion has new salience in contemporary European politics, but its range and nature are still not properly understood. In contrast with most other member states, France and Belgium held a common position of refusal regarding any reference to the Christian heritage of Europe in the now defunct Constitutional Treaty. The two countries were however motivated by two different models of laicity anchored in distinct socio-political historical paths: the French all-encompassing laicity, supposing the neutrality of the public space; and the Belgian institutionalised laicity, organising the pluralism of philosophical and confessional worldviews. The analysis addresses the dynamics of each national configuration in the wider perspective of the interactions between religion and politics today; the patterns of European negotiations; the effects of this issue on domestic politics and mobilisations of civil society. It concludes that religion in the integration process is a way of reformulating old symbolic resources and of coming to terms with identity and social adaptations, rather than a source of political cleavages.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Turi Claudio

Responsabilità extracontrattuale della Comunità europea e norme OMC: i casi FIAMM e Fedon dinanzi la Corte di Lussemburgo

in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 3, 759-777

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Massie Alex

Rise of the Eurocons

in *Foreign Policy*, Issue 178, May

Why the continent's conservative moment won't last.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Locatelli Catherine

Russian and Caspian Hydrocarbons: Energy Supply Stakes for the European Union

in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 6, August, 959-971



The issue of EU gas supply security has become more and more important in the 2000s in the context of gas market liberalisation and the question of the reliability of Russia as a supplier. One answer to these problems is EU gas diversification, specifically the opening up of a fourth gas corridor to supply the EU with gas from Central Asia via the 'Caucasus' or 'southern' route. The feasibility of this strategy might now be called into question. This article reviews the new strategies that could emerge in the producing countries as well as those of international oil companies, and then examines what the consequences might be as far as the EU's diversification strategy is concerned. The article identifies some of the problems and limits of these strategies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fabbri Fabio

Situazione e prospettive del processo di integrazione europea di fronte alle sfide della globalizzazione in Comunità Internazionale (La), vol. LXIV, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grosse Tomasz G.

Social dialogue during enlargement: The case of Poland and Estonia in Acta Politica, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 112-135

The article explores the question of impact of European Union (EU) enlargement (2004) on social dialogue in two new EU member countries: Poland and Estonia. The research shows a contradictory influence of the enlargement. On the one hand, social dialogue was supported by European institutions as a way to improve effectiveness and legitimacy of public policies. On the other hand, the logic of European accession was based on the quick transfer of vast numbers of regulations (*acquis communautaire*), which were not intended as subject to change. This fact made it difficult to develop social dialogue in many areas of public policy, and it made the possibilities to discuss changes in European law with social partners more of a challenge. Consequently, enlargement weakened the role of social dialogue, as an effective mechanism of public reforms in the two countries examined. The article demonstrates the importance of political and administrative culture in the implementation of social dialogue in Central-East European countries. When the influence of European accession is weak and contradictory, the influence of local conditioning grows in importance. In order to explain the impact of local culture on the enlargement processes, the article proposes two models of relations between state and society: (i) administrative state, which is based on socialist state legacy; and (ii) network state, which corresponds with Western European standards of democracy.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jesús Ferreiro, M. Teresa García-del-Valle, and Carmen Gómez

Social preferences and fiscal policies: an analysis of the composition of public expenditures in the European Union

in *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, Vol. 32 No. 03



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin, Vauchez Antoine

Sociologie politique de l'Europe du droit

in *Revue française de science politique*, volume 60, n. 2, avril

Les grandes crises qui jalonnent l'histoire de l'Union européenne¹ trouvent fréquemment leur issue dans des solutions institutionnelles² qui font en quelque sorte du processus de construction européenne un perpétuel état naissant des institutions³. À chacun de ces grands moments constitutifs – et la saga constitutionnelle...

<http://www.cairn.info/revue-francaise-de-science-politique-2010-2-page-223.htm>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jenson Jane, Mérand Frédéric

Sociology, institutionalism and the European Union

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 74-92

ABSTRACT: European Union (EU) studies are dominated by a narrow form of institutionalism. The focus on formal organizations and asocial norms begs for a more sociological approach to the EU that would encompass the informal practices, symbolic representations and power relations of social actors involved in European society as well as the broad polity. This article argues for a return to the sociological roots of neo-institutionalism, which we find in Marx's theory of power, Weber's sociology of conflict and Durkheim's attention to symbolic representations and social practices. The neo-institutionalist project was originally an offspring of classical sociology. After having described how institutionalism diverged from sociology in EU studies, we review several points of contact between sociological approaches to the EU and neo-institutionalism, including the treatment of social relations and analysis of norms and ideas. While we applaud the development of sociological approaches in EU studies, we argue that paying attention to such meeting points will prove more fruitful than maintaining walls that confine institutionalism and sociology to splendid isolation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vázquez García Rafael, Delgado Fernández Santiago, Jerez Mir Miguel

Spanish Political Parties and the European Union: Analysis of Euromanifestos (1987-2004)

in *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, vol. 11, n. 2, June, Special Issue: Which Europe Do Parties Want? A View from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain , 201-221

Abstract

This article analyses the nature of Spanish political parties' attitudes towards the EU. Three main dimensions of the EU process and of its impact on the member states are focused upon: identity, representation and scope of governance.



The analysis shows how European integration as an independent variable has impacted the party system. Then, how each political party has individually adapted to the new circumstances by changing its positions and policies since 1986, when Spain got the EEC membership. We maintain that, although the EU issue is not one of intense political contestation, and therefore it is not very salient for party competition, the historical cleavages of the Spanish party system still affect the party stance on the EU. On the whole, the European issue has been absorbed by the Spanish party system without any particular disruption, in a context of party wide-spread Europhilia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Leibfried Stephan

Staatsschiff Europa

in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, Band 18, 2010

The full text is free:

www.bpb.de/publikationen/JW5VR9,0,Staatsschiff_Europa.html

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buckel Sonja, Wissel Jens

State Project Europe: The Transformation of the European Border Regime and the Production of Bare Life

in *International Political Sociology*, Volume 4, Issue 1, March 2010, 33-49

ABSTRACT

Giorgio Agamben refers to a basic problem in the constitution of the modern nation state: the state as a nation implies that "bare life" becomes the foundation of sovereignty. With the loss of their citizenship, refugees lose not only all their rights, but more fundamentally the "right to have rights" (Arendt). This dilemma of modern statehood does not vanish under conditions of European integration; it is rather re-scaled. Applying a state-theoretical approach to the European border regime, we will concentrate on the two main techniques by which the EU produces "bare life": the "camp" and the invisible "police state." It will become apparent that the institutionalization of "the right of every human being to belong to mankind" is still lacking. Yet, in contrast to Agamben, we do not trace this constellation back to the collapse of the concept of human rights, but to hegemonies and power relations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fahey Elaine

Swimming in a Sea of Law: Reflections on Water Borders, Irish (-British)-Euro Relations and Opting-out and Opting-in after the Treaty of Lisbon

in *Common Market Law Review*, vol. 47, issue 3, 673-707



ABSTRACT: A fragile outsider stance of “opt-out opt-in” post-Lisbon now characterizes the Irish relationship with the entire Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, in the form of Protocols and Declarations as contained in the Treaty of Lisbon. The Irish Government commissioned extensive research as to the negative referendum vote on the Treaty of Lisbon in 2008. Importantly, the relationship between public opinion and Irish participation in Justice and Home Affairs, the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice and its opt-out from the Schengen Area did not provoke a negative referendum result according to the research. Water borders and the Common Travel Area shared between Ireland and the UK have had a far-reaching influence on Irish-European affairs. An attempt is made here to trace the influence of British-European relations on the Irish State from the Treaty of Amsterdam to the Treaty of Lisbon and the close ties between the States taking effect in law, policy and even litigation are considered accordingly. The background thereto, in tandem with Irish-specific Protocols and Declarations in the Treaty of Lisbon and the general context of “Irish(-British) Euro relations” and EU law, forms the subject of analysis here.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Laar Mart

**Taking stock of EU enlargement's successes and failures
in Europe's World**, Issue 14, Spring

There's no doubt that the EU's ambitious enlargement strategy has been at a huge financial cost, says former Estonian prime minister Mart Laar. But it has been a great success economically, and not just for the newcomer states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rant Vasja, Mrak Mojmir

**The 2007–13 Financial Perspective: Domination of National Interests
in Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 2, March 2010 , p 347-372

This article confirms the validity of the hypothesis that national interests were the driving force behind the process and outcome of negotiations for the EU's next financial perspective for 2007–13. The hypothesis is tested by comparing hypothetical coalitions based on quantified national interests (partial net budgetary balances) and the actual (documented) coalitions. Based on these results, the article also discusses implications of the 'net balances problem' for the 2008/09 EU budget review.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Haughton T.

**The Accession Story: The EU from 15 to 25 Countries
in The Slavonic and East European Review**, vol. 88, n. 3, July , 576-577

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sfetas Spyridon

**The Balkans today: Between the European integration and the American-Russian antagonism
in Review of International Affairs (The)**, Vol. LXI, n. 1137, January-March

The author deals with some key questions concerning the role of European Union in the Balkans. He stresses that the European Union failed both to settle the Balkan crisis and to create a system of collective security. It remains still only an economic zone with divergent political positions in global affairs. American intervention and the Pax America determined the future of the post-communist Balkan states. New small states as protectorates with fragile stability emerged. Globalisation proved to be on other aspect of the Balkanisation. The Balkans was designed to be a buffer zone against the potential Russian influence. But Russia, after its recovery under Putin, has been trying to return in the Balkans, playing the energy card. The Balkan were included in the American-Russian energy war and propably in the new Cold War.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kokott Julianne

**The Basic Law at 60 – From 1949 to 2009: The Basic Law and Supranational Integration
in German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 1, 99-114

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No1/PDF_Vol_11_No_01_99-114_GG60_Kokott.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Annett Iona

**The Case of the EU: Implications for Federalism
in Regional and Federal Studies**, Volume 20 Issue 1, 107 - 126

The presence of federal governance mechanisms in the European Union has been observed and discussed for over a decade. This article proposes to take these observations further and accept the Union as a federal polity according to the criteria established in federal theory. Doing so highlights the need to adapt federal theory so as to usefully accommodate the Union within its boundaries. By clarifying definitions and critically examining pre-modern federal theory from Johannes Althusius, we can demonstrate how such adaptation can take place. Furthermore, the article argues that historical institutionalism can be employed to uncover how the Union became a federal polity. Three hypotheses are generated to explain the phenomenon of federalization in the Union.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Barents René

The Court of Justice after the Treaty of Lisbon

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 3 , 709-728

ABSTRACT: This article contains a brief overview of the provisions on the EU Courts in the renewed European treaties resulting from the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon. This Treaty has introduced a new nomenclature for judicial bodies of the Court of Justice of the European Union. The appointment of Members of the Court of Justice and of the General Court is subject to the opinion of an advisory panel on the candidate's suitability to perform the duties of judge of these bodies. With the exception of the common foreign and security policy, the jurisdiction of the EU Courts now extends to EU law as a whole, including the area of freedom, security and justice and the Charter on Fundamental Rights. The high barriers to the admissibility of private actions for annulment are somewhat lowered by Article 263, fourth paragraph TFEU, which provides for such actions to be brought against regulatory acts of the EU.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Neframi Eleftheria

The Duty of Loyalty: Rethinking its Scope through its Application in the Field of EU External Relations

in **Common Market Law Review**, vol. 47, issue 2 , 323-359

ABSTRACT: The duty of loyalty, or loyal cooperation, (Art. 4(3) TEE, ex Art. 10 EC) governs the interactions between the Union and national legal orders and is linked to fundamental principles, such as effectiveness, primacy and respect of the Member States' autonomy. In the field of EU external relations, the duty of loyalty may express different facets of the Union interest. As an expression of the obligation to effectively implement common rules, the duty of loyalty permits to understand how a mixed agreement in its entirety has to be considered as a source of European Union law. Besides, the duty of loyalty implies the need to ensure the effectiveness of EU law obligations in the exercise of the Member States' retained competence. It results from the recent case law of the Court of Justice that Member States have the obligation to eliminate not only established, but also hypothetical incompatibilities between common rules and their prior international commitments (Art. 351(2) TFEU, ex Art. 307(2)EC). Furthermore, the duty of loyalty implies an obligation for the Member States to facilitate the exercise of the Union competence. It is the basis of their obligation to refrain from adopting a unilateral position and, in some cases, to act in the interest of the Union. Finally, the duty of loyalty, through the duty of close cooperation, contributes to the fulfillment of the requirement of unity of the external representation of the European Union and its Member States.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Marchesi Daniele

The EU Common Foreign and Security Policy in the UN Security Council: Between Representation and Coordination

in **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Volume 15, issue 1 , 97-114



ABSTRACT: In Europe, the discussion on the reform of the UN has run parallel to the institutionalization of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Since the Treaty of Maastricht, the CFSP began raising expectations about the possible role of the European Union (EU) in the UN, ranging from a common representation to a more effective coordination of the EU Member States on the Security Council. The purpose of this essay is to explore the link between the reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the development of the CFSP of the EU. To what extent and how does the UN institutional structure have an impact on European integration in the field of foreign and security policy? To answer this question, the essay follows the evolution of European representation and coordination on the Security Council until the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, by using insights from realism, historical, and sociological institutionalism. Finally, it looks at how future reforms of the UNSC would affect the CFSP. The essay argues that the UN reform debate has influenced the development of EU foreign policy at the UN. Opposing strategies as well as institutional and sociological logics all resulted in an ambiguous process of incremental institutionalization of internal coordination. A reform of the UNSC would open new institutional opportunities and paths for European integration in foreign policy, either strengthening the current trend towards a directorate or encouraging new patterns of information sharing, coordination, and representation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Toje Asle

The EU Security Strategy Revised: Europe Hedging Its Bets

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 15, issue 2, 171-190

ABSTRACT: The 2008 Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy was written to update the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS), the EU's overall foreign policy strategy. This article offers a comparative analysis of the two documents through the prism of four 'conceptual pairs': Strategic culture and human security; war on terror and terror as crime; preventive engagement and hedging; and effective multilateralism and normative power. It is argued that the revised strategy is a sign that the EU may be shifting towards an overall strategy of 'hedging' strategy vis-à-vis the great powers. While admirably succeeding in asserting an independent EU approach to foreign and security policy, it does so at the cost of re-submerging the Union's strategic ambition in ambiguity. By adopting a hedging strategy, the EU can be seen as seeking to opt out of the turbulence usually associated with a systemic shift towards multipolarity.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Posner Elliot, Véron Nicolas

The EU and financial regulation: power without purpose?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 3 2010, Pages 400 – 415

If the European Union (EU) has been an effective bulwark against ad hoc globalization in any economic domain, we may well find evidence from finance, the engine of cross-border economic activity. Yet our study revealed little indication of a distinctive EU approach for regulating financial services industries. Our findings suggest that European decision-makers tried mainly to secure full market integration inside the EU rather than shape regulation to meet a common public purpose, whether at the EU or global level. The policy framework adopted by the EU was essentially modeled on pre-existing United States (US) examples, and does not reflect a transatlantic difference in underlying values. We put



forth several hypotheses about why the EU did not seek to manage globalization in the financial services area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Howorth Jolyon

The EU as a Global Actor: Grand Strategy for a Global Grand Bargain?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 455-474

Like it or not, the European Union, in the wake of Lisbon, has become an international actor. It now faces two major external challenges. The first is to develop a strategic vision for a potentially tumultuous emerging multi-polar world. The European Council's December 2008 'Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy' recognized that, over the last five years, the threats facing the EU had become 'increasingly complex', that 'we must be ready to shape events [by] becoming more strategic in our thinking'. The second challenge is to help nudge the other major actors towards a multilateral global grand bargain. Such a bargain will be the necessary outcome of the transition from a US-dominated post-1945 liberal world order, towards a new 21st-century order accommodating the rising powers and sensitive to the needs of the global south. Without such a comprehensive and co-operative bargain, the emerging multi-polar world will be rife with tensions and highly conflict-prone.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Uusi-Rauva Christa

The EU energy and climate package: a showcase for European environmental leadership?

in **European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance**, Volume 20, Issue 2, March-April , 73-88

Climate change is one of the main contemporary challenges, and it has been argued that there is a need for strong environmental leadership to achieve global climate deals. Few studies, however, have questioned how environmental leadership is demonstrated in political and media discourse. To fill this gap, this paper adopts a critical discourse analytical (CDA) perspective to explore how the EU and newspapers in six European countries discursively construct environmental leadership in relation to the EU climate package that was introduced and ratified in 2008. The findings suggest that environmental leadership is a struggle for meaning that shifts over time, from first, aiming at emissions reduction targets that are higher than others' versus targets that would be stringent enough to effectively fight climate change to second, the means used to reach the reduction targets versus the ends that are reached. This shift over the period of year 2008 seems largely due to significant changes in the social context.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Monar Jörg

The EU's Externalisation of Internal Security Objectives: Perspectives after Lisbon and Stockholm

in **International Spectator (The)**, Vol. XLV, n. 2, June

The EU as an area of "freedom, security and justice", faces a number of internal security concerns, such as organised crime, terrorism and illegal immigration which require external measures to combat them effectively. Limited progress



has been made in the four dimensions of externalisation of EU internal security (the integration of internal security objectives into EU external relations strategy, cooperation with third countries, capacity building in third countries and common action within international organisations) and the EU must continue to expand its capabilities to use external measures to help solve internal security challenges. The Treaty of Lisbon and the 2010-14 Stockholm Programme are both likely to foster further externalisation of EU internal security objectives, but whether this becomes reality will depend to a large degree on the Commission's Action Plan.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lord Christopher, Pollak Johannes

The EU's many representative modes: Colliding? Cohering?

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 117 – 136

At first glance the European Union's (EU's) compound form of representation allows a wide-ranging spectrum of actors to claim to be representative, and allows different channels to feed their demands and interests into the political system. While this may be understood as a redeeming feature of supranational politics, this article sounds a note of caution. The historically developed system of representation comprising different principles and practices may combine in ways that undermine standards by which claims to political representation can be justified. First, it is demonstrated that the urge to combine multiple channels of representation has its roots in the history and theory of representation itself. Second, we show the development of the EU's compound form of representation. Third, tests of how well principles and practices of representation combine in the European arena are proposed. It is shown that the EU's specific combination of representative practices hardly allows for ensuring public control with political equality.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimopoulos Angelos

The Effects of the Lisbon Treaty on the Principles and Objectives of the Common Commercial Policy

in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 15, issue 2 , 153-170

ABSTRACT: The Lisbon Treaty brings significant changes to the orientation of the Common Commercial Policy (CCP), affecting the principles and objectives that guide the exercise of EU competence in this field. Building upon the EC Treaty (TEC), it strengthens the role of uniformity and the commitment of the EU towards gradual liberalization, incorporating in fact a standstill obligation of the EU to retain the existing level of liberalization. More importantly, the Lisbon Treaty signals the integration of the CCP into EU external relations, providing common objectives and principles that allow for a re-evaluation of the objective of liberalization and the pursuance of other trade and non-trade goals, guaranteeing at the same time unity and consistency in the exercise of Union powers.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Erixon Fredrik

The Europe 2020 strategy: time for Europe to think again



in *European View* , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 29-37

In March 2010, the Europe 2020 strategy was released as the follow-up to the very ambitious Lisbon Strategy. Like its predecessor, the strategy aims to increase Europe's competitiveness in the world economy. Also like its predecessor, Europe 2020 is likely to be ineffectual. The strategy focuses too much on areas that are outside the EU's legal competence, it lacks recourse for non-compliance and it contains goals that have very little to do with increasing competitiveness. The probable failure of Europe 2020 could have been avoided had the European Commission focused on policy areas over which the EU has competence, and had been given the tools to accomplish the goals that were outside its competence.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

de Búrca Gráinne

The European Court of Justice and the International Legal Order After Kadi

in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Volume 51, Issue 1, (Winter 2010)

This Article examines the response of European courts—and in particular of the European Court of Justice (“ECJ”)—to the dramatic challenges to the U.N. Security Council's anti-terrorist sanctions regime recently brought before the courts. The ECJ in *Kadi* annulled the European Community's implementation of the Security Council's asset-freezing resolutions on the ground that they violated European Union (“EU”) norms of fair procedure and of property protection. Although *Kadi* has been warmly greeted by most observers, I argue that the robustly pluralist approach of the ECJ to the relationship between EU law and international law in *Kadi* represents a sharp departure from the traditional embrace of international law by the European Union. Paralleling in certain striking ways the language of the U.S. Supreme Court in *Medellin v. Texas*, the approach of the ECJ in *Kadi* carries risks for the EU and for the international legal order in the message it sends to the courts of other states and organizations contemplating the enforcement of Security Council resolutions. More importantly, the ECJ's approach risks undermining the image the EU has sought to create for itself as a virtuous international actor maintaining a distinctive commitment to international law and institutions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bednarek-Sekunda Elbieta, Jong-A-Pin Richard, de Haan Jakob

The European Economic and Monetary Union and Labour Market Reform

in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 1, March , 3-27

We examine whether the EMU has led to greater labour market flexibility, differentiating between reform that enhances the capacity of an economy to adjust to economic shocks and reform that aims to increase long-run output. Based on a panel model and using OECD data on labour market reforms for 27 OECD countries over the period 1994—2004, we find that the two types of labour market reform are driven by different variables. Most importantly, our results suggest that the EMU has had no effect on reform that enhances the economy's capacity to adjust to shocks. Most of our evidence for reform that increases long-run output suggests that the EMU has not affected this type of reform either.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Reslow Natasja, Vanhoonacker Sophie

The European External Action Service: Living Forwards by Understanding Backwards
in *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Volume 15, issue 1 , 1-18

ABSTRACT: Among the many changes introduced to the European Union's (EU's) external relations role by the Treaty of Lisbon, one of the most significant is the establishment of a European External Action Service (EEAS) to support the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). However, the treaty article relating to the EEAS is vague and does not specify precisely the form that this new institution will take. This article considers the options for the design of the EEAS along five dimensions: membership, the scope of responsibilities, the centralization of tasks, the rules for controlling the new body, and the flexibility of its institutional arrangements. Equally, the establishment of the EEAS builds on past foreign policy cooperation between EU Member States, and it is therefore important to consider how such cooperation was structured in the past in order to comment on the design options for the future EEAS.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Farrell David M., Scully Roger

The European Parliament: one parliament, several modes of political representation on the ground?
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 36 – 54

In this article we explore the potential for electoral systems to influence the attitudes and behaviour of elected representatives. Focusing on what we term 'geographical representation', or representation on the ground, we consider how variation in electoral systems may be expected to relate to different forms of, and priorities in, political representation. We then explain how - European Union (EU) legislation on 'uniform electoral procedures' notwithstanding - the European Parliament (EP) offers a uniquely powerful research site for investigating these questions. Finally, we explore recent survey evidence on Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) which suggests that, in several respects, electoral system variation does shape how they understand, and seek to carry out, their role as elected representatives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sudbery Imogen

The European Union as political resource: NGOs as change agents?
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 136-157

A number of Europeanization scholars maintain that accession to the European Union (EU) provides non-state actors with new opportunities to strengthen their position in the opportunity structure, even in areas where there is no clear EU



policy or law-exerting pressure from above. However, to date there has been little research focusing on whether non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Central and Eastern Europe have been able to use the EU in this way. In order to address this gap, this article considers whether, how and to what effect Polish women's rights organizations have deployed four types of EU political resource: arenas, policy instruments, funding programmes and points of reference. The research question is analyzed through two different case studies: one on equality in the workplace, where there is a strong EU competence, and one on sexual and reproductive health and rights, where there is no EU competence. The case studies find that the use of EU resources did empower these organisations domestically, but to a lesser extent than expected, particularly where there was no EU pressure from above. In areas where the EU offers the greatest opportunities it also imposes constraints.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Smith Karen E.

The European Union at the Human Rights Council: speaking with one voice but having little influence
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 224 – 241

The Human Rights Council (HRC) was supposed to address the shortcomings of the former Commission on Human Rights (CHR), but it is already suffering similar shortcomings. Some critics of the Human Rights Council have singled out the European Union's (EU) role as particularly disappointing. This article argues that while there is evidence that EU member states are acting cohesively within the HRC, and more so than they have done in United Nations (UN) human rights bodies in the past, the EU's influence in the institution is still quite limited. It speaks with one voice and EU voting cohesion is impressively solid, but has had little influence on the agenda or outcomes of the HRC. This reflects in part the fragile place that human rights have in EU foreign policy-making.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carbone Maurizio

The European Union, Good Governance and Aid Co-ordination
in *Third World Quarterly* , Volume 31 Issue 1 , 13 - 29

This article reviews the EU's distinctive approach to good governance, based on policy dialogue and incentives, in light of the significant transformations that have occurred in EU development policy since the early 2000s. The argument made here is that only when the EU decided to act as a single actor was it possible to agree on a harmonised approach to good governance. By doing so, the EU sought to promote aid effectiveness and at the same time raise its profile in international politics, thus challenging the leadership of the World Bank and of the USA. It is concluded that not only has the gap between the EU's lofty ambitions and the implementation record remained wide, but also that the search for better co-ordination between European donors has resulted in decreased policy space for developing countries.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pizzetti Franco

The European Way / Between myth and reality: Europe comes to terms with itself



in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XL, n.180, Luglio-Settembre

The French and Dutch referenda not only failed the proposal to ratify the Treaty instituting a European Constitution, but also triggered a deep crisis in the European Union. The idea – pursued with some success for many years – that it is possible to build Europe without truly involving the peoples of has reached the end of the line. In view of his constant pleading of the importance that, through a suitable process of identification and mimesis, all European citizens agree with the Constitution, Habermas, much more than Voltaire, deserves to be recognised as one of the idola fori of the European constitutive process. In his speech in Strasbourg on June 27, Tony Blair, who assumed the presidency of the Union on July 1 2005, claimed that the Union is currently experiencing what is essentially a crisis of leadership among its political classes, and, at once, a crisis of the policies enacted in recent years within the framework of a political and strategic vision of the Union that he regards as dated. Blair, however, often evokes the need for common, concerted European policies to make Europe de facto an area of shared values, programmes, projects and guidelines. In Pizzetti's view, to overcome its crisis the Union has to reopen a precise, in-depth debate on the institutional design it intends to adopt. The London bomb tragedy at the start of July also demonstrates that our continent and the peoples who inhabit it need Europe more than ever before (in the meantime, if the Union may appear indecisive compared to the other leading players on the world scene, it does tend to be coherent and determined when it comes to the 'integration of security'). What we need now are conscious, fair decisions, worthy of the great European traditions. This is important for us and for the planet as a whole.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Brittan Samuel

The European Way / European Union and free market seen from Europe and Britain

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XL, n.180, Luglio-Settembre

To understand why the European Union provokes different attitudes across the continent, Brittan believes it is necessary to trace its historical origins. He thus evokes the birth of the Europeanist movement as an expression of a desire to avoid further conflicts and the many voices that were raised in support of the project. He then recalls misunderstandings with Great Britain, which only joined the European Community in 1973. Since then many new elements – the expansion of the Common Agricultural Policy, the development of exchange regulation mechanisms and then of the euro, the European Union Social Charter and, now, the European Constitution – would appear to have caught the British government by surprise. All this has triggered strong perplexities, especially among free traders in all the countries of Europe. But it is British free traders, more than those of continental Europe, who are diffident towards the Union. After describing trends among free traders in the various countries, Brittan concludes that the time has come to interrupt the efforts to 'build Europe' that have characterised the last fifty years. It is far better to try to make existing institutions work. Brittan's hope is that each country in the Union will develop in its own way, and that the dream of becoming a great power to rival the United States and China will be shelved.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lightfoot Simon



The Europeanisation of International Development Policies: The Case of Central and Eastern European States in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 2, March , 329-350

This article examines the EU's role in the emergence of international development policy in the 10 member states from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Development policy provides useful insights into policy making as it is a key way that states operationalise their foreign policy. Thus, development policy gives us insights into the foreign policy priorities of the new member states. This article reviews the emergence and elaboration of policy relating to international development in the new member states and explores how far we have witnessed the Europeanisation of development cooperation in CEE states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Yanakiev Alexander

The Europeanization of Bulgarian regional policy: a case of strengthened centralization

in *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 45-57

The study considers whether EU cohesion policy and related pre-accession instruments have contributed to the development of a more compound polity in Bulgaria and promoted features of multi-level governance. In order to examine the impact of the EU cohesion policy on the Bulgarian system of domestic governance, this contribution studies the nature and the extent of domestic change and attempts to trace its causes. The main finding is that Bulgaria's involvement with the EU has led to the creation of a weak system of multi-level governance dominated by the central government. However, it would be premature to jump to any definitive conclusions before the end of the current programming period.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Pistone Sergio

The Federal Perspective in the Schuman Declaration

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , N- 18-31

This short note aims at providing an analysis of the Schuman Declaration focused on the following points: 1) the genesis of the Schuman Declaration; 2) its federalist content; 3) its topicality

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/60-the-federal-perspective-in-the-schuman-declaration>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costa Anna

The Financial Crisis and New Economic Balances: the Risks of Europe's Absence



in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno L, n. 3 , 194-202

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2008-3-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul

The Fragility of the Eurozone's Institutions

in **Open Economies Review**, Volume 21, Number 1 , 167-174

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Craig Elizabeth

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the Development of a 'Generic' Approach to the Protection of Minority Rights in Europe?

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 17, Number 2 , 307-325

This article considers some of the debates that have taken place in recent years about the Framework Convention's potential application to 'new minorities' or 'immigrant' groups. It explores the relevance of the work of Will Kymlicka to these debates as well as the stance adopted by the Framework Convention's Advisory Committee and State responses. The article argues that the protection of 'new' minorities under the Framework Convention should continue to be encouraged by the Advisory Committee and that this is an approach supported not only by Kymlicka's work but also on a more pragmatic level by State experiences to date.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kerber Markus C.

The Galileo Project put to the test of European competition and public procurement law

in **Intereconomics**, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010

The following article throws some light on the (fragile) legal foundations of the Galileo Project, the European Satellite Navigation System, and gives an interpretation of the normative procurement rules of the EU. Additionally it tries to reveal the practical problems of upholding the principle of free competition and an open market in as much as the procurement of high technology concerns a highly oligopolistic market.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jansen Thomas

The German Constitution in the future of the European Union after the sentence of the Federal Constitutional



Court on the Lisbon Treaty

in *Perspectives on federalism*, Vol. 2, issue 1 , N- 1-8

This note analyses the legal reasoning and the motivations of the recent judgment of the German Constitutional Court on the Lisbon Treaty and considers the possible impact of this ruling on the future of the European integration

Full text available at:

<http://www.on-federalism.eu/index.php/notes/54-the-german-constitution-in-the-future-of-the-european-union-after-the-judgment-of-the-federal-constitutional-court-on-the-lisbon-treaty>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

The Federalist

The German Constitutional Court and the Future of European Unification

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1 , 3-11

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Grauwe Paul

The Greek Crisis and the Future of the Eurozone

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 89-92

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Carter Neil

The Greens in the 2009 European parliament election

in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2, Special Issue: Symposium on Climate Change Policy and Politics, March , 295-302

Full text available at http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/842372__920476729.pdf

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Matthes Jürgen

The IMF is Better Suited than an EMF to Deal with Potential Sovereign Defaults in the Eurozone

in *Intereconomics*, Volume 45, Number 2 / March, 2010 , 75-81



No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Morjé Howard Marc

The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change

in **Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies**, vol. 36, n. 5, May, Special Issue: Migration and Citizenship Attribution: Politics and Policies in Western Europe , 765-751

Over the past decade, the empirical study of national citizenship policies has emerged as a fast-growing area of research. This article contributes to that literature by focusing on the question of continuity and change in the 11 'historically restrictive' countries within the 15 'older' member-states of the European Union. It explains why six of the countries have liberalised their citizenship policies since the 1980s, whereas five have not. The article develops an explanation that focuses on the politics of citizenship. The main finding is that, while citizenship liberalisation is more likely to occur with a leftist government, the most important factor is the relative strength of far-right parties, which can serve to mobilise latent anti-immigrant public opinion, and thereby 'trump' the pressures for liberalisation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Filippis Fabrizio, Scarano Giovanni

The Kyoto Protocol and European energy policy

in **European View** , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 39-46

During the lead up to and assessment of the Copenhagen Climate Conference in November 2009, the effects of the celebrated Kyoto Protocol were often overlooked. Although the aims of the Kyoto Protocol can be relegated to the dustbin of history, the targets set out in the agreement allowed Europe to put itself in a dominant position. Not only did the Kyoto Protocol force Europe to invest heavily in green technologies, but in addition it led to the creation of a European energy policy with the aim of reducing Europe's dependence on fossil fuels which can be seen, from a strategic point of view, as an undesirable dependence on sources abroad.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Steinbach Armin

The Lisbon Judgment of the German Federal Constitutional Court – New Guidance on the Limits of European Integration?

in **German Law Journal**, Vol. 11, n. 4 , 367-390

Full text available at:

http://germanlawjournal.com/pdfs/Vol11-No4/Vol_11_No_04_367-390_Steinbach.pdf



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Lewis John, Staehr Karsten

The Maastricht Inflation Criterion: What is the Effect of European Union Enlargement?

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 687-708

According to the Maastricht Treaty, a country seeking to join the European Monetary Union cannot have an inflation rate in excess of 1.5 per cent plus the average inflation rates in the three 'best performing' EU countries. This inflation reference value is a non-increasing function of the number of EU members. A counterfactual analysis of historical data shows that the effect of enlarging the EU from 15 to 27 countries was sizeable in 2002–04 and again from 2007. Monte Carlo simulations suggest that the enlargement of the EU from 15 to 27 members reduces the inflation reference value by 0.15–0.2 percentage points on average, but there is a considerable probability of a larger reduction at any given moment of time. The treatment of countries with negative inflation rates in the calculation of the reference value has a major impact on the results.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Soler I Lecha Eduard, Vaquer I Fanés Jordi

The Mediterranean in the EU's Spanish Presidency: A Priority in Turbulent Times

in **Mediterranean Politics**, Volume 15, Issue 1, March , 73-79

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dimitrova Antoaneta L.

The New Member States of the EU in the Aftermath of Enlargement: do New European Rules Remain Empty Shells?

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 1 2010 , Pages 137 – 148

During the enlargement negotiations with the post-communist states from Central and East Europe, the European Union required sets of rules to be established creating independent administrations, judiciary, competition regulators and other key institutions. This article argues that the fate of these institutional rules adopted in response to the EU's conditions for membership is an important, under-researched part of the post-enlargement research agenda. The key question is whether informal rules and practices will also change following the change in formal rules and lead to institutionalization, or alternatively whether the imported rules will be reversed or remain empty shells. To account for divergent patterns of institutionalization, I propose a framework focusing on the preferences of key actors bargaining over the new institutions. I identify issue-specific veto players and non-state actors linked to them as the key actors that will affect the outcome of the post-enlargement round of bargaining over the new rules.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Rowan Brett C.

The Price of “European” Identity: The Negative Social and Economic Impact of Slovenian Migration Law in International and Comparative Law Review Loyola of Los Angeles, Vol. 31, n. 2 , 221-255

full text available at:

<http://ilr.lls.edu/documents/Rowan.ETE.082009.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Stephenson Paul J.

The Role of Working Groups of Commissioners in Co-ordinating Policy Implementation: The Case of Trans-European Networks (TENs)

in **Journal of Common Market Studies**, Volume 48 Issue 3, June 2010 , p 709-736

Analysis of the Commission's role in policy implementation has focused largely on the administrative rather than political level. Yet little attention has been paid to the importance of high-level Commission actors, such as Commissioners and Director-Generals at this stage. This article analyses the role of a working group (WG) of Commissioners in monitoring and co-ordinating the implementation of trans-European networks (TENs) in transport. It argues that formally institutionalized structures for intra-College co-operation provide important arenas for creativity, entrepreneurship and consensus-building. Ultimately, the consistent and sustained political involvement of Commissioners improves the Commission's administrative co-ordination and may, ultimately, help secure better policy implementation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

The Federalist

The Significance of the Battle for a European Federal State

in **Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)**, Anno L, n. 3 , 173-185

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2008-3-EN.pdf>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Wilets James D.

The Thin Line between International Law and Federalism: A Comparative Legal and Historical Perspective on US Federalism and European Union Law

in **Studi sull'integrazione europea**, Anno V, n. 1 , 35-48

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gifford Chris

The UK and the European Union: Dimensions of Sovereignty and the Problem of Eurosceptic Britishness in Parliamentary Affairs, Volume 63, Number 2, April, 321-338

Sovereignty is at the core of the UK's chronically contentious relationship with, and within, the European Union (EU). In order for EU membership to be an expression rather than an erosion of British sovereignty governments must influence the direction of European policy and the level of UK involvement. Labour has, it is argued, established an effective accommodation between continued membership of the European Union and British parliamentary sovereignty understood as the continued efficacy of executive power. Nevertheless, this policy has lacked a wider legitimacy and in key respects Euroscepticism has been reasserted by the Labour leadership. Consequently, when viewed from the perspective of popular sovereignty, the nation and the people, the UK's relationship to the European Union remains highly contested and unresolved. It is this aspect of sovereignty that is central to the Conservative Party's continued Euroscepticism. In the political mainstream, it is argued that Eurosceptic Britishness has become politically dominant however this is complicated by the UK's multi-nationalism and the rise of pro-Europeanism in separatist and regional politics. Alongside this it is proposed that British conceptions of economic sovereignty are in flux following economic crisis, contributing to an overall uncertainty in the UK's European trajectory.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Scharpf Fritz W.

The asymmetry of European integration, or why the EU cannot be a 'social market economy' in Social Choice and Welfare, Volume 35, Number 2, 211-250

Judge-made law has played a crucial role in the process of European integration. In the vertical dimension, it has greatly reduced the range of autonomous policy choices in the member states, and it has helped to expand the reach of European competences. At the same time, however, 'integration through law' does have a liberalizing and deregulatory impact on the socio-economic regimes of European Union member states. This effect is generally compatible with the status quo in liberal market economies, but it tends to undermine the institutions and policy legacies of Continental and Scandinavian social market economies. Given the high consensus requirements of European legislation, this structural asymmetry cannot be corrected through political action at the European level.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Larch Martin, Turrini Alessandro

The cyclically adjusted budget balance in EU fiscal policymaking in Intereconomics, Volume 45, Number 1 / January, 2010

The cyclically adjusted budget balance (CAB) plays a key role in the EU fiscal surveillance framework. It started off in a



supporting role in the shadow of the headline deficit and, before long, turned into the linchpin of the rules of the Stability and Growth Pact. The steep ascent was driven by high expectations which, with the passing of time, were only partly met. The everyday practice of the EU fiscal surveillance rapidly revealed a number of caveats of the CAB which, at times, hampered the effectiveness of fiscal surveillance. This paper provides a comprehensive review of the changing fortunes of the CAB in the EU fiscal surveillance framework. It portrays its main shortcomings and the way they are dealt with in practice.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Andreou George

The domestic effects of EU cohesion policy in Greece: islands of Europeanization in a sea of traditional practices

in Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, vol. 10, n. 1, March, Special Issue: Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid in Southeast Europe , 13-27

This contribution considers whether European Union (EU) cohesion policy has contributed to the development of a more compound polity in Greece and, specifically, considers the extent to which there is a process of Europeanization characterized by emergent features of multi-level governance. After providing a brief background on the nature of domestic governance and politics, it reviews the development of cohesion policy instruments in Greece and, then, discusses the scope and the nature of changes that have taken place in the last decade. The main finding is that, while the effects of EU cohesion policy on Type I multi-level governance remain limited, its impact on Type II multi-level governance is more pronounced. However, change is neither omnipresent nor linear. The overall picture is one of an emerging archipelago of 'islands of Europeanization' within a sea of traditional institutions and practices.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jabko Nicolas

The hidden face of the euro

in Journal of European Public Policy , Volume 17 Issue 3 2010 , Pages 318 – 334

Europe's economic and monetary union is often depicted as a market-conforming institutional order. The creation of an inflation-fighting independent European Central Bank and the obligation of member governments to maintain fiscal discipline are widely cited as evidence of the European desire to maintain stability and thus placate financial markets. But the euro also has a more hidden face, which is much less liberal and more decidedly managerial. The single currency is itself the boldest expression of a nascent federal power at the European level. It represents a far-reaching delegation of competence from the member states to the institutions of the European Union. It has also enabled member states not only to create a framework for multilateral fiscal discipline - the Stability and Growth Pact - but also to collectively regain some clout vis- -vis market actors. The question for the future is whether EU and national policy-makers will be able and willing to pursue collective priorities beyond monetary stability and the rules of the Stability Pact.

Section C) Regional integration processes



Subsection 6. The European unification process

Anne Thies

The impact of general principles of EC law on its liability regime towards retaliation victims after FIAMM
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 34, issue 6 , 889-913

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Hartlapp Miriam, Leibe Simone

The implementation of EU social policy: the 'Southern Problem' revisited
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , 468-486

This article analyses the implementation of EU social policy in the Southern European member states. When studied by implementation research, Portugal, Greece, Italy and Spain are often treated as a homogeneous group, and some authors speak of a particular 'Southern Problem' while others contest this. In this article, we will take issue with central explanatory frameworks of this literature - the existence of a high level of policy misfit, inefficient administrative and political systems, and weak non-state actors and civil societies in Southern Europe. We analyse the effects of these factors on the timeliness and correctness of implementation in the area of social policy. In a first step, we show that images of a homogenous 'Southern laggard group' are indeed inappropriate. In a second step, we present a new explanation of why the Southern countries are not as uniform as often supposed: they belong to different 'worlds of compliance'.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Fagan Adam

The new kids on the block - Building environmental governance in the Western Balkans
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 203-228

The influence of the EU over environmental policy frameworks, plus the availability of project funding for ENGOs in acceding and candidate states across post-socialist Europe has significantly shaped action repertoires, issue agendas and patterns of mobilisation. It has also been claimed that EU intervention has determined the institutionalisation of 'green' civil society networks by the introduction of, for example, environmental impact assessment (EIA) processes and policy-making norms that emphasise intersectoral partnership and multilevel governance. However, research on the impact of EU assistance for environmental mobilisations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia reveals the extent to which EU intervention and influence builds professionalism, but only partially institutionalises recipient ENGOs; if they are accorded political access at all, it is ephemeral and within less contentious policy areas where they are encouraged to deliver expertise and assistance rather than to act as advocates for community interests or to express political opposition to contentious developments. This article concludes that the professionalisation and increased managerial capacity of a handful of ENGOs cannot be equated with good governance and with the institutionalisation of non-governmental actors. Indeed, increased professionalism is invariably confined to a very narrow spectrum of policy enactment and is insufficient to generate environmental governance in the absence of state or governmental capacity.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cerami Carola

The open society and "british soft power" in Central/Eastern Europe at the end of Cold War
in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 16, n. 1 , 65-78

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Costello Rory, Thomson Robert

The policy impact of leadership in committees: Rapporteurs' influence on the European Parliament's opinions
in *European Union Politics* , Vol. 11, n. 2, June , 219-240

What impact do leaders in the European Parliament's (EP) committees have on the EP's opinions? This study formulates and tests expectations about the conditions under which rapporteurs influence the EP's opinions and also about what factors motivate that influence. In line with the informational theory of legislative committees, the most important factor affecting the EP's opinion is the policy position of the median MEP, not a characteristic of the rapporteur. Nonetheless, the evidence shows that rapporteurs influence the EP's opinions when legislative proposals are subject to early agreements under the co-decision procedure and when the consultation procedure applies. Rapporteurs' influence is motivated primarily by national interests, rather than by the interests of their EP party groups.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Saurugger Sabine

The social construction of the participatory turn: The emergence of a norm in the European Union
in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 49, issue 4, june , 471-495

ABSTRACT: At the beginning of the 1990s a new discourse emerged at the European Union level, insisting on the necessity of 'civil society' participation in decision-making processes. Based on a 'strategic-constructivist' research design, this article addresses the question of the emergence of this participatory turn in the official discourse and its transformation into a norm. It argues that the continued activism of an elite forum, consisting of political and administrative actors as well as academics, created the momentum that brought the concerned actors to accept the participatory norm and to play the roles required by it. However, due to internal competition amongst norm entrepreneurs, and a changed political situation, this norm is still contested, making it difficult to assess how its implementation will function.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Doukas Dimitrios

The verdict of the German Federal Constitutional Court on the Lisbon Treaty: Not guilty, but don't do it again!
in *European Law Review*, Vol. 34, issue 6 , 866-888

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Di Lucia Lorenzo, Kronsell Annica

The willing, the unwilling and the unable - explaining implementation of the EU Biofuels Directive
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 4 2010 , 545-563

In this article we test current knowledge about policy implementation in multilevel governance systems and focus on the debated case of transport biofuels (EU Directive 2003/30/EC). We probe a set of hypotheses in a qualitative comparative analysis, offering a systematic comparison of 10 member states between 2003 and 2006. The findings show that implementation of the EU biofuels policy is a complex phenomenon where combinations of causal conditions, and not single conditions, produce the outcome. Implementation is more likely when three favourable conditions are present, when policy frames and content between EU and national levels match, when a consensual policy style is used and the most important actors are included. These findings are in agreement with previous studies. Non-implementation, on the other hand, is explained by a dichotomy between member states unable to implement because they lack capacity and those member states unwilling to implement even if they can.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Bottinelli Laura

Towards a European Governance of Transport Infrastructures: Insight from the Natural Gas Sector
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 2-3

Les changements significatifs qui ont récemment affecté le scénario mondial de l'énergie, de nature géopolitique, économique et environnementale, ont remis en question la stabilité d'un ordre mondial fondé sur le leadership américain. C'est dans ce contexte que la politique énergétique peut devenir de nouveau l'élément central dans le cadre d'une politique industrielle plus large au niveau européen. La redéfinition d'une nouvelle politique énergétique peut être basée, dans le contexte actuel, sur la gestion des infrastructures de transport et des contrats d'approvisionnement. Ces questions, étant caractérisées par un souffle supranational, pourraient en effet être gérées au niveau communautaire, dans le but d'assurer une plus grande différenciation des sources d'approvisionnement et donc de réduire le pouvoir exercé par certains pays producteurs. L'article s'occupe de ces questions avec une référence spécifique au secteur du gaz naturel, étant donnée l'importance stratégique que cette source va jouer dans un proche avenir pour satisfaire la demande énergétique de l'Europe. En particulier, une analyse sera fournie de l'évolution des infrastructures de transport, soit par gazoduc soit par GNL, et qui a pour but de révéler si et dans quelle mesure la demande interne européenne pourra être satisfaite sur le moyen terme. Sur la base de cette analyse, une extension du réseau interne européen sera proposée, pour assurer une libre circulation du gaz naturel entre les pays continentaux, pour la mise en place d'une politique communautaire des approvisionnements dans ce domaine.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Majone Giandomenico

Transaction-cost efficiency and the democratic deficit

in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 150 – 175

The extensive literature on the European Union's (EU) democratic deficit suffers from two serious limitations. First, it proposes to solve the problem by analogy with national practices instead of looking for its roots, and possible solutions, in the integration process itself. Second, this literature considers only the normative aspects of a condition that also has significant efficiency implications. Analogical reasoning has led to a continuous expansion of the powers of the European Parliament (EP) without any notable increase in democratic legitimacy. The origin of the democratic deficit is, quite simply, the failure to convert a majority of voters to the cause of political integration. This failure forced integrationist elites to sacrifice democracy on the altar of deeper integration in the hope of 'making Europe without Europeans'. The strategy of pursuing political integration under the guise of economic integration backfired when it became evident that the EU kept falling behind its major international competitors in spite of ambitious projects like the Single European Market and Economic Monetary Union (EMU). One reason for this unsatisfactory performance is that in sacrificing democracy for the sake of deeper integration, EU leaders also sacrificed many formal and informal methods developed by democratic regimes in order to reduce various political transaction costs. Thus delegation of monetary policy to an independent central bank is a well-known method for solving the time inconsistency problem. In case of serious external shocks, however, a balance must be struck between commitment to monetary stability and flexibility. This is possible in a democracy, where elected policy-makers are able to provide the necessary political counterweight to the central bank's technocrats; this is impossible in the EU, where the European Central Bank (ECB) operates in a political vacuum. In turn, exclusive commitment to monetary stability further undermines the legitimacy of the Union. At present it seems that the only feasible way of reducing the democratic deficit is to reduce the mismatch between the extensive commitments of the EU and its limited normative and institutional resources.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vaquer i Fanés Jordi, Alberich Jordi

Un proyecto para Europa

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Shapiro Jeremy, Witney Nick

Una Europa post-americana

in *Política Exterior*, 133 - Enero / Febrero 2010

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Mongin Olivier

Une crise bien plus grave qu'en 2008!

in *Esprit*, Juin 2010

This is a much more serious crisis than in 2008! Olivier Mongin

On 7 May 2010, the international economic crisis rebounded and, this time round, hit straight at the European Union and the euro, as well as to government ability to manage national economies. Commentators in 2008 were all-too eager to note that "government was back", but today the dangers involved by government debt are all-too visible. But then, how come we have been caught short, when the symptoms of our woes had been visible for a long time?

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Medrano Juan Diez

Unpacking European identity

in *Politique européenne* , n. 30 , 45-66

La littérature a traité l'identité européenne sans prêter beaucoup d'attention au sens que les gens donnent à cette expression lorsqu'ils l'utilisent. Cet article est centré sur les processus d'identification. Les données de sondage sur l'identification des Européens tendent à montrer qu'elle est stable et faible. Or la réalité est plus décevante. Cet article repose sur des données qualitatives recueillies en Allemagne, en Espagne et au Royaume-Uni vers la fin des années 1990. Elles montrent que les Européens, lorsqu'ils déclarent s'identifier en tant que tels, veulent dire des choses très différentes. Les significations qu'ils attribuent à cette identification ressemblent rarement à celle que postulent les chercheurs.

The literature has discussed European Identity without much attention to what individuals mean when they use this term. This article focuses on the identification processes behind this expression. Data on the level of identification among European people show that it is both stable and low. Yet the reality is grimmer. This article draws on qualitative research conducted in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom in the late 1990s. The data from this qualitative research shows that Europeans mean many different things when they say that they identify as Europeans. Very seldom do these meanings agree with the researchers' expectations of what it means to identify as European

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Woll Cornelia, Jacquot Sophie

Using Europe: Strategic action in multi-level politics

in *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 8, n. 1, april , 110-126

ABSTRACT: This article examines the importance of action-theoretical considerations in European studies. By outlining the notion of 'usage' of the European Union, we argue for a more systematically sociological consideration of strategic action in the study of European transformations. The recent turns towards constructivism and comparative political sociology allow analyzing the rationality of political actors without falling in the trap of overly reductionist rational choice assumptions. Concentrating on intentional action helps to reveal the importance of three aspects of the multi-level polity: (1) informal and non-constraining procedures; (2) the effects of ways in which actors move in between the different levels of the European political system; and (3) the ambiguous and often surprising coalitions that come together despite often considerable disagreement over their final goals.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vedovato Giuseppe

Valori etici ed Europa nella crisi della globalizzazione

in *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, Volume 76, n. 4, ottobre-dicembre , 584-596

The substance of this article was delivered as a lectio magistralis by Giuseppe Vedovato when he received the Europa-Alcide De Gasperi prize for 2009 in recognition of his work promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms in Europe, together with his long standing battle on the subject of values. In his lectio he examines this dominant theme in relation to globalization and its new frontiers, from bioethics to the ethics of the environment and of communication, the ethics of the business world and those of agro-eco systems and he underscores the negative effect that the crisis of moral beliefs held in common is having. Within this overall picture the ethical principles of the Catholic Church are confirmed by experience and can be summed up in the principle of the common good, inspired by a respect for and the promotion of the individual and his/her fundamental rights. While financial globalization has taken over, inequality has increased and the young are losing their sense of values. The prime cause of this is, above all, the loss of a sense of collective belonging, replaced by rampant individualism, and a loss of respect for politics. The present model of development has deepened the gulf between a society of consumers that is overwhelmed by material goods and the rest who lack the bare minimum, while we seem unable to transform the idea of solidarity into social ethics. Globalization has advanced too fast for the development of the necessary regulations and the birth of a code of ethics that is valid the world over. It is up to Europe to assert the individual and universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity, as well as the intangible dignity of the human being; but this too is full of contradictions which must be overcome. Europe should make use of the principle of subsidiarity and gain strength from the role played by Christianity in the unification of Europe. What we need is ideas not ideologies, because Europe will have to face tremendous challenges both within its frontiers and in the world outside. These challenges should be faced respecting certain priorities: the battle against unemployment and the preservation of social cohesion; a healthy and unified policy of immigration and asylum; the full application of the rules of competition in industry and a careful evaluation of the inefficient sectors of the market; an effective regulation regarding renewable energy that is compatible with the environment. Europe should also adopt a more stable stance on the international scene, and work for the definitive stability and association of the Western Balkans, while encouraging dialogue and



cooperation with other countries of the world. It must invest in energy, research and technological development, in agriculture and European citizenship. The present crisis in globalization should be a stimulus for its mission in the world and endow the European Union with a well defined personality. These were the suggestions, based on the experience of the long-standing work of the Florentine-European who received the prize.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

De Ruiter Rik

Variations on a Theme. Governing the Knowledge-Based Society in the EU through Methods of Open Coordination in Education and R&D

in *Journal of European Integration*, Volume 32, Number 2 / March , 157-173

This article focuses on one of the more elaborate new modes of governance in function in the EU context — the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) — and examines its varying degree of institutionalization on policy fields. Three explanations for differences in institutionalization of OMCs are tested through a comparative study of two OMCs adopted in policy fields related with the knowledge-based society theme. The empirical findings indicate that the institutionalization of an OMC can be best explained by a particular constellation of member-state preferences, in combination with a catalytic role of the European Commission.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Guarino Giuseppe

Verso una fase costituente nella Unione Europea

in *Rivista italiana di diritto pubblico comunitario*, n. 6 , 1287-1318

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Dullien Sebastian

Von der Griechenlandkrise zum Euro-Kollaps?

in *Blätter für deutsche & internationale Politik*, Juni, 2010

Nach langem Gezerre hat der Bundestag am 7. Mai 2009 die in der Öffentlichkeit heftig diskutierten Notkredite für Griechenland beschlossen. Mit Garantie des Bundes soll die KfW-Bank den Griechen 22,4 Mrd. ...

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Jestaedt Matthias

Warum in die Ferne schweifen, wenn der Maßstab liegt so nah? Verfassungshandwerkliche Anfragen an das



Lissabon-Urteil des BVerfG

in *Staat*, vol. 48, issue 4 , 497-1014

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Grabbe Heather

We've got to get the EU's Balkans enlargement back on track

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

For a variety of reasons, says Heather Grabbe, the EU's strategy for bringing in the countries of the Western Balkans is losing momentum and credibility. She sets out the policy shifts that are now needed.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Sissenich Beate

Weak states, weak societies: Europe's east-west gap

in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 11-40

The transfer of rules, such as in the European Union's recent enlargements, requires well-functioning institutions of government as well as societal actors ready to engage with the new rules. Officials of the European Commission and other practitioners highlighted the need for both in the run-up to enlargement, whereas critics of the 2004 and 2007 rounds have faulted the state-centric approach employed by the EU for undercutting societal actors in the new member states. This article examines data from the World Values Survey and World Bank Governance Indicators and shows that state capacity and organized interests do indeed go hand in hand: Among the 27 EU member states, countries that score high on good governance also have citizens engaged in interest organizations, volunteering for a broad variety of causes and ready to participate in acts of protest. By the same token, in countries where governments struggle to deliver results, organized interests are insufficiently established and rarely in a position to perform governance functions. The data show systematic and statistically significant differences between old and new member states, with Eastern Europe lagging behind most of the older democracies on both dimensions, that is, state capacity and civil society. Considerable variation within each block does not negate this basic gap, though it highlights the need for nuance and cautions against determinism. The article seeks to set the stage for the case studies contained in this special issue.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Gavin Victor

Were the interests really parallel? The United States, Western Europe and the early years of the European integration project

in *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* , vol. 8, n. 1, March , Special Issue "Conflict and Community: Transatlantic Relations during the Cold War" , 32-43



According to traditional historiography, the French were genuinely committed to creating an integrated Europe in the early 1950s, modelled according to the principles proclaimed in the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950. This article aligns itself instead with the thesis proposed by the British historian Alan Milward, according to which the aim of France's European integration project was, from its very start, to strengthen the nation-state and not to substitute a federal European structure for it.¹ Moreover, the article argues that the French government worked hard to convince the United States that it was genuinely committed to a European political and economic reorganisation along federalist lines in order to obtain Washington's support for a project focused on solving the problems of French industry. For the French, federalism was a tool of policy rather than an end in its own right.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Boiler Stefanie

What factors determine bargaining power and success in EU negotiations?

in *Journal of European Public Policy*, Volume 17 Issue 5 2010, 743-757

Negotiations in the European Union (EU) Council of Ministers are highly secretive, so outsiders have limited knowledge of the factors that determine bargaining power there. However, previous research has shown that gains and losses in these negotiations are relatively equally shared amongst the EU members and that the influence of exogenous power resources such as votes are more important than endogenous resources such as bargaining skill (Bailer 2004). Based on findings of the current literature on bargaining success in EU negotiations, I suggest several areas for future research - in particular regarding the partisan preferences of EU governments and the way this influences their coalition formation behaviour. More attention should also be paid to the context of these negotiations, their differing meeting frequencies and the resulting reciprocity logics. However, more efforts to generate and analyse data on negotiation positions will be necessary in order to see what bargaining power can achieve in the Council.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Kalemlı-Ozcan Sebnem, Papaioannou Elias, Peydró José-Luis

What lies beneath the euro's effect on financial integration? Currency risk, legal harmonization, or trade?

in *Journal of International Economics*, Volume 81, Issue 1, May 2010, 75-88

Although recent research shows that the euro has spurred cross-border financial integration, the exact mechanisms remain unknown. We investigate the underlying channels of the euro's effect on financial integration using data on bilateral banking linkages among twenty industrial countries in the past thirty years. We also construct a dataset that records the timing of legislative–regulatory harmonization policies in financial services across the European Union. We find that the euro's impact on financial integration is primarily driven by eliminating the currency risk. Legislative–regulatory convergence has also contributed to the spur of cross-border financial transactions. Trade in goods, while highly correlated with bilateral financial activities, does not play a key role in explaining the euro's positive effect on financial integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process



Rodrigues Sanches Edalina, Santana Pereira José

Which Europe do the Portuguese Parties Want? Identity, Representation and Scope of Governance in the Portuguese Euromanifestos (1987-2004)

in Perspectives on European Politics and Society, vol. 11, n. 2, June, Special Issue: Which Europe Do Parties Want? A View from France, Italy, Portugal and Spain , 183-200

This article analyses the nature of Portuguese political parties' attitudes towards Europe. Three major European dimensions are focused upon: identity, representation and scope of governance. Their consistency over time and their relevance for party competition are analysed, drawing on the INTUNE Euromanifesto Dataset. We observe that behind the Portuguese party system's apparent enthusiasm towards the European project, there are significant differences between the parties on European integration issues. Our three independent variables (left vs. right; mainstream vs. extreme; incumbent vs. opposition) are clearly related, with differences in regards to a European identity, but not a national identity. Moreover, mainstream parties adopted favourable opinions towards the outcomes of the integration into the European Union (although to a lesser extent after 1991), while extremist parties tend to be more pessimistic. In connection to scope of governance in the six policy areas considered, differences (either in terms of mainstream/extreme and incumbent/opposition status) are more evident in defence and foreign policy areas.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Aksoy Deniz

Who gets what, when, and how revisited: Voting and proposal powers in the allocation of the EU budget in European Union Politics , Vol. 11, n. 2, June , 171-194

What are the factors that help EU member states to secure favourable bargaining outcomes? Although existing research highlights the importance of the member states' 'political power', scholars tend to equate this with their voting power. In this paper, I argue that proposal-making power associated with the EU presidency helps the member states to obtain preferable negotiation outcomes. Analysis of the cross-state allocation of the EU budget from 1977—2003 shows that holding the EU presidency during the time of allocation decisions brings financial benefits to individual member states.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Ferrera Maurizio

Why Europe / Europe: more liberal, hence less fragile. A comment on Paul Mignette in Biblioteca della Libertà, Anno XLI, n.184, Luglio-Settembre

Ferrera largely shares Mignette's thesis, but tries to articulate it and develop it in terms of its diagnosis and of 'what to do' to make liberal Europe less fragile, and... more liberal. In his view, Europe's fragility is not the result of the fragility of liberalism tout court, but of the fact that, historically, this Europe (in the sense of the European Union) has always made use of only one of the various liberal compounds: economic liberalism. If the language of efficiency, competition and the market cannot and must not be the only discourse of liberal Europe, what other language can we use? We might begin with Dahrendorf's notion of 'life chances'. But European integration as an ambitious and daring balancing act and, if



possible, as the overriding of many traditional ideological and institutional polarities also involves political theory (and here the commitment of all liberalisms is required) and political action (with the commitment of all liberals).

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Magnette Paul

Why Europe / The Fragility of Liberal Europe

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLI, n.184, Luglio-Settembre

The deep-rooted causes of the crisis of the European Union are a continuous subject of polemic, often based on oversimplistic explanations of ongoing nationalist sentiments. Citizens tend to identify Europe with a laissez-faire trend (asserted first with the Single Act, then with the Treaty of Maastricht), heedless of the different social systems and lifestyles that characterise Member States. The history of European integration is nothing if not that of a movement which, over the centuries, has brought markets closer together, modifying national identities but never questioning the state. Recognition that the tensions between Member States and the European Union are the driving force behind the European project allows us to better understand the 'crisis of significance' that it is currently experiencing, as well as the fact that, in reality, it captures the spirit of a liberal policy based on moderate decisions.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Levitz Philip , Pop-Eleches Grigore

Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession

in **Comparative Political Studies** , Volume 43, No. 4 , 457-485

This article documents and explains the puzzling lack of backsliding in political reforms among the new postcommunist EU members, even though these countries are no longer subject to the powerful incentives of the EU membership promise. Using a combination of cross-national statistics, expert interviews, and public opinion data, the authors show that the new EU members have experienced at most a slowdown in reforms rather than a genuine backlash. The authors attribute this finding to the fact that the loss of leverage after the countries joined the European Union was balanced by a combination of alternative leverage and linkage mechanisms, including greater dependence on EU aid and trade and greater exposure to the West for both elites and ordinary citizens. For the latter, expanded work and travel opportunities seem to be associated with higher expectations of government performance and greater political involvement, which may be crucial for future governance reform in the region.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Telicka Pavel

Why the EU newcomers still don't make the best of membership

in **Europe's World**, Issue 15, Summer



Many of the EU's newest member states are no longer the euro-enthusiasts of yesteryear, and they also complain they have less influence on policymaking than they had hoped. Pavel Telicka assesses the newcomers' track record so far.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Börzel Tanja A.

Why you don't always get what you want: EU enlargement and civil society in Central and Eastern Europe
in *Acta Politica*, Volume 45, Numbers 1-2, April , 1-10

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Cohen Antonin

« Dix personnages majestueux en longue robe amarante ». La formation de la cour de justice des communautés européennes

in *Revue française de science politique*, volume 60, n. 2, avril

Bien que la constitutionnalisation de l'Union européenne par sa Cour de justice ait fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches, le rôle des juristes eux-mêmes dans cette révolution juridique reste largement inexploré, et en particulier celui des juges et avocats généraux à la Cour. Cet article analyse le recrutement social de la Cour de justice dans les années 1950 et 1960, afin de mesurer l'impact de leur trajectoire professionnelle sur leurs conceptions quant à la « nature » juridique des Communautés européennes, et en particulier sur la question de savoir si le droit « communautaire » doit être considéré comme un droit « interne », et non « international », équivalent à une constitution.

Although a great deal of research has been done on the process of constitutionalization of the European Union by its Court of Justice, there seems to be a missing link in the existing literature: the part played by jurists themselves in this legal revolution, particularly by judges and advocates general of the Court. This article analyzes the social recruitment to the nascent Court of Justice (in the 1950s and '60s) in order to assess the impact of their career trajectories on their conception of the legal "nature" of the European Communities, particularly whether EC law should be regarded as "domestic", rather than "international" law, and therefore equivalent to a constitution.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Münchau Wolfgang

¿Es posible que Martin Feldstein tenga razón?



in *Política Exterior*, 135 - Mayo / Junio 2010

¿Es descabellada la perspectiva de un fracaso del euro? La crisis fiscal de Grecia y un proceso de ajuste económico excesivamente largo en España y otros países del sur de Europa han abierto el debate sobre la capacidad de supervivencia de la zona euro.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Häberle Peter

¿Tienen España y Europa una Constitución?

in *Revista de Derecho Constitucional Europeo*, n. 12

El presente trabajo plantea un problema relativo a la situación constitucional del Estado español y de la Unión europea, elaborando una suerte de análisis comparativo. Para realizar este estudio, el autor parte de una serie transversal de conceptos de Constitución que proyecta sobre los distintos elementos del Estado español y de la Unión europea. La conclusión del trabajo presenta los distintos perfiles constitucionales de cada una de las comunidades políticas, pero, sobre todo, señala como ambas comparten el mismo derecho constitucional

Full text available at:

<http://www.ugr.es/~redce/REDCE12/articulos/13Haberle.htm#abstract>

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Buzelay Alain

À propos de l'explosion des déficits et de l'endettement publics en Europe

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 539, juin, 349-355

The recent deficit and public debt increase results from the budget reflationary policies implemented to put an end to the recession. Although it may be premature to assess their efficiency, studies show that in the past, there has been a strong correlation between budget deficit increase and shorter recession periods. Yet deficits and resulting debt can also generate or increase recessions in terms of external and internal balance - could the exploding budget not lead to a social explosion? Faced with that issue, this article attempts to analyse the true limits of public debts: according to an analytical approach, through public finance quality; according to an empirical approach, through debt viability, which itself depends on the ability to reduce expenses, increase taxes, on the borrowing capacity, on growth prospects and potential, or on the ability to conduct structural reforms.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Vaucheux Antoine

À quoi « tient » la cour de justice des communautés européennes ? Stratégies commémoratives et esprit de corps transnational



in *Revue française de science politique*, volume 60, n. 2, avril

Le présent article explore les fondements de l'autorité d'une cour internationale, la Cour de justice européenne, qui ne peut s'adosser ni sur un corps professionnel supranational, ni sur un appareil d'État. En s'appuyant sur un corpus de discours commémoratifs restés inexploités, il montre le soin avec lequel une élite de la Cour entretient depuis la fin des années 1970 un esprit de corps transnational. Mélanges, éloges et autres jubilés sont ainsi le lieu d'une mobilisation transnationale où se fixe tout à la fois l'identité institutionnelle d'une Cour à la légitimité fragile et les contours d'une « communauté » de soutiens dans laquelle la juridiction communautaire puise son autorité à prononcer ses « verdicts » sur l'Europe.

The present article explores the foundations of the authority of an international court, the European Court of Justice, which has neither a supranational professional corps nor a state apparatus to rely on. Based on a corpus of hitherto unexamined commemorative writings, we show the pains a judicial elite has taken to maintain a transnational esprit de corps since the 1970s. Festschriften, laudations and other jubilees are the locus of a transnational effort to establish both the institutional identity of a Court whose legitimacy is fragile and the contours of a "community" of support which the Community courts draw on for their authority to pronounce "verdicts" on Europe.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Russo Eleonora

Éléments d'une politique européenne en matière de changement climatique. Introduction

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 110-115

The fight against climate change has led, in recent years, to the passing of a growing number of both international and community legal tools. This study summarises the major texts passed in the international framework - United Nation's framework agreement on climate change, Kyoto Protocol - and analyses the European climate change prevention policy based on the commitments made by the Community on an international level, until the recent "climate energy package" which translates the role that the EU would like to take on in the post Kyoto negotiations.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Meritet Sophie

Éléments d'une politique européenne en matière de changement climatique. Les nouveaux défis des politiques énergétiques des États-Unis et de l'Union européenne

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 537, avril , 211-220

Energy policies always used to meet national requirements, but have included international aspects for a long time. The purpose of this article is to describe the basic characteristics of current energy policies and illustrate with the example of two major areas, the European Union and the United States. In order to understand their behaviour differences, a pre-requisite is the knowledge of the global energy balance. Four elements, more or less marked, depending on national cases, can be identified: an institutional aspect, an action on the energy offer, an action on demand and an international



action. The two examples chosen illustrate the various aspects of those general considerations: that of the European Union with its integration force and those 27 countries with diverse energy situations, and that of the United States, a country immersed in the culture of transport, increasingly concerned by the growing constraint of oil and gas imports and maybe at an environment crossroads. Though the situations and energy options differ, the concerns are the same: supply safety, competitiveness and global warming.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 6. The European unification process

Thieffry Patrick

Éléments d'une politique européenne en matière de changement climatique. Les nouvelles mesures communautaires de promotion des énergies renouvelables

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 536, mars , 148-158

The "package of measures" of 23 April 2009 adopted for the implementation of the "Climate Action Plan" has triggered a remarkable evolution with respect to renewables, while, until then, EU law limited itself to setting forth targets with which Member States' non compliance was not deemed a failure to fulfil an obligation under the treaties, such targets are now binding. Such targets normally vary for each Member State, but one single target has been set for transport fuel as a result to its sensibility to distortions in competition. Only "sustainable" biofuels are taken into account, a new legal category which was defined with difficulties at a time when the global ecological performance of some biofuels from agricultural products came into question. Both purposes of such targets, providing certainly for investors and promoting the use of renewables, pursue a market-driven logics. Thus, market is instrumentalized: as a basis for the categorisation of those energies worth being promoted and taken into account for the computation of binding targets to be complied with by the Member States; to moderate the harshness of such binding targets; and lastly, to facilitate their achievement.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pinna C.

EU-China relations in higher education: Building bridges in global cultural dialogue

in *Asia Europe Journal*, Volume 7, Numbers 3-4 / December , 505-527

The internationalization of higher education systems has become critical to the educational success of a country. The purpose of this research is to carry out a study of the growing pace of internationalization in Chinese higher education in the contemporary period. The research focuses on the cooperation between China and Europe, especially the management of transnational projects related to improving collaboration between Chinese and European institutions of higher education. The move to mass higher education in the Chinese context and its implications stand as the starting point of the investigation. The project aims to analyze the main national policies for enhancing the internationalization of higher education both in China and Europe. Then, taking as examples some projects of particular relevance, it will consider the objectives and the consequences of these forms of cooperation and collaboration, especially for the development of the Chinese higher education system. Finally, a concise historical overview of the relations in higher education between China and Europe in the last 20 years will facilitate understanding of the changing role played by Europe in the Chinese context.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gilson J.

Asian-European Relations: Building Blocks for Global Governance?

in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 83, Number 1, March

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Taneja Pradeep

China–Europe relations: The limits of strategic partnership

in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July , 371–387

The China–European Union (EU) relationship has grown rapidly over the past three decades with international trade being its mainstay. China and the EU also share a number of common strategic interests and positions. To maximize the potential of this relationship, both sides decided to build a comprehensive strategic partnership. However, serious differences remain between the two sides on questions of norms and values, delaying progress on a strategic framework. This article argues that while these differences constitute a serious obstacle to the realization of a genuine strategic partnership, the growing importance of trade and investment relations between China and the EU will cushion the impact of these differences, thus allowing each side more leverage over the other in dealing with complex bilateral and international issues.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Sullivana J., Renz B.

Chinese migration: still the major focus of Russian Far East/Chinese North East relations?

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 2 , 261 - 285

In contrast to Sino-Russian relations at the state-level, regional cooperation between the contiguous Russian Far East and Chinese North East has been difficult to achieve, despite the existence of seemingly natural economic complementarities. This article asks why this is the case and argues that one important stumbling block, i.e. negative reactions to Chinese labour migration, has become less problematic. Situating Russian Far East/Chinese North East relations in a regionalist framework the article compares the salience and framing of major issues in regional relations in Chinese and Russian media at the national and regional levels. Contrary to earlier research, the findings suggest that economic and regional development issues, and not Chinese migration into the Russian Far East, are by far the most salient sets of issues on both sides. However, significant differences in the framing of these issues suggest that a convergence of opinion on the desirability of regional cooperation masks contradictory expectations for the direction of regional development.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation



Costa Oriol

Convergence on the Fringe: The Environmental Dimension of Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 149-168

This article examines environmental policy convergence in the Mediterranean from three different perspectives. First, it describes the main features of this convergence. Namely, that convergence is more about principles and approaches than about environmental quality standards, and that it is undifferentiated in sectoral and geographical terms, but there is scope for normative differentiation. Secondly, the article explores the strategies available to promote convergence. Actors in charge of environmental Euro-Mediterranean cooperation cannot resort to conditionality, and thus have developed two alternative strategies, functional cooperation and international legitimation. Finally, the article reviews the results delivered by these strategies.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Escribano Gonzalo

Convergence towards Differentiation: The Case of Mediterranean Energy Corridors

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 211-229

The EU has expressed the will to achieve a pan-European energy community with neighbouring countries based upon EU's energy related *acquis*. Under such a vision, European neighbours will have to selectively converge towards EU energy rules. The Mediterranean neighbourhood hosts key hydrocarbon producers and transit countries, but also promising sources of renewable energy, where different energy corridors for different sources and geographical origins coexist with a complex set of economic, technical and geopolitical factors. Mediterranean countries' preferences vary accordingly, fostering the differentiation of the *acquis* to be adopted. However, in order to develop a consistent policy, this article argues that differentiation should be corridor, not country-specific, and be conceived within a coherent framework of incentives.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Soler I Lecha Eduard

Converging, Diverging and Instrumentalizing European Security and Defence Policy in the Mediterranean

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 231-248

This article addresses the degree of convergence, divergence and in some cases indifference of Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries towards the European Security and Defence Policy. Focusing on two cases, Morocco and Turkey, but also referring to other Mediterranean partners, this contribution analyses the dynamics of this specific issue area, arguing that policy convergence in the field of security and defence has reflected process-oriented goals rather than a substantive convergence of strategic interests. The article concludes by exploring how the EU's differentiated geographical approach in security and defence cooperation in the Mediterranean impacts on the broader region-building endeavour.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Wunderlich Daniel

Differentiation and Policy Convergence against Long Odds: Lessons from Implementing EU Migration Policy in Morocco

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 249-272

EU external migration policy is contentious in relations with its southern neighbours. Policy convergence and differentiation are unlikely outcomes in this setting. Against long odds, two-sided policy convergence occurs with considerable scope for differentiation. Specifically, the analysis of EU policy objectives and implementation in Morocco shows the importance of externalities of European integration for achieving cooperation and ownership over projects. However, the EU's ability to pursue its restrictive policy objectives is affected by relations between individual member and non-member states, intra-EU coordination problems and domestic political structures in its partner countries. The resulting differentiation processes bring about à la carte cooperation as an unintended consequence of EU initiatives on migration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Barbé Esther, Surrall Anna Herranz

Dynamics of Convergence and Differentiation in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Towards Flexible Region-Building or Fragmentation? Introduction

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 129-147

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership was conceived as a regional endeavour to promote approximation in a wide number of policy domains. However, despite this holistic and geographically encompassing approach, differentiation dynamics have been the order of the day in EU relations with the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries. This article contributes to theoretical and practical debates on whether differentiation dynamics aid or hinder policy convergence processes and region-building efforts more widely. It does so by conceptualizing the various types of differentiation dynamics in Euro-Mediterranean relations and discussing how they are linked to different paths and degrees of regionalization.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Rees Nicholas

EU and ASEAN: Issues of regional security

in International Politics , Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July , 402-418

The article critically explores how, and in what ways, the EU and ASEAN have addressed contemporary security issues, including non-traditional security threats. The comparison of the EU and ASEAN responses to these threats highlights



the different forms and functions that regional integration has taken in Europe and Southeast Asia, and the implications of these differences for intra- and extra-regional security cooperation. The article considers how the EU and ASEAN might work more cooperatively together, noting some existing examples in which experiences and good practice are already shared, as well as other areas in which cooperation might be possible. The article concludes that while security cooperation in the EU and ASEAN, as well as between the two regional entities, is problematic, reflecting differing regional and national interests and organisational capabilities, there are concrete areas in which cooperation is possible.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Huliaras Asteris

EurAfrica: strengthening the special relationship

in European View , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 59-64

The increasing number of agreements between the EU and African states reveals a trend toward a 'One Europe, One Africa' policy. The EU has gained from the Lisbon Treaty new competencies for independent external action, and coordination on Africa policy has increased in the Council, mainly due to convergence between France, Germany and the United Kingdom. However, EU policy towards Africa still lacks coherence and direction and many EU Member States still privilege bilateral links with African countries. There is still an opportunity for the EU to increase its 'actorness' in Africa. First, the EU should take advantage of the economic crisis to create new institutional links between the EU and Africa. Second, the EU should focus on its visibility and act to strengthen private and civil society ties. Despite weaknesses, there are clear indications that the coherence of the EU's Africa policy is improving.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Aznar López José María

Europe and America, partners in prosperity

in European View , vol. 9, n. 1, June , 53-57

Despite the ascendance of other regions in the world, the transatlantic relationship remains paramount. The cultural, historic and economic links between the US and Europe are strong and important. Notwithstanding the strength of these bonds, Europe has lost currency for US foreign policy as it has moved its focus to Asia. This can be attributed to the lack of coordination on the part of the Europeans and preoccupation with the EU's institutional debate. Now that the Lisbon Treaty has been ratified, the institutional debate is in the past and the EU must redouble its efforts to strengthen the transatlantic partnership. Going forward, the only way that the transatlantic partnership can be strengthened and for prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic to be assured is the removal of all trade barriers and the introduction of the free movement of goods, services, capital and labour across the Atlantic.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Gillespie Richard

European Union responses to conflict in the western Mediterranean

in Journal of North African Studies , Volume 15, Issue 1, March , 85-103



The European Union (EU) announced an increased commitment to conflict resolution beyond its external border when it adopted the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2003, yet this has not led to any practical initiatives in the western Mediterranean. While the more latent nature of conflicts there puts less pressure on the EU to act than do the 'hot' conflicts of the Middle East, various disputes over territorial sovereignty persist and tend to undermine the broader EU ambition to promote stability, Euro-Mediterranean cooperation and region-building. In addition to the bilateral disputes over Gibraltar, Ceuta, Melilla and a number of Spanish islands and rocks off the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, there is the broader regional conflict over Western Sahara, which has long brought tension to relations between Morocco and Algeria and between Spain and each of these North African countries, while also frustrating efforts to build the Arab Maghreb Union. Analysis of the EU's weak responses to both the deadlocked Saharan conflict and to the more recent confrontation that took place between Spain and Morocco over Parsley Island in 2002 shows the importance of internal EU divisions and the Union's concern not to upset partners in North Africa, especially Morocco. Yet, despite the EU's reluctance and/or inability to engage in conflict resolution in the western Mediterranean, its policies do have consequences for regional conflicts, even when the EU claims to be neutral. Its privileging of relations with Morocco involves an acceptance that the Moroccan authorities are valid interlocutors for reaching agreements that affect Western Sahara.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Shambaugh David

From honeymoon to marriage: The state and future of China-Europe relations

in *Biblioteca della Libertà*, Anno XLIII, n. 192, Luglio-Settembre

The Sino-European strategic partnership is important in world affairs and is, on the whole, very positive. Nonetheless, despite all the positives, it is evident that the relationship has begun to emerge from its 'honeymoon' phase. It is also evident that the changed, more sober climate in relations since 2007 comes primarily from the European side. Going forward, the two sides will need to lower their expectations somewhat; clarify their rosy rhetoric; learn how to live with, narrow or manage their differences; and develop the mechanisms to build a truly sustainable long-term marriage. Occasional frictions are to be expected, but the strong bonds and mutual interests will drive China and Europe closer and closer together over time.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Joffè George

How Europe could ease the economic crisis around the Mediterranean

in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

The southern Mediterranean looks set to bear the long-term brunt of the economic downturn in Europe, says George Joffé. He sets out the problems now facing many Arab countries and examines the ways that EU countries could lend a helping hand.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Aita Samir

It is still not too late for Europe to change its misguided Mediterranean thinking
in *Europe's World*, Issue 15, Summer

EU policymakers have largely ignored the structural needs of Arab countries when fashioning co-operation policies. But Samir Aïta says that with influential voices in the Arab World now re-thinking their priorities, Europe too should update its policy agenda.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Villani Ugo

La responsabilità dell'Unione europea nell'area mediterranea
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno IV, n. 3 , 551-583

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ahmed Salem Zekeria Ould

Les écueils du «partenariat»: l'Union européenne et les accords de pêche avec l'Afrique
in *Politique africaine*, n. 116

Despite the official discourse of European Union institutions, fisheries agreements do not really contribute to the development of African countries. Actually, these agreements could even compromise it in encouraging those countries to defer any local fisheries planning policies. A careful assessment of these fisheries agreements reveals a lack of coherence between European policies, as shown in the emblematic case of fisheries partnership between the EU and Mauritania.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cafaro Susanna

L'Unione per il Mediterraneo
in *Studi sull'integrazione europea*, Anno V, n. 1 , 105-128

No abstract available



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Aliboni Roberto

**New as it is, the Mediterranean Union needs an overhaul
in Europe's World**, Issue 15, Summer

The painful transition from the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership to the new Union for the Mediterranean isn't over. Roberto Aliboni outlines the direction it should go and warns the EU to take more of a back seat and let Arab governments decide the UfM's future.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Bremberg Niklas

**Security, Governance and Community beyond the European Union: Exploring Issue-Level Dynamics in
Euro-Mediterranean Civil Protection**

in Mediterranean Politics, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 169-188

EU civil protection captures important aspects of the changing security landscape of post-Cold War Europe and the role that the EU now plays in providing safety and security to citizens and societal functions inside and outside the Union. Since the mid-1990s the EU has also promoted regional cooperation on civil protection in the Euro-Mediterranean area. This article aims to explore the issue-level dynamics of Euro-Med civil protection in order to address the main themes of this volume, policy convergence, differentiation and region-building. The main conclusion is that the strong operational component in Euro-Med civil protection has fostered the build-up of a transgovernmental network around the Mediterranean which might serve the goal of partnership and even community-building in the Euro-Mediterranean area.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Vukanić; Ratko M.

**Sino-African Cooperation in the XXI Century and the FOCAC as It's Main Framework
in Review of International Affairs (The)** , Vol. LX, n. 1136, October-December

This article brings an analysis of main political and economic interests which made influence on China and African states to develop cooperation in various areas, reasons why they founded the FOCAC as the institutional framework for cooperation, and main decisions of the FOCAC, their implementation and impact on Sino-African cooperation. China's interests are related to African natural resources, markets and support in international fora, and African states see China as an alternative for the USA and European countries in economic and political field. China has clearer defined interests and uses the FOCAC to shape Sino-African cooperation, whilst African states, without common strategy, come to the FOCAC conferences to hear what China have to offer them in exchange for the maintaining its positions in Africa.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Ba Alice

Systemic Neglect? A Reconsideration of US-Southeast Asia Policy

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 31, Number 3, December , 369-398

This article examines contemporary US-Southeast Asia relations as the product of both longstanding forces and a transitioning regional system. First, it highlights systemic forces behind some of the more enduring features and challenges of US-Southeast Asia policy and relations during the presidency of George W. Bush. Systemic forces highlighted include not just the structural-power dynamics that preoccupy International Relations students, but also the interplay of domestic politics, geography and history. It discloses that the key differences between Bush and his predecessors were more of degree and diplomacy than of substance. Bilateralism, sentimental idealism, and a general reactivity characterized Bush policy, much as it did his predecessors, but Bush diplomacy and policy extremes may account for the more negative regional reception to his policies. Second, in describing a regional system in transition, it highlights adaptations and adjustments on both sides that are creating a regional system that is less US-centric practically and conceptually. It argues that these changes may ultimately prove healthy for both a global power with limited attention and more constrained resources as well as its Southeast Asian partners concerned about autonomy and overdependence. Nevertheless, these changes call for a recalibration of US-Southeast Asia policy and approach in recognition of the region's changing politics.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Duncan Peter J. S.

The CIS, the EU and Russia: The Challenges of Integration

in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 88, n. 3, July , 581-584

No abstract available

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Tramontana Enzamaria

The Contribution of the Inter-American Human Rights Bodies to Evolving International Law on Indigenous Rights over Lands and Natural Resources

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 241-263

Because of the special relationship with land that characterises indigenous groups, rights over land and natural resources are at the heart of indigenous claims under international law. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court have developed a copious jurisprudence on the subject matter and contributed to the establishment of certain minimum indigenous peoples' land rights under customary international law. This article analyses the Inter-American judicial discourse on land issues in the light of the current status of relevant international



law and reflects upon the potential contribution of the former to the further development of the latter. It focuses on the relationship between historical dispossessions and indigenous contemporary land claims, on the state duty to land delimitation, demarcation and titling, and on indigenous peoples' ownership over natural resources located within their traditional lands and their participatory rights in relation to resource exploitation.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Smith Michael, Vichitsorasatra Natee

The European Union's Asia strategies: Problems of foreign policy and international relations

in *International Politics* , Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July , 338–354

European Union (EU)–Asia relations raise linked problems (on the one hand) of EU collective action and identity and (on the other hand) of cooperation. The relationship is characterized by complexity and variety in three dimensions: first, 'voices' and history; second, institutional engagement and structure; and third, issue structure. In order to explore the implications of this complexity and variety, and to generate propositions for further research, we deploy International Relations theories based on material interests, ideas and institutions. These help us to demonstrate not only the application of 'analytical theory' but also the role of 'practitioner theory' in the evolution of relations between the EU and Asia, and thus to reflect systematically on the problems of collective action and cooperation identified at the beginning of the article.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cruz de Castro R.

The US-Philippine Alliance: An Evolving Hedge against an Emerging China Challenge

in *Contemporary Southeast Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs*, Volume 31, Number 3, December , 399-423

This article examines recent trends that have incrementally transformed the US-Philippine alliance as a hedge against an ascending China. It traces the revival of the alliance in the face of China's military modernization and expansionism in the South China Sea in the mid-1990s. It then discusses the revitalization of the US-Philippine alliance post-9/11 in the fight against global terrorism before moving on to discuss China's attempts to drive a wedge between the two allies through its soft-power diplomacy. The US has deepened its security relations with the Philippines through the provision of military and economic assistance to the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), regular consultations and defence policy reviews between the two countries' defence departments, the conduct of combined military exercises and the implementation of new defence initiatives such as the Security Engagement Board (SEB) and Cooperative Security Locations (CSLs). In conclusion, the article argues that the deepening of the alliance has two implications: first, it ensures that the US will remain the Philippines' sole strategic ally for the foreseeable future; and second, that the alliance has been transformed into a hedge against the challenge of growing Chinese power in East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Trupiano Gaetana



The Union for the Mediterranean and Cooperation between the European Union and the Mediterranean Countries

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 2-3

L'Union pour la Méditerranée, UPM, voulue par le président français Sarkozy, a été instituée en 2008, en reprenant, avec des caractéristiques originales et assez différentes, les initiatives européennes précédentes dans le cadre du Processus de Barcelone de 1995 et de la Politique européenne de voisinage de 2004. L'étude s'occupe de l'UPM qui se concentre, en particulier, sur les projets concrets dans les secteurs du transport, de l'environnement, de l'instruction supérieure et de l'énergie. Elle considère prioritaire l'intervention financière privée.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Cameron Fraser

The geopolitics of Asia – What role for the European Union?

in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 3-4, May/July, 276–292

This article reviews the European Union's policy towards Asia since 2001, when an ambitious Communication from the European Commission suggested that the EU should play a political and security role in the region commensurate with its economic strength. After assessing a number of political and security issues in Asia, the article concludes that the EU has had little or no impact on the major geopolitical issues but that it is making some impact on security issues of lesser importance. The article also touches on integration as a contribution to security. It reviews the limited progress in Asian integration and suggests that the basic criteria for integration are missing in Asia. Some aspects of the EU model, however, might be useful for Asian countries wishing to move forward towards closer integration.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Pirozzi Nicoletta

Towards an Effective Africa-EU Partnership on Peace and Security: Rhetoric or Facts?

in *International Spectator (The)*, Vol. XLV, n. 2, June

Peace and security are a key dimension of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy, adopted at the Lisbon Summit in December 2007. In view of its revision in 2010, a series of shortcomings and some successes can be identified in relation to four main strategic objectives: enhancing the political dialogue on common threats, building a global security partnership, promoting a people-centred approach, ensuring coordination among instruments and resources. In order to make the new peace and security partnership work, the EU is now called upon to address both external and internal challenges: supporting the development of effective African capabilities for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, promoting better governance and transparency standards on the continent and establishing a common EU Africa policy.



Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Alles Delphine

Union européenne et Asie du Sud-Est. Entre inter-régionalisme asymétrique et bilatéralisme, les aléas d'une action extérieure en construction

in *Revue de l'Union européenne/Revue du Marché Commun et de l'Union européenne*, n. 535, février , 116-119

The European Union and the Association of South East Asian Nations have maintained close economic and political relationships since the late sixties. A web of various links has been woven between the two regions: between the preferred relationships maintained by some European countries with their former colonies, their conflicting interests and stances on interference in the internal affairs of a country such as Myanmar, the Union's support to countries or NGOs that have initiated a democratisation process, and lastly the inter-regional cooperation between two organisations whose differences one tends to underestimate, it is difficult for the European Union to rationalise its foreign action in South East Asia.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Misrahi Frédéric

What Prospects for the Lifting of Technical Trade Barriers in the Mediterranean? Insights from the Turkish Case

in *Mediterranean Politics*, Volume 15, Issue 2, Special Issue: Region-Building Dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean Space, July , 189-209

This article assesses the potential of mutual recognition agreements proposed by the European Union to Mediterranean partner countries (MPCs) to bring about convergence around EU technical regulations and standards in the Euro-Mediterranean zone, thus lifting technical barriers to trade. In doing so it contributes to the study of policy convergence and region-building in the EU's neighbourhood. It first presents the reasons to believe that, *prima facie*, trade considerations are too weak an incentive for the MPCs to effect across-the-board alignment with EU technical legislation. It then illustrates this point by a study of Turkey's alignment with EU technical legislation, arguing that such alignment was largely motivated by the external incentive of accession. Finally, it shows that these findings match with initial developments in the MPCs, draws lessons for regional policy convergence prospects, and assesses these from a normative perspective.

Section C) Regional integration processes

Subsection 7. Inter-regional Cooperation

Baadood Abdullah

What an effective Arab strategy for the EU should look like

in *Europe's World*, Issue 14, Spring

Europe's attempts to forge a strategic partnership with the Arab world have been mismanaged and under-resourced, says Abdullah Baadood. He suggests that the 65-year old 22-nation League of Arab States offers a viable framework for



future cooperation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Hail Michael, Lange Stephen

Federalism and Representation in the Theory of the Founding Fathers: A Comparative Study of U.S. and Canadian Constitutional Thought

in *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, vol. 40, n. 3, Summer , 366-388

While there are many important points of comparison and contrast between the American and Canadian foundations, perhaps none is more important than the role of political theory. Both the United States and Canada share much in common historically, structurally, and theoretically, yet each established a very different form of federalism that has in turn developed in strikingly different ways. Starting from a common British inheritance, different theoretical applications resulted in divergent conceptions of sovereignty and representation that affected the system of federalism in each country. Our findings demonstrate the crucial importance for understanding the political philosophy of the founding relative to the ongoing dialectic of the Great Conversation. In these two nations, the federalism that developed resulted in substantive differences in representation and constitutional structures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Gish Dustin

Nascent federalism and political crisis in the Iliad

in *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 31, Issue 1 , 1-33

Homer's Iliad, the epic poem of warfare, honour and suffering that stands at the beginning of the Western tradition, has traditionally been read as 'pre-political' and hence neglected as a substantial work of political thought. This essay argues that a close reading of the opening scenes in the Iliad reveals an exchange of public speeches which, if taken together, constitute a field of genuine political activity wherein rival claims about justice and right, as well as honour, are intensely disputed and negotiated. Furthermore, this contest between 'the best of the Achaeans' is firmly situated within a framework of authority and legitimacy expressing in nascent form an essentially federal character. Thus the terms and ground of the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles - - and of the crisis occasioned by their political rivalry -- invite and sustain theoretical reflection upon the inherent weaknesses and strengths of federalism itself as a political form.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 1. Federalism

Fafard Patrick, Rocher Francois, Cotè Catherine

The Presence (or Lack Thereof) of a Federal Culture in Canada: The Views of Canadians

in *Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 20 Issue 1 , 19 - 43

Canada may be among the oldest federations in the world but this says nothing about the strength of federalism in



Canada. Based on the results of public opinion polling and roundtables with provincial government officials, this article argues that the political culture of federalism in Canada is quite weak. With the notable exception of Quebec, Canadians in general and the provincial government officials who work on their behalf demonstrate little understanding of the basic logic of federalism or, when they do, are willing to trade off federalism values against concerns about efficiency, private goods, and meeting the needs of clients and consumers.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Barter Shane Joshua

Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia

in *Pacific Affairs*, Volume 83, Number 2, June, 37E-39E

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Shogimen Takashi

"Another" Patriotism in Early Showa Japan (1930–1945)

in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Volume 71, Number 1, January, 139-160

In current debates on "constitutional" and "republican" patriotisms, the relationship between religion and patriotism is underappreciated while alternative forms of patriotism in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy have escaped scholarly attention. The present essay explores "another" patriotism in wartime Japan by comparing and contrasting the patriotism of two Protestant thinkers: Tsukamoto Toraji and Yanaihara Tadao. A close analysis of Yanaihara's patriotism in particular shows that there was an alternative form of patriotism which, from a Christian perspective, combated militaristic nationalism which was anchored in State Shinto, thereby suggesting a significant link between religion and patriotism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Molinaro Dennis G.

'A Species of Treason?': Deportation and Nation-Building in the Case of Tomo Čačić, 1931–1934

in *Canadian Historical Review (The)*, Volume 91, Number 1, March, 61-85

Deportation was used to remove political radicals from Canada during the early 1930s, as well as immigrants receiving poverty or unemployment relief. Studies of deportation in North America are limited and have rarely focused on ideas of 'the nation' as a primary focus of debates over deportation; and they have seldom dwelt upon the local efforts of those resisting deportation. Arguably the most influential works in this area are Barbara Roberts's *Whence They Came: Deportation in Canada 1900–1935* and Anthony Rasporich's *'Tomo Čačić: Rebel without a Country.'* This paper builds on the work of both authors by explaining not only the mechanisms, but also the ideological moorings, of Depression-era deportation policies, through the revealing case study of Tomo Čačić, a



transnational radical who thought globally and acted locally. The power to deport provided the state with a powerful nation-shaping tool. Deportation of political radicals served a dual purpose: it both isolated and removed those identified as political enemies of the political order and, conversely, demonstrated by implication the qualities of those who were qualified to figure as citizens within the emerging Canadian nation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Domjan Paul, Stone Matt

A Comparative Study of Resource Nationalism in Russia and Kazakhstan 2004-2008
in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 62, n. 1, January , 35-62

In neighbouring countries like Russia and Kazakhstan, resource nationalism that may look similar to outside observers has a different character and is driven by different circumstances in each state. To assess the underlying nature of state-centric models of resource-led development in the two post-Soviet states, we contrast recent state interventions into their respective resource sectors. In Russia, heightened state involvement in the resource sectors, including oil and gas pipeline networks, is characterised mainly by political goals, whereas Kazakhstan's resource nationalism is primarily motivated by economic goals. More specifically, Russia leverages its energy sector to achieve geopolitical objectives and domestic political stability. By contrast, Kazakhstan seeks widely dispersed economic development.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

McGrogan David

A Shift in Japan's Stance on Indigenous Rights, and its Implications
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 355-373

This article details a recent change in the position of the Japanese government towards the Ainu people, from assimilation and denial towards recognition of indigenes and indigenous rights. It then gives reasons for this change in relation to the international context, with particular reference to external pressures which Japan faces to conform to international standards, and asks whether these pressures are likely to have an effect on the government's position with regard to the population of Okinawa. It locates this recent shift in Japan's stance in a general pattern of change in the Asian Pacific on indigenous rights, comparing this pattern to developments in Africa, and finally examines the question of whether the pressures which brought about the change in Japan's position on the Ainu are likely to affect other Asian states.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Woods Dwayne

A critical analysis of the Northern League's ideographical profiling
in *Journal of Political Ideologies* , Volume 15, Number 2 / June , 189-219

This essay takes an innovative approach in analysing the Northern League's populist ideology. The analytical focus is on the use of posters in its ideological construction of itself and 'others'. An analysis of the league's posters is significant for



three reasons. First, the league's rhetorical construction of the 'other' is integral to the development of its own identity. Posters are used to highlight the 'imagined' distinct aspects of northern Italian identity. Second, the league's attack on the 'other' reinforces its broader narrative of representing and embodying the interests of a colonized and exploited 'people'. Thirdly, it structures the grammar in its populist ideology of 'us against them'. This grammar functions as 'a nodal point - i.e. it delimits and qualifies - that gives sense to the rest of its ideological repertoire'. Strident attacks on 'them' have helped the League crystallize its 'us'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Watson Elisabeth E.

A “hardening of lines”: landscape, religion and identity in northern Kenya
in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 201-220

The paper examines the ways in which identities and identity politics between ethnic groups are linked to the way landscapes are constructed and experienced in northern Kenya. Using the cases of the Boran and the Gabra, the paper demonstrates that indigenous religious beliefs, practices and institutions have been central to the construction and experience of landscape and to the development of certain forms of identities and inter-ethnic relations. It explores the way in which, despite profound transformations brought by conversion to Islam and Christianity, the role of religion in structuring relations to landscape and identity remains. The paper draws on the theoretical approaches of Massey and Ingold which implicate social engagements with space in the construction of subjectivities and relations to others. It explores the extent to which Massey's idea of “open” and “closed” spatial systems can be applied usefully to the African context, and help to extend understandings of the development of peaceful or conflict-ridden inter-group relations. Through investigating the connections between religion, identity, landscape and space, the paper seeks to provide explanations for the growing salience of identity politics and inter-ethnic violence in northern Kenya.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Tollebeek Jo

At the crossroads of nationalism: Huizinga, Pirenne and the Low Countries in Europe
in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 17, Issue 2, April , 187-215

Johan Huizinga and Henri Pirenne belong to the most prominent historians of the twentieth century. The fame of the former is most of all based on *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (1919), a fascinating study of the Burgundian culture; the latter is widely considered as the innovator of the economic and urban history of the Middle Ages. But both historians were equally highly preoccupied by the question as to which position their countries - the Netherlands in the case of Huizinga, Belgium in the case of Pirenne - should take up in Europe and what were the responsibilities of these engagements in an international community. This preoccupation is the subject of this essay. It tells the story of diplomats from small countries, of disappointment through war and of national pride, a story also in which positions changed repeatedly.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism



McAuley James W., Tonge Jonathan

Britishness (and Irishness) in Northern Ireland since the Good Friday Agreement
in *Parliamentary Affairs* , Volume 63, Number 2, April , 266-285;

This article examines whether the promotion of British values is desirable, feasible or even permissible within Northern Ireland. Here, the advocacy of Britishness may be seen as threatening or offensive to a minority community whose political representatives desire the diminution of symbols of Britishness in order to encourage Irish nationalists to participate in political institutions. The promotion of British history, culture and belief systems may carry little remit among a nationalist community which more readily identifies with Irish versions of each of these features and may see the Irish, not British, government as the custodian of its interests. Moreover, the promotion of Britishness within Northern Ireland has historically been distinct from that found elsewhere in the UK. First, it has often been 'bottom-up', marked by ostentatious symbolism in response to the constitutional uncertainty which has beset the region. Secondly, Britishness has often taken on particular characteristics, such as Protestantism and Orangeism. In examining how the Westminster government and Northern Ireland executive have responded to these challenges, the article explores the constraints upon the promotion of Britishness in Northern Ireland. Any such project is necessarily confined to one side of the binary divide, a unionist community hardly in need of the assertion of its British identity, while it risks antagonising those holding an Irish identity. Given this, it is unclear how, if at all, the assertion of British values can be formulated on a UK-wide basis, when Northern Ireland remains an area of exceptionalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sumartojo Shanti

Britishness in Trafalgar Square: Urban Place and the Construction of National Identity
in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 9, n. 3, December , 410-428

This article argues for the importance of urban public place in exploring how contemporary national identity is constructed. I take Trafalgar Square as my case study, exploring how Britishness was reinvented in two events that took place there in 2005: the celebrations for London's successful Olympic host city bid and the commemorative vigil for the victims of the 7 July London bombings. I contend that during these events, Trafalgar Square contributed to the discourse of national identity in three distinct ways: firstly, as a podium for the promulgation of official messages about the two events; secondly, as a tableau that demonstrated the 'diversity in unity' that official messages emphasised; and finally as a physical frame that accessed a version of British history to contextualise the events. More generally, the use of the square helped illuminate some important tensions at the heart of contemporary national identity in Britain, such as the question of multiculturalism and the role of London in the national imagination.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Waghay Annapurna

Caste Discrimination and Minority Rights: The Case of India's Dalits
in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 2 , 327-353



India's Dalits (formerly known as Untouchables) number around 167 million or one-sixth of India's population. Despite constitutional and legislative prohibitions of Untouchability and discrimination on grounds of caste they continue to suffer caste-based discrimination and violence. Internationally, caste discrimination has been affirmed since 1996 by the UN committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination as a form of racial discrimination prohibited by the International Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, and since 2000 as a form of discrimination prohibited by international human rights law. India's Dalits have also pursued minority rights and indigenous peoples' approaches before international forums. Yet the Dalits do not readily meet the internationally-agreed criteria for minorities or for indigenous peoples, while in India they are not classified legally as a minority, enjoying a constitutional status and constitutional protections in the form of affirmative action provisions distinct from those groups classified as minorities. This article is concerned with the characterisation of the Dalits in international and Indian law. In particular it focuses on India's provisions on Dalits and minorities respectively, examining the origins and limitations of the Scheduled Caste category (the constitutional term for the Dalits) and the relationship between Scheduled Caste status and religion. The article addresses arguments for the extension of Scheduled Caste status to Muslim and Christian Dalits (currently excluded from the constitutional category on grounds of religion) and concludes by endorsing calls for re-examination of the domestic legal categories encompassing victims of caste discrimination and of the legal strategies for the elimination of such discrimination, while arguing that internationally caste discrimination might be more effectively addressed by the conceptualisation of caste as a *sui generis* ground of discrimination as in India.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kriel Mariana

**Culture and power: the rise of Afrikaner nationalism revisited
in Nations and Nationalism**, Volume 16, Issue 3, July 2010 , 402-422

ABSTRACT

Outside parliament, the story of Afrikaner nationalism is largely a story of political (and sometimes economic) activists establishing language and cultural organisations. In a preliminary attempt to systematise the intentions and achievements of these extra-parliamentary components of the Afrikaner movement, this article critiques and refines Joep Leerssen's model of nationalism as 'the cultivation of culture' (*Nations and Nationalism* 12, 4: 559–78). Drawing on the examples of the *Genootskap van Regte Afrikaanders* and the *Afrikaner-Broederbond*, I revisit the relationship between cultural and political nationalism – both as concepts and as actual movements – and question the notion of a dichotomy.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Langewiesche Dieter

**Die 'Humboldtsche Universität' als nationaler Mythos. Zum Selbstbild der deutschen Universitäten in ihren
Rektoratsreden im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik**
in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Band 290 Heft 1 (Februar 2010) , 53-93

Zusammenfassung

Im 19. Jahrhundert entstand im deutschsprachigen Raum die Tradition der jährlichen Rektoratsrede. In ihr präsentierte



sich die Universität als Motor und Garant von Fortschritt, wissenschaftlich autonom, aber eingebunden in die Gesellschaft, keine Institution im Elfenbeinturm. Die Rektoren entwarfen die Universität als ein Laboratorium der Moderne. Die Universität wurde von den Rektoren in ihren Fachvorträgen als eine Bildungsinstitution vorgestellt, die keinem Bildungskanon folgt. Gebildet sei nur, wer es gelernt habe, sich immer wieder aufs neue mit ungelösten Fragen auseinanderzusetzen.

Deshalb galt die Einheit von Forschung und Lehre als Grundvoraussetzung, im Studium Bildung zu vermitteln. Die Rektoren stellten die Universität als eine Institution vor, die Gesellschaft und Staat gestaltet.

In diesem Sinne waren es politische Reden. Die Rektoren sahen das anders, weil sie die Universität in den Dienst der Nation stellten, und die Nation galt ihnen als unpolitisch. Die Rektoren entwarfen ein Universitätsmodell, das man heute als das Humboldtsche zu bezeichnen pflegt. Dies ist, wie die Analyse der Rektoratsreden zeigt, eine Erfindung des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts.

In Leipzig oder in Jena blickte niemand nach Berlin, wenn das deutsche Universitätsmodell beschrieben wurde. Die Berliner Universität als Ausgangspunkt für die moderne Forschungsuniversität, wie sie im 19.

Jahrhundert entstanden und im Laufe des 20. mit dem Namen Wilhelm von Humboldt verbunden worden ist, gehört bis heute zu den wirkungsmächtigsten deutschen Nationalmythen. Die antinapoleonischen Kriege als militärischer Urknall der deutschen Nation, der preußische Staat als ihr

Machtkern, die Berliner Universität als Humboldts preußischer Bauplan für die deutschen Universitäten als ein Kristallisationskern deutscher Nation

– drei Formen des preußisch-protestantischen deutschen Nationalmythos.

Die Humboldtsche Universität ist das jüngste Glied in dieser mythologischen Trias. Doch das Berliner Universitätsmodell ist ein nationalgeschichtliches

Ereignis, kein universitäts- und kein wissenschaftsgeschichtliches.

Auch die deutschen Rektoratsreden bezeugen dies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Darwin John

Empire and ethnicity

in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 16, Issue 3, July 2010, 383-401

ABSTRACT

Historians and social scientists have typically assumed a conflictual or exploitative relationship between empire and ethnicity. On the one hand, empire might be seen (as perhaps Ernest Gellner saw it in *Nations and Nationalism*) as a superstructure of coercion to which a group of ethnic units were subject. On the other (according to an influential view), empire fabricated ethnicities (tribes or castes) to divide and rule. This article suggests that both of these views are too crude. In the British case at least (and in the modern history of empire, no generalisation that excludes the British case has much value), 'imperial ethnicity' was a much more subtle phenomenon. It existed 'at home' as one element in a more complex identity. It was a powerful force in British settler societies, where an indigenous identity could not be imagined. And, perhaps surprisingly, it was deeply attractive to some colonial elites in Asia and Africa – at least for a time.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 2.Nationalism

Berlet Chip

Fears of Fédéralisme in the United States: The Case of the 'North American Union' Conspiracy Theory in Fédéralisme Régionalisme, Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=786>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hayday Matthew

Fireworks, Folk-dancing, and Fostering a National Identity: The Politics of Canada Day in Canadian Historical Review (The), Volume 91, Number 2, June , 287-314

Since 1958, the Canadian government has used the celebration of 1 July to promote particular models of national identity and to foster national unity. Commemorating the anniversary of Confederation, these Dominion Day and Canada Day (as renamed in 1982) observances changed over the decades to reflect changing government public policy objectives and new conceptions of the nation. From a celebration rooted in military pageantry stressing Canada's British heritage, these events were modified to promote a vision of a multicultural, bilingual country with a strong Aboriginal component. Moreover, Canada Day messages increasingly stressed the themes of individual achievement and respect for diversity. Although politicians played roles in determining the form and content of these events, and public response influenced which components were maintained, bureaucrats working in the Secretary of State department exercised a particularly strong influence on these celebrations, providing institutional continuity and expertise to planning efforts. These celebrations provide a key window into understanding the Canadian government's evolving cultural and national identity policies in the post-Second World War era.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Kinnvall Catarina, Svensson Ted

Hindu nationalism, diaspora politics and nation-building in India

in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 274-292

This article proceeds from a critical reading of the role of religion for nation-building in India. In particular, the authors discuss how the Indian notion of secularism relies upon a number of religious legacies manifest in a Gandhian notion of what constitutes religious and political communities. Proceeding from this general picture, the authors examine how Hindu nationalists have used such legacies to enforce exclusionary practices by establishing certain hegemonic structures of rigid religious boundaries and practices with the aim of maintaining antagonistic movements within the Hindu fold. This, the authors argue, has been the case both among Hindu nationalists in India and among the widespread diaspora in Europe, Canada and the United States. Here, the authors critically evaluate a number of attempts to challenge these hegemonic structures in terms of secular and religious forces as well in terms of legalistic understandings of citizenship rights. It is argued that religion can and has played a positive role in Indian nation-building, but that Hindu nationalism has continuously reproduced exclusionary practices against other religious communities and worked against any forms of assimilatory processes.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Lluch Jaime

How nationalism evolves: explaining the establishment of new varieties of nationalism within the national movements of Quebec and Catalonia (1976-2005)

in *Nationalities Papers*, Volume 38, Issue 3, May 2010 , 337-359

Abstract

The national movements of sub-state national societies are divided into two or three competing political orientations (independentists, autonomists, and federalists), which vary over time. This article compares the process that led to the founding of the ADQ (autonomism) in Quebec, with the process that culminated in the transformation and de facto re-founding of ERC (independentism) in Catalonia during the period 1976-2005. Using the cases of two nationalist parties in two different national movements that have successfully established new political orientations, I analyze the political origins of this form of temporal variation. My outcome variable is the “tipping point” at which these nationalist political parties get established. This “tipping point” was reached through a temporal sequence that evolved in four phases. In each of these phases, a key variable was involved: the existence of a preexistent ideology, the occurrence of a central state constitutional moment, an impulse from the sphere of sociological nationalism, and the consolidation of a new leadership nucleus.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism

Hutchins-Viroux Rachel

International NGOs and National Attachment in the Global Age: The Evolution of Community Sentiment in the United States

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 10, n. 1, April , 19-37

This article evaluates the evolution of Americans' sense of solidarity, community, and identity in the age of globalisation through an examination of their involvement with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and social movements active in the developing world. This analysis draws on Jürgen Habermas' contention that, in this age of an increasingly global and inequitable economy, civil society organisations that extend beyond national borders are more likely than other institutions to engender transnational solidarity. The article focuses primarily on results of an opinion survey conducted by the author, examining to what extent U.S. volunteers for international NGOs exhibit national or transnational senses of belonging. Conclusions include the ideas that this cosmopolitan population may indicate an emerging trend in greater feelings of solidarity with and attachment to developing countries, leading to increased support for more multilateral decision-making. However, this more global consciousness seems unlikely to replace feelings of national attachment and belonging.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2.Nationalism



Ghai Yash, Woodman Sophia, Loper Kelley

Is There Space for “Genuine Autonomy” for Tibetan Areas in the PRC’s System of Nationalities Regional Autonomy?

in *International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights*, Volume 17, Number 1 , 137-186

This article considers whether room exists within the current system of nationalities regional autonomy (NRA) in China to accommodate Tibetan aspirations for "genuine autonomy" under the People's Republic of China (PRC) sovereignty. It examines the legal framework for NRA in China, as well as Chinese government policy and practice toward autonomous areas, in terms of the limitations and possibilities they imply for realizing Tibetan aspirations for autonomy, highlighting specific areas of concern, opportunities and constraints. It explores the development of political and legal approaches toward autonomy since the 1930s, the nature of the current framework and how recent legal and political developments interact with that framework. It looks at options for autonomy under the Chinese Constitution and national legislation, particularly the self-government of nationality (minority) autonomous areas as well as Article 31 of the Constitution which has provided the basis for the establishment of special administrative regions (SARs). Since autonomous areas also exercise the general powers of local governments in the PRC, it describes the general system of local government at the provincial and lower administrative levels. The article examines the practical implementation and operation of minority autonomy and SARs including the apparent gap between law and practice. In particular, special attention is paid to the role of the Chinese Communist Party and its officials which have a significant impact on the exercise of state powers. It concludes that there are formidable obstacles to the autonomy that Tibetans seek in order to preserve their culture, values and identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Erk Jan

Is nationalism left or right? Critical junctures in Québécois nationalism

in *Nations and Nationalism*, Volume 16, Issue 3, July 2010 , 423-441

ABSTRACT

Sub-state nationalist parties of the industrialised West occupy different positions along the left–right political spectrum. Despite the similarities of their political agendas, these parties adopt different ideological identities. This paper seeks to explain the choice of party position and the long-term consistency of these positions by employing a path-dependent perspective. The focus is first, on the critical junctures during which such choices are made; and second, on the mechanisms of continuity ensuring the persistence of the left–right identities. The argument is explored within the empirical context of Québécois nationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Oren Neta

Israeli identity formation and the Arab—Israeli conflict in election platforms, 1969—2006

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 2, March , 193-204

This study focuses on the relationship between national identity and intractable conflict. Abdelal's definition of collective



identity that refers to the level of agreement regarding the purposes, practices, relational comparisons with other entities, and narratives that define collective identity was adapted to national identity during intractable conflict and was later applied to Israel's national identity. A review of the Israeli 1969—2006 election platforms shows that in the 1980s and 1990s significant changes occurred in Israel's national identity. The most significant changes included: changes regarding the territorial purpose of Israeli identity; changes in practices on who may become an Israeli citizen; changes of perception of the relationship between Israel and the Arabs; and a growing Israeli acceptance of Palestinian identity. Since 2000, following the failure of the Israeli—Palestinian peace process, some components of Israeli national identity have reverted to their original form. The study indicates that the Arab—Israeli conflict triggered changes in Israel's national identity, but the conflict also seemed affected by changes in that identity. The article connects the changes in Israeli national identity to specific mechanisms and conditions of conflict resolution and reconciliation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Nora Pierre

Les avatars de l'identité française.

in *Debat (Le)*, N° 159 mars-avril

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Chernilo Daniel

Methodological nationalism and the domestic analogy: classical resources for their critique

in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 23, n. 1, March, 87-106

The critique of methodological nationalism arose in the 1970s in sociology, but it only gained salience with the rise of globalization theory in the late 1990s. This article argues that in International Relations the discussion of the so-called 'domestic analogy' is closely connected to the one on methodological nationalism as they equally point to the substantive problem of understanding the nation state's position in modernity. The first section of this article revisits the three waves of the debate on methodological nationalism in sociology. The second part connects this with the discussion in IR on the domestic analogy. The last section brings the two disciplinary strands together by suggesting that social theory's claim to universalism is a fundamental resource to theorize current global processes beyond methodological nationalism and the domestic analogy. But for us to do so, we still have to unpack social theory's ambivalent relationship with the natural law tradition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Brubaker Rogers

Migration, Membership, and the Modern Nation-State: Internal and External Dimensions of the Politics of Belonging

in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 41, Issue 1, Summer, 61-78



The politics of belonging—political struggles about the membership status of populations both within and outside the geographical confines of particular nation-states—derive from four conditions: (1) the migration of borders over people, (2) the deep and enduring inequalities between mainstream and minority populations, (3) the persisting legacies of empire, and (4) the migration of people over borders. New forms of external membership represent an extension and adaptation of the nation-state model, not its transcendence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pershái Alexander

Minor Nation. The Alternative Modes of Belarusian Nationalism

in East European Politics and Societies, vol. 24, n. 3, August , 379-398

In the twentieth century, nationalism has become an unwritten yet strong hegemonic rule that prescribes and defines cultural configurations of statehood. In the context of post-socialist and post-colonial transformations in “expanding” Eastern Europe, nation building is a complicated and incoherent process: the nation’s canonic attributes may contradict the cultural and historical “circumstances” of the development of a particular nation. This article questions a complicated dynamic between theoretical frameworks of nationalism and their applications in Eastern European states, such as in Belarus. More specifically, it argues against the discursive conceptualization of Belarus as a “nonexistent” or “undeveloped” nation. This article suggests rethinking nation building in Belarus in relation to the notion of major/minor developed by Deleuze and Guattari. The author implies that the unusual mode of Belarusian nationalism is not only a part of a struggle for domination between different intellectual groups in Belarus; it is also an issue of relying on traditional scholarly paradigms of nationalism that may no longer suffice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mellon James G.

Myth, Legitimacy and Nationalism in Central Asia

in Ethnopolitics, Volume 9, Issue 2, June , 137-150

Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, communism has no longer been available as a basis on which regimes in Central Asia have been able to claim legitimacy. In its absence, regimes sought to remain in power by invoking a variety of myths of nationalism. Myths of this sort may or may not be true. In various Central Asian states, different forms of symbolism, imagery and myth have been invoked to suggest that a particular nation, represented by a particular regime, enjoys a special or ancestral identification with a given territory.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Halperin Sandra

Nationalism Reconsidered: The Local/Trans-local Nexus of Globalisation

in Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism , vol. 9, n. 3, December , 465-480

The emergence and generalisation of the nation-state model was a product of an earlier phase of capitalist globalisation



and the resulting dualistic process of expansion that, throughout the world, worked to increase the cultural distance between cities and their surrounding hinterlands. This dualism had a simultaneous globalising and localising dynamic: it linked together the upper strata of communities around the world in a trans-local system of trade and inter-cultural exchange; but, by restricting access to the material and cultural products generated by this system, it simultaneously reinforced a separate set of conditions of life for the wider local population. It was in the context of both the mobilisation of labour forces and the increasingly different systems for trans-local and local interests and actors that dominant groups began to assert the national idea as a means of providing a new basis and cultural framework for social cohesion and order.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Sturm Tristan, Bauch Nicholas

Nationalism and Geography: An Interview with Rogers Brubaker

in **Geopolitics**, Vol. 15, n. 1, January , 185-196

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Elson R. E.

Nationalism, Islam, 'secularism' and the state in contemporary Indonesia

in **Australian Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 328-343

This article seeks to explain the impact of Muslim politics on the Indonesian nation and, in particular, why Islamism has found so little political traction. It argues that Islamist ideas were late in emerging in modern Indonesia, and long remained marginal to Indonesians' ideas of what their nation should be and do. It notes, however, that Indonesia's deepening Islamisation has resulted in a sense of growing sectarianism and a developing accommodation of Islamic agendas by Indonesia's pseudo-secular state that requires careful management if respectful pluralism and mutual tolerance is to be maintained.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Wekesa Peter Wafula

Old issues and new challenges: the Migingo Island controversy and the Kenya-Uganda borderland

in **Journal of Eastern African Studies** , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 331-340

This paper examines the controversy between Kenya and Uganda over the ownership of Migingo Island in the shared Lake Victoria waters, in the context of general debates regarding African boundary disputes. The Migingo controversy brings to the fore unresolved issues around the emergence, nature and transformation of African borders generally, and their significant role in addressing pertinent questions of territoriality, citizenship and nationhood. Like other border controversies elsewhere in Africa, the Migingo case challenges the perception that border areas are marginal spaces that can be ignored. Migingo's troubles underscore the realities of Africa's colonial borders, bringing into focus the



border populations and the social, cultural and economic relations they generate across the dividing lines. While challenging eastern Africa's states to view local communities as important agents in fostering change along common borders, the paper emphasizes the need for harmonious border relations as a barometer in testing good neighbourliness and regional integration.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Pomian Krzysztof

Patrimoine et identité nationale

in **Debat (Le)**, N° 159 mars-avril

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Martigny Vincent

Penser le nationalisme ordinaire

in **Raisons politiques**, N°37, février

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Antichan Sylvain

Penser le nationalisme ordinaire avec Maurice Halbwachs

in **Raisons politiques**, N°37, février

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Errico Stefania

Peoples and International Law - How Nationalism and Self-Determination Shape a Contemporary Law of Nations

in **International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights**, Volume 17, Number 1 , 197-202

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Haynes Jeffrey

Politics, identity and religious nationalism in Turkey: from Ataturk to the AKP

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 312-327

Turkey has had an Islam-influenced government since a general election in 2002. The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, abbreviated to AK Parti or AKP) won over a third of the popular vote and took power alone. A subsequent general election in 2007 saw the AKP win again with an improved 47 percent of votes cast. Over the last few years under the AKP, Turkey has often been noted for the 'moderation' of its Islam-influenced government, a positive example of the compatibility of Islam and democracy. The article focuses on Turkey's national identity and the place within it of Islam, secularism and the political role over time of the military, often judged to be the guardian of the country's secular national identity. This involves both a focus on the role and legacy of the country's nationalist founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and on the special insular and inward-looking self-selected guardian role of the military, long seen as central to national choices of the pursuit of a secular political path. The article argues that one of the defining characteristics of Turkish identity is not Islam or secularism per se. Rather, it is a pronounced, perhaps even xenophobic, fear of outsiders, including not only Westerners but also some Muslim non-Turks. The article suggests that while Islam is part of that sense of identity, it is not at its core. Moreover, if the military has its way, which at the moment seems likely, then Islam will never be allowed to be central to Turkey's sense of national identity.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Soysal Yasemin Nuhoğlu, Szakács Simona

Reconceptualizing the Republic: Diversity and Education in France, 1945–2008

in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History (The)*, Volume 41, Issue 1, Summer , 97-115

Since the nineteenth century, France, not unlike the United States, has experienced significant immigration and, as a result, great flux. Yet, the French public discourse and policy instruments concerned with ethnic and racial diversities evolved in sharp contrast to those in the United States. Whereas U.S. nation-building incorporated the recognition of ethnoracial identities, with all of its trials and tribulations, the French nation's trajectory assumed a unitary form. Recent developments, however, point to changes in the Republic's projection of its identity and its citizenry. An analysis of school teaching finds that the Republic is now re-envisioned as open and tolerant of diversity, though more from a universalistic, normative perspective—increasingly indexed at the transnational level—than from a perspective that privileges France's immigrant and colonial past.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Kancıoğlu Tuba

Reconfigurations in the Discourse of Nationalism and National Identity: Turkey at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century

in *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* , vol. 9, n. 3, December , 359-376

Throughout recent decades, the processes of globalisation and Europeanisation have been influential in Turkey,



bringing various changes to the economic, cultural and political spheres. Within the context of these processes, this article analyses the changes and continuities in the discourse of nationalism and national identity in Turkey through their reflections on school textbooks and curricula. On the one hand, the globalisation process has brought calls for democratisation, as well as citizenship and identity claims, from the societal actors in Turkey. On the other hand, it has given rise to concerns about preserving the status quo, which have then been channelled into the language of nationalism. The Europeanisation process has also fed these projects and discourses. Its effects, in moments of close interrelations between Turkey and the European Union, have consisted of bringing positive reinforcements for the decoupling of security concerns and nationalism, the formation of a new and democratic understanding of citizenship and the realisation of ambitions for democratisation in Turkey; however, in other times, backlashes have occurred.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

DuBois Thomas David

Religion and the Chinese state: three crises and a solution

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 344-358

On the surface, religious policy in China may appear contradictory. On the one hand, the state is officially atheist. It has mounted a highly publicised campaign to suppress Falun Gong, and maintains restrictions on Islam, Tibetan Buddhism and Christianity that reveal a profound fear of independent religious organisation. On the other, China insists that it respects religious freedom. The Chinese government proudly supports the staging of certain religious festivals, finances reconstruction of historic temples, and sponsors Chinese Muslims to visit Mecca. In fact, both tendencies are part of a consistent pattern of religious policy that seeks to establish firm political control over religious organisations, while visibly integrating religion into nation-building discourses. This same policy impulse applies to the treatment of both illegal and legal religions. Suppression of groups such as Falun Gong recreates the political theatre of earlier political campaigns, while support for ethnic religions and Christianity also allows the state to interpret religious ideology within a nationalist framework. In this regard, the most overt and successful ideological policy has been the state's sponsorship of Confucianism, which, unlike the other religions mentioned, has no existing organisation to overcome, and can thus be completely moulded to fit political needs.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Barr Michael D.,

Religious nationalism and nation-building in Asia: an introduction

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 255-261

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Mushaben Joyce Marie

Rethinking Citizenship and Identity: 'What it Means to be German' since the Fall of the Wall

in *German Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 1, March , 72-88



Twenty years after the Wall's collapse, East and West Germans have yet to achieve a sense of 'inner unity'. To forge a common national identity not only among those citizens but also among Germans of migrant descent, policy-makers need to grasp the ways in which their respective identity trajectories have diverged over four decades. This article revisits western, eastern and 'foreigner' identities prior to 1989; it examines changing opportunity structures along three generational axes, resulting in different degrees of identification with the homeland since 1990. It then reviews efforts to redefine national belonging based on recent legislative reforms, pushing West Germans to give up their Leitkultur claims along new paths to citizenship. Finally, the article reflects on why the nation's first woman Chancellor, Angela Merkel, could successfully blaze a trail through perilous territory all previous leaders had feared to tread.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Ngeow Chow Bing

Strategic Ambiguity and Differentiation: Ethnic and Civic Nationalist Discourses in Taiwan from 1945 to the 1990s

in *Ethnopolitics*, Volume 9, Issue 2, June , 151-170

This paper analyzes the rational and strategic nature of several ethnic and civic nationalist discourses in Taiwan from 1945 to the 1990s, focusing particularly on the 'New Taiwanese' and 'Taiwanese Nation' discourses in the 1990s. These two discourses employ different strategies, one to be strategically ambiguous and the other more sharply differentiating the ethnic/national boundary in the construction of a Taiwanese national identity. This paper also argues that the political structural conditions essentially condition the formation and transformation of such discourses. Based on the research, it is proposed that nationalist discourses be analyzed from a combined rational and structural perspective.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Tambar Kabir

The Aesthetics of Public Visibility: Alevi Semah and the Paradoxes of Pluralism in Turkey

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 52, Issue 3, July , 652-679

Efforts to theorize pluralism have often explored the challenges posed by the public visibility of ethnic, linguistic, and sectarian differences to modernist imaginaries of a homogeneous national body. In this essay, I examine a context in which public expressions of communal differences re-inscribe the categories of the nation they were meant to contest. The situation reveals what I call a paradox of pluralism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Barr Michael D., Govindasamy Anantha Raman

The Islamisation of Malaysia: religious nationalism in the service of ethnonationalism

in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 293-311

The relationship between religious, ethnic and national identities in Malaysia has long been fraught with uncomfortable tensions—especially for the 50 percent of Malaysians who are outside the dominant Malay-Muslim communal grouping.



Until the accession of Dr Mahathir to the prime ministership at the beginning of the 1980s, it was clear that ethnic identity trumped religious identity, even though being Muslim was already intrinsic to being accepted as Malay. Being a non-Malay Malaysian was to accept a subordinate, but not a drastically uncomfortable role in the nation. Since the 1980s, however, religious identity appears to have replaced ethnicity as the central element of nation identity as the society has been systematically—even aggressively—Islamised. Yet appearances can be deceiving, and there is a strong case to be made that Islamisation in Malaysia is basically a variation of the original Malay ethnonationalism, using the nearly complete symbiosis between Malay and Muslim identity as the point of articulation that allows religious nationalism to serve as a cipher for ethnonationalism—but a version of ethnonationalism that is much less accommodating of minorities than was traditional Malay nationalism. This article places contemporary events in a historical context and then focuses on just one aspect of Malaysia's program of Islamisation that is both contemporary and central to national identity—developments in the education system, and particularly within the secondary school history curriculum—to demonstrate that in this instance at least, religious nationalism is operating as a surrogate for ethnic nationalism and has, in fact, intensified ethnic nationalism by raising the stakes for the communities that are outside the core national group.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Lawler Peter Augustine

The Nation, Democratic Self-Government, and Liberalism: A Conservative View of Europe Today
in **SAIS Review of International Affairs (The)**, Volume 30, Number 1, Winter-Spring , 109-121

The political thinkers at the vanguard of the European project have miscalculated. In attempting to weaken the political salience of national loyalty, they have undermined the only modern political structure—the nation-state—capable of securing individual rights. In contrast to Europe, the United States has successfully reconciled liberalism, with its defense of individual freedom, and a strong sense of nationhood that commands healthy political loyalty. As a result, Americans are better prepared to defend personal freedom in a variety of domestic and international contexts, from assimilating immigrants into the homeland to fighting liberty's enemies abroad.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bochsler Daniel

The Nationalisation of Post-Communist Party Systems
in **Europe-Asia Studies**, vol. 62, n. 5, July , 807-827

Party nationalisation, defined as the homogeneity of party strength across a country, has recently become a major issue in research. Even though territory is a salient political question in the post-communist countries in Europe, party nationalisation in these countries has been neglected by the literature so far. This article presents data on party nationalisation for 20 countries over the period 1990-2007. It shows that the nationalisation of party systems in post-communist democracies is closely related to the territorial structure of social divisions, except for cases where the electoral systems provide for a high degree of nationalisation, or where super-presidentialism inhibits the creation of strong nationalised parties.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Matthews B.

The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka: Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy
in *Pacific Affairs* , Volume 83, Number 1, March , 193-194

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Feyissa Dereje

The cultural construction of state borders: the view from Gambella
in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 314-330

The study of state borders has long been preoccupied with their artificiality and the negative impact they have had on the local people. Recent studies have shifted the focus on state borders away from constraints to state borders as conduits and opportunities. Different factors are involved in determining the conditions of resourcing state borders and borderlands. The paper argues that local perceptions - the range of cultural meanings attributed to state borders - significantly factor in how a particular international border is used by specific groups of people. Drawing on the ethnography from the Gambella region of western Ethiopia, the paper advocates for a cognitive psychological approach in border studies. In so doing it goes beyond the conventional dichotomous template between the "bounded" European and the "permeable" African border imageries. Here the binary opposites are not Europeans and Africans but rather two African neighbors - the Anywaa and the Nuer - with sharply contrasting concepts of borders. Kew is the Anywaa concept of border which they also use to refer to the International border. Its use should be restricted to the Anywaa only but conceptually it is similar to the European notion of a bounded boundary. The Anywaa subscribe to a compartmentalized view of political boundaries both at the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic level and thus they project onto the state border the same imagery. The Nuer, on the other hand, subscribe to a more flexible view of a political community. A tribal boundary (Cieng) is permeable. Individual Nuer change identity as situations demand, this often being dictated by their search for "greener pasture". The Nuer do exactly the same in national identification with a dynamic pattern of border-crossing depending on the fluctuating opportunity structures between the Ethiopian and Sudanese states. The Anywaa's call for the rigidification of the international border and the chronic border crossing of the Nuer seemingly has strategic dimensions. A closer examination of their behavior, however, reveals that in making use of the state border both the Anywaa and the Nuer draw on their respective cultural schemata.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Juergensmeyer Mark

The global rise of religious nationalism
in *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 64, n. 3 / June , 262-273

The global rise of religious politics is found in every religious tradition, spurred on by the widespread perception that secular nationalism is an ineffective and insufficient expression of public values and moral community in a global era in which traditional forms of social identity and political accountability are radically transformed. Religious violence is an



expression of this anti-secular protest and the symptom of a longing for a renewed sense of morality and values in public life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Bassi Marco

The politics of space in Borana Oromo, Ethiopia: demographics, elections, identity and customary institutions
in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 221-246

This article addresses the protracted state of political violence in and around the Borana and Guji zones of Oromia region after the introduction of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia. To account for the persistence of the conflict, we must elaborate on the connections between ethnic identity, natural resource and customary institutions by introducing the notion of "primary identity". Since the turn of the millennium there is in Ethiopia a theoretically grounded attempt to co-opt customary institutions and elders into modern governance, particularly in the pastoral sector. Field-research focused on the interplay of customary and modern politics during two electoral events, the 2004 referendum organised to solve the border issue between the Somali Regional State and Oromia, and the 2005 national elections. Analysis of local political dynamics indicates that the strategy of the federal government was shaped by the need to control the insurgency of the Oromo Liberation Front. Local political motivations also played a role. The combination of these two factors resulted in systematic abuse of human rights and the manipulation of development and refugees policies, involving an informal "demographic politics of space" that displaced the Borana Oromo from a large area of their customary territory, relegating them into a state of permanent food dependency. It is argued that the restoration and strengthening of customary governance holds the best prospect for improving this situation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Jamin Jérôme

Washington et l'État fédéral au cœur du populisme américain
in *Fédéralisme Régionalisme* , Volume 9, Numéro 1 - Le fédéralisme américain

Full text available at
<http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=788>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Zvereva Galina

What Will "We" Be Called Now? Formulas of Collective Self-Identification in Contemporary Russia
in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 48, n. 2, March-April , 68-92

Recent years have brought the emergence of new official concepts of the "Russian nation" and collective "pan-Russian identity." The author traces the creation and dissemination of these formulas and analyzes their content and significance.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 2. Nationalism

Madriaga Manuel

Why American nationalism should never be considered postnationalist
in *National Identities*, vol. 12, n. 1, March , 81-94

This article demonstrates that American national identity is symbolic, subjective and ambiguous to the extent that it encapsulates senses of both similarity and difference. Citing evidence from life-history interviews with American military veterans from different ethnic groups, the article shows how some Americans can identify with being racially excluded and still share in a sense of national belonging. It is argued here that this feature is and has always been embedded in the processes of American national identification. In making this argument, this article rejects Ramsey Cook's notion that achieving a sense of similarity between universal and particular interests within a national community is hallmark of postnationalism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Federalist Debate

A Federalist Movement in South America is Born
in *Federalist Debate (The)*, Year XXIII, n. 1, February

<http://www.federalist-debate.org/fdb/current/detail.bfr>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pistone Sergio

Altiero Spinelli and European Unification
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 1

L'essai vise à illustrer le rôle joué par l'un des pères fondateurs de l'Union Européenne, Altiero Spinelli, à l'appui du processus d'intégration. Une attention particulière est placée sur l'analyse de sa formation politique et culturelle dans le but de mieux comprendre l'évolution de sa pensée et de la spécificité des positions prises au cours de sa carrière politique depuis la fondation en 1943 à Milan du Mouvement fédéraliste européen. L'essai propose également une analyse critique des principales initiatives prises par Altiero Spinelli au cours de son engagement politique, qui mettent en évidence sa stratégie pour la création d'une Fédération européenne.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bates David W.



Enemies and friends: Arendt on the imperial republic at war
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 36, Issue 1, March , 112-124

Hannah Arendt's existential, republican concept of politics spurned Carl Schmitt's idea that enmity constituted the essence of the political. Famously, she isolated the political sphere from social conflict, sovereign regimes, and the realm of military violence. While some critics are now interested in applying Arendt's more abstract political ideas to international affairs, it has not been acknowledged that her original reconceptualization of politics was in fact driven by her analysis of global war, and in particular, the startling new challenges raised by nuclear warfare. Arendt's early, unpublished manuscript on the nature of politics contains important reflections on the nature of war and empire. Surprisingly, these reflections tentatively explore the relationship between war and political freedom. A close reading of this work on war can help explain both her later, more radical non-violent concept of political action, and the difficulties she faced integrating her existential republicanism within the global context of conflict in the Cold War.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

James David

Fichte's reappraisal of Kant's theory of cosmopolitan right
in *History of European Ideas*, Volume 36, Issue 1, March , 61-70

I argue that although in the *Foundations of Natural Right* Fichte adopts a theory of cosmopolitan right that is in a number of important respects formally identical to the one developed by Kant, he later came in *The Closed Commercial State* to reassess his earlier Kantian cosmopolitanism. This work can in fact be seen to identify a problem with Kant's cosmopolitanism, namely, Kant's failure to recognize the possibility of an indirect form of coercion based on unequal relations of economic dependence. I argue that Kant's failure to acknowledge such a possibility stems from his uncritical acceptance of this type of relation. Whereas Fichte's awareness of the possibility of one-sided forms of economic dependence leads him to offer a solution to the problems it raises: the severing of all commercial relations with other states. This solution is itself highly problematic, however, as I indicate with reference to Fichte's remarks on 'natural frontiers'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Pitter Pompeo

Il Federalismo di Pietro Ellero
in *Archivio giuridico*, n. 3 , 301-316

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Piraino Andrea

Il regionalismo di Luigi Sturzo
in *Federalismi*, Anno VIII - Nr. 6



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Martin Robert W T

James Madison and Popular Government: The Neglected Case of the “Memorial”

in *Polity*, Volume 42, Issue 2, April , 185–209

James Madison has long been seen as a liberal thinker and in many respects an elitist one. More recently, a few efforts have been made to understand him as a consistent and even “fervent” democrat, at least after 1790. This article re-examines a classic source for Madison's early liberalism, the “Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments” (1785), to establish Madison's pre-1790 analysis of—and genuine commitment to—the popular element of popular government. As a result, the article challenges elitist, conservative interpretations of a “Hamiltonian” Madison as well as those who chart a major philosophical shift in the 1790s.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Le Moine Francois

James Madison et Le Fédéraliste : optimisme, réalisme et modernité

in *Federalism-E*, volume 10, April , 59-75

Après la victoire sur les troupes de Cornwallis et la reconnaissance de l'indépendance par le traité de Paris en 1783, une certaine désorganisation règne dans les colonies américaines. La guerre avait été un outil puissant de cohésion. La Déclaration d'Indépendance (1776) avait donné un sens à la lutte et les treize Articles de Confédération et d'union perpétuelle (1777) avaient créé une assemblée fédérale qui devait décider de la politique étrangère et régler d'éventuels contentieux entre les colonies. Mais une fois la victoire acquise, ce mécanisme ne suffit plus : « La Confédération était en effet constituée uniquement par un Congrès continental hypertrophié, face auquel il n'existait ni pouvoir judiciaire ni Président.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Spoltore Franco

John Jay

in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1 , 66-76

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Taylor Robert S.



Kant's Political Religion: The Transparency of Perpetual Peace and the Highest Good
in *Review of Politics (The)*, Vol. 72, N. 1, Winter , 1-24

Scholars have long debated the relationship between Kant's doctrine of right and his doctrine of virtue (including his moral religion or ethico-theology), which are the two branches of his moral philosophy. This article will examine the intimate connection in his practical philosophy between perpetual peace and the highest good, between political and ethico-religious communities, and between the types of transparency peculiar to each. It will show how domestic and international right provides a framework for the development of ethical communities, including a kingdom of ends and even the noumenal ethical community of an afterlife, and how the transparency and trust achieved in these communities are anticipated in rightful political society by publicity and the mutual confidence among citizens that it engenders. Finally, it will explore the implications of this synthesis of Kant's political and religious philosophies for contemporary Kantian political theories, especially those of Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Franceschet Antonio

Kant, International Law, and the Problem of Humanitarian Intervention
in *Journal of International Political Theory*, Volume 6, Number 1, April , 1-22

International law has one principal mechanism for settling the legality of humanitarian interventions, the United Nations Security Council's power to authorise coercion. However, this is hardly satisfactory in practice and has failed to provide a more secure juridical basis for determining significant conflicts among states over when humanitarian force is justified. This article argues that, in spite of Immanuel Kant's limited analysis of intervention, and his silence on humanitarian intervention, his political theory provides the elements of a compelling analysis on this topic. Five components of Kant's roadmap towards perpetual peace and an eventual world republic give conditional support for humanitarian intervention even in imperfect juridical conditions. This support is conditional on the achievement of juridical progress within and among states and has implications for the development of cosmopolitan citizenship. From Kant we learn that, ultimately, humanitarian intervention should become a matter of coercive law enforcement rather than an ethical question of 'saving strangers'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Melchionni Maria Grazia

Mario Albertini Speaking for History
in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 1

En complément de son entretien avec Mario Albertini, l'Auteur en fait l'histoire et met en évidence le fait que, au lieu de concentrer son discours sur sa pensée et son action politique, Albertini tourne sa mémoire presque exclusivement vers Altiero Spinelli et la relation au même temps attachante et repoussante qu'il eut avec ce grand protagoniste du combat européen. D'où la nécessité d'éclairer cette relation à travers la correspondance échangée entre les deux, qui témoigne du dévouement initial de Albertini pour son maître à penser européen, ensuite de son éloignement polémique, enfin de leur rapprochement sur le terrain de l'action politique qui se réalise à partir de la reconnaissance réciproque de leurs



sphères de pouvoir respectives. La rencontre des personnalités domine la scène, mais les problèmes et les visions politiques sous-jacentes les caractères apparaissent en filigrane dans le récit de l'Auteur.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Trumellini Luisa

Mario Albertini's Reflections on Kant's Philosophy of History and its Integration with Historical Materialism in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno LI, n. 1, 12-37

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2009-EN.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Bernstein Richard J.

Naturalism, Secularism, and Religion: Habermas's Via Media in *Constellations*, Vol. 17, Issue 1, March, 155-166

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Spoltore Franco

Notes on the State of European Federalism and the Urgency (and Difficulty) of Getting It Started Again in *Federalista (II)/Federalist (The)*, Anno L, n. 3, 218-233

<http://www.thefederalist.eu/files/PDF/EN/2000/2008-3-EN.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Tramontana Antonino

Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, un profeta della nuova Europa in *Comunità Internazionale (La)*, vol. LXIV, n. 2, secondo trimestre

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Barale Massimo

Sui fondamenti ontologici ed epistemologici di una filosofia in senso cosmopolitico in *Studi Kantiani*, Anno XXII, 2009



No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Velo Dario

Two Strategies for the European Unification: Jean Monnet and Altiero Spinelli

in *European Union Review*, Vol. 14, n. 1

L'essai analyse la contribution de deux personnalités de l'histoire contemporaine à la unification européenne depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, en soulignant comment les deux stratégies ont contribué, les deux, au cours des temps au progrès de l'Europe. Monnet et Spinelli partagent en effet une vision commune de l'Histoire, qui origine de la culture libérale et laïque européenne, qui peut aujourd'hui jouer encore un rôle décisif pour alimenter le processus d'unification européenne.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Grandjean Antoine

Téléologie juridique et téléologie historique chez Kant

in *Kant-Studien*, Jahrgang 101, Heft 1, 2010 , 40–58

Abstract

This essay shows that according to Kant the philosophy of history is a division of physical teleology, which only meaning is to be a confirmation of the moral (juridical) teleology which grounds and seeks in the physical world a natural grounding for the standpoint of ends (peace) which nature itself is always powerless to bring about. The teleology of freedom seeks in the teleology of nature grounds for hope and its actual achievement, yet without ever filling the void of the separation that prohibits all natural accomplishment of right. That explains the effects of rupture one can find in the Kantian texts, and which are only a problem for the continuist reading which is here refused. Finally, it is shown that genuine historical events consist rather in that which within history cannot knowingly be deduced from history, because they precisely escape from the natural world that is their invariable context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 3. Federalist authors, personalities and organizations

Geiger Ido

What is the Use of the Universal Law Formula of the Categorical Imperative?

in *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, Volume 18, Issue 2, April 2010 , 271-295

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Amarjit Kaur

A new order? Asian labour migration, new geographies of migration and global governance
in *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy (The)*, Volume 15 Issue 1 , 4 - 5

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Botetzagias Iosif, Robinson Prue, Venizelos Lily

Accounting for Difficulties faced in Materializing a Transnational ENGO Conservation Network: A Case-Study from the Mediterranean

in *Global Environmental Politics*, Volume 10, Issue 1, February , 115-151

This paper investigates a rarely visited theme in academic research, namely the reasons hindering successful trans-national networking of environmental nongovernmental organizations (ENGOS). We visit this theme by analyzing the MEDSETCON initiative, an attempt in the late 1990s-early 2000s to create a Mediterranean Sea Turtle Conservation network, which ultimately bore no fruit. Prior research had emphasized the role played by individual and organizational characteristics as well as the issue's urgency, relevance and importance. In the case of MEDSETCON, all of these "environmental" conditions were met, yet the network did not materialize. We argue that this was because, albeit necessary, the conditions identified by other research are not in themselves sufficient. Thus we inform prior research by pointing out that networking is, *ceteris paribus*, also the outcome of successful resource exchanges between prospective members. Accordingly, we argue that individual ENGOS pursue networking to the extent that they feel that this will enhance some of their sources of leverage (the intellectual, political, fiscal and membership assets they need for operating and promoting their agenda), thus in effect exchanging stocks of one kind of leverage for another.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Moore Cerwyn, Shepherd Laura J.

Aesthetics and International Relations: Towards a Global Politics

in *Global Society*, Volume 24, Issue 3 July , 299-309

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Victor Jonah

African peacekeeping in Africa: Warlord politics, defense economics, and state legitimacy

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 2, March , 217-229

Since the end of the Cold War, sub-Saharan African states have substantially increased their participation in international peacekeeping operations in Africa. Their contributions have become highly valued and even facilitated by major powers. This article examines why certain African states might contribute more than others to peacekeeping. In



particular, prominent arguments are considered about the primacy of regime security concerns and the dynamics of warlord politics in the foreign policymaking of African states, the economic incentives of peacekeeping, and the importance of African states' concerns over their state legitimacy and territorial integrity. First, this study investigates the possibility that peacekeeping might be utilized as a diversionary strategy to divert the attention of both an African state's military and major powers from a regime's misrule. Second, this study examines the extent to which financial and material assistance from donor states encourages poorer states to engage in peacekeeping. Third, the study investigates whether states with less legitimate and more arbitrary borders might have greater incentive to contribute to peacekeeping operations to promote the territorial status quo in Africa. Empirical evidence from a quantitative analysis across 47 states of sub-Saharan Africa from 1989 to 2001 suggests that states that are poorer, with lower state legitimacy and lower political repression, participate more often in regional peacekeeping.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Coskun Bezen Balamir, Llyod Moya

Alternative futures for a multi-civilizational Europe

in Futures, Volume 42, Issue 6, August - Special Issue: Futures for Multiple Civilizations , 583-591

This article discusses the alternative futures for a multi-civilizational European Union; in other words, its capacity to embrace non-Western civilizations such as the Indian, Islamic, Chinese and others. It brings out three scenarios: (1) a Eurocentric future; (2) a pragmatically multi-civilizational European Union; and (3) a multi-civilizational European Union. Normatively, the third scenario, a genuinely multi-civilizational future appears the most preferred alternative for the rise of European Union as a respected and credible global actor, which plays a significant role in the stabilization and development of its neighbourhood regions and in the resolution of global level issues. Along with incentives, barriers, as discussed in relevant sections, are also explicit which might lead to two other scenarios if not eliminated. Practically, the article concludes that the co-existence of European and other civilizations within the European Union is more likely to lead to a multi-civilizational future than any attempt to integrate those civilizations within the dominant European tradition.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bali Asli, Rana Aziz

American Overreach: Strategic Interests and Millennial Ambitions in the Middle East

in Geopolitics, Vol. 15, n. 1, January , 210-238

This article argues that American actions in the Middle East designed to advance democracy and/or 'moderation' tend to yield perverse outcomes that frustrate the aspirations of local actors while undermining the values purportedly being promoted by the US. In order to explain these contradictions, we emphasise the linkage between policies of democracy promotion and long-standing American commitments both to millennialism and geographical omnipresence. As a result of these policies and geopolitical vision, we argue that 'democracy promotion' often devolves into a simple defence of American interest - by producing electoral outcomes intended to strengthen local agents seen as compliant with US regional priorities. In this context, the shift from democracy promotion to a policy of pursuing 'moderation' in the region, understood as support for American policies, is entirely coherent. Commentators tend to present this shift (particularly in the wake of the Iraq War) as recognition by US political actors of the imperial overtones embedded in more



heavy-handed approaches to regime change. Yet, the call for moderation is itself profoundly intertwined with American millennial aspirations, while remaining remarkably devoid of clear content and thus equally amenable to manipulation for strategic ends. By way of conclusion, we suggest an alternative basis for a less intrusive American position in the region, one that rejects the need for an overstretched territorial presence and that is grounded in a substantive respect for local self-determination.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Grasso Marco

An ethical approach to climate adaptation finance

in *Global Environmental Change*, Volume 20, Issue 1, Special Issue: Adaptive Capacity to Global Change in Latin America, February , 74-81

This article develops a framework of procedural and distributive justice specifically tailored to the international-level funding of adaptation based on the assumptions that the ethical contents of such funding should consist of a fair process which involves all relevant parties, that adaptation funds should be raised according to the responsibility for climate impacts, and that the funds raised should be allocated by putting the most vulnerable first. In particular, after underlining the usefulness and possibilities of an ethical approach to climate adaptation finance, the article, in defining the framework of justice, first explores and justifies principles of procedural and distributive justice, and on their basis advances fairness and equity criteria that serve as benchmarks for assessing the ethical contents of international adaptation funding. Then, in order to test the robustness and investigative potential of the framework of justice developed, the article uses its fairness and equity criteria to evaluate the procedural and distributive justness of some climate adaptation finance architectures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Merkel Wolfgang

Are dictatorships returning? Revisiting the 'democratic rollback' hypothesis

in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 16, n. 1, March , 17-31

Since 2007 an increasing number of articles have diagnosed 'freedom in retreat' and predicted a 'return to the authoritarian great powers'. Highly distinguished scholars warn against the 'democratic rollback', and articles on the resilience of authoritarian regimes have appeared in the best journals of political science. Is the tide of democratization turning, and do we have to expect a new reverse wave of autocratization? This article argues that there is no hard empirical evidence that we are witnessing a trend towards re-autocratization on a global scale. The optimism of the early 1990s of a seemingly irresistible trend towards democracy is partially due to an empirical artefact caused by inappropriate underlying theoretical concepts. The overestimation of human agency and political crafting on the one side and underestimation of structural impediments for democracy on the other side contributed to this optimism, as did the thin concept of 'electoral democracy' or teleological speculation about the end of history. Democratic rollback does not seem to be as widespread as is sometimes claimed.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dahrendorf Ralf

Autoritratto

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLIV, n. 195, Maggio-Agosto

«Biblioteca della libertà» apre questo secondo numero online con un Autoritratto di Ralf Dahrendorf, scomparso il 18 giugno 2009 all'età di 80 anni. Si tratta di una sua lunga intervista (concessa nel 1982 alla Radiotelevisione della Svizzera Italiana di Lugano) che abbiamo pubblicato, in traduzione italiana, nel n. 90 del 1984. Il sociologo e uomo politico tedesco era da anni membro del Comitato Scientifico della nostra rivista; sia «Biblioteca della libertà», sia gli omonimi Quaderni sia altre pubblicazioni del Centro Einaudi hanno avuto l'onore, in anni lontani, di proporre ai lettori italiani il pensiero di Ralf Dahrendorf, dando inizio alla sua notorietà anche nel nostro paese.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Delpérée Francis

Belgique-Bulgarie. Fragments de fresque constitutionnelle

in **Revue belge de Droit constitutionnel**, n. 2 , 137-147

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Abbamondi Carla, Lanza Laura (edited by)

Bibliografia di storia delle istituzioni contemporanee

in **Carte e la Storia (Le)**, n. 2, dicembre , 35-81

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hoare Marko Attila

Bosnia-Herzegovina and International Justice. Past Failures and Future Solutions

in **East European Politics and Societies**, vol. 24, n. 2, May , 191-205

Three different international courts have determined that genocide took place in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992-1995: the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). Yet paradoxically, there has been virtually no punishment of this genocide, while the punishment of lesser war crimes of the Bosnian war has been very limited. The ICTY has convicted only one individual, a lowly deputy corps commander, of a genocide-related offence. The ICJ acquitted Serbia, the state that planned and launched the assault upon Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, of genocide and related offences, finding it guilty



only of failure to prevent and punish genocide. Although Serb forces were responsible for the overwhelming majority of war crimes, the ICTY prosecution has disproportionately targeted non-Serbs in its indictments and, among Serbs, has disproportionately targeted Bosnian Serbs, with no official of Serbia or Yugoslavia yet convicted of war crimes in Bosnia. This article argues that the meagre results of the international judicial processes vis-à-vis the crimes of the Bosnian war must be sought in the structural failings, poor decision making, and political influences that affected the international courts. It argues that the international courts have failed either to deliver justice to the victims of the war crimes or to promote reconciliation among the peoples of the former Yugoslavia and suggests measures that could be taken to rectify the situation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Trachtenberg Zev

Complex green citizenship and the necessity of judgement

in Environmental Politics, Volume 19, Issue 3, May , 339-355

The term 'green citizenship' is used with respect to a wide range of competing conceptions of political action toward environmental goals. But different conceptions in fact address different environmental and institutional circumstances. Green citizenship should thus be understood as complex, and should be conceived as the ability to judge what forms of political activity are called for, given the details of context. The theory of green citizenship therefore ought to provide and explain exemplary cases of the exercise of green political judgement.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ferguson Niall

Complexity and Collapse

in Foreign Affairs, March/ April 2010, Volume 2, Number 89

Imperial collapse may come much more suddenly than many historians imagine. A combination of fiscal deficits and military overstretch suggests that the United States may be the next empire on the precipice.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tasioulas John

Cosa è un diritto umano?

in Ragion Pratica, numero 1, giugno 2010 , 109-128

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Becker Joachim, Jager Johannes



Development Trajectories in the Crisis in Europe

in *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. 18, n. 1, April , 5-27

East European states are both those hardest and least hit by the present economic and financial crisis. The heterogeneous consequences of the crisis cannot be understood by focusing exclusively on the region. On the contrary, we analyse the developments against the background of the specific insertion of the region into broader European political-economic structures. Likewise, an analysis of the anti-crisis policies has to transcend the national and sub-regional borders and has to include the EU level. Policy responses to the crisis differ both within the European Union and between Central and Eastern European states. This article discerns the reasons for the differences in both the crisis processes and the policy responses. It does so from the perspective of the theory of regulation. This theory provides the conceptual apparatus to analyse specific national political-economic structures and their linkages within the European context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Buchet de Neuilly Yves

Devenir diplomate multilatéral. Le sens pratique des calculs appropriés

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 75, automne , 75-98

Multilateral negotiations in International Organisations put diplomats under considerable constraints of coordination. When they arrive from their capitals, they have to learn very quickly how to manage expectations from their ministries and government, from their new colleagues in multilateral arenas, from supranational administrations and so on. And those expectations are not easily combined. In the field of political diplomacy, like in any other international public activity field, the representatives of the states learn how to behave ; they internalize routines and constraints, the pragmatic rules of the game. In one word, they are socialized. But this process do not necessarily result in a kind of adhesion to the organisation "project", neither in a reduction of calculations and strategic behaviour.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Schiavello Aldo

Diritti umani e pluralismo tra argomentazione e negoziazione

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 1, giugno 2010 , 129-150

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Redondo María Cristina

Diritti umani ed esercizio legittimo dell'autorità

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 1, giugno 2010 , 151-172

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Van Hoecke Mark

Diritti umani, concetti vaghi e interpretazione

in *Ragion Pratica*, numero 1, giugno 2010 , 173-186

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Tedoldi Leonida

Dove eravamo rimasti? Lo Stato in età moderna tra problemi storiografici e questioni aperte

in *Carte e la Storia (Le)*, n. 2, dicembre , 19-34

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eichner Thomas, Pethig Rüdiger

EU-type carbon emissions trade and the distributional impact of overlapping emissions taxes

in *Journal of Regulatory Economics*, Volume 37, Number 3 , 287-315

The European Union fulfills its emissions reductions commitments by means of an emissions trading scheme covering some part of each member state's economy and by national emissions control in the rest of their economies. The member states also levy energy/emissions taxes overlapping with the trading scheme. We investigate the impact of that double regulation on the distribution of national welfares. In certain very special cases emissions tax increases turn out to be exactly offset by permit price reductions such that permit-exporting [permit-importing] countries lose [gain] from an increase in the overlapping emissions tax. These results are not general due to market-interdependence effects, which may even reverse the sign of welfare changes. For that ambiguity and other reasons the case is made for abolishing overlapping taxes.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Molano Cruz Giovanni

El apoyo de la unión europea a los programas de desarrollo alternativo en Colombia: Cooperación para el combate contra el terrorismo y el tráfico ilícito de estupefacientes

in *Análisis político* , Vol. 22, issue 66 , 100-122

Este artículo presenta un análisis empírico de la cooperación europea con Colombia en programas de desarrollo para zonas con cultivos ilícitos, denominados programas de desarrollo alternativo. La idea central es que esta cooperación



forma parte de la política internacional de la Unión Europea contra el tráfico ilícito de estupefacientes. Para la Unión Europea apoyar programas de desarrollo alternativo significa contrarrestar la exportación ilegal de cocaína hacia el mercado europeo. En Colombia, la dinámica de negociación e implementación de esta cooperación ha contribuido a reforzar los programas gubernamentales de desarrollo alternativo y las políticas contra el terrorismo y la producción y exportación ilícitas de estupefacientes.

Inicialmente se expone la transformación de la cooperación europea de respaldo a políticas de paz en apoyo a la política de seguridad democrática. Enseguida se destaca la complementariedad de las políticas de la UE y el Gobierno colombiano sobre desarrollo alternativo y se explica el sentido del uso de la ayuda pública al desarrollo en las políticas de "lucha contra la droga". En la conclusión se argumenta la necesidad de revisar el acuerdo multilateral que estructura y orienta las políticas de desarrollo para zonas con cultivos ilícitos: la Convención de las Naciones Unidas contra el tráfico ilícito de estupefacientes y sustancias sicotrópicas firmada en 1988.

Full text available at:

<http://www.scielo.org.co/pdf/anpol/v22n66/v22n66a05.pdf>

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Francisco Martínez Mesa

Entre la utopía y la necesidad: una reflexión sobre el cosmopolitismo sansimoniano

in *Revista de Estudios Políticos* , n. 147

The present article examines the linkage between the Saint Simonian thought after his teacher's death and its internationalist discourse. For the author, in spite of the discrepancies established between the several specialists, exists a line of constant continuity in the Saint-Simonianism to the hour to reaffirm the cosmopolitanism like indispensable frame for the establishment of the society industrial to an universal context. That coherence with the Saint-Simonian ideology will be a constant until the end of the movement, being completely compatible with the strategic adaptations that his members would accomplish in the course of time, in its eagerness to strengthen links and to forge alliances with those sectors and class of the French society without whose contribution the project would be doomed for the failure

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Jordan Andrew, Lenschow Andrea

Environmental policy integration: a state of the art review

in *European Environment/Environmental Policy and Governance*, Volume 20, Issue 3, May-June , 147-158

The principle of environmental policy integration (EPI) attracts great scholarly interest as well as widespread political backing. Political support is particularly strong in the European Union, where it enjoys a prominent quasi-constitutional status. However, the practical fulfilment of EPI appears to lag well behind these aspirations, although the evidence base of this widely held view remains rather fragmented. This article aims to review the state of the art in EPI research and practice from the perspective of its conceptual meaning, processes of implementation and outcomes on the ground. It finds that the political commitment to EPI is indeed widespread, especially in industrialized states, but that deep



disagreement surrounds its actual application. In terms of everyday practices, policy integration is complex and contingent, and there are few best practices that can be easily shared between jurisdictions. Finally, knowledge about policy outcomes is very sparse indeed, and policy-making systems seem very ill prepared to address this lacuna.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fitjar Rune Dahl

Explaining variation in sub-state regional identities in Western Europe
in *European Journal of Political Research*, vol. 49, issue 4, June, 522-544

ABSTRACT: While national identities emerged as the dominant source of territorial identification during the twentieth century, sub-state regional identities are becoming increasingly important in some Western European regions. However, this is not a uniform development. In some regions, nearly half of respondents in Eurobarometer surveys claim a stronger attachment to the region than to the state. In others, less than 4 per cent are primarily attached to their region. This article examines the extent to which these differences are explained by the characteristics of the regions themselves. What, if anything, do regions that mobilise public identity have in common? Developing a model of regional identities, the study examines cultural, geographic, economic and political factors that vary across different regions in Western Europe. The study finds that regional identities tend to be stronger in regions where a regional language is spoken and which do not border the state capital, signalling a cultural and a centre/periphery dimension to regional identity formation. However, there is potentially a more strategic aspect to identification, as regional identities are likely to be stronger in economically developed regions and in regions with highly distinctive voting behaviour.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Skjærseth Jon Birger

Exploring the consequences of soft law and hard law: implementing international nutrient commitments in Norwegian agriculture

in *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics*, Volume 10, Number 1, March, 1-14

The study of hard law and soft law in international environmental cooperation has mainly focused on why, and under what conditions, states choose one form of law in preference to another. This article develops an analytical framework for exploring the consequences of such choices. This framework is applied to implementation of international nutrient commitments in Norwegian agriculture from 1987 until 2007. Agriculture is the most important source of nitrogen inputs and eutrophication problems in the marine environment in Norway and Europe. It is concluded that, first, the consequences of hard and soft international law depend heavily on how they interact with changing national conditions. Some of these conditions can be deliberately changed to facilitate synergetic interaction between national conditions and international law. Secondly, under favorable conditions soft law can have a significant impact even when costly action is required, and resistance from target groups are strong. These observations are particularly interesting in light of the recent decision to end the soft law North Sea Conference process.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous



Bussani Mauro

Faut-il se passer du common law (européen)?: Réflexions sur un code civil continental dans le droit mondialisé
in *Revue internationale de droit comparé*, vol. 62, n. 1 , 7-26

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Whiteside K. H., Boy D., Bourg D.

France's 'Grenelle de l'environnement': openings and closures in ecological democracy
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3, May , 449-467

Since 2007 France has been systematically renovating government policy under the banner of sustainable development. This process, called the Grenelle de l'environnement, extends the official role given to environmental associations in certain of the State's advisory bodies. The institutional roots of the Grenelle are located in various precedents for consultative environmental practice in French administration. The role of Nicolas Hulot's 2006 ecological pact in making democratised environmental policy a higher presidential priority is then reviewed. At a procedural level, the Grenelle is shown to take France's meso-corporatist practices in the direction of deliberative democracy. Its newly adopted Energy-Climate tax shows how environmental groups can use discursive power to shape environmental legislation.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Miller Michael L.

From liberal nationalism to cosmopolitan patriotism: Simon Deutsch and 1848ers in exile
in *European Review of History - Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, Volume 17, Issue 3, June , 379-393

For many inhabitants of the Habsburg Empire, the Revolution of 1848 represented a common formative experience, signifying their entrance into the public sphere, their initial participation in politics and civil society. While some revolutionaries were executed or given amnesty, many sought refuge in Zurich, London, Constantinople, and especially Paris. This paper examines this international (and largely 'cosmopolitan') network of 1848ers in exile, focusing in particular on Simon Deutsch (1822-77), a young Austrian Jew who became a radical journalist in Vienna during the Revolution, as well as an ardent proponent of the 'Greater German Solution' [Grossdeutsche Loumlsung], before fleeing the firing squads at the end of 1848. During his thirty years in exile (Zurich, London, Paris, Constantinople, Madrid), this curious figure became involved in the Paris Commune, the International Workingmen's Association, and even helped found the New Ottomans (during his prolonged sojourn in Paris). His contacts with fellow 1848s from the Habsburg Empire and from other European countries (e.g. Karl Marx, Moses Hess) helped inform the perennial tension between liberal nationalism and international socialism that characterised Deutsch's life.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hough Dan, Kirchner Emil

Germany at 60: Stability and Success, Problems and Challenges



in **German Politics**, Volume 19, Issue 1, March , 1-8

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shaykhutdinov Renat

Give peace a chance: Nonviolent protest and the creation of territorial autonomy arrangements

in **Journal of Peace Research**, Volume 47, Number 2, March , 179-191

This study examines factors that predict the formation of territorial autonomy arrangements for regionally concentrated ethnic communities. Territorial autonomies are institutional arrangements that allow ethnic groups to express their distinct identities while keeping the borders of host states intact. Although an extensive literature has investigated the capacity of autonomy arrangements to manage interethnic disputes, little research has addressed the precise origins of these institutions. The existing literature considers violent tactics as a primary factor that enables ethnic collectivities to attain territorial autonomy. In this study, the reasoning from the extant literature is juxtaposed with the arguments developed in the research on nonviolent opposition. Nonviolent movements enjoy moral advantage vis-à-vis violent groups. Moreover, peaceful tactics have the advantage of garnering attention for the concerns of ethnic groups without the liability of provoking the animosity or distrust created by violent conflict. Based on the analysis of a dataset representing 168 ethnic groups across 87 states from 1945 to 2000, it is found that the peaceful tactics groups employ when seeking greater self-rule is the single strongest predictor of the formation of autonomy arrangements. In particular, this study concludes that groups that rely on peaceful tactics, such as protests and strikes, and demand territorial autonomy, as opposed to an outright independence, have a greater potential to achieve territorial autonomy in comparison to those groups making extreme demands through the use of violence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Singh Grewal Shivdeep

Habermas, law and European social policy: a rejoinder to Murphy

in **Journal of European Public Policy** , Volume 17 Issue 2 2010 , Pages 282 – 298

In a previous issue of this journal, Mark Murphy critically examined Jürgen Habermas' engagement with the process of European integration. In particular, Murphy questioned Habermas' faith in EU law and social policy as instruments for the promotion of democracy and cosmopolitan solidarity. This article challenges the theoretical presuppositions of Murphy's account, and hence the argument he builds on them. First, it is argued, Murphy provides only a partial exposition of Habermas' conception of European integration. With reference to EU social policy, for example, the Habermasian perspective is found to have more in common with the influential work of Stephan Leibfried than with the account of it provided by Murphy. Second, Murphy neglects the centrality to Habermas' thought of the phenomenological 'lifeworld'. As a result, Habermas is depicted, somewhat misleadingly, as a productivist social democrat, while the implications of his thought for analysis of the democratic deficit are left unexplored.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Davidson Alastair

History, Human Rights and the Left

in **Thesis Eleven**, vol. 100, n. 1, February , 106-116

Marxists should reconsider their usual attitude to universal human rights. On the Jewish Question did not reject the entire French Declaration of 1791. In 1843 Marx and Engels were close to Babouvism, the continuation of French rights. Nor was their view that the 1791 Declaration must be completed by economic and social rights; rather, their criticism concerned the reduction of universal rights to citizen rights because it left the state the final arbiter of justice, denying the 'voice from below'. The source of human rights cannot be the state or its hegemonic rule of law. The article concludes that a politics of human rights would return justice to individuals and create a counter-hegemony.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Toscano Roberto

I dilemmi del sovranismo

in **Aspenia**, n. 47, dicembre, "Il metodo Obama e i suoi limiti" , 224-230

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

de Benoist Alain

Il Dollaro al centro della crisi

in **Diorama**, n. 297, giugno-luglio

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Fidler Courtney

Increasing the sustainability of a resource development: Aboriginal engagement and negotiated agreements

in **Environment, Development and Sustainability**, Volume 12, Number 2, April , 233-244

While the role Aboriginal people play in environmental governance programs are often underpinned by the Crown, Aboriginal peoples are ratifying negotiated agreements with mining proponents to ensure their issues and concerns are addressed. This paper examines Aboriginal participation in mine development to show how more inclusive social and environmental development models can support a more sustainable development. Through two complementary processes, negotiated agreements and environmental impact assessment, Aboriginal peoples are maximizing their benefits and minimizing the adverse impacts of a project to create a more sustainable resource development. Case study analysis of the Galore Creek Project in northwestern British Columbia, Canada, illustrates how environmental



impact assessment and negotiated agreements can co-exist to positively contribute to a successful mineral development, and hence operationalize sustainability within this context.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eakin Hallie, Lemos Maria Carmen

Institutions and change. The challenge of building adaptive capacity in Latin America

in Global Environmental Change, Volume 20, Issue 1, Special Issue: Adaptive Capacity to Global Change in Latin America, February , 1-3

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Viola Francesco

Interpretazione giuridica, diritti umani e la nuova scienza giuridica

in Ragion Pratica, numero 1, giugno 2010 , 187-202

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bevir Mark

Interpreting Territory and Power

in Government and Opposition , Vol. 45, n. 3, July , 436-456

The article offers an interpretive approach to understanding Jim Bulpitt's Territory and Power in the United Kingdom. The first two parts interpret Bulpitt's text by locating it respectively in its historical and contemporaneous contexts. It argues that Territory and Power belongs in a broader movement to rethink the state in a way that accommodates the rise of new behavioural topics. Territory and Power also defends modernist empiricist approaches to institutions and other mid-level topics against the positivism and general theories of behaviouralism. The final part points to an interpretive approach to the state as an alternative to the behaviouralism and institutionalism that lurk behind Bulpitt's ideas. A thoroughly interpretive approach would decentre territory and power, revealing them to be contingent and shifting products of struggles over meanings.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Chalamish Efraim

Jurisdicción universal y política mundial: el caso español



in *Politica Exterior*, 134 - Marzo / Abril 2010

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Penasa Simone

La promozione delle minoranze linguistiche via meccanismi di partecipazione. La legge provinciale della Provincia autonoma di Trento n. 6 del 2008 quale laboratorio del sistema multilevel di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche?

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 1017-1056

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Anna M. Pla Boix

La protecció del plurilingüisme a nivell estatal: Espanya i el model helvètic en l'escenari del dret comparat

in *Revista d'Estudis Autònoms i Federals*, n. 10 , 162-206

full text available at:

http://www10.gencat.cat/drep/binaris/_reaf10_Pla_tcm112-124446.pdf

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Panzeri Lino

Le prospettive di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche in Italia: il ruolo delle Regioni ordinarie

in *Regioni (Le)*, n. 5 , 979-1016

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bigo Didier, Piazza Pierre

Les conséquences humaines de l'échange transnational des données individuelles

in *Cultures & Conflits*, n. 76, hiver , 7-14

No abstract available



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hall Martin, Hobson John M.

Liberal International theory: Eurocentric but not always Imperialist?

in *International Theory*, Volume 2, Issue 02, July , 210-245

This article has two core objectives: first to challenge the conventional understanding of liberal international theory (which we do by focussing specifically on classical liberalism) and second, to develop much further postcolonialism's conception of Eurocentrism. These twin objectives come together insofar as we argue that classical liberalism does not always stand for anti-imperialism/non-interventionism given that significant parts of it were Eurocentric and pro-imperialist. But we also argue that in those cases where liberals rejected imperialism they did so not out of a commitment to cultural pluralism, as we are conventionally told, but as a function of either a specific Eurocentric or a scientific racist stance. This, in turn, means that Eurocentrism can be reduced neither to scientific racism nor to imperialism. Thus while we draw on postcolonialism and its critique of liberalism as Eurocentric, we find its conception of Eurocentrism (and hence its vision of liberalism) to be overly reductive. Instead we differentiate four variants of 'polymorphous Eurocentrism' while revealing how two of these rejected imperialism and two supported it. And by revealing how classical liberalism was embedded within these variants of Eurocentrism so we recast the conventional interpretation. In doing so, we bring to light the 'protean career of polymorphous liberalism' as it crystallizes in either imperialist or anti-imperialist forms as a function of the different variants of Eurocentrism within which it is embedded. Finally, because two of these variants underpin modern liberalism (as discussed in the Conclusions) so we challenge international relations scholars to rethink their conventional understanding of both classical- and modern-liberalism, as much as we challenge postcolonialists to rethink their conception of Eurocentrism.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Elinder Mikael

Local economies and general elections: The influence of municipal and regional economic conditions on voting in Sweden 1985–2002

in *European Journal of Political Economy*, Volume 26, Issue 2, June 2010 , 279-292

This paper presents a detailed analysis of voters' responses to municipality and regional-level unemployment and economic growth, using panel data on 284 municipalities and 9 regions, covering Swedish general elections from 1982 to 2002. The preferred specification suggests that a reduction in regional unemployment by one percentage point is associated with an increase in the support for the national government by about 1.7 percentage points. The effect of growth, at the regional level, is substantial in size, but statistically insignificant. At the municipality level, unemployment has a smaller effect than at the regional level and growth has no effect on government support.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Merker N.

Ma il popolo cos'e'? (per un'analitica dei concetti)



in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 18 - II sem. 2009 , 13-30

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Dunleavy Patrick

New Worlds in Political Science

in *Political Studies*, Volume 58 Issue 2, March , 239 - 265

'Political science' is a 'vanguard' field concerned with advancing generic knowledge of political processes, while a wider 'political scholarship' utilising eclectic approaches has more modest or varied ambitions. Political science nonetheless necessarily depends upon and is epistemologically comparable with political scholarship. I deploy Boyer's distinctions between discovery, integration, application and renewing the profession to show that these connections are close woven. Two sets of key challenges need to be tackled if contemporary political science is to develop positively. The first is to ditch the current unworkable and restrictive comparative politics approach, in favour of a genuinely global analysis framework. Instead of obsessively looking at data on nation states, we need to seek data completeness on the whole (multi-level) world we have. A second cluster of challenges involves looking far more deeply into political phenomena; reaping the benefits of 'digital-era' developments; moving from sample methods to online census methods in organisational analysis; analysing massive transactional databases and real-time political processes (again, instead of depending on surveys); and devising new forms of 'instrumentation', informed by post-rational choice theoretical perspectives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Heins Volker

Of persons and peoples: Internationalizing the critical theory of recognition

in *Contemporary Political Theory*, Vol. 9, n. 2, May , 149-170

Although Axel Honneth's critical theory of recognition continues to resonate among political theorists, its relationship to the debate on political and moral cosmopolitanism remains unclear. The paper aims to fill this gap by defining a few guideposts to a 'recognition-theoretical' conception of the international. My argument is that Honneth's theory oscillates between a liberal-cosmopolitan model of the global spread of human rights and an alternative model that is closer to the anti-cosmopolitanism of the late Rawls. Both models reflect certain assumptions about the moral standing of political communities or 'peoples', even if those assumptions remain implicit and unexamined. I begin by discussing the premise that recognition theory is all about 'natural' persons instead of 'artificial' persons such as states or peoples. I proceed by comparing Rawls's notion of a distinct logic of the international to Honneth's more ambiguous gestures toward an international political theory. Finally, I offer some thoughts on the place of peoples and sovereign statehood in the theory of recognition.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Eaton Kent

Paradoxes of Police Reform: Federalism, Parties, and Civil Society in Argentina's Public Security Crisis
in *Latin American Research Review*, Volume 43, Number 3, 2008 , pp. 5-32

This article focuses on three central impediments to police reform in Argentina, each of which has generated an important, yet distinct, paradox. First, although advocates of federalism argue that police reform facilitates innovation, in practice, reform efforts at one level of government in Argentina have been sabotaged by officials at other levels of government. Second, although electoral pressures have pushed police reform onto the policy agenda, these same pressures have also obstructed reform efforts because politicians depend on illicit party-police networks for campaign financing. Third, despite copious evidence of police involvement in criminal acts, Argentina's crime wave has energized conservative civil society groups whose demand for a heavy-handed response to crime has derailed the most promising attempts to restructure the police force.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hamdouch Abdelillah, Depret Marc-Hubert

Policy integration strategy and the development of the 'green economy': foundations and implementation patterns

in *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Volume 53, Issue 4, Special Issue: New Perspectives on Sustainable Development, June , 473-490

In several countries, the remarkable development of the 'green economy' in recent years has gone hand in hand with the implementation of strategies of integration (more or less rapid and thorough) of public policies linked to the environment. This policy integration strategy is generally a necessary condition for the encouragement and viable development of new environmental technologies and competitive green sectors. However, as emerges from the extended review of the theoretical and empirical literature on which this paper is based, the success of this policy integration strategy is based more on the design, timing, coherence (spatial and temporal) and the pragmatism of policies undertaken by the public authorities, than on the scale of the resources committed - even if the latter count.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ruocco G.

Popolo, nazione, sovranità prima della Rivoluzione: un discorso introduttivo
in *Giornale di storia costituzionale*, n. 18 - II sem. 2009 , 49-70

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Groenveld Simon , Wagenaar Pieter , van der Meer Frits



Pre-Napoleonic centralization in a decentralized polity: the case of the Dutch Republic
in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* , March 2010, Volume 76, No. 1 , 47-64

The interest in the origins of present-day government is often derived from the thought that its current functioning and problems can be at least partially explained by the institutional choices made at the moment of origin. The institutional reforms made during the so-called French (or Napoleonic) era divert attention from the at least equally relevant Ancien Régime reform origins. For a thorough understanding of the origins of a 'modern' governmental system we have to examine the Ancien Régime period more closely. This is highly relevant in the Dutch case. Contrary to popular opinion, during the Republic a more centralized system of government did gradually develop from the two power centers (Stadtholders and Estates-General).

Points for practitioners

The importance of the Dutch case is that it highlights, due to the very absence of monarchical absolutism, the deeper mechanisms working towards centralizing (the system of) governance.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Burnell Peter, Schlumberger Oliver

Promoting democracy - promoting autocracy? International politics and national political regimes
in *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 16, n. 1, March , 1-15

Has the last tide of democratization been replaced by a new wave of democratic reversal? Do two decades of international democracy promotion now have to compete with the promotion of authoritarian rule by powers that have resisted democratization internally? Are there more pressing grounds than ever to investigate international political influences on the prospects not just for transition to and consolidation of democracy but the persistence, resurgence and spread of more authoritarian regimes? These are among the big issues raised in this introduction to the special issue. It does not pretend to provide definitive responses, but rather makes a start on how to look for some answers. The introduction spells out an agenda that should take a central place in future research into the influence of international politics on national political regimes. It gives a window onto how the multinational contributions in this issue add to our knowledge and take that agenda further forwards.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

S. Philip Hsu

Reappraising the debate and practice of US strategic ambiguity/clarity in cross-strait relations
in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 2 , 139 - 162

The US strategic ambiguity versus clarity has been a centerpiece in maintaining cross-strait stability since the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait crisis. Dialogues and debates abound regarding the relative effectiveness of discrete US policy choices. The current thaw in cross-strait relations does not forestall decisively the resurgence in the long run of the cross-strait tensions during 2000-08, rendering the strategic ambiguity/clarity still a relevant issue. This article argues that the



discussions on the issue are seriously plagued by the lack of a sufficiently rigorous and commonly shared conceptualization of strategic ambiguity/clarity, and an internal logical contradiction or an inadequate practical utility as a tool to aid policy-making. To address these problems, this article seeks to clarify and elaborate on the conceptual foundation of strategic ambiguity/clarity by differentiating between two distinct analytic levels thereof, and proposing a conceptual framework for a fuller understanding of the US policy along various dimensions. It also reappraises some major issues or problems found in the existing discussions and US practice, and suggests possible solutions.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Okumu Wafula

Resources and border disputes in Eastern Africa

in *Journal of Eastern African Studies* , Volume 4, Issue 2, July , 279-297

This article argues that there is a likelihood of inter-state disputes in Eastern Africa as natural wealth is discovered in the borderlands. After providing an overview of the current state of Eastern African borders the article points out that the escalating trans-boundary resource disputes are due to the colonial boundary-making errors, undefined and unmarked borders, poor or lack of border management, poor governance, and population bulge. Besides using a number of case studies to contextualise trans-boundary resource conflicts, the article concludes by recommending establishment of a regional mechanism to address border disputes and a regional framework for managing and sharing trans-boundary resources.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gorenburg Dmitry

Russia's Political Future: Scenarios and Projections

in *Russian politics and law*, vol. 47, n. 6, November-December , 3-6

Although the Russian public would prefer a stable, democratic regime that permits economic development to either an authoritarian system or a decentralized federation, projections based on current trends indicate that the country is likely to experience tighter political control in the next decade.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Furani Khaled

Said and the Religious Other

in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Volume 52, Issue 3, July , 604-625

Whether observed in French laïcité, Kemalist Turkey, Kantian political theory, Western Christian theology, or North Indian classical music, the presence of modern secularity has been demonstrably complex (Asad 2003; Bakhle 2008; Blumenberg 1985; Connolly 1999; Navaro-Yashin 2002). My purpose in this essay is to further examine the intricacies of the modern secular, specifically its relation with what it deems "religious." My focus will be Edward Said, whose



paradigmatic engagement in secular, critical, and comparative inquiry makes his work an ideal place to investigate the modern apparition of the secular. It is widely acknowledged that Orientalism (1979) led to a profound transformation of entire fields of inquiry in the humanities and social sciences, and even the creation of new ones. Said's work as a practice of criticism has been instrumental in addressing the affinities between forms of knowledge and domination, especially in their colonial variety. However, studies of his writings have only recently begun to address the topic of modern secularism in his work, which will be at the center of this paper (e.g., Mufti 2004; Hart 2000; Anidjar 2006; Apter 2004; Robbins 1994; Gourgouris 2004).

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Agrama Hussein Ali

Secularism, Sovereignty, Indeterminacy: Is Egypt a Secular or a Religious State?
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 52, Issue 3, July , 495-523

In this essay I offer a thesis about secularism as a modern historical phenomenon, through a consideration of state politics, law, and religion in contemporary Egypt. Egypt seems hardly a place for theorizing about modern secularity. For it is a state where politics and religion seem to constantly blur together, giving rise to continual conflict, and it thus seems, at best, only precariously secular. These facts, however, go to the heart of my thesis: that secularism itself incessantly blurs together religion and politics, and that its power relies crucially upon the precariousness of the categories it establishes. Egypt's religious-political ambiguities, I argue, are expressions of deeper indeterminacies at the very foundation of secular power. In what follows, I elaborate my thesis, how it differs from other, similar sounding arguments, and the shift in perspective on secularism that it entails. I begin with a famous Egyptian apostasy case.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bowen John R.

Secularism: Conceptual Genealogy or Political Dilemma?
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 52, Issue 3, July , 680-694

If we step back and consider the words around which critiques and debates have crystallized in recent years, some have been relatively clear, while others have been constantly in need of disambiguation. Even during the most drawn-out of debates over "nationalism" or "revolution," and despite the arguments over definitions and typologies, we had the sense that we were all talking about the same thing—that is why the debates could move along, adding new perspectives, disputing whether this or that author had placed enough stress on class position, or industrialization, or ideas.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Krupa Christopher

State by Proxy: Privatized Government in the Andes
in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 52, Issue 2, April , 319-350

Recent ethnographic work on the state has exposed a crack in one of the founding myths of modern political power.



Despite the state's transcendental claim to wielding absolute, exclusive authority within national territory, scholars have shown that in much of the world there are, in fact, “too many actors competing to perform as state,” sites where various power blocs “are acting as the state and producing the same powerful effects” (Aretxaga 2003: 396, 398) Achille Mbembe (2001: 74), writing of the external fiscal controls imposed upon African countries during the late 1980s, has termed this a condition of “fractionated sovereignty”—the dispersal of official state functions among various non-state actors. There is, as Mbembe suggests, “nothing particularly African” about this situation (ibid.). Around the world, the power of various “shadow” organizations like arms dealers and paramilitary groups seems increasingly to depend upon their ability to out-perform the state in many of its definitive functions, from the provision of security and welfare to the collection of taxes and administration of justice (Nugent 1999; Nordstrom 2004; Hansen 2005). These observations present a serious challenge to conventional state theory. They force us to consider whether such conditions of fragmented, competitive statecraft might be better understood not as deviant exceptions to otherwise centralized political systems but, rather, as the way that government is actually experienced in much of the world today.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hamdoucha Abdelillah, Zuideau Bertrand

Sustainable development, 20 years on: methodological innovations, practices and open issues

in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, Volume 53, Issue 4, Special Issue: New Perspectives on Sustainable Development, June , 427-438

The aim of this introductory paper is to put into perspective some key methodological and practical issues raised by the analysis and implementation of Sustainable Development (SD) approaches in recent years. The key point made here is that, while SD analysis has gained in depth and methodological improvement, implementation issues remain problematic as they underlie serious institutional and strategic constraints. Through different angles, the five papers gathered in this special issue provide several illustrations of this ambivalence and emphasise some key practical challenges facing the design of workable SD policies and measures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Guliyeva Gulara

Synergies in Minority Protection: European and International Law Perspectives

in International Journal on Minority and Groups Rights, Volume 17, Number 1 , 203-209

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Bagliani Marco, Dansero Egidio, Puttilli Matteo

Territory and energy sustainability: the challenge of renewable energy sources

in Journal of Environmental Planning and Management, Volume 53, Issue 4, Special Issue: New Perspectives on Sustainable Development, June , 457-472



The issue of energy production is assuming an ever more pivotal role in the most recent international debate on sustainable development. In particular, the development of Renewable Energy Sources (RES) is seen as a great opportunity to achieve sustainability objectives and targets. This consideration reinforces the great debate on the active role of the local dimension in achieving sustainability objectives. A RES-based energy model implies complex re-organisation of the territory with, usually, increased decentralisation of energy production and consumption and the use of widely-diffused energy resources. This paper argues that utilisation of RES implies the need for careful consideration of their relationship with the territory and, more generally, with the local scale. The real commitment of the local scale in promoting RES development depends on the multiple possible relations that exist between renewable energy and socio-economic complexity, on the one hand, and ecosystem complexity, on the other. This paper aims to achieve three main objectives: (1) establish the role of the local dimension in the most recent debate on sustainable development; (2) illustrate how multiple relationships between RES and the territory may be represented; (3) verify how, through RES, the local dimension can actively contribute to pursuing sustainable development objectives.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Mikalsen Kjartan Koch

Testimony and Kant's Idea of Public Reason

in **Res Publica**, Volume 16, Number 1, February , 23-40

It is common to interpret Kant's idea of public reason and the Enlightenment motto to 'think for oneself' as incompatible with the view that testimony and judgement of credibility is essential to rational public deliberation. Such interpretations have led to criticism of contemporary Kantian approaches to deliberative democracy for being intellectualistic, and for not considering our epistemic dependence on other people adequately. In this article, I argue that such criticism is insufficiently substantiated, and that Kant's idea of public reason is neither at odds with deference to a certain kind of authority, nor with making judgements of character in rational deliberation. This view is corroborated by recent work on Kant's epistemology of testimony.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Havercroft Jonathan

The Fickle Multitude: Spinoza and the Problem of Global Democracy

in **Constellations**, Vol. 17, Issue 1, March , 120-136

No abstract available

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Santos Campos Andre

The Individuality of the State in Spinoza's Political Philosophy

in **Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie**, Band 92 (2010), Heft 1 , 1–38

Abstract



The place of the State in Spinoza's ontology has emerged in scholarly literature as one of the most complex issues involving Spinoza's political thought. At issue is whether Spinoza's State is an actual individual with its own conatus. Some consider it a completely real individual, others say that its individuality can only be metaphoric, whilst others point out the conceptual insufficiency of this polarity for explaining the ontological status of political aggregates and try to overcome it through new concepts, such as the multitude, transindividuality, and figuration. In this paper, each of these interpretations is analyzed and dismissed in favour of a new one stating that Spinoza's State is actually a dynamic network of political concepts operating in resemblance of individuality and reflecting the main characteristics of the modern Nation-State.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Peregudov S.P.

The Russian Political System After the Elections of 2007-2008

in Russian politics and law, vol. 47, n. 6, November-December , 47-87

The author analyzes the recent and prospective evolution of United Russia as a "dominant party of a special type." He considers the roles played in the Russian political system by "intrasystem" and "antisystem" opposition parties, big business, trade unions, civil society institutions, and spontaneous protest movements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Charnock Greig

The Space of International Political Economy: On Scale and its Limits

in Politics, Vol. 30, Issue 2, June , 79-90

This article introduces the contribution made by scholars writing on the 'new political economy of scale'. It explains how this approach shares with neo-Gramscian approaches a concern with challenging the problematic assumptions of much international political economy theorising. Moreover, if the achievement of scholars such as Robert Cox has been to show how social forces shape and reshape world orders over time, then the new political economy of scale also reveals how social forces do not simply operate within and across national state space, but also politicise space itself. The final part of the article reviews two sets of criticisms of the approach and concludes that, while it has been significant in challenging IPE scholars to reflect upon their spatial assumptions, its status as a critical alternative may well be compromised by its own foundational tenets.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Starrett Gregory

The Varieties of Secular Experience

in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Volume 52, Issue 3, July , 626-651



It has become a nearly universal reflex to think about the contemporary Middle East as a region in which secularism is in decline. This is particularly true in countries like Egypt, where the modernist imagination of independence-era socialism seems to have been eclipsed by a grassroots vision of the future as a thoroughly Islamic place, and where the nature of the government's stance with regard to secularism and religion has long been an important question (Winegar 2009; Agrama, this CSSH issue). Since the late 1970s, a decade which saw the Iranian Revolution, the rise of televangelism in the United States, and the beginnings of an extraordinary wave of Protestant conversion in Latin America, it has become popular to produce histories of secularism that will help explain the failure of "the secularization thesis," the idea that with economic development, the spread of education, and the advancement of Science, religion was a doomed commodity like pounce pots and butter churns. The moral vision of the popular long-running Star Trek mythology, in which humans as a species have given up religion altogether, seems ever more remote the closer its technological vision becomes. Surprisingly durable, religion refuses to wait quietly in the churchyard for people to visit. Instead, it stands on the street corner denouncing bad behavior and calling the world to salvation. But now the street corner is a television broadcasting satellite (or a cassette tape, or a website), and religion's call has succeeded in ways that no Cold War sociologist or political scientist could have imagined.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Khaled Hroub

The West's hollow talk of Arab democracy

in Europe's World, Issue 14, Spring

Political leaders in America and Europe are vociferous in their calls for the Middle East to embrace democracy. But Khaled Hroub says that the reality is the West connives in keeping Arab autocrats in power.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Beeson Mark

The coming of environmental authoritarianism

in Environmental Politics, Volume 19, Issue 2, Special Issue: Symposium on Climate Change Policy and Politics, March , 276-294

The East Asian region generally and Southeast Asia in particular have long been associated with authoritarian rule. It is argued that the intensification of a range of environmental problems means that authoritarian rule is likely to become even more commonplace there in the future. Countries with limited state capacity will struggle to deal with the consequences of population expansion, economic development and the environmental degradation with which they are associated. A resurgence of authoritarian rule is made even more likely by China's 'successful' developmental example and the extent of the region's existing environmental problems. The dispiriting reality may be that authoritarian regimes - unattractive as they may be - may even prove more capable of responding to the complex political and environmental pressures in the region than some of its democracies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea



Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Harrison Ewan

The democratic peace research program and system-level analysis

in *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume 47, Number 2, March , 155-165

In a path-breaking article, Wade Huntley reinterpreted Kant's pacific union as a systemic phenomenon. This generated a new wave of inquiry into the evolutionary expansion of the democratic peace. The resulting literature examines how the effects of the pacific union vary over time and with the strength of the global democratic community. It investigates the possibility that the democratic zone of peace may spread through spillover effects, socialization dynamics, and positive feedback. In so doing, it has moved democratic peace research beyond the 'separate peace' formulation. Currently, however, this literature has accumulated insights on an ad hoc basis. New hypotheses have been developed and tested without systematically considering how these insights contribute to established knowledge about the democratic peace. This article uses philosophy of science criteria to assess the contributions of the systemic democratic peace literature. It shows how systemic analysis of the democratic peace is progressive in terms of Lakatos's methodology of scientific research programs. The article first considers how Lakatosian methodology has been applied to dyadic democratic peace research. Next, it refines this account of the democratic peace research program to make it more suitable for evaluating the contributions of the systemic literature. The last section shows systemic analysis is compatible with the Lakatosian vision of a cumulative series of theories (monadic-dyadic-systemic) building logically from a core assumption. It then uses the established structure of dyadic inquiry to frame a wide-ranging agenda for a second generation of democratic peace studies.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Shigeko Hayashi

The developmental state in the era of globalization: beyond the Northeast Asian model of political economy

in *Pacific Review (The)* , Volume 23 Issue 1 , 45 - 69

Criticism of the developmental state can be divided into two categories. One is the neoliberal position that criticizes the efficacy of the developmental state model itself. According to this view, the developmental state was not an important factor in East Asian development and the adoption of industrial policy would in fact be detrimental to developing countries. A second critical position concedes that a degree of achievement was indeed attained by the developmental state in the past, but argues that the developmental state model is no longer a viable option today. This position holds that the high level of government intervention in successful East Asian countries more or less contributed to their economic development, but that this policy is no longer feasible. While deepening globalization in the world economy is regarded as inimical to the developmental state, some also argue that the developmental state model could only have worked during the Cold War and could not function in today's international political and economic climate. Despite these negative observations, the purpose of this article is to demonstrate the viability of the developmental state model. First, the article supports the statist position by broadening the scope of the argument: developmental states exist not only in Northeast Asia, but also in Southeast Asia, and the East Asian authoritarian regimes had a role in economic development. Second, this article directly counters new criticism of the developmental state. It argues that the developmental state model is still an effective development strategy in the post-Cold War period and even in the era of globalization: the model was useful in East Asia, and could be useful beyond East Asia.



Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Becker Derick

The neoliberal moment: Communicative interaction and a discursive analysis of the global political economy in *International Politics*, Volume 47, Issue 2, March, 251–268

This article is motivated by two trends in international relations (IR): the general trend toward global neoliberalism, and the discursive turn in IR scholarship. Neoliberalism, while not fully practised anywhere, has become the dominant discourse and normative measure of economic policy ideas around which policy debates coalesce. This all is the more noticeable among the lesser-developed countries. This article attempts to explain this gradual shift in the global political economy where most discussions centre around a core set of ideas and beliefs about how the system ought to function. Given that evidence of this ideational/discursive shift predates the end of the Cold War and changed out of step with the steady growth in economic interdependence, new approaches are warranted. What is argued here is that the study of social interaction among states will shed considerable light onto how the international system has developed into its current state.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Hale Stephen

The new politics of climate change: why we are failing and how we will succeed in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 2, Special Issue: Symposium on Climate Change Policy and Politics, March, 255-275

It is difficult for political leaders to take action on climate change at the scale and speed necessary. Neither governments, businesses nor individuals acting alone will be able to secure more decisive action by political leaders. Only the third sector can do this, and a far greater mobilisation will be needed to create the social foundations for action. The four key characteristics of a successful mobilisation by the third sector are outlined: national leadership by a diverse coalition of groups; action at community level; a mass movement 'living differently and demanding more and mobilisation across borders

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

BK, Sovacool

The political economy of oil and gas in Southeast Asia: heading towards the natural resource curse? in *Pacific Review (The)*, Volume 23 Issue 2, 225 - 259

The notion of the resource curse suggests that countries with large caches of natural resources often perform worse in terms of economic growth, social development, and good governance than other countries with fewer resources. The theory posits that countries depending on oil or other extractive industries for their livelihood are among the most economically troubled, socially unstable, authoritarian, and conflict-ridden in the world. This article explores whether the resource curse is occurring in relation to oil and gas production in Southeast Asia, where investments in oil and gas infrastructure are expected to increase significantly. The article begins by conceptualizing the resource curse before explaining the factors believed to cause it. It then proposes metrics that can be used to identify the presence of the



resource curse before testing these metrics on the five Southeast Asian countries with the largest rates of oil and gas production and reserves - Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Thailand - from 1987 to 2007. The article compares the performance of these Southeast Asian countries with the five largest producers in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries as well as Brazil, China, India, the Russian Federation, and South Africa. The article concludes that the resource curse is not occurring in any of these countries, and that the theory may be too simplistic and deterministic to fully explain why some countries appear to be 'cursed' with resources while others are 'blessed'.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Odell John S.

Three islands of knowledge about negotiation in international organizations
in *Journal of European Public Policy* , Volume 17 Issue 5 2010 , 619-632

Today we have three bodies of literature relevant for understanding negotiations in international organizations, and they seem like islands in the sea, largely independent from one another. Each island has established significant relevant knowledge, while not taking the others' ideas into account very much. The three are negotiation analysis, political economy and constructivist contributions. Each has potential value for scholars of the European Union (EU). This divided field, after accomplishing much, offers many interesting opportunities for fresh research. It faces the prominent challenges of addressing fundamental conceptual problems and integrating the separate literatures.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Cannavò Peter F.

To the thousandth generation: timelessness, Jeffersonian republicanism and environmentalism
in *Environmental Politics*, Volume 19, Issue 3, May , 356-373

Conceptions of developmental change and stability, and their spatial implications, are investigated in Jeffersonian republicanism and Thoreauvian environmentalism. Both Jefferson and Thoreau associated capitalist development with corruption and sought a stable, virtuous, materially frugal society in the face of modernisation. The Jeffersonian programme of agrarian, republican virtue rested on westward expansion and wilderness conquest. This approach was self-defeating: it exhausted the land base for agrarianism and promoted a commercial ethos inimical to republican virtue. Thoreau tried to address this contradiction by seeking stability and virtue through wilderness preservation. Yet both Jefferson and Thoreau problematically tried to displace developmental change away from a privileged locale and create an ahistorical, timeless preserve for virtue, whether agrarian republic or protected wilderness. A green republicanism drawing on aspects of Jefferson and Thoreau can offer an important critical standpoint on social and ecological change under capitalism. However, such a perspective must replace the Jeffersonian/Thoreauvian spatial dichotomisation of change and stability with a regionalism embracing a spectrum of interrelated locales experiencing different degrees of dynamism and permanence.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Kelemen R. Daniel , Vogel David



Trading Places: The Role of the United States and the European Union in International Environmental Politics in Comparative Political Studies, Volume 43, No. 4, 427-456

When environmental issues emerged on the international agenda in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the United States was one of the strongest and most consistent supporters of international environmental treaties and agreements. The member states of the European Union subsequently ratified all the international treaties created in this period, but U.S. leadership was crucial and European states were laggards in many cases. Since the 1990s, the political dynamics of international environmental policy have shifted, with the European Union emerging as a global environmental leader and the United States repeatedly opposing multilateral environmental agreements. The authors argue that a "regulatory politics" model that synthesizes the effects of domestic politics and international regulatory competition provides the most powerful explanation of why the United States and European Union have "traded places" with respect to their support for international environmental agreements.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Gastaldo Piero, Zincone Giovanna

Un ricordo di Ralf Dahrendorf

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLIV, n. 196, Settembre-Dicembre

Il Centro Einaudi propone ai lettori la testimonianza di Giovanna Zincone, direttore di «Bdl» dal 1976 al 1988, e di Piero Gastaldo, che hanno conosciuto – sui libri e di persona – Ralf Dahrendorf e contribuito a diffonderne il pensiero in Italia. In questo articolo provano a parlare in modo incrociato di questo grande pensatore e politico liberale del secondo Novecento. Oggi, in questo mondo complesso, in questi momenti difficili per la causa della libertà, i due autori avvertono la necessità di intelligenti compagni di strada capaci di sguardo teorico come di attenzione pratica; di liberali più amanti della libertà che degli indici di tutela della proprietà privata; di pensatori e politici attivi capaci di tenere insieme le doti della moderazione, che deriva dal disincanto, con la intransigente attenzione ai valori essenziali; insomma, di persone come Lord Ralf, ed è maledettamente difficile trovarle.

Section D) Federalism as a political idea

Subsection 4. Various/Miscellaneous

Ruzza Stefano

Who Will Fight the Wars of the Future? The advent of private military firms

in **Biblioteca della Libertà**, Anno XLII, n.188, Luglio-Settembre

Over the last few years, private military firms (PMF) have emerged as a trait of contemporary conflict. Nonetheless, given the difficulties involved in pinning down their exact nature and constitution, it is often hard to adopt a detached approach to the problematic issues they pose. One way of addressing the critical nexus of defining this new mercenary activity is by comparing it with its traditional alternatives, thus establishing the relevant canons. The resulting conclusions delineate the possible birth of a movement that goes against the concentration of force, a phenomenon that can still be seen in other manifestations of warfare today.